

Grimshaw Immigrations to the United States

Part B. Copies of Records

Version 1.1

Prepared By:

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March 2000

1. Listing of Records

Part A of this report presents the references reviewed and delineates the Grimshaw immigrants found in the records. In this Part B, copies of the relevant pages of the references are presented. The pages deemed relevant vary with each record, but include, at a minimum, the pages (often including index pages) containing the Grimshaw immigrant record. In addition, the title and copyright pages are included in most cases. Finally, other “front matter” (preface, introduction, etc.) that is needed to explain the contents of the reference and its records is included. Each reference is provided with a cover sheet with its citation.

The copies are presented in two sections. The first section presents the “Filby” (PILI) citations; these are listed in Section 3.1 of Part A. The second section includes the other resources reviewed – those outlined in Sections 3.2 to 3.4 in Part A:

Glazier, Ira A., ed., and Michael Tepper, assoc. ed., 1983-1986, *The Famine Immigrants – Lists of Irish Immigrants Arriving at the Port of New York, 1846-1851*, in 7 volumes: Baltimore, MD, Genealogical Publishing Co.:

Glazier, Ira A., ed., and P. William Filby, 1988-1890, *Germans to America – Lists of Passengers Arriving at U.S. Ports, 1850-1863*: Wilmington, DE, Scholarly Resources, Inc.:

Bentley, Elizabeth P., 1999, *Passenger Arrivals at the Port of New York, 1820-1829*, from *Customs Passenger Lists*: Baltimore, MD, Genealogical Publishing Co., 1491 p.

2. Filby-Cited References

The Filby-cited references are described in Section 3.1 of Part A and are repeated in Table B-1 below. The following pages include the photocopies.

Ref	Citation	Page	Filby Year
<u>123.54</u>	Appanoose County Genealogy Society, 1985, Index to Naturalization Records of Appanoose County, Iowa: Centerville, IA, the society, 86 p.	21	1996
752.5	Bracy, Isabel, 1990, Immigrants in Madison County, New York, 1815-1860: Interlaken, NY, Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 120 p.	66	1998
1133.6	Cassaday, Michael, 1982, Wisconsin-Bound Passengers on Ship Marmion, in Wisconsin State Genealogical Society News Letter, v. 29, no. 1 (June 1982), p. 9	9	1987
1217.2	Coldham, Peter W., 1983, Bonded Passengers to America, Two Volumes in One: Baltimore, MD, Genealogical Publishing Co., unk. p.	115	1987
1217.5	Coldham, Peter W., 1983, Bonded Passengers to America, Volume 5, Western Circuit, 1664-1775: Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Hampshire, Somerset, and Wiltshire, with a List of the Rebels of 1685: Baltimore, MD, Genealogical Publishing Co., 95 p.	48	1988
1217.6	Coldham, Peter W., 1983, Bonded Passengers to America, Volume 6, Oxford Circuit, 1663-1775: Berkshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Monmouthshire, Oxfordshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, and Worcestershire: Baltimore, MD, Genealogical Publishing Co., 95 p.	74	1988
1219.5	Coldham, Peter W., 1990, The Complete Book of Emigrants: A Comprehensive Listing Compiled from English Public Records of Those Who Took Ship to the Americas for Political, Religious, and Economic Reasons; of those Who Were Deported for Vagrancy, Roguery, or Non-Conformity; and of Those Who Were Sold to Labour in the Colonies, 1661-1699: Baltimore, MD, Genealogical Publishing Co., 894 p.	699	1993
1220.11	Coldham, Peter W., 1988, The Complete Book of Emigrants in Bondage, 1614-1775: Baltimore, MD, Genealogical Publishing Co., 920 p.	339	1999
1222	Coldham, Peter W., 1974, English Convicts in Colonial America, Volume 1, Middlesex 1617-1775: New Orleans, LA, Polyanthos, 301 p.	115	1981
1229.10	Coldham, Peter W., 1997, The Kings Passengers to Maryland and Virginia: Westminster, MD, Family Line Publications, 450 p.	82, 279	2000
1322	Coulter, Ellis M., and Albert B. Saye, eds., 1983, A List of the Early Settlers of Georgia: Baltimore, MD, Genealogical Publishing Co., 111 p.	77	1981
1357.2	Cox, Richard J., 1981, Maryland Runaway Convict Servants, 1745-1780, in National Genealogical Society Quarterly, v. 69, no., 1 (March 1981), p. 51-58	55	1987
1869	Erie County Society for Genealogical Research, compiler, 1983, Erie County, Pennsylvania, Naturalizations, 1825-1906: Erie, PA, the society, 179 p.	49	1988
2212	French, Elizabeth, 1913, List of Emigrants to America from Liverpool, 1697-1707: Boston, MA, New England Genealogical Society, 55 p. (reprinted 1962, 1983 by Genealogical Publishing Co., Baltimore, MD)	10	1996
2772	Greer, George C., 1912, Early Virginia Immigrants, 1623-1666: Richmond, VA, W.C. Hill Printing Co. 376 p. (Reprinted 1960, Baltimore, MD, Genealogical Publishing Co.)	139	1981
3388	Unknown Author, 1970, Immigrants from Great Britain to the Georgia Colony: Morrow, GA, Genealogical Enterprises, 27 p.	10	1983
3700	Kaminkow, Marion, and Jack Kaminkow, eds., 1967, Original Lists of Emigrants in Bondage from London to the American Colonies, 1717-1744: Baltimore, MD, Magna Carta Book Co., 211 p. (reprinted 1981, Magna Carta Book Co.)	69	1987

Note: references italicized and with underlines have not yet been located and copied.

Table B-1 (continued on next page)

Filby References that Contain Information on Grimshaw Immigrants

Ref	Citation	Page	Filby Year
3703.1	Kane County Genealogical Society, 1988, Kane County, Illinois Naturalization Records, 1857-1906: Geneva, IL, the society, 162 p.	49	1995
5704.1	Mitchell, Brian, 1989, Irish Emigration Lists, 1833-1839: Lists of Emigrants Extracted from Ordnance Survey Memoirs for Counties Londonderry and Antrim: Baltimore, MD, Genealogical Publishing Co., 118 p.	19	1995
5962	Myers, Mrs. Lester F., 1968, Declarations of Intention and Naturalization Papers at the County Clerk's Office in Auburn, New York, in <u>Tree Talks</u> , v. 8, no. 3 (September 1968), p. 21-22	21	1985
6220	Nugent, Nell M., abstractor, 1934, Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants, Volume 2, 1623-1666: Richmond, VA, Dietz Printing Co., 766 p. (reprinted 1969, Genealogical Publishing Co., Baltimore, MD)	222	1985
6221	Nugent, Nell M., 1977, Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants, Volume 1, 1666-1695: Richmond, VA, Virginia State Library, 609 p.	82	1995
6223	Nugent, Nell M., abstractor, 1979, Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants, Volume 3, 1695-1732: Richmond, VA, Virginia State Library, 578 p.	6	1985
<u>6401</u>	U.S. Work Projects Administration, Division of Community Service Programs, Old Law Naturalization Records Project, 1942, Index to Naturalization Records, Mississippi Courts, 1798-1906: Jackson MI, Old Law Naturalization Records Project, unk. p.	80	1984
6466.4	Tepper, Michael, general editor, and Elizabeth P. Bentley, transcriber, 1986, Passenger Arrivals at the Port of Philadelphia, 1800-1819: Baltimore, MD, Genealogical Publishing Co., 913 p.	278	1998
7870	Samuelson, W. David, 1986, New York City Passenger List Manifests Index, 1820-1824: North Salt Lake, UT, Accelerated Indexing Systems International, 290 p.	108	1990
8195	Scott, Kenneth, compiler, 1979, British Aliens in the United States During the War of 1812: Baltimore, MD, Genealogical Publishing Co., 420 p.	123, 124, 324	1983
8258	Scott, Kenneth, and Roseanne Conway, compilers, 1978, New York Alien Residents, 1825-1848: Baltimore, MD, Genealogical Publishing Co., 122 p.	46	1985
<u>8368</u>	Shelley, Jane and Elsie M., Wasser, compilers, 1983, Naturalization and Intentions of Madison County, Illinois: An Index 1816-1900: Edwardsville, IL, the compilers, unk p.	51	1987
9151	Tepper, Michael, ed., 1977, Passengers to America: a Consolidation of Ship Passenger Lists from The New England Historical and Genealogical Register: Baltimore, MD, Genealogical Publishing Co. (Reprinted 1978 with new indexes, 554 p.)	180	1981
9296	Filby, P. William, ed., 1982, Philadelphia Naturalization Records – an Index to Records of Aliens' Declarations of Intention and/or Oaths of Allegiance, 1789-1880, in United States Circuit Court, United States District Court, Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, Quarter Sessions Court, Court of Common Pleas, Philadelphia: Detroit, MI, Gale Research Co., 716 p.	198	1981

Note: references italicized and with underlines have not yet been located and copied.

Table B-1 (continued from previous page)

Filby References that Contain Information on Grimshaw Immigrants

Filby Reference No. 123.54

Appanoose County Genealogy Society, 1985, Index to Naturalization Records of Appanoose County, Iowa: Centerville, IA, the society, 86 p.

(Reference Not Yet Copied and Examined)

Filby Reference No. 752.5

Bracy, Isabel, 1990, Immigrants in Madison County, New York, 1815-1860: Interlaken, NY,
Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 120 p.

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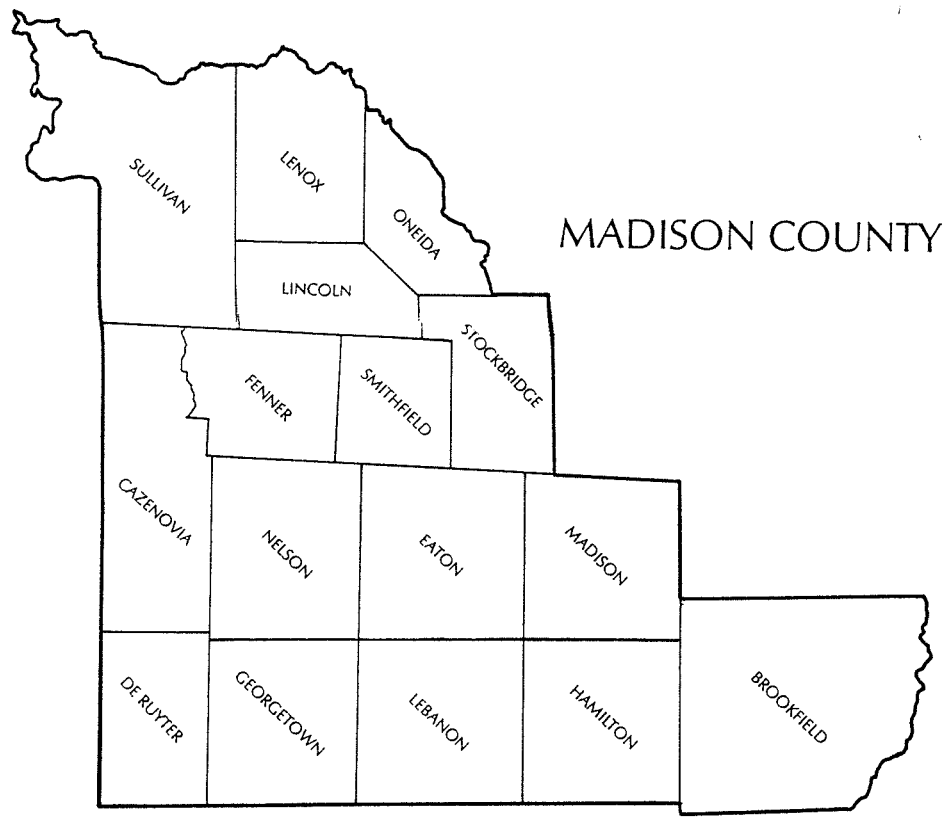
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MADISON COUNTY

SULLIVAN

LENOX

ONIDA

LINCOLN

STOCKBRIDGE

FENNER

SMITHFIELD

CAZENOVIA

NELSON

EATON

MADISON

DE RUYTER

GEORGETOWN

LEBANON

HAMILTON

BROOKFIELD

INTRODUCTION

Between 1815 and 1860, a million and a half Germans crossed the Atlantic to become adopted Americans. Many changed or Anglicized their names upon arrival.

More than two million Irish newcomers debarked in United States ports prior to 1860, many of them "famine emigrants" from the Great Potato Famine of the 1840s.

In 1855, there were 365 single, foreign born males between the ages of 18 and 25 in the Town of Sullivan—many of these men never married—perhaps because of the lack of foreign born women in the area in any age group. In those days, there were few marriages between the foreign born men and native born women. Illegitimacy was relatively low. Most children were born in wedlock even if the parents were not married when the child was conceived. Was there resentment against so many people arriving in Madison County (especially in the towns of Eaton and Sullivan) during the years 1850-1855? Lets take a look at the events of the times during this period, examine the records, and then sum up how well and why our people mixed together so well.

THE ERIE CANAL

It took a tremendous amount of public interest and publicity to get the State Legislature to vote funds for the building of the Erie Canal. From the 1780s to the 1820s, public interest was built up through speeches and writings of such public figures as Governor Morris, Simeon DeWitt, Surveyor-General of the State Judge Geddes, Jesse Hawley and others.

Earliest proposals were for the building of the canal from the Hudson River to Lake Ontario at Oswego. From 1803 on, these proposals were changed to tap Lake Erie and lead its waters by an artificial river directly across the country to the Hudson. Thus to feed the canal entirely from Lake Erie.

This was not practical. So reservoirs were built in the uplands. The original Erie Canal was a small ditch forty feet wide and four feet deep, through which boats of only seventy-six tons capacity could operate.

When there was talk of building a canal over three hundred miles long, people laughed. They could not believe that men would be able to dig a ditch deep enough and wide enough to fill with water for boats to carry people and freight on.

The Erie Canal Commissioners knew that it would take many strong men to dig the Erie. They wondered where they could get the large number of strong men to dig such a ditch.

It was finally decided that because of a food famine in Ireland, they might encourage men to come to New York State.

Advertisements were put in Dublin and Belfast, Ireland newspapers offering double the amount of money paid to laborers in Ireland. A return trip ticket was included in the offer.

There were no takers.

After a few months another advertisement was run in the Irish newspapers. Still no takers.

The Canal Commissioners sent two men to Ireland to find out why Irishmen did not take up what they thought was a good offer.

The were soon told. Learned men, when asked, had said that there were no Catholic Churches or Priests along the route for many, many miles where they would be working.

As soon as the Commissioners promised to build Catholic Churches along the route and that Catholic Priests would ride horseback to the camps to serve Mass and hear Confessions—hundreds of Irishmen came to New York State to work.

In 1817, the Erie Canal was started. In spite of having to cut down trees through the great forests of New York State—in spite of having to build locks to raise and lower the boats for different levels, the Erie Canal was built with its eighty-two locks and three hundred sixty-three mile stretch.

Men worked eight long years to build the canal that connected Lake Erie with the Hudson River. The canal was formally opened in 1825 and from the beginning it was a success. A boat could go from New York City to Buffalo by way of the Hudson River to Albany and then across the State on the Canal. At Buffalo it connected with shipping on the Great Lakes and with the roads to the West.

Transportation of this sort opened the State and built cities. Produce from the rich upstate farm lands and manufactured goods from new industries reached far away markets. It bridged great gaps of wilderness and settlers going West had easy access to new land.

The original cost of the Erie Canal when opened in 1825 was a little over seven million dollars or about one-third of the cost of the State Capitol at Albany. Its success was so great that it could not do the business that offered. So from 1846 to 1862 it was enlarged.

The total amount received for tolls on the Erie Canal from its opening, until tolls were removed at the end of the 1882 season was 120 million dollars.

Thus the Erie Canal made a surplus of 47 million dollars, which benefited the state treasury from 1825 to 1882.

In the meantime, the network of railways across New York State was growing year after year. Canal tonnage exceeded that carried on railroads until the close of the Civil War in 1865.

A factor that influenced the expansion of industry in Madison County was the building of the Erie Canal which solved the problem of transporting the goods made in the mills to a market for them. Canal boats were a cheap method of transporting all of the products made in the industries as well as farm products.

Between 1820, when statistics were first accurately kept, and 1830 more than 500,000 immigrants came to the United States. Five times as many came in the next two decades, most of them from Ireland, Germany, and Wales. In lesser numbers they came from England, France, Scotland, and Switzerland.

By 1850, twelve percent of the population of the United States had come from Europe. Between 1840 and 1855, many immigrants came in large numbers to Madison County.

In the town of Sullivan, the percentage of immigrants was larger than that of the whole of Madison County.

Long ago when white settlers first came to Madison County they cleared their land of trees and built their own homes. They raised their own food and made their own clothes. They were used to working out of doors and as a family unit. Most of them did not want to work in a mill with machinery. So—the new comers were welcome. There was plenty of work for them to do.

As more machines were invented and more mills were built—more workers were needed to operate the machines.

The United States became an asylum for those who fled from famine in Ireland, unsatisfactory labor conditions in England and Wales, and political revolution and economic depression in Germany.

The new mill owners in Madison County believed that pauperism was one of the economic ills that could be improved. The paupers prison system of England was un-American and not to be tolerated. No-one should be imprisoned for debt.

With a few exceptions, the early factories and mills were small buildings owned by individual proprietors or partners. Mill owners encouraged the people of Europe to come to our country.

The majority of the immigrants in the County of Madison had a desire for social, economic, and political equality. They wanted their children to go to school and be educated, to the best of their ability. As they shared food with members of their family who arrived in their midst, they shared the dream of a family member becoming a college graduate.

Male immigrants would usually board with men of their own nationality. One home of an Irish laborer contained his wife and nine children plus thirteen roomers, all single Irish male laborers.

Young immigrant girls enjoyed working in private homes as servants. They really enjoyed working in large boarding houses that were built near the mills. They not only had free room and board, they also were paid a small amount of money for their work.

The people who came from Europe thought Madison County was a good place to live and they were happy here. They sent letters to their families and friends urging them to come and join them.

In Madison County, everyone looked very much alike in their dress. There were not many extremes of poverty or wealth.

By using a great deal of effort, anyone could learn to read, study books, and become just about anything he or she wanted to be. The evidence that this theory was true may be known today by studying the family history of these immigrant families.

Even though the immigrants yearned for the old country and its ways, their children accepted the new customs and way of speaking and

were happy. They soon shared our sense of national unity.

THE MILLS WERE CLOSING AND THE WESTERN STATES NEEDED SETTLERS

On the tow path side of the Erie Canal at Chittenango there was a small building. The sign above the door read:

SULLIVAN IMMIGRANT OFFICE

A German speaking person and also a person from Ireland sat in this building every day and every evening. They were there to encourage people to go West. The United States government was trying to encourage the settlement of the West.

The Tillinghast Tannery, like so many mills in Madison County, began to be effected by the centralizing in large cities of industry. The tannery closed in 1880.

The mills were closing. The Western States needed settlers. The United States government was trying to encourage the settlement of the West. They provided land grants to male immigrants over 18 years of age. They encouraged families to head west.

The chief inducement to the Western settler was cheap land. The land was not only more fertile but much cheaper. The soil in Europe had been worked for centuries. The immigrants in Madison County had not been able to own their own farms.

The government changed their policy of wanting to make money on the public land to trying to locate farmers on the land.

In 1841 the **Predemption** Act provided that a man could settle upon land not yet opened for sale and still have the first chance at his own tract when surveys were made. Squatting was legalized.

Any adult **citizens** or adult **person** declaring his intention to become a **citizen** was eligible.

Many immigrants who had settled in Madison County, as well as other residents of the County, packed their bags and headed West.

Packet boats charged each person 1.5 cents per mile with a 100 pound bag allowed.

The Erie Canal helped the growth of industry in Madison County by providing cheap transportation of the products made in the mill, to large cities.

The Erie Canal opened up the Western lands and helped people travel there comfortably for a very small price.

An amazing number of the descendants of the men who worked to

build the Erie Canal and then worked in the first mills built in Madison County—young girl domestics who worked in the first boarding houses—their descendants are coming to Madison County in large numbers each year. They want to know in what year their ancestor came to America. They want to see the town they lived in.

They are happy to know that we have their record. Their ancestors are not forgotten.

EMPLOYMENT

In 1845, the potato rot in Ireland destroyed the food that the landless farm laborers depended upon. Irish land owners started to raise sheep instead of grain. Thousands of Irish people came to the United States where they found jobs on farms, mills, canals and railroads.

New York State Legislature created the Board of Commissioners of Immigration which reimbursed local communities such as Madison County for looking after the welfare of the immigrant. Immigrants were also helped by emigrant aid societies set up by the various nationality groups.

The word spread in Europe—there is room for everybody in America.

A man can make a living by using a particular talent or working on a farm or in an industry.

A man or woman can be employed and respected. If he wants country life or if he is a laborer—he will be hired; and paid four or five times more than he could get in Europe. Thousands of acres of uncultivated lands could be purchased cheap.

Laborers, men of middle class, domestics, when they came to America knew that they would not become rich in a little time. They knew that they would be hired if they were willing to work. They would not starve. Their children would not be hungry and would be able to go to school.

The immigrants liked it here and remained in America. Most of the immigrants soon purchased land and added to it. The New York State Legislature passed a bill in 1849 establishing free schools through out the State. In 1851 the legislature appropriated \$800,000 for state aid to schools. In 1854 the legislature created the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction.

GRIFFITH, Mary—Cazenovia 1854, Wales, Domestic
 GRIFFITH, Owen—Madison 1853, Wales, Farmer
 Margaret—Madison 1853, Wales, Wife
 GRIFFITH, Thomas—Nelson 1852, Wales, Farmer
 Esther—Nelson 1852, Wales, Wife
 William—Nelson 1851, Wales, Farmer
 William—Nelson 1852, Wales, Farmer
 GRIFFITHS, John—Cazenovia 1852, Wales, Weaver
 Mary—Cazenovia 1852, Wales, Wife
 Sarah—Cazenovia 1851, Wales, Weaver
 GRIMER, John—Cazenovia 1854, France, Farmer
 • GRIMSHAM, John—Madison 1842, England, Farmer
 GRINER, John—Smithfield 1854, Germany, Farmer
 Catherine—Smithfield 1854, Canada, Wife
 GROVER, Mary—Cazenovia 1852, Ireland, Domestic
 GUESSER, James—Sullivan 1854, Ireland, Laborer
 Mary—Sullivan 1854, Ireland, Wife
 Mary—Sullivan 1854, Ireland, Child
 GUNEA, Michael—Stockbridge 1854, Ireland, Farmer
 GUSTON, John—Hamilton 1853, England, Carriage Maker
 GUY, James—Eaton 1854, England, Farmer
 Joanna—Eaton 1854, England, Child/Tailoress

 HACKET, Patrick—Madison 1854, Ireland, Farmer
 HADS, George—Eaton 1850, England, Farmer
 HAEFE, John—Eaton 1854, Ireland, Farmer
 Ada—Eaton 1854, Ireland, Wife
 HAGERTY, Richard—DeRuyter 1845, Ireland, Farmer
 John—DeRuyter 1845, Ireland, Farmer
 Ellen—DeRuyter 1845, Ireland, Wife
 Timothy—DeRuyter 1845, Ireland, Child
 Betsey—DeRuyter 1845, Ireland, Child
 HAGLE, Francis—Stockbridge 1854, Germany, Farmer
 HAIVER, Martin—Sullivan 1854, Germany, Laborer
 HALENORTH, Esther—Eaton 1811, Ireland, Mother
 HALEY, James—Lenox 1855, Ireland, Laborer
 Margaret—Lenox 1855, Ireland, Wife
 Patrick—Lenox 1855, Ireland, Child
 Mary—Lenox 1855, Ireland, Child

HALEY, Patrick—Lenox 1852,
 Mary—Lenox 1852, Ireland
 Ann—Lenox 1855, Ireland
 HALLEN, Michael—Sullivan 1854, Ireland
 Anora—Sullivan 1854, Ireland
 Michael—Sullivan 1854, Ireland
 Nicholas—Sullivan 1854, Ireland
 Robert—Sullivan 1854, Ireland
 John—Sullivan 1854, Ireland
 HALLIS, James—Eaton 1852, England
 Elizabeth—Eaton 1852, England
 Selina—Eaton 1852, England
 Emily—Eaton 1852, England
 HALLY, Rose—Sullivan 1850, Ireland
 Owen—Sullivan 1853, Ireland
 Matthew—Sullivan 1851, Ireland
 Patrick—Sullivan 1849, Ireland
 HAMBLIN, Richard—Cazenovia 1854, Ireland
 Ellen—Cazenovia 1842, Ireland
 HAYDEN, Maria—Sullivan 1854, Ireland
 HAMLIN, Charles—Sullivan 1854, Ireland
 HAMMER, Catherine—Sullivan 1854, Ireland
 HAMMOND, George—Madison 1850, England
 Jane—Madison 1850, England
 Gilbert—Madison 1850, England
 Julia—Madison 1850, England
 Jane—Madison 1850, England
 Lucy—Madison 1850, England
 HANLY, John—Lenox 1854, Ireland
 Margaret—Lenox 1854, Ireland
 HANKINS, Thomas—Madison 1832, England
 Jane—Madison 1832, England
 HANM, Henry—Sullivan 1854, Ireland
 Mary—Sullivan 1854, Ireland
 HANNAWALE, Dorothy—Lenox 1855, Ireland
 HARDING, Nancy—Sullivan 1854, Ireland
 HARDY, James—Sullivan 1854, Ireland
 HARDY, John—Smithfield 1853, England
 Ann—Smithfield 1853, England
 Joseph—Smithfield 1853, England
 George—Smithfield 1853, England

Filby Reference No. 1133.6

Cassaday, Michael, 1982, Wisconsin-Bound Passengers on Ship Marmion, in Wisconsin State Genealogical Society News Letter, v. 29, no. 1 (June 1982), p. 9

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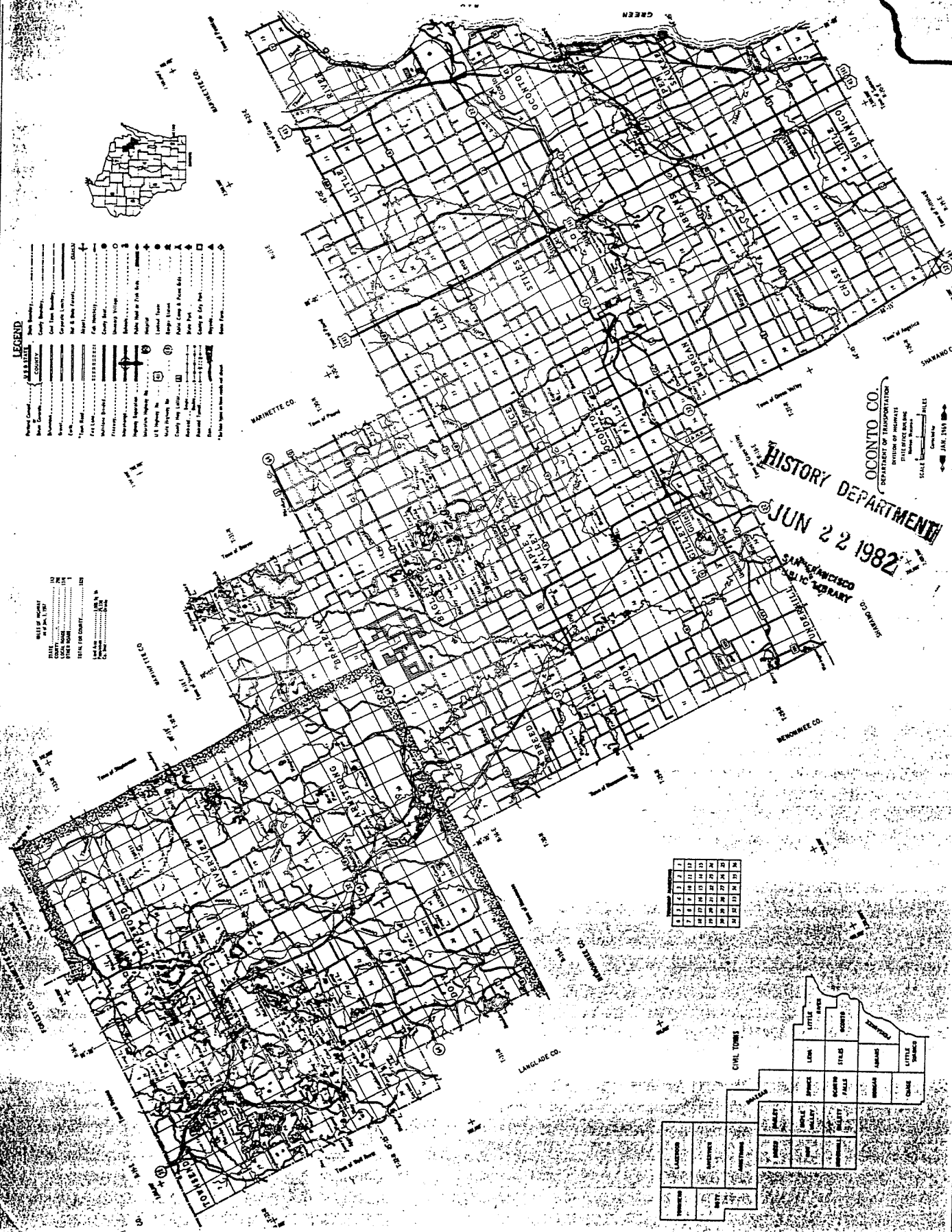
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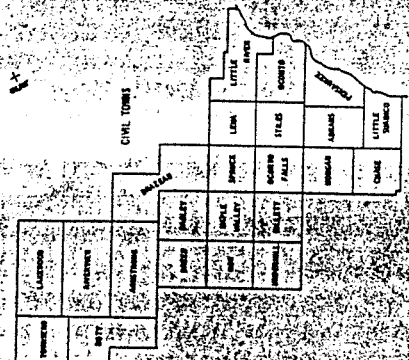
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WISCONSIN-BOUND PASSENGERS ON SHIP "MARMION"

Arrived New York 30 April 1849 from Liverpool. Thomas F. Freeman, Master. Item 337, Microfilm roll 78, National Archives series M237

Contributed by Michael Cassady

Name	Age	Sex	Occupation	Passenger #	Name	Age	Sex	Occupation	Passenger #
BRETNALL, Joseph	38	m	lacemaker	89	JENNINGS, Godfrey	21	m	spectacle maker	240
BRIGHTON, James	30	m	machinist	86	MATTLEY, Henry	52	m	hatter	217
BRIGHTON, Ann	30	f		87	MURRY, Stephen	37	m	farmer	235
BROADBENT, John	22	m	machinist	88	MURRY, Hannah	37	f		236
COOPER, George	38	m	farmer	224	MURRY, Emma	15	f		237
COOPER, Charlotte	32	f		225	MURRY, Henry	6	m		238
COOPER, Sarah	13	f		226	MURRY, Elisabeth	inf.	f		239
COOPER, Elisabeth	7	f		227	NUTTALL, James	29	m	weaver	197
COOPER, Samuel	5	m		228	RADCLIFFE, Thomas	50	m	quarryman	82
COOPER, Joseph	2	m		229					
COOPER, Thomas	inf.	m		230					
DAWSON, George	48	m	plumber & glasier	202	ROBINS, John	22	m	tanner	83
				203	RUBOTTOM, Martha	28	f		196
DAWSON, Matilda	48	f		204	SCHOLES, William	34	m	weaver	206
DAWSON, George	12	m		205	SCHOLES, Ann	34	f		207
DAWSON, Mary Ann	8	f		205	SCHOLES, Mary	12	f		208
DOBSON, Samuel	42	m	clogmaker	255	SCHOLES, Sarah Ann (illegible)				209
FARMER, George	36	m	farmer	243	SCHOLES, Marie	7	f		210
FARMER, Emma	36	f		244	SCHOLES, Elisabeth	5	f		211
FRAME, Francis	26	m	spinner	214	SCHOLES, Alice	2	f		212
FRAME, Agnes	26	f		215	SCHOLES, Robert	inf.	m		213
FRAME, Alison	inf.	f		216	SEDDON, William	29	m	farmer	192
GOODWARD, Richd.	25	m	lacemaker	90	SEDDON, Alice	29	f		193
GOULDING, John	24	m	spinner	66	SEDDON, Elisabeth	3	f		194
GRIMSHAW, Joseph	30	m	farmer	80	SEDDON, Mary Jane	inf.	f		195
HAMMOND, John	31	m	potter	7	TORDOFF, John	40	m	gardener	242
HAMMOND, Hannah	27	f		8	WAKEMAN, Benjamin	24	m	button maker	274
HAMMOND, Annie	4	f		9	WATSON, William	42	m	shoemaker	247
HAMMOND, Mary	2	f		10	WATSON, Elisabeth	40	f		248
HARRISON, Henry	20	m	machinist	246	WATSON, Benjamin	10	m		249
HODGKINSON, John	28	m	farmer	231	WELLS, Henry	31	m	gunmaker	198
HODGKINSON, Hannah	26	f		232	WELLS, Sarah	28	f		199
HODGKINSON, Emily	6	f		233	WELLS, William	7	m		200
HODGKINSON, Eli	inf.	m		234	WELLS, Caroline	5	f		201
HORTON, William	61	m	farmer	218	WILSON, James	40	m	farmer	75
HORTON, Amelia	12	f		219	WILSON, Margaret	40	f		76
HORTON, Joseph	27	m	farmer	220	WILSON, James	16	m		77
HORTON, David	20	m	farmer	221	WILSON, Susannah	7	f		78

WISCONSIN-BOUND PASSENGERS ON BARK "PETER"

Arrived New York Oct. 6, 1852 from Bremen. Under Cajute. Reel 120, #1423

Contributed by Jean C. Skinner

Name	Age	Born	Last Address	To	Occupation	#
SCHIMMEL, Joseph	42	Baiern	Firschenreuth	Milwauky	farmer	14
In Zwischendeck						
FISCHENDORF, Friedr. Aug.	24	Sahsen Weimer	Badenhausen	Wisconsin	weaver	18
SELSEMEYER, Anton	22	Liffe Detmold	Atmena	"	farmer	69
SELSEMEYER, August	18	"	"	"	shoemaker	70
SELSEMEYER, Carl	26	"	"	"	farmer	71
SELSEMEYER, Friedrich	14	"	"	"		72
SELSEMEYER, Wilhelmine	46	"	"	"		73
SELSEMEYER, Wilhelmine	20	"	"	"		74
SELSEMEYER, Henriette	16	"	"	"		75
SIEBENHUTTER, Matthias	54	Baiern	Neuburg	"	farmer	78
SIEBENHUTTER, Joseph	20	"	"	"	baker	79
SIEBENHUTTER, Therese	44	"	"	"		82
SIEBENHUTTER, Crescentia	14	"	"	"		83
SIEBENHUTTER, Xaver	6	"	"	"		84
NEUNER, Johann	19	"	"	"		80
NEUNER, Jacob	12	"	"	"		81

Filby Reference No. 1217.2

Coldham, Peter W., 1983, *Bonded Passengers to America, Two Volumes in One: Baltimore, MD*, Genealogical Publishing Co., unk. p.

Pittsburgh Carnegie
2/29/00

1817.8

BONDED PASSENGERS TO AMERICA

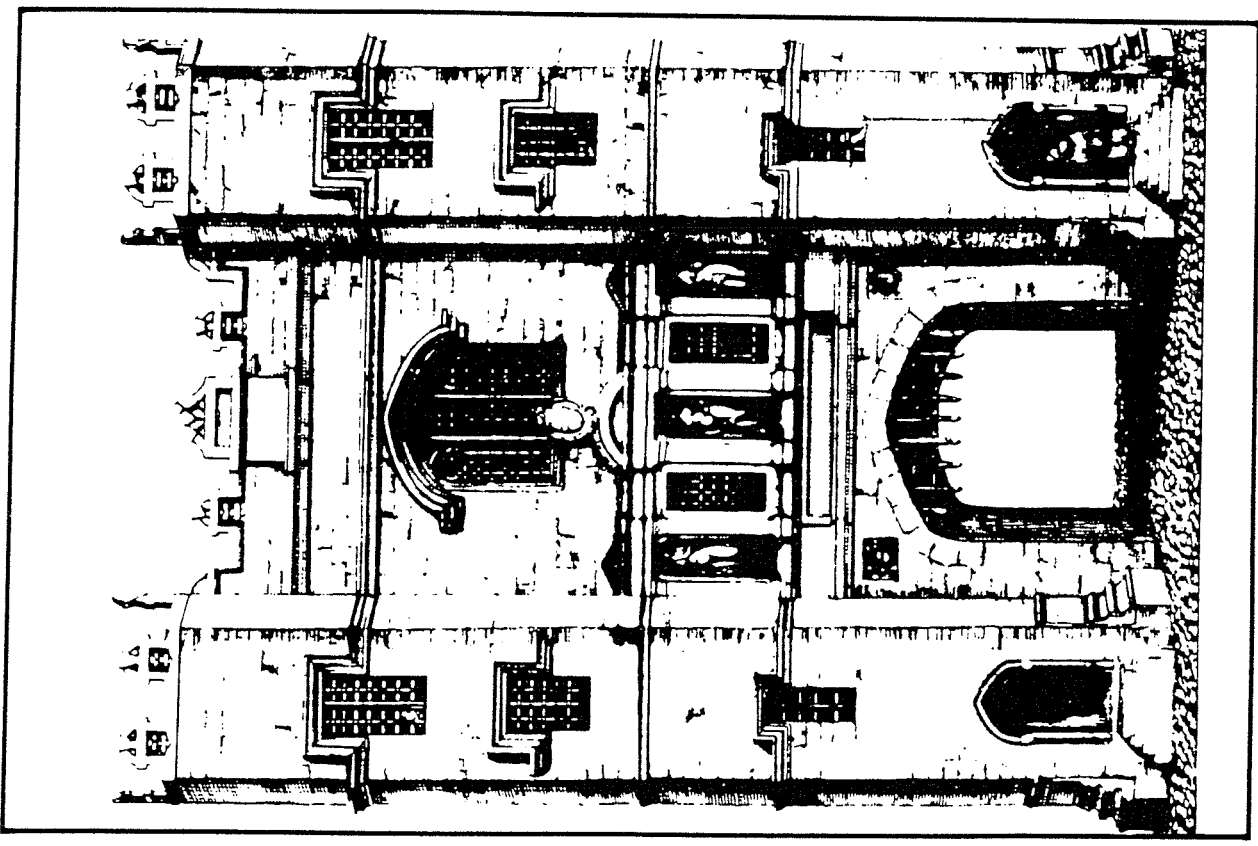
Volume II

MIDDLESEX: 1617-1775

By
Peter Wilson Coldham

334p

In ancient times all the London gatehouses acted as prisons. Newgate, seen here as it was rebuilt by the City's most famous Lord Mayor, Dick Whittington, became the most notorious of the London gaols. Through here 17,000 convicts passed on their way to America.



