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The Proprietors of the Province of West New Jersey, 1674-1702

отн West New Jersey and East New Jersey were uneasy proprietary colonies because of the uncertainty respecting their rights of government. Indeed, in 1702 they were forced to surrender their proprietary status, and were reunited under royal control. The establishment of West New Jersey, however, is of historical importance as a concerted effort of the Friends to create a self-contained Quaker colony in America some years before the founding of Pennsylvania. The grand strategy of the Society of Friends, which reached its apex in 1681-1682 with the planting of Pennsylvania and the purchase of East Jersey, cannot be comprehended without the knowledge afforded by the West Jersey experiment. If all had succeeded, the Quakers would have controlled a domain extending from New York to Maryland and westward to the Ohio. The historian of the Quaker colonies, however, has rested content in his knowledge of such seeming disparate occurrences as George Fox's journey to the Delaware in 1672, Penn's service as a Byllynge Trustee in 1675, and his participation as a joint purchaser of East Jersey in 1682. Obviously, a reconstruction of the early history of the Quaker colonies is needed, and the key to our understanding lies in the founding of West New Jersey, the first of these. The establishment of this colony was not only a major project of the Friends, but it elicited the support of the most substantial of them in the north country, the Midlands, London and Middlesex, and the Dublin area of Ireland.

In our preoccupation with the local aspects of the early history of the Jerseys the role of these Quaker "undertakers" has been overlooked. Yet one cannot ignore the fact that of the one hundred twenty proprietors of West Jersey and the twelve proprietors of East Iersey, all but one were members of the Society of Friends. In focusing attention upon the proprietors themselves it has been possible to resolve some of the most elusive problems relating to the history of West New Jersey. The separate settlements by "the north country" Friends, "the south country" Friends, and the Irish Friends, for example, can be explained only by the geographical distribution of the proprietors. The propensity to manipulate proprietary shares casts in stark relief the contradictory and vacillating role of Edward Byllynge and reveals the ease with which Doctor Daniel Coxe was able to gain control of an entire province. The dramatic reconciliation between William Penn and John Fenwick in 1683, the significance of which unfortunately has been completely missed by the local historian, can be understood only in the light of ever shifting proprietary interests.

By way of preface it should be recalled that Charles II by royal patent conveyed what was to become New Jersey to his brother James in 1664, and that the Duke of York promptly presented it to two loyal Stuart supporters, Sir George Carteret and John Lord Berkeley. Berkeley in 1674 sold his interest to two Friends, Edward Byllynge, a brewer of Westminister, Middlesex, and John Fenwick, "gentleman," of Binfield, County of Berks. Actually, the sale was made to Fenwick in trust for Byllynge, and the price was £1,000. In July, 1676, a division of the patent took place, leaving in its wake the usual colonial boundary problem. The Fenwick-Byllynge portion lay west of a diagonal line extending from the upper reaches of the Delaware to Little Egg Harbor and was henceforth known as West New Jersey, while the Carteret moiety was named East New Jersey.

The colonizing of West Jersey took place, for the most part, during the proprietary period, 1674–1702. The partners, Fenwick and Byllynge, had hopes of undertaking the settlement themselves, but were unable to do so, for Byllynge's finances, bad enough at the beginning of the venture, grew steadily worse and finally ended in bankruptcy. To make matters worse, he and Fenwick fell out. William Penn, following Quaker practice, was delegated to settle the altercation between the partners, and after long negotiation persuaded Fenwick in January, 1675, to accept a tenth interest as his share. Fenwick was also given \pounds_{400} in cash.

In February, 1675, Byllynge again turned to prominent Friends for assistance in settling his tangled affairs. He finally prevailed upon three of them—William Penn, Gawen Lawrie, and Nicholas Lucas to accept the trusteeship of his interest in West Jersey, his only remaining asset. The Byllynge Trustees, as they were called, quickly came to the conclusion that the situation afforded an unusual opportunity to sponsor a Quaker colony. In May, 1675, an agreement was made with Fenwick, adopting a unified plan of settlement. Fenwick, however, became impatient, and he determined to found an independent colony. Through the late spring and early summer he crystallized his plans, deciding upon a location on Salem Creek and financing the undertaking through the sale of lands in the prospective settlement. In November the "chief proprietor" and his band of settlers arrived in West Jersey and established Salem.

The Trustees proceeded more deliberately. They hesitated to attempt colonization until they could arrange a division with the Carteret family and could obtain from the Duke of York and the Crown a formal acknowledgment of the Fenwick-Byllynge title and a right to the government of the province. All this was not accomplished until 1680. Edward Byllynge, and it was to his interest. worked closely with the Trustees in planning the settlement that was made at Burlington in August, 1677. He had a large share in drawing up the Concessions and Agreements that were signed by the prospective settlers. The risks, however, were taken by those who purchased the one hundred proprieties or shares from the Trustees. Fenwick, as mentioned above, had been assigned ten of them. It remained for the Trustees to dispose of the remaining ninety, if possible, in order to finance the venture. It was the confidence that they inspired that led to the sale of sufficient proprieties to make the undertaking a reality. But, to those who actually purchased the ninety shares must go the major credit. Some wished to try their fortunes in the New World, while others bought for speculation. The majority, however, simply

wished to have a part in providing a haven overseas for their persecuted fellow worshipers—"the People in Scorn called Quakers."¹

The historian of the sister colony of East New Jersey is indeed fortunate in having available the complete list of the original proprietors of that province. When Carteret died in 1680 at the age of eighty, "all his Plantations in New Jersey" were put up at auction and the estate was bid in by William Penn and eleven other Quakers,² under date of February 1, 1682, for the sum of £3,400. These men were Robert West, Thomas Rudyard, Samuel Groom, Thomas Hart, Richard Mew, Thomas Wilcox, Ambrose Rigg, John Heyward, Hugh Hartshorne, Clement Plumsted, Thomas Cooper and William Penn. All but Penn and Rigg were residents of London or its suburbs. Penn was from nearby Sussex and Rigg was from Surrey. Rudyard and West were lawyers and men of affairs; Hart and Mew were merchants; Heyward and Hartshorne were skinners; Groom was a mariner; Wilcox, a goldsmith; Plumsted, a draper; Cooper, a merchant-tailor; and Rigg, a "gentleman." Heyward, Hartshorne, Plumsted and Cooper were "citizens" of London. Shortly after, this group was increased by twelve others, including several Scots, several Irishmen, and additional London men. The Earl of Perth; his brother, the Honorable John Drummond; the brothers Robert and David Barclay, prominent Friends; Robert Gordon; and the Dutchborn merchant, Arent Sonmans, were Scots. Robert Turner and Thomas Warne were Quaker merchants of Dublin. The added London proprietors were Byllynge, Lawrie, James Braine, a merchant, and William Gibson, "citizen" and haberdasher, all Quakers. It is of interest to note that Rudvard, Mew, Groom, Lawrie, Sonmans, Turner, Byllynge, and later Penn himself were West Jersey proprietors also.³

Comparable information regarding the original proprietors of West Jersey has been lacking. Indeed, until a copy of Thomas Budd's imprint, *A True and Perfect Account of the Disposal of one Hundred Shares or Proprieties of the Province of West New Jersey by Edw.*

¹ For introductory material, see Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History* (New Haven, Conn., 1937), III, 138–181 passim; Burlington Court Book of West New Jersey, 1680–1709, ed. by H. C. Reed and G. J. Miller (Washington, 1944), i-lv passim.

² Possibly Robert West was not a Quaker.

³ New Jersey Archives (NJA), First Series (Newark, Paterson, and Trenton, 1880–1949), I, 366, 383, 384.

