

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

London Merchants and the Launching of Pennsylvania

Behind William Penn's "holy experiment" were not only the people who settled in Pennsylvania but also the businessmen with a financial interest in the colony, men who had no intentions of migrating across the Atlantic. Some speculated in land, purchasing real estate in the colony as an investment. Others were prepared to invest in the commercial potential of Pennsylvania rather than in its land. While the economic prospects of the new venture for those colonists who went there have long been appreciated, the role of seventeenth-century London entrepreneurs, investors who did not go there, has not been fully acknowledged. This is partly because attention has been focused mainly on the Quaker settlers of the colony. Insofar as the activities of merchants have been investigated, the focus has largely been on those who went to Philadelphia. Consequently, where the involvement of English investors in other colonies has been the subject of detailed investigation, London-based investors in Pennsylvania have been neglected. An examination of members of London companies investing in Pennsylvania, together with the economic and promotional literature of the period, identifies a large number of English merchants who, although they did not emigrate to the new world, contributed significantly to the commercial success of the colony.¹ These were businessmen, residing primarily in London, who were either individual entrepreneurs or members of companies such as the Levant and East India.²

¹ T. K. Raab, *Enterprise and Empire* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967). There are many good analyses of the economic aspects of early Pennsylvania. However, they concentrate primarily on eighteenth-century Pennsylvania rather than the seventeenth-century English mercantile environment. See Gary Nash, "The Free Society of Traders," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (hereafter, *PMHB*) 89 (1965), 147-73; more recently, Alison Olson's *Making the Empire Work* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993) concentrates on eighteenth-century business connections.

² Additional MSS, 770, 13,794, 17,089, 17,244, 18,760, Guildhall Library, London.

One way in which the London merchants speculated in the colony's development was by becoming involved in new companies launched to exploit its potential. These were the Free Society of Traders, the New Mediterranean Sea Company, the New Pennsylvania Company, and the London Land Company. All of them were formed within the first twenty years of the colony's founding. Only fifteen of the 292 London merchants who participated in the companies bought land in Pennsylvania.³ Of those that did buy land, few actually emigrated.⁴

Among those prominent merchants who got involved in the companies that Penn established to exploit his colony's trade, some were members of the Levant Company. Plans for a new colony worked to the advantage of the company's members, who were encountering difficulties in their trade with Turkey. Although the decade of the 1670s marked the height of English influence in the Mediterranean trade, by the 1680s, following the peace of Nijmegen (or Nijmwegen), there was a renewal of competition by the French and Dutch companies.⁵ Consequently, there was pressure to exploit, independently or in partnership, alternative trading opportunities in the West Indies and North America.⁶ The Levant Company had already developed trading routes that linked the American colonies with the Mediterranean through the use of factors located in both areas.⁷ The correspondence between investors and their agents bears out the machinations of an imperial trading network that operated from England, particularly from London. Members such as Daniel Finch and Thomas Barrington, in conjunction with

³ Cf. Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn, eds., *The Papers of William Penn* (hereafter, *PWP*) (5 vols., Philadelphia, 1981-86), 2:636-64.

⁴ Gary Nash, "The Framing of Government in Pennsylvania: Ideas in Contact with Reality," *William and Mary Quarterly* 23 (1966), 186. While the list of "first purchasers" published in *PWP*, 2:636-64, only records purchases prior to 1685, a search of the originals in the Pennsylvania State Archives in Harrisburg for purchases by London merchants after that year does not boost significantly the number of buyers of land in the colony. There were 110 known purchasers who remained London residents, of whom a large proportion were members of livery companies. John West, a girdler who purchased 1,250 acres in 1683 or 1684, was also a London councilman from 1680 to 1683.

⁵ Ralph Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square* (London, 1967), 5; A. C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (London, 1935), 102-5.

⁶ Rawlinson MS, A 256, fols. 255-59, Bodleian Library, Oxford University.