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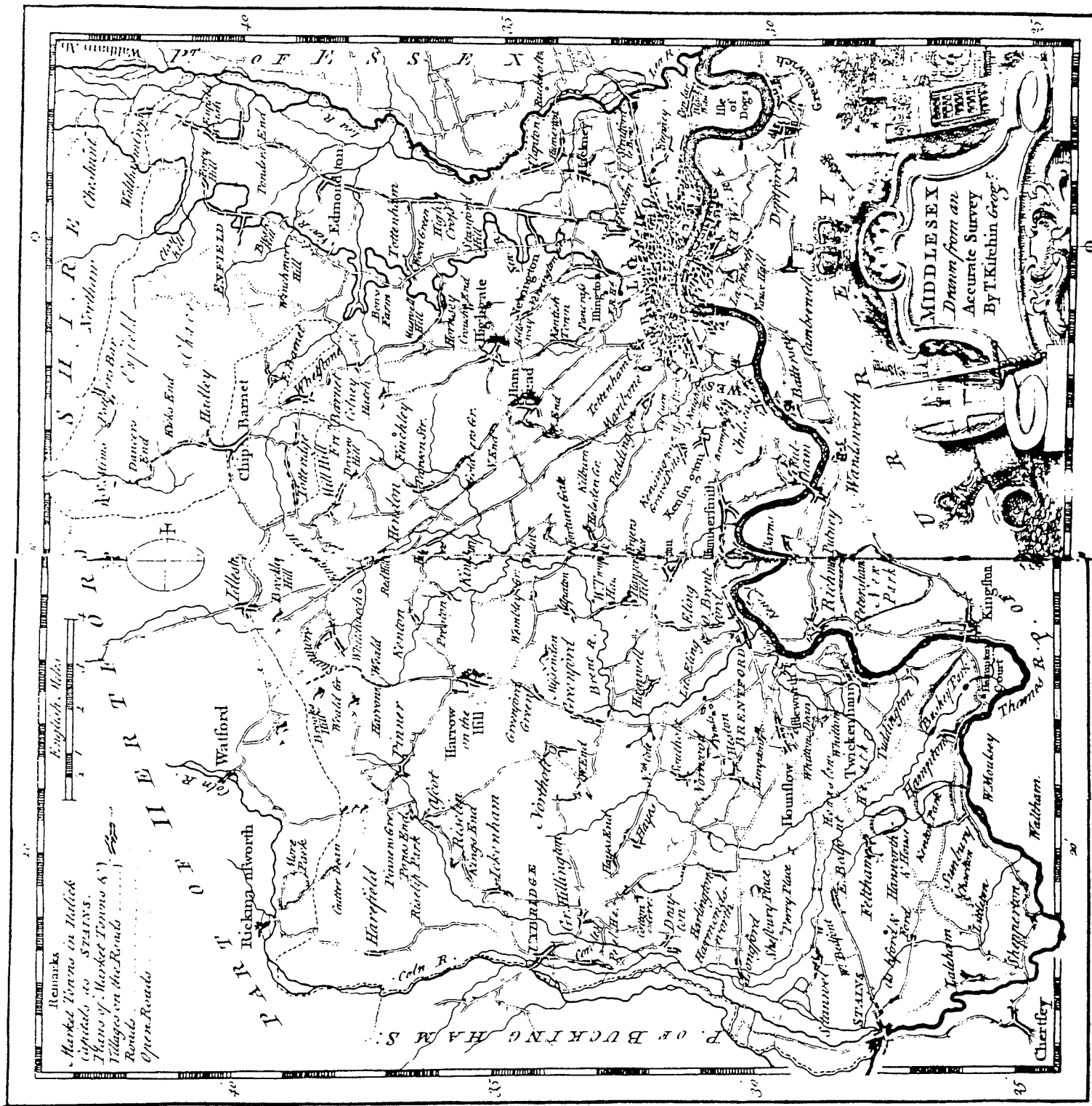
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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The supplementary list of Middlesex passengers appearing on pages 303-326 of this volume originally appeared in *English Convicts in Colonial America, Volume II, London: 1656-1775* as a supplement to the original Middlesex volume. In an effort to make each volume as complete a record of its geographic locale as possible, the Publisher has removed the Middlesex supplement from the London volume and placed it at the back of this, the Middlesex volume.

The County of Middlesex as it appeared at the end of the 17th century. Note the small area occupied by the City of London.

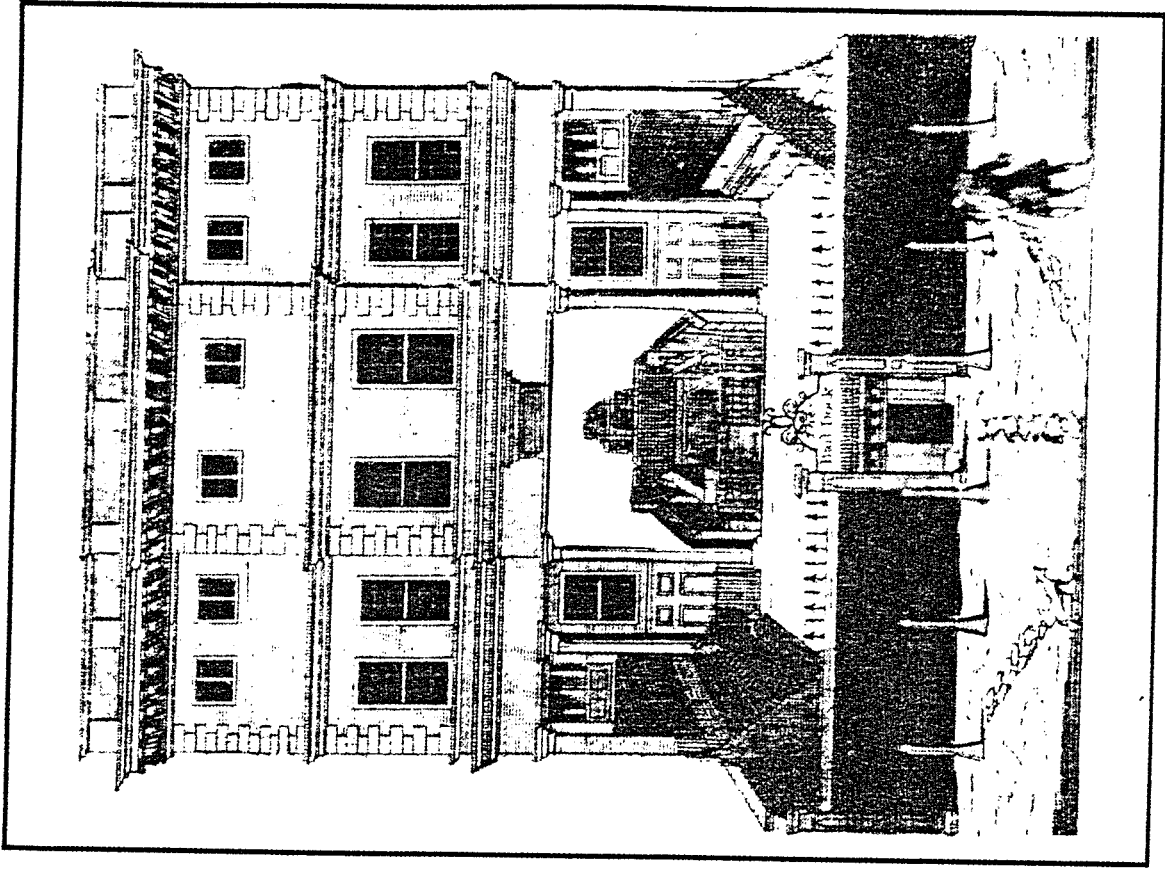


Remarks
 Marked Towns in Italic
 Capitals in STAINS
 Towns of Market Towns &
 Villages on the Roads
 Roads
 Open Roads

English Miles



MIDDLESEX
 Drawn from an
 Accurate Survey
 By T. Kiehn Grov.



The Old Bailey Sessions House as it appeared in 1750. Note the curious construction which enabled the citizenry to view the proceedings, literally an open court.

The original bill of indictment of Thomas Burridge superscribed "Puts himself upon his County (i.e. asks to be tried by jury) Jury say guilty of the felony only, not guilty of the Burglary. No goods; to be transported for the term of seven years." For details of this case see Introduction p. xli.

35
 The first record of the Sessions House is in the year 1750 when it was built by the City of London. It was built on the site of the old Sessions House which was destroyed by fire in 1750. The building was designed by the architect James Gibbs. It is a fine example of 18th century architecture. The building is now used as a court house. The original bill of indictment of Thomas Burridge superscribed "Puts himself upon his County (i.e. asks to be tried by jury) Jury say guilty of the felony only, not guilty of the Burglary. No goods; to be transported for the term of seven years." For details of this case see Introduction p. xli.

BONDED PASSENGERS TO AMERICA
VOLUME II: MIDDLESEX

The County of Middlesex, which enclosed the City of London to the north of the Thames River, was one of the smallest in England, having an area of barely 200 square miles, but for centuries it was the most densely populated county in the Kingdom. Over the space of 150 years, Middlesex provided some 15,000 labourers for the American colonies by "due process of law" in the shape of convicted felons who were bonded by the Courts as plantation servants for periods ranging from seven years to life. An official estimate made in the late 18th century was that one in three of all felons in England was convicted in Middlesex. The English Courts between them may safely be reckoned as having been responsible from 1615 to 1775 for the provision of some 50,000 plantation servants who thus formed by far the largest identifiable class of colonial settlers throughout the period of British rule in the Americas. No other reason is necessary to justify an attempt to identify these pioneers, beginning with this comprehensive listing of Middlesex prisoners sentenced to transportation throughout the period in which this odious traffic was conducted.

It is one of the ironies of Anglo-American genealogy that the lives and movements of those who were forcibly deported in expiation of their sins are, on the whole, rather better chronicled than those of the good men and true who sat in judgment upon them.

The list of which this volume is made up is arranged and intended as a key to sources from which further information may be obtained: it is not in itself a comprehensive statement. For certain periods, however, additional source material has been drawn upon to illustrate principally the nature of the offences committed and the range of parishes from which the offenders were drawn. For the year 1740 almost all details of residence have been extracted. But in order to indicate more fully the wealth of supplementary detail available to the diligent searcher, there follows a fairly typical case-history; that of Thomas Burridge of the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, labourer.

Burrige was tried at the Sessions of Gaol Delivery held at the Old Bailey in April 1743 which heard 67 cases, of which 20 were for capital crimes. The Bill of Indictment (see illustration) alleged that, on the night of 27 February 1743, he broke into the house of Jeffery Rushton of the parish of St. Leonard Shoreditch and stole 20 yards of callimanco value 15 shillings, the property of William Reynolds and Thomas Bray; and three shuttles value eighteen pence, two pairs of pickers made of iron and steel value twelve pence, one rug value two shillings, one blanket value twelve pence, and one linen sheet value twelve pence, the property of Jeffery Rushton. The evidence given at Burrige's trial is reported in two columns of "Old Bailey Sessions Papers" as follows:

Jeffery Rushton: My house was broken open between one o'clock and daylight. About six o'clock I missed the goods. I rent a house and have a chamber, a kitchen and a shop, and pay five pounds a year. Nobody but my family lives in the house with me. I have a wife and three children but no servant. I belong to the College.

Henry Dye: On Saturday night 26 February, I had been at a public house and left between nine and ten o'clock as I always keep good hours, and between eleven and twelve I locked the door and went up to bed, and between then and six in the morning this was done. I have worked in the house for Mr. Reynolds for some years and am a lodger. It was a door opening on the public staircase that was broken open. There are a great many tenements in the house but the street door was not locked. I did not hear anything broken open for I drank a pint more beer than usual and might have slept heavily; but I am sure I locked the door before going to bed.

Daniel Lister: About 21 January I enlisted the prisoner as a private soldier in Colonel Fowke's Regiment at Gibraltar, and some time after he deserted from me. On 27 February he came to my door. He had a knife in his hand and bid me defiance. I sent a couple of recruits after him, and they took him as a deserter as he was going to the Savoy. One of the recruits delivered these

things to me. I asked the prisoner whose they were and he told me they were his working tools. Rushton came to me and asked if I had seen the prisoner who worked with him and had stolen some goods. The prisoner had spent eight shillings on the recruits and said he had given his wife 13 shillings that night: he said he had worked hard and had got this money by keeping himself close up.

John Martin: The prisoner delivered two pairs of pickers to me, saying the large pair cost half a crown and the small pair a shilling. He asked me to give them to Mr. Lister to lay them up for him as they were his working tools.

Thomas Burrige: And please you my Lord, Rushton and I were drinking together till ten o'clock on Saturday night. He said he had no money and asked me to lend him a shilling and gave me these pickers.

Question: How was the door broken open?

Rushton: Either the staple was pushed back or the lock was picked. Nothing was broken. At dusk I went to bed and I saw the door was locked. I was sick that night. The prisoner lodged in the same house. How should the prisoner have this money when he received but three shillings on Saturday night?

Collins: I have known the prisoner 20 years. I have never heard anything to stain his character: he always behaved like a very honest man during the time he has worked with me.

Thomas Oakes: I have known him from a child. I never knew any ill that he did in his life.

John Driver: I have known the prisoner from his infancy, in hanging sleeve coats almost 40 years ago, and never knew he wronged any man of anything in his life.

Burrige was acquitted of the charge of burglary but found guilty of a felony for which he was sentenced to be transported for seven years.

History of Transportation

An Elizabethan Act of 1597 which provided for the banishment of rogues and vagabonds constituted the legal framework under which convicts of the 17th century were despatched as slave labour to the American colonies. In the very earliest period men were selected for reprove purely on considerations of physique and craft ability. The first fruits in Middlesex of a Privy Council Order of 1615 authorising the punishment of transportation to be applied to those convicted of robbery or felony are to be found in 1617 when Stephen Rogers was reprovied from a death sentence at the instance of Sir Thomas Smith "because he is of the Art of the Carpenters". Two years later James I gave an approving royal nod to the idea of transportation by sending a hundred "disolute persons" to Virginia to be reformed by hard work in the plantations. But, in Middlesex at least, the idea was rather slow to catch on, and only a handful of convicts was condemned to the colonies each year (none at all at the height of the Civil War in England) until the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660. Thereafter, and until the outbreak of war in 1701, the business of transportation showed a modest growth, reaching its 17th century peak at the very end of the period when 75 convicts were reprovied to be transported in one year. Throughout the latter part of the 17th century the majority of those deported seem to have been destined for work in the West Indian plantations, but the pattern changed completely after 1718 when Maryland and Virginia became the almost invariable landing places.

There grew up in the latter part of the 17th century a cumbersome procedure whereby a prisoner convicted of certain capital offences (often a trivial theft by modern standards) was permitted to "plead transportation" in open court. At intervals, lists of those who had so pleaded were forwarded to the King's Ministers who, often after a lapse of months, would transmit to the courts a notice of the King's gracious pardon on condition of transportation for a set period, usually seven years. It is reasonable to assume that the vast majority, if not all, of those who "pleaded transportation" had their pleas accepted. There is some evidence for this in the Middlesex records, and it is also logical to assume that the county would not be put to the expense of

maintaining several dozen prisoners at a time, and for months on end, unless there was a reasonable assurance of their being finally shipped off.

Throughout the Wars of 1701-1712, and for a year or two beyond, the practice of transportation declined. The justices turned to the alternative of reprovied healthy young male prisoners to serve in the Army or Navy. The crush in the London prisons, and the disease which always accompanied it, must have become well-nigh intolerable once the wars came to an end, and new and sweeping legislation must have appeared vital in the public interest. An Act of Parliament of 1718 "for the further preventing robbery, burglary and other felonies, and for the more effectual transportation of felons" was a landmark in the history of transportation and set a rigid pattern which was to be followed for the next 57 years. For the first time the justices themselves were given the power to impose sentences of transportation for all but the most serious or the most trivial offences. Every official encouragement was offered for the dumping of unwanted offenders on the labour-hungry colonies. For the most populous areas of the City of London, Middlesex and the surrounding counties a scheme was devised whereby the cost of transportation was defrayed from State funds and contractors were appointed to provide the ships and to superintend this specialised business. Some measure of the relief which this Act brought to Middlesex may be guessed from the fact that over 200 of the county's convicts were spewed from Newgate Prison on to waiting transport ships during the first year of its enactment.

From 1716, when the British Treasury appointed a London merchant, Francis March, to send two shiploads of felons to Jamaica for £2 a head, until October 1775, when the last shipload left for America, Middlesex had exported over 10,000 of its criminal population. What this meant in human misery and degradation is, for the most part, unchronicled. We know something of the conditions in which prisoners were kept in Newgate, of the recurrent fevers both in prison and on shipboard, of the separation of families, of the chartering of slave ships to carry the convicts, and of their sale to the highest bidder on their arrival in the colonies. Against such experience it is little wonder that John

Fielding, himself a Middlesex magistrate, regarded the threat of a second term of transportation as a greater deterrent than the death penalty.

Successive contractors enriched themselves in this trade, despite their protestations to the contrary. The rate per head had risen to £5 by 1727; the sale of convicts to the plantations brought in a handsome additional income of up to £10 a head; and the return cargoes of tobacco added the Croesus touch. The contractors themselves - Jonathan Forward, Andrew Reid, John Stewart, Duncan Campbell - with a canny sense of economy which might betray their origin, bought or chartered their ships where they might be got cheap (ships taken as prizes or ex-slavers were much favoured) and the only other substantial outgoings mentioned in their correspondence with the Treasury concerned the payment of douceurs to minor court officials and gaolers. In 1776 Duncan Campbell is found complaining to a not very sympathetic Treasury official that his last ship to Virginia (in 1775) took convicts who "might be said to be landed rather than sold": as a final indignity, the same ship was forced to return in ballast because no tobacco was forthcoming in those troubled times.

In a last frenetic fling, the transport ships ferried nearly 1500 Middlesex convicts across the Atlantic in the twilight years 1771-1774.

The Bureaucratic Touch

As might be expected, the judicial records of Middlesex were concerned principally with keeping track of the names of prisoners, their indictments and the sentences passed upon them. Responsibility for executing the sentence of transportation was neatly and necessarily devolved upon a contractor. We must, therefore, look to Treasury records for the names of the ships used and their dates of sailing. Of course, the Treasury kept this class of record, not for the benefit of later historians or genealogists, but as a strictly practical means of checking accounts. The accounting procedure was fairly simple: the Clerk of the Court, as transport ships became available, sent on board his consignment of convicts with a certified

list of their names. The Captain of the ship countersigned this list as his receipt for the consignment and it then went on to the Treasury for an official to calculate the amount payable to the contractor. Since the lists were primarily accounting documents, and no longer relevant to judicial process, they appear often to have been made out with less attention to orthographic than to numerical accuracy. Inexactitude became worse compounded when the lists were copied into ledgers or Money Books. Given also that not all transports after 1718 came under the official scheme (some were permitted to arrange their own transportation and others were picked up by freebooting captains with space to spare) it is clearly essential to consult both the judicial and the accounting records to compile an accurate and comprehensive statement of those transported between 1718 and 1775.

This observation is not intended as a criticism of previous publications on the subject which have relied entirely on one source or the other for their content. The best-known of these, "Emigrants in Bondage, 1719-1744" by Kaminkow, is indeed a work of considerable enterprise and scholarship, and its well-researched introduction and bibliography are essential reading for those interested in the subject. Nevertheless there are sufficient discrepancies and omissions even in this excellent work (e.g. the omission of the transport ships sailing in September and December 1727 and July 1739) to warrant our rereading the same ground in respect of Middlesex. Where major discrepancies of spelling have occurred we have favoured the names as given in the judicial records but noted the alternatives in parentheses: a trial could be quashed on a successful plea of misnomer.

The Middlesex Judiciary

The three Sessions (or courts) at which prisoners were sentenced to transportation were: the Sessions of Delivery of the Gaol of Newgate for Middlesex; the Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the County of Middlesex; and the Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the City and Liberty of Westminster. Each kept its own separate records and each had its own gaols, although Newgate housed prisoners both for Middlesex and the City of London for trial at Gaol Delivery.

Sessions of Gaol Delivery

In general the more serious cases (by contemporary standards) were sent for trial at this Sessions which met eight times a year, and the vast majority of the sentences of transportation were imposed by this court which sat at the Old Bailey. There was, however, no uniformity of practice in deciding which cases should be tried where, except that capital offences such as murder, highway robbery and counterfeiting were the prerogative of the Sessions of Gaol Delivery. Since only this Sessions could impose the death sentence, the records of those reprimed for transportation will all be found under this heading.

Middlesex Quarter Sessions

This court tried all the run-of-the-mill criminal cases arising in the county, most of them petty larcenies. It also had wide administrative powers and dealt with a variety of civil disputes between parties. This court had the power to impose such sentences as burning in the hand, public whipping, or periods at the pillory or in a House of Correction. It met eight times a year and began to impose regular sentences of transportation from about 1749

Westminster Quarter Sessions

The jurisdiction of this court extended only to cases arising within the City of Westminster which covered half a dozen parishes. The first sentence of transportation noted at this Sessions was passed in June 1763.

Purley,
Surrey,
England.

Compiled Easter 1973
Revised Christmas 1981
AMDG

NOTES ON THE RECORDS USED

GREATER LONDON RECORD OFFICE (MIDDLESEX RECORDS)

A printed calendar, "Middlesex Sessions Records" in four volumes edited by William Le Hardy, covering the period 1612-1618; and "Middlesex County Records" edited by J.C. Jeaffreson, covering selected periods up to 1688, are both valuable sources for the earlier period of transportation. The remaining sources used, however, have all been MS. Note that records of judicial process are written in Latin until 1733 (except during the Commonwealth period 1651-1660) and in heavily condensed form at that.

Gaol Delivery Registers 1620-1672 (GLRO(M)/MJ/GBR)

These six large and well-written registers contain a convenient summary of the Gaol Delivery Rolls (q.v.), including the names of prisoners, with shorthand notes of judgments. Periodically there appears a list of prisoners previously sentenced to death but pardoned on condition that they accept transportation to one of the American plantations, usually in the West Indies. Such sentences or reprimands are rare until 1660, but from then until 1672 (with the exception of 1666, the year of the Great Fire of London, when no transportation orders were made) this became an increasingly popular method of disposing of those convicted. An average of 35 felons a year was being shipped to the colonies in this period.

Gaol Delivery Books (GLRO(M)/MJ/GBB and OB/SB)

These contain much the same information as the Registers but in a more condensed and less legible style for the earlier periods. The series runs from 1639 to 1834 but, for the period up to 1718, has been used only to fill in gaps and to provide a check against other sources. From 1718 to April 1733 and from January 1738 to June 1756, however, the Books contain copies of bonds with transportation contractors listing all those prisoners from the Sessions of Gaol Delivery due to be transported.

Gaol Delivery Sessions Rolls (GLRO(M)/MJ/GSR & OB/SR)

These form the hardcore of the judicial records

and an almost complete series survives from 1549. Each roll contains the documents of one Sessions, principally a bill of indictment for each prisoner giving his parish and occupation as well as details of his alleged offence. The indictments are rolled in an outer parchment cover on which is written a list of prisoners for trial, the names of the jury, and a calendar of Middlesex prisoners held in Newgate "referred to previous orders". This last is a most valuable (often the only) source for the names of prisoners reprieved for transportation between 1672 and 1718, for a brief note was penned beside the names of those reprieved for transportation after having been sentenced. Unfortunately many of the rolls of this period are defective or decayed and, since the calendar formed the outermost cover, it has often suffered most. Nevertheless the great majority of the names have been rescued since the list of prisoners was repeated in successive rolls until they were finally disposed of.

Transportation Bonds 1682, 1720-1756 (GLRO(M)/MJ/SPT)

These are the originals of the bonds binding the transportation contractor and the captain of a departing ship, under an agreed financial penalty, to embark a quantity of named convicts within a specified period, to take them to America, and there to obtain a receipt for them from a Customs official. Only one such bond survives from the 17th century, and the series is far from complete for the 18th century, even including those copied into the Gaol Delivery Books. Nor does each list of names always tally identically with those in Treasury records. Some discrepancies can, no doubt, be accounted for by deaths, last-minute reprieves and clerical errors.

Quarter Sessions of the Peace
Middlesex and Westminster

In addition to the Calendars mentioned at the beginning of this section, the Greater London Record Office (Middlesex Records) holds a duplicated and indexed calendar of Quarter Sessions Books up to 1751. The names of many sentenced to transportation are included.

Sessions of the Peace Books (GLRO(M)/MJ/SBB & WJ/SBB)

This series runs from 1639 and follows the same general pattern as the Gaol Delivery Books, but includes much matter of a civil or administrative nature. The series was the principal source for the names of those sentenced to transportation at Quarter Sessions. There is, however, a gap in the series for Westminster after 1763 which has been repaired by reference to the Sessions of the Peace Rolls and to Treasury lists.

Sessions of the Peace Rolls (GLRO(M)/MJ/SR & WJ/SR)

Similar in form and content to the Gaol Delivery Rolls, the series has been used mainly to supply the want of other documents.

Transportation Bonds 1771-1775 (GLRO(M)/MJ/SPT)

Similar to, and part of the same series as, the bonds described on p. xx, but covering only those sentenced at Quarter Sessions.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE (Kew, Surrey, TW9 4DU).

Money Books (T53)

These are large, well-written ledgers in which were entered the details of payments made by the British Treasury, including those to contractors engaged to arrange transportation between 1716 and 1772. Until October 1744 the names of all those to be transported from the City of London and the Counties of Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex, Kent, Surrey and Sussex, and of the ships on which they were embarked were copied into the Money Books. Thereafter only the combined totals for each county, and the names of ships and Captains, were entered. Until 1742 it was also customary to specify the American colony of destination.

Treasury Board Papers (T1)

This series, which is calendared only for the first half of the 18th century, contains amongst a mass of other papers, a broken run of transportation

HOW TO USE THIS BOOK

As far as possible, names have been grouped in alphabetical order of surname according to modern spellings and cross-referenced where necessary. The month and year of sentence themselves provide adequate reference to the relevant Sessions Roll held by the Greater London Record Office (County Hall, London SE1 7PP). Occasionally an entry will show a date of transportation but without a date of sentence. In these cases it will be necessary to search the Calendar of Indictments for the preceding quarter to obtain a reference to the Sessions Roll.

Where a person is shown as having been reprieved for transportation, the date given is that on which the reprieve is noted and not that on which the death sentence was passed. The date of original sentence will usually be found by reference to the Calendar of Indictments for the period immediately preceding the date of reprieve. A similar procedure should be followed in cases where a person is shown as having pleaded transportation or to be awaiting transportation. In the 17th century it was not uncommon for one, or even two, years to elapse before a condemned prisoner was reprieved.

The date of transportation and name of ship have been included with individual entries only where it has been possible to find a receipt from the Captain of the ship concerned. Where no date of transportation is shown for a person sentenced after 1716 it may be assumed in most cases that transportation was effected in the ship next to sail after the date of sentence. A full list of sailings from 1716 onwards appears as an Appendix.

It should be noted that Landing Certificates made out at the colonial port of entry, and usually naming the felons safely delivered, are held at the Corporation of London Record Office (Guildhall, London EC2) in respect of most such landings between 1718 and 1736. Intensive searches have failed to bring to light any Landing Certificates issued after that period.

lists starting in 1747. These give the same information as contained in the Money Books of the earlier period. It is possible that, despite a diligent search of more than 200 boxes of papers in this series, one or two lists may have been missed. Certainly there seems to be no other class of Treasury record in which the missing lists could appear. The last documents in the series are for 1772.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE (Chancery Lane, London WC2A 1LR).

Patent Rolls (C66)

These parchment rolls written in Latin contain a complete series of pardons on condition of transportation from 1654 to 1717 and this source has been used to complement the judicial records. The names of transported felons listed in the Patent Rolls but not noted in Middlesex Gaol Delivery Books or Registers have been included as a Supplement to this volume on pp. 303-326.

State Papers (SP35 & 36)

These contain a large and miscellaneous collection of papers to do with transportation including letters of appeal from convicted prisoners, their friends and relatives, lists of reprieved felons, opinions of judges, etc. These papers have not been used in the compilation of this volume.

PRINTED SOURCES

The best Biographical Dictionary of the English Criminal Classes is undoubtedly the long series of printed reports known as the "Old Bailey Sessions Papers for the City of London and County of Middlesex. Despite its unprepossessing title, the series gives a vivid and fascinating insight into the seamier side of 18th century life and includes notes on a large number of those who were sentenced to be transported. The British Library and the Guildhall Library in the City of London hold copies 1684-1688 and 1729-1930, and some issues are also available in the Greater London Record Office. The series, published in instalments, contains a wealth of detail on the more salacious or horrendous crimes and enjoyed a wide circulation in the London coffee houses. No research into the life-style of a transportee should omit reference to it, but beware of its many inaccuracies.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

- als = alias: in the case of married women, the alias was often the maiden name.
- AT = Awaiting transportation } followed by the date on which the notation first appears
- PT = Pleaded transportation)
- R = Reprived, followed by the date on which the reprieve is noted
- S = Sentenced to transportation } followed by the date of the Session at Sessions of Gaol Delivery } on which sentence was passed
- SQ = Sentenced to transportation } on which sentence at Middlesex Quarter Sessions } was passed
- SW = Sentenced to transportation } at Westminster Sessions }
- s = stealing, followed by the item(s) stolen
- T = Transported, followed by the date of embarkation, ship's name and (where specified) the destination.

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BONDED PASSENGERS
TO AMERICA

Volume II

MIDDLESEX: 1617-1775

GREYTON, Cadman S Oct-Dec 1754
 GREW als LE GREW, Jane S Oct T Oct 1732 Caesar to Va
 GREW, Joseph S Sept T Oct 1750 Rachel
 GREY see GRAY
 GRIERSON, John S Sept-Dec 1755 for marrying without
 banns or licence T 14 yrs Jan 1756
 Greyhound
 GRIFFIN, Edward S Sept 1756 to be T 14 yrs
 GRIFFIN, Francis S Feb T Mar 1730 Patapscoe to Md
 GRIFFIN, John SQ Apr 1773
 GRIFFIN, Martha wife of Edward of St James Westminster
 S July 1740 s bed linen T Jan 1741
 Harpooner to Rappahannock Va
 GRIFFIN, Martha T Aug 1752 Tryal
 GRIFFIN, Peter SQ Apr T May 1750 Litchfield
 GRIFFIN (GRIFFITH), Sarah S Sept T Dec 1734
 Caesar to Va
 GRIFFIN, Thomas S Sept T Sept 1731 Smith to Va
 GRIFFITH als HATCH, Ann R Apr 1773
 GRIFFITH, Emblin SQ Feb T May 1752 Litchfield
 GRIFFITH, James S Feb 1757
 GRIFFITH, Mary S Sept 1735 s 4 yds cotton T Jan 1736
 Dorsetshire to Va
 GRIFFITH, Robert S Sept T Sept 1718 Eagle to Md or Va
 GRIFFITH, Thomas PT May 1687
 GRIFFITH, William PT May 1687
 GRIFFITH (als SHOVEL als SHUFFLE), William S Dec
 s clothing T Dec 1734 Caesar to Va
 GRIFFITHS als PARROTT, Ann S Jan-May T June 1738
 Forward to Md or Va
 GRIFFITHS, Ann S Jan-Feb T Apr 1753 Thames
 GRIFFITHS, Eleanor S Oct 1761 s money but acquitted
 of burning a house T Apr 1762 Dolphin
 GRIFFITHS, George S Jan-Feb T Apr 1772 Thornton
 GRIFFITHS, James SQ Feb T Apr 1770 Thornton
 GRIFFITHS, James S Jan-Feb 1774
 GRIFFITHS, John S Sept T Oct 1768 Justitia
 GRIFFITHS, John SQ Apr 1773
 GRIFFITHS, Mary S Sept T Sept 1731 Smith to Va
 GRIFFITHS, Morgan S Jan T Apr 1741 Speedwell or
 Mediterranean to Md
 GRIFFITHS, Morris SQ Sept 1774
 GRIFFITHS, Owen S July T Dec 1736 Dorsetshire to Va
 GRIFFITHS, Richard S May-July T 14 yrs Sept 1755 Tryal
 GRIFFIS als BUTLER, Thomas S Oct T 14 yrs Oct 1730
 Forward to Va
 GRIFFITHS, Thomas S Feb T Apr 1770 Thornton
 GRIFFITHS, William R July T for life Sept 1767
 Justitia

GRIGG, Margaret (1747) see OLDFIELD
 GRIGG, Margaret (1754) see CLARKE
 GRIGG, William S Feb-Apr T May 1751 Tryal
 GRIGSON, James R Oct 1700
 GRYMES, Francis (1699) see EXON
 GRIMES, Hannah (1722) see GRAHAM
 GRIMES, John S May 1726
 GRIMES, Robert SQ Apr T May 1755 Rose
 • GRIMSON als GRIMSHAW, James S Feb T Apr 1739
 Forward to Va
 GRIMSTONE, Samuel S Feb T Sept 1737 Pretty Patsy
 to Md
 GRINALD, Thomas S June T Aug 1769 Douglas
 GRISBY, Phebe S Apr 1720
 GRISSELL, Hannah S Jan 1757
 GRITTON, William S Sept-Oct 1748 T Jan 1749 Laura
 GROOM, Ann wife of Jacob S Oct-Dec 1739 T Jan 1740
 York to Md
 GROOM, Charles of St George Hanover Square S Jan
 s hat etc T Jan 1740 York to Md
 GROOM, Jonathan SQ May T July 1771 Scarsdale
 GROOM, Mary S Apr T Apr 1741 Speedwell or Medi-
 terranean to Md
 GROOM, William T Sept 1755 Tryal
 GROOM, William S Sept-Dec 1755 T Jan 1756 Greyhound
 GROSHIA, Martin SQ Dec 1664 for attending conventicle
 GROSS, Sarah S Apr 1744 to be T 14 yrs
 GROVE, William S May-July 1773
 GROVES, Ann S July-Dec 1747
 GROVES, Edward of St Dunstan in West S Feb s pewter
 pot T Feb 1740 York to Md
 GROVES, John (1753) see SMITH
 GROVES, Sarah (1727) see LINNY
 GROVES, Sarah wife of John S Apr 1773
 GROWDEN, Ann S June-Dec 1738 T Jan 1739 Dorsetshire
 to Va
 GRUBB, William S Feb-Apr T June 1756 Lyon
 GUBBIDGE, George AT Feb 1675
 GUEST, John S May s lead from St Dunstan's Church,
 Stepney T Nov 1759 Phoenix
 GUILDFORD als WOOD, Margaret S Oct 1768 T Jan 1769
 Thornton
 GILFORD, William S Sept T Sept 1757 Thetis
 GULLY, Michael S Dec 1763 T Mar 1764 Tryal
 GULLEY, Richard R Jan-Feb T 14 yrs Apr 1772 Thornton
 GULLICK, William S July-Sept 1754
 GULLIFORTH, Ann S Jan T Sept 1737 Pretty Patsy to Md
 GUNN, Mary S July T July 1772 Taylor

County	Name	Approximate Sailing Date	Destination	P.R.O. Refs T53 Series
CAESAR	William Loney	Apr 1732	Md	36/212
SMITH	George Buckeridge	Oct 1732	Va	36/306
PATAFSCOE	Darby Lux	Feb 1733	Va or Md	36/424
CAESAR	William Loney	Apr 1733	Md	37/10
PATAFSCOE	Darby Lux	Jan 1734	Va	37/11
CAESAR	William Loney	Apr 1734	Md	37/212
PATAFSCOE	Darby Lux	Dec 1734	Va	37/304
JOHN	John Griffin	Apr 1735	Md	37/446
DORSETSHIRE	William Loney	Dec 1735	Md	38/80
PATAFSCOE	Francis Lux	Feb 1736	Va	38/255
DORSETSHIRE	William Loney	May 1736	Md	38/256
		Dec 1736	Md	38/337
			Va	38/456

Ship's Name	Captain	Approximate Sailing Date	Destination	P.R.O. Refs T53 Series
PRETTY PATSY	Francis Lux	Sept 1737	Md	39/121
DORSETSHIRE	John Whiting	Jan 1738	Va	39/182
FORWARD	John Magier	June 1738	Va or Md	39/248
DORSETSHIRE	John Whiting	Jan 1739	Va	39/408
FORWARD	Benjamin Richardson	Apr 1739	Va	39/443
??	Adam Muir of Maryland	July 1739	Md	(Bond in Mdx Records)
DUKE OF CUMBERLAND	William Harding	Oct 1739	Va	40/45
YORK	Anthony Bacon	Oct 1739	Md	40/170
ESSEX	Ambrose Cock	June 1740	Md or Va	40/204
VERNON	Henry Lee	Dec 1740	Md	40/289
HARPOONER	John Wilson	Jan 1741	Rappahannock Va	40/290
SPEEDWELL	William Camplin	Apr 1741	Md	40/337
MEDITERRANEAN	George Harriot	Apr 1741	Md	40/338
CATHERINE & ELIZABETH	Wm. Chapman	May 1741	Md	40/338
SEA HORSE	John Rendell	Oct 1741	Va	40/414
INDUSTRY	Charles Barnard	Feb 1742	Md	40/484
BOND	John Gardiner	Apr 1742	Potomack Md	40/485
BLADON	Samuel Laurence	June 1742	Md	41/129
FORWARD 7	John Sargent	Sept 1742	America	41/130
FORWARD 8	Barnet Bond	Mar 1743	America	41/227
INDIAN QUEEN	Edward Maxwell	May 1743	Potomack Md	41/326
GEORGE WILLIAM	Jack Campbell	Nov 1743	America	41/327
NEPTUNE	James Knight	Feb 1744	Md	41/419
JUSTITIA	Jack Campbell	May 1744	America	41/462
SUSANNAH	James Dobbins	Oct 1744	America	42/64
?TRYAL	John Johnstoun	Jan. 1745	America	(Bond in Mdx Records)

Filby Reference No. 1217.5

Coldham, Peter W., 1983, *Bonded Passengers to America, Volume 5, Western Circuit, 1664-1775: Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Hampshire, Somerset, and Wiltshire, with a List of the Rebels of 1685*: Baltimore, MD, Genealogical Publishing Co., 95 p.