Bylling, was located, little was known of them. This study, in large measure, is based upon Budd's list of the purchasers from Byllynge and the Trustees. The document itself, however, has two shortcomings: first, the only copy extant is badly defaced; and, second, some of the information it contains is incorrect. The *True and Perfect Account* was published in London in July, 1685, and later in the same year, in *Good Order Established in Pennsilvania & New-Jersey*, etc., Budd himself admitted that it contained errors. Budd's account, however, was accepted as an authoritative source and is alluded to as such in the Minutes of the Council of Proprietors in 1714. With his list as a key, the names of almost all of the original proprietors have been identified and, with few exceptions, the number of shares owned by each and the dates of the purchases. The discovery of an unmutilated copy of the *True and Perfect Account* would complete our information.⁴

The Trustees—Penn, Lawrie, and Lucas—disposed of approximately forty proprieties, including Fenwick's ten, during the year 1677. Many of the deeds bear as dates of lease and release, February 28, March 1, or March 2, which suggests that the decision to make a settlement during the summer had been fully taken by this time. William Penn was to resign as Trustee in April, 1681, because of the press of business in connection with the founding of Pennsylvania. The trust was carried on by Lawrie and Lucas until September 27, 1683, when it was dissolved.⁵ By that time Byllynge was solvent again, and a number of proprieties were returned to him as his unencumbered property.

The sale of the entire ninety shares⁶ involved fifty-eight transactions and about one hundred twenty purchasers. A number of proprietors obtained more than one share, but in a number of cases from two to eight men purchased a share jointly. Many of the proprietors never settled in West Jersey; they engaged agents to take up their

⁴ John E. Pomfret, "Thomas Budd's 'True and Perfect Account' of Byllynge's Proprieties in West New Jersey," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography (PMHB)*, LXI (1937), 325–331. The only extant copy known is in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP).

⁵ Strettel Deeds, especially Walter Harris to Phineas Bond, 1686, and Walter Harris to Thomas Mason, 1686, HSP.

⁶ Each share or propriety by 1714 had yielded its owner four dividends of land totaling 16,450 acres.

lands for them, or sold off their shares in fractions either in England or America. Others never located their lands at all and of them we know little. Certain proprietors organized the planting of the Yorkshire Tenth, the London Tenth, and the Irish Tenth; others, unable to accompany them, joined one or another of these groups later. Many, however, chose to locate their lands independently, principally along the Delaware and its tributaries from the Falls to Oldman's Creek, but also in places as remote as Delaware Bay and Little Egg Harbor. Most of the thousand-odd settlers who arrived from 1677 to 1681 settled along the creeks flowing into the Delaware.

Information relating to the proposed colonization was widely disseminated among the monthly meetings in both England and Ireland, with the full approbation of George Fox and the other Quaker leaders. Indeed, some of the local authorities became alarmed at the magnitude of the proposed exodus. Richard Mathews, a merchant of London and a proprietor, was arrested in West Riding in the summer of 1677 for enticing servants from their masters, and young laborers "without their parents' consent," to take passage from Hull "to an Island called West Jersey." The deputy lieutenant reported that already two hundred others from Yorkshire, Derby, and Nottingham were preparing to follow. He complained that the country was suffering from loss of people to London, Ireland, America and elsewhere.⁷

The Trustees encouraged groups of proprietors, under their general oversight, to undertake colonization on the Delaware. As a result, there were three proprietor-sponsored undertakings: that of the Yorkshire and the "north country" people, that of the Northampton and the "south country" people, and that of the Irish settlers. The first two groups of settlers arrived on the Kent in August, 1677, and the Irish group on *The Owner's Adventure* in the late fall of 1681. Of the seven commissioners aboard the Kent, all but two were proprietors.⁸ Joseph Helmsley, a proprietor, and Robert Stacy, brother of

⁷ "Emigration from Yorkshire to West Jersey, 1677," *American Historical Review*, II (1896), 472-474.

⁸ Under the Concessions, provision was made for ten commissioners or trustees. The first three were appointed by the Byllynge Trustees in August, 1676, and were already in America. They were Richard Hartshorne, a prominent East Jersey Friend who had settled in Middletown in 1669; Richard Guy, who came to Salem with Fenwick, but had fallen out with him; and James Wasse, who arrived by way of Maryland in the fall of 1676, with instructions to act with the other two in dealing with Fenwick and in locating a place of settlement. The ten commissioners were later to be elected by the General Assembly.

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Mahlon, a proprietor, were appointed to represent the settlers from York, Nottingham, and Derby. Thomas Olive and Doctor Daniel Wills of Northampton, John Kinsey of Herts, John Penford of Leicester, all proprietors, and Benjamin Scott of Essex, represented the "south country" folk from Northampton, Hertford, Leicester, Middlesex and London, and the surrounding shires. The leaders of the Irish group were William Bate, Thomas Thackara, Robert Zane and Mark Newbie, all proprietors; Thomas Sharp, nephew of Anthony Sharp, the proprietor; and George Goldsmith, agent for Thomas Starkey, a proprietor. Robert Turner, the wealthy Dublin linen draper, was the chief sponsor of this undertaking, but he was unable to come to West Jersey until 1683.

The "north country" people had planned to settle at the Falls of the Delaware and the "south country" people between Pennsauken and Timber Creeks, but in the interest of unity and strength they agreed after reaching West Jersey to locate on the Assiscunck, a point midway which became the site of Burlington. Thus High Street, Burlington, instead of the Rancocas, became the dividing line between the First or Yorkshire Tenth and the Second or London Tenth. In West Jersey the term "London" was adopted to designate the "south country" people.⁹ Quite early, however, some of the proprietors took up lands in the Third Tenth, further south. But when the Irish Friends settled in a body on Newton Creek in 1681, this division became popularly known as the Irish Tenth, although the Dublin proprietors owned only three proprieties.

The largest single block of shares, ten proprieties, was deeded by the Trustees to five Yorkshiremen: Thomas Hutchinson, Mahlon Stacy, George Hutcheson, Joseph Helmsley and Thomas Pearson. According to Samuel Smith, the colonial historian of New Jersey, these five had negotiated the assignment of all claims in Yorkshire against Byllynge and in return they had received ten shares valued at \pounds_{350} a share in satisfaction of these debts. Their chief interest was in establishing a settlement for Yorkshire and other north country Quakers, for on March 2, 1677, the day following the transfer, the

⁹ John Clement, "The Proprietary Towns of West New Jersey," in *Early Settlements of West Jersey* (printed for private distribution, n.d.), a paper read Aug. 8, 1882, before the Surveyor's Association of West New Jersey.

Trustees gave them leave to settle in the province at a place of their own choosing.¹⁰ Thomas Hutchinson of Beverley and Mahlon Stacy of Hansworth were tanners. George Hutcheson of Sheffield was a distiller, and Joseph Helmsley of Great Kelk and Thomas Pearson of Bonwick were yeomen. Hutchinson and Helmsley had also, in June, 1675, purchased lands in John Fenwick's proposed colony. Helmsley came on the *Kent* and took part in the first Indian purchases, but remained only a short time. Pearson never came to America. In 1687 Helmsley and Pearson sold their remainder interests to the Yorkshire proprietors then resident in the colony, and shortly after, Hutcheson purchased these holdings from Stacy and Hutchinson.¹¹

George Hutcheson, like the other Yorkshire purchasers, was a Quaker and had considerable standing among Friends. According to Smith, he had assisted Penn in the negotiations with the Duke of York in 1680. He arrived in the province in 1681 and lived in Burlington until 1696 when, like many West Jersey settlers, he moved to Philadelphia, dying there two years later. He was a man of relatively large affairs in West Jersey, buying and selling lands, and was held in public esteem. In 1684, when an accumulated indebtedness of $\pounds_{1,250}$ endangered the province, the Assembly appointed Hutcheson and Thomas Gardiner, Sr., to cope with the situation. This they did by persuading the fifty-nine resident landowners to contribute 15.000 acres of land to Thomas Budd for furnishing the money.¹² During the same year, when the Assembly fell out with Byllynge, Hutcheson accompanied Samuel Jennings, the Assembly's governor, and Budd to England to seek an accommodation with the absentee governor. The dispute was submitted to the arbitration of London Friends, but the award went against the colonists. Hutcheson and Budd, while in

¹⁰ Samuel Smith, *The History of the Colony of Nova Caesaria, or New Jersey* (Burlington, 1765), 92–93, 521–522. The agreement with the Yorkshire proprietors is contained in the Concessions and Agreements of 1676/7.