⁷ G. F. Abbott, *Under the Turk in Constantinople: A Record of Sir John Finch's Embassy 1674-1681* (London, 1920), 281-84; G. P. Ambrose, "The Levant Company Mainly from 1640-1753," M.Litt. diss., Oxford University, 1933, 253-55, 381-83; A. C. Wood "The English Embassy in Constantinople," *English Historical Review* (hereafter, *EHR*) 40 (1925), 535; Peter Loughhead, "The East India Company in English Domestic Politics, 1657-1688," Ph.D. diss., Oxford University, 1980, 146, 159.

independent merchant Henry St. John, empowered their agent William Milburn in the island of Bermuda to act on their behalf concerning property and trade.⁸

Establishing new trading routes or consolidating trade through organizing companies were not new ideas. By the latter half of the seventeenth century, however, one major issue gave impetus to a more aggressive expansionist attitude: the restrictive monopolies operating in Europe that inhibited entrepreneurship. This was particularly frustrating in view of the explosive growth of extra-European trade in the period between 1663 and 1686 when shipping tonnage doubled.⁹ As W. R. Scott has shown, one sign of increasing frustration with restrictions on overseas trade was the increase in the incidences of interloping.¹⁰ The celebrated case of Skinner versus the East India Company illustrates the problem created by the restrictive practices of such companies. The Levant Company also challenged the East India Company's right to monopoly by arguing that such practices were to the "utter ruine of others . . . to the advantage chiefly of a small number of persons."¹¹ The government dealt firmly with interlopers, as the quo warranto issued against Cornish merchants for interloping in the Mediterranean illustrates. The message was clear, however: economic necessity pressured existing companies when they could no longer satisfy demands for investment opportunities.

The creation of open stock companies, such as the Free Society of Traders, allowed investors, whatever their religious affiliation, to invest in new colonial ventures. These companies created a new venue for entrepreneurs such as Dudley North and Thomas Vernon, who were already active

⁸ MSS, D/DBa, E77, 1676 copy, Essex Record Office. Merchants' correspondence with their agents bears this out. Daniel Finch, Thomas Barrington, and Henry St. John, of London, empowered William Milburn "in ye Sum[me] Islands Bermudas" to be receiver of rents and to arrest any debtors to the merchants. See also "Early Letters from Bristol and Philadelphia," Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter, HSP), fol. 17, July 2, 1685, Capt. Chester Taylor to William Frampton, ordering James Ernest, the government secretary to East Jersey, to reserve nineteen pounds of Thomas Lloyd; fol. 24, Sept. 28, 1685, Bristol merchants give power of attorney to William Frampton and Andrew Robeson in Philadelphia; fol. 28, Dec. 7, 1686, Thomas Brinley, merchant of New England, appointed Andrew Robeson of West Jersey as his agent.

⁹ Ralph Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London, 1962), 13-20.

¹⁰ W. R. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish, and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720* (3 vols., Cambridge, 1911), 1:307.

¹¹ MSS, D(W)1778/1/1/703A, April 10, 1682, Staffordshire Record Office.

in North American trade and, by 1682, were interested in the Pennsylvania venture. William Shardlow, a Levant Company member and a subscriber to the Free Society of Traders, signed a petition to increase the stock of the East India Company. Other petitioners, such as Lord Vaughan, Henry Ashurst, and Edmund Harrison, were subscribers to the New Mediterranean Sea Company in Pennsylvania.¹² Some of these investors were also active in the neighboring West New Jersey Society, which was made up of London businessmen. In 1692 this organization purchased the territory and government of West New Jersey from its main proprietor, Daniel Coxe. Shareholders hoped for quick returns upon their investments. The same was true for the New Mediterranean and New Pennsylvania companies, which were set up by some of the same investors as those in the West New Jersey Society.¹³ Coxe became the director of the West New Jersey Society, while Edmund Harrison, a member of the Levant Company and New Mediterranean Sea Company, acted as its president. Another Mediterranean Sea company member, Robert Hackshaw, became the treasurer of the West New Jersey Society.

Most members of the Free Society of Traders, the first company set up by Penn to exploit Pennsylvania's trade potential, also continued to conduct their business from London.¹⁴ The company included members of other sects as well as Friends, along with Quaker settlers who bought land in Pennsylvania. Clearly, the Free Society was not a wholly Quaker venture.¹⁵ Of the 292 listed in the appendix, 187 Free Society members resided and conducted business from England rather than emigrating to the colony.

