Sir George Carteret, proprietor of East New Jersey, died on January 13, 1681, at a ripe age. By the terms of his will his widow became the executrix of his estate and the guardian of his grandson and heir, George Carteret. Young George at the tender age of eight had been married to the youngest daughter of the Earl of Bath in order to insure the continuance of ties between two stanch Cavalier families. Since the elder Carteret was deeply in debt, his estate was devised to six noblemen, including Bath, in trust for his creditors. A sale of the province of East New Jersey to Thomas Cremer and Thomas Pococke fell through, although they could have had it “for the small sum of between five and six thousand pounds.” Perhaps the knowledge that West New Jersey had been purchased from John Lord Berkeley only half a dozen years before for £1,000 acted as a damper. As a result East New Jersey was put up at public auction and sold to twelve proprietors, headed by William Penn, for £3,400. The deeds of lease and release were dated February 1–2, 1682. With the exception of Robert West, a lawyer of the Middle Temple, and possibly Thomas Wilcox, a London goldsmith who dropped out immediately, the purchasers were Quakers. This fact is significant, for the province of West Jersey was already a thriving
colony under Friends’ auspices, and Penn had recently obtained his patent for Pennsylvania. The temptation for Penn and his Quaker associates to obtain complete control of the entire area from the Hudson to the Chesapeake was too strong to resist.

The twelve proprietors of East Jersey were William Penn of Worminghurst, Sussex; Robert West, lawyer, of the Middle Temple; Thomas Rudyard, gentleman and lawyer, of London; Samuel Groom, mariner, of Stepney, Middlesex; Thomas Wilcox, goldsmith, of London; Thomas Hart, merchant, of Enfield; Richard Mew, baker, of Middlesex; Ambrose Rigge, gentleman, of Gatton Place, Surrey; John Heywood, citizen and upholsterer, of London; Hugh Hartshorne, citizen and upholsterer, of London; Clement Plumsted, citizen and draper, of London; and Thomas Cooper, citizen and merchant-tailor, of London. On June 1, 1682, “William Penn and his partners” signed agreements permitting the benefit of survivorship.1

Before Penn left for America in August, 1682, a significant change took place in the proprietorship. The twelve associates decided “to take in twelve persons more, to make up the number of proprietors [to] twenty four.”2 This was accomplished by each owner transferring half his share to a new proprietor. Since Wilcox had sold out entirely, there were eleven old proprietors and thirteen new proprietors. The new proprietors consisted of five London men, all Quakers; two Dublin men, both Quakers; and six Scots, two of whom were Quakers. The London men were Edward Byllynge, gentleman and brewer, of Westminster, Middlesex, and chief proprietor of West Jersey; William Gibson, citizen and haberdasher and a prominent Quaker minister; Thomas Barker, a merchant; and James Brain, son-in-law of Groom, and a merchant. Robert Turner and Thomas Warne were Dublin merchants. The Scots were James, Earl of Perth, and his brother, the Honorable John Drummond, later Viscount Melfort of Lundy; Robert Barclay, the great Quaker apologist, and his younger brother David; Robert Gordon of Cluny, Barclay’s uncle and a merchant; and Arent Sonmans, the Dutch-born Quaker merchant of Wallingford. The actual transfers took place in August and

1 New Jersey Archives (NJA), First Series (Newark, Paterson, and Trenton, N. J., 1880-1949), I, 366-369, 373-376; XXI, 52.
September, 1682. A new patent bearing the dates March 13–14, 1683, was then issued to the Twenty-Four Proprietors by James, Duke of York.

The roster of the Twenty-Four Proprietors, twenty of whom were Friends, gives one the impression that East New Jersey was as solidly a Quaker enterprise as West Jersey and Pennsylvania. Indeed, there was a surprising overlap in the underwriting of the three colonies. Quakers appear in overwhelming majority among the owners of the One Hundred Proprieties of West New Jersey, among the First Purchasers of Pennsylvania, and among the Twenty-Four Proprietors of East New Jersey. Moreover, the principals of all three undertakings were Quakers: Edward Byllynge was governor and chief proprietor of West New Jersey, Penn was governor and chief proprietor of Pennsylvania, and Robert Barclay was “governor for life” of East New Jersey. Of the Twenty-Four Proprietors, Penn, Lawrie, Rudyard, Sonmans, Turner and Mew were also proprietors of West Jersey, and Penn, Rudyard, Sonmans, Rigge, Barker and Gibson were First Purchasers of Pennsylvania. George Fox and the other Quaker leaders stood firmly behind the plan of colonization in America. In the process of fractioning that took place, from 1683 to 1685 especially, other prominent Friends shared in underwriting the East Jersey venture. Among them were Thomas Cox, William Bingley, and Thomas Robinson of England, and Anthony Sharp and Samuel Claridge of Ireland.

None of the three Quaker colonies could have been established without the aid and good will of the Stuarts, Charles II and his brother James, Duke of York. Regardless of other shortcomings, the Stuarts did not forget those who had given their house aid in times of adversity. The debt of Charles II to Admiral Penn was handsomely repaid with the grant of Pennsylvania to William Penn. The Duke of York, too, never forgot that the young Penn was the son of an old shipmate; indeed, it is reliably reported that Admiral Penn on his deathbed had commended his son to the Duke. From 1676 on, James bestowed one favor after another upon Penn: confirmation of the right of government of West Jersey to Byllynge in 1680, assistance in obtaining the grant of Pennsylvania in 1681, a grant for the Lower Counties (Delaware) in 1682, and a royal patent for East Jersey in 1683. Through the years, there developed between the two men an
abiding friendship, which survived the Revolution of 1688 and led Penn to risk a charge of high treason rather than abandon his correspondence with the exiled King.

Penn, for whom liberty of conscience was a veritable passion, held steadily to the belief that James, as Duke and later as King, might be persuaded to bring about religious freedom for the Friends, if not for all Christians. There had been little abatement in religious persecution since the advent of Charles II to the throne. In 1672 he issued a short-lived Declaration of Indulgence to Papish Recusants and Protestant Dissenters which a suspicious Parliament forced him to withdraw immediately. In its place, Parliament adopted the Test Act, after which an active persecution began again. James's second marriage in 1673 to Maria Beatrice of Modena, a Catholic, and his public denial of the Church of England in 1676 led not only to a movement to exclude him from the succession, but to unremitting pressure to enforce the laws of conformity. Although the Friends were regarded as "quiet"—that is, politically harmless—Penn and his Quaker associates had come to the conclusion as early as 1674 that one measure of relief lay in establishing an asylum in the New World. However, Penn persisted in his efforts to secure the removal of disabilities, since only a fraction of the thousands of Friends who suffered imprisonment during the Restoration could hope to emigrate. In the last decade of Charles's reign, there was little hope of relief; the atmosphere was charged with plot and counterplot, and the Exclusion question colored all else. When James succeeded in 1685, there were 1,300 Friends in prison and more than a hundred had died there since 1680. Little wonder then that Penn turned expectantly to the new ruler for alleviation.

James's intention of granting a coronation pardon was delayed for almost a year because of the Monmouth Rebellion. In March, 1686, however, it was issued, followed by a royal warrant releasing scheduled lists of Friends from prison and remitting the fines of others. Steps were taken, too, to put a stop to the wretched practice of public informing. Thus the weight of twenty-five years of persecution lifted as far as the Friends were concerned, but there was no guarantee that the persecution might not be renewed. As it turned out, this was to be the end. Joseph Besse, in his great Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers, published in 1753, regards 1686 as
the last year of the persecutions. In it he lists eighty-five Quakers, some of them women, whose memory should be cherished for their courage in holding meetings and preaching in the time of adversity. Among those so cited were six of the Twenty-Four Proprietors of East Jersey: William Penn, Robert Barclay, Ambrose Rigge, William Gibson, Clement Plumsted and John Heywood; and two who later purchased fractions, William Bingley and Thomas Robinson.³

In April, 1687, James issued his First Declaration of Indulgence, suspending the penal laws. Although he blandly alluded to the forthcoming concurrence of Parliament, he was widely condemned for straining the royal prerogative to the breaking point and, indeed, for violating the spirit of English institutions. But the Quakers rejoiced; they saw no danger to the realm in the presence of 30,000 Catholics in a population of five million. In November William and Mary issued from Holland a manifesto on religious toleration that immediately gained for them the trust and confidence of the English people. In April, 1688, James issued his Second Declaration, but made the blunder of requiring that it be read from the pulpits. The birth of a son to the King made the Revolution inevitable. In May, after the Revolution, the great Toleration Act of 1689 was passed. At the time, Penn and Barclay were suspect because of their close relations with James and had no active part in this notable achievement. But their earlier efforts entitle them to an honorable place in the history of religious toleration.⁴

Meanwhile, in the late summer of 1682, William Penn had sailed for America to develop his proprietary grant there. He had been remarkably successful in gaining support for his undertaking. As inviting as the prospect may have seemed for launching a Quaker colony in East Jersey, for there was a nucleus of Quaker settlers there, Penn had little time to devote to its promotion. The initiative in developing East Jersey passed quickly into the hands of the Scots under the leadership of a remarkable young Friend, Robert Barclay of Ury. According to one account, “in the month of September [1682], the earls of Perth and Melfort, with other proprietors, elected

³ Joseph Besse, Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers (London, 1753), I, 484.
him governor of East Jersey, and to induce him to accept thereof, they gifted him a propriety, with 5,000 acres more for him to bestow as he should think fit, the government being confirmed to him, during life, by King Charles II." Barclay was a popular choice, for he was revered by the Quakers and enjoyed the confidence of the Scottish proprietors. Though he never resided in the colony his services were highly complimented in a resolution adopted in 1687 by the resident Board of Proprietors. Even George Scot, author of The Model of the Government of the Province of East-New-Jersey in America believed him well-qualified in spite of his Quaker principles, and on that score wrote that the London proprietors would not have invested so heavily had they believed he would neglect the defense of the colony. Penn and Barclay remained firm friends until Barclay’s death in 1690. There was no rivalry in promotion and no competition for settlers. Barclay confined his efforts to the Scots, and except for William Dockwra, a non-Quaker whose interest was solely financial, the English proprietors undertook no promotional activities among the English Friends.