¹¹ In addition to Budd's *True and Perfect Account*, the principal sources for the identification of the original proprietors were: NJA, XXI (*Calendar of Records in the Office of the Secretary* of State, 1664–1703), passim; NJA, XXIII (Abstracts of Wills), passim; Burlington Court Book of West Jersey, passim; The Short Journal and Itinerary Journals of George Fox, ed. by Norman Penney (Cambridge, 1925), passim; Aaron Leaming and Jacob Spicer, The Grants, Concessions and Original Constitutions of the Province of New-Jersey (Somerville, N. J., 1881). "The True Origin of Old Gloucester County, N. J." by Carlos E. Godfrey (Camden County Historical Society, 1922), lists the membership of the Assembly of 1686.

¹² NJA, XXI, 419, 427.

England, saw George Fox a number of times about the complicated "New Jerceys busyness."¹³ Hutcheson served as a justice of the provincial court at Burlington from 1684–1686,¹⁴ was a member of the Assembly in 1686 from the First Tenth, and a member of the resident Council of Proprietors upon its foundation in 1688 and for many years thereafter.¹⁵

Thomas Hutchinson also emigrated to West Jersey soon after it was settled, and except for a few years when he moved to Talbot County, Maryland, he lived at "Hutchinson's Manor" in Hopewell Township. He, too, conducted a land business of considerable proportions. Mahlon Stacy arrived on the *Shield* in December, 1678.¹⁶ He was elected commissioner in 1680 and was a member of the early Assemblies. He took up a lifelong residence near the Falls of the Delaware on his 500-acre plantation, "Ballifield," named for his home in Yorkshire. He served as a judge of the Burlington Court, and, like Thomas Hutchinson and George Hutcheson, was one of the original members of the resident Council of Proprietors. Hutchinson died in 1696 and Stacy in 1704.

The early "south country" proprietors owned no block of shares, but obtained proprieties individually or in small groups at the prevailing price of £350 a share. Several of them received shares or fractions of shares in lieu of debts owed them by Byllynge. William Perkins of Leicester, owner of a propriety, died on the *Kent* during the voyage, and John Kinsey of Hertford died at Shackamaxon shortly after the ship reached the Delaware. Before leaving England Kinsey had sold one third of his propriety to Nicholas Lucas, one of the Byllynge Trustees, and another third to Benjamin Scott of Essex,

13 Fox, Short Journal, 93-112 passim.

¹⁴ The Burlington Court assumed jurisdiction over all West Jersey until the creation of counties in 1686.

¹⁵ NJA, XXI, 406, 419, 427; The Case Put & Decided by George Fox, George Whitehead, Stephen Crisp, and other most Antient & Eminent Quakers . . . (New York, 1698) and Samuel Jenings, Truth Rescued from Forgery & Falshood . . . (Philadelphia, 1699). Both tracts were reprinted in an 1880 edition (Philadelphia); see pages 1–78 passim. Although Samuel Jennings spelled his own name variously and it appears as "Jenings" on the title page of the abovementioned pamphlet, "Jennings" is the spelling generally preferred by modern scholars and is therefore the form used in this paper.

¹⁶ Several of his letters are published in An Abstract or Abbreviation of Some Few of the Many (Later and Former) Testimonys from the Inhabitants of New-Jersey . . . (London, 1681), 19-24; hereafter cited as An Abstract of Testimonys.

who came on the Kent. In 1681 John Kinsey, Jr., sold the remaining part to Thomas Budd.

John Penford, owner of another whole propriety, like Kinsey, Olive, and Wills, was one of the first commissioners. He was a grazier from Leicester and a friend of William Perkins. In fact, Penford was the trustee of the Perkins propriety during the short interval between the latter's death and his own return to England. Thomas Olive and Daniel Wills then accepted the trusteeship. Like Joseph Helmsley, Penford remained in the province only a brief period, just long enough to assist in the first Indian purchases. On his return he sold off fractions of his propriety, and one of his purchasers, Elias Farr, was prominent in the colony. On Penford's death in 1692 his sons appointed George Hutcheson to dispose of his remaining rights to lands in West Jersey.

Thomas Olive and Daniel Wills held one share jointly.¹⁷ Olive was a haberdasher from the village of Wellingborough, Northamptonshire, and Wills, "a practicioner in Chymistry" or physician from the town of Northampton. Thomas Olive until his death in 1693 was the first citizen of West Jersey. He was a commissioner from the beginning until November, 1685, a justice of the provincial court at Burlington, speaker of the Assembly during every session preceding the coming of Governor Hamilton in 1692, a member of the provincial council when it was formed in 1683, and president of the resident Council of Proprietors from its origin until his death six years later. When Governor Samuel Jennings left for England in 1684, the Assembly appointed Thomas Olive their deputy governor and he served until John Skene replaced him in November of the following year. He was a devout Friend; in fact, he was a public Friend or minister, and his judgment was universally respected. His informal method of settling disputes in and out of court, sometimes in the field with his hands on the plow, gave rise to the term "Jersey justice," a synonym for simple, speedy, and direct justice.

The service of Daniel Wills, whose daughter Mary was the wife of Olive, was hardly less conspicuous. He, too, was a member of every

¹⁷ Budd credits them with three shares, an error. Actually the Trustees deeded one share to Olive and Wills on Jan. 22, 1677. They, in turn, on Apr. 4 sold half their interest to William Biddle, shoemaker, of Bishopsgate St., London. NJA, XXI, 400, 441. Biddle and Wills were friends and corresponded before Biddle left for Burlington in 1681.

Assembly held before 1692; he was a commissioner in 1680, a justice of the court, and one of the charter members of the Council of Proprietors. Until Robert Dimsdale, a physician of Middlesex, who bought a third from Nicholas Lucas in 1683, settled in the province, Wills was the only doctor. He died in 1698.¹⁸

Thomas Budd, owner of a whole share, was from Somersetshire. He arrived in the Kent, and settled in Burlington as a merchant and a land trader.¹⁹ He also played a prominent role in provincial affairs. In 1681 he was an elected commissioner, a justice of the court, and a land commissioner for the London Tenth and for "the six lower tenths"; he was a member of Governor Jennings' Council and a charter member of the Council of Proprietors. Budd, as mentioned above, underwrote the public debt in 1687. Several years earlier he had espoused the cause of Samuel Jennings and the resident landowners to the extent of journeying to England and attacking Byllynge both orally and in print; even after the award went against the Assembly, he tried to persuade the Lords of Trade to intervene in the situation. Soon after his return he moved to Philadelphia where he became a merchant of prominence. He supported George Keith during the Quaker schism and later withdrew from the Society of Friends. During the winter of 1693-1694 he went to England in Keith's cause, and argued and published in his behalf. To those who sympathize with the effort to free the colony from Byllynge, Budd takes his place alongside Samuel Jennings as a pioneer in the movement for self-government in the colony.²⁰

A full propriety was purchased in January, 1677, by Richard Mew, Percival Towle, Peter Hayles, Thomas Martin, Nicholas Bell and Richard Clayton, all from the London area. Of these six co-owners only Percival Towle actually settled in West Jersey. His name is encountered in the records as a member of grand and petty juries, as an overseer of the highways, and as one of the Council of Proprietors. He died a wealthy man in 1691, leaving 2,100 acres, besides personal property. His plantation, "Sutton's Lodge," was one of the largest in

¹⁸ Smith, 209; An Abstract of Testimonys, 17-18.

¹⁹ He returned for his family in 1678. Clement, "The Proprietary Towns of West New Jersey," 29-32; An Abstract of Testimonys, 14-15.

²⁰ For Budd's later activities and especially his relation to George Keith, see E. W. Kirby, George Keith, 1638–1716 (New York, 1942).

the province, containing 1,300 acres. Mew's name is known as a proprietor of East Jersey as well, but he never came to America.²¹ He was a merchant of Stepney in Middlesex, who eventually acquired Clayton's interest through purchase from Benjamin Antrobus, a friend of George Fox, and who sold off both fractions. It is of interest, also, to note that Bell, in October, 1677, sold his sixth to William Biddle, who settled in West Jersey.²² Of Hayles and Martin we know nothing save that they did not journey to the province.