¹² *The Little London Directory of 1677* (London, 1863) lists William Shardlow as Sharlow in the Free Society of Traders; since both have the same address, they probably are the same person. If Shardlow was a Quaker, as the Friends allege, then he presumably took the oath of the company before becoming a Quaker.

¹³ John E. Pomfret, *The Province of West New Jersey, 1609-1702* (Princeton, 1956), 170-78; Pomfret, *The Province of East New Jersey, 1609-1702* (Princeton, 1962), 275.

¹⁴ Thus Gary Nash argues that Penn relied on his wealthy Quaker merchant connections to make his colony a success. "This upper strata upon which Penn depended so heavily was studded with Quaker merchants," he maintains. "The other great investors were a potpourri of professional men, well circumstanced landowners and Penn's relatives and personal associates." See Nash, "The Free Society of Traders," 150-51.

¹⁵ While James Claypoole, its treasurer, was a wealthy Quaker merchant, Nicholas More, its president, was an Anglican. The subscription list to the society was open to anyone regardless of religion. By expanding the membership to include non-Quakers, Penn may well have been continuing his policy of religious liberalism.

Investors in the Free Society such as James Claypoole and Thomas Bailey, who functioned as agents on both sides of the Atlantic, illustrate the interplay between colonial and London merchants. Although involved in Pennsylvania, Claypoole was not necessarily committed from the beginning to acquiring land there, but he was interested in the colony's commerce.¹⁶ His business connections with other merchants dealing in the West Indies and the Mediterranean made him a point of contact between the Old and New Worlds. The major commodities he traded in—sugar and ginger from the West Indies, furs and tobacco from North America, and silks from the Levant ports of Smyrna, Aleppo, and Beirut as well as India, and Burma—attest to his wide range of business contacts.¹⁷ In addition to writing to merchant Hans Christopher, acknowledging the latter's advice to buy a bale of Tripoli silk, Claypoole's correspondence with other agents, such as William Chare and George Mitley, in 1681, about the sale of beaver from North America, suggests a long-established trading relationship.¹⁸ Likewise, Thomas Bailey's mercantile connections bear out the same pattern. His correspondence reaches from England to Jamaica, Virginia, and Barbados. His dealings in tobacco and ginger brought him into contact with merchants and traders known to Claypoole. Thus the trading world was a closely connected network with London as its center.¹⁹ Levant company members Daniel Coxe, William Crouch, and Thomas Harriot, also members of the Free Society of Traders, contributed to the birth of Pennsylvania. John Houghton, trader in such luxury items as coffee, tea, and chocolate, had the distinction of being a Fellow of the Royal Society and the sponsor for William Penn into that august group.

In addition to their involvement in global trading, some of these investors were also active in London politics. Claypoole's correspondence with Sir Thomas Clutterbuck, London merchant and councilman, and Joseph Pike, William Alloway, Richard Gray, Samuel Hale, Samuel Claridge, Thomas Cooke, Thomas Gouldney, and James Freeman, all connected with the

¹⁶ Cf. Gary Nash, "The Framing of Government in Pennsylvania," 183-209; *PWP*, 2:138; James Claypoole, Letterbook, 1681-84, fol. 52, HSP.

¹⁷ Claypoole to William Chare, twelfth month [o.s. February] 21, 1681; fourth month [o.s. June] 21, 1681; Claypoole Letterbook, fol. 163, HSP.

¹⁸ "Whereas you write of commission for beaver sent to Musco[vy] . . . that for all the time of our trading furs together w[hilch] was from the year 1666 . . ." Claypoole to Chare, fifth month [o.s. July], 5, 1681, Claypoole Letterbook, fols. 17, 40-41, HSP.

