

THE
Pennsylvania
Magazine
OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

John Tatham, Alias Gray

THOSE interested in early Delaware Valley history sooner or later come across a small volume written in 1698 by Gabriel Thomas, a Quaker who came to Pennsylvania in 1681 with the first of William Penn's settlers in the ship *John and Sarah*. In describing the town of Burlington in West New Jersey, Thomas noted that there were many "Fair and Great Brick Houses on the outside of the Town which the Gentry have built there for their Countrey Houses, besides the Great and Stately Palace of *John Tateham* Esq; which is pleasantly Situated on the North side of the Town, having a very fine and delightful *Garden* and *Orchard* adjoining to it, wherein is variety of *Fruits, Herbs, and Flowers.*"¹

The "Great and Stately Palace" of John Tatham has intrigued local historians for many years, for the mansion no longer exists and no detailed description of it has come to light. Even more intriguing, however, has been the man who built this fine residence.

New Jersey records and histories give no information about John Tatham's early life, although there are many scattered references to his activities in Pennsylvania and West Jersey between 1685 and

¹ Gabriel Thomas, *An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pensilvania; and of West-New-Jersey in America* (London, 1698), 17-18.

1700. These references provide some insight into his character and suggest certain aspects of his life before coming to America. That he was aggressive is certain. His ambition is obvious. Compared with the Quaker yeomen and merchants of Burlington, he could be labeled a "gentleman." He was an active public official, a frequent litigant, and a Roman Catholic. His religion, however, was apparently not generally known, but suspected.

It would be enlightening to discover the exact date, and upon what ship, Tatham arrived in America. It was sometime early in 1685, for on March 16 of that year William Penn wrote to Thomas Lloyd in Philadelphia: "Pray be carefull of thy carriage to one Gray, a Rom. Cath. Gent. yt comes over now, he is subtile & prying & lowly . . . but not such a bottom in other things, he is a Scholar, & avers to ye Calvinists . . . he comes in a post, be sure to pleas him in his land & for distance he must take where it is clear of other pretentions."² John Gray, alias Tatham, as he was then known, established himself quickly in the New World, for in July, 1685, he was living at Tatham House on Neshaminy Creek in Bucks County.³ A list of merchandise stored on the property indicates that he was a merchant. Some of his goods—cloth, thread, shoes, clothing, farm equipment, axes, furniture and household wares—were used in partial payment for 1,000 acres of Bucks County land purchased from Joseph Growdon, with whom he was later to become involved in a lengthy law suit.⁴ Penn did not soon forget his new settler, particularly in those days of bitter anti-Catholicism, and in December, 1685, expressed something of his concern to his steward, James Harrison: "Remember me . . . to J. Gray ye R. C. Keep things well with such Persons, for our Genll credit."⁵

John Tatham is first mentioned in West Jersey affairs on May 25, 1687, when he was one of fifty-nine proprietors who agreed to grant Thomas Budd a large tract of land to compensate Budd for assuming

² *American Catholic Historical Researches* (Philadelphia, 1903), 166; typescript in Cadwalader Collection, Box 2, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP).

³ *Records of the Courts of Quarter Sessions and Common Pleas of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, 1684-1700* (published by the Colonial Society of Pennsylvania, 1943), 405, hereinafter cited as *Bucks County Court Records*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 405-408.

⁵ *American Catholic Historical Researches* (1903), 166; original in Penn Papers, Domestic and Miscellaneous, 22, HSP.

the provincial debt.⁶ Tatham had become a West Jersey proprietor in March, 1685, just prior to leaving England, when he bought one quarter of a share from Benjamin Antrobus of London.⁷ In August, 1688, Daniel Coxe of London, who had purchased Edward Byllinge's interests in West Jersey and assumed control of government, named Tatham to replace Adlord Bowd, Coxe's land agent who had become ill shortly after his arrival in America.⁸ Tatham held this position, serving also as Coxe's attorney in land matters, until 1692 when Coxe sold his landholdings and right of government to the West Jersey Society.⁹

At the time of his appointment, Tatham probably moved to Burlington to take up his new duties.¹⁰ For a time, until he became established, he may well have left his family at his Bucks County home.¹¹ It is doubtful that Tatham was very popular in Burlington. He was a wealthy man, a lawyer, and in Quaker eyes an interloper,

⁶ *New Jersey Archives*, XXI, 419, 427. See also *ibid.*, II, 99; John E. Pomfret, *The Province of West New Jersey, 1609-1702* (Princeton, N. J., 1956), 158. In 1687 the finances of West Jersey were in a serious condition since the taxes levied for the support of the government had not been paid. Thomas Budd assumed the £1,250 debt in exchange for 15,000 acres of land contributed by the resident proprietors. *Ibid.*, 156.