William Peachee acquired a share in March, 1677, for himself and seven others: John Cripps, Thomas Doll, Richard Smith, Richard Mathews, Henry Stacy, William Kent and William Drewitt. These men were tradesmen in and about London and, like those mentioned above, were members of the Society of Friends. Peachee, a haberdasher, had been imprisoned for his beliefs, and he and Thomas Olive were probably the first public Friends or ministers in West Jersey. Peachee and his wife came on the *Kent*, and Peachee won distinction as a member of the Assembly from the London Tenth from 1681 to 1686 and as a justice of Burlington Court in 1685. He died in 1698. John Cripps, a woolcomber of the Parish of St. Martin, Whitechapel, also came on the *Kent*,²³ and he achieved prominence by serving in the Assembly in 1682 and on the bench of the court. He was relatively well to do, with a house in Burlington and a 500-acre plantation, "Mt. Holly," nearby. He died in 1687.

Stacy was a merchant of Stepney, and in 1678 he and Richard Mathews purchased an additional third from Nicholas Lax. He was a brother-in-law of James Nevill, who became Penn's agent in Salem. Stacy took up his lands in the Third Tenth and soon rose to prominence there. During the two years preceding his death in 1684, he was elected a member of the Assembly from the Third Tenth, served a term on the bench, and was appointed a member of the Jennings Council of 1683.²⁴ Mathews, who was close to Stacy, did not emigrate. He remained in England where he was a factor, first in Blackwell Hall, London, then in Stoke Newington. As noted earlier, Mathews had been arrested in York in 1677 as one of the chief Quaker

²¹ His son, Noel Mew, came on the Kent, but removed for some years to Newport, R. I. 22 Fox, Short Journal, 334.

²³ An Abstract of Testimonys, 11-12, 15-17.

²⁴ Henry Stacy was not related to the Yorkshire proprietor, Mahlon Stacy.

"undertakers." Stacy located his lands for him in the Third Tenth and after Stacy's death, Elias Farr of Burlington became his agent. Kent was a cheesemonger of Bishopsgate, London, who sold his eighth in 1678. Of Doll, Drewitt, and Smith we know nothing.

Thomas Hooten, chandler, of Black Friars, London, and the owner of a whole propriety, came to West Jersey on the Kent. His name appears in the first assignments of proprietary lands in and about Burlington that were surveyed by Richard Noble. Each owner of a whole propriety was entitled to approximately ten acres within the projected town bounds and to a field of sixty-four acres adjacent to the settlement. After Noble had surveyed the streets and lots within the town bounds, a number of the proprietors or their representatives, late in October, 1677, participated in the first drawings by lot for town lots and fields. The proprietors present were Thomas Olive, Daniel Wills, John Penford, William Peachee, John Kinsev and Thomas Hooten. Richard Mew was represented by his son Noel, and a proprietor named Rodgers, whose name does not appear in Budd's list of 1685, was represented by Abraham Man.²⁵ Hooten's final deed for his proprietorship bears the date November 6, 1677. During the next two years he disposed of fractions of from 1/32 to 1/8 to purchasers in West Jersey and in and about London. Several of his English purchasers-John Woolman, Sr., Henry Stacy, and William Humphreys-later became prominent in the colony. Hooten moved to Philadelphia sometime after 1690 and died there in 1694.

Francis Collins was a prosperous bricklayer and contractor of Stepney. As a Friend he had suffered both fine and imprisonment. In June, 1677, he acquired 4/7 of a share in which Richard Mew held a 2/7 interest and John Bull, a draper and "citizen of London," a 1/7 interest. He was for years the principal builder in the colony, erecting the courthouse and the meetinghouse at Burlington. His procrastination in building the latter frequently irritated the members of the Burlington Monthly Meeting.²⁶ Collins located his lands in the Third Tenth, and for many years resided at "Mountwell," his plantation near the present town of Haddonfield. Late in life he moved to Northampton Township, close to Burlington. In 1683 he was a

²⁵ Clement, "The Proprietary Towns of West New Jersey"; An Abstract of Testimonys, 12.

²⁶ Minutes of the Burlington Monthly Meeting (Department of Records, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting), Book I, 31, 51, 53, 58, 60, 151.

justice of the court and an elected commissioner; in 1687 he was a contributor to the resident proprietors' pool to liquidate the public debt, and the next year he became a member of the Council of Proprietors.

Samuel Coles purchased a whole propriety in March, 1677, jointly with Benjamin Bartlet, "gentleman," of Westminister, Middlesex, son-in-law of Edward Byllynge, and incidentally one of Byllynge's largest creditors. Bartlet, of course, never resided in the colony, but Coles and his wife settled in the Third Tenth as early as 1680. Coles, a contentious man, who was involved in as many lawsuits as any West Jerseyman, in 1684 insisted that he be allowed to appeal a decision of Burlington Court to England. This audacious request was peremptorily refused. He lived near Pennsauken Creek and styled himself "yeoman." Both Coles and Bartlet sold off fractions of shares; and as late as 1693, the year of his death, the former was selling land in the Third Tenth. Little is known of another proprietor, John Smith, who also purchased a whole share in March, 1677. He arrived on the Kent, but by 1680 had moved to "Christina" Creek in Delaware. After his death about 1689 his widow Sarah, who married James Reade of White Clay Creek, disposed of his lands in Gloucester County.

John Ridges, skinner and citizen of London, and Thomas Rudyard, "gentleman" and lawyer of George Yard, Lombard Street, likewise purchased a propriety in March, 1677. Both, however, were absentee owners, although Rudvard became deputy governor of East Jersey in 1684. Ridges appointed Samuel Jennings of Burlington as his land agent, and Rudvard named Andrew Robinson, one of the resident Irish proprietors. In August, 1677, Rudyard purchased another propriety jointly with Thomas Bull, a maltster, John Reading, Sr., and Henry Beale, a maltster, all of Bradley, Staffordshire. Rudyard owned the largest portion of the share, one half. Bull came to the province and settled in Gloucester County where he died in 1687. His sons Thomas and Richard remained there, but his daughter Sarah, "spinister," moved to Bucks County, Pennsylvania. Beale sold his eighth in 1689. Reading located lands about 1685 along Steel's branch of Timber Creek. With the formation of the Council of Proprietors in 1688, he was chosen one of the eleven trustees or commissioners, and for nearly thirty years served as clerk of the Council.

He died in 1717 at his home in Hunterdon County. His son John became an active trader in lands, eventually purchasing into the shares of Maurice Trent, William Welch, John Smith and Andrew Robinson. John Reading, Jr., was elected surveyor general of the Council of Proprietors in 1712.

William Ogle, Esq., William Royden, and Nicholas Lax also purchased a share in March, 1677. Lax, as we have seen, disposed of his one-third interest to Henry Stacy and Richard Mathews, and Ogle's third eventually fell into the hands of Daniel Coxe. William Royden of the Parish of Christ's Church, Surrey, was a brewer and did not emigrate until 1685. He took up residence in the Third Tenth, where he disposed of lands located along Cooper's Creek. He styled himself "gentleman." In 1687 he was one of the fifty-nine guarantors of the provincial debt; the next year he was appointed "ferryman" by the Gloucester Court. He eventually moved to Philadelphia and was living there as late as 1693.

On November 15, 1681, a propriety was sold to eight London men: Richard Lawrence, "gentleman"; Thomas Mathews, carpenter; Thomas Cary, silkman; Samuel Groom, mariner; Edward Peare, shipwright; Joseph Webster, "citizen" and weaver; Samuel Cradock, "citizen" and fishmonger; and Gilbert Mace, "citizen" and weaver. These men were Quakers. Indeed, George Fox visited Groom's widow, Elizabeth, at her home in Ratcliffe after Groom's death in 1684. Groom was also a proprietor of East Jersey and for a brief period served there as receiver general. He was thus a man of some substance. After his death his heirs disposed of his estate in New Jersey, and his 1/4 share in West Jersey was purchased by Thomas Budd. Of all eight purchasers only Thomas Mathews and Richard Lawrence settled in the province, and both located their lands in the Fourth Tenth. Mathews, who owned the largest interest in the propriety, a 3/8 share, arrived in Burlington in 1683, then moved to Woodbury Creek in the Fourth Tenth. He, like Lawrence, was a protagonist of Edward Byllynge. In 1684 Byllynge appointed Mathews and George Hutcheson as agents to locate and sell lands for him, and in the dispute between Byllynge and the Assembly, Mathews supported Byllynge. Writing to George Fox in June, 1684, he charged Jennings and the other member of the Council with making it difficult for him to locate lands for Byllynge, John Hind, and

other London proprietors.²⁷ However, after Byllynge's power was confirmed by the award of London Friends late in 1684, Mathews entered into provincial affairs and became quite influential. In 1686 he was elected a representative in the Assembly from the Fourth Tenth, and in 1688 he was a member of the resident Council of Proprietors. Like Mathews, Richard Lawrence in 1683 located his lands in lower Gloucester County on Oldman's Creek. He continued to style himself "gentleman," and in 1686 was both a justice of Burlington Court and a member of the Assembly from the Fourth Tenth. At the time of his death in 1693 he still held more than 1,600 acres of land, including his plantation of 500 acres.