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BONDED PASSENGERS TO AMERICA

By
Peter Wilson Coldham

1872.5

Volume V
WESTERN CIRCUIT: 1664-1775

Cornwall, Devon, Dorset,
Hampshire, Somerset, and Wiltshire
With a List of the Rebels of 1685

1872.6

Volume VI
OXFORD CIRCUIT: 1663-1775

Berkshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Monmouthshire,
Oxfordshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, and Worcestershire

Volume VII
NORFOLK CIRCUIT: 1663-1775

Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire,
Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk

Volume VIII
NORTHERN CIRCUIT: 1665-1775

Cheshire, Cumberland, Durham, Lancashire,
Northumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire, and Flint

Volume IX
MIDLAND CIRCUIT: 1671-1775

Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire,
Nottinghamshire, Rutland, Warwickshire, and Strays

Five Volumes in One

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BONDED PASSENGERS TO AMERICA

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Volume V

WESTERN CIRCUIT: 1664-1775

Comprising the Counties of Cornwall, Devon,
Dorset, Hampshire, Somerset, and Wiltshire

With a List of the Rebels of 1685

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of *Transportation* volume can take its
story volume in the *Bonded Passengers to*

By
Peter Wilson Coldham

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This volume lists the names of all those persons recorded in official documents as having been sentenced or reprieved for transportation to the Americas between 1664 and 1775 by the Assize Courts for the counties of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Hampshire, Somerset and Wiltshire, which together made up the Western Circuit. Their names have been arranged in alphabetical order county by county. The information given in respect of each person should be regarded only as a key to sources in English public records from which substantial additional detail may be obtained.

It should be noted that, with the exception of Devon,² this volume does not include the names of those who were ordered to be transported following trial before the Courts of Quarter Sessions held in each county. Such records are generally held in County Record Offices whose distance from one another and from London have forced upon me the regrettable necessity of deferring examination of them.

A description of the judicial system by which Englishmen came to be shipped under bondage to the Americas as "plantation servants" has been provided in earlier volumes in this series but a brief recapitulation may be helpful. Between 1660 and 1716 the names of those sentenced to be hanged for capital offences but thought deserving of clemency were submitted by the Assize Courts to the King's Ministers in London. Most were then extended a pardon on condition of their accepting transportation to an American colony for a set period, usually of seven years. In 1718 new legislation was introduced permitting the Courts themselves to impose sentences of transportation in substitution for burning in the hand, though the earlier system continued in parallel right to the end of the era in 1775 when the American Revolutionary War forced the suspension of the scheme.

It was established practice throughout England for the Assize Judges appointed by the King to visit each county in turn twice a year, during the Lent and Summer Terms, to dispense justice in both civil and criminal matters of the more serious kind. Of the Western Circuit Judges the most notorious was "Bloody" Judge George Jeffreys who earned his unenviable soubriquet for the cruel way in which he dealt with those who took part in Monmouth's Rebellion of 1685.

Confirmatory evidence that the vast majority of those shipped out under bondage after 1718 were destined for the colonies of Virginia or Maryland is provided by the Transportation Bonds surviving in the Devonshire Record Office. The shipping contractors appointed by the Justices of Peace in each county were usually merchants of standing already engaged in the tobacco trade operating from the main ports of the southwest coast of England or from Bristol. Those destined for transportation would be collected by the contractor from the several county gaols after each Assizes and taken to an awaiting ship. Unfortunately ships' names appear neither in the Bonds nor in Assize records but the omission may in some cases be repaired by reference to Port Books (PRO: E190) or to Port Entry Registers surviving in American archives. The names of the known contractors for the Western Circuit are:

Merchants

1718	Benjamin Robins of Exeter, gent. John Vanderplank of Romsey.
1719	John Cooper of Dorchester. William Phillipps of Bodmin. William Laskey of Exeter, fuller.
1720	Robert Thorpe of Fisherton Auger, gent.
1726-1742	George Buck of Bideford.
1743-1745	John Buck of Bideford.
1736-1741	Ethelred Davy of Exeter.

- 1741 George Coade the younger of Exeter.
- 1746-1752 Thomas Benson of Northam.
- 1750-1751 Thomas Kenney of Bideford.
- 1758-1765 George and William Buck of Bideford.
- 1754-1757 John Luxton and Thomas Kenney of Bideford.
- 1756-1767 Samuel Sedgley, William Hillhouse & Thomas Berry of Bristol.
- 1764 Samuel Follett of Sidmouth.
- 1768 William Freeman & George Watson the younger of Bristol.
- 1773 Edward Cheyney of Teignmouth.

Mariners

- 1746 Thomas Shatcock of Northam.
- 1750 John Lovering of Tavstock.
- 1766 Thomas Spencer of Bideford.
- John Thresher of Plymouth.

Of the personalities who appear in the following pages, probably the most colourful is Bampfild Moore Carew (p.12), son of the Rector of Bickley near Tiverton, Devon, who was born in 1693. He joined a gypsy band, was elected their King, and then engaged in a long career of swindling. He eloped with and afterwards married the daughter of a respectable apothecary in Northumberland. In 1738 he was convicted in Devon as an idle vagrant and deported to the Southern Colonies of America where, for attempting to escape, he was fitted with a heavy iron collar. He nevertheless got away again to reach some friendly Indians who helped him on his way to Pennsylvania where he pretended to be a Quaker. After reaching New York and New London he returned to England where he found his wife and daughter before wandering into Scotland to continue his life of fraud and deception. He is supposed to have died in 1770. He wrote his own account of his life and adventures while on passage to America, the first version of which was printed in 1745 (when he would technically have served his term of seven years' transportation), and a portrait of him is carried in a 1768 edition.

As a philological whimsy it is tempting to associate the brief notoriety of the five members of the Scamp family (p.54) in 1745 with the coming into currency only a few years later of the verb "to scamp" meaning to wander about idly or engage in robbery on the highway. The Scamps were condemned for stealing a winnowing sheet of the value of five shillings from Robert Goldfinch and two sacks valued at two shillings from Robert Peters.

Apart from the Assize records themselves, much valuable information about those transported, their lives and times, and the circumstances of their trials may be gleaned from State Papers. Let the following examples stand duty for the variety of supplementary material available to the diligent searcher.

Valentine and Solomon Draper (p.46), sentenced to hang for robbing a woman on the highway of seven shillings, were the subject of an appeal by several gentlemen of Hampshire and by a Thomas Newham of Winchester who wrote to the Secretary of State "with much concern and shame" that he thought the Drapers worthy "objects of mercy, not having been charged with any crimes before and their offence being committed without any circumstances of cruelty."

James Downing (p.52), sentenced for stealing a sheep, and also the subject of an appeal, drew the following comment from Judge James Reynolds before whom he had been tried: "Great complaints being made in the Western parts of the Kingdom of the frequency of this offence, by which the farmers are greatly distressed, and the prisoner appearing to be a person capable of maintaining himself by honest labour, I thought it proper to order him to be transported to some of your Majesty's plantations for seven years."

William Orpwood, a bargeman of Reading, sentenced to be transported for 14 years at the Berkshire Assizes of 1741, was by his own account convicted of receiving stolen goods on the sole evidence of John Vickers, the real culprit,

who had lied to the Court in order to save himself. Since the trial Vickers had made a voluntary confession of his guilt and then gone into hiding. The petitioner claimed always to have supported himself and his family in "a handsom manner" by his own labour and produced corroborative testimonies from many inhabitants of Reading and the bargemen of Abingdon. He protested that, if sentence was carried out, his wife and five children were likely to starve. In a lengthy report on the trial made out by Judge Fortescue, he admits that the prisoner produced witnesses as to his previously good character, though one had said he had tried unsuccessfully to have Orpwood arrested for debt. Fortescue thought the evidence against the prisoner had seemed good and did not think him worthy of mercy.

NOTES ON THE RECORDS USED

All the following classes of records are held at the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London WC2, to whom I acknowledge, with grateful thanks for their unflinching courtesy and assistance, permission to publish these abstracts from official documents.

Documents of the Clerks of Assize

Gaol Books (ASSI 23). These list by session and county from 1670 all prisoners held in gaol awaiting trial, serving their terms, or held pending their disposal, particularly for transportation. From 1720 to 1725 orders for transportation were recorded in these Books but thereafter, because of their increasing volume, in a separate series of Order Books (q.v.).

Order Books (ASSI 24). These consist almost exclusively of orders (made out on printed forms) for the transportation to "His Majesty's colonies or plantations in America" of named felons sentenced or replevied from a previous Assize session, and authorised the Justices of the Peace in each county to contract with a suitable person to effect the shipment. The individual orders for each county have been bound together in volumes and appear to be complete for the entire period 1725-1775.

Crown Minute Books (ASSI 21). Into these large well-written volumes were entered by session and county the names of those indicted, brief details of their offence(s) and a superscription recording the sentence passed on each. The Books would have been compiled as a fair-hand summary of the much more detailed Gaol Delivery Sessions Rolls which, for this Circuit, do not survive from earlier than 1800. It is not therefore possible in most cases to identify from Assize records the parish of residence of those arraigned, though the naming of prosecutors and victims of crime may often be helpful in this respect.

Patent Rolls (666). Starting in 1654 the names and parishes of those condemned to hang but subsequently pardoned by the King on condition of their being transported to the colonies were recorded in these Rolls. The calendars for this class have been carefully examined in order to identify the Western Circuit pardons issued up to 1717. After that date such pardons were issued in the name of the Secretary of State and appear in State Papers. Abstracts have been made from the following Patent Rolls:

July 1664:	3066/21.	June 1665:	3074/106.	3065/1664	3174/30.
June 1666:	3225/17.	July 1667:	3121/19.	3065/1664	3174/30.
Aug 1666:	3111/13.	Feb 1669:	3155/25.	3065/1664	3174/30.
Feb 1667:	3155/25.	Jan 1670:	3155/25.	3065/1664	3174/30.
Jan 1671:	3155/25.	Jan 1671:	3155/25.	3065/1664	3174/30.
Jan 1675:	3166/1.	Jan 1676:	3176/15.	3065/1664	3174/30.
July 1676:	3206/20.	Mar 1679:	3210/2.	3065/1664	3174/30.
July 1681:	3223/4.	Jan 1682:	3224/12.	3065/1664	3174/30.
July 1683:	3239/27.	Feb 1684:	3245/11.	3065/1664	3174/30.

Mar 1686:	3282/6	July 1686:	3288/21	Dec 1686:	3290/11
June 1687:	3296/1	Feb 1688:	3302/9 &	July 1688:	3305/14
Feb 1690:	3334/21	Mar 1691:	3303/11	Mar 1691:	3340/7
Feb 1692:	3349/12	July 1693:	3365/7	Mar 1694:	3369/21
Mar 1695:	3380/9	July 1695:	3378/13	Feb 1697:	3393/19
Feb 1696:	3403/15	July 1698:	3405/8	Feb 1699:	3412/16
June 1699:	3413/17	Feb 1700:	3417/27	July 1700:	3416/13
Feb 1701:	3419/29	June 1702:	3426/13	June 1703:	3440/9
July 1704:	3444/12	June 1708:	3465/7	Feb 1710:	3472/2
July 1711:	3484/20	Feb 1714:	3494/9	July 1715:	3508/21
June 1716:	3516/4	July 1717:	3520/4.		

State Papers

State Papers (Domestic): (SP 35 (1714) - 37 (1782)).

After the passing of the Transportation Act in 1718 the State Papers become heavy with correspondence and reports on criminal matters. In particular the Assize Judges submitted after each Assize Sessions a list of felons whom they recommended to mercy on condition of transportation, and the friends, relatives and fellow citizens of those convicted would write to the Secretary of State with pleas for clemency. A typescript calendar (without indexes) of these papers from 1714 to 1726 and (with indexes) from 1727 to 1742 are available on open shelves at the Public Record Office: from that date until 1759 rather sketchy manuscript calendars only are available. From 1760 to 1775 this class has been calendared, indexed and printed under the title of Home Office Papers of George III.

State Papers (Criminal): (SP 44/77 (1704) - 91 (1775)).

This is a series of Entry Books noting all appeals by and on behalf of convicted felons with some Judges' reports thereon. From 1718 the pardons on condition of transportation, previously promulgated in the Patent Rolls, began to be issued in the name of the Secretary of State and are all to be found in this series.

Monmouth's Rebellion of 1685

In 1685 the Duke of Monmouth, supported by many of the gentry and yeomanry of the Western counties of England, led an unsuccessful rebellion to overthrow King James II. In the aftermath many hundreds who had joined the revolt, as well as many who claimed to be innocent of it, were condemned by Judge Jeffreys to be transported to the Americas to serve a ten year sentence to slavery. These unfortunate people were in no real sense felons and it seemed inappropriate to include their names in the main body of this volume. Nevertheless it would be remiss to exclude coverage of this large, important and involuntary emigration. Therefore the names of those who were sentenced to transportation as rebels are printed separately on pp 91-95 of this volume.⁵

State Papers (Domestic) and (Colonial) contain many lists and documents showing the final disposition of these rebels, those who died or escaped, etc., and reference should be made to them and to the Assize records of 1685 for further information. It is clear that the majority were shipped to the West Indies, though a few are noted as having reached Virginia. Most of those condemned received a free pardon in 1691 but it is by no means clear whether they were provided with a passage home with the same alacrity as was their outward transport, and it seems a reasonable assumption that many would have been obliged or chosen to stay in the Americas.

NOTES

1. Some official guides to the records of the Western Circuit include the City of Bristol as part of the Circuit but this is an error. By Royal Charter of 1713 Bristol was given the right to hold its own Assizes and all records thereof are held by the Bristol Record Office (The Council House, College Green, Bristol BS1 5TR). Nevertheless, in common with other Assize Courts, Bristol referred to London the names of those recommended to the King's mercy for transportation, and those few names of Bristol citizens repleined in this way will be included in a forthcoming volume to be devoted to the Oxford Circuit.
2. Amongst other records of transportation, the Devon Record Office (Castle Street, Exeter EX4 3PQ) holds copies of Transportation Bonds 1726-1773 signed with local shipping contractors requiring them to carry to the southern colonies of America (but some few to New England) named persons condemned at Assize and Quarter Sessions. The series of Bonds is not complete but does provide valuable additional evidence of the efficient despatch to unwilling service in the plantations of all those sentenced to transportation. The names of those so sentenced at Quarter Sessions have been taken from Devon Record Office Guide 129 which summarises the Bonds.
3. The Life and Adventures of BMC, the Noted Devonshire Stroller and Dog-stealer was printed in Exeter in 1745. Several editions of this work under varying titles printed from 1750 to 1820 appear in the British Library Catalogue, extending even to a three-act romantic melodrama.
4. The transportation system operated by the Western Circuit appears to have been orderly and well run after some early teething troubles. The County Gaoler of Wiltshire, for example, complained in 1730 that he was having to house prisoners for excessively long periods before they were taken off his hands for shipment to America. On enquiry the Circuit Judge found that the Clerk of Assize for the county had refused to apply to London for formal reprieves because he was not reimbursed for the heavy fees levied. The Justices of the Peace for Wiltshire were then informed that it was "their duty to defray all expenses to do with transportation, as is done in all other counties." (SP 36/20/45).
5. The main sources for this compilation were:
 - i. List of 890 rebels to be transported: Calendar of State Papers (Domestic) James II, Volume 1. (Printed list).
 - ii. Petition of 3 May 1689 on behalf of deported Devonshire men praying for their return to their families "by reason of the great number having been banished, the country lacking inhabitants, artificers and labourers." Calendar of State Papers (Domestic), William and Mary, Volume 1. (Printed list).
 - iii. Free pardon of 4 February 1691 in Patent Roll in respect of those transported "at the order of the Court of Oyer and Terminer for Dorset, Somerset and Devon for lese majeste and other malefactions or for waging war against His Majesty King James II." Patent Roll C 66/339/1.

Purley,
Surrey.

October 1981.

AMG

ABBREVIATIONS USED

- AT = Awaiting transportation, followed by the date of the Sessions on which the notation appears.
- QS = Quarter Sessions of the Peace. Where this notation appears the trial record will not be found amongst Assize papers but in Quarter Sessions documents held by the County Record Office.
- R = Reprived on condition of transportation to the American colonies. In the case of those reprived for 14 years' or for life transportation, this is noted where it appears in the records, otherwise the term imposed was normally seven years.
- S = Sentenced to be transported to the American colonies for a period of seven years unless otherwise stated, followed by the date of the Sessions at which the trial took place.
- SP = State Papers. This notation appears where the name has been found in State Papers but not traced in the Assize records.
- s = Stealing.
- T = Transported or Transportation.
- TB = Transportation Bond, followed by the year of signature.

Md = Maryland

Va = Virginia

- LC = handwriting Certificate, followed by place and date of issue.

BONDED PASSENGERS TO AMERICA

Volume V

WESTERN CIRCUIT: 1664-1775

1817.5

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Hampshire

Gardner, John. S July 1754.
 Gardiner, Thomas. S March 1771.
 Garnett, John. S July 1758.
 Gates, William. R 14 yrs July 1757.
 Gauntlett, William. S July 1734.
 Gees, Nicholas. S March 1755.
 Gibbins, William. S July 1772.
 Gibbons, William, alias Bates, John. R 14 yrs March 1775.
 Gibbs, John (1732) - see King.
 Gibson, Mary. R 14 yrs July 1757.
 Giddins, Edward. R July 1773.
 Gilbert, Robert. S July 1724.
 Gyles, Alexander (1742) - see Jeals.
 Gill, Edward. S July 1744.
 Gill, Keziah wife of William. S March 1755.
 Gillum, Matthew. S July 1724.
 Glaspole, Hugh Edward. S March 1754.
 Glaspole alias How, Thomas. S July 1741.
 Glazing alias Jones, Elizabeth. S July 1724.
 Godden, William. S March 1768.
 Gold, Thomas. R 14 yrs March 1741.
 Goldring, Jane, singlewoman of Portsmouth. R for Barbados July 1693.
 Goldsmith, Thomas. S July 1767.
 Goodall, Elias. R 14 yrs March 1775.
 Goodall, Joseph. R 14 yrs March 1775.
 Goodchild, Peter. R 14 yrs July 1759.
 Goodwin, Richard. R 14 yrs July 1724 for highway robbery.
 Gorman, Thomas. R 14 yrs March 1762.
 Goud, Robert. S March 1771.
 Grace, John. S April 1742.
 Gray, James. S March 1756.
 Gray, Roger, mariner of Gosport. R for Barbados June 1708.
 Green, John. S July 1736.
 Green, John. R 14 yrs March 1750.
 Grimshaw, Job. S March 1761.
 Grout, Joseph. R 14 yrs March 1745.
 Gunner, Lewis. R 14 yrs March 1730.

Hack, John. R 14 yrs July 1752.
 Hagerston, John. R 14 yrs July 1766.
 Hammond, Richard. S March 1736.
 Hammond, Mary. S July 1771.
 Hammond, William. R 14 yrs July 1750.
 Hampton, Thomas. R July 1770.
 Hampton, William. S February 1733.
 Hancock, Thomas. S March 1765.
 Hand, Patrick. S February 1758.
 Hansford, John. S March 1759.
 Harden, John (1699) - see Hardy.
 Hardwicke, John. S July 1766.
 Hardy alias Harden, John, of Gosport. R for Barbados June 1699.
 Harmsworth, Edward. S March 1745.
 Harnaman, Edward, of Portsmouth. R for Barbados June 1687.
 Harnham, John. S March 1739.
 Harris, Edward. S July 1732.
 Harvey, John. R 14 yrs July 1747.
 Harvey, William. S July 1740.

Harwich, Philip. S March 1761.
 Hatchman, George. S March 1774.
 Hawkins, John. R March 1773.
 Hayes, Hercules, mariner of Portsmouth. 1686.
 Hayne, John Michael, alias Thist, Mathi.
 Haynes, Catherine. S March 1759.
 Hayward, Sarah. S March 1755.
 Headman, William. S April 1742.
 Hearsey, Thomas. R 14 yrs March 1767.
 Heath, Richard. R 14 yrs July 1748.
 Heather, Jasper. S March 1766.
 Heathwood, Thomas. S July 1764.
 Hebb, Thomas. S March 1773.
 Helliar, John. R 14 yrs July 1728.
 Helliar, Mary, alias Awbury, Martha. S
 Hendy, James. S February 1758.
 Henly, William. S February 1758.
 Heskett, Joseph. R 14 yrs July 1736.
 Hessey, Richard. R 14 yrs July 1758.
 Hichels, Thomas (1743) - see Hitchens.
 Hicks, Daniel. R 14 yrs July 1720 horse
 Hill, John (1775) - see Dowden.
 Hill, Samuel. S March 1768.
 Hillary, John. R 14 yrs July 1773.
 Hillman, Hatwood. S February 1749.
 Hitchens alias Hichels, Thomas. S March
 Hobbs, Benjamin. R 14 yrs July 1764.
 Hobbs, William. S March 1764.
 Hockingham alias Wilmore, Sarah. S July
 Hodder, Robert. R 14 yrs July 1728.
 Hodder, William. S March 1741.
 Hodges, William. S February 1733.
 Holland, John. S July 1774.
 Hollett, John. R 14 yrs April 1742.
 Holloway, Elizabeth. S July 1763.
 Holt, Nathaniel. S March 1730.
 Hone, James. S July 1760.
 Hooker, Thomas. S July 1736.
 Hooker, William. S July 1736.
 Horn, Elizabeth. S March 1763.
 Horn, Joseph. R 14 yrs July 1753.
 Horn, William (1740) - see Strugler.
 Horne, William. R 14 yrs July 1751.
 How, Ann wife of Thomas. R 14 yrs March 17
 How, Thomas (1741) - see Glaspole.
 Hughill, Thomas. S March 1741.
 Hunt, Ann. R 14 yrs March 1759.
 Hunt, John. S July 1750.
 Hussey, Thomas, of St. Bartholomew, Winches
 January 1675.
 Hutchins, Jane. S March 1757.
 Hutchins, Nicholas. R 14 yrs July 1721.

Insell, Silvester. S February 1758.
 Ireland, George Frederick. R 14 yrs July 17
 Ireland, James. S March 1729 & July 1729.
 Ireland, Joseph. S July 1767.

Filby Reference No. 1217.6

Coldham, Peter W., 1983, *Bonded Passengers to America, Volume 6, Oxford Circuit, 1663-1775: Berkshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Monmouthshire, Oxfordshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, and Worcestershire*: Baltimore, MD, Genealogical Publishing Co., 95 p.

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BONDED PASSENGERS TO AMERICA

1817.6

Volume VI

OXFORD CIRCUIT: 1663-1775

Comprising the Counties of Berkshire, Gloucestershire,
Herefordshire, Monmouthshire, Oxfordshire, Shropshire,
Staffordshire, and Worcestershire

By
Peter Wilson Coldham

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Gloucestershire	12
Herefordshire	31
Monmouthshire	41
Oxfordshire	47
Shropshire	56
Staffordshire	69
Worcestershire	83

This volume lists the names of those recorded in official documents as having been sentenced or reprieved for transportation to the Americas between 1663 and 1775 by the Assize Courts for the counties of Berkshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Monmouthshire, Oxfordshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire and Worcestershire, which together made up the Oxford Circuit. Some few of the earliest settlers in Virginia have also been included where their names appear in Privy Council Registers of the time of James I. Those sentenced to transportation by the Courts of Quarter Sessions of the Peace will not be found in this volume save where their names have found their way into State Papers or County Gaolers' lists. Quarter Sessions records are to be found not in London but in County Record Offices.

The documents of the Oxford Circuit, though much ravaged by neglect and decay, are nevertheless remarkably extensive and comprehensive so that it has proved possible for almost the entire period covered to secure from one category of papers the data which has not survived in another. As with previous volumes in this series, the information printed in the following pages is designed as a means of access to fuller trial records and, with a little more effort, to associated documents related to each individual. Some abbreviated examples are given below.

Thomas Ashby (p.1) petitioned in 1743 (SP 36/60/190-191) that the Captain of the transport ship Samuel on which he was embarked for the colonies in 1741 purchased him for his own service. On a subsequent voyage the petitioner was captured by a Spanish privateer from which he was later exchanged with a Spanish prisoner and unavoidably brought back to England before the term of his transportation order had expired. "He now lived in fear of discovery."

Elizabeth Crossby (p.3.) was the subject of an appeal from Joseph Acres, rector of Newbury, and Joseph Standen, vicar of Speen, in March 1734. (SP 36/31/68). They say she was condemned for taking away goods of no great value from the shop of Elizabeth Paradise but that she had previously "behaved herself in so honest and obliging a way to her neighbours and acquaintances as to excite for her and her husband, now almost overcome with grief, a compassionate importunity." A petition which had been made out on her behalf and signed by many of her friends had, by an unfortunate accident, not been delivered to the Judge at her trial. This appeal fell on deaf ears.

William Orpwood (p.8), a bargeman, arranged for appeals to be lodged by many residents of Reading and by the bargemasters of Abingdon after he had been convicted on the evidence of John Vickers of receiving stolen goods. The latter had since made a voluntary confession of his own guilt and had then "absented himself, being suspected of other crimes." The petitioners declared that Orpwood had always supported himself by honest industry and had a wife and five small children dependent upon him. The Circuit Judge, to whom the appeal was referred, submitted a full account of the trial and conceded that witnesses on Orpwood's behalf had given him a good character, though one had sworn that he wanted to arrest Orpwood for debt but had been unable to apprehend him. The Judge concluded that Orpwood was not worthy of mercy.

Notes scattered throughout the Assize records indicate the importance attached to the efficient conduct of the business of transportation as a major executive arm of justice. At each session the Court appointed a committee of worthies to superintend the business and to contract with a shipping agent: for the Oxford Circuit those appointed usually included senior ecclesiastics and University dons. Only the rather remote county of Monmouth reported any problem, and a note from there recorded in the Minutes

of the Summer session of 1724 read: "It appears to this Court that the prisoners convicted of capital offenses and deprived in order to be transported upon the Secretary of State's letter, and an Order of Court thereupon, to some of His Majesty's plantations in America, continue in Gaol from Assizes to Assizes without any care taken, or due method observed by the County, for such their transportation; and whereas the charge and trouble to the Clerk of the Assizes of obtaining such Secretary of State's letter ... cannot be borne for less than fifty shillings each letter, it is therefore recommended by this Court that the Justices of the Peace ... take the same into consideration and agree upon such methods as shall be thought necessary for the speedy transportation of such prisoners."

As for the extortions of the gaolers (see notes in Vol. I) there is some further evidence in the Minutes of the Summer session of 1728 in Shropshire where it was reported that Robert Blease, the County Gaoler, was fined £5 for extorting a promissory note from a prisoner committed for stealing five geese "by threats of keeping him in Irons and in the dungeon and afterwards, on his refusal to pay the said money ... for putting him into the dungeon and in Irons for two nights and a day." The fine imposed was later remitted to one of 40 shillings.

The names of the ships on which prisoners from this Circuit were transported appear not to have survived but it is clear that the port of Bristol was the principal collecting centre and the southern colonies of America the principal place of delivery. The Gloucestershire Record Office (Worcester Street, Gloucester GL1 3PW) holds copies of Transportation Bonds made out between 1721 and 1772 in respect of Gloucestershire felons shipped abroad. As was usual, one condition imposed upon the contractors was that they should "procure an authentic certificate from the Governor or Chief Customhouse officer there of the place of their (the felons') landing," but sadly no such certificates appear to have survived for this circuit.

For whatever reason, occasional consignments of Berkshire, Oxfordshire and Staffordshire felons were sent to London rather than to Bristol to be shipped to the colonies, and where this happened their names are recorded in the Landing Certificates preserved at the Corporation of London Record Office (Guildhall, London EC2). There is also amongst Treasury papers (T 1/409) a record of some Oxford Circuit prisoners shipped on the Atlas from Bristol in 1761.

NOTES ON THE RECORDS USED

The following classes of records are held at the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London WC2.

Patent Rolls (C 66)

From 1665 to 1716 the names and parishes of those condemned to hang but subsequently pardoned by the King on condition of their being transported to the colonies were recorded in these Rolls. After 1716 such pardons were issued in the name of the Secretary of State and appear in State Papers. Abstracts have been made from the following Patent Rolls in respect of the Oxford Circuit:

July 1665: 3048/16.	Oct. 1665: 3048/8	Mar. 1664: 3049/21.
July 1664: 3066/23.	June 1666: 3086/16	July 1666: 3086/3.
June 1668: 3101/11.	Dec. 1668: 3102/2	Feb. 1671: 3128/4,2.
Feb. 1673: 3148/19.	July 1673: 3148/5	July 1675: 3174/17.
July 1677: 3200/24.	July 1678: 3204/9	July 1679: 3214/17.
Feb. 1681: 3219/11.	July 1681: 3223/1	Mar. 1682: 3230/11.
July 1682: 3229/1.	Mar. 1683: 3235/31	July 1683: 3239/20.

Feb. 1684: 3245/14.	Feb. 1686: 3282/14	July 1686: 3287/1.
Feb. 1687: 3291/14.	July 1687: 3296/2	Mar. 1688: 3302/8.
June 1688: 3305/11.	Feb. 1690: 3339/3	July 1691: 3345/5.
July 1692: 3353/16.	Mar. 1693: 3359/11	July 1693: 3365/5.
Nov. 1694: 3375/2.	July 1696: 3384/6	Mar. 1697: 3393/16.
Mar. 1698: 3403/8.	July 1698: 3405/3	July 1699: 3413/13.
Feb. 1700: 3412/14.	Mar. 1701: 3420/15	July 1702: 3429/31.
Mar. 1703: 3438/6.	Mar. 1707: 3461/16	July 1708: 3465/5.
Mar. 1710: 3473/19.	July 1711: 3482/8	Feb. 1713: 3486/9.
Feb. 1714: 3494/6.	June 1714: 3497/11	Feb. 1716: 3513/4.

Documents of the Clerks of Assize

Gaol Delivery Rolls (ASS 5)

In the official calendars these are referred to, somewhat inadequately, as Indictments. Each Roll contains, in addition to bills of indictment for each accused giving details of his residence and offense, such additional documents as recognizances to appear, jury lists, and calendars of prisoners. Until the middle of the 18th century a Gaoler's Calendar (often printed) noting the disposal of each prisoner was a normal part of each Sessions Roll but thereafter such calendars become rare. Because of the damage they have suffered and their poor arrangement which has placed many Rolls well out of proper date sequence, they have been used sparingly as a source.

Crown Minute Books (ASS 2)

These volumes, originally compiled from the Gaol Delivery Rolls, contain the names of prisoners arraigned, brief details of the nature and often the place of the offence, and a superscribed note of the sentences imposed. The Books have been used as the principal source for the compilation of this volume. At the end of each sessional record appears a copy of the order authorising named Justices of the Peace for the County concerned to contract for the efficient transportation of named felons. Books for the periods Lent 1730 - Lent 1734, Summer 1739 - Lent 1742, and Summer 1755 - Lent 1755 inclusive have either not survived or are now unfit for production. For these dates, therefore, the names of those ordered for transportation have been very hard won from the Gaol Delivery Rolls.

State Papers

The principal sources available (but not extensively used in the compilation of this volume) are as follows:

Domestic (SP 35 & 36)

See notes under this heading in Volume V.

Criminal (SP 44)

See notes under this heading in Volume V.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

- AT = Awaiting transportation, followed by the date of the Session on which the notation appears.
- LC = Landing Certificate issued at the colonial port of entry, followed by the date of issue.
- QS = Quarter Sessions of the Peace. Where this notation appears the trial record will not be found amongst the Assize papers but in Quarter Sessions documents held by the appropriate County Record Office.
- K = Reprived on condition of transportation to the American colonies. In the case of those reprived for 14 years' or for life transportation, this is noted where it appears in the records; otherwise the term imposed was normally seven years.
- S = Sentenced to be transported to the American colonies for a period of seven years unless otherwise stated, followed by the date of the Sessions at which the trial took place.
- SP = State Papers. This notation appears where the name has been found in State Papers but not traced in the Assize records.
- s = Stealing.
- T = Transported or Transportation.
- Md = Maryland.
- Va = Virginia.

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Christmas 1981
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BONDED PASSENGERS TO AMERICA

1817.6

Volume VI

OXFORD CIRCUIT: 1663-1775

Staffordshire

Greenfield, John. S Lent 1768 s iron at Kingswinford.
 Greenhough, Thomas. S Lent 1773 s cheeses at Uttoxeter.
 Greenwood, William. S Summer 1768 for obtaining goods at
 Wolverhampton by false pretences.
 Griffin, Ann. S Lent 1742.
 Griffiths, William. S Lent 1765 s 8 hens at Rushall.
 Grimshaw, John. S Summer 1744 R 14 yrs Lent 1755 for highway
 robbery at Sedgley.
 Groves, James. S Lent 1763 s at Walsall.

Haddock, Francis. S 14 yrs Lent 1769 for receiving iron stolen
 by John Serjeant (qv).
 Hadley, Joseph. S Lent R 14 yrs Summer 1767 s cow & 2 heifers.
 Hall, William. S & R 14 yrs Lent 1775 for highway robbery.
 Hamilton, William (1774) - see Evans.
 Hamlet - see under Amlett.
 Hammond, Elizabeth, alias wife of Austin Medcalfe. S Lent
 1749 s at Burton on Trent.
 Hams alias Haynes, William, alias Johnson, Thomas. S Lent 1767
 s wheat at Drayton Bassett.
 Hancock alias Jones alias Archer, Mary. S Lent 1758 s at
 Handsworth.
 Hardware, Charles. S & R 14 yrs Lent 1773.
 Hargrove, Daniel. S Lent R 14 yrs Summer 1768 s horse.
 Harris, Joshua, of Wolverhampton. R for America March 1682.
 Harrison, Thomas (1686) - see Rowland.
 Hart, Thomas. S Lent 1721.
 Harvey, Thomas. S & R for life Summer 1773.
 Haselam alias Slice, John, of Stafford. S Lent 1719 AT Summer
 1719 s cow.
 Haskey, John, of Stone. R for America June 1714.
 Hastilow, Susanna. S Lent 1757 s table linen at Drayton Bassett.
 Hathaway, William. S Lent R 14 yrs Summer 1743 s horse.
 Horton, Thomas, of Bradley. R for America March 1683.
 Haughton, William. S Lent 1767 s 5 hens at Wombourn.
 Hawkeswood, Richard. S Lent 1727 s at Wolverhampton.
 Hawkins, Ursula, of Walsall. R for America July 1682.
 Haycock, Mary wife of John. S Summer 1756 s at Tettenhall,
 Haynes, William (1767) - see Hams.
 Haywood, John. S Lent 1752 s beans.
 Heath, John. S Summer 1723 s clothing at Clent.
 Heath, Robert. S Summer 1767 R 14 yrs Lent 1768 s horse.
 Heath, Thomas. S Lent 1769 s hat looping at Stone.
 Heath, William. S Lent R 14 yrs Summer 1752.
 Hemas, Joseph. S Lent 1738 s clothing at Wombourn.
 Hemmings, John. S 14 yrs Lent 1767 for receiving goods stolen
 by his wife Sarah (qv).
 Hemmings, Sarah. S Lent R for life Summer 1767 for shoplifting.
 Hempson, Thomas, yeoman of Rowley. R for America February 1713.
 Henshaw, Joseph. S Lent 1739 s at Penkrudge.
 Henzey, Benjamin. S Lent 1753 s at Old Swinford.
 Heron, Daniel, of Newcastle under Lyme. R for America July 1699.
 Hickman, Noah. S Lent 1774 s iron & nails at Sedgley.
 Higgins, John, of Chapel Chorlton. R for Barbados October 1663.
 Higgs, Thomas. AT Lent 1735.
 Hill, John, of Stafford. R for America November 1694.
 Hill, Joseph. S Lent 1740 s shoes at Newcastle under Lyme.
 Hill, Thomas. S Lent R 14 yrs Summer 1743 for highway robbery.

Hincks, Thomas. S 14 yrs Lent 1769 for recei
 in Lichfield Cathedral Close.
 Hinkley, William. S Lent 1775 s at Abbots Br
 Hodgson, John. S Lent R 14 yrs Summer 1768.
 Holdturn, Thomas. S Summer 1772 s at Cannock
 Hollams, John. S Lent R 14 yrs Summer 1755.
 Holles alias Jenkins, Thomas. S Summer 1740.
 Holm, George (1771) - see Cock, Charles.
 Holmes, Joseph. S Lent 1753 s at Brewood.
 Holt, Edmund. S Lent R 14 yrs Summer 1757.
 Holt alias Chiswell, John. S Lent 1734 s at
 Holyhead, William. S Lent 1739.
 Horn, Richard. S Lent R 14 yrs Summer 1763 s
 Horobin, William. S Lent R 14 yrs Summer 1757.
 Horton - see Haughton.
 Hough, Hugh. S Summer 1774 s at Eccleshall.
 Howl, James (1773) - see Town.
 Hoyle, Joseph, of Uttoxeter. R for Jamaica,
 February 1686.
 Hugitt, William, of Leek. R for America Feb.
 Humphreys alias Pigeon, William. S Lent 176
 Humphrison, William. S Summer 1729 s sheep
 Hunter, John. S Lent R 14 yrs Summer 1721.
 Hutchins alias Hutchinson, Joseph, of Weston
 R for America July 1698.
 Hutchinson, Joseph (1698) - see Hutchins.
 Hutton, Leonard, of Cannock. R for America

Ilidge, Benjamin. S Summer 1757 s at Wolver
 Ingleby, John, of Cannock. R for America Ju
 Inglethorpe, Thomas. S Lent 1738 s cow at E
 Inmall, John. S Lent R 14 yrs Summer 1768 s
 Inman, William (1755) - see Elleton.
 Ireland alias Chambers, of Walsall. R for A
 1681.