⁷ On Jan. 13, 1695/6, "John Grey alias Tatham" deeded to Francis Davenport of Chesterfield 300 acres in West Jersey, part of the one-quarter share Tatham had bought from Antrobus. *New Jersey Archives*, XXI, 472. See also inventory of the estate of Elizabeth Tatham which lists deeds to John Tatham's landholdings. This list includes undated deeds to portions of "proprieties" in Burlington other than the Antrobus share. Inventory of Elizabeth Tatham, Burlington Wills (1700), Office of the Clerk, Superior Court of New Jersey, Trenton. This inventory, plus that of John Tatham, their wills, and related papers, is published in *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* (Philadelphia, 1895), 78-135. See also *New Jersey Archives*, XXIII (Abstracts of Wills, 1670-1730), 452, 453.

⁸ Pomfret, 158; *New Jersey Archives*, XXI, 427, 430. Samuel Smith alone states that John Tatham was named deputy-governor by Coxe in 1687, and that Tatham was rejected by the West Jersey Assembly because of his Jacobinism. Other writers have used Smith in noting this.

⁹ See, for example, *New Jersey Archives*, XXI, 448, 450, 453-454; *Bucks County Court Records*, 150.

¹⁰ In September, 1688, for example, Tatham appeared as plaintiff in a court action in Burlington Court; the following February he served on the grand jury. H. Clay Reed and George J. Miller, *Burlington Court Book of West New Jersey, 1680-1709* (Washington, D. C., 1944), 89, 95, hereinafter cited as *Burlington Court Book*.

¹¹ No information about Tatham's wife has been uncovered except that her name was Elizabeth. According to Elizabeth's will, made on Oct. 15, 1700, there were three children, Dorothy, John, and Elizabeth. At the time the will was made, Elizabeth was "Drawing near the time of [her] Delivery" of another child. She apparently died in childbirth, for a codicil to her will, dated Oct. 23, 1700, names her as deceased, but states that she had made a change in her will on Oct. 21 in the presence of the undersigned witnesses.

one of the first non-Quakers in West Jersey affairs. Despite such natural antipathy, he and James Budd, Coxe's surveyor, certainly set up office that first year. They were soon referred to as "merchants,"¹² which suggests that they were engaged in other business besides land.

Although Budd and Tatham were closely associated, later events disclose that the two were not congenial. Irritation at being subordinate to a non-Quaker unquestionably rankled James Budd, who, with his brother Thomas, was an influential member of Burlington Meeting. Moreover, there must have been some jealousy over Tatham's steady financial rise. Not only was he acquiring land and trading as a merchant, but he placed considerable money at mortgage,¹³ and made at least one joint venture as part owner of the sloop *Unitie*, freighting tobacco.¹⁴

Within a few years, Tatham had become a man of consequence in Burlington. In March, 1689, he had purchased the "Palace Land," consisting of fourteen acres on the eastern border of the town fronting on the Delaware River and Assiscunk Creek,¹⁵ building there a fine home. No physical description of the mansion has survived, but from letters and two Tatham inventories, some idea of its size and elegance can be gleaned.¹⁶ The cellar foundation was forty feet long,¹⁷ and the house had more than twelve rooms, including a storeroom in which Tatham undoubtedly kept his merchant's goods. Tatham furnished his house well,¹⁸ and protected it with a roof of sheet lead.¹⁹ Separate from the main building were a bakehouse and other out-buildings, including offices, a carriage house, and stable.²⁰ Some sort

¹² *New Jersey Archives*, XXI, 430.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 260-261, 325.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 221. Six years later, Tatham, with Thomas Revell and Nathaniel Westland, chartered the sloop *Dove* from Edward Hunloke for a round-trip voyage to Virginia. *Ibid.*, 494-495.

¹⁵ George Morgan Hills, *History of the Church in Burlington, New Jersey* (Trenton, N. J., 1876), 11. Gabriel Thomas, 17-18, errs in locating the "palace" on the north side of Burlington.

¹⁶ The letters are from John Talbot to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1722-1723, in Hills, 170-174.