A third body of proprietors were Irish Quakers. For years William Penn had maintained close contact with Friends in Ireland, and some of their number were attracted by the New Jersey experiment sponsored by Penn and the other Trustees. Robert Turner, linen draper; Joseph Sleigh, tanner; Robert Zane, sergemaker; Thomas Thackara, weaver, all of Dublin; and William Bate, carpenter, of County Wicklow, purchased a full propriety in April, 1677.28 Sleigh alone of this group did not come to West Jersey. The first Irish settlers arrived at Salem in The Owner's Adventure in November, 1681, and in the spring they settled on lands about Newton Creek that had been located for them by Robert Zane, who had preceded them and who had been in correspondence with Robert Turner, the leading spirit in the enterprise. Turner, a friend of William Penn, had suffered fines and imprisonment at least three times for his religious beliefs. He did not emigrate to West Jersey, however, for nearly two years after the founding of Newton, but arrived in Philadelphia in October, 1683, on the Lion, out of Dublin. The Irishmen and their families settled in the Third Tenth, between Pennsauken and Timber Creeks, and this division of the province was thereafter known as the Irish Tenth. Later on, the district lying between Timber Creek and Oldman's Creek was designated as the Fourth Tenth. However, in 1686, with the establishment of Gloucester County, which included both the Third and the Fourth Tenths, the system of tenths was abandoned.

^{27 &}quot;Letter of Thomas Mathews to George Fox, 1683," PMHB, XVII (1893), 195–199.

²⁸ NJA, XXI. Mark Newbie purchased a fraction from one of these "original" proprietors.

John Clement, The First Emigrant Settlers of Newton Township . . . West New Jersey (Camden, 1877), especially pages 24-26.

Andrew Robinson, a merchant of Clonmell, purchased a propriety in March, 1677, but did not emigrate until some years later. In 1685, however, he was locating lands along Great Mantua Creek. His ownership of a whole propriety gave him great influence, and in 1686 we find him a justice of Burlington Court and a member of the court of the newly formed Gloucester County. In 1688 he became a member of the Council of Proprietors and served as its surveyor general until 1693.

A propriety was purchased also in March, 1677, by six small businessmen living in and about Dublin. These men were William Clark and Anthony Sharp, merchants; Roger Roberts, innholder; Richard Hunter, tanner; Thomas Atherton, shoemaker; and Thomas Starkey, "gentleman," of Abby-Lace, Queen's County. Clark held 1/4 share, but the others held as little as a 1/10 interest. Only Clark and Hunter came to America, Hunter dying at Newcastle upon his arrival in August, 1679. Clark, who had arrived in December, 1677, was elected a commissioner in 1678, but four years later he moved to Sussex County, Delaware. Sharp and Atherton, as well as Hunter, disposed of fractions in Ireland, but of Roberts we have little knowledge. Sharp's nephew Thomas was an influential settler in Gloucester County. Starkey was a man of some influence in Dublin and on occasion solicited the government in behalf of Quaker sufferers. One George Goldsmith, who arrived on The Owner's Adventure in 1681, claimed to be his agent, but was never able to re-establish contact with him.29

The Irish proprietors played a prominent part in the annals of the province. Thackara and Zane were members of the early Assemblies, as were two other Irish settlers, William Cooper and Mark Newbie. In the Assembly of 1686, the last we have full knowledge of before Governor Hamilton's arrival in 1692, Thackara and Zane were joined by Robert Turner and William Bate as representatives of the Third Tenth. Thackara and Zane were also among the first justices of the Gloucester Court, and Turner in 1684 and Robinson, later, served on the Burlington Court bench. Zane and Thackara represented the Third Tenth on the Council of Proprietors in 1688, while Robert Turner, William Bate, and Andrew Robinson were members at large. Late in 1684, Robert Turner moved permanently to Phila-

²⁹ Fox, Short Journal, 330, 351. Starkey died around 1691.

delphia where he was to become prominent in Pennsylvania affairs. He was later a follower of George Keith, the Quaker apostate, and ultimately joined the Anglican Church. His wife Susanna was the daughter of William Welch, the London merchant and West Jersey proprietor who had settled at Newcastle, and he himself was the father-in-law of Francis Rawle. Zane died in 1695, Turner about 1699, Bate in 1700, and Thackara in 1702.

In July, 1678, a propriety was sold to another group that included several residents of Ireland, but none of them emigrated to West Jersey. These men were William Steel, a merchant of Cork; Samuel Dennis, also a merchant of Cork; his brother, John Dennis, a joiner of Cork; Samuel Norris of Watling Street, London; Abraham Goedowne, broadweaver, first of Stepney, later of Spitalfields; Apollo Morris and Thomas Davis, who are unidentified. All presumably were Quakers; George Fox knew Goedowne well. Norris and Goedowne in 1686 sold out to Robert Turner, who employed William Cooper to locate his lands in the Third Tenth and dispose of them. William Steel, who later settled at Bristol, instructed his brother-inlaw, John Ithell of Philadelphia, to sell his West Jersey lands for him. Samuel and John Dennis appointed Thackara their land agent, and he subsequently located their lands next to William Steel's along Steel's branch of Timber Creek.

Little knowledge is available regarding the ownership and disposition of some of the ninety proprieties.³⁰ Of the shares owned by William Abbott, John Cook, John Goodchild and others, William Kemp of Chelsea and Edward Neltrup (Nelthorp), we know nothing. Nor can the three shares owned by Thomas Williams of Lombard Street, listed both by Budd and in the Minutes of the Council of Proprietors of 1713, be accounted for. Neltrup was a signer of the Concessions and Agreements of 1677, thus revealing his intention of coming to the province. John Clark, possibly a brewer of London, owned a propriety, and his name appears in a Gloucester County debtor's suit brought against him by Nathaniel Westland. Three

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³⁰ George Fox himself was not a proprietor, but the following notation from his papers (1681) needs explanation: "That a letter be writ to the Assembly in West New Jersey [,] that the Difference between J. F. [John Fenwick], J. E. [John Eldridge] and E. W. [Edmund Warner] and G. L. [Gawen Lawrie] about the 100,000 acres taken up by G. F. . . ." I am indebted to Dr. Henry Cadbury for this reference.

other shares were owned by a proprietor who will remain nameless until a perfect copy of Budd's imprint is found. In June, 1679, three shares were sold to one Nicholas Johnson, of whom nothing further is known. Likewise, in December, 1677, one whole share was conveyed to Thomas Dorman, Charles Milson, Isaac Cooks, John Pauley and Thomas Wilson, and of them we know nothing further. John Scott, owner of a share, visited West Jersey before 1681,³¹ but apparently did not settle permanently in Burlington County until about 1690. He died in 1702.