Among the Quakers Barclay ranks with George Fox and William Penn and intellectually he was their superior. His friend and countryman, George Keith, could equal him in the narrow area of theology, but was not his peer as a Christian humanist. Barclay’s father, Colonel David Barclay, was converted to Quakerism in 1666. His mother was Catherine Gordon, daughter of Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstown. While a resident at Scots College in Paris, Robert was called home because his dying mother feared the Catholic influences of France. In 1667 he, too, joined the Society of Friends. He continued his studies, augmenting his knowledge of French and Latin with that of Greek and Hebrew. Reinforced with a degree of learning and logical skill unusual among Friends he embarked upon his career as a Quaker apologist, and because of his great learning, his writings, and his piety, early won a position of leadership among the Friends. From 1670 to 1676 he published more than a dozen religious tracts, which he defended orally and in writing. His defense of his Theses Theologicae led to the publication, first in Latin then in many languages, of his famous Apology. Both Barclay and his father were imprisoned several times during the persecutions in Aberdeen. In 1679

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5 Henry Mill, ed., Genealogical Account of the Barclays of Urie ... (London, 1812), 76.
Robert married Christian Mollison, daughter of the Quaker, Gilbert Mollison, a merchant of Aberdeen. Barclay wrote little in later years because of the demands upon him as a minister, as governor of East Jersey, and as a self-appointed advocate dedicated to wooing James to a policy of religious toleration.6

Barclay first met James, Duke of York, in 1677 while attempting to persuade Charles to afford relief to the Quakers of Aberdeen. He became further acquainted with him during James's two periods of exile in Scotland, from November, 1679, to February, 1680, and from October, 1680, to March, 1682. Barclay had access to James through his kinsman, the powerful Earl of Perth. The Duke took an immediate liking to the sincere young Scot which was strengthened on James's learning from him that Charles I, his father, was indebted to the senior Barclay for the loan of £300. The Friends soon learned of Barclay's advancement to high favor; in February, 1680, for example, George Fox appealed to Barclay to obtain from James a confirmation of the right of government to the Quaker proprietors of the province of West Jersey—"it would be very well if thou couldst do anything with the Duke of York concerning our poor Friends in New Jersey." In October, 1680, the Earl of Perth added a significant postscript—"The Duke speaks wonderfully of you"—in a letter to Barclay from Edinburgh. By this time, Barclay and James were firm friends.7

Barclay, like Penn, had risked his reputation by his close association with King James and, in 1689, after the Revolution, he felt compelled to write a "Vindication" in order to combat charges that he was a Catholic and even a Jesuit. In it he spoke touchingly of the exiled king: "I never found reason to doubt his sincerity in the matter of liberty of Conscience which his granting so universally after he came to the Crown hath to me much confirmed after his happening to be in Scotland." In conclusion, he stated: "In short, I must own nor will I decline to avow That I love King James. That I wish him well. That I have been and am sensibly touched with a

6 Mill, 1–87 passim; David Barclay, Some Account of the Life and Writings of Robert Barclay (London, 1801), passim; Dictionary of National Biography (DNB), s.v. Barclay, Robert; Besse, II, 510, 511, 519, 524, 528, 533.

7 Reliquiae Barclaianae (London, 1870), 51. This is a lithographed collection of letters privately published; one of the few copies extant is in the Quaker Collection, Haverford College. See also Mill, 71.
feeling of his misfortunes and that I cannot excuse myself from the
duty of praying for him.” The last meeting of King and Quaker took
place a few days before William’s landing. When Barclay inquired if
there was any hope of an accommodation, James replied that “he
would do anything becoming a gentleman except to part with liberty
of conscience which he never would while he lived.”

Barclay’s years from 1682 to 1690 were fruitful ones. In 1682 and
1683 he was busy in London and in Scotland attending to proprietary
business and arranging for the transport of emigrants and cargoes to
East Jersey. Almost overnight he became the chief promoter of the
colony. Undoubtedly, he had interested his cousins Perth and Drum-
mond in the enterprise, as well as his friend Arent Sonmans, his uncle
Gordon of Cluny, and his brother David. All had purchased proprie-
ties. As will appear, he was instrumental in selling shares and frac-
tions thereof as they came on the market to other relatives and
friends. Among his other relatives making purchases were his cousins
Sir John Gordon of Durno, Sir Robert Gordon, the younger, of
Gordonstown, and George Gordon; the Gordons of Straloch, John,
Charles, and Thomas; his sister’s husband, Sir Ewen Cameron of
Lochiell; the several Forbeses of Aquorthes, relatives by marriage;
Gilbert Mollison, his father-in-law, and Andrew Jaffray, a close
friend and future father-in-law of one of his daughters. Perth and
Drummond also aided him in official circles; Lord Minevard, Sir
George Mackenzie, Lord Neill Campbell, Sir John Dalrymple, and
several others purchased fractions. Through Barclay’s initiative,
about forty-five of a total of eighty-five proprietors entered the
venture, greatly enlarging the Scottish interest and, in effect, making
East Jersey colonization a Scottish enterprise. Unfortunately, Bar-
clay died in his forty-second year, in 1690. The loss of his leadership,
coupled with the cessation of the persecutions, put an end to the
Scottish colonization.

Barclay’s notorious cousins, Perth and Drummond, were far from
figureheads in the promotion of East Jersey. In the beginning their
aid was invaluable. James Drummond was the fourth Earl of Perth
and ultimately the first titular duke. His brother, John Drummond,
was successively viscount, earl, and duke of Melfort. Both cast their
lot with James II, and both paid the price of banishment for their

8 Barclay’s “Vindication” is published in Reliquiae Barclaianae, 62–71; Mill, 86.
loyalty. In 1682 Perth had risen to be justice-general of Scotland and was a power in the administration. Drummond became treasurer-deputy in 1681. Both proved themselves singularly adept in attaining advancement through connivance. Under James II, as chancellor and first commissioner of the treasury in Scotland, Perth practically controlled the country; and Melfort, emerging as a master of intrigue, "though in all else incompetent," was at the time of the Revolution James's chief lay adviser, being overshadowed in influence only by the Jesuit, Edward Petre. The Drummonds were among the most unscrupulous and unprincipled politicians of their generation.9

In 1682 the Drummonds lent their active support to the East Jersey venture. They were attracted to it first because it afforded an opportunity of improving their fortunes at small cost; second, the Duke, their patron, was a sponsor of colonization; and third, James had taken a liking to Robert Barclay, their cousin. Both, then, for a short time, undertook to interest others in official circles in Edinburgh in the enterprise.

Unlike West Jersey, the eastern division of the province was not devoid of settlers. In 1682, when the Twenty-Four Proprietors took over, East Jersey contained approximately 5,500 inhabitants, principally Puritans from Long Island and New England, and a Dutch group. There was a scattering of Baptists, Quakers, and other dissenters. About 3,500 of these "old settlers" lived within the town bounds of the seven settlements at Shrewsbury, Middletown, Woodbridge, Elizabeth, Piscataway, Newark and Bergen. The seven towns did not vary greatly in population; the largest, Elizabeth, contained one hundred and fifty families and the smallest, Bergen, contained seventy families. Each town claimed, besides ample townlands, "out plantations," varying from 30,000 to 60,000 acres. Much of this land was later disputed by the proprietors.10

The Twenty-Four Proprietors soon settled upon a method of land distribution. Each proprietor was entitled to equal dividends of land; the first dividend was 10,000 acres. Subsequently, in 1698, there was

9 Turner, passim; DNB, s.v. Drummond, James, and Drummond, John.
declared a second dividend of 5,000 acres per share or propriety, and in 1702, a supplementary dividend of 2,500. Thus, during the proprietary period (1682-1702), a total of 17,500 acres per share was agreed upon. Those holding fractions of shares, such as one half or 1/10, would receive proportionate amounts of land. Specific dividends were assigned in places and areas opened up after the title had been cleared by purchase from the Indians. Briefly, the owner of each whole propriety was entitled to four lots and twenty-five acres of townland in Perth Amboy, to 500 acres at Wickatunk in Monmouth County, and to 1,200 acres of “Barnegat land” in dividends of 200 and 1,000 acres. Large tracts were opened up later on the South River and its Toponemus branch, on both banks of the Raritan, along the Passaic and its branches, along Doctor’s Creek, Stony Brook, Crosswicks Creek, the St. Pink (Assinpink), and the Province Line. Such lands were not assigned; the individual proprietor or his agent was required to apply to the resident Board of Proprietors for warrants for lands in proportion to his rights. A survey of the tract located was then made, and if no other claim existed, it was accepted by the surveyor-general and entered upon the records.

This system of land distribution was an awkward one, as it was in West Jersey, entitling the owner to an indeterminate number of dividends of an indeterminate number of acres each. In East Jersey, as in West Jersey, it is difficult to trace the chain of title to the individual proprieties. The task is easier in East Jersey, first because there were only twenty-four shares to deal with and secondly, because the value per share was too great to be regarded as a donation for founding an asylum for fellow Friends and, as in the case of many West Jersey subscribers, cast aside. Furthermore, the East Jersey records were somewhat better kept than those of the sister province.

As mentioned above, the London proprietors willingly left the initiative to Barclay and the Scottish proprietors. Nevertheless, since they had invested capital in the enterprise, most of them attended the proprietors’ meetings and worked closely with Governor Barclay until his death in 1690. As time passed the leadership in London was gradually assumed by William Dockwra, who was formally appointed register and secretary of the province in the year of Barclay’s death. Dockwra was an ambitious, self-seeking man, whose arbitrary conduct led to his repudiation in 1702 by the resident Board of Proprietors.
The principal Scots proprietors were Perth, Drummond, Barclay, Sonmans, Gordon of Cluny and his "partner" Gawen Lawrie, Robert Burnett who had purchased Heywood's share, and Sir George Mackenzie, Lord Register of Scotland, who had purchased one quarter of Perth's share. In August, 1683, these men jointly sent out a cargo valued at nearly £1,000 in the Exchange. This venture was underwritten as follows: Sonmans' Heirs, £343; Perth, Drummond, and Mackenzie, £100; Barclay, £100; Gordon and Lawrie, £100; Burnett and his partners, £100; and David Falconer, who later purchased a small fraction, £50. The Scots proprietors also transported twenty-two indentured servants, entitling them to twenty-five acres of land per servant on the "Scots Proprietors Head Land" on the upper Rahway River. The Exchange carried other passengers, some of whom owned fractions and some of whom transported servants. The Scots proprietors also located several tracts of land in common, the largest of which, on the South River, was reputed to contain 8,000 acres. Since the co-operative undertaking failed to gain momentum, these tracts were soon divided among the several proprietors. There was henceforth no pooling of lands, settlers, or servants. 11

After the importation of about two hundred and fifty servants in the years 1683 and 1684, few others were transported. In 1685, Governor Barclay attempted to obtain fifty prisoners for indenture, but failed. Later in the same year George Scot of Pitlochie, author of The Model of the Government of . . . East-New-Jersey, was assigned one hundred prisoners. His subsequent voyage was tragic; an epidemic developed that cost him his life and the lives of most aboard. Only twenty-two reached New Jersey. The Court of Common Right refused to compel them to sign indentures of service, and practically all of them removed to New England. Contrary to popular belief, there was no large importation of indentured servants from Scotland, and few Covenanters came to East Jersey either before or after the Argyll insurrection. The servants who did come were men and women of modest circumstances who hoped to benefit themselves after completing their terms. 12 Actually, the system of headrights was discon-

12 Robert Wodrow, History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland . . . (Edinburgh, 1830), IV, 216-223 passim, 331-334; Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall, Historical Notices of Scottish Affairs (Edinburgh, 1848), II, 586, 664. Scot's motley group consisted of some persons of "phanaticall principles," some "criminall prisoners," and some "distressed by poverty, debt, and captions, or were whooress or prodigall wasters."
continued after January, 1686. Since the active persecution of Quakers in Scotland came to an end in 1679, it was very difficult thereafter to attract Scottish Quakers to East Jersey. A renewal of the persecutions, with which Barclay was ever concerned, would have yielded a different result.