¹⁷ E. M. Woodward and John F. Hageman, *History of Burlington and Mercer Counties* (Philadelphia, 1883), 158.

¹⁸ See inventories of John and Elizabeth Tatham.

¹⁹ Hills, 172, 173.

²⁰ Inventories; Hills, 171, 173.

of wharf or dock was probably located on the creek,²¹ and somewhere on the property were slave quarters.²² The land side of the grounds was enclosed with a cedar fence.²³ There can be little doubt that John Tatham's mansion was "Great and Stately."²⁴

The "palace," however, was but one measure of the affluence and influence to which Tatham had attained. During the next decade his name was to become prominent in both political and legal affairs of West Jersey and Burlington. He was named to the Grand Council of the West Jersey Proprietors in 1689, and served from April 11 of that year until the following February. In 1695 he served one more term on the council as its president.²⁵ The proprietors of both East and West Jersey named Tatham as governor in 1690, but there is no record that he was qualified or recognized.²⁶

In May, 1692, Tatham was one of four members of the Assembly appointed to investigate the boundary line between Burlington and Gloucester counties.²⁷ Since the Assembly records from 1688 to 1692 are missing, there is no way of ascertaining just when he became a member of that body. From 1692 to 1699, he served as a justice of the Burlington Court, with fairly regular attendance.²⁸ At the organization meeting of the city of Burlington, April 5, 1694, Tatham was

²¹ John Tatham's inventory lists a "boat, mast & sayles & 3 oares, & one Canooe"; the canoe is not mentioned in Elizabeth's inventory.

²² Tatham owned seven slaves, five men and two women.

²³ Hills, 171.

²⁴ In 1710, six rooms in the "palace" were offered to Gov. Robert Hunter for his official residence. *New Jersey Archives*, IV, 13. In 1712, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel acquired the property for a bishop's seat for £600. Hills, 106. The property was allowed to deteriorate, but was repaired by the Society in 1723. In 1748, it was burned to the ground. *Ibid.*, 172-174, 265-266. There is no record of the disposition of the furnishings of the house.

²⁵ Minutes of the Council of Proprietors (1688-1700), Bk. I, Surveyor General's Office, Burlington, N. J.; Pomfret, 186, 187, 188.

²⁶ *New Jersey Archives*, IX, 442 (note); William A. Whitehead, *East Jersey Under the Proprietors . . .* (Newark, N. J., 1875), 185. Pomfret, 170-171, mentions only Joseph Dudley, who was also considered for the position. In 1692, Andrew Hamilton was chosen governor. Only one writer has tried to build the case that Tatham actually became governor: John D. McCormick, "John Tatham, New Jersey's First Catholic Governor," *American Catholic Historical Society Researches* (1888), 79-92.

²⁷ Aaron Leaming and Jacob Spicer, *The Grants, Concessions, and Original Constitutions of the Province of New Jersey . . .* (Philadelphia, [1755]), 513.

²⁸ *Burlington Court Book*, 144-222 *passim*.

elected town recorder and held this office until he was succeeded by Thomas Revell on June 17, 1695.²⁹

Late in 1696, a plot to assassinate William III was discovered, and Governor Andrew Hamilton of West Jersey, among others, hastened to declare his loyalty to the Crown. Together with his council and members of the Assembly, he signed an agreement in 1697 deploring the "horrid and detestable Conspiracy formed and Carried on by Papists . . ." and upholding the king's lawful claims against any pretensions of the late King James and his adherents. One of the signers, as a member of the governor's council, was John Tatham. Ten days later, in this same capacity, he also signed a congratulatory address to the King on his delivery and, since they reside in him, the delivery, too, of "our Religion, our Rights, our Liberties."³⁰

When the West Jersey Society replaced Hamilton with Jeremiah Basse as governor later in 1697, Tatham was also chosen a member of the new, non-Quaker council.³¹ It was during the Basse interlude that Tatham acted as president judge of the Burlington Court.³² Together with Thomas Revell and Nathaniel Westland, he has been credited with the authorship of *The Case Put and Decided*, a tract published in 1699 against Samuel Jenings, who was accused of inciting open opposition to the Basse government and court.³³ In 1699, when Hamilton regained the governorship and the Quakers resumed their dominance in public affairs, Tatham's public career ended.

During the later years of his life John Tatham became involved in one legal action after another. In 1694 he instituted a suit for slander against the Budd family. Four years earlier, James Budd had died under what some considered mysterious circumstances. It was whispered about that Budd had been poisoned, and persistent gossip had it that Tatham was in some way involved.