The earliest sale on record, August, 1676, was made to Daniel Waite, a bodicemaker of Westminister, Middlesex, but nothing is learned of this propriety until it came into the possession of William Penn.³² George Beer (Bear) purchased a full propriety in December, 1677, which he sold to one of the Trustees, Gawen Lawrie, in May, 1682. If by chance this individual was George Barr, as is likely, he was a close friend of George Fox, lived at Edmonton, and was known to be active in trade and finance. William Welch, a merchant of London, purchased a propriety in September, 1681.³³ In 1683 he sold a half share and later migrated to Newcastle where he became a merchant. He died about 1696 and his widow employed John Reading, Jr., to dispose of the lands remaining in this propriety in Gloucester County. In July, 1681, a share was bought by Maurice Trent of Leith, Scotland, merchant, and Hector Allen of Prestonpans, mariner. In 1695 Trent vested power of attorney in his nephew, Maurice Trent of Philadelphia, to dispose of his holdings, which were purchased the following year by John Reading, Jr., and John Ladd of Gloucester.

In March, 1682, a share was purchased by six men of London and its vicinity. They were Thomas Crouch, a merchant of Amersham, Bucks County; Thomas Farr, a tailor of the same place; Thomas Hester, a bricklayer of St. Martin's in the Fields, Middlesex; John Willis, a maltster of Wantage, Berks; Thomas Stanton, a maltster of Berks; and Isaac Martin, a grocer of London. Little is known of these

32 See page 139.

³¹ An Abstract of Testimonys, 5.

³³ Not to be confused with a more prominent Quaker of the same name who was deputy governor-elect to succeed Samuel Jennings, but who died in London in 1684, before undertaking the journey. Fox, *Short Journal*, 359.

men. Martin, however, had died by 1696, and his widow Katherine married John Sibley and was living in Philadelphia. She sold off her first husband's share in lands that were located in Gloucester County. John Willis in 1683 purchased another whole propriety in addition to his sixth. He took up his lands in the Third Tenth and resided on Cooper's Creek. He died in 1691. Thomas Hester, owner of an eighth, also emigrated to Gloucester County, but died in 1686, several years after his arrival.

John Bellers, the London merchant, philanthropist, social philosopher and friend of William Penn, held a whole propriety. In 1685 he employed Thomas Budd as his agent to take up 5,000 acres for him. Budd located these lands along Cohansey Creek and they were sold off during the period 1688–1697. Budd probably met Bellers during his journey to England in 1684–1685. In view of Bellers' great humanitarian interests, it is not surprising to find his name listed among the proprietors of West Jersey. John Helby was also a late purchaser, and it was not until 1693 that he petitioned the resident Council of Proprietors for his rights to lands. A large portion was located near the Bellers tract on the Cohansey, and the absentee proprietor christened his proposed settlement Helby Town. Another tract was taken up near Great Egg Harbor and was named Helby's Forest.

After the Trusteeship had expired, Byllynge, in April, 1684, conveyed two whole shares to Arent Sonmans, a native of Rotterdam, then in business in Wallyford, Scotland. Sonmans, in September, 1682, had become one of the twenty-four proprietors of East Jersey. He had anticipated coming to New Jersey, but was shot by a high-wayman while passing through Hunterdonshire in company with Governor Robert Barclay of East Jersey and was buried in the Friends' burial ground nearby. His son, Peter, located the lands accruing to these shares along the partition line above the Falls of the Delaware. The Sonmans' interest in East Jersey was increased to 5-1/4 shares, larger than that of any other proprietor, and Peter's interest lay largely in that province.

Thomas Rudyard, the London lawyer, in addition to his joint ownership in two proprieties, also owned a propriety of his own, purchased in 1677. He was raised in Staffordshire, but his whole life

except the last period was spent in London. He had assisted William Penn and William Mead in the famous trial of 1670 and transacted much of Penn's legal business. In 1677 he was fully drawn into the orbit of the Quakers' affairs in the New World. He was custodian of legal papers relating to the Jerseys and to Pennsylvania, and many of the deeds for proprieties and other documents were drawn up in his office.³⁴ In 1682 he came to East Jersey as deputy governor, secretary, and register. At the same time, Governor Barclay appointed Samuel Groom, also a West Jersey proprietor, receiver general. The two quarreled about the proper method of laying out lands, and Rudyard was accused of procuring choice lands for himself. Both were numbered among the twelve Quakers who had obtained East Jersey from Lady Carteret's estate at auction in February, 1682. However, in September, 1683, Rudyard was superseded as deputy governor by Gawen Lawrie, one of the former Byllynge Trustees and himself a proprietor of West Jersey. Rudyard continued for a brief period as secretary and register, but moved to the Barbados in 1685, dving there in 1692. His eldest son, Benjamin, deeded to his sister Margaret, wife of George Willocks, the land in East and West Iersev inherited from his father.

The Byllynge Trustees—William Penn, Nicholas Lucas, the maltster of Hertford, and Gawen Lawrie, the London merchant—did not speculate in lands to any large extent during the period of their trusteeship from 1675 to 1683. Lucas did purchase a third of a share from one of the proprietors, but resold it. Lawrie purchased two whole shares before becoming deputy governor of East Jersey, one of them in 1682 from George Beer. Lawrie was, of course, a prominent Quaker and a man of some substance. In 1672 his daughter had married William Haige, another Quaker, with whom he had close business relations. Haige himself had purchased a whole propriety in 1677. Haige and his wife followed Lawrie to East Jersey where he served as receiver general under his father-in-law. Lawrie was not too happy as governor and was removed in 1687, just prior to his death. His daughters inherited his properties. There is no record of his trading actively in West Jersey lands.

³⁴ The Present State of the Colony of West-Jersey, in America, September, Anno. Dom. 1681 (London, 1681), 1-5. Reprinted in A. C. Myers, ed., Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West Jersey and Delaware (New York, 1912), 191-195; see especially page 195.

JOHN E. POMFRET

William Penn became the proprietor of John Fenwick's ten shares on March 23, 1683, less than six months before Fenwick's death. The circumstances of Penn's purchase have been little appreciated. Penn and Fenwick had been friends for many years in England. Since the Byllynge trusteeship had been formed for the purpose of undertaking a Quaker settlement in West Jersey, the Trustees had wholly disapproved of Fenwick's independent settlement of Salem. Fenwick, in his turn, was angered when the Trustees began to issue deeds to proprieties, reciting that ninety shares were in trust for Byllynge and "ten equal and undivided parts [yet] to be divided [were] in trust for John Edridg and Edmond Warner in fee."35 He was further incensed when this recital was repeated in the patent to the province that Penn secured from the Duke of York in August, 1680. The Fenwick story is too involved to be repeated here; much of the trouble was owing to the mortgage that Fenwick gave to Eldridge and Warner, and to his absence from England at a very crucial time for the Trustees.

Suffice it to say that when Penn arrived in America in October, 1682, to direct affairs in Pennsylvania in person, the relations between the two men were greatly strained. Meanwhile, in April, 1681, Penn had resigned as a Trustee, leaving matters to Lawrie and Lucas until the trust was dissolved in September, 1683. In July, 1682, John Eldridge, who had become circumstanced, sold his interest in the mortgage to Edmund Warner, and in September Penn succeeded in buying the Eldridge-Warner interest for £540. The path was now clear for a settlement with Fenwick. William Penn, in March, 1683, then purchased Fenwick's ten proprieties and thus became "chief proprietor" of the Salem Tenth. Actually, the best lands in the Salem Tenth had been disposed of, and Penn's remainder, which was subject to Fenwick's prior sale of 150,000 acres, was worth little. Fenwick by the terms of the sale also retained his right to maintain his petty court of leet and baron. Peace, however, had been restored between Penn and Fenwick, and during the few months that remained to Fenwick they acted closely together in West Jersey matters.36

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³⁵ Byllynge Trustees to William Clarke and others, Sept. 6, 1677, but recited in all the deeds.

³⁶ Pemberton Papers, New Jersey Estates, LXII, 33, 47-51, HSP; NJA, I, 370-373.