¹⁹ Thomas Bailey, Letterbook, MSS 18760, Guildhall Library, London.

political sphere of London, show business connections in Barbados, North America, Ireland, Germany, and England.²⁰

Although the Free Society was failing by the accession of James II in 1685, this did not discourage investment in Pennsylvania by London merchants.²¹ By the spring of 1686, there was another move to involve some of the big investors in the trade in the northwestern part of the colony. Daniel Coxe, physician, titular governor of West New Jersey, and entrepreneur who speculated in land all over the colonies, from the northern parts of America to the Gulf of Mexico, wrote to David Lloyd about a number of men of estate and influence who bought shares in a venture "uppon the great lake."²² This great lake, or "new Mediterranean sea," lent itself in 1686 to the formation of the New Mediterranean Sea Company. It was another corporate body authorized by Penn to exploit the fur trade in the region of the Great Lakes.²³ It was formed at the height of quo warranto proceedings against the Pennsylvania charter and, therefore, the makeup of the membership list was critical.²⁴ Among the members in the new company were many who were either prominent in politics or part of the aristocracy. They also had been involved in the old Mediterranean Sea and Levant companies. Besides Coxe, members included Henry and William Ashurst, Sir Gobert Barrington, Peter Lygeat, and Lord Vaughan. The Ashurst brothers were politically influential. At the time of the granting of the charter for Pennsylvania, William was on the London council, while Henry was already active in North American trade as agent for the Massachusetts Bay Colony.²⁵ The president of the company, Charles Montague of Boughton Hall, was

²⁰ Marion Balderston, *James Claypoole's Letterbook* (San Marino, Calif., 1967), 8-11; Petition of English stockholders to Penn, Autograph Petitions, June 15, 1685, Penn Papers, fol. 3, HSP.

²¹ Petition of English stockholders to Penn, June 15, 1685, Penn Papers, HSP.

²² Daniel Coxe to David Lloyd, April 23, 30, 1686, Phineas Bond Papers, West New Jersey Society, Cadwalader Collection, fol. 1, HSP.

²³ Contract between Daniel Coxe and Anthony Delaire, June 25, 1686, Phineas Bond Papers, West New Jersey Society, Cadwalader Collection, HSP. Although the motives for establishing the company were commercial, the opportunity arose because of political wranglings at Whitehall.

²⁴ J. Miller, "The Crown and the Borough Charters in the Reign of Charles II," *EHR* (1985), 53-84. *Quo warranto* literally means, "by what authority?" Essentially, the Crown challenged the validity of the exercise of authority under the terms of the charter through legal process. During this period fifty-six English borough charters were issued with a quo warranto.

²⁵ William Ashurst was a member of the Common Council for Bread Street from 1680 to 1683, Common Council Ward List, London Record Office.

an influential member of the English aristocracy.²⁶ As privy councillor from 1672 to 1679 and again in 1689, he was in a position to influence decisions concerning the trade of the plantations. He was also master of the great wardrobe, which afforded him the ear of the king. Although he lost the position in 1686, he was still very welcome at court. His appointment by Penn as president of the new company, therefore, gave the venture a significant link with the court. Others associated with the company straddled the political and commercial worlds. Lord Vaughan, a Levant Company member, was governor of Jamaica from 1674 to 1678. He then served as member of Parliament during the period of the granting of the charter for the colony and, later, the formation of the Mediterranean Sea Company. Another M.P. at that time and company member was Sir John Hotham. Mathias Vincent, London alderman, a position of influence in the City's commerce, was also counted among the company's members. Some members were already colonial traders, such as Walter Harris, Joseph Dudley, Peter Lygeat, and John Blackwell (who later became Penn's governor). Edmund Harrison was perhaps the most prolific member, having belonged to the Levant and East India companies and, later, the West Jersey Society.

Many of the members of the New Mediterranean Sea Company were dissenters who were not likely to have favored the quo warranto proceedings against Pennsylvania. Yet they belonged to a group the king was anxious to cultivate at a time when his relations with Anglicans and Tories were rapidly deteriorating.²⁷ Their incorporation into the company the day after the threat to the colony was removed strongly suggests that the two events were part of a political deal.