Jackson, Elizabeth wife of John. S Summer
 Jackson, John. S Lent R 14 yrs Summer 1764
 Jarvis, Paul, carpenter of Bushbury. R for
 Jenkins, Thomas (1740) - see Holles.
 Jenkinson, Richard. S Summer 1755 R 14 yrs
 Jennings, William. S Lent 1764 s at Wolver
 Jervis, William. S & R 14 yrs Summer 1770
 Wedgebury.
 Jevon, Daniel. S Summer 1771 s fowls at Se
 Jewkes alias Wintour, William, of Kingswinf
 1720 for several burglaries.
 Johnson, Anthony. S Lent 1739 s at Baswich
 Johnson, Daniel. S Lent R 14 yrs Summer 17
 Johnson, John, of Alstonfield. R (Western
 July 1700.
 Johnson, Robert, yeoman of Stoke. R (Chest
 or Jamaica March 1694.
 Johnson, Thomas (1767) - see Hams, William.
 Jones, Henry. S Summer 1723 s bladder at
 Robert at Annapolis, Md, June 1725.

Filby Reference No. 1219.5

Coldham, Peter W., 1990, **The Complete Book of Emigrants: A Comprehensive Listing Compiled from English Public Records of Those Who Took Ship to the Americas for Political, Religious, and Economic Reasons; of those Who Were Deported for Vagrancy, Roguery, or Non-Conformity; and of Those Who Were Sold to Labour in the Colonies, 1661-1699:**
Baltimore, MD, Genealogical Publishing Co., 894 p.

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10/28/99

THE COMPLETE BOOK OF EMIGRANTS

1819.5

1661-1699

*A Comprehensive Listing Compiled from English Public Records of
Those Who Took Ship to the Americas for Political, Religious,
and Economic Reasons; of Those Who Were Deported
for Vagrancy, Roguery, or Non-Conformity;
and of Those Who Were Sold to Labour
in the New Colonies*



Peter Wilson Coldham

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1661-1699

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GENEALOGICAL PUBLISHING CO., INC.

Introduction

The aim of this volume, as it was with the first in the series¹, is to bring together into one publication a comprehensive account of emigration from England to America based upon surviving sources in English public archives. To achieve this aim it has been necessary to exercise a degree of compression in the treatment of material which, while it hopefully presents the essential facts, has stripped away a wealth of circumstantial detail. This work is therefore offered merely as a comprehensive review of the raw materials available to those prepared to invest time and energy in a further exploration of the wealth of original sources.

The restoration of the English monarchy in 1660 threw into rapid reverse many of the centralising measures which had been introduced with some success by the Cromwellian administration during the preceding decade. The impact of state intervention in everyday affairs changed dramatically and, from the standpoint of the present-day researcher, the passing of the old order brought some welcome improvements in the standard of official literacy and calligraphy (though at the price of the reintroduction of shorthand Latin as a legal language) but a regrettable regression to the former system of patronage which resulted in a multiplicity of private and public administrative agencies, often with ill-defined responsibilities, many of which were to be managed with *laissez-faire* indifference and to pass into history without written records.

The Pattern of Emigration

Though the fortunes of war, political and religious conviction, and the growth of mercantilism may have brought many new figures into prominence after the Restoration, the rigid class structure had survived intact, and the lot of the peasantry and the labouring population of England was not perceptibly different from that which had induced their grandparents to seek better lives in the Americas. The early years of the restored monarchy were marked both by a conspicuous granting of new patronages² and a determined attempt at extirpation of undesirable elements. The principal targets were clearly those sympathetic to the disgraced Parliamentary cause and, by extension, those whose religious sympathies could place them as natural allies, chiefly the Quakers. The manner of their disposal followed a tradition as old as the colonies themselves: they were to be shipped off to labour in the plantations.

After a year of indulgence customary on the accession of a new monarch, the gaols of England were once again able to vent into the colonies not only those who had committed felony but any who were deemed to be incorrigibly idle yet also sturdy. The results within the American territories were so dire and the

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reaction so hostile that by 1670 it became necessary to forbid the landing in Virginia of "gaol birds or others who, for notorious offences, have deserved to dye in England." Other colonies attempted to follow suit and this, combined with increasing laxity at home, led to such a crush of convicts in Newgate Prison that by 1697 special measures were introduced to compel their shipment overseas.

A similar laxity overtook the no doubt well-intentioned arrangements for monitoring the shipment of apprentices to the colonies and it is difficult to avoid censuring the system of patronage for this failure. After the petition of English merchants, planters and ships' masters (see p. 66) suggesting measures to combat abuses, one Roger Whitley was appointed by Parliament in September 1664 to a salaried office responsible for registering plantation servants in London. If such an office ever functioned, it left not a single trace in the records, and in 1682 it was found "to have served no useful purpose." The practice of "spiriting" (the kidnapping and selling of children and young adults for service in the plantations)³, which appears to have continued unabated throughout the third quarter of the seventeenth century, reached a new height of sophistication, for now the shipping merchants began to be sued on contrived and easily obtained evidence and to be fined for conniving in this evil practice.

Finally coerced into effective action, the Privy Council in December 1682 introduced regulations (see p. 405) governing the future registration of plantation servants. Though clearly intended to extend to all such servants throughout the kingdom, the only surviving registers or lists relate to the cities of London and Bristol and the county of Middlesex, which nevertheless probably account for the great bulk of those engaged during the few years in which the regulations were enforced⁴. In 1689 Mr. Edward Thompson was granted the right for twenty-one years to register servants engaging for plantation service, but of his activities in this area no record survives.

Without doubt passenger lists were compiled throughout this period for the many ships making their annual or biannual voyages to the American colonies, but it must be assumed that these perished in the calamitous fire which destroyed the Custom House in London in 1814. Of the copies which were occasionally passed to the Exchequer there is only one battered survivor (for 1674). A partial if inadequate substitute is to be found in the run of Port Books which list the names of ships trading to the colonies and of those consigning goods by them (to determine which of the shippers were also passengers requires a comparison of names and dates given in the Port Books with those appearing in vital records).

Notes on the Records Used.

The following are brief notes on the principal records used in this compilation, but first some important qualifications must be made regarding the scope of the work:

- Only *English* sources have been used. Scotland, Wales and Ireland maintain their own records.
- With the exception of apprenticeship bindings and convict pardons, coverage has been restricted to persons connected with mainland America only.
- All dates have been rendered according to the modern calendar.

PLANTATION APPRENTICESHIP BINDINGS

1. London. Records of apprentices bound in London to plantation service begin in January 1683 with entries in the Lord Mayor's Waiting Books and end abruptly in June 1686 when there is a break in the series. These records were first abstracted by Michael Ghirelli⁵ in 1968, and the revised list now included in this volume corrects several errors in the original transcription, includes the entries there omitted, and gives fuller details of the witnesses to each indenture.

By one of those curious quirks of archival history, an additional list of plantation bindings, undated but clearly appertaining to the above series, was discovered in the records of the Fishmongers' Company of London. The reason for this unlikely provenance appears to be that the Company shared their clerk with the Town Clerk of the City of London. An abridgment of the list was published in 1979⁶ and the original documents have been consulted to prepare the revised list now included in this book.

2. Middlesex. A series of plantation indentures, also beginning in January 1683, but running only to September 1684, survives amongst the collections of the Greater London Record Office. Originally this series was numbered from 1 to 1,000 (suggesting a somewhat arbitrary curtailment), of which 745 survive in the Greater London Record Office, and are supplemented by a further 66 of which copies exist in the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington. Middlesex plantation indentures were first transcribed by Cregoe Nicholson and printed in the *Genealogist's Magazine* and then reprinted by the Society of Genealogists in 1965⁸. A supplementary list was later contributed by John Wareing. A complete and revised listing is now included in this volume but omitting the names of witnesses except where they were clearly related to the apprentice.

3. **Liverpool.** The records of the City of Liverpool yield no listings of apprentices to American plantations earlier than 1697 but, between then and 1707, a rough note was made in the Town Clerk's office of some 1500 plantation indentures. If there was ever a "fair copy" it has not survived. A transcript of this source was made by Miss Elizabeth French and first published in 1910.⁴⁰
4. **Dorset.** In this county (and in Hampshire) apprenticeship indentures have been filed with the records of the parish in which they were registered. A short series of plantation indentures relating to Lyme Regis has been transcribed for inclusion in this volume.

PORT BOOKS

Every port in England and Wales was required to maintain its own ledgers of duty exacted upon goods shipped inwards and outwards, and yearly returns were made to the Exchequer bound up into parchment volumes. Separate returns were made for exports and imports and for coastal and overseas traffic. Within each of these separate categories as many as five overlapping books were compiled by the port officials concerned, such as Searchers, Controllers, Waiters, Customers and Surveyors. A good study of the purpose and complexities of the Port Books will be found in Marion Balderston's article "William Penn's Twenty-Three Ships."⁴¹ The multiplicity of overlapping records to be found in this class of public record was perhaps intended to enable the Exchequer to detect fraudulence by comparing one book with another. However that may be, the Port Books provide extensive and detailed (but not comprehensive) records of the movement of shipping and of those who exported goods. That *some* of the exporters were also themselves emigrants is beyond doubt, but there exists no infallible method of distinguishing between the two. It must be remembered also that the Port Books were intended as accounting tools rather than vital archives, so the arithmetic was much more important than the personalities; hence names, both of ships and of persons, were often carelessly entered with the result that the same name may appear in three or more different guises. Moreover, the greater number of emigrants taking ship carried little more than their personal possessions which, being exempt from duty, figured not at all in the customs officers' returns.

Time and unsuitable storage have wrought disproportionate damage to this vast collection, so there are now large gaps in the series, only partly recompensed by the overlapping already mentioned. Wherever possible, therefore, at least *one* of the Port Books (usually the most extensive) for each year for which records have survived has been examined for each major port in order to abstract entries for publication. Some idea of the immensity of even this limited review may be gauged from the fact that, for the larger ports such as London or Bristol, a single book may contain over 1,000 pages of closely written entries. It will be obvious,

therefore, that there remains ample scope for further research in this class of record should additional detail be sought. Nevertheless, it may be claimed that the new material now brought to light has added substantially to previously published data. As an example, many new names can now be added to the lists of passengers in William Penn's "first fleet" of 1681/2.

To keep the abstracts from this class of record within reasonable bounds the names of the most frequent London and Bristol shippers have sometimes been excluded after 1680.

CRIMINAL TRANSPORTATION ORDERS

Orders for the pardon and transportation to America and the West Indies of condemned felons were regularly issued (in Latin) to the judiciary of London, Middlesex and the seven Assize Circuits of England. Abstracts of the Patent Rolls in which these pardons were recorded were begun in 1976 and consolidated into a single alphabetical sequence in 1988⁴². The opportunity has now been taken of making a comprehensive review of the original sources to confirm or revise the content of some 300 separate orders issued between 1661 and 1699 spread over more than 100 parchment rolls. This has resulted in the location of a number of pardons previously unnoticed and a substantial number of corrections and additions. There are, nevertheless, a few unexplained gaps in the Patent Roll series, some of which have been made good by reference to comparable records in other collections.

Though each pardon included a clause specifying which of the named felons was to "depart from the kingdom," their intended destination was normally indicated in such a way as to allow room for discretion. The relevant clause would thus name the intended plantation but also give alternatives such as "parts of America already inhabited" (and occasionally even Africa), and it was left to each individual justiciary to contract with a merchant or ship's captain for the final disposition of the convicts in their charge. The abstracts included in this volume name only the destination of first choice.

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Purley, Surrey, England

Whitsun 1990
AMDG

Notes

1. *The Complete Book of Emigrants 1607-1660*, ed. Peter Wilson Coldham (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1987).
2. For example, the grant in November 1664 to Sir James Modyford for five years of all reprieved prisoners in the gaols of England to be transported to Jamaica.
3. See Vol. I, p. x, and *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 83, pp. 280-287 (1975).
4. The archives of a few English counties (Dorset and Hampshire are known examples) contain indentures for 1683-1686 amongst their parish collections, but there is at present no published aid to identify them.
5. *A List of Emigrants from England to America 1682-1692* (1968, reprinted by Genealogical Publishing Co., 1989).
6. See the article by M. J. Chandler in the *Journal of the Barbados Museum*, 1979, pp. 28-43.
7. Vol. 12, 1-16; Vol. 13, 1-8.
8. *Some Early Emigrants to America*, 1965.
9. *Genealogists' Magazine*, Vol. 18, No. 5.
10. See *Emigrants to America from Liverpool (New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, 1910, pp. 158 ff.)
11. Included in *Passengers and Ships Prior to 1684*, ed. Walter Lee Sheppard, Jr. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1970).
12. *English Convicts in Colonial America*, Vol. II (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1976) and *The Complete Book of Emigrants in Bondage 1614-1775*, ed. Peter Wilson Coldham (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1988).

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The following is a comprehensive list of printed and manuscript sources used in the preparation of this volume:

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- AW = *American Wills and Administrations in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury 1610-1857*, ed. Peter Wilson Coldham. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1989.

- BR = *Bristol Registers of Servants sent to Foreign Plantations 1654-1686*, ed. Peter Wilson Coldham. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1988.
- Bridewell = Minutes of the Court of Governors of the Bridewell. King Edward's School, Witley, Surrey, England.
- CH = *Child Apprentices in America from Christ's Hospital, London, 1617-1788*, ed. Peter Wilson Coldham. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1990.
- CSPC = *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series: America and West Indies 1661-1699*, ed. W. Noel Sainsbury and Hon. J.W. Fortescue. H.M.S.O., 1880-1908.
- DRO = Dorset Record Office, County Hall, Dorchester DT1 1XJ.
- EA = *English Adventurers and Emigrants 1661-1733*, ed. Peter Wilson Coldham. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1985.
- EB = *The Complete Book of Emigrants in Bondage 1614-1775*, ed. Peter Wilson Coldham. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1988.
- GLRO = Greater London Record Office, 40 Northampton Road, London EC1 0AB.
- LaRO = Lancashire Record Office, Bow Lane, Preston PR1 8ND.
- LMCD = *Lord Mayor's Court of London Depositions*. Washington: National Genealogical Society, 1980.
- LMWB = Lord Mayor of London's Waiting Books, Corporation of London Record Office, P.O. Box 270, Guildhall, London EC2P 2EJ.
- LTB = Liverpool Town Books, City of Liverpool Record Office, William Brown Street, Liverpool L3 8EW.
- NGSQ = *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*.
- PRO = Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London WC2A 1LR. Such citations are followed by the reference number of the document(s).
- SP Dom = *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series 1661-1699*, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green, F.H. Blackburne Daniell, William John Hardy and Edward Bateson. H.M.S.O. 1860-1933.
- VM = *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*.

& *Isabella*, Mr. Henry Rogers, ke, Richard Veale(?), Anthony 90/972/9).

Liverpool: Matthew Moreton of [Virginia]. (LTB).

England. (AW).

Lasham, Hampshire, who had

of Stoke by Guildford, Surrey, Williams, and Elizabeth Bird,

Stepney, Middlesex, who died

Mr. John Yeo, bound from 0/972/8).

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ool: Robert Vaughan, son of years [?Virginia]. (LTB).

ced in Liverpool to Mr. John of Liverpool, Mr. Thomas Flint, 4 years; John Young of y of Lond Green, Cheshire, 4 ohn Thompson of Coleraine, rs; Mary Standish of Stafford, ter, [Lancashire], spinster, 4 ire], 4 years; Joan Witter of ng, Wales, 4 years; John Finn 4 years; Robert Middleton of cclesfield, Cheshire, 4 years; years; Francis Glanford of of Edinburgh, [Scotland], 4 e], 5 years. And the following Riglie of Hey, Lancashire, 7 ars; David Bevis of Burslem, Lancashire], 7 years; William

Fartley of Orrell near Wigan, [Lancashire], husbandman, 4 years; John Winstanley of Orrell, husbandman, 4 years; Isaac Firth of Bradford, Yorkshire, 5 years; Joseph Parr of Little Hulton, Lancashire, 5 years. (LTB).

11-13 October. Shippers by the *Loyalty*, Mr. Henry Brown, bound from Liverpool for Virginia: Richard Houghton, Silvanus Richmond. (PRO: E190/1359/11).

12-19 October. Shippers by the *Amity*, Mr. Lewis Jenkins, bound from Liverpool for Virginia: John Molyneux, William Bassnett. (PRO: E190/1359/11).

• **13 October.** The following apprenticed in Liverpool to serve Nicholas Smith for five years in Virginia or Maryland: William Hudson; Miles Grimshaw; Mary Boardman. (LTB).

13 October. Shipper by the *William & Mary*, Mr. Thomas Gentle, bound from Poole for Virginia: William Phippard. (PRO: E190/892/7).

14 October. Shipper by the *Adventure* of Bideford, Mr. Thomas Bleek, bound from Bideford for Maryland: John Atkin. (PRO: E190/972/8).

14 October. Shipper by the *Exchange* of Bideford, Mr. Roger More, bound from Bideford for Maryland: Thomas Power. (PRO: E190/972/8).

14 October. Shipper by the *Tryall* of Northam, Mr. Thomas Gribble, bound from Bideford for Maryland: said Thomas Gribble. (PRO: E190/972/8).

15-17 October. Shippers by the *James* of Plymouth bound from Plymouth for Virginia: Robert Edgcombe, James Bligh & Co., James Cock. (PRO: E190/1058/2).

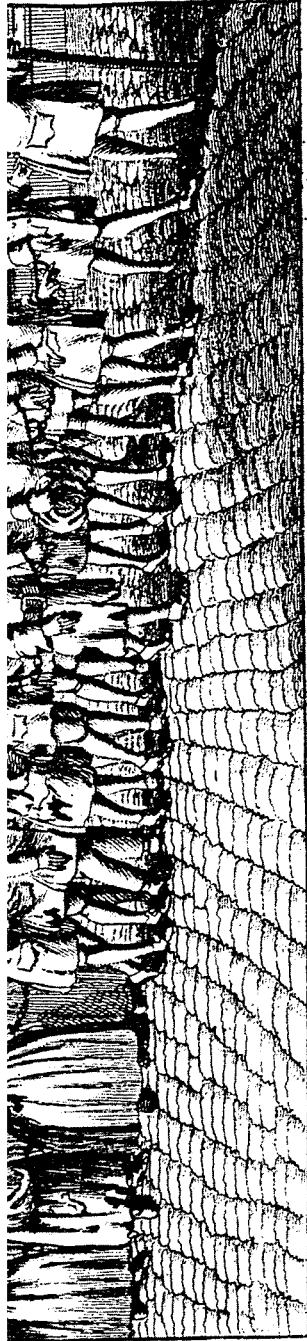
17 October. The following apprenticed in Liverpool: Thomas Higham of Warrington, [Lancashire], to Mr. Scarborough, 4 years [?Virginia]. (LTB).

17 October. Shipper by the *Content* of Lyme, Mr. Isaac Davy, bound from Lyme for Virginia: Nathan Gundry. (PRO: E190/892/5).

19 October. The following apprenticed in Liverpool to go to Virginia by the *Loyalty*, Mr. Henry Browne: Ralph Kettle of Warmingham, Cheshire, 4 years; Robert Tongue of Farnworth near Manchester, [Lancashire], 4 years; John Threlfell of Preston, gardener, 4 years; Charles Ellis of Macclesfield, 5 years; Alexander Sinkler of Glasgow, [Scotland], 4 years; John Wright of Middlesex, 4 years; William Taylor of Scarbrick [Scarborough], [Yorkshire], 8 years; James Streete, 10 years; Thomas Walker of Ashton under Lyne, 7 years; John Walker of the same, 5 years; David Taylor of Mottram, Cheshire, 8 years; Charles Taylor of Mottram, 7 years; John Beecham of Cheshire, 4 years; George Low of Gawsworth, Cheshire, 10 years; George Brasfield, 11 years; John Carneagee of Aberdeen, Scotland, 4 years; John Harrison of Ashton under Lyne, 7 years; Robert Bower of Macclesfield, Cheshire, 7 years; James Bouldler of Augettree [?Oswestry], Shropshire, 4 years; John Dobson of Bolton, Lancashire, 4 years; Edward Thomicroft of Sutton, Cheshire, 5 years;

Filby Reference No. 1220.11

Coldham, Peter W., 1988, *The Complete Book of Emigrants in Bondage, 1614-1775*: Baltimore, MD, Genealogical Publishing Co., p 1-461.



Representation of the Trustees going from Virginia to take water at Blackfriars.

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THE COMPLETE BOOK OF EMIGRANTS IN BONDAGE

1880.4

1614-1775



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Peter Wilson Coldham

920 p.

GENEALOGICAL PUBLISHING CO., INC.
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INTRODUCTION

Between 1614 and 1775 some 50,000 Englishmen were sentenced by legal process to be transported to the American colonies. With notably few exceptions their names and the record of their trial have survived in public records together with much other information which enables us to plot the story of their unhappy and unwilling passage to America. These records are now combined and condensed in this volume to form the largest single collection of transatlantic passenger lists to be found during the earliest period of emigration.

The bitterness and controversy aroused amongst certain American scholars when the nature and scale of convict transportation to the colonies were first hinted at have been forced to yield to the weight of documentary evidence accumulated mainly during the post-war years. Marion and Jack Kaminkow were the first to publish extensive lists of transported felons taken from British Treasury records, and it was that work which encouraged me to undertake further research to determine the existence and location of other records in this area.¹ The scale on which transportation was regularly practised became clear as the annals of the Old Bailey were slowly unravelled and matched against the Treasury papers unearthed by the Kaminkows. The first fruits of this labour were published in *English Convicts in Colonial America*, Volume I (1974) covering Middlesex, and Volume II (1976) London.² In order to present a more comprehensive account, the records of the Assize and Palatinate courts covering all the counties of England were then studied one by one and a further series of volumes incorporating Vols. I and II of *English Convicts in Colonial America* was then published as *Bonded Passengers to America* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1983). Bound in three volumes, it also included a history of transportation from 1615 to 1775. There remained to be examined, however, the scattered records of over fifty Courts of Quarter Session each having the power to impose sentences of transportation, and that work, which has now been largely accomplished, is included in this one comprehensive volume. To facilitate reference to what has grown into a publication of substantial proportions, the former arrangement by county has been dropped in favour of a completely alphabetical listing.

The notes and appendices which follow are intended to summarise the history of English criminal transportation and the nature and location of source material used in compiling this book. However, in view of the volume and diversity of the sources used, any who seek more detailed notes and references are advised to consult those which prefaced volumes in the original series of *Bonded Passengers to America*.

The idea of swelling the numbers of colonial labourers by emptying the gaols of England was almost as old as the founding of the colonies themselves and, indeed, Virginia was first recommended in 1606 as "a place where idle vagrants might be sent."³ The first official record of such practice is found in 1618 in the archives of the London Bridewell (an institution set up for the care of vagrant and orphaned children) when several of its wards were set aside to be sent to Virginia. In 1611 Governor Dale of Virginia invited King James I "to banish hither all offenders condemned to die out of common gaoles,"⁴ and only three years later the Privy Council made the first order empowering themselves to reprieve prisoners from capital punishment in order "to yeald a profitable service... in partes abroad."⁵ During the next few years not only were the gaols regularly cleared by the Virginia Company but the Bridewell was again pressed into service, being required to furnish 100 children for Virginia in 1619 and again in 1620 in order "to redeem so many poor souls from misery and ruin and putting them in a condition of use and service to the State."⁶

This forcible emigration system appears to have fallen into decline by the 1630s and was soon put out of mind with the onset of the English Civil War. The reforming Parliament, which took control of the nation's affairs in 1649, quickly found a use for the old methods, however. Having first disposed of several thousand defeated Royalists by sending them to New England, Virginia, and the sugar colonies, Parliament revived and reinforced the earlier provisions for disposing of unwanted felons. In 1655 a formal system was introduced for pardoning convicted felons on condition of their transportation; and in 1657 an Act was passed enabling Justices of the Peace to transport idle vagrants. These arrangements, in turn, were taken over and further developed after the restoration of the monarchy in 1660. Between then and 1717 pardons on condition of transportation were issued regularly each year (see Appendix I).

Such modest measures were perceived as inadequate by 1717. In the aftermath of the Scottish uprising of 1715 many of the "rebels" were crowded into inadequate prisons before being shipped off to the colonies, and this served only to throw into high relief the problem of increasing gaol populations at a time when over 200 offences were on the statute books which merited the death penalty. Early in 1718 a new Act was introduced which, for the first time, gave the Assize Courts the power to impose a sentence of transportation for a vast range of crimes ranging from petty larceny to bigamy.⁷ This measure, and the continuation of pre-existing arrangements for the issue of Royal pardons, at least achieved one humanitarian result for, in proportion to the large number of death sentences actually handed down in the English courts, relatively few were ever carried out.

The scheme introduced in 1718 was, administratively, a great success. Justices in London and in each county were appointed to contract with merchants and ships' captains to arrange the shipment to Virginia or

Maryland of convicted felons and to guarantee their safe delivery. Most such contracts required the ship's captain to obtain a certificate of landing from the customs officer at the port of disembarkation, but the only surviving series covers the period from 1718 to 1736 in respect of London and the Home Counties only. London and Middlesex provided well over half of all transported felons, all of them housed in the infamous Newgate Prison before being embarked at St. Katherine's Dock in one or other of the ships which regularly plied this or the black slave trade to the southern colonies. Such ships were specially equipped to provide the maximum secure accommodation and attracted crews who were well drilled in dealing with potentially dangerous passengers.

Such a large and specialised business as convict transportation became the exclusive province of those who were equipped and organised to run it. From 1718 to 1742 the "Contractor for the Transports" for London, Middlesex, and much of the country beyond, was Jonathan Forward, a prosperous tobacco merchant and a man well connected in the criminal fraternity. He was succeeded by one of his associates, Andrew Reid, against whom it was alleged that "every species of complaint was made."⁸ Reid held the post until 1763 when he was replaced by John Stewart who died in 1771. After that date no single contractor was appointed and merchants competed for contracts to transport felons at their own expense. There is little doubt that the business, though risky, could be immensely profitable, and accounts survive showing that a shipload of felons, if delivered "well-conditioned," could be auctioned for £10 to £20 each, or the equivalent in tobacco to be carried back to England in the same ships.

The outbreak of the Revolutionary War in 1775 brought to an end a trade in human cargoes which had been plied successfully and profitably for well over 150 years, and it was not until 1787 that the transportation of convicts from English gaols was re-started, this time to the Australian colonies.

The Organisation and Records of the Judicial System

To understand the way in which the English criminal courts were organised, and therefore the location and use of source documents, it is necessary to distinguish clearly between Courts of Quarter Session and Courts of Assize.

Each English county and each borough (usually a large city) convened Quarter Sessions whose business was divided between civil administration (e.g. taxes and licences) and its judicial function. These Sessions could try both civil cases (e.g. disputes over debts) and criminal prosecutions which were considered to be of relatively minor importance. More serious offences (usually those attracting the death penalty) were referred to the Assize Courts for trial. There is, however, no hard and fast distinction which can be made as to their jurisdiction.

The Assize Courts, responsible for trying the more important criminal cases arising outside the City of London and the County of Middlesex, were

presided over by judges appointed by the Crown who, travelling in circuit, visited each part of the country regularly, usually twice a year. The circuits were divided as follows:

Home Circuit: Essex, Hertfordshire, Kent, Surrey, Sussex

Western Circuit: Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Hampshire, Somerset, Wiltshire

Oxford Circuit: Berkshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Monmouthshire, Oxfordshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire

Norfolk Circuit: Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Norfolk, Suffolk

Northern Circuit: Cumberland, Northumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire

Midland Circuit: Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire, Rutland, Warwickshire

In addition, the Palatinate counties of Chester, Durham, and Lancaster, which had autonomous jurisdiction, each maintained records of criminal trials very similar in form and content to those of the Assize Courts.

All Assize and Palatinate Court records are held at the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London WC2A 1LR. Quarter Sessions records are invariably held at the County Record Office of the county concerned.

This leaves the City of London and the County of Middlesex unaccounted for. Each maintained its own courts of Quarter Session and, for more serious criminal cases, Sessions of Gaol Delivery. *The records for London will be found at the Corporation of London Records Office, Guildhall, London EC2P 2EJ; and those for Middlesex at the Greater London Records Office, 40 Northampton Row, London EC1 0AB.* Also included in this book, but without reference to county of origin which the original records fail to provide, are the names of those prisoners sentenced to transportation in 1685 after Monmouth's unsuccessful rebellion.

Complementary Records

The British Treasury, which financed the despatch to the New World of London, Middlesex, and Home Counties felons ordered for transportation, maintained meticulous records to justify its expenditures. Almost all of the 180 or so convict ships sent to America between 1716 and 1775 are listed in Treasury documents, many of them complete with the names of passengers (see Appendix II). A voluminous correspondence was conducted between Assize judges, clerks of Assize, and the central bureaucracy in London which often duplicated and amplified the Assize records themselves. Most of this correspondence is preserved in the State

papers, in addition, many contracts for the transportation of felons, gaolers' accounts, bonds, and lists relating to transportation are to be found in County Record Offices. Further information about most of the felons sentenced to transportation in London and Middlesex may be found in the printed series of *Old Bailey Sessions Papers*, copies of which are held in the London Guildhall Library and in the British Library at Bloomsbury.

A summary list of references to Public Record Office documents used in the compilation of this volume will be found in Appendix I (pardons issued up to 1717), Appendix II (shipping and passenger lists), and Appendix III (Assize Court records).

Arrangement of this Book

It will be appreciated that the lists presented in this volume are very highly condensed from original records and are intended principally to show the researcher where to look for further information. Each entry is therefore constructed as follows:

- a) Surname and Christian name(s) with aliases where given in original documents.
- b) Parish of origin. (Where none is shown the original bills of indictment should be consulted.)
- c) Occupation or status. (Most often shown as "labourer" in original documents and therefore not transcribed.)
- d) Sentencing court, offence, and month and year of sentence.
- e) Month, year, and ship (if known) on which transported.
- f) Place, month, and year (if known) landed in America.
- g) English county in which sentenced.

Additional detail has been given only when it appears to be of special interest.

An attempt has been made to arrange entries in alphabetical order of surname according to accepted modern spellings, with cross-references to original spellings where these may differ substantially.

Abbreviations used are:

als	=	alias
AT	=	Awaiting transportation
Bd	=	Bedfordshire
Be	=	Berkshire
Bu	=	Buckinghamshire
Ca	=	Cambridgeshire
Ch	=	Cheshire
City	=	Sentenced by City Borough Court
Co	=	Cornwall
Cu	=	Cumberland
Db	=	Derbyshire
De	=	Devon
Do	=	Dorset
Du	=	Durham
E	=	Essex
Fl	=	Flint
G	=	Gloucestershire
Ha	=	Hampshire
He	=	Herefordshire
HO	=	Home Office Papers
Ht	=	Hertfordshire
Hu	=	Huntingdonshire
K	=	Kent
L	=	London
La	=	Lancashire
LC	=	Landing Certificate
Le	=	Leicestershire
Li	=	Lincolnshire
M	=	Middlesex
Md	=	Maryland
Mo	=	Monmouthshire
NE	=	New England
Nf	=	Norfolk
Nl	=	Northumberland
No	=	Northamptonshire
Nt	=	Nottinghamshire
O	=	Oxfordshire
PC	=	Privy Council Papers
PT	=	Pleaded transportation
R	=	Reprieved for transportation
Ru	=	Rutlandshire
S	=	Sentenced to transportation
s	=	Stealing
SC	=	South Carolina
SEK	=	Sentenced to transportation at East Kent Quarter Sessions
SES	=	Sentenced to transportation at East Sussex Quarter Sessions
Sh	=	Shropshire

SL	=	Sentenced to transportation at Southwark
So	=	Somerset
SP	=	State Papers
SQS	=	Sentenced to transportation at Quarter Sessions
ST	=	Sentenced to transportation at Tower Liberty, London
St	=	Staffordshire
Su	=	Suffolk
SW	=	Sentenced to transportation at Westminster Sessions
SWK	=	Sentenced to transportation at West Kent Quarter Sessions
SWS	=	Sentenced to transportation at West Sussex Quarter Sessions
Sx	=	Sussex
Sy	=	Surrey
T	=	Transported
TB	=	Transportation Bond
Va	=	Virginia
Wa	=	Warwickshire
We	=	Westmorland
Wi	=	Wiltshire
Wo	=	Worcestershire
X	=	Stray records
Y	=	Yorkshire
*	=	found guilty of an offence for which transportation was a normal penalty

Peter Wilson Coldham
Purley, Surrey, England

Lent 1988
AMDG

Notes:

1. Marion and Jack Kaminkow, *Original Lists of Emigrants in Bondage from London to the American Colonies 1719-1744* (Baltimore: Magna Carta Book Company, 1967).
2. Published by Polyanthos, Inc., New Orleans.
3. Letter from Sir Walter Cope to Lord Salisbury in Salisbury MSS, Hatfield.
4. *Calendar of State Papers (Colonial)*, 1611.
5. *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1619.
6. *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1620.
7. An Act (4 Geo.I Cap.XI) for the further preventing Robbery, Burglary and other Felonies and for the more effectual Transportation of Felons.
8. Memorial of John Stewart 30 December 1762: PRO T1/416.

LC Va 1732. M.

Martin, Worcester, Lent 1772. Wo.
Speedwell or Mediterranean. M.

Dorsetshire to Va. M.
Crewsbury, Lent 1767. Sh.
s Sep 1755 Tryal. M.
M.
Mer 1757. He.

14 yrs Oct 1730 Forward LC Potomack
14 yrs Lent 1757. He.
Newark. SQS 14 yrs for receiving lead

New Trial. M.
Lent 1771. He.
all Lent 1765. St.
p 1767 Justitia. M.
yrs Summer 1772. Mo.
yrs Summer 1774. Mo.
Ht.
i. K.
a. Do.
l. M.
M.
De.
751 Tryal. M.

E.
St. Andrew, Holborn, May T Jun 1768

William. K.
Tryal. M.

1701. M.
Summer 1755. Ca.
Nf.
dale. SQS May 1753. La.
sendale Forest, woollen weaver. SQS

dale, tailor. SQS May 1753. La.
sendale. SQS May 1753. La.
America Jly 1683. Ru.
nt TB Aug 1753. Y.
life Lent 1763. Wa.
s. R for America Feb 1700. Le.
field. K.

Grimes, Hannah (1722). See Graham. M.
Grimes, Henry of Norwich. R for America Jun 1714. Nf.
Grimes, James. T Jly 1722 Alexander. Sy.
Grimes, John. S May 1726 T Loyal Margaret LC Annapolis Oct 1726. M.
Grimes, Leonard (1757). See Graham. Nt.
Grimes als Graham, Martha. S Apr 1745. L.
Grimes, Mary (1696). See Meachum. Sy.
Grimes, Robert. R for America Mar 1690. Li.
Grimes, Robert (1736). See Graham. Sy.
Grimes, Robert. SQS Apr T May 1755 Rose. M.
Grimes, Thomas. T Jan 1738 Dorsetshire. K.
Grimmer, Charles. S s gelding & R 14 yrs Summer 1737. Nf.
Grimmer, William. S Summer 1757. Nf.
Grimsby, Richard. S Summer 1756. Sy.
Grimshaw, Edmund of Old Accrington, cotton weaver. SQS Apr 1766. La.
Grimshaw, James (1739). See Grimson. M.
Grimshaw, Job. S Mar 1761. Ha.
Grimshaw, John. S for highway robbery at Sedgley Summer 1744 R 14
yrs Lent 1745 St.
Grimshaw, Thomas of Manchester. SQS Apr 1759. La.
Grimshire, Josiah. R Lent 1775. K.
Grimshire, Richard. S s sheep Lent R 14 yrs Summer 1768. Be.
Grimson als Grimshaw, James. S Feb T Apr 1739 Forward to Va. M.
Grimson, Samuel. T 14 yrs May 1767 Thornton. E.
Grimstead, William. S & T Sep 1757 Thetis. L.
Grimstead, William. S Oct T Dec 1771 Justitia. L.
Grimstone, Samuel. S Feb T Sep 1737 Pretty Patsy to Md. M.
Grimwood, Thomas. T 14 yrs Sep 1767 Justitia. E.
Grimwood, William. S Lent R 14 yrs Summer 1768. Sh.
Grinald, Thomas. S Jun T Aug 1769 Douglas. M.
Grindall, Joseph. S Jly 1775. L.
Grindall, Margaret. T Apr 1734 Patapsco. Sy.
Grindley, Elizabeth. S & T Jan 1736 Dorsetshire LC Va Sep 1736. L.
Grindy, William. S Lent R for life Summer T Sep 1751 Greyhound. Ht.
Grinet, Robert (1770). See Granfield. Be.
Grinley, Ann of St. Saviour, Southwark. SQS Jan 1758. Sy.
Grinley, John. S Dec 1737 T Jan 1738 Dorsetshire. L.
Grinter, Grace (1760). See Hallett. Do.
Grisbrook, Henry. T Jun 1738 Forward. Sx.
Grisby, Phebe. S Apr 1720. M.
Greisby, William of Wellor. R for America Jly 1678. Nt.
Grissell, Hannah. S Jan 1757. M.
Grissell, John of Waltham Abbey. R for Barbados or Jamaica Jly 1687. E.
Grist, Charles. S Mar TB to Va Apr 1773. Wi.
Gritton, John. S s wheat at Walford Lent 1773. He.
Gritton, William. S Sep-Oct 1748 T Jan 1749 Laura. M.
Grocer, Robert. S Lent 1773. La.
Grocott, John. S s gelding Lent R 14 yrs Summer 1760. Wa.
Grommett, Francis. T Apr 1742 Bond. Bu.
Groom, Ann wife of Jacob. S Oct-Dec 1739 T Jan 1740 York to Md. M.
Groom, Catherine. SQS Jly TB Aug 1765. So.