The case of *John Tatham, Esq. v. John Budd*, brother of the deceased, was heard in Burlington Court on the afternoon of November 9, 1694, before Governor Hamilton. The court upheld that this

²⁹ Burlington Township Records (1694-1843), Office of Township Clerk, Burlington. At a city meeting held on Oct. 6, 1698, Tatham is listed among the "officers and electors" present. *Ibid.*

³⁰ *New Jersey Archives*, II, 145-147.

³¹ Pomfret, 195; *Burlington Court Book*, xxxv.

³² *Ibid.*, xxxix (note), lii, 205-222.

³³ Pomfret, 196-201.

was an "Action of defamation," overruling Tatham's plea that the charge be changed to an "Action of Scandalli Magnat," an ancient English point of law involving slander of great men and nobles. Each man acted as his own advocate, and the burden of testimony was presented by the witnesses for the defendant. Jeremiah Basse, interestingly enough, was among those who testified against Tatham. Despite the weight and gruesomely colorful character of the testimony, the jury, by sealed verdict, decided for Tatham and awarded him £20 and costs.³⁴

Tatham again filed suit for slander in 1698, this time against Christopher Wetherill for "Scandalizing [him] by Saying that he is a Papist." In bringing this suit Tatham apparently denied that he was a Roman Catholic. The disposition of the case is not clear in the records.³⁵

On February 21, 1699/1700, Tatham appeared in court in a suit for nonpayment of a medical bill presented by John Robards, a bone setter. Tatham's son John had broken his arm, and the father, feeling that the bone had been improperly set, refused to pay Robard's fee. Thomas Clark pleaded the case for Tatham, but to no avail. Tatham was compelled to pay £3 2s. and costs.³⁶

Tatham's legal difficulties were not confined to Burlington. Time and again he appeared in the Bucks County court. He may well have been the John Gray who, in 1686, was the plaintiff against Gilbert Wheeler in a debt action.³⁷ Occasionally, after moving to West Jersey, he acted as attorney for Daniel Coxe, usually to collect debts owed the West Jersey proprietor.³⁸ In most cases, however, he himself was either suing or being sued in matters of debt. One suit for slander, against Gilbert Wheeler, is recorded, but there are no details given and the action was withdrawn.³⁹ In these Pennsylvania records he is often referred to as John Gray, alias Tatham.

Tatham's main opponent was the Quaker Joseph Growdon, a provincial councilor from Bucks County, with whom he was in litiga-

³⁴ *Burlington Court Book*, 174-175.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 209, 211.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 230-231.

³⁷ *Bucks County Court Records*, 55. Gilbert Wheeler was the proprietor of the Crookhorn, a public house at the ferry not far from Pennsbury Manor. *Ibid.*, v.

³⁸ See, for example, *ibid.*, 160.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 150, 156.

tion over a long period. In 1691, at the same sitting of the Bucks County court which ordered Tatham to pay Growdon an unmentioned sum in a "plea of Trespass done," Tatham entered a "plea of case" against Growdon in a controversy over a debt.⁴⁰ He complained that Growdon owed him a sum of money and four books which he had lent Growdon in 1685. The total value then was £26, but with interest for nearly thirteen years now amounted to more than £41. The case was not brought to a conclusion until 1699, and when it was finally heard, Growdon admitted borrowing the books and money, which he offered to return.

Joseph Growdon, however, countered Tatham's suit with a charge that Tatham still owed him for 1,000 acres of land he had purchased in 1685. Tatham was to have delivered one hundred pounds worth of English goods and £100 in cash. This debt, Growdon declared, had never been paid in full. Tatham produced an itemized account of the goods he had given Growdon and receipts for cash, but the court upheld Growdon's claim that they were falsified, and ruled, moreover, that Tatham had overcharged a number of the items.⁴¹

Tatham was involved in one more court action, this one a sad, personal affair. In February, 1699/1700, the Burlington Court revoked Widow Elizabeth Basnett's tavern license for "permitting and countenancing in her house an Illegal and Clandestine Marriage between one Robert Hickman under Custody of the Sheriff as a Suspected Pirate⁴² . . . and Mrs. Dorothy Tatham Eldest daughter of John Tatham Esqr . . . to the great damage grief and affliction of the parents of the said Mrs. Dorothy, the Reproach of the Province, and Scandal to the Christian Profession and Civil Society and

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 160.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 402-413. Land suits against Growdon continued after Tatham's death. In 1704, Thomas Revell, guardian for the Tatham children, petitioned the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania for a settlement to a three-year-old suit over title to lands held by Growdon in Bucks Co. *Colonial Records* (Philadelphia, 1852), II, 179. In 1713, John Tatham, Jr., renewed a suit against Growdon for land his father had purchased from the proprietors about 1686, claiming that the family had been kept from possession by Growdon. *Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series*, XIX, 559.