In discussing the Twenty-Four Proprietors, twenty of whom were Friends, each will be identified first as an individual, and second in relation to the nature and extent of his interest in the East Jersey colonization during the proprietary period. The order in which the proprietors are presented should enable the reader, with the background of the foregoing pages in mind, to follow the steps by which the promotion, under Barclay's skillful guidance, shifted from an English Quaker sponsorship centered at London to a Scottish interest. The first of two sections deals with the London men—Rudyard, Groom, and Lawrie—who went to the province as officials; then with Penn and Byllynge, proprietors of the sister provinces; and finally with men whose interest, whether active or inactive, did not become involved in the transfer to the Scots. The second section is devoted to the original Scottish proprietors—the Drummonds, the Barclays, Gordon of Cluny and Arent Sonmans—and those English proprietors—Heywood, Plumsted, Rigge and Cooper—who, through Robert Barclay's influence, conveyed to later Scottish proprietors. The chain of title of each of the twenty-four proprieties is traced to 1702, the date of the end of the proprietary period. To make this account as realistic as possible and to fit it into its proper place in the complicated history of East Jersey, the processes of the distribution of lands among the proprietors have been described and each proprietor's or fractioner's dividends of land located.

Proprietor Thomas Rudyard, "A Man skilful in the Law of the Land, and zealous for the Liberties of the People," was an intimate friend and business associate of William Penn. He was a Quaker of note; indeed, in 1670, while the famous Penn-Mead trial was in progress at Old Bailey, he too was tried and fined £100, an enormous penalty, "being convicted of several Trespasses and Contempts." During the years from 1675 to 1678 Rudyard's goods were distrained several times for tithes. In 1671 and in 1677 Rudyard had accompanied Penn and other leading Quakers on missionary journeys to the
Continent. In 1676 he and William Mead were appointed by the Meeting for Sufferings to correspond with Friends in Durham and Northumberland regarding the persecutions there, and with James Claypoole, to correspond with Friends in Staffordshire and Derbyshire. Rudyard's office was located in George Yard, Lombard Street, London, and here, under Penn's direction, many of the documents and deeds for New Jersey and Pennsylvania were drawn up. Rudyard, a man of considerable means, was himself a proprietor of West Jersey, a First Purchaser of Pennsylvania with 3,000 acres, and one of the Twenty-Four Proprietors of East Jersey. Just before emigrating from East Jersey to Barbados at the end of 1685, he deeded a fourth of his propriety to his daughter, Anne West, and another fourth to a second daughter, Margaret Winder, and constituted their husbands, John West and Samuel Winder, his agents in East Jersey. He died in Barbados in 1692, leaving his property in East Jersey and in Rudyard, Staffordshire, his birthplace, to his children. Rudyard had left the Society of Friends in about 1682.13

Samuel Groom was a mariner and a well-known Quaker. In 1676 he had published in London a tract, *A Glass for the People of New England*, and in the same year was appointed by the Meeting for Sufferings to correspond with persecuted Friends in Virginia and Maryland. He had been associated with the Friends' efforts to colonize in New Jersey from the beginning. His ship had visited West Jersey and Maryland in 1676 and in 1681 his son, Samuel Groom, Jr., had purchased a quarter-share in West Jersey. Groom emigrated to East Jersey in November, 1682, but died suddenly in the late summer of 1683, leaving unfinished on the stocks the first ship to be constructed in the province. Following his death, George Fox visited his widow Elizabeth in Ratcliffe several times. In July, just before his death, Groom's son sold the East Jersey propriety to the influential William Dockwra.14

In September, 1682, the proprietors appointed Thomas Rudyard deputy-governor and secretary-register of the province and Samuel


14 *NJA*, I, 227; XXI, 58, 65; Fox, Short Journal, 113, 135, 136; Letters of Early Friends, 349. For William Dockwra, see below, pages 266–267.
Groom, surveyor-general and receiver-general. These men arrived at Elizabethtown in November, and Rudyard took office in December. Like Samuel Groom, he was an original member of the Court of Common Right established in 1683 by the Assembly, and he was one of the few justices of that court during the whole proprietary period with any legal experience.\footnote{15 \textit{For membership on the bench of the Court of Common Right, see \textit{Journal of the Courts of Common Right and Chancery of East New Jersey}, ed. by Preston W. Edsall (Philadelphia, 1937), 35-37. Within the province of East Jersey the Court of Common Right was “truly supreme.”}}

In the province, Groom and Rudyard fell out over the method of distributing lands. Groom, following the Concessions of 1665, insisted that a fraction of all lands surveyed should be reserved to the general proprietors, but Rudyard and his Council objected to this policy. Groom’s conduct, however, was upheld by Thomas Warne, the Irish proprietor, who had arrived in May, 1683. Nevertheless, Rudyard removed Groom as surveyor-general, thus causing a rift between the two men. Governor Barclay, on being apprised of the situation, appointed Gawen Lawrie deputy-governor in July, 1683. Rudyard was permitted to continue as secretary-register. He attended the first meetings of the Board of Proprietors, from April to November, 1685, before moving to Barbados.\footnote{16 David McGregor, “The Board of Proprietors of East Jersey,” \textit{Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society} (PNJHS), New Series, VII (1922), 177-195 passim; \textit{A Bill in the Chancery of New-Jersey, . . . at the Suit of John Earl of Stair . . . against Benjamin Bond . . .} (New York, 1747), 86, hereafter cited as \textit{Stair v. Bond.}}

Proprietor James Brain became one of the Twenty-Four Proprietors through purchase from Groom, his father-in-law. He, too, was a prominent Friend. In 1676 he was delegated by the Meeting for Sufferings to correspond with Friends in Sussex and Kent, as well as in Virginia and Maryland. In 1681 he and several others were distrained of goods worth £35 for continuing a meeting outdoors after the meeting place had been occupied by a soldiers’ guard. Brain attended the proprietors’ meetings in London and paid his assessments, but he never came to East Jersey. On his death in 1690, his three sons inherited, but it was not until 1698 that they applied for their first dividend of lands.\footnote{17 \textit{Letters of Early Friends}, 347, 349; Besse, I, 449, 471; George J. Miller, ed., \textit{The Minutes of the Board of Proprietors of the Eastern Division of New Jersey from 1685 to 1705} (Perth Amboy, N. J., 1949), 126, 229, hereafter cited as \textit{MPEJ.}}
Proprietor Gawen Lawrie of London, Rudyard's successor as deputy-governor, is believed to be of Scottish descent. In the *Brief Account* (1683), he is listed among the Scots proprietors, but only because he was the partner of Gordon of Cluny. In 1676 Lawrie was appointed by the Meeting for Sufferings, with John Swinton and William Welch, to correspond with Scottish Quakers. From the start, he had been interested in Quaker colonization in America; from 1675 to 1683 he served as one of the Bylynge Trustees of West Jersey and had purchased two of the One Hundred Proprieties. Lawrie became one of the Twenty-Four Proprietors of East Jersey in 1682 through purchasing a share from Thomas Wilcox. Since this share had been acquired in trust for the Sonmans children, he purchased at Governor Barclay's suggestion a half-share from Gordon of Cluny, in August, 1683, to qualify him as deputy-governor. Nearly a year before his appointment, Lawrie had submitted a long memorandum on colonization to the Scottish proprietors, at their invitation. His commission was issued in July, 1683, but he did not arrive in the province until the end of February, 1684. With him came his son-in-law and business associate, William Haige, who was also a First Purchaser of Pennsylvania and owner of a West Jersey propriety which he sold subsequently to Penn. Lawrie also brought over his daughter Rebecca, four indentured servants, and two Negroes. Haige was accompanied by his wife Mary, two indentured servants, and four Negroes.

Since Groom had died, Lawrie personally appointed Haige as his surveyor-general. In August, 1684, however, the proprietors agreed upon new regulations regarding the distribution of lands and sent them out with George Keith, whom they appointed surveyor-general on a permanent basis. Their instructions provided for resident commissioners who, with the deputy-governor, would safeguard the proprietors’ interests in the allocation of lands. They were appointed, wrote Dockwra, “for the affairs of land,” and among their duties were the settlement of disputes between the proprietors and the “old settlers” concerning titles and quitrents, the purchase of lands from

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the Indians, the setting out of lands, the granting of warrants of survey, and the assignment of lots and townlands in Perth Amboy. Such was the origin of the resident Board of Proprietors whose meetings began in April, 1685, and have continued until the present time. During the proprietary period its meetings were presided over by the deputy-governor. Except for the deputy-governor and Warne, all its members were Scots—John Campbell, James Johnstone, Thomas Fullerton, Thomas Gordon, John Barclay and David Mudie. In June, 1685, the Board of Proprietors acted to prohibit the provincial council from meddling in the matter of lands. By the same token, no proprietors were permitted to serve on the provincial council. With the accession of Lord Neill Campbell in October, 1686, and under his successor, Andrew Hamilton, this situation was remedied, although the resumption of interlocking control was not liked by the “old settlers.”

Lawrie was replaced in 1686 principally because he was suspected of laying out lands without inviting all the proprietors to share in their distribution. His successor, Lord Neill Campbell, a political exile who had fled Scotland in January, 1686, returned in March of the following year, as soon as things had quieted down there. He had been appointed deputy-governor because, among other reasons, the Scottish proprietors were now in major control of the colonization. Lawrie remained in the province as receiver-general until his death in the fall of 1687. The records indicate that he obtained warrants for 4,500 acres in various parts of the province, the amount of land to which he was entitled as owner of a half-share. He was survived by his widow and daughters, Mary Haige, and Rebecca, the wife of Miles Forster. In 1698 they issued a confirmatory deed to Rachel Ormston, daughter of Arent Sonmans, for the propriety that Lawrie held in trust for the Sonmans children.

William Dockwra, who had purchased the Groom propriety in July, 1683, took a very active interest in the promotion of settlement. He invested to the extent of £100 in the Scottish proprietors’ cargo of 1683, and during the next two years sent out thirty-five indentured servants. In March, 1685, Governor Lawrie wrote to the London proprietors that “the Scots and William Dockwra’s people coming

20 *NJA*, XXI, 306.
now and settling, advance the Province more than it hath been advanced in ten years." Next to the Sonmans' Heirs, Dockwra paid the largest charges in support of the province, a total of £110 from 1683 to 1698. In 1685 Dockwra purchased 7/40 of the Thomas Cox share and half of Mew's share. Outweighing his substantial landed interest, however, was his conspicuous role on the Council of Proprietors. He quickly proved himself invaluable to the London proprietors and in March, 1685, they granted him 1,000 acres for his "fidelity, care and pains in negotiating the public affairs of the province." Later he was voted an additional 1,200 acres for his services as their agent. Meanwhile, in July, 1688, he became receiver-general and treasurer, and in November, 1690, he was appointed secretary and register. Dockwra never resided in East Jersey; his duties in the colony were performed by deputies. He was removed for malfeasance in 1702. Dockwra, remembered chiefly for his contributions in initiating the postal service both in London and in the American colonies, died in 1716.21

Andrew Hamilton acted as Dockwra's proxy and agent in the province and the two men worked hand in glove, to their mutual advantage. In 1686 Dockwra secured headlands on the servants he had imported and 3,500 acres on the Manalapan; in 1687, 2,000 acres on Crosswicks Creek near the Province Line; in 1688, 2,000 acres on the Passaic above the Falls, 3,000 acres on the Millstone, and 2,000 between the Raritan and the Millstone; in 1690, 3,000 at the head of the Assinpink and 3,000 additional on the Passaic. He was assigned his share of lots and townland of Perth Amboy, a tract at Wickatunk, and Barnegat lands. In 1700 he received a second dividend of 3,800 acres between the Millstone and the Assinpink and 800 acres along the Millstone. It would appear that Dockwra had obtained far more land than he was legitimately entitled to.22

Proprietor William Penn arrived in America in October, 1682, and visited both East and West Jersey the following year. Early in March, 1683, he attended meetings of the Council of East Jersey which were presided over by Thomas Rudyard, the newly arrived