In May, 1683, Penn, Fenwick, and other representatives of the Salem Tenth appeared at a meeting of the Assembly at Burlington "in such a night of Rain I have never or seldom seen the like," wrote Thomas Mathews. The Assembly, which had practically adjourned, was reconvened, and a set of resolutions proposed by Penn and Fenwick, challenging Byllynge's right of governance and chief proprietorship of the province, was unanimously adopted. These proceedings were viewed with obvious distaste by Mathews, Byllynge's agent. In a letter he wrote to George Fox the next month, he cited Penn and Fenwick as fellow conspirators. These two, he wrote, "know very well how to tune there Instruments to sute the hearers. ... Never was man more minst and Run down than E:B [;] not being there to spake for himself & ould dirt throne upon him by W:P in the face of the assembly and others. . . . John Fenwicks Rediculos behaver is not worth the menshining squezing his hat of 40 times Referring to hisself his Lordship, of Right in Goverment & yet was one of the assembly men." The repudiation of Byllynge by the Assembly failed, for in the arbitration by leading London Friends in 1684, his right to the governance of the province was upheld.³⁷

In Fenwick's will, dated August 7, 1683, he excoriated Eldridge and Warner, and charged his executors to bring them to account. Byllynge, Lawrie, and their faction, he added, "hath most covetously and most unchristianly dealt with me." His opinion of Penn, however, was otherwise. He expressed the wish that his "much esteemed friend" would serve as one of his executors and would act as guardian for several of his grandchildren.³⁸

Penn also became the owner of two other proprieties. On September 25, 1689, he wrote Captain John Blackwell, his deputy governor in Pennsylvania: "I have also an interest in both the Jersies; in West Jersey, besides my concern in Salem [,] a tenth managed by one James Nevel [Nevill] a shrewd man and who cometh under the Province. I have two proprieties in right of Will. Hague [Haige] & Dan'll Waite of London and I would have my share of each propriety taken up, though it were remotely, provided the same were near navigation at least for one propriety and the Land of the other any-

^{37 &}quot;Letter of Thomas Mathews to George Fox, 1683," PMHB, XVII (1893), 195-199.

³⁸ Fenwick's will is conveniently printed in Frank H. Stewart, *Major John Fenwick* (Woodbury, 1939), 39-43.

where in a good place up the freshes."³⁹ Haige, a prominent Quaker and merchant of London, had sold this propriety in 1681 to Philip Ford, one of Penn's trusted but ineffectual advisers, who sold it to Penn. Penn in 1697, after Nevill's death, appointed Jeremiah Basse, deputy governor of West Jersey, and Samuel Jennings, then residing in Philadelphia, as agents to assist in locating and disposing of these lands.

Edward Byllynge's role in West Jersey affairs was at times that of a highminded Friend seeking above all the success of the Quaker experiment, and again that of an opportunist wishful of gain and personal aggrandizement. Byllynge, for example, had a principal part in the writing of the Concessions and Agreements of 1677, which conferred large powers of government upon the resident proprietors and freeholders, but he practically repudiated the right of selfgovernment when the Duke's grant of 1680 vested in him the power of government, should he choose to exercise it, in violation of the Concessions which he had prepared and signed. When the trusteeship expired in 1683, Byllynge was not only relieved of his debts, but retained a number of unsold proprieties which promised considerable financial gain. In 1683, when he announced his intention of coming to the province as governor, the Assembly forthwith repudiated Byllynge by electing as governor Samuel Jennings, Byllynge's deputy. This attempt was unsuccessful, for the award of the London Friends on the whole upheld Byllynge's authority. The exhibit submitted to them by Thomas Budd was an effort to show that Byllynge had sold all one hundred proprieties, hence he could have no claim to the government since governance went with the ownership of the soil. Budd's True and Perfect Account, however, was repudiated by himself at the insistence of George Fox, because it contained an infelicitous expression⁴⁰ and because Byllynge still owned or had repurchased a number of shares. In the Assembly meeting in 1685 at Burlington, Byllynge and his faction of proprietors in England laid claim to thirty shares, a substantial interest. Byllynge alone claimed twenty-two shares; six were claimed for his son-in-law, Benjamin Bartlet, who had acquired five of them in lieu of monies owed him by Byllynge; and two others were claimed for Robert Squib, Sr., and

^{39 &}quot;Letters of William Penn," PMHB, XXXIII (1909), 314.

^{40 &}quot;This is published . . . to prevent Fraud."

Robert Squib, Jr. The English proprietors demanded that these proprieties be counted as votes in the Assembly and they assigned proxies to vote them as needed. John Skene, deputy governor, was appointed proxy for four of Byllynge's shares; Andrew Robinson, for five; George Hutcheson, for five; Richard Lawrence, for three; and John Crips, for five. Thomas Mathews was proxy for Bartlet's six shares and for the two Squib shares. The Assembly, however, voted to allow each absentee proprietor only one vote, and to reject the new charter and other bills transmitted by Byllynge. It appointed a committee consisting of Andrew Robinson, James Nevill, William Emley, James Budd and George Hutcheson to negotiate with Byllynge regarding these matters, but before anything was accomplished Byllynge contracted consumption and died in London on January 16, 1687.⁴¹

The situation under Byllynge had been difficult in the province, but when Byllynge's heirs sold out to Daniel Coxe in February, 1687, vesting in him not only the ownership of a block of proprieties but the right of government as well, the outlook was very discouraging for the Assembly and the resident proprietors. To simplify matters the Assembly divested itself of all administration relative to the location and distribution of lands. A group of fifty-five resident proprietors, with the full consent of the Assembly, banded together under the presidency of Thomas Olive and ten other trustees in February, 1688, to form the Council of Proprietors of West Jersey. Each proprietor was required to own 1/32 of a propriety or more. The Council hoped through negotiation with the new governor to work out a satisfactory plan for the distribution of lands.⁴²

Doctor Coxe's role in colonial history is that of a promoter and land speculator on a colossal scale, and his career can be but briefly touched upon here. He himself never came to America. In a few years, from 1687 to 1692, he built up large proprietary holdings in West Jersey, East Jersey, Pennsylvania, Long Island, and on the Merrimac River. He hoped to erect a veritable economic empire based upon trade with the West Indies, with Britain and Continental

⁴¹ The Case Put and Decided . . .; see also The Petition of Samuel Jennings and Thomas Budd to London Friends, Feb. 28, 1684/5, in John E. Pomfret, "The Problem of the West Jersey Concessions of 1676/7," William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series, V (1948), 95-105; Learning and Spicer, 502-506.

⁴² Smith, 199-202.

Europe, and with the seaboard colonies, with its capital in Philadelphia. But his schemes in the Middle Colonies either developed too slowly or else he was captivated by the prospect of larger gain in the Carolinas and the Old Southwest. In any event, he sold out in 1692 to the West Jersey Society, a corporation which he had had a hand in forming and in which he maintained an interest. The pressure of the Board of Trade in insisting upon the surrender of the "pretended right of government" of the proprietors of East and West Jersey was undoubtedly a factor in dampening his buoyant spirits.⁴³

Coxe, even before Byllynge's death, was aware of developments in West Jersey. In fact, in 1684 he had purchased a propriety of Byllynge's, which he sold to one Walter Harris, and in 1685 he sold a share that had come into his possession to John Hook of Middlesex. In October, 1685, he purchased and retained the two shares of Thomas Sadler, "gentleman," of Lincoln's Inn, Middlesex. In 1686 he again purchased a whole propriety from Byllynge. Thus, before the latter's death, Coxe was speculating in West Jersey proprieties. The list price, £350 per share, seems to have held up, since Coxe paid £400 per share for the Sadler shares. Byllynge's death, however, afforded him a unique opportunity to gain control of West Jersey, and he acted swiftly. Through instruments dated initially February 18, 1687, he bought out Loveday Byllynge's half interest in her father's estate, and on the same date he purchased from Benjamin Bartlet six shares, five of them obtained from Byllynge on June 6, 1681, and another purchased later. On October 6, 1688, he purchased Gratia Bartlet's half interest. Loveday Byllynge, however, died suddenly in 1688, so that the transfers were delayed and were not actually completed until the fall of 1691. Thus Coxe's course was set, and during nearly four years he picked up all the shares he could set his hands on. As early as June, 1688, he claimed a total of eleven shares, and by the time he sold to the West Jersey Society he had accumulated the equivalent of twenty-two shares, by far the largest single existing block.