⁴² Hickman may have been one of the pirates from Madagascar, members of "Kid's Gang," who were landed at Cape May late in May, 1699. A number were apprehended and "committed to the Jaile of Burlington," but were apparently given "the Liberty to confine themselves to a taverne . . . for the Quakers there will not suffer the Governor to send them to Goale." *New Jersey Archives*, II, 277-287 *passim*.

Neighbourhood.”⁴³ Tatham never forgave his daughter for this affront to the family name.

The dishonor may well have hastened his death. He died, a rich man, in July, 1700, and was probably buried in the graveyard in Burlington which in 1695 he had helped to establish as a “burying place for Christian People.”⁴⁴ His will was probated on July 26, 1700, and his wife Elizabeth was named sole heiress and executrix. Dorothy Tatham Hickman was cut off for her “graceless & shameless Rebellion” with “one piece of Eight if demanded & no more.”⁴⁵

The inventory of Tatham’s £3,765 estate is revealing. A library of more than five hundred books and a “parcell” of mathematical instruments mark him as the scholar Penn had called him. The titles of his books were varied, but many dealt with the Roman Catholic faith; of interest is the fact that a number concerned the Benedictine order of monks. A silver box containing relics, some pieces of gold church plate, and two crucifixes substantiated his Catholicism, private though it was. Seven slaves, property in Burlington, and the mansion, valued at £1,000, were listed, and among his effects, also, were a silver-hilted rapier and belt.

This much is known about John Tatham’s life in America. But what of his life before he came to Pennsylvania in 1685? One major key lies in the name John Gray, which Tatham used for a time while living in Bucks County. It was by this name that William Penn first knew him, describing him in 1685 as a gentleman and a scholar. A year later, however, Penn had learned additional facts about Gray’s career and sought to keep the information secret. In 1686 he wrote to Thomas Lloyd: “Gray is a Benedictine monck of St. James’s, left them and his vows, is married there, the congregation has spoak to the King about him, and to me. Keep this to thy selfe.”⁴⁶ Within the year, despite his intentions, Penn had apparently become irritated with Gray’s land purchases and made his back-

⁴³ *Burlington Court Book*, 229. Widow Basnett ran a tavern on the south side of Broad Street east of High.

⁴⁴ Hills, 15. This graveyard was later enlarged and taken over by St. Mary’s Episcopal Church.

⁴⁵ Will of John Tatham. Elizabeth Tatham cut her daughter off with a sixpence, but relented on her deathbed, leaving Dorothy £200 in a codicil dated Oct. 23, 1700.

⁴⁶ Frederick B. Tolles, “William Penn on Public and Private Affairs, 1686. An Important New Letter,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXX (1956), 243.

ground more generally known. He instructed his land commissioners to "put a stop to ye irregular grants made to John Grey alias Tatham now discovered to be a Benedictine Monk of St. James Convent, as they call it, commanded over by ye king."⁴⁷ Thus, using the names Tatham and Gray, and the clue of the Benedictines of St. James's Convent, John Tatham's English background can be pieced together in some of its parts.⁴⁸

John Tatham was born in Yorkshire, England, about 1642.⁴⁹ Nothing is known of his childhood, but he was probably raised as a Roman Catholic and attended convent school. In 1657 he was sent to Douai University in France to study for the priesthood, and entered the Benedictine order. He professed at St. Gregory's, Douai, and remained there until about 1676, at which time he was acting as subprior. Shortly afterward, Father Bede Tatham,⁵⁰ the religious name he had chosen, was sent to the "Southern Province of the English Mission."⁵⁰

Tatham was risking banishment and possible death by returning to his homeland. Two years before, in 1674, Charles II, roused by the public outcry against Roman Catholics, agreed to an order in council which commanded that "all Catholic priests born within his Majesty's dominions . . . leave the Kingdom before the 25th day of March next following, and not to return."⁵¹ This injunction, however, applied only to English-speaking priests in order not to interfere with the private chaplains of foreign diplomats. Although Tatham's return was illegal, he could easily have posed as a Frenchman sent over to replace a banished English priest.