21 Ibid., I, 529; II, 205; XXI, 61, 65, 71; Stair v. Bond, 83; Barclay v. Stirling, 18; MPEJ, 107, 178; DNB, s.v. Dockwra, William.
deputy-governor.\textsuperscript{23} Subsequently, since Penn was completely absorbed in Pennsylvania matters, his affairs in East Jersey were looked after by Captain John Berry of Bergen, and later by other agents. It was not until 1692 that he took up his rights to lands there. In that year, John Barclay, acting in his behalf, obtained warrants of survey for the lands due him on the first dividend. Shortly thereafter, Penn was confirmed in the ownership of 500 acres at Wickatunk and 1,200 acres at Barnegat, and in the ownership of two vast tracts of 5,500 and 4,000 acres on the Millstone near the Province Line. In addition, he received the lots and townland in Perth Amboy to which he was entitled.\textsuperscript{24}

Proprietor Edward Byllynge, chief proprietor and governor of West Jersey, was also one of the Twenty-Four Proprietors. Since his claims to lands in dispute between the two colonies had been challenged by the East Jersey proprietors, it was good policy for him to become a proprietor of East Jersey. Byllynge attended several proprietors’ meetings in London and paid his assessments, but took no active interest in East Jersey affairs. In March, 1686, he sold his propriety to Dr. Daniel Coxe, the famous land speculator. This share Coxe sold to Samuel Stancliffe, a London haberdasher, at some time before June, 1687. Stancliffe had some notion of establishing a settlement “as a refuge to poor banished Protestants.” He appointed Peter Reverdy of London as his agent in the colony, and Governor Barclay, who was friendly to the undertaking, instructed the East Jersey Board to lay out two tracts of 5,000 acres each for Stancliffe. In April, 1688, Reverdy applied for 10,000 acres on the Millstone, and Stancliffe was vested in the ownership of the two great tracts on the west side of that stream. The Revolution of 1688 intervened and nothing more is heard of the scheme. Dr. Coxe later regained control of the Stancliffe propriety.\textsuperscript{25}

Proprietor Thomas Barker, a London merchant, was a Quaker and was several times fined and imprisoned for attending Friends’ meetings and for refusing to contribute to the support of the militia. In 1687 and 1688 he was one of a committee of London Yearly Meeting appointed to inspect the accounts relating to Friends’ charitable

\textsuperscript{23} NJA, XIII, 6–15.
\textsuperscript{24} “Letters of William Penn,” The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography (PMHB), XXXIII (1909), 314; NJA, XXI, 199, 205.
\textsuperscript{25} Ibid., XXI, 113, 117, 122, 316; II, 31, 52, 202; MPEJ, 169; for Dr. Coxe, see below, pages 271–272.
affairs. Barker sold a half-share in December, 1683, to Walter Benthall, also a London merchant and a Quaker. As a youth, Benthall had been imprisoned in Newgate for refusing to take the oath, and later, when a resident of Barbados, he was fined 2,000 pounds of sugar for refusing to swear when tendered the office of constable. He returned to London in about 1680 and spent the remainder of his life there. Barker was a signer of the Surrender in 1702 by which the proprietary rights of government were relinquished to the Crown. He was also a First Purchaser of Pennsylvania. Neither Barker nor Benthall ever came to East Jersey, but both gave close attention to proprietary matters in London. Thomas Boell acted as their agent in the province and, in the course of a few years, obtained for each of them their lots and townlands in Perth Amboy, their Wickatunk dividend of 250 acres, and 2,000 acres on the west bank of the Millstone. In 1690 each was granted 2,750 acres between the Assinpink and the Raritan, and 500 acres at Barnegat Meadow. Both were active land traders throughout the proprietary period.26

Proprietor Richard Mew, a baker, was a prominent Quaker. In 1670 he was haled into court with Penn and others for attending an unlawful service "to the disturbance of the peace." He was fined twenty marks in this case which gave Penn a lasting fame. In 1676 Mew was appointed one of a committee by the Meeting for Sufferings to correspond with persecuted Friends in Leicestershire, Nottingham, and Rutland. He knew George Fox personally. In 1677 Mew and five other Quakers had purchased one of the One Hundred Proprieties of West New Jersey. In 1682 he became one of the Twenty-Four Proprietors of East Jersey. In 1685 he sold a half-share to William Dockwra and the other half-share to John Hancock in trust for the Sonmans family. Hancock was a business associate of Arent Sonmans and the brother of Sonmans' widow. Unfortunately, Hancock, who had obtained a fraction for himself from Thomas Cox, died on the way to East Jersey late in 1685. In March, 1686, the East Jersey Board allotted one of the Wickatunk tracts to Richard Mew and Peter Sonmans, revealing that the Sonmans' Heirs were in possession of the Hancock half-share.27

26 Besse, I, 461, 462, 480, 481, 484; II, 316; Fox, Short Journal, 310, 313, 333; NJA, II, 449; XXI, 68, 122, 127, 188, 201, 203; Stair v. Bond, 82; MPEJ, 95, 97, 98, 167.
27 Besse, I, 426, 428; Fox, Short Journal, 136, 358, 359; Letters of Early Friends, 348; NJA, I, 448; II, 204; XXI, 65; MPEJ, 105, 126.
Thomas Cox was a well-known Quaker, and George Fox was a frequent visitor in his home. In 1655 Cox had been sentenced by the Old Bailey Quarter Sessions to seven years' banishment for his religious beliefs. The prison ship in which he was confined was captured by the Dutch, who returned her human cargo to England. Cox was later imprisoned in Newgate jail for refusing to pay tithes. He and Clement Plumsted were in 1676 appointed by the Meeting for Sufferings to correspond with Friends in Norfolk and Cambridge regarding the persecutions there. Cox disposed of his East Jersey share rapidly; in April, 1685, he sold 13/40 to Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, Scotland, and 7/40 to William Dockwra. The remaining half-share he sold to John Backer, a London timber merchant who resided in Fairelight, Surrey.

Sir Ewen Cameron had married Jean Barclay, sister of Robert, early in 1685, and this circumstance explains his participation in the East Jersey enterprise. He never came to the province, but in 1687 his agent, John Barclay, obtained for him and for Dockwra their share of Perth Amboy townland, 400 acres at Barnegat, and approximately 2,000 acres at Blue Hills.

John Backer was a Quaker. As a boy he had been cruelly beaten and deprived of his indentures by his master, a tailor, when he professed his membership in the Society of Friends. Several years later he was confined in an unheated prison for several months in the middle of winter, and in 1672 he and others were committed to Newgate for refusing to pay tithes. Backer emigrated to East Jersey in 1687 and resided at Wickatunk until his death in 1693. As was his right he sat on the Board of Proprietors until 1690. He obtained his Wickatunk allotment of 250 acres, 500 acres nearby, and 2,000 acres on Doctor's Creek, also in Monmouth County. Shortly after he had left London, the title to his half-share was seized by the Commissioners of Bankruptcy, and Robert West succeeded in purchasing it from them. In 1693 West and Cox sold it to the West Jersey Society.

Proprietor William Gibson, a native of Lancashire, was a London haberdasher. He was a noted Quaker, and his funeral at White-Hart
Court was witnessed by a thousand Friends. There he was eulogized as "a zealous and courageous Sufferer in the Cause of Religion" and as one who had been "often beaten and imprisoned for Christ's sake." William Sewel, the first Quaker historian, relates that Gibson, while a soldier in the Civil War, had gone to a meeting of Friends at Carlisle intending to scoff, but instead was convinced and became a notable minister. He was many times imprisoned, fined, and dis- trained of his goods. His name was a leading one among the Quakers and appears with those of Penn, Whitehead, Barclay and others as a signer of the epistles sent to all monthly meetings in 1672 and 1673. Gibson was one of the Twenty-Four Proprietors of East Jersey and also a First Purchaser of Pennsylvania with a modest interest of 500 acres. He never came to America, but he attended the proprietors' meetings in London until his death in 1684. His heirs were his widow Elizabeth and his two children. Thomas Boell, their agent in New Jersey, secured for them 500 acres at Wickatunk and 2,000 acres on the Millstone. In 1687 the Gibson propriety was purchased by West and Cox, and in 1689 Cox as trustee for West sold it to Dr. Daniel Coxe, speculator par excellence in New Jersey lands.31

In March, 1692, when Dr. Coxe conveyed his holdings in the Jerseys and elsewhere in America to the West Jersey Society, he owned two East Jersey propirties. One, he referred to as "the West share," and this was the share he had purchased from Edward Byllynge and sold to Samuel Stancliffe. Later he regained control of it. The other, "Mew's share," he had purchased from the Gibson heirs. Through the good offices of Governor Hamilton, Coxe took up 7,500 acres of land to complete the first dividend on these two proprieties. In his "Account" he valued them at £900 apiece and estimated their dividends at one million acres, a gross exaggeration. He spoke of having already arranged for dividends totaling 50,000 acres, which included 30,000 acres from Thomas Budd's Indian purchase, 5,000 acres on Doctor's Creek, and 5,000 acres at Wickatunk, in addition to the 7,500 acres he had already obtained. Actually, the share of Wickatunk lands to which he was entitled came to only 1,000 acres. Coxe's "Account" was truly a document prepared for prospective purchasers. It is of interest to note that he valued land

31 Fox, Short Journal, 359, 370, 371; Besse, I, 255, 303, 309, 437, 438, 443, 452, 469; Letters of Early Friends, 335, 342; NJA, II, 205; XXI, 120; MPEJ, 125, 167.
"ordinarily scituated" at £10 per hundred acres, and land "well scituated" at from £20 to £30 per hundred acres, both about double their current price.  

Proprietor Hugh Hartshorne was a citizen of London and an upholsterer by trade. His brother was Richard Hartshorne, one of the first Quaker settlers in New Jersey, whom George Fox had visited at Middletown in 1672 during his American journey. Hugh Hartshorne, however, never came to East Jersey. He attended only two proprietors' meetings in London prior to his death in 1684. Just before or just after his death, his propriety was sold to the Sonmans' Heirs. In 1766 one John Hunt laid claim to the Hartshorne share, asserting that he had purchased the title to it from a granddaughter of Hartshorne. Nothing came of this suit.

Proprietor Thomas Hart (1629–1704) was a merchant of London, who had resided for a time in Barbados. In 1676 Hart, then an influential Friend, had been appointed by the Meeting for Sufferings to correspond with Friends in Yorkshire and in Barbados. In 1684 he was a signer of the famous "award" of leading London Friends which recognized the right of Edward Byllynge to the government and chief proprietorship of West New Jersey as against the claims of Samuel Jennings, Thomas Budd, and other resident proprietors. Fox, Penn, and Whitehead had also taken part in this important arbitration. George Fox visited Hart many times at his home, since the Enfield Monthly Meeting was held in Hart's house. Hart preserved his East Jersey share intact throughout the proprietary period, and bequeathed it to his sister, Patience Ashfield. Through his agent Thomas Boell, he had located large tracts of 1,000 to 3,000 acres on the Rahway River, the Millstone, the Assinpink, at Barnegat, and in Middlesex County, receiving also the usual assignments of land to which the owner of a propriety was entitled.