Some of these transactions are on record. In March, 1682, John Hind, a goldsmith and a draper of London, had purchased at least four shares from the Trustees. However, his affairs became so en-

43 G. D. Scull, "Biographical Notice of Doctor Daniel Coxe of London," PMHB, VII (1883), 317-337.

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PROPRIETORS OF WEST NEW JERSEY

tangled that the four shares came into the hands of John Brown and Thomas Sands as assignees in bankruptcy against him. These were purchased by Sir Thomas Lane in 1687 and sold by him to Coxe in December, 1691. Coxe also succeeded in purchasing the propriety sold by the Trustees in 1677 to Robert Squib, Sr., the propriety sold during the same year to Humphrey Madge, and the third of a share that Madge owned in common with Robert Sooley and Robert Taylor. Although the records are not clear, it seems that Coxe also secured Sooley's third. The Madge holdings were purchased from Charles Madge, son of Humphrey. Coxe also obtained Ogle's third of a share through purchase from John Hyde, and he obtained John Braman's 6/7 ownership in the Braman-Forster propriety. Both John Braman and Elizabeth Forster were Quakers and had purchased from the Trustees in August, 1678. Robert West, one of the East Jersey proprietors, held a mortgage for $\pounds 100$ on two shares owned by the Byllynge heirs. By obtaining this mortgage Coxe secured possession of them also. Finally, he purchased Elizabeth Harris' 2/7 fraction in the Bartlet-Harris-Josiah Thomas share. In addition to shares and fractions of shares, Coxe had acquired town lots in Burlington and Gloucester and parcels of land about Egg Harbor. Among his claims was an interest in the mortgage of Edmund Warner on Fenwick's Tenth. This was worth little, however, since William Penn had bought out Warner and Eldridge in 1682 and Fenwick himself the next year.44

As mentioned above, all these holdings in West Jersey, as well as Coxe's holdings elsewhere, came into the possession of the West New Jersey Society in March, 1692. The Society, acting jointly with the other London proprietors of both East and West Jersey, appointed the Scotsman, Andrew Hamilton, governor of both provinces. With

⁴⁴ NJA, XXI, especially 315-317, 434-438, and II, 41-63. Mr. N. B. Wainwright kindly furnished me references from the Cadwalader Collection, Abstract of Dr. Daniel Coxe's title to West New Jersey, HSP. There is no more exacting and exasperating task than that of tracing the title to West Jersey proprieties from 1675 to 1693. James Kinsey, while preparing a legal brief of the complicated chain of title from Coxe to the West Jersey Society, in 1787, wrote as follows: "[I have] these many days been imployed Amongst Such a Confused Multitude of Papers and Rubbish that I never had my Patience put to a more severe trial and I have still the Misfortune of not being able to determine Right or Wrong. A person reading over these Transactions can hardly suppose the Partys to have been in their senses when they executed some of the Deeds." Richard P. McCormick, "The West Jersey Estate of Sir Robert Barker," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, LXIV (1946), 138.

the exception of the Basse interlude of 1697-1698, Hamilton was governor until the surrender to the Crown in 1702. By reason of Hamilton's good judgment, peace was restored between the Society and the London proprietors on the one hand and the Council of Proprietors on the other. Both groups joined in the allocation of additional dividends of land, and land distribution proceeded on a fairly orderly basis. The records, by this time, however, were very faulty. From time to time owners of proprieties and fractions thereof came forward to claim their rights, to the consternation of the Council of Proprietors. But this did not happen too frequently, and matters were usually adjusted to the satisfaction of legitimate claimants. Actually, it is astonishing to relate that many of the original proprietors never asserted their claims. Perhaps West Jersey lands did not appreciate enough in value to be of much moment; or perhaps, more true, many of the purchasers had bought shares as a contribution to an experiment that promised to free members of the Society of Friends from a cruel persecution in Great Britain and Ireland.

In this paper one hundred fourteen purchasers of the one hundred proprieties have been identified. One purchaser of three shares has not been, nor have those who were associated with John Goodchild in the purchase of one share. As far as can be ascertained, the one hundred shares were sold off in fifty-eight transactions. There were three separate purchases in the name of John Hind, the London merchant. Budd is in error in including the Beer (Bear, Barr) purchase twice. He does not include the sale of a propriety to William Perkins who died on the voyage, nor does he include the two separate sales of one propriety each to Arent Sonmans. William Penn's proprieties, alluded to above, are not included by Budd since Penn purchased his shares from Fenwick, Haige, and Waite, who were original proprietors.

Fully a fourth of the proprietors, thirty in number, actually settled in West Jersey. Three others—Perkins, Kinsey, and Hunter died on the voyage or shortly upon arrival. The incident of history also brought to America Thomas Rudyard and Gawen Lawrie as deputy governors of East Jersey, and Samuel Groom and William Haige as receivers general of that province. Several proprietors, after a brief residence in West Jersey, settled in "the three lower counties," as Delaware was then styled, and a number of others removed to Philadelphia.

Of the greatest importance is the conclusion that practically all the original proprietors, except Daniel Coxe, were Quakers. Although membership in the Society of Friends cannot be proved in a number of cases, the facts of origin and association made it impossible to eliminate with certainty any of the individuals listed. West New Jersey, then, was a Quaker enterprise in as full a sense as Pennsylvania and more so than East Jersey. But Quaker interest in East Jersey and West Jersey waned as soon as the success of Pennsylvania was assured. East New Jersey with its large non-Quaker elements would have been impossible for the Quakers to absorb. West New Iersey lagged in growth in comparison with Penn's colony. The Quaker experiment there was not destined to flourish because of the uncertainty with respect to the right of government, a right that was never fully admitted by the Crown. During the entire proprietary period, however, the population of the province was overwhelmingly Ouaker.45

Turning to the purchasers themselves, all of the one hundred fourteen, excepting seventeen Irishmen and three Scots, were Englishmen. Six of the Irishmen actually settled in the Irish or Third Tenth. None of the Scots came to America. The majority of the English proprietors were from London or from Middlesex County, with a sprinkling from the nearby counties of Berks, Bucks, and Surrey. Six were known to be "citizens" of London. Of the distant counties, Hertford, Leicester, Stafford, Somerset and Northampton are represented, but the preponderance lay with the Yorkshire Quakers who promoted the settlement of the First or Yorkshire Tenth.

The majority of the purchasers were small businessmen-merchants or merchant craftsmen-with some fluid capital. A propriety was valued at £350, and even the purchaser of a seventh, a popular fraction, would require £50. Nor should it be overlooked that twentythree of these men were able to purchase a whole share and nine others two or three shares. A fair equivalence for a share today would be \$7,500. The enterprise, then, was backed by the most substantial

 45 NJA, II, 305. This was so, despite the oft-quoted figures of Daniel Leeds' almanac of 1701. Leeds was a Quaker apostate and very bitter toward the Friends.

element among the Quakers in England and Ireland, and it is surprising, in the face of active religious persecution, that there was such great affluence among them.

Of the one hundred fourteen proprietors identified, ten were listed as "gentlemen," but only four of this group were landowners. Only three proprietors are listed as yeomen, and one as a grazier. The single woman in the group was Elizabeth Forster, the daughter of Thomas Forster of White Hart, a Quaker; and in 1681 this young woman married Henry Gouldney, a Quaker.⁴⁶ The remainder were engaged in some form of trade, and many are listed merely as merchants. What they sold is not always revealed. The business of a goodly number, however, is known, and it is safe to draw the conclusion that many were craftsmen in business for themselves. Six were brewers, distillers, or maltsters. Four were tanners and one a skinner; two were shoemakers. Four were weavers; two were drapers; two were haberdashers; one was a sergemaker; one a silkman; one a bodicemaker, and one a tailor. Two were carpenters; one a joiner; two, bricklayers; and one a shipwright. There was a cheesemonger, a grocer, a meatman, a chandler, a fishmonger, a baker and a goldsmith. There were two mariners and one innkeeper. These men were able to assume the financial risks because they possessed the necessary capital; they took the risks, also, because as urban dwellers they were fully aware of the implications of the persecution from which they had suffered grievously. Because they suffered for conscience's sake, they valued it the more highly. Their spirit of enterprise and risk enabled them to lead fearlessly and resolutely in the endeavor to seek freedom in a new environment.

College	of	William	and	Mary

JOHN E. POMFRET

46 Her mother, Mary Forster, was a prominent London Friend. Fox, Short Journal, 302.