Father Tatham was probably active in the London area. There are only Penn's letters to associate him with the Benedictine monks of

⁴⁷ Warren S. Ely, "Scotch-Irish Families," *A Collection of Papers Read before the Bucks County Historical Society*, II (1909), 530. Thomas Holme's map of Pennsylvania, begun in 1681 and first published c. 1687, shows a tract of land fronting on Neshaminy Creek belonging to John Gray, alias Tatham. Several other tracts farther upstream are assigned to a John Gray, probably Tatham.

⁴⁸ The details of Tatham's English background were supplied through the research of W. E. Waller, Esq., London.

⁴⁹ Birt's *Obit Book of the English Benedictines*; Catholic Record Society Publications, Vol. 33. His date of birth is based on the assumption that Tatham was probably fifteen years old when he entered Douai University.

⁵⁰ Birt's *Obit Book of the English Benedictines*; Abbot Allanson, "History of the Monks of the English Congregation," manuscript in Ampleforth Abbey, York, England.

⁵¹ *Downside Review* (London, 1902).

St. James's. During the reign of Charles II there was a monastic community near St. James's Palace composed of Benedictine monks of St. Gregory's who acted as chaplains for Charles's Portuguese wife. Although there is no record of a Tatham or Gray in the list of chaplains in the service of the queen, Tatham may well have been associated with the monastery.

Tatham was in England scarcely more than a year before the Titus Oates plot put Roman Catholics in general and their priests in particular in peril of their lives.⁵² It is a reasonable conjecture that Tatham removed his priest's garb at this time and hid behind the name John Gray. Under this name he met William Penn, purchased 5,000 acres of land from him in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, in June, 1684,⁵³ and within a year sailed for America. In all probability, Tatham had married in England. Certainly, he brought with him extensive household and personal property, his library, and a large stock of merchant goods.

John Gray of London, friend of William Penn, would hardly as a monk have acquired the means to undertake this new venture in America. It is quite likely that he came from a wealthy family of some standing. Penn called him a gentleman, and his library and household effects show him to have been a man of education and taste. There is one other possible source of his wealth which makes an interesting, if somewhat unsavory, tale. In 1685, sometime after his departure for the New World, a law suit was instituted against Tatham by the English congregation—Father Tatham had absconded with church funds!⁵⁴ It may well have been this affair to which Penn was referring when he wrote to Thomas Lloyd in 1686 that "the congregation has spoak to the King about him, and to me." Moreover, a year later, it became known to certain freeholders of Bucks County that John Gray, alias Tatham, was "accused to his Mat^{ie} of several misdemean^{rs} for which his Mat^{ies} Com[m]and is brought over into this Province that the said John be sent for England by the first conveniencie."⁵⁵ There can be little question that

⁵² In 1678, Titus Oates created a frenzy of hysteria in England by alleging that there was a plot—familarly known as the Popish Plot—to murder Charles II and establish Catholicism in the country.

⁵³ *Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series*, XIX, 317. See also list of deeds in Elizabeth Tatham's will (deed undated).

⁵⁴ Abbot Allanson, "History of the Monks of the English Congregation."

⁵⁵ Etting Papers, Pemberton, I, 23, HSP.

John Tatham had fled some misdeed, and that he never returned to face its consequences.

When his Bucks County neighbors learned that John Gray, alias Tatham, had been ordered back to England they testified in his behalf. Although he had been in Pennsylvania but two years, they considered him "industrious, ingenious & discreet, in dealings just & in Conversation loving and oblidging for ought we could discover since he have lived among us."⁵⁶ But rumors of his past must soon have circulated, and attitudes began to change. Penn's stricture that he was "subtile & prying & lowly" may well have proved more than mere warning. A certain mistrust is evident in many of Tatham's associations, arising in part from the confusion of his two names, and manifesting itself in the law suits in which he was continually involved. In Burlington, suspicions of Catholicism, despite seeming denial on Tatham's part, merely heightened Quaker antagonism toward a successful non-Quaker, particularly one so active in public affairs. Thus, even in his own day, John Tatham, alias Gray, a gentleman of learning and wealth, was a colorful and somewhat enigmatic figure.

Burlington, N. J.

HENRY H. BISBEE

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*