Proprietor Robert West, "the informer," was a lawyer of the Middle Temple, London. He came to the fore briefly in 1684 as one implicated in the Rye House Plot to assassinate Charles II. It was alleged that his chambers were a rendezvous of the conspirators and

32 NJA, II, 48-49; XXI, 234, 316, 435; Stair v. Bond, 83; MPEJ, 197; "Biographical Notice of Dr. Daniel Coxe of London," PMHB, VII (1883), 331.
34 Letters of Early Friends, 347, 349; Fox, Short Journal, 308, 318; Stair v. Bond, 83; NJA, XXI, 55, 98, 122, 123, 202, 203, 276; MPEJ, 2, 97, 98, 126, 135, 167, 178, 186, 188.
that weapons, including "a very good blunderbuss," had been collected there. West, who had turned informer, was freed on explaining that he had gathered the arms for use in East Jersey where he had a plantation! West has been described as a man of atheistical opinions "with a peculiar antipathy to clergymen," of pronounced republican views, and of scant personal courage. He was long associated with the London proprietors in an advisory capacity and in 1692, long after he had disposed of his propriety, they voted him a gift of 960 acres "for his good services done and to be done to the public concerns of the province." The particular service alluded to was that of aiding the proprietors in their defense of the right of government which was being threatened by the Crown. In July, 1683, West conveyed his propriety to Thomas Cox, wealthy London vintner. Because of his knowledge of proprietary affairs, West had a hand in arranging the sales of shares among interested persons. In these transactions, as we have seen, he was on more than one occasion joined by Cox, who was sometimes designated as "trustee for West." 35

Proprietor Robert Turner, the wealthy Dublin linen draper, was a Quaker and a friend of long standing of William Penn's. When Penn was in Ireland in 1669 he saw Turner, Samuel Claridge, and Anthony Sharp several times. Like other Friends in Ireland, Turner was subjected to much abuse during the long years from 1657 until 1683, when he emigrated to America. Indeed, he was molested more than any other Irish Quaker. Money was taken from his till by the tithe wardens with annoying regularity for the maintenance of the minister, and he was imprisoned frequently for keeping his shop open on religious holidays. In 1678 he testified wearily that the wardens "had taken out of his box he knoweth not how much money." On one Christmas Day when he kept his shop open, a mob set upon his house and shop with sticks and stones, breaking the windows and doors and destroying his goods. Small wonder that Irish Quakers of means like Turner, Sharp, Claridge, Sleigh and Roberts gave their whole-hearted assistance to Friends' colonization in America.

In 1677 Turner and four other Irish Friends had purchased one of the One Hundred Proprieties of West Jersey, and Turner himself

35 Robert Ferguson, The Plotter (Edinburgh, 1887), 75, 155, 156; Stair v. Bond, 83; NJA, II, 49; XXI, 120, 159, 171, 197.
organized the settlement of the Irish Tenth (Gloucester County) in 1680–1681. He was also a First Purchaser of Pennsylvania with a large holding of 5,000 acres, and in 1682 he became one of the Twenty-Four Proprietors of East Jersey. Although he had his choice of settling in any of the three Quaker-sponsored provinces, he chose Pennsylvania. He arrived in Philadelphia in October, 1683, and resided there until his death in 1700. Turner separated from the Society of Friends on the Keithian issue and eventually joined the Anglican Church. He was politically prominent in Pennsylvania and was three times elected to the Council there. In 1683 he was designated by William Penn as one of five commissioners to govern the province during his absence. He also served for a time on the Board of Proprietors of West Jersey and was a member of the West Jersey Assembly. He held no office in East Jersey.

Turner was a shrewd businessman and handled his East Jersey holdings to good advantage. In 1685 he began to sell his propriety in fractions, and by 1690 he had disposed of his whole landed interest. He sold half his propriety to John Throgmorton and his twelve associates, who were, with one exception, residents of Middletown and "old settlers." Seven of the thirteen held a 1/10 interest each, and six, a 1/20 interest each in the purchase. In 1688 this group located its first dividend of 5,000 acres at the headwaters of Crosswicks Creek in Monmouth County. Turner then sold a quarter-share to John Johnstone, and the remainder of his propriety in small fractions to other settlers.66

Proprietor Thomas Warne, the other Irish member of the Twenty-Four Proprietors, in October, 1682, sold a third of his share to Anthony Sharp and a third to Samuel Claridge, both merchants of Dublin. In the same month, Claridge conveyed a fourth of his newly acquired interest to Thomas Sisson of Dublin and a fourth to William Bingley, a London merchant. Warne, himself, was a merchant, first in Limerick, then for a brief period in Dublin. As a Quaker, he, too, had experienced visits from the tithe warden. In March, 1684, he emigrated to East Jersey with his son Stephen and eleven indentured

servants and settled in Monmouth County. He sat on the Board of Proprietors during the whole proprietary period and was a signer of the Surrender. He also sat as a justice of the Court of Common Right. He died in 1722, leaving a considerable estate, which included “seven Negro slaves valued at £120.” As a member of the Board of Proprietors, Warne was able to locate his lands to advantage. By 1695 he held tracts of more than 1,000 acres each on the South River, on Stony Brook, and in Monmouth County, and smaller tracts at Wickatunk, Toponemus, Barnegat and elsewhere. He resided at Perth Amboy during most of the period.37

Anthony Sharp was perhaps the most distinguished Irish Friend of this era. In 1669 he left his home in Gloucestershire to embark upon a woolen export business in Dublin, an activity which in time developed into a manufactory which gave employment to hundreds of persons. He was steadfast in his religious persuasion and suffered for it. Through the years his goods and possessions were many times distrained because he refused to contribute to the minister’s maintenance, and in 1683 he was imprisoned for violating the Conventicle Acts. Sharp became the mainstay of Dublin Meeting, the most important in Ireland. His prominent position in the economic life of Ireland gave him access to the Viceroy, the Earl of Tyrconnel, which he used in appealing for the relief of persecuted Friends. Like Turner, he was the author or coauthor of several religious tracts. Sharp was admitted to membership in the Weavers’ Corporation without being required to take the oath, and in 1689 he was chosen Master of the Corporation, a high honor. After James II issued his Declaration of Indulgence, Sharp and Claridge served as aldermen of Dublin. Together with five other Irish Friends, Anthony Sharp had purchased a propriety of West New Jersey in 1677. He never migrated, although his nephew Thomas Sharp became a leading settler in the Irish Tenth in West Jersey. It was not until 1698 that Sharp applied for the dividends of land on his East Jersey fraction. At that time his friend Robert Turner, acting as his agent, obtained for him 5,800 acres of unappropriated land.38

37 Ibid., I, 530; XXI, 62, 166, 225, 251, 256, 261; XXIII, Pt. I, 491; Stair v. Bond, 86; MPEJ, 2, 69; Stockdale, 253.
38 Stockdale, 8, 43, 105; Besse, II, 483; Isabel Grubb, Quakers in Ireland, 1654–1900 (London, 1927), 49–59; MPEJ, 227, 228; NJA, XXI, 250, 327.
Samuel Claridge also suffered annoyance for refusing to conform to the code of the Establishment. His goods were frequently distrained and he was imprisoned for attending Quaker meetings, for refusing to contribute to the support of the Anglican minister, and for refusing to contribute to the repair of the local church. In 1676 he undertook to inform the Meeting for Sufferings through its correspondents, William Penn, James Claypoole, and Samuel Newton, regarding the persecutions in Ireland. Claridge had purchased 1/3 of Warne's share, but retained only 1/6 of it. In 1681 he became a First Purchaser of Pennsylvania with a substantial purchase of 5,000 acres. He never came to America, and his dividend of approximately 550 acres in East Jersey was taken up for him by Turner in 1698. Little is known of Thomas Sisson, who had purchased 1/12 share from Claridge and later sold it to Anthony Sharp.39

William Bingley, a cloth merchant of London and a prominent Friend, also purchased 1/12 share from Claridge. He, too, was a First Purchaser of Pennsylvania with a modest holding of 500 acres. He was brought up in Yorkshire, but by 1682 had won distinction in London as a Quaker minister. It was while on a missionary journey to Ireland in 1682 that he met Claridge and purchased his fraction from him. Bingley was fined and imprisoned a number of times for preaching and attending meetings in defiance of the authorities. From 1682 to 1697 he published seven religious tracts. On the occasion of Fox's death in 1691 he was one of five Friends, including William Penn, who gave a testimony at the burial at Bunhill Fields. It is not surprising, therefore, to find Bingley among the three Friends personally identified in Francis Bugg's famous cartoon, "The Quakers Synod," which portrayed the Yearly Meeting of 1696. The others so identified were William Penn and George Whitehead. Bingley took a large interest in the famed "workhouse" maintained by the Bristol Meeting and visited it many times. He never came to East Jersey. In 1692, through the agency of John Barclay, he took up a grant of 840 acres along the Millstone in Middlesex County.40

39 Letters of Early Friends, 349; Stair v. Bond, 86.
40 Arnold Lloyd, Quaker Social History (London, 1950), frontispiece, 42; Fox, Journal, II, 369-371, 495, 496; Fox, Short Journal, 327; Besse, I, 454, 460, 475-477, 484; NJA, XXI, 234, 235; MPEJ, 198.
As indicated earlier, this section will deal with the original Scots proprietors and with those who purchased later. Since Governor Barclay wished to broaden the Scottish proprietorship as much as possible in order to stimulate Scottish colonization to East Jersey, a great amount of fractioning took place. How successful Barclay was in extending the Scottish interest is apparent in the following pages. Unfortunately, no prolonged colonizing activity followed in the wake of the wide distribution of ownership.

Proprietor James Drummond, Earl of Perth, early sold a quarter-share to Sir George Mackenzie (Lord Tarbat) and a quarter to David Toshard (Lord Minevard). Later he sold a quarter-share to the Sonmans’ Heirs. In 1694, when he was in exile, Perth’s agents in the province located his lands there. His principal tract, one of 2,500 acres, was on Stony Brook in Middlesex County.\footnote{NJA, I, 528; XXI, 68, 234; MPEJ, 84, 126.}

Mackenzie was a brilliant advocate whose independent attitude lost him more than one high position both before and after the Revolution of 1688. In the end, however, he was created Earl of Cromarty by Queen Anne, and is remembered principally for his aid in bringing about the Act of Union between England and Scotland. Mackenzie soon sold his quarter-share to Lord Neill Campbell, the highly esteemed brother of the Earl of Argyll. The latter was executed for leading an insurrection against James II in the summer of 1685, a circumstance that drove Lord Neill into voluntary exile. Presumably Lord Neill had intended remaining permanently in East Jersey, for he had transported fifty-two indentured servants, “prisoners gifted him by the Council,” the largest number of indentured servants brought by anyone except George Scot. Campbell had also joined with Robert Blackwood, an Edinburgh merchant, in the purchase of a half-share from William Dockwra, and the partners hoped to profit from the investment through Campbell’s presence in the colony. Campbell died in 1693, bequeathing his holdings to his son Archibald.