Filby Reference No. 1222

Coldham, Peter W., 1974, *English Convicts in Colonial America, Volume 1, Middlesex 1617-1775*: New Orleans, LA, Polyanthos

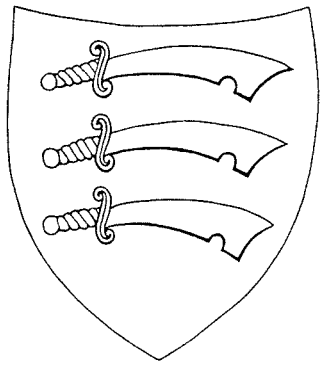
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ENGLISH CONVICTS IN COLONIAL AMERICA

Volume I

MIDDLESEX: 1617 - 1775

1882

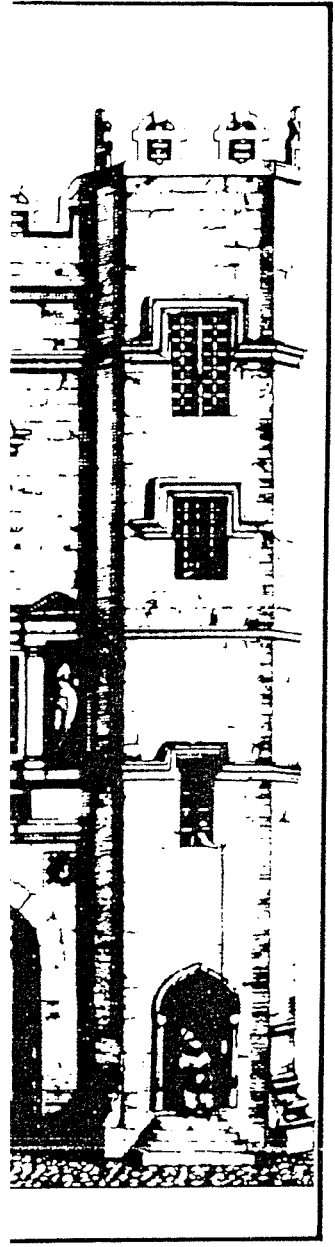


Compiled and edited by

PETER WILSON COLDHAM

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POLYANTHOS
New Orleans
1974



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Introduction

The County of Middlesex, which encloses the City of London, is one of the smallest in England, having an area of barely 280 square miles. From ancient times it was separated from Buckinghamshire on the West by the River Colne, from Essex on the East by the River Lea, and from Kent and Surrey on the South by the River Thames. Its northern limit is defined by parish boundaries. This pigmy County has for centuries been the most densely populated. An official estimate made in the late 18th century was that one in three of all felons in England were convicted in the County of Middlesex. On the most reliable evidence at present available, the total number of convicts transported from England to the Americas between 1615 and 1775 was about 30,000. These two estimates provide the reason for attempting a comprehensive listing of prisoners transported from Middlesex throughout the 160 years in which this odious traffic was conducted.

It is one of the ironies of Anglo-American genealogy that the lives and movements of those who were deported for their crimes are, on the whole, better chronicled than those of the good men and true who sat in judgment upon them.

The list of which this book is made up is arranged and intended as a key to sources from which further information may be obtained: it is not in itself a comprehensive statement. For certain periods, however, we have drawn on source material to provide some brief details on the offences committed and of parishes of residence. For the year 1740 we have extracted almost all of the information about residence. But in order to provide a better illustration of what co-ordinated use of the available records will contribute, there follows a fairly typical case-history; that of Thomas Burridge of the parish of St. Leonard Shoreditch, labourer.

Burridge was tried at the Sessions of Gaol delivery held at the Old Bailey in April 1743 which had 67 cases, of which 20 were for capital crimes. The Bill of Indictment (see illustration) alleged that, on the night of 27 February 1743, he broke into the house of Jeffery Rushton of the parish of St. Leonard Shoreditch and stole 20 yards of callinco value 15 shillings, the property of William Reynolds and Thomas Bray; and three shuttles value eighteen pence, two pairs of pickers made of iron and steel value twelve pence, one rug value two shillings, one blanket value twelve pence, and one linen sheet value twelve pence, the property of Jeffery Rushton. The evidence given at Burridge's trial is reported in two columns of "Old Bailey Sessions Papers" as follows:

Jeffery Rushton: My house was broken open between one o'clock and daylight. About six o'clock I missed the goods. I rent a house and have a chamber, a kitchen and a shop, and pay five pounds a year. Nobody but my family lives in the house with me. I have a wife and three children but no servant. I belong to the College.

Henry Dye: On Saturday night 26 February, I had been at a public house and left between nine and ten o'clock as I always keep good hours, and between eleven and twelve I locked the door and went up to bed, and between then and six in the morning this was done. I have worked in the house for Mr. Reynolds for some years and am a lodger. It was a door opening on the public staircase that was broken open. There are a great many tenements in the house but the street door was not locked. I did not hear anything broken open for I drank a pint more beer than usual and might have slept heavily; but I am sure I locked the door before going to bed.

Daniel Lister: About 21 January I enlisted the prisoner as a private soldier in Colonel Fowke's Regiment at Gibraltar, and some time after he deserted from me. On 27 February he came to my door. He had a knife in his hand and bid me defiance. I sent a couple of recruits after him, and they took him as a deserter as he was going to the Savoy. One of the recruits delivered these

things to me. I asked the prisoner whose they were and he told me they were his working tools. Rushton came to me and asked if I had seen the prisoner who worked with him and had stolen some goods. The prisoner had spent eight shillings on the recruits and said he had given his wife 13 shillings that night: he said he had worked hard and had got this money by keeping himself close up.

John Martin: The prisoner delivered two pairs of pickers to me, saying the large pair cost half a crown and the small pair a shilling. He asked me to give them to Mr. Lister to lay them up for him as they were his working tools.

Thomas Burridge: And please you my Lord, Rushton and I were drinking together till ten o'clock on Saturday night. He said he had no money and asked me to lend him a shilling and gave me these pickers.

Question: How was the door broken open?

Rushton: Either the staple was pushed back or the lock was picked. Nothing was broken. At dusk I went to bed and I saw the door was locked. I was sick that night. The prisoner lodged in the same house. How should the prisoner have this money when he received but three shillings on Saturday night?

..... Collins: I have known the prisoner 20 years. I have never heard anything to stain his character: he always behaved like a very honest man during the time he has worked with me.

Thomas Oakes: I have known him from a child. I never knew any ill that he did in his life.

John Driver: I have known the prisoner from his infancy, in hanging sleeve coats almost 40 years ago, and never knew he wronged any man of anything in his life.

Burridge was acquitted of the charge of burglary but found guilty of a felony for which he was sentenced to be transported for seven years.

History of Transportation

An Elizabethan Act of 1597 which provided for the banishment of rogues and vagabonds constituted the legal framework under which convicts of the 17th century were despatched as slave labour to the American colonies. In the very earliest period men were selected for reprieve purely on considerations of physique and craft ability. The first fruits in Middlesex of a Privy Council Order of 1615 authorising the punishment of transportation to be applied to those convicted of robbery or felony are to be found in 1617 when Stephen Rogers was reprieved from a death sentence at the instance of Sir Thomas Smith "because he is of the Art of the Carpenters". Two years later James I gave an approving royal nod to the idea of transportation by sending a hundred "dissolute persons" to Virginia to be reformed by hard work in the plantations. But, in Middlesex at least, the idea was rather slow to catch on, and only a handful of convicts was condemned to the colonies each year (none at all at the height of the Civil War in England) until the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660. Thereafter, and until the outbreak of war in 1701, the business of transportation showed a modest growth, reaching its 17th century peak at the very end of the period when 75 convicts were reprieved to be transported in one year. Throughout the latter part of the 17th century the majority of those deported seem to have been destined for work in the West Indian plantations, but the pattern changed completely after 1718 when Maryland and Virginia became the almost invariable landing places.

There grew up in the latter part of the 17th century a cumbersome procedure whereby a prisoner convicted of certain capital offences (often a trivial theft by modern standards) was permitted to "plead transportation" in open court. At intervals, lists of those who had so pleaded were forwarded to the King's Ministers who, often after a lapse of months, would transmit to the courts a notice of the King's gracious pardon on condition of transportation for a set period, usually seven years. It is reasonable to assume that the vast majority, if not all, of those who "pleaded transportation" had their pleas accepted. There is some evidence for this in the Middlesex records, and it is also logical to assume that the county would not be put to the expense of

maintaining several dozen prisoners at a time, and for months on end, unless there was a reasonable assurance of their being finally shipped off.

Throughout the Wars of 1701-1712, and for a year or two beyond, the practice of transportation appears to have fallen into abeyance for there are no notes in the judicial records of Middlesex of any such sentences. The justices turned to the alternative of reprieving prisoners to serve in the Army or Navy. The crush in the London prisons, and the disease which always accompanied it, must have become well-nigh intolerable once the wars came to an end: and new and sweeping legislation to deal with the problem must have appeared vital in the public interest. The Act of 1717 "for the further preventing robbery, burglary and other felonies, and for the more effectual transportation of felons" was a landmark in the history of transportation, and set a rigid pattern which was to be followed for the next 58 years. For the first time the justices themselves were given the power to impose sentences of transportation for all but the most serious or the most trivial offences. Every official encouragement was offered for the dumping of unwanted offenders on the labour-hungry colonies: for the most populous areas of the City of London, Middlesex and the surrounding counties a scheme was devised whereby the cost of transportation was defrayed from State funds and contractors appointed to provide the ships and to superintend this specialised business. Some measure of the relief which the Act brought to Middlesex may be guessed from the fact that over 200 of the county's convicts were spewed from Newgate Gaol on to waiting transport ships in the first year of its enactment.

From 1716, when the British Treasury appointed a London merchant, Francis March, to send two shiploads of felons to Jamaica for £2 a head, until October 1775, when the last shipload left for America Middlesex had exported over 10,000 of its criminal population. What this meant in human misery and degradation is, for the most part, unchronicled. We know something of the conditions in which prisoners were kept in Newgate, of the recurring fevers both in prison and on shipboard, of the separation of families of the chartering of slave ships for carrying convicts and of their sale to the highest bidder once they reached the plantations. Little wonder that John

Fielding, himself a Middlesex magistrate, regarded the threat of a second term of transportation as a greater deterrent than the death penalty.

Successive contractors enriched themselves in this trade, despite their protestations to the contrary. The rate per head had risen to £5 by 1727; the sale of convicts to the plantations brought in a handsome additional income of up to £10 a head; and the return cargoes of tobacco added the Croesus touch. The contractors themselves - Jonathan Forward, Andrew Reid, John Stewart, Duncan Campbell - with a canny sense of economy which might betray their origin, bought or chartered their ships where they might be got cheap (ships taken as prizes or ex-slavers were much favoured) and the only other substantial outgoings mentioned in their correspondence with the Treasury concerned the payment of douceurs to minor court officials and gaolers. In 1776 Duncan Campbell is found complaining to a not very sympathetic Treasury official that his last ship to Virginia (in 1775) took convicts who "might be said to be landed rather than sold": as a final indignity, the same ship was forced to return in ballast because no tobacco was forthcoming in those troubled times.

In a last frenetic fling, the transport ships ferried nearly 1500 Middlesex convicts across the Atlantic in the twilight years 1771-1774.

The Bureaucratic Touch

As might be expected, the judicial records of Middlesex were concerned principally with keeping track of the names of prisoners, their indictments and the sentences passed upon them. Responsibility for executing the sentence of transportation was neatly and necessarily devolved upon a contractor. We must, therefore, look to Treasury records for the names of the ships used and their dates of sailing. Of course, the Treasury kept this class of record, not for the benefit of later historians or genealogists, but as a strictly practical means of checking accounts. The accounting procedure was fairly simple: the Clerk of the Court, as transport ships became available, sent on board his consignment of convicts with a certified

list of their names. The Captain of the ship countersigned this list as his receipt for the consignment and it then went on to the Treasury for an official to calculate the amount payable to the contractor. Since the lists were primarily accounting documents, and no longer relevant to judicial process, they appear often to have been made out with less attention to orthographic than to numerical accuracy. Inexactitude became worse compounded when the lists were copied into ledgers or Money Books. Given also that not all transports after 1717 came under the official scheme (some were permitted to arrange their own transportation and others were picked up by freebooting captains with space to spare) it is clearly essential to consult both the judicial and the accounting records to compile an accurate and comprehensive statement of those transported between 1717 and 1775.

This observation is not intended as a criticism of previous publications on the subject which have relied entirely on one source or the other for their content. The best-known of these, "Emigrants in Bondage 1719-1744" by Kaminkow, is indeed a work of considerable enterprise and scholarship, and its well-researched introduction and bibliography are essential reading for those interested in the subject. Nevertheless there are sufficient discrepancies and omissions in this excellent work (e.g. the omission of transport ships sailing in September and December and July 1739) to warrant our retracing the same ground in respect of Middlesex. Where major discrepancies of spelling have occurred we have favoured the names as given in the judicial records but note the alternatives in parentheses: a trial could be quashed on a successful plea of misnomer.

The Middlesex Judiciary

The three Sessions (or courts) at which prisoners were sentenced to transportation were: the Session of Delivery of the Gaol of Newgate for Middlesex; the Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the County of Middlesex; and the Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the City and Liberty of Westminster. Each kept its own separate records and each had its own gaols although Newgate housed prisoners both for Middlesex and the City of London for trial at Gaol Delivery.

In general the more serious cases (by contemporary standards) were sent for trial at this Sessions which met eight times a year, and the vast majority of the sentences of transportation were imposed by this court which sat at the Old Bailey. There was, however, no uniformity of practice in deciding which cases should be tried where, except that capital offences such as murder, highway robbery and counterfeiting were the prerogative of the Sessions of Gaol Delivery. Since only this Sessions could impose the death sentence, the records of those reprimed for transportation will all be found under this heading.

Middlesex Quarter Sessions

This court tried all the run-of-the-mill criminal cases arising in the county, most of them petty larcenies. It also had wide administrative powers and dealt with a variety of civil disputes between parishes. This court had the power to impose such sentences as burning in the hand, public whipping, or periods at the pillory or in a House of Correction. It met eight times a year and began to impose regular sentences of transportation from about 1749

Westminster Quarter Sessions

The jurisdiction of this court extended only to cases arising within the City of Westminster which covered half a dozen parishes. The first sentence of transportation noted at this Sessions was passed in June 1763.

Purley,
Surrey,
England.

Easter 1973
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GREATER LONDON RECORD OFFICE (MIDDLESEX RECORDS)

A printed calendar, "Middlesex Sessions Records" in four volumes edited by William Le Hardy, covering the period 1612-1618; and "Middlesex County Records" edited by J.C. Jeaffreson, covering selected periods up to 1688, are both valuable sources for the earlier period of transportation. The remaining sources used, however, have all been MS. Note that records of judicial process are written in Latin until 1733 (except during the Commonwealth period 1651-1660) and in heavily condensed form at that.

Gaol Delivery Registers 1620-1672 (GLRO(M)/MJ/GBR)

These six large and well-written registers contain a convenient summary of the Gaol Delivery Rolls (q.v.), including the names of prisoners, with shorthand notes of judgments. Periodically there appears a list of prisoners previously sentenced to death but pardoned on condition that they accept transportation to one of the American plantations, usually in the West Indies. Such sentences or reprimands are rare until 1660, but from then until 1672 (with the exception of 1666, the year of the Great Fire of London, when no transportation orders were made) this became an increasingly popular method of disposing of those convicted. An average of 35 felons a year was being shipped to the colonies in this period.

Gaol Delivery Books (GLRO(M)/MJ/GBB and OB/SB)

These contain much the same information as the Registers but in a more condensed and less legible style for the earlier periods. The series runs from 1639 to 1834 but, for the period up to 1718, has been used only to fill in gaps and to provide a check against other sources. From 1718 to April 1733 and from January 1738 to June 1756, however, the Books contain copies of bonds with transportation contractors listing all those prisoners from the Sessions of Gaol Delivery due to be transported.

Gaol Delivery Sessions Rolls (GLRO(M)/MJ/GSR & OB/SR)

These form the hardcore of the judicial records

and an almost complete series survives from 1549. Each roll contains the documents of one Sessions, principally a bill of indictment for each prisoner giving his parish and occupation as well as details of his alleged offence. The indictments are rolled in an outer parchment cover on which is written a list of prisoners for trial, the names of the jury, and a calendar of Middlesex prisoners held in Newgate "referred to previous orders". This last is a most valuable (often the only) source for the names of prisoners reprieved for transportation between 1672 and 1718, for a brief note was penned beside the names of those reprieved for transportation after having been sentenced. Unfortunately many of the rolls of this period are defective or decayed and, since the calendar formed the outermost cover, it has often suffered most. Nevertheless the great majority of the names have been rescued since the list of prisoners was repeated in successive rolls until they were finally disposed of.

Transportation Bonds 1682, 1720-1756 (GLRO(M)/MJ/SPT)

These are the originals of the bonds binding the transportation contractor and the captain of a departing ship, under an agreed financial penalty, to embark a quantity of named convicts within a specified period, to take them to America, and there to obtain a receipt for them from a Customs official. Only one such bond survives from the 17th century, and the series is far from complete for the 18th century, even including those copied into the Gaol Delivery Books. Nor does each list of names always tally identically with those in Treasury records. Some discrepancies can, no doubt, be accounted for by deaths, last-minute reprieves and clerical errors.

Quarter Sessions of the Peace
Middlesex and Westminster

In addition to the Calendars mentioned at the beginning of this section, the Greater London Record Office (Middlesex Records) holds a duplicated and indexed calendar of Quarter Sessions Books up to 1751. The names of many sentenced to transportation are included.

This series runs from 1639 and follows the same general pattern as the Gaol Delivery Books, but includes much matter of a civil or administrative nature. The series was the principal source for the names of those sentenced to transportation at Quarter Sessions. There is, however, a gap in the series for Westminster after 1763 which has been repaired by reference to the Sessions of the Peace Rolls and to Treasury lists.

Sessions of the Peace Rolls (GLRO(M)/MJ/SR & WJ/SR)

Similar in form and content to the Gaol Delivery Rolls, the series has been used mainly to supply the want of other documents.

Transportation Bonds 1771-1775 (GLRO(M)/MJ/SPT)

Similar to, and part of the same series as, the bonds described on p.xvi, but covering only those sentenced at Quarter Sessions.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

Money Books (T53)

These are large, well-written ledgers in which were entered the details of payments made by the British Treasury, including those to contractors engaged to arrange transportation between 1716 and 1772. Until October 1744 the names of all those to be transported from the City of London and the Counties of Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex, Kent, Surrey and Sussex, and of the ships on which they were embarked were copied into the Money Books. Thereafter only the combined totals for each county, and the names of ships and Captains, were entered. Until 1742 it was also customary to specify the American colony of destination.

Treasury Board Papers (T1)

This series, which is calendared only for the first half of the 18th century, contains amongst a mass of other papers, a broken run of transportation

lists starting in 1747. These give the same information as contained in the Money Books of the earlier period. It is possible that, despite a diligent search of more than 200 boxes of papers in this series, one or two lists have been missed. Certainly there seems to be no other class of Treasury record in which the missing lists could appear. The last lists to appear in the series are for 1772.

OTHER SOURCES

Appeals

Privy Council papers, State Papers (Domestic), and Home Office papers, all lodged at the Public Record Office, contain scattered letters of appeal from convicted prisoners, their friends and relatives, lists of prisoners reprieved, opinions of judges etc. These papers have not been used in the compilation of this volume.

Printed Sources

Refer to the excellent bibliography in Kaminkow's "Emigrants in Bondage".

The best Biographical Dictionary of the English Criminal Classes is undoubtedly the "Old Bailey Sessions Papers for the City of London and County of Middlesex". Despite its unprepossessing title, this massive work gives a vivid and fascinating insight into the seamier side of 18th century life and includes notes on a very large number of those who were sentenced in London and Middlesex to be transported. The British Museum and the Guildhall Library of the City of London hold copies 1684-1688 and 1729-1930 and some issues are available in the Greater London Record Office (Middlesex Records). This series, published in instalments, contains a wealth of detail on the more salacious or horrendous crimes, and enjoyed a wide circulation in the London coffee houses. No research into the life-style of a transportee should omit reference to it, but beware of its many inaccuracies.

As far as possible, names have been grouped in alphabetical order of surname according to modern spellings and cross-referenced where necessary. The month and year of sentence themselves provide adequate reference to the relevant Sessions Roll held by the Greater London Record Office (Middlesex Records), 1 Queen Anne's Gate Buildings, London, S.W.1. Occasionally an entry will show a date of transportation but without a date of sentence. In these cases it will be necessary to search the Calendar of Indictments for the preceding quarter to obtain a reference to the Sessions Roll.

Where a person is shown as having been reprieved for transportation, the date given is that on which the reprieve is noted and not that on which the death sentence was passed. The date of original sentence will usually be found by reference to the Calendar of Indictments for the period immediately preceding the date of reprieve. A similar procedure should be followed in cases where a person is shown as having pleaded transportation or to be awaiting transportation. In the 17th century it was not uncommon for one, or even two, years to elapse before a condemned prisoner was reprieved.

The date of transportation and name of ship have been included with individual entries only where it has been possible to find a receipt from the Captain of the ship concerned. Where no date of transportation is given for a person sentenced after 1716 it may be assumed in most cases that transportation was effected in the ship next to sail after the date of sentence. A full list of sailings from 1716 onwards appears as an Appendix.

als = alias: in the case of married women, the alias was often the maiden name.

AT = Awaiting transportation } followed by the
date on which the
PT = Pleaded transportation } notation first appears

R = Reprrieved, followed by the date on which the
reprieve is noted

S = Sentenced to transportation }
at Sessions of Gaol Delivery } followed by the
date of the Session
SQ = Sentenced to transportation } on which sentence
at Middlesex Quarter Sessions } was passed
SW = Sentenced to transportation }
at Westminster Sessions }

s = stealing, followed by the item(s) stolen

T = Transported, followed by the date of embarkation,
ship's name and (where specified) the destination.

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ENGLISH CONVICTS

IN

COLONIAL AMERICA

Volume I

MIDDLESEX: 1617 - 1775

Oct 1732 Caesar to Va
Rachel

for marrying without
14 yrs Jan 1756

be T 14 yrs
30 Patapscoe to Md

of St James Westminster
Linen T Jan 1741

annock Va
al
50 Litchfield
ot T Dec 1734

1731 Smith to Va
1773
1752 Litchfield

yds cotton T Jan 1736

1718 Eagle to Md or Va

3), William S Dec
734 Caesar to Va
an-May T June 1738

a
1753 Thames
s money but acquitted
T Apr 1762 Dolphin
Apr 1772 Thornton

70 Thornton

1768 Justitia

1731 Smith to Va
1741 Speedwell or

1736 Dorsetshire to Va
14 yrs Sept 1755 Tryal
ot T 14 yrs Oct 1730

1770 Thornton
e life Sept 1767

GRIGG, Margaret (1747) see OLDFIELD
GRIGGE, Margaret (1754) see CLARKE
GRIGG, William S Feb-Apr T May 1751 Tryal
GRIGSON, James R Oct 1700
GRYMES, Francis (1699) see EXON
GRIMES, Hannah (1722) see GRAHAM
GRIMES, John S May 1726
GRIMES, Robert SQ Apr T May 1755 Rose
• GRIMSON als GRIMSHAW, James S Feb T Apr 1739
Forward to Va
GRIMSTONE, Samuel S Feb T Sept 1737 Pretty Patsy
to Md
GRINALD, Thomas S June T Aug 1769 Douglas
GRISBY, Phebe S Apr 1720
GRISSELL, Hannah S Jan 1757
GRITTON, William S Sept-Oct 1748 T Jan 1749 Laura
GROOM, Ann wife of Jacob S Oct-Dec 1739 T Jan 1740
York to Md
GROOM, Charles of St George Hanover Square S Jan
s hat etc T Jan 1740 York to Md
GROOM, Jonathan SQ May T July 1771 Scarsdale
GROOM, Mary S Apr T Apr 1741 Speedwell or Medi-
terranean to Md
GROOM, William T Sept 1755 Tryal
GROOM, William S Sept-Dec 1755 T Jan 1756 Greyhound
GROSHIA, Martin SQ Dec 1664 for attending conventicle
GROSS, Sarah S Apr 1744 to be T 14 yrs
GROVE, William S May-July 1773
GROVES, Ann S July-Dec 1747
GROVES, Edward of St Dunstan in West S Feb s pewter
pot T Feb 1740 York to Md
GROVES, John (1753) see SMITH
GROVES, Sarah (1727) see LINNY
GROVES, Sarah wife of John S Apr 1773
GROWDEN, Ann S June-Dec 1738 T Jan 1739 Dorsetshire
to Va
GRUBB, William S Feb-Apr T June 1756 Lyon
GUBBIDGE, George AT Feb 1675
GUEST, John S May s lead from St Dunstan's Church,
Stepney T Nov 1759 Phoenix
GUILDFORD als WOOD, Margaret S Oct 1768 T Jan 1769
Thornton
GILFORD, William S Sept T Sept 1757 Thetis
GULLY, Michael S Dec 1763 T Mar 1764 Tryal
GULLEY, Richard R Jan-Feb T 14 yrs Apr 1772 Thornton
GULLICK, William S July-Sept 1754
GULLIFORTH, Ann S Jan T Sept 1737 Pretty Patsy to Md
GUNN, Mary S July T July 1772 Taylor

<u>Ship's Name</u>	<u>Captain</u>	<u>Approximate Sailing Date</u>	<u>Destination</u>	<u>P.R.O. Refs T53 Series</u>
PRETTY PATSY	Francis Lux	Sept 1737	Md	39/121
DORSETSHIRE	John Whiting	Jan 1738	Va	39/182
FORWARD	John Magier	June 1738	Va or Md	39/248
DORSETSHIRE	John Whiting	Jan 1739	Va	39/408
FORWARD	Benjamin Richardson	Apr 1739	Va	39/448
??	Adam Muir of Maryland	July 1739	Md	(Bond in Mdix Records)
DUKE OF CUMBERLAND	William Harding	Oct 1739	Va	40/45
YORK	Anthony Bacon	Oct 1739	Md	40/170
ESSEX	Ambrose Cock	June 1740	Md or Va	40/204
VERNON	Henry Lee	Dec 1740	Md	40/289
HARPOONER	John Wilson	Jan 1741	Rappahannock Va	40/290
SPEEDWELL	William Camplin	Apr 1741	Md	40/337
MEDITERRANEAN	George Harriot	Apr 1741	Md	40/338
CATHERINE & ELIZABETH	Wm. Chapman	May 1741	Md	40/338
SEA HORSE	John Rendell	Oct 1741	Va	40/414
INDUSTRY	Charles Barnard	Feb 1742	Md	40/484
BOND	John Gardiner	Apr 1742	Potomack Md	40/485
BLADON	Samuel Laurence	June 1742	Md	41/129
FORWARD 7	John Sargent	Sept 1742	America	41/130
FORWARD 8	Barnet Bond	Mar 1743	America	41/227
JUSTITIA	Edward Maxwell	May 1743	Potomack Md	41/227
INDIAN QUEEN	Jack Campbell	Nov 1743	America	41/326
GEORGE WILLIAM	James Knight	Feb 1744	Md	41/327
NEPTUNE	Jack Campbell	May 1744	America	41/419
JUSTITIA	James Dobbins	May 1744	America	41/462
SUSANNAH	James Dobbins	Oct 1744	America	41/462
? TRYAL	John Johnstoun	Jan 1745	America	41/462

SMITH	William Loney	Oct 1731	Md	35/496
FORWARD	George Buckenridge	Dec 1731	Va	36/138
PATAPSCOE	Darby Lux	Apr 1732	Va and Md	36/212
CABSAR	William Loney	Oct 1732	Md	36/306
SMITH	George Buckenridge	Apr 1733	Va	36/424
PATAPSCOE	Darby Lux	Feb 1733	Va or Md	37/10
CABSAR	William Loney	Apr 1733	Md	37/11
PATAPSCOE	Darby Lux	Jan 1734	Va	37/212
CABSAR	William Loney	Apr 1734	Md	37/304
PATAPSCOE	Darby Lux	Dec 1734	Va	37/304
PATAPSCOE	William Loney	Apr 1735	Va	38/80
JOHN	John Griffin	Dec 1735	Md	38/255
DORSETSHIRE	William Loney	Feb 1736	Va	38/255
PATAPSCOE	Francis Lux	May 1736	Md	38/337
DORSETSHIRE	William Loney	Dec 1736	Va	38/456

(Bond in Mdix Records)

Filby Reference No. 1229.10

Coldham, Peter W., 1997, *The Kings Passengers to Maryland and Virginia*: Westminster, MD, Family Line Publications, 450 p.

INTRODUCTION

An important anniversary occurring in the year this book is published - but one unlikely to be widely celebrated - is the fourth centenary of an Act of Queen Elizabeth I providing for the "Punishment of Rogues, Vagabonds and Sturdy Beggars" by transporting them overseas to expiate their offences by hard labour. The explorer Richard Hakluyt is usually credited with fathering this idea, and in 1584 recommended that "the multitude of idle and mutinous persons within the realm . . . whereby all the prisons are stuffed full . . . might be employed . . . in western parts sawing and felling of timber and in planting of sugar canes." It is difficult to resist the conclusion that this now forgotten Act largely determined the demography of the British colonies in southern America, the West Indies and even Australia.

Virginia was recommended in 1606 as a most suitable place to send idle vagrants, an idea supported by Governor Dale of Virginia five years later. By 1615 the practice of commuting to a term of transportation the death sentences imposed on those found guilty of the less heinous capital offences found legal expression in an edict of the Privy Council. After referring slavishly to the King's singular clemency and mercy, the edict provided that those so pardoned should be "constrayned to toyle in such heavey and painefull workes as such a servitude shalbe a greater terror to them than death it selfe."

Until more formal schemes were devised for the pardoning and transportation of felons, the process has every appearance of having been vague and haphazard. The King's favourites who had interests overseas were sometimes allowed to impress a quota of condemned prisoners and the young Virginia Company in 1620 was even encouraged to round up 100 children from the streets of London to "redeem their souls from misery and ruin" by packing them off to Virginia. Those children who proved disobedient or obstinate were to be imprisoned and punished. It was left to the reforming zeal of the victorious Parliamentary forces to introduce a regular and systematic method of emptying English gaols. It began with an order to transport 900 Scottish "rebels" to Virginia in 1650 and 300 the following year to New England. By the middle of that decade the Parliament was able to congratulate itself that beggars and wandering rogues were no longer to be seen in those parts which they had formerly infested. From now on the Patent Rolls (PRO: C66) regularly included lists of felons in London, Middlesex, the six Assize Circuits and three Palatinates of Chester, Durham and Lancashire, who were to be formally pardoned on condition of their accepting a period of "voluntary" transportation to the West Indian or American plantations. An Act cynically titled "For the Better Relief of the

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GENEALOGY * LOCAL HISTORY * EARLY MAPS

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Poor" in 1662 made it lawful for Justices of the Peace to transport any rogue, vagabond or sturdy beggar adjudged to be incorrigible.

The system of transportation, such as it was, began to fall to pieces by the end of the seventeenth century: the colonies had learned to refuse the importation of convict labour and few merchants could now be found to take on the financial risk of shipping and selling them. By the end of 1697 the City of London was so overrun by disorderly prisoners that the Government was finally forced into accepting the need to subsidise the transportation trade. Before any new arrangements could come into effect, however, a continental war overtook the country, almost immediately followed by the first Scottish rebellion of 1715. Traditional methods were employed to dispose of the Scots prisoners who, fortuitously, provided a blueprint for the future conduct under State auspices of a burgeoning trade in transported convicts.

Early in 1718 the Act "for the Further Preventing Robbery, Burglary and other Felonies, and for the More Effectual Transportation of Felons" passed into the statute book. Its provisions remained essentially unchanged until the American Revolution of 1775 rendered the Act redundant, though the experience gained during the six decades in which it was applied can be clearly detected in the subsequent transportation schemes to Australia. After 1718 all but the most heinous or most trivial crimes could attract a sentence of transportation for seven or fourteen years, though the King still retained the prerogative of pardoning those sentenced to death for their crimes on condition of their serving in the colonies. For the first time, also, the Privy Purse was to be used to defray the cost of shipping felons from London, Middlesex, the Home Counties (Essex, Hertfordshire, Kent, Surrey and Sussex) and Buckinghamshire which together accounted for some two-thirds of the country's criminal population. It is largely due to the direct financial interest of the State that there survives in English archives such a superb and virtually complete collection of transportation records for this period. The more recent identification within Maryland archives of documentary evidences for the landings there of English felons has now prompted this attempt to provide a survey of convict passenger lists for those embarked for Maryland and Virginia between 1718 and 1776.

It has been frequently remarked that English convicts form by far the largest class of identifiable emigrants to the Americas - well over 50,000 and rising as additional records are traced - yet relatively little attention has been paid so far to researching and publishing the relevant historical and genealogical data which is accessible on both sides of the Atlantic. For example, very few

of the surviving County Quarter Sessions records in England, almost all containing unique references to transported felons, have been decently calendared, let alone transcribed or indexed. Regrettably also, much of what has been published on the subject has suffered from poor research, scholarship and presentation. Though it would be grossly arrogant to claim that the records now presented are either comprehensive (indeed they are far from it) or free from error, every attempt has been made to compare one set of documents with another and to refer back to the original court documents where discrepancies have been noticed.

Contemporary Records

The preamble to the 1718 Act referred specifically to the failure of previous transportation schemes to deter "wicked and evil-disposed persons . . . [who] have often neglected to perform the conditions [of transportation] and returned to their former wickedness" and to "the great want of servants who might be the means of improving and making the Colonies and Plantations more useful." After serving their full term, those transported were to be regarded as having been pardoned, though any who returned to England before the expiry of their term of transportation were to be executed. To ensure that the requirements both of the law and of fiscal accountability were safeguarded, the merchants who shipped condemned convicts overseas were required to give financial security for their safe delivery and the ships' captains to procure from the port of entry in America a certificate of their landing. Furthermore the colony of Maryland, where one in every ten white adult males was reckoned by 1755 to be a British convict, had, from the inception of the Transportation Act, required proof of each felon's conviction to be registered in a local court. Together these stipulations ensured the recording and survival of a great mass of documentary evidence regarding the names and movements of this category of involuntary emigrants. For Virginia, most of whose records before 1776 were destroyed at the burning of Richmond in 1865, the surviving English records are unique.

Of the more than 300 convict ships identified as having crossed the Atlantic from the ports of London, Bristol, Liverpool and Bideford between 1716 and 1776, only a dozen or so were destined for the West Indies or the Carolinas, and then only before 1730. Thereafter Maryland or Virginia were the invariable destinations. A pattern quickly developed whereby the principal English prisons were cleared on a regular basis two or three times a year at times to suit maritime requirements and the demands of tobacco exporters in the colonies. From 1718 to 1742 a prominent London merchant

named Jonathan Forward held the appointment of "Contractor for the Transports" and was initially paid £3 a head for each transported felon, soon rising to £5. Forward was succeeded by an unsavoury character named Andrew Reid who was, in turn, replaced in 1762 by John Stewart. In 1772, after the death of Stewart, the Treasury decided to abrogate the system of appointing and paying contractors, having discovered that there were merchants ready to clear the gaols at their own expense and rely on the profits from the sale of felons to cover their costs. A pioneer in this area was Duncan Campbell who reported to a House of Commons committee in 1779 that he had sold common male convicts for an average of £10 each, females at £8 to £9, and tradesmen for £15 to £25. He had transported 473 felons a year taking between 100 and 200 persons in one ship.

The western counties of England, which contributed handsomely to populating Maryland with their surplus criminal fraternities, had no State subsidy to fall back on and therefore had to rely on local transportation contractors based in the ports of Exeter, Bridport, Barnstaple and finally Bristol. The impact of American independence upon the penal systems in these areas was as devastating as it was slow to dawn. Well into 1784 the County Courts were continuing to make out transportation orders requiring convicts to be transported to America while the local gaols bulged at the seams with waiting prisoners. Efforts by County Clerks to arrange shipping to America were universally met with rebuffs and excuses such as "Not one of [the vessels] will take convicts, having all of them hourly applications to take passengers which they cannot accommodate." (Dorset Quarter Sessions MSS). At last central government had to come to the rescue by accepting large numbers of county prisoners for work in the hulks moored along the Thames in London.

How desperate the situation had become may be gauged from the frantic and ultimately disreputable - attempts made by the English government to continue dumping its convicted prisoners in the American plantations. The last gasp came with the despatch of the *George*, under the assumed name of the *Swift*, ostensibly to Nova Scotia but in fact to Baltimore, under the command of Capt. Thomas Pamp. There on 24 December 1783 he successfully landed a cargo of felons but triggered off American resolve never again to allow the importation of felons. An attempt by the London government in 1784 to repeat the achievement of the previous year was an unmitigated failure. A final effort was made in 1787 when 131 convicts were shipped from Dublin by the *Chance* and 73 of them landed on a desert island called Haneago. From there they were taken to New Providence Island and, in July 1788, 14 men and 8 women were put on board the

Prince William Henry, Capt. William Thompson, to be shipped to Baltimore only to be refused entry. The Government of Maryland was urged "to take suit as may be necessary for the safety of citizens and the integrity of Government which we think most grossly insulted." (MSA: MSS S1005-16525).

Duncan Campbell, the last officially appointed "Contractor for the Transports," provides an almost seamless continuity between the system of convict transportation as it was envisaged in 1718 and the more developed schemes devised to populate the early Australian settlements. As a chief adviser to the Government on penal reorganisation during and after the American debacle of 1782, he would have agreed with the Parliamentary Committee of 1785 that transportation "answered every good purpose that could be expected of it" by "reclaiming prisoners and turning them into good citizens" and was "not attended with very much expense to the public." After serving as Superintendent of the Thames Hulks, Duncan Campbell became one of the principal architects of the schemes which launched the First and Second Fleets to Australia. His family and business papers are, indeed, preserved in an Australian archive (the Mitchell Library in Sydney) and provide an invaluable insight into the transportation trade as it was conducted during the latter years of the eighteenth century.

Where to Look for further information

With the exception of some convicts sentenced in the Midland Circuit, the name, place of residence and offence of each convict listed in this volume should be found on a Bill of Indictment enrolled amongst the records of each session of the Assize or Quarter Session Court. Indexes to original documents within these classes are virtually non-existent but an alphabetical list of felons known to have been sentenced to transportation between 1614 and 1775 has been compiled as *The Complete Book of Emigrants in Bondage* (Genealogical Publishing Co. Inc., Baltimore, 1988).

a) Court Records

The Assize (or Gaol Delivery) Courts were responsible for trying the gravest crimes. The Old Bailey jurisdiction, which covered all criminal cases arising within the City of London and the County of Middlesex, held separate Sessions eight times a year, each resulting in a roll of documents recording the proceedings. The records covering London are at the Corporation of London Records Office, and those for Middlesex at the London Metropolitan Archives.

Outside the metropolis, England was divided into Circuits presided over by travelling judges who visited each county in turn, usually twice a year, and the records of each Session in each county were similarly enrolled and are preserved in the Public Record Office, Kew, Richmond, Surrey TW9 4DU, within the following classes:

Home Circuit (Essex, Hertfordshire, Kent, Surrey, Sussex).
Gaol Delivery Rolls ASSI 35

Western Circuit (Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Hampshire, Somerset, Wiltshire).

Gaol Delivery Books ASSI 23
Order Books ASSI 24
Crown Minute Books ASSI 21

Oxford Circuit (Berkshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Monmouthshire, Oxfordshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire).
Gaol Delivery Rolls ASSI 5
Crown Minute Books ASSI 2

Norfolk Circuit (Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Norfolk, Suffolk).
Gaol Delivery Rolls ASSI 16
Gaol Books ASSI 33/1, 34/17, 33/2-5
(one volume in this series held by Gray's Inn Library as Ms 45).
Indictment Rolls ASSI 35

Northern Circuit (Cumberland, Northumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire).
Crown Minute Books ASSI 41
Gaol Books ASSI 42
Indictment Rolls ASSI 44

Midland Circuit (Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire, Rutland, Warwickshire).
The records of this Circuit prior to 1800 were destroyed.

Chester & Flint Palatinate
Rough Minute Books CHES 35/24
Crown Minute Books CHES 21/7
Session Rolls CHES 24

Durham Palatinate
Crown Minute Books DUR 15/1, 16/1
Assize Rolls DUR 17
Assize Proceedings DUR 19/3

Leicester Palatinate
Minute Books & Pardons PL 28/1-3
Assize Rolls PL25
Indictments PL 26

b) State records

After 1655 and before the Transportation Act of 1718, deserving prisoners in each Circuit were selected to be reprieved from the gallows on condition of their accepting a term of transportation. Each formal pardon, signed by the King, was enrolled in the great series of Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office as Class C 66. The voluminous correspondence maintained between the judges, Assize clerks, prison administrators and the central bureaucracy in London, including appeals and reports, has also been faithfully preserved amongst Class SP (State Papers), principally SP 44 (Appeals, Petitions and Reprieves) and SP 36/141-159 (Petitions and Law Officers' Reports).

The British Treasury which became responsible after 1718 for payments to contractors in respect of the transportation of felons from the London, Middlesex, Home Circuit and Buckinghamshire prisons, maintained meticulous records of the numbers and names of those so disposed of and, very often, of the ships involved. Ledgers in PRO Class T 53 (Warrants for Money) contain the names of transported felons from 1718 to 1744 and documents in Class T 1 (Treasury Board Papers) from 1750 to 1772, with occasional gaps.

c) County Records

The records of Quarter Session and Borough Courts which exercised the power in every county (though less frequently and for less serious cases) to transport convicted offenders, are all preserved in the London and some 50 County or Borough Record Offices. In addition, almost every Record Office holds some non-judicial records relating to convict transportation ranging from bonds with contractors and ship captains to detailed correspondence. In addition to such resources, the Corporation of London Record Office holds copies of Landing Certificates in respect of most convicts delivered

from London, Middlesex and the Home counties to American ports between 1718 and 1736.

d) Printed resources

The best known Who's Who of the criminal classes of the 18th century is the series of *Old Bailey Sessions Papers* which record the trials and sentences of almost every felon that passed through the Old Bailey during that period. The *Gentleman's Magazine* also reported the trials though less consistently or extensively, and often gave details of the sailings of transport ships.

THE ARRANGEMENT OF THIS BOOK

The first section is devoted to a chronological listing of all the convict passenger lists so far discovered in the repositories and categories described above. Within each listing, those transported - known throughout the English-speaking world as "The King's Seven-Year Passengers" - have been arranged by their county of origin and then in alphabetical order of surname. Further information about each person listed will usually be available, first by reference to the printed sources already mentioned, then by research in the relevant London or county Sessions records. It should, however, be emphasized that many more transported felons than are listed in this work will be found in the *Complete Book of Emigrants in Bondage* previously referred to.

The second section consists of an alphabetical listing of transported felons advertised as "runaways" in Maryland, Virginia and Pennsylvania newspapers of the eighteenth century. Where individual runaways may safely be identified with those listed in the first section, this has been indicated. The original newspaper references have been obtained from transcriptions made by Richard Cox from the *Maryland Gazette* for the *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* Vols. 68-69, *seriatim*; and those listed in Karen Mauer Green's *The Maryland Gazette 1727-1761* (Frontier Press, Galveston, 1989); in Robert K. Headley Jr.'s *18th-Century Virginia Newspapers* (Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., Baltimore, 1987); and in Farley Grubb's *Runaway Servants, Convicts and Apprentices Advertised in the Pennsylvania Gazette, 1728-1798* (Genealogical Publishing Co., 1992). I am particularly indebted to Ed Wright and Bob Barnes who expended much time and effort in identifying and abstracting these sources.

A third, and briefer, section, contributed by Bob Barnes and based principally on his researches, is devoted to case histories of some English felons who made their mark in the land of their exile and whose descendants are entitled to remember them with some pride.

In his book *Bound for America: the Transportation of British Convicts to the Colonies, 1718-1775* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), Roger Ekirch drew attention to the large number of convicts who were purchased to work in the ironworks of Maryland. He attempted to trace the origins of 145 felons in Kent Co, records but was able to identify only five with certainty (pp. 144-145; a further 395 male convicts imported into Kent and Queen Anne's Cos. were also made the subject of investigation but here only eight could be positively identified (pp. 180-181). The proportion of identifiable felons amongst the population of colonial Maryland and Virginia has grown appreciably with the comparative studies reflected in this book but the ease and frequency with which convicts and "runaways" changed their names coupled with the vagaries of contemporary spelling will always present a problem to conscientious genealogists and historians.

Researches made independently by Bob Barnes have shown that several early inhabitants of Baltimore Co. started life in Maryland as detainees "at His Majesty's pleasure," some going on to acquire land by patent, purchase or lease, in order to settle down and raise families. Of the twenty case studies outlined here, all were married, fourteen are known to have had children, and some are known to have descendants living today.

SOURCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

The sources for each ship passenger list are shown against individual headings. From 1718 until the end of 1746 there are reasonably consistent lists of transported convicts from London, Middlesex and the Home Counties included in Treasury Money Order Books (T53). Thereafter and until 1750 (and even later where gaps exist) some of the passenger lists have been compiled from surviving Bonds and Sessions Records. From 1750 to July 1772 extensive use has been made of surviving passenger lists in Treasury Board Papers (T1). Between July 1772 and 1776 Bonds and Sessions Records have again been invoked. All known Maryland record sources have been examined and combined with data from English archival repositories. Lastly those County Quarter Sessions records which are accessible have been examined and relevant material added to the shipping lists.

The following abbreviations have been adopted:

- 1783 AL: Assessment List of 1783. Transcribed by Robert Barnes and Bettie S. Carothers and published as *1783 Tax List of Baltimore County, Maryland*. Lutherville: Carothers, 1978.
- 1790 CE: Heads of Families... First Census, 1790, Maryland.
- AA Co: Anne Arundel Co., Maryland.
- AL Co: Albemarle Co., Virginia.
- BA Co: Baltimore Co., Maryland.
- BAAB: Baltimore Co. Administration Bonds.
- BAAD: Baltimore Co. Administration Accounts, Libers 6-10, MSA.
- BAAM: *Baltimore American*.
- BACT: Baltimore Co. Chattel Records; Libers 1 and 2 at MSA. Libers 3 at MHS. Libers 4 at MSA.
- BADB: Baltimore Co. Debt Book.
- BAJA: *St. James' Parish Register, 1787-1815*. Compiled by Bill and Martha Reamy. FLP.
- BALR: Baltimore Co. Land Records.
- BAMI: Baltimore Co. Court Minutes.
- BAOR: *Baltimore County Overseers of Roads, 1693-1793*. By Henry C. Peden, Jr. FLP.
- BAPA: Records of St. Paul's Parish. By Bill and Martha Reamy. 2 vols. FLP, 1989.
- BARP: *Revolutionary Patriots of Baltimore Town and Baltimore County*. By Henry C. Peden, Jr. Westminster: Family Line Publications.
- BATHa: *St. Thomas Parish Marriages, 1738-1995*. FLP.
- BATHb: *St. Thomas Parish Baptisms, 1732-1995*. FLP.
- BATH. 1783. See 1783 AL.
- BCE: *Baltimore County Families, 1659-1759*. By Robert W. Barnes. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1989.
- BFG: *Baltimore Federal Gazette*.
- BO Co: Botetourt Co., Virginia.
- CAL Co: Calvert Co., Maryland.
- CAR Co: Caroline Co., Maryland.
- CBBE: *Complete Book of Emigrants in Bondage*. By Peter Wilson Coldham. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc.
- CE Co: Cecil Co., Maryland.
- CHA Co: Charles Co., Maryland.
- CHC Co: Chesterfield Co., Virginia.
- CLRO: Corporation of London Record Office, Guildhall, London EC2P 2EJ.
- CMSP: *Calendar of Maryland State Papers*. (various series).
- GSV: *The Green Spring Valley: Its History and Heritage*. 2 volumes. *Volume One: A History and Historic Houses*. By Dawn F. Thomas. *Volume Two: Family Genealogies*. By Robert Barnes. Baltimore: The Maryland Historical Society, 1975.
- CU Co: Culpeper Co., Virginia.
- DO Co: Dorchester Co., Maryland.
- FA Co: Fairfax Co., Virginia.
- FR Co: Frederick Co., Maryland.
- FRV Co: Frederick Co., Virginia.
- IAGLE: *St. George's Parish Registers, 1689-1793*, by Bill and Martha Reamy (Westminster: Family Line Publications, 1988).
- IHAL Co: Halifax Co., Virginia.
- IAR Co: Harford Co., Maryland.
- HARP: *Revolutionary Patriots of Harford County*. By Henry C. Peden. Bel Air: Bel Air Copy Center, 1985.
- HAWB: Harford County Will Book.
- IBCP: *Inhabitants of Baltimore County, 1763-1774*. By Henry Peden. Westminster: Family Line Publications.
- IBCW: *Inhabitants of Baltimore County, 1692-1763*. By F. Edward Wright. FLP.
- KE Co: Kent Co., Maryland.
- KG Co: King George Co., Virginia.
- KW Co: King William Co., Virginia.
- LA Co: Lancaster Co., Virginia.
- LC: Landing Certificate.
- LMA London Metropolitan Archives, 40 Northampton Road, London EC1R 0HB.
- LO Co: London Co., Virginia.
- MCHR: Maryland Chancery Records, including *Abstracts of Chancery Court Records of Maryland, 1669-1782*. By Debbie Hooper. FLP.
- MDAD: Maryland Administration Accounts.
- MDTP: Maryland Testamentary Proceedings.
- MG: *Maryland Gazette*.
- MGSB: *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin*.
- MINV: Maryland Inventories Liber.
- MJ: *Maryland Journal*.
- MJBA: *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*.
- MPL: Maryland Patent Liber.
- MSA: Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Maryland.
- NGSQ: *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*.
- NO Co: Northumberland Co., Virginia.
- OR Co: Orange Co., Virginia.
- PAG: *Pennsylvania Gazette*.
- PE Co: Prince Edward Co., Virginia.
- PG Co: Prince George's Co., Maryland.
- PPGC: Pardon Papers 1777-1836.
- Abstracts by F. Edward Wright in *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin*, Vol. 32 No. 4.
- PRO: Public Record Office, Kew, Richmond, Surrey TW9 4DU.
- QA Co: Queen Anne's Co., Maryland.
- QS: Quarter Sessions.
- RI Co: Richmond Co., Virginia.
- RO Co: Rockingham Co., Virginia.
- SCBC: *Sketches of Citizens of Baltimore City and Baltimore County*. By Sallie Mallick. FLP.
- SJSG: St. John's and St. George's Parish Registers, 1696-1851, by Henry C. Peden. FLP.
- SM Co: St. Mary's Co., Maryland.
- SO Co: Somerset Co., Maryland.
- ST Co: Stafford Co., Virginia.
- TA Co: Talbot Co., Maryland.
- VG: *Virginia Gazette*.
- VGNI: *Virginia Gazette or Northern Intelligencer*.
- VGP: *Virginia Gazette* (pub John Pinkney).
- VGpu: *Virginia Gazette* (pub Alexander Purdie).
- VGR: *Virginia Gazette & Richmond Chronicle*.
- WA Co: Washington Co., Maryland.
- WE Co: Westmoreland Co., Virginia.
- WO Co: Worcester Co., Maryland.

Felons convicted in the Summer Assizes of 1718, transported from Bideford by the *Sophia*, Capt. John Law, and registered in Queen Anne's Co., Maryland in March 1719. (MSA: CR 49,080-IK A, ff. 208-212). Also listed in Kent Co. records (CR 42,840-8533 f. 54).

Cornwall

Bennet, Samuel
Brenton, John
Crapp, Mary
Gate, Richard
Grantlett, John
Jacob, Thomas
Leane, Robert
Obryan, William
Patty, Charles
Vivian, William

Shute, Henry
Spettigue, Burchett
Stevens, William
Taylor, William
Thomas, John alias Baker, Lewis
- 14 yrs
Underhill, Robert Jr.
Underhill, William
Westlake, Joseph
Wood, John

Dorset

Devon
Bennett, George
Brook, William
Clarke, James
Clements, Jonas
Collins, Walter
Farren, William - 14 yrs
Gayer, Andrew
Gregory, Anthony
Judd, David
Mewdon, William
Newton, Daniel
Quick, Thomas
Rall, John
Ruslake, John
Scarborough, Joseph

Grigg, James
Legg, William - 14 yrs
Seaward, Joseph
Stacy, Thomas
Throttlet, Robert

Somerset

Abbott, John
Arney, John
Freestone, Walter
Orney, John
Pippen, John
Rossiter, John
Sellwood, Sarah
Stone, Thomas
Tippet, Thomas

Felons shipped from London to Maryland by the *Worcester* frigate, Capt. Edwyn Tomlins, in February 1719 and registered at Annapolis in June 1719. (PRO: T53/27/220; CLRO Mss 57.7.3; MSA: TP4).

Middlesex

Allen, John
Barton, William
Bignall, Sarah
Bishop alias Cane, Mary
Boulton, Richard
Bowge alias Bowse, Mary.
Brown, Catherine
Brown, James - 14 yrs -
died on passage
Brown, Jane - 14 yrs
Burton, Elizabeth, alias Black Bess
Bush, Nathaniel - died on passage

Butler, William
Casson, Thomas
Chapbell, Charles - 14 yrs
Cole, John, alias Crawford, William
- 14 yrs
Conner, William
Cordell, Sarah
Cox, Charles
Crookshanks, William
Cross, John
Davies, Elizabeth
Davis, Martha
Davison, Jane
Day, Elizabeth

Peter Wilson Coldham
Purley, Surrey, England

Easter 1997
AMDG

Seagoe alias Wilson, Margaret
 Seymour, Mary wife of Thomas
 Simpson, Catherine wife of Charles
 Smith, Middlemore
 Smith, Richard
 Stanford, William
 Stuart, Elizabeth
 Thomas, Ann

Wells, Samuel

Sussex

Vibault, Lancelot
 Ward alias Butler, Elizabeth
 Wells, Edward
 Wells alias King, John
 Welsh, Eleanor
 White, Elizabeth
 Wilkinson, John
 Woodcock, Sarah - 14 yrs

Gurr, Thomas

Felons transported from London to Maryland by the *Sea Nymph*, Capt. Adam Muir, in July 1739. (PRO: T53/39/453).

London

Cross, Charles
 Darby, Owen
 Davey, Robert
 Davis, Thomas - 14 yrs
 England, John
 Foster, Thomas
 Greenaway, William
 London, Martha - 14 yrs
 Norman, Peter
 Owen als Freeman, Thomas
 Pattison, William
 Pyke, Elizabeth als Letitia alias Alicia
 Reynolds, Elizabeth - 14 yrs
 Seymour, Charles Stewart
 Smith, Thomas
 Williamson, John

Evelt, Elizabeth
 Fife, John
 Fisher, Thomas
 Francis, Mathias
 Garnet, Richard
 George, Little
 Giles, Mary wife of James
 Glass, Anthony
 Gray alias Jones, William
 Hays, Ann
 Higginson, Charles
 Hitchins, Joseph
 Hume, Joseph
 Hunt, Edward
 James, John - dead
 Jenkinson, Edward
 Jones, John
 Knafton, Francis
 Laycock, Martha wife of Richard
 Mayhan, James
 McCollough, William
 Melshaw, Sarah wife of Thomas
 Mitchell, John
 Morris, Mary
 Murtogh, Bryan
 Nash alias Nass, Abraham
 Neves, Daniel
 Partridge, Joseph
 Russell (sic), Thomas
 Rider, John
 Rithock, Sarah
 Sanderson, alias Saunders
 alias Alexander, Thomas
 Savage, Thomas
 Sayward, Mary
 Sedgwick, Richard
 Smith, Jane
 Smith, Thomas
 Stanton, Adam
 Stephens, John
 Talbot, John
 Tipping, John
 Turner, James
 Wells, Daniel
 Whitehouse, Jeremiah

Felons transported from London to Virginia by the *Forward*, Capt. Benjamin Richardson, in April 1739. (PRO: T53/39/448).

Buckinghamshire

Cooper, Mary, spinster
 Cubbridge, John
 Haggat, John
 Turnham, Thomas

Rogers, Jonathan
 Strait, George
 Taylor, Thomas

Middlesex

Allen, Ann
 Berry, Mathias
 Booth, Elizabeth
 Bosworth, John
 Connelly, William
 Crockett, John
 Davis, Henry
 Deane, Samuel,
 alias Edwards, Thomas
 Duncalfe, William
 Evans, Mary
 Fossitt, Richard
 Gordon, Ann
 Grimson alias Grimshaw, James
 Harrington, John
 Keeble, Richard
 Lowder, Elizabeth
 O'Neal, Ferdinando
 Postlewaite, Hugh
 White, Sophia wife of John

Middlesex

Alexander, William
 Batson, Mordecai
 Bell, Margaret
 Berry, Michael
 Birch, Mary
 Bird, Bertram alias Bartholomew
 - runaway
 Bird, George
 Blayman, Hannah wife of John
 alias Blindman, Anne
 Bolingbrooke, Mary
 alias wife of James Deal
 Boulton, Honor
 Bull, William
 Campbell, Edward
 Carey, Henry
 Coleman, Joseph
 Coleman, Thomas
 Cope, Eleanor
 Cope, John
 Cunningham, Hugh
 Darlington, James
 Davis, Elizabeth
 Dunn, Paul

Hertfordshire

Noar, William
 Sturgeon, John - 14 yrs

Kent

Davis, William
 Fisher alias Gallway, Thomas
 Howard, Richard
 Lamb, James
 Newell, Luke
 Pearkey, Mary
 Pearse, Ann

Surrey

Cannon, John
 Cole, Henry
 Cole, Mary
 Cotterell, George
 Crochifer, Robert
 Dixon, Richard
 Lee, William
 Miller, Richard
 Parfett, Christopher
 Parsons, James
 Selby, William

London

Cock, Thomas
 Compton, Thomas
 Hughes, John
 Hungerford, John
 Legate alias Legget, John

Felons sentenced in 1782-1783 to be "transported according to the Statutes in that Case made", assigned to George Moore of London, merchant, and by him to George Salmon (of Baltimore, merchant); transported by the *Swift*, Capt. Thomas Pamp, and registered in Baltimore Co. records on 31 December 1783 (MSA: CR 40,516, f.383-389):

London

Barnsley, Joseph
 Bean, John
 Bull, John
 Burgess, John
 Burke, Catherine
 Busby, William
 Collier, Nathaniel
 Coombs, Ann
 Griffiths, Elizabeth
 Hastings, William
 Hawkins, William
 Jacobs, Samuel
 Lancher, Joseph
 North, Catherine
 Perry, John
 Saltonstall, Richard
 Sewell, Richard
 Winton alias Winter, Thomas
 Wood, John

Boyle, Mark
 Brown, Thomas
 Bryan, Thomas
 Cortedge, William
 Dannege, Joseph
 Davis, William
 Dudfield, Thomas
 Fisher, John
 Gaffney, Michael
 Gould, Thomas
 Graves, Mary
 Grove, Benjamin
 Groves, John
 Hall, William
 Hammond, Thomas
 Hant, David
 Hast, Virginia
 Henley, Thomas
 Highbly, Samuel
 Howard, John
 Hulme?, Richard
 Inglescut, Martha
 Jenkins, John
 Jones, John
 Keeling, Charles
 Kellam alias Keeling, John Herbert
 Kilpack, David
 King, Margaret
 Lacey, William
 Lasgent, John
 Lasoach, Baptist
 Legg, Solomon

Middlesex

Allen, Samuel
 Anderson, Edward
 Andrews, Mary
 Bage, George
 Bailey, Daniel
 Barcev, Lavrence
 Beattie?, William
 Blatherhose, William

Levy, Hart
 Littlepage, Thomas
 Lyon, Robert - runaway
 McDaniel, Thomas
 McOwen, Owen
 Mees, John
 Neal, John
 Newton, William
 Partridge, Richard
 Paylin, Frederick
 William
 Plassoo, Joseph alias Barnard
 Read, Samuel
 Savory, John
 Thomas, Charles
 Tomkings, William
 Trusty, Christopher
 Tugwell, Thomas
 Walker, Mary
 Wallis, Samuel
 White, John
 White, Mary
 Williams, Ellis
 Williams, Henry
 Williams, John
 Williams alias Lady, Mary
 Wilson, Thomas alias Hart, Henry
 Wright, Reuben

FELON RUNAWAYS 1734 - 1788

Entries marked with an asterisk appear in *Complete Book of Emigrants in Bondage*.

Abbott, William, 22. From John Adamson, FR Co Md. (MG 12 Jun 1766, 12 & 26 May 1768).*

Abrahams, John, 23. From Francis Mercier. (M) 16 Sep & 7 Oct 1777).*

Aeres, Charles, 35, 58". From James Smith, BA Co Ironworks Md. Has been in the colonies before. (PAG 26 Sep 1765).

Acton, William, English, 28, joiner. From Gamaliel Butler, Annapolis. (MG 15 Jan & 4 Mar 1756).

Adams, George, 35, farmer, good scholar. From John Murray, BA Co Md (MG 10 Aug 1769; from Nicholas Britton (MG 5 Jly 1770).

Adams, John, 24, 58". From David Lindsatt, QA Co Md (PAG 7 Sep 1769).

Adams, William. From John Hood Jr., AA Co Md. (MG 9 Feb 1779).

Adington (Lidgerton) Ann (wife of Thomas), English, good spinner. From Roger Brooke, MO Co Md. (MG 3 & 24 Jun 1777).*

Adley, Joseph, 30. From Abraham Woodward & Gilbert Yealdhall, AA Co Md. (MG 30 Apr 1772).

Adwell, Richard (1767). See Cross, Bartholomew.

Ager, Thomas, English, 24, 5'4". From Charles Howard, BA Co Md. Has run before. (PAG 7 Jly 1773).

Aikens, John, from West of England, 30, team driver for some years. From Caleb Dotsey, AA Co Md. (MG 19 Apr & 10 May 1770).

Aires, Charles, 35, writes well. From James Smith, Kingsbury Furnace, BA Co Md. (MG 24 Oct 1765).

Akister, Thomas, from Yorkshire. From Benj Merryman & John Orrick, BA Co Md. (MG 24 Aug 1775 - 7 Mar 1776).

Alder, John, English. From Philip Hamond, AA Co Md. (MG 6 Sep - 4 Oct 1753).

Aldred, Giles, 25, weaver, Welsh accent. From John Leitell, PE Co Va. (VG 18 Mar 1773).

Allen, James, English, cooper. From Thos Waters, FR Co Md. (MG 1 & 8 Sep 1763).

Allsworth, Samuel, 22, 5'6", gunstoeker. From Samuel Poole, of AA Co Md. (PAG 31 May 1770).

Allum, Thomas, 38, shoemaker. From Joshua Hall, BA Co Md. (MG 21 & 28 Oct 1777).

Ambury, John. From Wm Hobbs, AA Co Md. (MG 30 Jly 1761).*

Ancell, John, English, 30, 5'6". From Thomas Colgate, BA Co Md. (PAG 21 Aug 1766)

Andersby, Thomas, English, 20. From Thos Adams, PG Co Md. (MG 25 Jan 1753).

Anderson, James, English, 32, 5'5". From Capt Craymer, ship captain, at Baltimore. (MG 11 Aug - 1 Sep 1763; PAG 18 Aug 1763).*

Anderson, John, born Leicestershire, brickmaker. From Benedict Calvert, Annapolis. (MG 10 Jun - 1 Jly 1756)

Anderson, William, English, 36. From George Clark, KE Co Md. (MG 8 - 22 May 1766).

Andrews, Joseph, Italian, 27, 5'8", speaks good English & some French. From David Gorsuch & John Ensor Jr. BA Co Md. (MG 18 Apr 1765, PAG 25 Apr 1765)

Andrews, William, an old man. From the snow *Trial*. (MG 15 Feb - 1 Mar 1759).*

Angess, William Daniel, 22, shoemaker. From John Francis & Clement Trigg, Bladenburg Md. (MG 11 Jun 1767).*

Archdeacon, William, 49, tall. From Wm Dimmitt, BA Co Md. (PAG 2 Sep 1742).*

Areher, Benjamin, English, of St. Ives, Cornwall, 22, hatter. From Wm Lux of BA Co Md. (MG 26 Apr - 24 May 1764, PAG 3 May 1764).

Armstrong, George, English, 30, 5'5". From Wm Jones of BA Co Md (PAG 1 Sep 1773).*

- Fuller, Thomas, English, 40, with 4 yrs to serve. From Wm Goodwin, BA Co Md. (MJ 22 Jly 1777) *
- Gabriel, Solomon, English, 5'3", painter, speaks good Dutch. From Thos Jones, BA Co Md. (MG 12 - 26 Jly 1764, PAG 12 Jly 1764) *
- Gafford alias Fields, William, 30, imported by *Patapasco* in 1760, and again transported 1773. From Thos Hawkins, AA Co Md. (MG 10 Aug 1769, MJ 31 Mar 1774).
- Gale, George, from West of England, mason. From John Carr, AA Co Md. (MG 1 - 22 Sep 1757).
- Gale, Joseph (1767). *See* Green.
- Gallop, Matthew, English, 30, 5'8", arrived 6 weeks ago. From Alex Stuart, CI: Co Md. (PAG 18 Sep 1755).
- Gamball, Ralph, 40, ran from *Isabella*. From Smyth & Sadler, KE: Co Md. (MG 20 Jly - 10 Aug 1769).
- Gardner, John, from West of England. From Thos Rutland, nr Snowden's Ironworks Md. (MG 19 & 26 Sep 1765).
- Gardner, John, 24. From Greenbury Griffith, FR Co Md. (MJ 26 Aug - 9 Sep 1773).
- Garraughty, John, Irish, 24. From Chas Ridgely Sr., BA Co Md. (MG 25 Sep 1766).
- Garret, William. From Thos Rutland, nr Snowden's Ironworks Md. (MG 19 & 26 Sep 1765).
- Giasford, Samuel (1772). *See* Carter.
- Giaull, George, Scot, 35, schoolteacher. From John McAtee & Henry McPherson. (MG 22 Jun - 20 Jly 1769).
- Gaynor, Peter, Irish, 34. From Eliam Bailey, nr Baltimore Town. (MJ 25 Feb - 4 Mar 1777).
- Gill, Charles, English, 30, 5'6", jockey. From Edward Teal, Rag-Land, BA Co Md. (MG 15 Oct PAG 22 Oct 1761).
- Gilliard, William Thomson, English, 30, ex cook to Duke of Northumberland, schoolmaster, speaks French. From Abraham Jarrett, BA Co Md. (MG 12 Nov - 3 Dec 1767) *
- Gilson, John, 24. From Robt Ayres, KE: Co Md. (MG 24 Oct 1771).
- Gingle, Isaac, born West of England, farmer, speaks bad & fast English. From John Metcalfe, Patapasco Md. (MG 21 Sep - 12 Oct 1752, 26 Apr - 14 Jun 1753).
- Glover, Henry, blacksmith. From Thos, Saml & John Snowden, PG Co Md. (MG 3 Apr - 22 May 1766).
- Goddard, James, English, 28. From Wm Cromwell & John Eibert, BA Co Md. (MJ 2 - 16 Jly 1774) *
- Godden, William. From Wm Hall, nr Bladensburg Md. (MG 1 Jly 1762).
- Godson, William, brickmaker. From George Scott, AA Co Md. (MJ 28 Jly 1778).
- Gold, George, 30, glazier & plumber. From Patrick Creagh, Annapolis. (MG 28 Dec 1748, 14 Jun 1749).
- Golding, Peter, English, 45, gardener, imported in 1766. From Philip R Fendall, CIAA Co Md. (MG 21 Jun - 5 Jly 1770) *
- Good, Thomas, English, 35, 5'7", miller. From Elias Greenbury Griffith, FR Co Md. (PAG 26 May 1768).
- Goodridge, Gilbert, English, arrived Apr 1753. From Edmund Ball, BA Co Md. (PAG 28 Nov 1754) *
- Goodwin, Thomas, Irish, 45, middle height. From John Jackson, CI: Co Md. (PAG 6 Sep 1744).
- Goulden, George, faurier & physician. From James Smith, CIAA Co Md. (MG 18 Oct - 1 Nov 1759).

- Graham alias Scholar, William, 5'6". From James Christie Jr., BA Co Md. (PAG 29 Jan - 12 Feb 1767) *
- Graham, George, alias Clunis, Thomas, Scot, pretends to teach fencing. From John Jordan, Hugh Mitchell & Alex Lothian, CIAA Co Md. (MG 29 Jan - 11 Mar 1756).
- Graham, George, barber. From John Kinsman, Portobacco Md. (MG 29 Aug - 19 Sep 1754) *
- Grang (Griggs), John, from Kent, England, 30. From Joshua Beall, Bladensburg Md. (MG 29 Sep - 3 Nov 1763) *
- Grant, Thomas, from Northants, England, lately imported from Bristol, gentleman's servant. From Richd Croxall, Baltimore Ironworks Md. (MG 25 Aug - 1 Sep 1763).
- Gray, William, 19. From Patrick Coultis, Richmond Va. (VG 4 Feb 1773).
- Greefes, Henry, Welsh, 40. From Walter Dulany, Md. (MG 24 Aug - 21 Sep 1769).
- Green alias Gale, Joseph, 36, farmer, born Wiltshire, arrived by *Jusittia* Nov 1766. From Nicholas Flood, Va. (PC 27 Apr 1767).
- Green, Peter, English, 42, 5'4". From Samuel Read, FR Co Md. (PAG 12 Apr 1753; letter awaiting him at Annapolis PO MG 29 Apr 1757).
- Green, Richard, 50. From Chas Carroll, nr Baltimore Town. (MG 18 Sep 1766).
- Green, William, from West of England. From John Hood & Mordecai Selby, AA Co Md. (MG 30 Mar - 11 May 1775).
- Greenley, Elizabeth. Executed in Williamsburg for murder of fellow servant. (AWM 16 Dec 1736).
- Greenwood, Thomas, English, 23. From Thos Jacques, FR Co Md. (MG 8 Jun - 13 Jly 1775) *
- Greeses, Henry, Welsh, 40, 5'6". From Thos Christolm, BA Co Md. (PAG 11 Aug 1769).
- Griffin, Anne, Welsh, 32. From Edward Osmond, nr Annapolis. (MG 24 Jan & 18 Apr 1765).
- Griffin, Edward, 45, short. From Edward Rummer, AA Co Md. (PAG 16 Aug 1744) *
- Griffith, John, English, 32. From Eliam Bailey, nr Baltimore Town. (MJ 25 Feb - 4 Mar 1777).
- Griffith, Philip, 21, tailor. From Tobias Ashmore, KE: Co Md. (MG 1 Nov 1770).
- Griffiths, John. From Stephen Bryan, Kent Is Md. (MG 4 Aug 1763).
- Griffiths, James, born Herefordshire, husbandman, imported by *Trial*. From Richd Croxall, BA Co Md. (MG 30 Jun - 4 Aug 1757, 11 May - 15 Jun 1758) *
- Grimshaw, Edmund, from Lancashire, 21, 5'9", weaver, in country 9 months. From Chas Ridgely, BA Co Md. (MG 30 Apr & 18 Jun - 9 Jly 1767, PAG 13 Aug 1767).
- Grimshaw, Job, 40, 5'2", tinker. From John Jones. BA Co Md. (MG 29 Mar - 26 Apr 1764, PAG 8 Apr 1764).
- Groves, James, 30. From Anne Pettibone, AA Co Md. (MG 23 Jun - 29 Sep 1768).
- Groves, James, English, 40, arrived in *Albion* Aug 1763. From Thos Foster, AA Co Md. (MG 5 Jly - 20 Sep 1764, PAG 15 Aug 1764).
- Gummer, Thomas, English, 26, carpenter & sawyer, 5 yrs to serve. From Wm Goodwin, BA Co Md. (MJ 22 Jly 1777) *
- Haines, Joseph, 30. From John Legg, Kent Is Md. (MG 19 Nov 1767 - 11 Feb 1768) *
- Haines (alias Ainsworth), Robert, English, 22, 5'7". From Michael Byrne, KE Co Md. (MG 9 - 30 Nov 1769, PAG 9 Nov 1769).
- Hales (Hails), George, 22, 5'8", lately arrived. From Tobias Rudisley, BA Co Md. (PAG 7 Aug 1766).
- Hall, Edward, from Worcester, England, 40, used to the sea. From Daniel Bowers, nr Baltimore Town. (MG 24 May - 7 Jun 1775) *
- Hall alias Alix, George, 18. From John Grant, KE: Co Md. (MG 26 Apr - 20 May 1770).

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Baltimore, MD, Genealogical Publishing Co., 111 p.

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A LIST OF THE EARLY SETTLERS OF GEORGIA

1322

Edited by

E. MERTON COULTER

and

ALBERT B. SAYE

975, 8
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1983

Baltimore

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To

WYMBERLEY WORMSLOE DeRENNE

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INTRODUCTION

This list of the settlers of Georgia to 1741 is taken from a manuscript volume entitled *A List of Persons Who Went from Europe to Georgia on Their Own Account, or at the Trustees' Charge, or who Joined the Colony or were Born in It, Distinguishing Such as Had Grants there or were only Immates* (serial no. 14220), purchased together with twenty other volumes of manuscripts on early Georgia history by the University of Georgia in 1947. The manuscripts, sold at auction by Sotheby's in London, had formerly constituted a part of the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bt., of Middle Hill, Worcestershire, and Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham, and were reported to have originally belonged to the Earl of Egmont, first President of the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America. Much of the material in the Egmont manuscripts is familiar to students who have used the official records of the Trustees in the British Public Record Office, from which source 26 volumes have been published by the State of Georgia as *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia* (Allen D. Candler, Ed., Atlanta, 1904-13) and 13 more volumes have been collected and are available at the Georgia Department of Archives and History. Yet there are items of great interest that have never been used by historians, notably the list of the early settlers and the *Journal of William Stephens* from October, 1741, to September, 1743.

The list of settlers in the Egmont manuscripts is given under two headings: first, those who went from Europe to Georgia at the Trustees' charge and, second, those who went on their own account. The settlers are listed in roughly alphabetical order, followed by parallel columns with the following headings: age, occupation, date of embarkation, date of arrival, lots in Savannah, lots in Frederica, and "Dead, Quitted, Run Away." Footnotes give additional information concerning most of the persons listed. The division of the colonists into two lists based upon the payment of their passage has been followed in the present publication, but for convenience in printing, the parallel columns and footnotes have been abandoned and the information concerning each colonist quoted directly after his name. Except for this change in arrangement, an attempt has been made to repro-

duce all of the information in the same form as it appears in the original manuscript.

A summary statement at the opening of the manuscript shows that from June 9, 1732, to September 29, 1741, a total of 1,810 persons were sent to Georgia at the expense of the Trustees, that 1,021 joined the Colony at their own expense, that 142 children were born in the Colony, and that "the total supposedly in the Colony on March 4, 1743" was 2,092. The total of 1,810 persons sent to Georgia on charity from 1732 to 1741 compares closely with the figure 1,847 shown by the record of Benjamin Martyn quoted below, preserved in the British Public Record Office (C.O. 5/671), as the number of persons sent on charity to June 9, 1742.

Number of Persons Sent to Georgia on the Charity¹

	Persons	Foreign Protestants	British
In the 1st year to the 9th of June, 1733	152	11	141
In the 2nd year	341	104	237
In the 3rd year	81	58	23
In the 4th year	470	129	341
In the 5th year	32	---	32
In the 6th year	298	163	135
In the 7th year	9	7	2
In the 8th year	138	134	4
In the 9th year	6	3	3
In the 10th year	320	230	90
	1,847	839	1,008

These figures show that of the settlers sent to Georgia on charity during the first ten years 45.4% were "Foreign Protestants." In the present list of settlers sent on charity 319 are specifically described as Palatine Trust Servants, 47 as Palatines, 222 as Salzburgers, 142 as Swiss, 34 as Germans, 13 as German Trust Servants, 29 as Moravians, 33 as Scots, and 2 as Italians. No Jews were included in this list, but 92 of the settlers in the list of those who paid their own passage are identified as Jews. This list, which manifestly is incomplete, shows 1,675 people coming at the expense of the Trustees, and 1,304, on their own charge. It will be noted that compared with the statistics given above, the list falls short in the first classification and in excess of the latter. Undoubtedly the compiler worked from imperfect and incomplete information. It is not evident why his sums total vary so widely from his lists; but undoubtedly he did not secure his totals from

¹. Albert B. Saye, *New Viewpoints in Georgia History* (Athens, 1948), 32.

adding up his lists, as is indicated from the fact that the sums total are recorded on a separate piece of paper inserted and bound with the uniform sheets of the lists.