Minevard, too, came to East Jersey, but was disappointed and soon returned. What he expected may be gleaned from his agreement with John Campbell, who engaged “to send a footman in velvet to wait on Monyvaird as a proprietor when Parliament is [in session] in East Jersey.” Before leaving, Minevard conveyed his quarter-share
to David Mudie, who had purchased $\frac{1}{20}$ share from Sir John Gordon before leaving Scotland. Although Mudie had sold the Minevard fourth by 1687, he was the only purchaser deriving an interest from Perth to settle permanently in East Jersey.\(^{42}\)

Proprietor John Drummond retained only a $\frac{3}{8}$ share. In 1684 he sold $\frac{1}{8}$ share to John Campbell of Edinburgh and appointed Campbell as his proxy in East Jersey. Campbell arrived in the province in company with his wife, three children, and eleven indentured servants. He served on the East Jersey Board from its beginning in 1685 until his death in 1689, and was also a member of the Assembly and sat on the Court of Common Right. Campbell, as Drummond's proxy, took up his lands in several tracts, the largest of which, 1,000 acres, he located on the south branch of the Raritan. After Campbell's death, Governor Hamilton obtained the additional 2,000 acres to which Drummond was entitled on his first dividend. Meanwhile, Drummond conveyed a half-share to the Sommans' Heirs.\(^{43}\)

Proprietor Robert Barclay's agents in the province took up the lands to which he was entitled in several places, but before his death in 1690 Barclay had sold only 1,000 acres. He did convey $\frac{1}{10}$ of his share to an English Friend, Edward Fleatham of Yorkshire, but in 1696 this fraction was purchased by Gilbert Mollison, Barclay's father-in-law.\(^{44}\)

Barclay had two younger brothers, David and John, both of whom came to East Jersey. David, with Robert's aid, in February, 1683, a month before the Duke of York's confirmatory patent was issued to the Twenty-Four Proprietors, purchased a propriety from Thomas Wilcox. To secure his title, he paid off a mortgage held by Thomas Cox, the London vintner, and Charles Cox, brewer, of Surrey. Proprietor David Barclay had been appointed by Governor Barclay to assist with the work of promoting colonization in East Jersey. His special tasks were to keep the proprietors informed of the possibilities of trade and to take charge of the cargoes sent out by the Scottish

\(^{42}\) Whitehead, *East Jersey*, 328; George P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes* (Glasgow, 1923), 234; Erskine of Carnock's Journal, ed. by Walter McLeod (Edinburgh, 1893), 154; *NJA*, XXI, 66, 68, 69, 126, 158, 211; *MPEJ*, 59, 74, 76, 102, 133–134, 145, 222; for David Mudie, see below, page 290.

\(^{43}\) *NJA*, XXI, 65, 140; XXIII, Pt. I, 80; *MPEJ*, 2, 84, 92, 126, 149, 154, 200; Whitehead, *East Jersey*, 440.

proprietors. He was supercargo of the proprietors' expedition under Rudyard and Groom which arrived in Perth Amboy in December, 1683. David Barclay and his associate Arthur Forbes remained in East Jersey for some months, making an inspection of its resources and its potential trade, and on their return, prospective settlers were invited to consult them for first-hand information. While in the province, Barclay was a justice on the Court of Common Right. In August, 1685, while bringing a second cargo on the America, David died. Robert, who inherited his estate, appointed his brother John to be his agent in East Jersey. Some time before his death in 1690, Robert sold David's propriety to the Sonmans' Heirs. In 1773 a descendant of Barclay's contested the legality of this transaction, but to no effect.45

Proprietor Robert Gordon of Cluny, Barclay's uncle, purchased a propriety in order to provide for his younger son, Augustine, then an apothecary surgeon's apprentice, in the hope that Augustine would not be dependent upon his elder brother. At the request of Governor Barclay, Gordon sold half his share to Gawen Lawrie upon the latter's appointment to the post of deputy-governor. For a time Gordon considered transporting indentured servants and families on a leasehold basis and personally developing his lands. He died in 1688, bequeathing his holdings to Augustine, then a full-fledged London apothecary.46

Proprietor Arent Sonmans was a Dutch-born Quaker merchant who had taken up residence in Scotland in about 1680. In 1677 he had been on hand at Brielle to greet Fox, Penn, and Barclay, who were about to undertake a missionary journey in Holland and the Palatine. On his removal to Scotland, Sonmans took a great interest in Friends' colonization efforts in America. He became a First Purchaser of Pennsylvania with a large holding of 5,000 acres; he was one of the Twenty-Four Proprietors of East Jersey; and just before his untoward death in 1683, he purchased two of the One Hundred Proprieties of West Jersey. He met death in August, 1683, at the hands of a highwayman near Stilton in Hunterdonshire upon his return from London in company with Robert Barclay, Gilbert Mollison, and

several others. Sonmans was survived by his wife Frances and three children, Peter, Rachel, and Joanna. Peter resided in East Jersey on several occasions—during the proprietary period he was there from 1685 to 1687—but neither of the others came. Rachel married Joseph Ormston, a London merchant, and Joanna married Joseph Wright, also a London merchant. Sonmans and Ormston were signers of the Surrender.

The Sonmans’ Heirs, as they are termed in the records, held five and a quarter proprieties, by far the largest interest in the province. These shares were obtained as follows: one purchased by Arent Sonmans; one by Gawen Lawrie in trust for the Sonmans children; one purchased from Hugh Hartshorne or his heirs; one from Robert Barclay—“the David Barclay propriety”; a half-share purchased from John Drummond; a half-share purchased by John Hancock in trust for the Sonmans children; and a quarter-share purchased from Perth. Although the ownership of several of these shares was later contested, the Board of Proprietors in November, 1692, clearly recognized the Sonmans’ title to five and a quarter shares. In the division of the Wickatunk tract in March, 1686, among the Twenty-Four Proprietors, the Sonmans were assigned four lots, indicative of their right to four proprieties at that early date. The Sonmans paid a total of £275 on five and a quarter shares between 1684 and 1696 in proprietary assessments, the largest sum paid by any owner.47

Peter Sonmans acted as agent for the family interest until he left East Jersey in 1687; from 1688 until 1705 Miles Forster, a son-in-law of Gawen Lawrie, was the Sonmans’ proxy on the Board and their agent. In 1692 Forster applied for warrants to locate 38,600 acres to complete the first dividend on five and a quarter shares. This was the largest single grant made by the Board between 1682 and 1702. These lands were later located in two vast tracts, one of 23,000 acres in Middlesex County between the Millstone and the Raritan, and the other, which contained 16,500 acres, on both sides of Lawrence Creek in the same county. Peter Sonmans’ quest for power kept the province in a turmoil long after the proprietary period. He was an unscrupulous man and surrounded himself with scheming

47 During his lifetime, Arent Sonmans made purchases “in trust for Sonmans’ children” because no proprietor was permitted to hold more than one propriety. This rule subsequently broke down.
men both in East Jersey and in London. He quarreled with his brother-in-law, Joseph Ormston, and their quarrel, too, had repercussions in the province. Sonmans' later career belongs to the history of the royal period.48

During the years from 1683 to 1685, thirty additional Scots purchased fractions of shares from four London Quaker proprietors, Heywood, Plumsted, Rigge and Cooper. Barclay was instrumental in arranging these transfers, since he was eager to extend and broaden the Scottish participation.

Proprietor John Heywood, like others among the Quaker proprietors, had suffered for his faith. He had been fined for preaching in Southwark, and imprisoned seven months upon refusing to pay a fine for attending a meeting. In 1686 he was among those discharged from prison by virtue of the King's Pardon. Heywood quickly disposed of his propriety, selling it in March, 1683, to Robert Burnett, a Scottish Quaker. Burnett was an intimate of the Barclays and the Gordons and a zealous promoter of Scottish settlement in East Jersey. He, too, had suffered grievously during the persecutions in Aberdeen and had been imprisoned several times in its notorious tolbooth. On one occasion, as a "landed man," he was fined a fourth of his rents for attending a Quaker conventicle and 1/8 of his rents for absenting himself from public worship. Undoubtedly, Burnett's harsh experiences led him to interest himself in establishing a haven in the New World for the Scottish Quakers.49

Burnett took an active part in the early promotion activities. In addition to the propriety he purchased from Heywood, he bought a half-share from Clement Plumsted. He sold both purchases rapidly in fractions to a number of Scots. In 1683-1684 he conveyed the Heywood share as follows: 1/16 to Andrew Jaffray, 1/8 to Dr. James Willocks, 1/32 to William Gerrard, 1/32 to Robert Gordon of Edinburgh, 1/32 to James Miller, 1/32 to George Alexander, and 1/128 to Robert Hardy. Dr. Willocks immediately conveyed 1/32 share to Andrew Galloway. In 1693 Burnett sold 1/16 to Robert Sandilands.

48 Fox, Short Journal, 237, 238, 253, 254; NJA, I, 528–530; II, 202, 459; XXI, 207, 306; MPEJ, 126, 197; on the career of Peter Sonmans, see E. P. Tanner, The Province of New Jersey, 1664–1738 (New York, 1908), and Donald L. Kemmerer, Path to Freedom (Princeton, N. J., 1940).

49 Besse, I, 461, 468, 480, 484; II, 503, 505, 508, 509, 515, 520, 524, 531, 533; NJA, XXI, 57, 76.
Of this group, Jaffray, Galloway, Sandilands and, in all probability, Gerrard and Miller were Quakers. Of the Plumsted purchase, Burnett sold 1/8 share to Dr. William Robertson, 1/10 to John Forbes, and 1/32 to Dr. John Alexander. Of all the Burnett purchasers, only Dr. Robertson, John Forbes, and Robert Hardy took up residence in East Jersey. James Miller came over in 1685, but returned in 1687. Surprisingly, Burnett himself emigrated to the province in 1700 and remained there until his death in 1714. He sat, as was his right, on the Board of Proprietors in 1700 and 1701.\textsuperscript{50}

George Alexander, an advocate of Edinburgh, and his brother John, a physician, were represented in East Jersey by a kinsman, Andrew Alexander. In 1685 they located their holdings jointly, taking up 400 acres in the Blue Hills area; in 1702 they acquired as a second dividend approximately 300 acres on the upper Passaic. Dr. Willocks of Kemnay in 1687 was confirmed in the ownership of 850 acres at the junction of the Raritan and the Millstone and of four acres of Perth Amboy townland. By 1697 his fraction had passed to his son George, who had settled in East Jersey and had become prominent in the affairs of the colony. Andrew Galloway, a merchant of Aberdeen, who had suffered imprisonment during the persecutions there, and William Gerrard, of the same city, were represented in East Jersey by John Barclay. By 1688 Galloway was confirmed in the ownership of 300 acres on the south side of the Raritan, eighty acres at Barnegat, and a town lot in Perth Amboy, while Gerrard's land was located in the Blue Hills area.\textsuperscript{51}

Andrew Jaffray of Kingswells was a prominent Quaker minister and an intimate friend of Robert Barclay's. On the occasion of Barclay's death, he gave a moving testimony at Kingswells Meeting. From 1676 to 1679 he spent long terms in Aberdeen jail for preaching to all who would listen. On one occasion, he was placed in solitary confinement for preaching from the jail windows. In 1677, arrested as a dangerous person for parading half-naked through the streets, he told the authorities bluntly that the purpose of his exposure was to

\textsuperscript{50} Advertisement to all Tradesmen, Husbandmen, Servants and others who are willing to Transport themselves into the Province of East New-Jersey in America . . . (Edinburgh, 1684), reprinted in Insh, 233-237, who has attributed the authorship to Barclay; \textit{NJA}, I, 529, 530; XXIII, Pt. I, 76; \textit{Stair v. Bond}, 84.

illustrate that the religious practices of the state were as offensive to God as was his indecent conduct to the senses of man. Jaffray was also the author of a religious tract. In 1689 John Barclay, his agent in East Jersey, took up his first dividend of 600 acres on the Manalapan River.\(^5\)

James Miller, a portioner of Carronshorne, was in East Jersey for about two years. Through his agent John Reid, he obtained 600 acres on the Raritan. Just before his death in 1698, he sold his fraction to one Andrew Burnett of Monmouth County. Through his agent John Barclay, Robert Gordon, card-maker and citizen of Aberdeen, located his lands on Bound Brook and on the Toponemus. After his death in 1696, his fraction was sold to George Willocks. Willocks, on his part, sold this \(\frac{1}{32}\) and the \(\frac{3}{32}\) he had inherited from his father to Jeremiah Basse, deputy-governor of the Jerseys in 1698 and 1699. Robert Hardy, a merchant and "burgess" of Aberdeen, emigrated to the province and took up a tract on the South River. For a brief time before his death in 1688 he acted as agent for several of the Scottish fractioners. Robert Sandilands, a friend of Robert Burnett and of John Forbes, was also a Quaker and had suffered imprisonment in Aberdeen during the persecutions.