Occupations listed are of the widest variety—butchers, bakers, and candlestick makers, musicians and writers, vinedressers and brewers, ministers and teachers, seamen and soldiers, merchants and farmers, glaziers and graziers, and a host of others, including two attorneys, Will. Aglionby "who made much mischief in Savannah," and Will Williamson. The leading occupations in numbers were servants, husbandmen, farmers, labourers, carpenters, and weavers. The 827 settlers in the list sent on charity whose occupations were indicated are classified in contemporary terminology as follows: accomplices, 3; alehouse keepers, 1; apothecaries, 5; apprentices, 14; bakers, 8; basket makers, 1; blacksmiths, 4; blockmakers, 1; bookbinders, 2; bookkeepers, 1; book sellers, 1; braziers, 2; brewers, 2; bricklayers, 4; brokers, 1; butchers, 2; cabinet makers, 4; calendars, 1; calico printers, 1; carpenters, 38; carvers, 1; chairmen, 1; clerks, 5; clogmakers, 1; cloth workers, 1; coachmakers, 1; coal sellers, 1; cooks, 1; coopers, 4; cord wainers, 2; cow herders, 5; cyder merchants, 1; drummers, 1; dyers, 6; farmers, 41; fishermen, 2; flax dressers, 3; gardeners, 8; gentlemen, 1; glaziers, 2; gloves, 1; goldsmiths, 1; graziers, 1; grocers, 1; gunsmiths, 1; half pay officers, 1; hatters, 4; heel makers, 1; hosiers, 1; hunters, 1; huntsmen, 1; husbandmen, 49; Indian traders, 1; inn holders, 1; iron mongers, 1; joiners, 2; labourers, 41; leather dressers, 1; linen drapers, 2; linen weavers, 1; locksmiths, 5; masons, 6; mercers, 3; merchants, 2; midwives, 2; millers, 8; millwrights, 5; miners, 5; ministers, 10; missionaries to Indians, 1; musicians, 1; oil men, 1; Palatin servants, 18; Palatin trust servants, 61; peruke makers, 5; potash makers, 1; potters, 1; recorders, 1; rope makers, 4; salters, 1; salpeter men, 1; saw makers, 1; saw mill wrights, 1; sawyers, 6; schoolmasters, 7; schoolmistresses, 1; seamen, 3; secretaries, 1; scriveners, 1; servants, 153; shipwrights, 1; shoemakers, 13; shopkeepers, 1; silk men, 3; silk throwsters, 1; silk weavers, 1; silversmiths, 1; smiths, 6; soldiers, 1; stockingmakers, 1; stockingweavers, 4; storekeepers, 2; surgeons, 8; tallow chandlers, 3; tanners, 6; taylors, 18; teachers of agriculture, 1; traders in goods, 1; trust servants, 90; turners, 3; upholsterers, 3; vine dressers, 4; vintagers, 2; vintners, 1; vitalers, 1; watchmakers, 2; weavers, 23; wheelwrights, 3; wine coopers, 1; wood cutters, 3; woodmen, 1; woolcombers, 1; writers, 3; writing masters, 1; wyre drawers, 1.

The 528 colonists in the list of those who paid their own passage whose occupations are indicated may be classified as follows: apothecaries, 3; attorneys 2; bailiffs, 1; bakers 1; blacksmiths, 4; bricklayers, 4; butchers, 1; carpenters, 3; cheesemongers, 1; clerks, 2; coopers, 2; farmers, 28; fort employees, 1; gentlemen, 11; haberdashers, 1; Indian interpreters 1; Indian traders, 9; engineers and surveyors of land, 1; joiners, 1; labourers, 21; masons, 1; masters of periqua, 2; masters of scout boat, 2; merchants, 1; millers, 1; ministers, 2; periqua employees, 1; planters, 1; plasterers, 1; potters, 1; pylots, 1; sailors, 4; sawyers, 1; servants, 360; shipwrights, 1; shoemakers, 3; soldiers, 8; speakers, 1; storekeepers, 4; surgeons, 2; taylors, 5; tinkers, 1; trust servants, 21; upholsterers, 1; victuallers, 1; weavers, 3.

What varied skills these early Georgians had! But, of course, there was no chance for them to engage in such occupations in their new home.

A notable feature of the information contained in this list of settlers is a record of paths. Of the 114 colonists who sailed in November, 1732, on the *Ann*, 29, or 25.4%, died within the first year. Within the first ten years, 47 of the first 114 colonists died, and 20 others left the Colony either to return to England or to go to Carolina.

An effort to identify the authorship of the manuscript list of settlers has resulted in the conclusion that it was written by the First Earl of Egmont, original President of the Georgia Corporation. Comparison of penmanship definitely eliminated Benjamin Martyn, Secretary of the Georgia Trustees, a likely suspect as the author. Mr. H. B. Fant, Archivist, Executive and Courts Section, National Archives, took to England a photostatic copy of several pages from the manuscript list of settlers. In a letter dated London, 17 October 1948, he reported: "I am of the opinion that the photostats you furnished me definitely represent the handwriting of the Earl of Egmont. He was a very meticulous soul, and the List is made up in his own hand, just as he indexed certain of his own volumes personally. When in a hurry, as he frequently was when writing down his diary entries, his handwriting is not always as clear or uniform as is the handwriting in the photostatic specimens furnished me. But when he had plenty of time and when he was indexing or putting in marginal notations or interlineations he used the identical calligraphy. The numerals, the capital letters, the words, the long dashes, and above all the crosses for 'died,' are distinctively those of the 1st Earl of Egmont."

Through the cooperation of R. L. Atkinson, Esq., Secretary of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, photostatic copies were secured in December, 1948, of a number of pages from the known writings of the First Earl of Egmont. From our own comparison of handwriting, we concluded that the finding of Mr. Fant was correct. This conclusion was sustained by the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress. In a letter of March 21, 1949, Dr. Leslie W. Dunlap, Assistant Chief, Division of Manuscripts, reported: "The photostats of the two eighteenth century English manuscripts which you sent have been examined by three members of the staff of this Division. They report that comparison of many individual letters, such as final 'g' and double 'ss,' the formation of capitals, and the general appearance indicate identity of handwriting of the two manuscripts, and that it is reasonable to conclude that the 'list of settlers' was written by the Earl of Egmont known to be the writer of the second manuscript. This is not to be considered a report of handwriting experts, but an opinion based on experience in the reading of early English manuscripts."

One of the introductory pages in the manuscript list of settlers is headed, "Mem.d for Georgia 4 March 1742/3," and contains a summary of the number of settlers who went over, the number of those who died, deserted the colony, etc. Though this memorandum suggests 1743 as the date of composition of the manuscript, additions were made as late as 1747, as may be seen by noting names in Part I, numbered 202-206, and elsewhere. The fact that many of the dates in the manuscript are written in a style devised to prevent confusion of Old and New Style reckoning, for example, the entry "10 Jan. 1735-6," cannot be regarded as evidence that the manuscript was written after 1752, the year in which England officially adopted the New Style Calendar. Replying to an inquiry on this point, Dr. St. George L. Stoussat, Chief, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, stated in a letter of February 26, 1948: "It is not possible to state any established rule as to use of double dates. I may say, however, that certainly, many manuscripts written prior to 1752 carry double dates." The *Handbook of British Chronology* edited by F. M. Powicke and others (Royal Historical Society. Guides and Handbooks. No. 2. London, 1939. Pp. 377-78) contains the following pertinent statement: "The adoption of the Gregorian calendar of course affected the month-date, according to the point at which superfluous days were omitted, and also the year-date if the events concerned happened be-

tween 1 January and 25 March. Because the adoption had not synchronized in all countries, there came into being, as the late Deputy Keeper of the Public Records has well said, 'one of the most dangerous traps for students using original documents,' to be avoided only by careful consideration of the origin of any document in use and the habits of its writer." [Italics added.] That the Earl of Egmont was one of those who used the double-date style of reckoning before the adoption of the Gregorian calendar is borne out by his diary and other known writings, the original manuscripts of which are preserved in the Public Record Office.

The publication of this list will, we hope, stimulate further research in the colonial history of Georgia. We express appreciation to Dr. George Hugh Boyd, Dean of the Graduate School of the University of Georgia, for encouragement in the work, to the Faculty Advisory Council of the University Center in Georgia for financial assistance, and to Miss Birdie Bondurant, Mrs. Lucy Wester and Mrs. Joan Burns for technical assistance in editing the manuscript.

E. M. C.
A. B. S.

Athens, Georgia
April 5, 1949

PART I

Persons Who Went from Europe to Georgia at the Trustees' Charge

1. Abbot, Will—Wood cutter; embark'd 14 Oct. 1735; arrived Feb. 1735-6; lot 8N. in Frederica. Appointed 2nd constable of Frederica in case of vacancy, 26 Sept. 1735.
2. Abraham, Eliz.—Widow; servt. to Peter Gordon; embark'd 31 Oct. 1734; arrived 2 Dec. 1734.
3. Adde, Solomon—Age 30; shoemaker; Palatin; embark'd July 1738; arrived 7 Oct. 1738. Adde and his family carry'd over by Capt. Thorpe son at his own risk, but Col. Oglethorpe charged the Trustees with their passage (which they disapproved) and gave them to the Saltburgers.
4. —, Margaret, w.—Age 32; embark'd July 1738; arrived 7 Oct. 1738.
5. —, John, son—Age 3; embark'd July 1738; arrived 7 Oct. 1738.
6. Addison, Edwd.—Miller; embark'd 14 Oct. 1735; arrived Feb. 1735-6; lot 15N. in Frederica. Third Bailiff of Frederica—removed abt. 1739. Went to settle with his family in Carolina Dec. 1740. Quitted Dec. 1740.
7. —, Mary, w.—Went with her husband to Carolina Dec., 1740.
8. —, Edwd., son—Went with his father to Carolina Dec., 1740.
9. —, Mary, d.—Quitted Dec., 1740.
10. Aigel [or Argel] Geo.—Age 40; husbandman, Saltsburg.; embark'd 22 Sept. 1741; arrived 2 Dec. 1741.
11. —, Ursula, w.—Age 41.
12. —, Anna Maria, d.—Age 6.
13. —, Anna Teresa, d.—Age 10.
14. —, Jo. Franz, son—Age 3.
15. —, Laurentz, son—Age 5.
16. —, Ludwlg, son—Age 9.
17. —, Saml., son—Age 1½.
18. Allen, John—Servt. to Hen. Fletcher; embark'd 4 April, 1733; arrived 21 July, 1733.
19. Allen, Will—Baker; embark'd 14 Oct. 1735; arrived Feb. 1735-6; lot 6S. in Frederica. Appointed Tithing man of Frederica 26 Sept. 1735; quitted May 1741 and went to Carolina. Quitted May 1741.
20. —, Eliz., w.—Quitted May 1741.
21. Amatis, Nies.—Italian silk man; embark'd 4 April 1733; arrived 21 July 1733. Brother to Paul; brought from Piedmont for the same purpose, but proved an idle troublesome fellow and quitted the Colony. In Aug. 1735 his brother discharged him. Quitted Aug. 1735.
22. —, Paul—Italian silk man—embark'd 6 Nov. 1732; arrived 1 Feb.

PART II

*Persons Who Went from Europe
to Georgia on Their Own
Account*

1. Aberdaun, Heyman—Jew inmate; arrived 10 July 1733. Fyn'd for scandal 0.13.4, 27 Sept. 1734. Inmate at Savannah. Fled the Colony with his wife & 2 small children for fear of the Spaniards 29 July 1740. Run away May 28, 1740 [*sic*].
2. —, Abigail, w.—Jew. Run away 28 May 1740.
3. —, Solomon, s.—Jew. Run away 28 May 1740.
4. Aberdaun, Simon, *als.*, Bandenoon—Jew inmate; arrived 10 July 1733. Fyn'd for defamation £ 3.3.0, 27 Sept. 1734. Inmate at Savannah.
5. —, Grace, w.—Jew.
6. Adams, Benj.—Lot 222 in Savannah. He became possess of this lot in April 1737, but neglects it & rents lot 78. A riotour in open court 20 Oct 1737. Run away.
7. Adams, Jo.
8. Addison, Eliz.—D. of Edward, Senr.; born in Georgia. Her father Edwd. Addison Senr. carry'd her to Carolina Dec. 1740. Quitted Dec. 1740.
9. Adriche, [?]—Servt. to Isaac Camuche. She was at first servt. to Ri. Warren.
10. Agerner, Harriet—Servt. to Ja. Bailou.
11. Aglionby, Will., Esq.—Attorney: lot 109 in Savannah. On 2d. June 1736 100 acres was granted him 2 June 1736 but he chose to dwell in Savannah and make mischief there. His lot in that town was order'd to be run out 4 May 1737. As he lived so he died a profest Deist. Lot varant Feb. 1738-9. Dead 23 Aug. 1738.
12. Alban, Mary—Servt.; arrived 15 Mar. 1733-4.
13. Alffingston, Will.—Arrived 14 Jan. 1733-4. He was settled at Skidaway; dead 27 Jan. 1733-4.
14. —, Anne, w.—Remarry'd to Ambrose Morrison, and remov'd from Skidaway to Savannah. She mar. Morrison 20 Mar. 1733-4. Dead 26 June 1737.
15. Alston, Joseph—Servt.; arrived 4 June 1737.
16. Amatis, Cath.—W. of Paul Amatis. Remarry'd to Tho. Neale April 1737 and settled with him in Carolina. Quitted. Dead 1739.
17. Amory, John—Embark'd 19 Nov. 1737; arrived 14 Jan. 1737-8. He had a grant of 150 acres made him 5 Oct. 1737. He understands surveying. He went to Charlestown Nov. 1738 he had credit from the Trust for 50s.

- Georgia. Car. to Carolina by parents Aug. 1742.
451. Goodale, Tho.—Indian Trader; lot 185 in Savannah. His lot was granted him 1736. In the Colony the end of the year 1746.
452. Gordon, Margt. — Servt. to Cha. Pury.
453. Gordon, Phil.—Servt. to Jo. Penrose.
454. Gordon, Robert—Servt. to Tho. Young.
455. Gough, Saml.—Servt. to Harry Buckley; embark'd Oct. 1737; arrived 16 Jan. 1737/8.
456. Gough, Will., Sent.—Arrived 19 June 1733. He had a grant of 80 acres 21 Feb. 1732-3. Dead 6 Sept. 1733.
457. —, Martha, w.—Dead 23 July 1733.
458. —, Will., junr.—Arrived 19 June 1733; lot 65 in Savannah. Besides his town lot, he had a grant of 80 acres 21 Feb. 1732-3 but was an idle fellow. His 2d. wife was Susannah widow of Geo. Delafons whom he marry'd 24 Sept. 1735. He was Tything man 1736, but ran to Carolina. Run away 3 Dec. 1737.
459. —, Mary, w.—Dead 11 July 1735.
460. —, Bearsly, son—Dead 14 Dec. 1733.
461. —, Susana, 2d. w.—of William, junr.; embark'd 11 Sept. 1733; arrived 16 Dec. 1733. Willow of Geo. Delafons. Marry'd to Will. Gough junr. 24 Sept. 1735.
462. —, Will., son.
463. Goulds, Ja.—Goulds (ja.) joynd the Colony; when I know not. Return'd. Dead 1740.
464. Graham, Patrick—Apothecary; lot 189 in Savannah. He neglects his own lot and rents lots 137. 211. On 19 May 1736 a grant of 100 acres was past to him. Marry'd Capt. Cuthberts sister 6 March 1739/40.
465. —, [?], d.—Born in Georgia; dead 27 Sept. 1742.
466. Grant, [?], widow—Lot 9S. in Frederica.
467. Grant, Andrew—Gent.; arrived June 1734. A grant of 400 acres was made him 18 Oct. 1733 which he took up on O'gecky river but neglects it & lives inmate at Savannah. The place was call'd Sterlings bluff, and he and Will Sterling quitted it before Sept. 1737. He went to Carolina for fear of the Spaniards, and was a factious man. In England Jan. 1741/2. Quitted 30 Aug. 1740. Come to Engl. Jan. 1741-2.
468. —, Joseph, son—Born in the Colony.
469. —, [?], d.—Born in the Colony.
470. —, Joseph—Son of Andrew; born in the Colony.
471. —, [?], d.—of Andrew; born in the Colony.
472. Grant, Archibald—Servt. to Will. & H. Sterling; arrived 1 Aug. 1734.
473. Grant, Daniel—Servt. to Ri. Kirchner.
474. Grant, Idow—Servt. to Will. Stephens, Esq.
475. Grant, James—Servt. to Will. Stephens, Esq.; out of his time.
476. Grant, John—Age 18; servt. to Patrick Grant; embark'd 20 Oct. 1735; arrived 10 Jan. 1735-6.
477. Grant, Lodowick—A trader in the Cherokee nation.
478. Grant, Margaret—Alive at Darien 6 May 1741.
479. Grant, Peter—Servt. to Tho. Causton.
480. Grant, Patrick—Age 24; of Abertour, Farmer; embark'd 20 Oct. 1735; arrived 10 Jan. 1735-6; lot 166 in Savannah. A grant of 100 acres was made him 19 May 1736 and this lot was granted him same year, but he neglects both, & has taken 2 other lots in the town at rent from the owners. Tything

- man 1738 and a pert sawcy fellow. Kill'd in duel 1740.
481. Grant, Sarah—Born in Georgia. Alive at Darien 6 May 1741 & then 2 years old.
482. Green, Hen.—Lot 158 in Savannah. Convicted of shooting other peoples hogs & converting them to his own use 26 May 1736. His lot was given him Oct. 1736, but not shewn to him till March following.
483. —, Anne, w.—She came on some occasion to England, but return'd July 1738, and the Trustees pd. her passage back, to be repd. them.
484. Greeney, Abm.—Labourer at the Fort.
485. Grenier, Andrew—Servt. to Andrew Duché.
486. Grenier, Mary—Servt. to Ditto.
487. Grey, Elz.—Servt. to Jo. Baillie; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. Discharged her masters service and marry'd Geo. Sims 10 March 1734-5. Disch. Dead 1740.
488. —, Mary, d.—Born in Georgia 15 Sept. 1734; dead Dec. 1734.
489. Grey, Will.—Agent with the Chickesaw & Utchea Indians.
490. Grimaldi, Cha.—Servt. to Ja. Burnside.
491. Grimshaw, Judith—W. of Jo. Grimshaw, Soldr.; embark'd 16 Aug. 1737; arrived 31 Oct. 1737.
492. Grinter, Jo.—Mason. He did work at the parsons house in June 1740.
493. Groves, Saml.—Lot 4S. in Frederica. A new freeholder, from whence he came I know not. Returnd possess'd of this lot 6 Aug. 1741.
494. Grumace, Hen.—Servt. to Cha. Brittain.
495. Gulliver, Jo.—Servt. to Sir Fra. Bathurst Bt.; embark'd 31 Oct. 1734; arrived 28 Dec. 1734; dead 31 Jan. 1734-5.
496. Gun, Will.—Age 30; Servt. to Mr.
- Mackay of Scourie; embark'd 20 Oct. 1735; arrived 10 Jan. 1735-6; out of his time.
497. Hag, Jo. Ulric—Age 46; Smith; Swiss; embark'd 29 Sept. 1741; arrived 4 Dec. 1741.
498. Hague, Elz.—Servt. to Ensign Tolson; arrived 4 June 1737.
499. Hamilton, Archibald—Patroon of the Trustees Periagua at Frederica at 182 p. ann. till 25 April 1739.
500. Hamilton, Paul—Doubted if he went over. Grant of 500 acres made him 24 Sept. 1735.
501. Hanbury, John—Hanbury, Jo. employ'd in the Publick Stores at Frederica June 1739 at 15£ p. ann.
502. Harding, Isaac—Boy to Jo. Harding.
503. Harding, Jo.—Tr. Servt. at Frederica; lot 4N. at Frederica. Succeeded Geo. Spencer (who left the Colony before April 1740) in his lot.
504. —, [?], w.
505. —, John, son—Ditto. Both blacksmiths.
506. Harlefoot, Ja.—Arrived 21 Aug. 1734; lot 215 in Savannah. A grant of 150 acres was past to him 27 Feb. 1733-4, and he had leve to part with his town lot 16 Jan. 1735-6 to settle near Skidaway, afterwards he deserted the Colony and is gone none knows where. On 16 Jan. 1735-6 two Trust servants were allow'd him, whom he was to pay for as he should be able. Quitted Jan. 1738-9.
507. Harnet, Derby—Servt. to Elisha Dobree; arrived 30 June 1734.
508. Harris, Fra.—Clerk to Mr. Tho. Jones. He had the care and salary for one year ending Mich. 1740, allotted for the overseer of ye Tr. Servts.
509. Harris, Will.—Lot 126 in Savannah. This lot was granted him April 1737. Lawrence Mellichamp possess it be-

Filby Reference No. 1357.2

Cox, Richard J., 1981, Maryland Runaway Convict Servants, 1745-1780, in National Genealogical Society Quarterly, v. 69, no., 1 (March 1981), p. 51-58

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MARYLAND RUNAWAY CONVICT SERVANTS, 1745-1780

By RICHARD J. COX*

INTRODUCTION

This is not a comprehensive analysis of Maryland's colonial convict trade, but is a presentation of source material for historians and genealogists. Its aim is to stimulate more detailed studies of this long neglected subject.

With the exception of Abbot Emerson Smith's *Colonists in Bondage* and a recent unpublished dissertation completed at the College of William and Mary,¹ historians have not provided a complete picture of this part of the early American populace. Even though Smith's study is primarily legal and administrative history and three decades old, it is generally the most cited secondary source on the subject. Regardless of the weaknesses of Smith's tome, it far surpasses the work of his predecessors. Nineteenth-century students of the past ignored these convicts or distorted them because of nationalistic preconceptions. George Bancroft's intense nationalism made all convicts political prisoners rather than genuine criminals.² More blatant was Hester Dorsey Richardson's chauvinistic concept that the convicts had to have been political victims because America and Maryland was "settled [only] by the best blood of England. . . ."³ Even the rise of scientific and professional history did not correct such notions regarding the colonial convicts. The few studies that appeared in the first half of this century mainly examined legal aspects of the trade and neglected the lifestyle of the convicts and their place in colonial society.⁴

The Schmidt dissertation and compilations by genealogists, most notably the work of Peter Wilson Coldham and Clifford Neal Smith,⁵ are indications that the place of the convict in early America is being re-evaluated. Abbot Emerson Smith assumed in the late 1940s that the "ultimate fate" of the convicts would remain "shrouded in mystery."⁶ Smith could not foresee the intense popularity of genealogy or the sophisticated new research in early American society. Schmidt examined not only the legal status of Virginian convicts but their common life, work experience, economic importance, and societal position to enable a more complete understanding of the whole colonial society. The efforts of Coldham and Clifford Neal Smith show that genealogists are eager to discover their origins whatever they may be and that the concerns of researchers like Hester Dorsey Richardson are now largely forgotten.

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PROFILE OF THE CONVICT TRADE

England was sending convicts to the American colonies as early as 1615. Between 1660 and 1718 transportation to the colonies gradually became an acceptable punishment for most crimes, although the powers of the English courts were severely limited. In 1718 a Parliamentary Act took effect which allowed the courts to enforce transportation as a sentence. This Act not only was to help alleviate a supposedly "great want of servants" in the colonies, but was considered a lenient form of criminal justice.⁷

The mechanism of the trade in the eighteenth century was the merchant who was given financial encouragements in England and who had a good opportunity for quick and lucrative sales of the convicts in the colonies. Most of the servants were sentenced to seven- or fourteen-year terms, depending upon the seriousness of their crimes, and they provided an inexpensive supply of skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled labor for the colonies.

Numerous statistics have been presented to demonstrate the magnitude of the trade. Peter Wilson Coldham most recently estimated that about 7,500 convicts traveled from England between 1661 and 1718 and another 35,500 convicts by 1775.⁸ Regardless of what figures are presented, it is a known fact that the greater number of the servants were dispatched to the colonies after 1718 and that the vast majority of these servants were sold in the Chesapeake colonies of Virginia and Maryland.

THE TRADE IN MARYLAND

In this northern Chesapeake colony, merchants selling convict servants met with financial success. Between 1745 and 1775 at least 9,000 convicts were transported through the port of Annapolis and sold throughout the colony.⁹ James Cheston, a Scottish merchant who had recently emigrated to the colony, moved to Baltimore Town because it was an attractive locale for selling these servants.¹⁰ The reason for Cheston's success and that of the other merchants was the labor needs of the Marylanders. Cheston often received letters from plantation owners outlining specific labor needs, and convicts with skills brought respectable sums.¹¹ One convict, David Benfield of Oxford, England, practiced so successfully as a physician that he was earning close to a hundred pounds annually and, according to him, "Lives Like a Gentleman. . ."¹²

Despite the relative success of the convict trade in Maryland, it was often a topic of concern by the colony's leaders. In 1676, 1723, and 1728 the General Assembly formulated laws to regulate the trade primarily by requiring registration and the posting of bonds. The two legislative acts of the 1720s were a result of the increasing importation of such servants after the 1718 English enforcement of transportation and Marylanders' fears that this trade was a factor underlying increasing crime in the colony.¹³ The eruption of the Revolutionary War brought an end, a welcome end apparently, to this troublesome trade; efforts to revive it after the war met with unqualified failure.¹⁴

THE RUNAWAYS

In 1767 the *Maryland Gazette* newspaper stated that the convicts who were "wicked and bad" generally attempted to escape, "whilst those, more innocent, and who come for very light offenses, serve their time out here, behave well, and become useful People."¹⁵ Some servants undoubtedly attempted to escape because of harsh treatment and living conditions, or, as Schmidt is inclined to believe, some desired to be free regardless of their circumstances.¹⁶ Whatever the reasons for escape, two facts stand out about the runaway convicts. One, a very small percentage of the convicts endeavoured to escape.¹⁷ And, two, the advertisements placed by their owners are a rich source for historical and genealogical research and provide an intimate portrait of the type of person a convict was likely to be.

The standard newspaper advertisement for the escaped convict servant included the name of the servant, his place of birth, age, physical characteristics, occupation, and any other pertinent information that would aid in his capture. A typical advertisement was that placed by Hugh Jones of Cecil County in 1752 in the *Maryland Gazette*:

Cecil County, April 9, 1752.

Ran away last Night, from the Subscriber, a Convict Servant Man, named *Jacob Parrott*, a West Country Man, aged about 23 Years, of a fair Complexion, short, but well set, and very saucy: He took with him a new Felt Hat, (and perhaps an old Leather Cap) a good Duffel Coat, with large white Metal Buttons, a good ash coloured Kersey Coat, with a black Cape, and carv'd white Metal Buttens, a brown Holland Jacket without Sleeves, double breasted. with yellow wash'd Buttons, a Pair of half worn Buff Breeches, a Pair of white Cotton Stockings, a Pair of grey Yarn Hose lately footed, a Pair of new Pumps, a Pair of old Shoes, a Pair of large Pewter Buckles, with Brass Anchors and Tongues, a Dowlass and white Linnen Shirt. He is supposed to make for *Annapolis*, or intends to cross the Bay for *Baltimore* County. All Masters of Vessels are warned at their Peril, not to carry him off. He has been a Footman in *England*; and being a dextrous Fellow, may pretend to be a Coachman, Gardener, Sawyer, Shoemaker, &c. He took with him a Brown Horse, Bridle and Saddle; but probably will exchange the Horse for some other.

Whoever secures the said Servant, so that he and the Cloaths may be had again, shall have Twenty Shillings more than the Law allows, paid by

Hugh Jones.

Obviously, the owners of these servants maintained complete descriptions of the servants in case of their escape. Captain Charles Ridgely of Baltimore County compiled a detailed record of these servants at his Northampton iron forge between 1772 and 1774, even though only six of 87 servants were eventually reported as runaways.¹⁸

The typical escaped convict servant appears to have been English, male, about 28 years old, from Anne Arundel or Baltimore counties, and possessing a wide variety of skills. The majority of the servants identified by nationality were English, mostly from the western part of the country; the remainder were predominately Irish.¹⁹ Of the nearly 800 convicts reported in the newspapers, only 32 were women, a percentage probably not reflective of the nature of the

trade in the Chesapeake.²⁰ The ages of the runaway convicts tended to be on the youthful side, with slightly over 69 percent of those with ages reported being between 20 and 30 years; however, the ages of these convicts ranged from 14 to 70 years. The geographical concentration of the servants is the result of the location of the main urban centers, Baltimore and Annapolis, where these servants were likely to be employed, in demand, and imported through, and the fact that the colony's only newspapers were based there (the *Maryland Gazette* in Annapolis and the *Maryland Journal* in Baltimore).²¹ Although less than one half of the servants were reported as having skills, these skills were varied. A total of 64 different occupations were listed, led by farmers (38), shoemakers (33), sailors (27), weavers (26), tailors (20), and blacksmiths (20).²² Many convicts claimed to have a certain skill, however, which proved to not be true once purchased and set to work.²³

A few other characteristics are obvious from the advertisements. The majority of these advertisements were run in the newspapers four times or less (659 or 74.2 percent), a fact that may indicate that the servants were apprehended quickly or that their owners despaired of retrieving them after a short time. The longest series of a single advertisement was that for William Flint which appeared on 40 occasions between 17 June 1773 and 7 July 1774. Usually the servants escaped during the warm summer months; 469 or 53.3 percent of the escapes occurred during the months of June, July, August, and September. A very small number of the servants escaped more than one time. Of the nearly 800 convicts only 61 attempted to escape two or more times. A sizeable portion of the convicts worked in the colony's iron plantations, where the harsh living conditions perhaps encouraged escape.²⁴ And, finally, many of the servants resorted to changing their names to avoid notice. Because these servants did not have the distinctive physical characteristics of the Black slaves, escape was probably somewhat easier.²⁵

THE LIST OF RUNAWAYS

The following compilation includes the basic information: name, date of first and last advertisement, geographical locale, subscriber's name, nationality, age, occupation, and any additional facts that are helpful for identification. The detailed physical characteristics have not been included: researchers may obtain this information by referring to the advertisements. The list has maintained the variant spellings of names and used the geographical locales as stated in the advertisements. Researchers should keep in mind that the characteristics of the servants are often estimates made by the owners and will rarely be completely accurate. The abbreviations *MG* and *MJ* are for the *Maryland Gazette* and *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, respectively. The *Gazette* was Maryland's only newspaper from 1727, with an interruption in the 1730s and 1740s, until the start of the *Journal* in 1773. For this compilation the complete microfilm edition of the *Gazette* done by Yale University and the largely complete file of the *Journal* owned by the Maryland Historical Society were used.²⁶

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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6. *Colonists in Bondage*, p. 303.
7. More details of the dynamics of the convict trade can be obtained in Peter Wilson Coldham, "Transportation of English Felons," *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 63 (Sep. 1975):172-75; Smith, *Colonists in Bondage*; Richard R. Morris, *Government and Labor in Early America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946), pp. 323-37; Audrey Lockhart, *Some Aspects of Emigration from Ireland to the North American Colonies Between 1660 and 1775* (New York: Arno Press, 1976), pp. 80-97; Schmidt, "British Convict Servant Labor"; and Clifford N. Smith, "Unrecognized Refugees From Injustice," *Genealogical Journal* 8 (Sep. 1979): 125-134.
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10. James Cheston to Stevenson, Randolph, and Cheston, 10 Oct. 1770, Letterbook, Cheston/Galloway Papers, MS. 1994, Maryland Historical Society.
11. James Cheston to Thomas Smyth, 24 Dec. 1773, MS. 1994, and Horatio Sharpe to Cecilius Calvert, 30 Oct. 1755, *Archives of Maryland* ed. William Hand Browne, et al. 72 vols. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883-1972), 6:294-95.
12. Philip Babcock Gove, "An Oxford Convict in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 37 (June 1942):193-98.
13. Basil Sollers, "Transported Convict Laborers in Maryland During the Colonial Period," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 2 (March 1907):17-47 discusses this in detail and is an excellent introduction to the Maryland trade. For the uneasiness the convict populace often caused see Mark J. Stegmaier, "Maryland's Fear of Insurrection at the Time of Braddock's Defeat," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 71 (Winter 1976):467-83.
14. James Cheston to William Randolph, 23 Feb. 1784 and 18 Feb. 1785, Letterbook, MS. 1994.
15. 30 July 1767.
16. "British Convict Servant Labor," pp. 256-67. For a description of the harsh living conditions see Elizabeth Sprigs to John Sprigs, 22 Sep. 1756, in Merrill Jensen, ed., *American Colonial Documents to 1776* (New York, 1969)9:488-89.
17. Because Smith's figure of 9,360 convicts coming through Annapolis in 1745-1775 is very conservative, the 795 escaped convicts reported in the newspapers is a very small portion of the total convict populace.
18. See Richard J. Cox, "Servants at Northampton Forge. Baltimore County, Maryland, 1772-1774," *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 63 (June 1975):110-17.
19. The 336 English servants were from the following Assize Court circuits: Western, 81; Northern, 18; Midland, 9; Oxford, 9; Home, 6; and Norfolk, 5. The remainder were simply described as being English. The remainder of the servants included 98 Irish, 18 Welsh, 7 Scottish, 3 Dutch, and one each Italian, Indian, Portuguese, Swiss, and German.

20. A record of convicts brought into Baltimore County in 1770-1774 at the Maryland Hall of Records shows that 111 of the 655 servants were women.

21. The other counties included Cecil (11), Charles (34), Dorchester (2), Frederick (65), Harford (5), Kent (37), Montgomery (3), Prince George's (50), Queen Anne's (40), St. Mary's (9), and Talbot (9).

22. Some of the more exotic occupations included fiddler, hangman, jeweller, jockey, lawyer, printer, showman, and watchmaker.

23. James Cheston wrote to the Chestertown merchant Thomas Smyth on 24 Dec. 1773 that two servants who had stated they were carpenters "turned out otherwise"; MS 1994. Many of the advertisements included descriptions of servants who pretended to have certain skills.

24. See, for example, Michael Warren Robbins, "The Principio Company: Iron-making in Colonial Maryland, 1720-1781," unpublished dissertation, George Washington University, 1972, and Ronald L. Lewis, "Slavery on Chesapeake Iron Plantations Before the American Revolution," *Journal of Negro History* 59 (July 1974):242-54.

25. For the unique problems of the slaves see C. Ashley Ellefson, "Free Jupiter and the Rest of the World: The Problems of a Free Negro in Colonial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 66 (Spring 1971):1-13 and Donald D. Wax, "The Image of the Negro in the *Maryland Gazette*, 1745-75," *Journalism Quarterly* 46 (Spring 1969):73-80. The commencement of the war with England gave many of the servants an opportunity to escape and melt into the ranks of the two armies; see Edward C. Papenfuss and Gregory A. Stiverson, "General Smallwood's Recruits: The Peacetime Career of the Revolutionary War Private," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 30 (Jan 1973):117-32.

26. The servants listed below are all Marylanders. A few advertisements for Virginia runaways were placed in the Maryland newspapers, but these have not been included.

Abbutt, William. Reported as a runaway 12 June 1766 to 3 July 1766 and 12 May 1768 to 26 May 1768, MG. Seven miles above Bladensburg, Frederick County. John Adamson. Reported as about 22 years in 1766 and about 26 years in 1768. The 1768 advertisement notes that he ran away with an "overseer" and that "it is supposed they will change both their Names."

Abrahams, John. Reported as a runaway 16 September 1777 to 7 October 1777, MJ. Baltimore County. Francis Mercier. About 23 years.

Acton, William. Reported as a runaway 15 January 1756 to 4 March 1756, MG. Annapolis. Gamaliel Butler. English. About 28 years. Joiner.

Adams, George. Reported as a runaway 10 August 1769 and 5 July 1770 to 12 July 1770, MG. Listed as Baltimore County in 1769 and as Gunpowder Forest, 10 miles from Baltimore Town in 1770. Listed as John Murray in 1769 and Nicholas Britton in 1770. Reported as about 35 years in 1769 and about 37 years in 1770. The 1770 advertisement states that "he is an Excellent Farmer, and can turn his Head to any sort of Business." The 1770 advertisement states that "nobody would take him to be a Servant but by his Apparel . . . He is a very good Scholar and probably will forge a Pass; it is expected he will make for some Vessel or Boat."

Adams, William. Reported as a runaway 9 February 1779, MJ. Elk Ridge, Anne Arundel County. John Hood, Jr.

Adginton, Ann. Reported as a runaway 3 June 1777 to 24 June 1777, MJ. About 20 miles above Georgetown, Montgomery County. Roger Brooke. English. "She is a good spinner on the linen wheel and understands making butter and cheese, reaping, and such like business." "It is thought she is carried off by a man that is deserted from out of Capt. Williams's company in the said county [and they probably will] pass for man and wife."

Adley, Joseph. Reported as a runaway 30 April 1772, MG. Head of Severn [Anne Arundel County]. Abraham Woodward and Gilbert Yealdhall. About 30 years. Ran with Joseph Ward. Adwell, Richard. See Bartholomew Cross.

Aikens, John. Reported as a runaway 19 April 1770 to 10 May 1770 supplement, MG. Dorsey's forge [Baltimore County]. Caleb Dorsey. West of England. About 40 years. "He has been for some Years employed in driving a Team." The advertisement states that he "may have a forged Pass."

Aires, Charles. Reported as a runaway 24 October 1765, MG. Kingsbury furnace, Baltimore County. James Smith. About 35 years. "The said Fellow writes a pretty good Hand, and probably may forge a Pass."