John Forbes of Aquorthes, brother of the Laird of Baynlie, had been fined and imprisoned a number of times in Aberdeen for attending illegal conventicles. He had purchased \(\frac{1}{10}\) share from Burnett in July, 1684, and was in East Jersey by October. He crossed the ocean with a group of friends, among whom were Charles and Thomas Gordon, John Barclay, and James Johnstone. Forbes transported three indentured servants. After making their way overland from Maryland to East Jersey, a number of these men, including Forbes, settled at Cedar Brook near the Blue Hills. Forbes located his lands there and on the South River and was assigned townland in Perth Amboy. He returned home, as he had planned, after locating his lands, and on his departure in 1686, he appointed Robert Hardy his agent. Dr. Robertson, listed in the Advertisement (1684) as "one of several gentlemen going from Scotland," emigrated in 1685 and settled along the Rahway not far from Elizabethtown. There he located 700 acres and took up the remaining lands on his \(\frac{1}{8}\) share at

\(^5\) *NJA, I, 529; XXI, 171; MPEJ, 180; Besse, II, 501, 503, 505, 508, 509, 517, 519, 524, 532, 533.*
Manasquan and at Barnegat Meadow. He was a close associate of George, Charles, and Thomas Gordon, Robert Fullerton, John Barclay, and William Laing, all former neighbors in Scotland. He resided in East Jersey until his death in 1693.53

Proprietor Clement Plumsted, from whom Burnett had purchased a half-share, retained the other half. He never came to East Jersey, but he did attend regularly the meetings of the London proprietors. He was a signer of the Surrender of 1702. Through Thomas Boell, also agent for proprietors Hart, Cooper, Barker and Benthall, he obtained his proportion of lots and townland at Perth Amboy, 500 acres at Barnegat, 500 acres in the Shrewsbury tract, 250 acres at Wickatunk, 2,000 acres on the Millstone, and 2,200 acres between the Assinpink and the Raritan. His second dividend of 2,500 acres was located in 1699 on Crosswicks Creek in Monmouth County. Plumsted, a well-known Quaker minister, was an intimate of William Gibson and Thomas Cox, fellow proprietors. In fact, Plumsted and Cox were appointed by the Meeting for Sufferings in 1676 to correspond with persecuted Friends in Norfolk and Cambridge. Plumsted was among the Friends against whom charges were pending and who were released in accordance with the terms of the King’s Pardon of March, 1686.54

Proprietor Ambrose Rigge was a prominent Friends’ minister for many years. Born in Westmoreland, he resided most of his life at Gatton Place, Surrey. He was imprisoned frequently for his religious dissent; indeed, he was confined in Horsham jail for ten years, from 1662 to 1672. On one occasion, in 1658, he was taken from meeting, dragged by his hair to the market place, and whipped, thrown in a dung-cart, and paraded out of town, and was warned that if he returned he would be whipped twice as much, branded, and banished. In addition to preaching, Rigge wrote many religious tracts; his known titles number forty. He was one of the speakers at the Gracechurch Street Meeting at the time of George Fox’s death in 1691. Rigge disposed of his propriety rapidly, selling half in October,


54 Fox, Short Journal, 311; Letters of Early Friends, 347; Besse, I, 480; NJA, I, 530; II, 205, 459; XXI, 105, 122, 127, 305; MPEJ, 97, 98, 103, 126, 167, 188; Stair v. Bond, 84.
1682, to Thomas Robinson of Brant Broughton, Lincolnshire, and half in March, 1684, to Robert Barclay.55

Thomas Robinson was a farmer of substance. As a Quaker, he suffered imprisonment several times in Lincoln Castle for attending conventicles and for refusing to pay tithes. For various offenses from 1678 to 1684, he was distrained of bullocks, steers, sheep and other valuable livestock. Robinson, who never came to East Jersey, appointed Thomas Warne, the Irish proprietor, to act as his agent there. During the period from 1685 to 1687, Warne obtained for him his proportion of Perth Amboy townland and Wickatunk land, 1,000 acres near Elizabeth, and smaller tracts along "the Burlington path" and on the Raritan. In 1687 he sold his half-share to Andrew Hamilton, a physician of Edinburgh, but because of Hamilton's death shortly afterward, this fraction after several conveyances was finally purchased for £220 by David Lyell, a goldsmith of St. Martin's, Middlesex. Subsequently, Lyell came to the province and resided there until his death in 1726. He served on the Board of Proprietors from 1701 to 1705 and was a signer of the Surrender in 1702. He was an active trader in East Jersey lands.

Robert Barclay, following his program of extending the Scottish interest, immediately sold his half-share of the Rigge propriety in fractions of 1/20 to Robert and Thomas Fullerton; Charles, Thomas, and Dr. John Gordon; John Barclay; James and John Johnstone; William Aickman and Sir John Dalrymple—all Scots. Barclay was related to the Gordons, and Thomas Fullerton was the brother-in-law of Dr. John Gordon. Of these men, the Fullertons, John Barclay, the Johnstones, and Charles and Thomas Gordon came to East Jersey. Thomas Gordon became a prominent citizen of the province.56

The Fullerton brothers of Montrose were mentioned in the promotion tract of 1684, although the eldest of them, John, Laird of Kinaber, never became a proprietor. Robert and Thomas arrived in October, 1684, after a rough voyage of eighteen weeks. Robert brought with him nine indentured servants, and Thomas, ten. They settled in the Cedar Brook area along with other Scottish fractioners.

Robert wrote that "the land downwards, was already occupied by the quitrenters of Piscataway, Woodbridge, and Elizabethtown." Both were enthusiastic about the future of this "first inland settlement," and emphasized the need for a minister of the Scottish kirk. The Fullertons were members of the Board of Proprietors at its beginning in April, 1685, and sat for several years. Robert obtained 300 acres at Blue Hills and 150 acres "over Amboy," while Thomas located his entire dividend at Blue Hills. Both obtained headlands on the servants they had transported.\textsuperscript{57}

Charles and Thomas Gordon also arrived in the fall of 1684. Charles transported five indentured servants and settled at Cedar Brook. In a letter he advised his brother John, the physician, to come to East Jersey as a planter or trader, but not as a doctor, since there were no illnesses to cure. He described Perth Amboy as a flourishing metropolis with fourteen houses built and others building, "the best scituate for a City of any I have seen, or for aught I can learn, of any yet known in America." In 1687, after locating the bulk of his land on the South River, he returned to Scotland, dying there in 1698. He sold his fraction to George Henrie, a merchant of Edinburgh. Dr. John Gordon remained in Scotland, although he had transported two servants to the province. His agent located his land on Stony Brook. By 1695 he had sold this land and his second dividend of 250 acres.\textsuperscript{58}

Thomas Gordon served on the Board of Proprietors throughout the proprietary period and was a signer of the Surrender. He first settled in the Cedar Brook area, but soon after moved permanently to Perth Amboy. Within a year he had lost through illness his young wife and several children; he later married Janet, the daughter of David Mudie, another proprietor. In addition to his political activities, Thomas Gordon became an active land trader. He was also proxy, agent, and attorney for a number of the proprietors in the province and in England. In 1693 he acquired the fraction that his brother Charles had sold to George Henrie and obtained the remainder rights to several other fractions. He also traded in head-


rights, an unusual occurrence in East Jersey. He did not accumulate a large landed estate, since his interest was in buying and selling lands. Gordon held a variety of offices; in 1692 he was deputy-secretary and register of the province, and in 1702 he succeeded Dockwra as secretary and register. He served also as attorney-general, judge probate, receiver-general and treasurer, chief justice, assemblyman and speaker of the Assembly. At the time of his death in 1722, he was a member of Governor Burnett’s council. He was a communicant of St. Peter’s Anglican church in Perth Amboy.69

John Barclay came to East Jersey in 1683 and returned the following year for his family and five servants. In addition to his fraction, he had purchased 500 acres from his brother Robert, and had obtained 200 acres of headlands. He was never a large landowner. As a member of the Board of Proprietors, he was in a strategic position and, in consequence, was employed from time to time as proxy and agent for a number of proprietors. He resided first at Plainfield in Monmouth County, where he owned a tract of land, and later he moved to Perth Amboy. Barclay sat on the East Jersey Board throughout the proprietary period and signed the Surrender. He served also as surveyor-general, and when Thomas Gordon was in England in 1695, he was deputy-register and secretary. At various times he served as clerk of the Court of Common Right, of the Court of Sessions for Middlesex, and of the Supreme Court. He was also elected to the Assembly. He fell out with Governor Cornbury, as had Thomas Gordon. Peter Sonmans, too, was his enemy. Barclay became a Keithian and followed George Keith into the Anglican Church. At the time of his death in 1731, he was in poor circumstances, holding only the clerkship of St. Peter’s Church.60

James Johnstone was in East Jersey by the fall of 1684. He settled temporarily in the Scots colony in the Cedar Brook area. To his brother John, an apothecary in Edinburgh, he, too, wrote of the need of a minister. He described the “old settlers” as “a most careless and infrugall People.” They were “for the most part Protestants, [a] few Quakers, some Anabaptists.” John Johnstone sailed on the ill-fated Henry and Francis in December, 1685, with George Scot and the

59 Whitehead, Perh Amboy, 61-63; NJA, XXI, 64, 104, 305; MPEJ, 73, 147, 162, 180.
60 NJA, XXI, 62, 66, 72, 182, 201, 206, 215, 308, 314; MPEJ, 243, 252; Whitehead, Perh Amboy, 42-44.
large group of people he had obtained from the Scottish prisons. John later married Scot's daughter Euphemia. James had, meanwhile, moved permanently to Monmouth County and had taken up most of his lands south of the Toponemus. John located his lands nearby at Scotschester, along Hope Creek. In 1690 James purchased 2,500 acres from Robert Turner, and John bought from Turner a quarter-share, less the land that James had purchased out of that fraction. James died in about 1697, leaving John as his residual heir. Euphemia Johnstone was heir to her father's lands, and in addition, in 1701 she was allowed 3,050 acres as headrights for the servants her father had transported. Both Johnstone brothers served for periods on the Board of Proprietors and John was a signor of the Surrender. John, who lived until 1732, sat in the Court of Common Right and for thirteen years in the Assembly, serving as speaker for ten years. He was also for two years a member of Governor Burnett's council.