- Akister, Thomas. Reported as a runaway 24 August 1775 to 7 March 1776, MG. Near Robert Cummings' mill, Baltimore County. Benjamin Merryman and John Orrick. Yorkshire, England. Ran with Harper John Bumstead and Henry Cook. "It is probable they will . . . alter their names, and will forge passes, and may have gone off by water."
- Alder, John. Reported as a runaway 6 September 1753 to 4 October 1753, MG. Anne Arundel County. P. Hammond. English.
- Allen, James. Reported as a runaway 1 September 1763 to 8 September 1763, MG. Near Snowden's ironworks, Frederick County. Thomas Waters. English. Cooper.
- Allsworth, Samuel. Reported as a runaway 23 November 1769 to 30 November 1769, MG. Elk Ridge, Anne Arundel County. Samuel Poole. About 20 years. Gunstocker.
- Allum, Thomas. Reported as a runaway 21 October 1777 to 28 October 1777, MJ. Western branch of the Gunpowder, Baltimore County. Joshua Hall. About 38 years. Shoemaker. Ran with Joseph Parker.
- Amburry, John. Reported as a runaway 30 July 1761, MG. Elk Ridge, Anne Arundel County. William Hobbs.
- Andersby, Thomas. Reported as a runaway 25 January 1753 to 1 February 1753, MG. Near the eastern branch of the Potomac, Prince George's County. Thomas Adams and James Summers. English. About 20 years. The advertisement states that he "pretends to be a Barber." Ran with Joseph Finder.
- Anderson, James. Reported as a runaway 11 August 1763 to 1 September 1763, MG. "From on board the Ship *Dolphin* . . . lying in the Ferry Branch of Patapsco River." Baltimore Town. Stewart and Lux. Sailor. Ran with Simon Pugh, Miles Cook, Robert Walker, and James Donaldson.
- Anderson, John. Reported as a runaway 10 June 1756 to 1 July 1756, MG. Annapolis. Benedict Calvert. Leicestershire, England. Brickmaker. Ran with two slaves.
- Anderson, William. Reported as a runaway 8 May 1766 to 22 May 1766, MG. Cackaway Neck, Kent County. George Clark. English. About 36 years.
- Andrews, Joseph. Reported as a runaway 18 April 1765, MG. Near Baltimore Town. David Gorsuch and John Ensor, Jr. Italian. About 27 years. The advertisement states that he "speaks good English, and some French" and that he ran with Thomas Simmons and William Hayward.
- Andrews, William. Reported as a runaway 15 February 1759 to 1 March 1759, MG. Baltimore Town. Alexander Stewart, George Freebairn, and Michael Depebough. The advertisement states that he was "an old Man." Ran away with Peter Strong, Robert Jones, and Thomas Day.
- Angess, William Daniel. Reported as a runaway 11 June 1767 supplement to 9 July supplement, MG. Bladensburg, Prince Georges County. John Francis and Clement Trigg. About 22 years. Shoemaker. Ran with William Sterling.
- Archer, Benjamin. Reported as a runaway 26 April 1764 to 24 May supplement, MG. Baltimore Town. William Lux and Adam Nursler. St. Ives, Cornwall, England. About 22 years. Ran with John Tunmer.
- Ashford, Thomas. Reported as a runaway 16 September 1746 to 30 September 1746, MG. Wye River. Daniel Dulany. Farmer.
- Ashworth, Allis. Reported as a runaway 13 October 1774 to 10 November 1774, MG. Near Joseph Scott's mill, Gunpowder barrens, Baltimore County. Matthias Wisnor. Yorkshire, England. About 30 years. Weaver. "It is supposed he may change his name to Thomas Owen."
- Askott, Thomas. Reported as a runaway 16 August 1759 to 30 August 1759, MG. Elk Ridge furnace, Anne Arundel County. John Keny. English. Ran with James Hunt and a slave from the furnace.
- Attix, George. *See* George Hall.
- Badham, Edward. Reported as a runaway 25 July 1776 to 1 August 1776, MG. Near the head of Senica, Frederick County. Robert Owen and Edward Penn, son of Benjamin. About 17-18 years. Ran with John Pinfield and George Millett. "It is supposed they will all change their names."

(B:289)

inda (inscr.)
by Miss Green (B:29)

inscr.)
1811 (C-4)

B:382)

David J. & Mary Jane (B:27)
of David, dau. of B. H. & S. H.

57 by Bishop Johns (B:533)
y 1838 (B:289)

George & Mary Ann (B:37)
A:36)
omm. 1834 (B:199); S. S. teacher

orge & Mary Ann (inscr.)

ATION NO. 45

CLAIMS

A.S.G.

s, affidavits, certificates,
roperty evaluations, and
oyalists' claims to the
losses sustained during
first volume are from
Series 13 at the Public
48 pages plus 65-page
ers).

MARYLAND RUNAWAY CONVICT SERVANTS, 1745-1780

(Continued from Volume 68, page 304)

By RICHARD J. COX

Dyer, Thomas. Reported as a runaway 28 March 1771 and 27 June 1771, MG. Langford's Bay, Kent County. Listed as Richard Hyman in March and John Carvill Hynson and Richard Hynson in June. English. Listed as about 21 years in March and as about 22 years in June. Ran with William Harper in March and with William James in June. The advertisement of March states that he "came into the Country last August, with Captain John Maine, from Bristol."

Dykes, Moses. Reported as a runaway 9 August 1759 to 23 August 1759 and 11 June 1761 to 16 July 1761, MG. Reported as "living near 'Squire Carroll's Manor, on Elk-Ridge" in 1759 and as on "Mr. Carroll's Manor" in 1761. Listed as John Ireland and Lawrence Robinson in 1759 and as John Ireland in 1761. English. Listed 20 years in 1759 and as 25 years in 1761. The 1759 advertisement states that he was married and that his wife ran with him. The 1761 advertisement states that he ran with an indented servant.

Eagle, Edward. Reported as a runaway 22 December 1763 to 29 December 1763, MG. From on board the *Beverly* at Port Royal, Rappahanock River [Virginia]. The advertisement states that he belonged to William Dudley of Caroline County. Ran with William English.

Eating, Jonathan. Reported as a runaway 10 August 1769, MG. Baltimore County. Stephen Gill, Jr. About 26 years.

Edwards, Elizabeth, alias Key Redding. Reported as a runaway 20 April 1748 supplement to 4 May 1748 supplement, MG. Near Patuxent ironworks [Prince George's County]. John Davis. English. About 20 years.

Edwards, William. Reported as a runaway 4 March 1756 to 18 March 1756, MG. Kent Island [Queen Anne's County]. Thomas Barnes, Charles Cockey, and Mary Cockey. Ran with William Watts and John Long.

Elderbeck, George. Reported as a runaway 22 July 1777 to 19 August 1777, MJ. Near Joppa, Harford County. Alexander Cowan. West of England. About 25-26 years. Weaver. "It is thought that he has a forged pass, or a discharge from his master."

Ellicott, Charles. Reported as a runaway 9 November 1748 to 14 December 1748, MG. Bladensburg, Prince George's County. Nathanael Folsom. English. About 21 years. "He has no Trade, but possibly may pretend to some."

Elliot, Edward. Reported as a runaway 17 December 1772 to 31 December 1772, MG. Near Elk Ridge Church, Anne Arundel County. Charles Worthington. About 30 years. "He has been since seen to go through Frederick-Town towards the New Country."

Ellis, John. Reported as a runaway 10 July 1776, MJ. Baltimore Town. T. Worthington. English. About 18 years. "It is supposed he has come to town with an intention of enlisting for a soldier."

Elton, Thomas. Reported as a runaway 16 April 1772 to 21 May 1772, MG. Near Bladensburg, Prince George's County. Charles Duvall.

English, William. Reported as a runaway 22 December 1763 to 29 December 1763, MG. From William Dudley's, Caroline County, from on board the *Beverly* at Port Royal, Rappahanock River. The advertisement also states that he was "formerly servant to a Recruiting officer at Winchester." Ran with Edward Eagle.

Entwistle, Edward. Reported as a runaway 8 November 1753 to 6 December 1753, MG. Oxford, Talbot County. Jacob Bromwell. English. Weaver. Ran with Thomas Sanguine.

Erwin, Francis. Reported as a runaway 8 March 1759 to 26 April 1759, MG. St. Mary's County. George Plater. Irish. Blacksmith.

Etherington, John. Reported as a runaway 15 July 1746, MG. Elk Ridge, Anne Arundel County. Benjamin Ryan. English. 20 years. Ran with Patrick Mackenzie.

September 1773, MJ. "Near the Greenbury Griffith. About 24 will pass for a showman, and

, MG. Northampton furnace, with Stephen Pane.

5 September 1765, MG. Near r and William Waring.

69, MG. Mattawoman Creek, h. About 35 years. "He served ass. He has a Discharge from

rch 1777, MJ. Hunting Ridge, bout 34 years. Ran with John

Ragland, Baltimore County. ne was a jockey "having been

er 1767 to 3 December 1767, years. "He has been Cook to Ireland, and France; can speak

n Creek, Kent County. Robert October 1752 and 26 April 1753 in Metcalfe. West of England. indentured servant or freeman in

May 1766 supplement, MG. el and John Snowden. Black- derick, as he passed through hich leads to the Fort. He has of it, Signed by Christopher Person mentioned in the same Means he has deceived many

uly 1774, MJ. Near Soldier's . English. About 28 years. "He sed he will change his name to

Bladensburg, Prince George's

Ridge, Anne Arundel County.

4 June 1749 to 15 November years in both 1748 and 1749.

1770, MG. Charles County. ertisement states that he ran Year 1766."

November 1759, MG. Charles "

9 September 1754, MG. Port t states that he was a barber

29 January 1756 to 11 March

1756, MG. Charles County. John Jordan, Hugh Mitchell, and Alex. Lothian. Scottish. "He understands the Exercise with the Firelock, and pretends to teach Fencing."

Graham alias Scholar, William. Reported as a runaway 29 January 1767 to 12 February 1767, MG. Baltimore Town. James Christie, Jr.

Graigg, John. Reported as a runaway 29 September 1763 to 3 November 1763, MG. Near Bladensburg, Prince George's County. Joshua Beall. Kent, England. About 30 years.

Grant, Thomas. Reported as a runaway 25 August 1763 to 1 September 1763, MG. Baltimore ironworks. Richard Croxall. Northampshire, England. 22 years. The advertisement states that he "has been a Gentleman's Servant." Ran with John Pinemore and Mortimore Sales. The advertisement states that he was "lately imported from Bristol to Annapolis."

Gray, Thomas. *See* William Lewis.

Greefes, Henry. Reported as a runaway 24 August 1769 to 21 September 1769, MG. Fork of Gunpowder at the plantation of Walter Dulany. Welsh. About 40 years. Ran with William Voice.

Green, Michael. *See* Michael Carny.

Green, Richard. Reported as a runaway 18 September 1766, MG. Mount Clare, near Baltimore Town. Charles Carroll. About 50 years.

Green, William. Reported as a runaway 30 March 1775 to 11 May 1775, MG. Elk Ridge, Anne Arundel County. John Hood and Mordecai Selby. West of England. Ran with John Peacock.

Greenwood, Thomas. Reported as a runaway 8 June 1775 to 13 July 1775, MG. Fort Frederick furnace, Frederick County. Thomas Jacques. English. About 23 years. Ran with Robert Bees.

Griffin (or Griffith), Anne. Reported as a runaway 24 January 1765 and 18 April 1765, MG. Near Annapolis. Edward Osmond. Welsh. About 32 years.

Griffith, Phillip. Reported as a runaway 1 November 1770, MG. Chestertown, Kent County. Tobias Ashmore. About 21 years. Tailor. "It is supposed the said servant went off in an Oister Boat."

Griffith, John. Reported as a runaway 25 February 1777 to 4 March 1777, MJ. Hunting Ridge, about five miles from Baltimore Town. Elam Bailey. English. 32 years. Ran with Peter Gaynor.

Griffitts, James. Reported as a runaway 30 June 1757 to 4 August 1757 and 11 May 1758 to 15 June 1758, MG. Listed as Baltimore ironworks in 1757 and as Garrison, Baltimore County in 1758. Richard Croxall. Herefordshire, England. The 1757 advertisement states that he "pretends to be a Husbandman." The 1758 advertisement simply lists him as a "Husbandman."

Griffitts, John. Reported as a runaway 4 August 1763, MG. Lower part of Kent Island [Queen Anne's County]. Stephen Bryan. Ran with John Pritchard.

• Grimshaw, Edmund. Reported as a runaway 30 April 1767 and 18 June 1767 to 9 July 1767 supplement, MG. Northampton furnace, Baltimore County. Charles Ridgely, Sr. and Company. Lancashire, England. About 21 years. Weaver and tailor. Ran with John Hardy and Thomas Mahoney in April. Ran with John Hardy in June. The April advertisement states that he "has been in the Country 8 or 9 Months."

• Grimshaw, Job. Reported as a runaway 29 March 1764 to 26 April 1764, MG. Baltimore County. William Isgrig and John Jones. The advertisement states that he has "a Bag of Tinker's Tools and it's Supposed will pass for a Tinker."

Groves, James. Reported as a runaway 5 July 1764 to 20 September 1764, MG. Elk Ridge, Anne Arundel County. Thomas Foster. English. About 40 years. "He may endeavour to pass for a Freeman, as a Discharge to Matthew Kelley, is missing, dated September 1761, signed by Cornelius Ragan." The advertisement also states that he was imported last August in the *Albion*, Captain John Cole.

Groves, James. Reported as a runaway 23 June 1768 to 29 September 1768, MG. Mouth of Magothy River, Anne Arundel County. Anne Pettibone. About 30 years.

Gummer, Thomas. Reported as a runaway 22 July 1777, MJ. Fork of Gunpowder, Baltimore County. William Goodwin. English. About 26 years. Carpenter and sawyer. Ran with Thomas Williams and Thomas Fuller. The advertisement also states that he has five years to serve.

Filby Reference No. 1869

Erie County Society for Genealogical Research, compiler, 1983, Erie County, Pennsylvania,
Naturalizations, 1825-1906: Erie, PA, the society, 179 p.

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ERIE COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA NATURALIZATIONS

(1869)

1825 - 1906

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INTRODUCTION

Erie County, Pa. was formed by an act of the State Legislature in 1800, five years after the first settlers arrived. Due to the sparse population, the county government was not actually organized until 1803, when the county seat was established at Erie. (Early Erie County records, from 1800 through 1802, may be found at Meadville, Crawford County Courthouse.) On March 23, 1823, the county courthouse burned, destroying all of the contents. The first naturalization recorded after the fire was that of John Robison in 1825. Approximately 11,000 individuals were naturalized in the Erie County Court of Common Pleas up to 1906, when the Federal Government took over the naturalization process. Another 1,000 filed their intentions but did not complete the naturalization process.

All related papers for each citizen were folded together and filed by term of court, with no way to find a particular individual's papers unless the term of court was known. In the 1930's the W.P.A. numbered the papers chronologically and produced an alphabetical card file keyed to the numbers (which we now refer to as "W.P.A. numbers"). The W.P.A. copied the basic information for each immigrant, but omitted some information of interest to genealogists, notably the sponsors' names. They made a separate chronological file of intentions which had no corresponding naturalization certificate.

In 1979, Erie County microfiched the original records, and our society had the opportunity to move the records to the Erie County Historical Society. There each card and record was cross-checked for accuracy, and the missing data was entered on the cards. When this process was completed, the original records were turned over to the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission's Archives in Harrisburg. Then began the two-year process of typing, indexing and proofreading. We are producing this volume in the hope that it will provide you with one more piece in that giant puzzle which is our family heritage.

We express our appreciation to the many individuals and organizations who have made this work possible: to the Erie County Clerk of Records Office for loaning us the records; to the Erie County Historical Society for the use of their facilities; to the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission's Archives for their patience in waiting until we had completed our transcriptions; to the Western Pennsylvania Genealogical Society for the use of the introduction to their books on Allegheny County naturalizations; to Andrea Fulton Owen for typing the manuscript; to Kathleen Wilson Hauser for compiling the sponsors' index; to Linda DeGeorge Ditrich, Kristen Stanger Koehler and Patty Phillips Robison for proofreading; and to the many volunteers who spent hours poring over the old records. Thanks for a job well done!

Presidents: Linda M. Ditrich 1978-1980
Thomas H. Hutzelman 1980-1982
Joyce E. Thompson 1982-1984

NATURALIZATION PROCESS

Reprinted from A List of Immigrants Who Applied For Naturalization Papers in the District Courts of Allegheny County, Pa. 1856-1869, Volume 3, through the courtesy of The Western Pennsylvania Genealogical Society and Elizabeth Wall, Committee Chairman.

"Naturalization is the admission of a foreign subject or citizen into the political body of a nation, and the bestowal upon him of the quality of a citizen." In the United States, the exclusive control over the admission of individuals to citizenship by the process of naturalization is vested in Congress by the Federal Constitution, Article I, Section 8, whereby Congress is given power "to establish a uniform rule of naturalization through the United States."

Prior to the adoption of the Federal Constitution, most of the thirteen colonies had general naturalization laws in force which varied widely in the different colonies.

Hence, the Act of 1790 was the first response of Congress to the grant of power to pass a uniform rule of naturalization. More immediately it was a response to the following clause from Washington's annual message (January 8, 1790):

"Various considerations also render it expedient that the terms on which foreigners may be admitted to the rights of citizens should be speedily ascertained by a uniform rule of naturalization."

The bill was reported by a special committee of three appointed on the recommendation of the House Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union, to prepare and bring in a bill or bills establishing a uniform rule of naturalization.

The new law provided for the naturalization of free white aliens after two years residence in the United States, upon application to any common law court of record in the state where they had resided for one year. They were to satisfy the court of their good character, and take an oath administered by the court to support the Constitution of the United States. Minor children resident in the United States at the time became citizens of the United States also. Children born abroad of citizens were to be natural-born citizens of the United States, unless the father had never resided in the United States. Any citizen already proscribed by a state was not to be readmitted to citizenship except by the act of the legislature of the proscribing state.

Prior to 1906, the naturalization process had been established in its essentials by the Law of 1795. At the beginning of the session of 1794-95, a House committee prepared a bill to amend the Act of 1790. The measure, reported by Madison as chairman, was debated at length, variously amended, and, by recomittal, lost its original character as an amendment to the Act of 1790, and became a substitute for it. Further debate and several amendments prepared it for the Senate. The Naturalization Act of 1795 stated that:

1. Three years before naturalization a declaration of intention must be sworn to in a state or federal court. This must cover two points -- intention to become a citizen and intention to renounce all foreign allegiance.
2. At the time of applying for citizenship, the alien must declare on oath that he has resided five years in the United States (and one year in the state or territory), that he does renounce all foreign allegiance, and that he will support the Constitution of the United States.
3. The court must be satisfied of his residence, good moral character during the required five years, and that he has been for that time "attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same."
4. Any title or order of nobility must be renounced.

The Bill made an exception in favor of aliens resident in the United States at the time of its passage. They were to be naturalized upon declaring two years' residence, and meeting the other requirements. The provisions of the Act of 1790 in regard to children and proscribed persons were re-enacted. New points in the law were: longer residence and a preliminary declaration of intention, renunciation of former allegiance and of any title or order of nobility, more specific mention of the courts empowered to naturalize, and proof of attachment to the Constitution and the country. No requirement of the former law was omitted.

Although Congress established a uniform rule of naturalization in 1790, making naturalization a function of specified courts, there was, except for the brief period from 1798 to 1802, no provision for a federal, central agency to supervise the administration of naturalization and maintenance of records until 1906. For the period from 1798 to 1802 Clerks of Courts were required to transmit abstracts of declarations and also of naturalizations to the Secretary of State. Aside from this four-year period, each court having naturalization jurisdiction judged for itself how the laws should be administered and the kind of records to be kept. Such a system naturally resulted in an utter lack of uniformity as to the form of the naturalization certificates. Furthermore, because of its alliance with political grafters, naturalization became a source of public scandal, frauds, including perjury, false impersonation, and traffic in counterfeit certificates were common.

Many were naturalized on age by the Act of 1824 after a residence of five years in this country without having made the preliminary declaration of intention. The application stated that "The petitioner has resided in the United States three years previous to his arriving at the age of twenty-one years, and has continued to reside therein and that he is now twenty-one years of age and upwards. He therefore prays your honors to admit him to become a citizen of the United States of America agreeably to the Act of Congress passed the twenty-fourth day of May A.D. 1824."

An Act of July 17, 1862 (ch 200, sec 21, 12 Stat. 597) provided "That any alien of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, who has enlisted or shall enlist in the armies of the United States, either the regular or the volunteer forces, and has been or shall be hereafter honorably discharged, may be admitted to become a citizen of the United States, upon his petition, without any previous declaration of his intention to become a citizen of the United States, and that he shall not be required to prove more than one year's residence within the United States previous to his application to become such citizen; and that the court admitting such alien shall, in addition to such proof of residence and good moral character as is now provided by law, be satisfied by competent proof of such person having been honorably discharged from the service of the United States as aforesaid."

There was no distinction between army or navy. The difference in length of service before discharge and naturalization was the result of enlistment law requirements.

On July 26, 1894 the distinction was made between the armed forces. The law pertaining to the army remained the same but the statute provided "That any alien of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, who has enlisted or may enlist in the United

States Navy or Marine Corps, and has served or may hereafter serve five consecutive years in the United States Navy, or one enlistment in the United States Marine Corps, and has been or may hereafter be honorably discharged, shall be admitted to become a citizen of the United States upon his petition, without any previous declaration of his intention to become such; and the court admitting such alien shall, in addition to proof of good moral character, be satisfied by competent proof of such person's service, in, and honorable discharge from, the United States Navy or Marine Corps."

Until 1870, the only class of aliens eligible for naturalization were "aliens being free white persons." On July 14, 1870 the naturalization laws were extended to: "aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent." By the Laws of 1906 the naturalization laws were made applicable to a class of non-alien who were not citizens; this group consisted of "all persons not citizens who owe permanent allegiance to the United States, and who may become residents of any State or organized Territory of the United States."

On numerous occasions, presidents had urged the creation of a central bureau with greater federal supervision over naturalization but it was not until 1905 that President Roosevelt succeeded in appointing a commission to prepare a draft of a proposed revision of the naturalization laws. As a result of the investigations and recommendations of this commission, the law of June 29, 1906, which established centralized supervision over naturalization, was enacted. The Act of June 29, 1906, (34 Stat. 596; 8 U.S.C. 106) as enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled provided, that the Immigration and Naturalization Service, under the direction and control of the Attorney General, shall have charge of all matters concerning the naturalization of aliens.

That it shall be the duty of the said Service to provide, for use at the various immigration stations throughout the United States, books of record, wherein the commissioners of immigration shall cause a registry to be made in the case of each alien arriving in the United States from and after the passage of this Act of the name, age, occupation, personal description (including height, complexion, color of hair and eyes), the place of birth, the last residence, the intended place of residence in the United States, and the date of arrival of said alien, and if he entered through a port, the name of the vessel in which he comes. And it shall be the duty of said commissioners of immigration to cause to be granted to such alien a certificate of such registry, with the particulars thereof.

As of June 29, 1906, there are three (3) distinct steps to be taken before the naturalization process can be completed, and a certificate of naturalization issued to an alien. They are:

1. The filing of the Declaration of Intention (first paper).

The declaration of intention may be made at any time after the alien is in this country but it must be made at least two years prior to his admission to citizenship, and after he has reached the age of eighteen.

2. The filing of the Petition (second paper).

The petition for citizenship, accompanied by two photographs of the petitioner, must be made not less than two, nor more than seven years after the declaration of intention, and immediately preceding the date of his petition the applicant must have resided continuously within the United States for at least five years and within the county where the petitioner resided at the time of filing his petition, for at least six months. He is also required to reside continuously in the United States from the date of his petition up to the time of his admission to citizenship.

The petition must be signed by the applicant in his own handwriting and must furthermore be verified by two credible witnesses, citizens of the United States, who shall state in their affidavits that they have known the applicant to have been a resident at such place and for the required period, and that he is of good moral character and qualified to be admitted as a citizen.

3. The hearing on the petition, resulting in the granting of the certificate of citizenship or final papers.

The final paper is the Certificate of Naturalization, which is granted after the final hearing in open court on the petition, and after all the requirements have been fulfilled.

Before being admitted to citizenship, it must appear to the satisfaction of the court, that during the required period of residence within the United States, the applicant has "behaved as a man of good moral character, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same."

The act of June 29, 1906 enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled provided "That the Immigration and Naturalization Service, under the direction and control of the Attorney General, shall have charge of all matters concerning the naturalization of aliens."

References:

Franklin, Frank George, The Legislative History of Naturalization in the United States. 1906. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Gettys, Luella, The Laws of Citizenship in the United States, 1934. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Van Dyne, Frederick, Citizenship of the United States, 1904. The Lawyers Co-Operative Publishing Co., Rochester, N.Y.

Laws Applicable to Immigration and Nationality, compiled under direction of Carl B. Hyatt by Edwina Austin Avery, Editor, 1953.

Thirty-Seventh Congress, Sess. II., 1862.

ABBREVIATIONS

Amer	America	int	intention
arr	arrived	Ire	Ireland
art	artillery	Is	Island(s)
Aus	Australia	It	Italy
Aust	Austria		
		lt art	light artillery
b	born		
bat	battalion	mfr	manufacturer
Belg	Belgium	mil	militia
bet	between		
Braz	Brazil	Nor	Norway
ca	circa	pet	petition
Can	Canada	Phila	Philadelphia
cav	cavalry	Pol	Poland
cert	certificate	Port	Portugal
co	company, county	propr	proprietor
Cpl	Corporal	prov	province
		Prus	Prussia
dec	declaration	Pvt	Private
Den	Denmark		
dep	departed	reg	registered
dist	district	regt	regiment
		res	resident
E	east	Rom	Romania
em	emigrated	Rus	Russia
Eng	England		
		Scot	Scotland
Fin	Finland	Sgt	Sergeant
Fr	France	sp	sponsor
		Sp	Spain
Ger	Germany	Swed	Sweden
govt	government	Swtz	Switzerland
Gr	Greece		
Gr Brit	Great Britain	tp	township
		Turk	Turkey
hon	honorably		
Hung	Hungary	vol	volunteers
Ind	India	W	west
inf	infantry	W I	West Indies

- (285) Indicates the W.P.A. number (chronological file number) of papers in the file of completed naturalizations.
- (I-160) Indicates the W.P.A. number (chronological case file number) of papers in the file of Declarations of Intention. (final certificate never issued)
- Due to variations through the years in the petitions for naturalization forms, also known as Declaration of Intention, the countries or cities mentioned are not necessarily place of birth, but may be residence at time of departure, or place of departure.
- Names and places in parentheses are our interpretations from the original papers and in these instances do not agree with the W.P.A. cards.
- At this writing, the original documents may be examined on microfiche located at the Prothonotary's Office in the Erie County Courthouse.

- GRENDROD (GRINROD), Matthew - b 1800; em 1827; Eng, Lancashire; int 6 May 1845 (I-253)
- GRENZ, Henry - b 1865; em 1882; Ger; cert 8 Sept 1888; res Erie 6 yrs; sp Vincent BABO (5967)
- GRETTLER, Anthony - b 1833; em 1853; Ger, Wurttemberg; cert 10 Aug 1860; sp Joshua EVANS (1868)
- GRETZLER, Henry W. - b 1863; em 1869; Ger; cert 6 Oct 1892; res Corry 10 yrs; sp Jno. H. COLLINS (6845)
- GRETZLER, Louis - b 1845; em 1867; Ger; int 9 Aug 1886; cert 6 Oct 1888; res Corry 20 yrs; sp W. A. FRANK (6099)
- GRIEB, Christian - b 1802; em 1847; Ger, Prus; int Niagara Co, N Y 6 Aug 1852; cert 30 Aug 1855; sp Carsen GRAHAM (1216)
- GRIEF, Felix - b 1864; em 1885; Ger; int 21 Aug 1886 (I-1373)
- GRIEGER, Mike - b 1866; em 1884; Ger, Prus; int 9 June 1890; cert 8 Oct 1892; res Erie 8 yrs; sp John NOWAK (6869)
- GRIESBACH, Charles - b 1866; em 1883; Ger; cert 25 Sept 1888; res Erie 5 yrs; sp J. C. STEINFURTH (6059)
- GRIESBAUM, Andrew - b 1879; em 1903; Ger; int 23 June 1905; res Millcreek Tp (I-2549)
- GRIESHABER, Charles - b 1854; em 1880; Ger; int 27 Sept 1888; cert 27 Sept 1892; res Millcreek Tp 12 yrs; sp William BOLTE (6680)
- GRIEWAHN, William - b 1862; em 1888; Ger; int Sheboygan Co, WI 28 Mar 1891; cert 13 Sept 1897; moulder; res 521 E 24th St, Erie 5 yrs; sp J. A. EICHENLAUB (7549)
- GRIFFEN, William - b 1816; em 1842; Ire, Co Cork; int 7 Aug 1844 (I-209)
- GRIFFIN (GRIFFEN), Andrew - b ca 1847; em 1868; Ire; cert 9 Oct 1876; res 1st Ward, Erie 7 yrs; sp Jeremiah DONOVAN (4554)
- GRIFFIN (GRIFFEN), Daniel - b 1827; em 1853; Ire, Co Limerick; cert 12 Mar 1860; sp Alvin LAWRENCE (1775)
- GRIFFIN, Edmund - b 1816; em 1853; Eng, Gloucester; cert 15 June 1864; sp J. SKINNER (2399)
- GRIFFIN, Edwin - b 1821; em 1854; Eng, Gloucestershire; cert 25 Sept 1874; res 2nd Ward, Erie; sp Thomas TIDMAN (3953)
- GRIFFIN, Henry - b 1844; em 1864; Ire, Co King or Kerry; int 6 Oct 1866 (I-784)
- GRIFFIN, John - b 1841; em 1858; Ire, Co Kerry; cert 9 May 1866; sp Jeremiah DRISKILL (2623)
- GRIFFIN, Patrick - b 1836; em 1854; Ire, Co Kerry; cert 6 Oct 1866; sp George HOUGHTALING (2805)
- GRIFFIN, Philipp - b 1842; em 1858; Ire, Co Donegal; cert 19 Feb 1872; res Corry; sp C. O. BOWMAN (3545)
- GRIFFITH, George H. - b 1856; em 1886; Can; int 13 Nov 1894; cert 13 Sept 1897; moulder; res 441 E 5th St, Erie; sp Wm. B. WARRINGTON (7444)
- GRIFFITHS, Griffith - b 1844; em 1880; Wales; int 28 Sept 1886; cert 6 Oct 1888; res Erie 8 yrs; sp B. J. COATES (6145)
- GRILLO, Nicolo - b 1863; em 1903; It; int 1 Nov 1904; res Erie (I-2504)
- GRIMASON, John - b 1838; em 1858; Ire, Co Down; int 3 Apr 1868 (I-823)
- GRIMLER, Adam - b 1804 or 1805; em 1826 or 1828; Fr, Alcreek?; cert 7 Oct 1842; sp Conrad DOLL (314)
- GRIMM, Abraham - b 1836; em 1857; Ger, Bavaria; int 1 Oct 1857 (I-631)
- GRIMM, Ferdinand - b 1866; em 1883; Ger; cert 6 Oct 1888; res Erie 5 yrs; sp J. H. KALVELAGE (6143)
- GRIMM, Lewis - b 1834; em 1849; Ger, Bayern; cert 8 Feb 1856; sp Jacob J. RINDERNECHT (1255)
- GRIMSHAW, Benjamin - b 1828; em 1857; Eng, Yorkshire; cert 5 Oct 1868; res North East; sp J. C. GRAY (3248)
- GRIMSHAW, Craven - b 1853; em 1873; Eng, Yorkshire; cert 2 Oct 1886; res North East Tp 13 yrs; sp W. V. DEWEY (5695)
- GRIMSHAW, John W. - b 1834; em 1864; Eng, Yorkshire; cert 28 Aug 1876; res North East Tp; sp James BANNISTER (4243)
- GRINNER, George - b 1833; em 1869; Ger; int 4 Oct 1876; cert 30 Sept 1879; res Erie 10 yrs; sp J. Q. A. STERRETT (4833)
- GRINROD, see GRENDROD
- GROBLINSKI, William - b 1856; em 1888; Rus; int 24 Feb 1897; res Erie (I-2004)
- GROBSTEIN, Harry - b 1866; em 1894; Rus; int Tompkins Co, N Y (Ithaca) 16 Aug 1895; cert 20 May 1901; tailor; res 23 S Park Row, Erie 5 yrs; sp J. LEMUEL (7945)
- GROCHOLSKI, Joseph - b 1875; em 1895; Rus-Pol; int 28 July 1897; res Erie (I-2083)
- GRODE, John - b 1834; em 1869; Ger; cert 11 Sept 1878; res 6th Ward, Erie 11 yrs; sp John KOENIG (4701)
- GROGAN, George - b 1810; em 1837; Ire, Co Louth; cert 7 Aug 1844; sp John BOYLE (466)
- GROGAN, Hugh - b 1857; em 1871; Ire; cert 4 Oct 1878; res 1st Ward, Erie 7 yrs; sp James BYRNE (4740)
- GROGAN, Michael - b 1843 or ca 1845; em 1864; Ire; int 2 Nov 1870; cert 4 Nov 1872; res Erie; sp M. HENRY (3864)
- GROH, John - b 1846; em 1857; Ger, Hesse-Darmstadt; cert 2 Oct 1868; res Millcreek Tp; sp John BOCHNER (3222)
- GRONER, Carl - b 1828; em 1853; Ger, Baden; int 9 May 1857 (I-619)
- GROSBERGER, John - b 1839; em 1865; Ger; int Crawford Co, Pa 5 Oct 1872; cert 27 Sept 1875; res 5th Ward, Erie; sp Edward BECKERT (4053)
- GROSHOLZ, Frederick - b 1859; em 1882; Ger, Baden; int 2 Oct 1886; cert 6 Oct 1888; res Swanville, Millcreek 6 yrs; sp M. HUMMEL (6162)
- GROSS, Conrad - b 1814; em 1852; Ger, Prus; cert 4 Nov 1858; sp Henry GROSS (1668)
- GROSS, Henry - b 1832; em 1850; Ger, Ewinghausen?, Prussia; cert 5 Aug 1856; sp Peter GABEL (1299)
- GROSS, Henry C. - b 1856; em 1882; Ger; int 12 Mar 1884; cert 28 Sept 1887; res Erie 5 yrs; sp Henry GROSS (5804)
- GROSS, John - b 1825; em 1854; Ger, Prus; cert 28 Sept 1863; sp William GROSS (2286)
- GROSS, Martin - b 1847; em 1873; Ger, Wurttemberg; int 17 Sept 1881; cert 6 Sept 1886; res Erie 14 yrs; sp Joseph REICHTSCHEIT (5613)
- GROSS, Samuel - b 1818; em 1865; Can; int 3 Feb 1868 (I-820)
- GROSS, William - b 1837; em 1852; Ger, Prus; cert 26 Sept 1860; sp Henry NEUBAUER (1942)
- GROSS, William H. - b 1844; em 1865; W Can, Haldimand Co; cert 1 Mar 1871; res Erie; sp G. D. SALTSMAN (3476)
- GROSSE, Hermann - b 1862; em 1885; Ger; int 1 Mar 1887 (I-1409)
- GROSSHOLZ, Adolph - b 1851; em 1882; Ger; int 2 Oct 1886; cert 6 Oct 1888; res Fairview Tp 6 yrs; sp M. HUMMEL (6160)
- GROSSHOLZ, George - b 1864; em 1882; Ger; cert 24 Sept 1888; res Fairview Tp 6 yrs; sp M. HUMMEL (6007)
- GROSSHOLZ, Ludwig - b 1861; em 1882; Ger, Baden; int 7 Nov 1885; cert 24 Sept 1888; res W Millcreek 5 yrs; sp M. HUMMEL (6029)
- GROTH, Charles - b 1837; em 1864; Ger, Mecklenburg; cert 7 Sept 1880; res 4th Ward, Erie 16 yrs; sp Louis LAHMANN (4890)
- GROTTA (GROTTE), Peter - b 1842; em 1886; Ger, Prus; int 29 June 1889; cert 19 Sept 1892; res Erie 6 yrs; sp Alois NAGOSKY (6620)
- GROVEFIELD, Charles G. - b 1851; em 1884; Fin; int Dist Court, Ma 23 Sept 1889; cert 5 Nov 1891; res Erie 6 mos; sp A. A. FENGAR (6492)
- GRUENWALD (GRUNENWALT), George - b 1839; em 1866; Ger, Elsis (Alsace?); cert 2 Sept 1878; res 2nd Ward, Erie; sp B. O. CHURCH (4625)
- GRUMBLATT, Joseph - b 1855; em 1882; Fr; int 7 Aug 1886; cert 6 Oct 1888; res Erie 2-1/2 yrs; sp Joseph KELLER (6107)
- GRUMBLATT, Peter - b 1829; em 1854; Fr, Belfort; int 7 Oct 1881 (I-1223)
- GRUNDY, Samuel - b 1866; em 1889; Eng; int 23 Aug 1892; res Buffalo, N Y (I-1802)
- GRUNITZ, Bruno G. - b 1871; em 1880; Ger; cert 12 Sept 1898; fireman; res 639 E 25th St, Erie 7 yrs; US Navy, USS Michigan; sp Harry C. THOMPSON (7655)
- GRUNT, Edward - b 1822; em 1850; Ire, Co Wickly (Wicklow?); int 1 Nov 1852 (I-423)
- GRUSENHEIMER (GUISENHIMER), Frederick - b 1820; em 1848; Ger, Saxony; int 11 Feb 1853 (I-437)
- GRUSS, Frank - b 1852; em 1879; Ger; int 3 Apr 1883; cert 17 Apr 1885; res Erie 3 yrs; sp Otto F. Koel KEUBECK (5569)
- GRUTZ, Joseph - b 1865; em 1892; Ger, W Prus; int 17 Dec 1894; cert 13 Sept 1897; laborer; res 554 E 12th St, Erie 5 yrs; sp Frank NAGOSKY (7538)
- GRYGIER, Jacob - b 1858; em 1882; Ger; int 6 Feb 1889; cert 6 Oct 1892; res Erie 10 yrs; sp John NOWAK (6846)
- GRYGIER, Romann - b 1887?; em 1884?; Ger, Prus; cert 27 Sept 1892; res Erie 8 yrs; sp Alois NAGOSKY (6681)
- GRYGO, Jan - b 1845; em 1894; Rus; int 23 Jan 1902; res Erie (I-2375)
- GRZEGORZEWSKI, Stephen - b 1853; em 1884; Ger; int 17 Nov 1886 (I-1396)
- GSCHWIND, Joseph - b 1852; em 1871; Ger; int 4 Sept 1878; cert 10 Sept 1880; res E Millcreek Tp 7 yrs; sp Benjamin TOME (4967)
- GSCHWIND, Michael - b 1844; em 1870; Ger; cert 10 Sept 1880; res E Millcreek Tp; sp Benjamin TOME (4949)