William Aickman, a Scottish advocate, sold the lands he had taken up on the Raritan and at Barnegat to his agent, the well-known Scottish preacher, Archibald Riddell, who had settled at Woodbridge. The 1/20 share that David Barclay had obtained he bequeathed to Robert in 1685, and the latter conveyed it to John in 1687. Sir John Dalrymple entered the East Jersey venture through his association with Perth, Drummond, Mackenzie and other friends of Barclay's in official circles in Edinburgh. His lands were located in 1692 on the Raritan. Dalrymple's career resembled that of Sir George Mackenzie. Like Mackenzie, he was a brilliant advocate who was frequently on the wrong side. However, after the Revolution of 1688, he rose to be lord advocate of Scotland and, for a short time, joint secretary of state. Like Mackenzie, also, Dalrymple was helpful in paving the way for the Act of Union between England and Scotland, and he was created Earl of Stair by Queen Anne in 1703.

Proprietor Thomas Cooper was one of the London Quaker proprietors. In 1676 he was a member of the Meeting for Sufferings for London and Middlesex. In 1683 he was fined for refusing to contribute to the support of the militia and two years later his goods

62 NJA, XXI, 68, 69, 234, 291; MPEJ, 120, 149, 199; DNB, s.v. Dalrymple, Sir John. Dalrymple, like Robert West of London, was arrested on suspicion of being implicated in the Rye House Plot.
were distrained upon his refusing to pay a fine. Cooper never came to East Jersey, but did attend the proprietors' meetings in London. In December, 1683, he sold a half-share to Sir John Gordon of Durno, "knight and advocate of Scotland," but retained the remaining half. He was a signer of the Surrender in 1702. Thomas Boell, Cooper's agent in the province, located his lands between 1685 and 1690. He accumulated 1,000 acres on Chingarora Bay, 500 at Passe- quenecqua, 500 at Barnegat Meadow, 250 at Wickatunk, 2,000 on the Millstone, and 2,250 between the Assinpink and the Raritan. He also received a lot and townland in Perth Amboy. Cooper died in 1706.63

Sir John Gordon of Durno, a cousin of Barclay's, sold his half-share rapidly to a number of other Scots. He retained 1/10 and conveyed 1/20 each to his brothers Sir Robert Gordon, the Younger, and George Gordon, a merchant and shipper of Edinburgh. Sir John also sold 1/10 to Charles Ormston, a merchant of Kelso; 1/20 to Captain Andrew Hamilton, a merchant of Edinburgh; 1/20 to David Mudie, a merchant of Montrose; 1/40 to David Falconer, a merchant of Edinburgh; 1/40 to George Mackenzie of Kildin; and 1/20 to Thomas Pearson, a mariner. George Gordon came to the province a few months before his death, and Captain Hamilton, Mudie, Falconer and Pearson took up residence there. The others did not emigrate. Sir John himself was content to lend his name to the venture. Through William Laing, his agent, he took up 500 acres at Wickatunk. He died in 1692, bequeathing his fraction to Sir Robert. George Gordon arrived in East Jersey in 1686 to act as agent for Sir John, but died within three months. He left small legacies to his "lifelong companions" in the province—to his cousins John Barclay and Charles and Thomas Gordon, and to Robert Fullerton, William Laing, and Dr. William Robertson. After his death, his executors took up his land at Wickatunk and obtained 200 acres for Sir Robert, as his attorney. By 1692 Sir Robert Gordon owned 1/5 share. John Barclay served as his agent in East Jersey and obtained as his proportion 240 acres at Barnegat and 1,500 acres on the south side of the Passaic.64

63 Besse, I, 462, 474; Letters of Early Friends, 349; NJA, XXI, 55, 66, 115, 122, 126, 203; MPEJ, 95, 97, 103, 126, 167, 188.
John Barclay was also agent for Charles Ormston and secured for him 120 acres at Barnegat and 1,000 acres “at the foot of Rockie Hill” on the Millstone. Ormston, who never came to East Jersey, is believed to have been a Quaker. George Willocks acted as agent for George Mackenzie of Kildin and took up his lands at Barnegat and on the Shrewsbury River “above Col. Morris iron works.” In 1700 he received 375 acres “in full for his first and second dividends” on Cranberry Creek. David Falconer had invested £50 in the cargo of 1683. In 1689 his agent, John Barclay, took up his 250 acres on the Manalapan. His son John was in East Jersey for a short time, then settled in Sassafras, Maryland. Thomas Pearson brought his ship Thomas and Benjamin to East Jersey in the fall of 1684 and thereafter regarded himself as a resident of Perth Amboy. He located the 500 acres to which he was entitled and the 375 acres headlands for the servants he had transported on the South River. In 1685 he sold his fraction to John Bowne of Middletown.

David Mudie arrived in East Jersey in November, 1685, and in two voyages he transported his wife, his eleven children, and nineteen indentured servants. He settled in Perth Amboy, and erected a two-story dwelling complete with cellar, garret, orchard and garden. He was proud of the water mill he had built—“the great wheel, 30 feet Diameter . . . there is none such in this Countrey, nor ever was.” He located his 500 acres on the South River not far from Perth Amboy, but in the following year, 1686, he sold his fraction, together with his Wickatunk dividend, to David Vilant, a Scottish settler in Perth Amboy. Mudie had purchased also a quarter-share from Minevard, which he sold, and he continued to trade in land. Mudie was one of the original members of the East Jersey Board and attended its meetings until within a few months of his death in February, 1696. He served also on the governor’s council under Campbell and Hamilton and sat on the bench of the Court of Common Right.

Captain Andrew Hamilton was a great figure in New Jersey during the proprietary period. He came to the province in the late summer of 1686 as the confidential agent of the proprietors, and after Camp-

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65 NJA, I, 530; XXI, 58, 68, 69, 145, 171, 180, 307, 312, 322; MPEJ, 55, 59, 180, 197; Wodrow, II, 6; Insh, 234; Whitehead, East Jersey, 136–137.
bell's return, was made deputy-governor. He served long terms as deputy-governor and governor of East and West Jersey, and was their last proprietary governor. He was deputy-governor of Pennsylvania from 1701 to 1703 and had charge of the colonial postal service from 1699 until 1703, the date of his death. He was endowed with a fine sense of tact and judgment, but as the representative of a none too popular absentee government, his position was difficult. Furthermore, during his entire period of service, proprietary government in the Jerseys was under challenge by the Crown.

Hamilton built up a large landed estate in East Jersey during the period from 1684 to 1703. He worked closely with William Dockwra, who was for a large part of this time secretary and register of the province. Hamilton was entitled to 500 acres on his 1/20 share, he received additional land for transporting servants, and he was granted 500 acres by the proprietors for his services. He acquired many tracts by purchase, and his widow continued to add to the family holdings after his death. In 1703 he owned approximately 6,000 acres which were concentrated on the south branch of the Raritan and along the Millstone and its tributaries. Although he was a principal agent of the West Jersey Society and deputy-governor of West Jersey, he acquired little land in that province.  

East Jersey was only nominally a Quaker colony, but for a brief moment it was of real importance in Friends' thinking. Both Penn and Fox glimpsed the possibility of a great dominion between the Hudson and the Chesapeake that would wholly encompass the fertile valleys of the Delaware and its branches. This was no small vision. Pennsylvania, the new royal gift, buttressed by the Jerseys and "the lower counties," would afford a limitless shelter for the Holy Experiment. It was a great tribute to Penn that he found among his Quaker associates men who stepped forward quickly to aid him in purchasing East Jersey, for at that very time, he was enlisting the support of hundreds of First Purchasers to enable him to undertake his ambitious settlement in Pennsylvania.

But having obtained East Jersey so unexpectedly, Penn was perplexed as to the next move. He and many of his closest associates

among the Quaker leaders were fully engaged with the Pennsylvania enterprise. At this moment young Barclay appeared, fired with the possibilities that East Jersey afforded for the Scottish Quakers. To him, then, was given the opportunity of developing that segment of the Quaker dominion. Since the Scottish Quakers were relatively few in number and financially unable to promote a major colonization, Barclay, a man of unusual imagination and resourcefulness, turned for aid to his relatives—the Drummonds, powerful politically, and the Gordons, some of them landed men, others active in business and the professions. He persuaded them that East Jersey could be made to pay dividends. Many of them, in turn, saw in East Jersey not only an investment, but a land of promise for their landless younger sons, an opportunity for them to get away from a country of incessant persecution, fratricidal strife, and unrest.68

Barclay’s vision was greater. He knew well that the Scottish persecutions might be renewed, at Aberdeen or elsewhere. Relief had come about through his personal influence, because James II momentarily was well disposed toward him. But a hatred of the Quakers still rankled. Early in 1683 the bishop at Aberdeen had represented to the Scottish privy council that “the Quakers in town and shyre have most insolently taken upon them[selves] to erect publick burial places . . . after the same was dimolished by the magistrats, and in the severall paroches have build publick meeting houses and schooles for traineing up their children in their godles and hereticall opinions. . . .” And King James was not one to be depended upon, for in 1685, when Barclay’s influence was greatest, James had written, “I have not great reason to be satisfied with the Quakers in general. . . .” The time might come when he would no longer have need of their good will. Barclay hoped, too, that East Jersey might become a haven for the common people of Scotland, “hardly being able all their life to acquire so much Riches as they can save themselves from begging or starving when they grow old; meantime their children are exposed to the Cruelties of Fortune and charity of others, naked and hungry, begging Food and Rayment from those that either can not or will not help them. . . .” Yet neither appeal was great enough to overcome the love of home, even among the poorly

68 Present in East Jersey were the younger brothers of the lairds of Minevard, Baynlie, Barula, Kinaber and Straloch.
circumstanced. The prospect of a strange land and a dangerous voyage was too fearsome.69

The East Jersey of the Twenty-Four Proprietors was a Quaker-initiated, rather than a Quaker-administered, enterprise, for it failed to produce a single Quaker settlement. Instead, a Scottish settlement, Perth Amboy, became the capital of the province. The change in composition of the proprietors from a group of Quaker leaders about London to a steadily increasing non-Quaker Scottish group had repercussions in the province. The resident Board of Proprietors of East Jersey, for example, was a predominantly Scottish, non-Quaker body. Among the first Scottish emigrants were a few Quakers; among those who came later, practically none. Few, if any, Quakers came as indentured servants.

The resemblance between the provinces of East and West Jersey is quite superficial and is most apparent in the similar methods of distributing lands. The West Jersey proprietors were, above all, concerned for the success of West Jersey as a Quaker enterprise, thus the sense of mission was high; while in East Jersey, in spite of Robert Barclay, it was virtually missing. More than a fourth of the owners of the One Hundred Proprieties of West Jersey were residents of the province; of the Twenty-Four Proprietors of East Jersey only one, Thomas Warne, the Irish Quaker, took up permanent residence in the colony. Rudyard, Groom, and Lawrie came for brief periods as officials; David Barclay died on his second journey to the province; Penn and Turner were visitors only. The proxy and the agent loom large in the East Jersey records. Even prior to Barclay’s death in 1690 it was clear, perhaps inevitable, that East Jersey was to be a business speculation. Under the circumstances, the right of government by 1688 had become a liability; land was the only asset of value.

The Quaker “capture” of East Jersey was a fruitless one as far as the annals of that province are concerned. But in the history of the Quaker colonies it has a significance never fully appreciated. The sponsors of the enterprise were part and parcel of the group that strove for many years to provide a new freedom for the persecuted throughout the Delaware basin. For a brief time, then, East Jersey fell within the orbit of the Holy Experiment.

69 Advertisement to all Tradesmen . . . (Edinburgh, 1684).