Deeds drawn up in April 1686 apportioned New Mediterranean Sea

²⁶ For a fuller list of the members of the old and new Mediterranean companies, compare MSS, D(W)1778/1/1/703A, Staffordshire Record Office, and grant by William Penn for the formation of a company to be called the New Mediterranean Sea Company, MSS, D.D.WY.73, Bedfordshire Record Office. Albright G. Zimmerman, "Daniel Coxe and the New Mediterranean Sea Company," *PMHB* 76 (1952), 86-96; MSS, D/DBa MSS A77/8, A77/16, Essex Record Office, show the heavy involvement of the Barrington family in the Levant trade; Amy Barrington, *The Barringtons, A Family History* (Dublin, 1917). The name Gobert is not a mistake, as Zimmerman suggested in his article. Gobert Barrington inherited a manor at Tofts in Little Baddow. See also appendix.

²⁷ M. Goldie, "James II and the Dissenters' Revenge: The Commission of Enquiry of 1688," *Historical Research* (1993), lxvi, 53-88.

Company land to Coxe and his partners.²⁸ At the same time, Penn wrote to Thomas Lloyd, president of the Pennsylvania provincial council, about the new venture, informing him of the subscriptions to the company and ordering him to be hospitable to the families, mostly French Protestants, who were being sent over.²⁹

Unfortunately, this venture was in conflict with the New York trade. The resulting struggle over the territory, between Penn and Governor Thomas Dongan of New York, was fought out in London. Dongan was especially concerned that the company's activities would result in the depopulation of his colony. There were further complaints by New York concerning potential loss of trade and revenue. In an address to the king, the mayor and corporation of New York City asked for suppression of the peltry trade in Pennsylvania and that the offending part of the colony which "extends from the falls of the Susquehanna should be added to this province."³⁰ But plans for the venture were still in full swing a year later when Coxe, writing to his agent David Lloyd boasted of a further thirty persons "considerable for estate [who] have subscribed between ten and twelve thousand pounds"³¹ Although this venture held the promise of great developments, by 1691 the company had collapsed, partly through disputes but mainly because it fell victim to the political consequences of the Revolution of 1688 in England.³² By then, however, there was sufficient mercantile involvement in Pennsylvania to ensure continued investment from London.

In 1693 the New Pennsylvania Company was formed in an attempt to

²⁸ Deeds to Daniel Coxe, Sir Mathias Vincent, and Robert Thompson, dated April 20, 23, 1686, as listed in Phineas Bond Papers, West Jersey Society, Cadwalader Collection, fol. 1, HSP. Vincent and Thompson were from Middlesex, England.

²⁹ William Penn to Thomas Lloyd, April 21, 1686, *PWP*, 3, microfilm #5:416. Penn's letter informed Lloyd that sixty French families were being sent, many of whom were "professors to concernd." The previous summer Penn wrote the provincial council asking them to be kind to French Huguenots who were sent to settle on John Bellers's estate.

³⁰ "Address of the Mayor and Corporation of New York to the King, May 17, 1687," *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1685-1688*, 6 vols., 367, #1250.

³¹ Daniel Coxe to David Lloyd, Sept. 10, 1687, Phineas Bond Papers, West New Jersey Society, Cadwalader Collection, HSP.

³² Sir Lambert Blackwell's letters on the Leghorn trade, 1696-1704, fols. 61-62, Shrewsbury Papers, Northampton, Record Office. There was a suggestion to revive the idea of establishing a company in that region, partly because of the profitability of its trade but also as a block to French trade without the necessity of fighting them.

exploit naval stores in the colony.³³ The company came into being because of political troubles in England brought about by the nine-year war against France (1689-97) and Penn's precarious position with the new regime of William and Mary. Sensing a commercial opportunity for investors and an opportunity for Penn to show his loyalty to the new regime, the company was formed to secure a source of supplies for the war effort.

Six of the seventy-nine members of the New Pennsylvania Company were proprietors of East New Jersey and seven were members of the Free Society of Traders.³⁴ Five of these proprietors were London merchants: Thomas Byfield, James and Benjamin Braine, Richard Haynes, and Jonathan Lamb. They signed what was, in effect, a power of attorney to two factors in Pennsylvania to "be our true and lawful attorneys, factors, and assigns jointly and severally, and the survivor of them for and in our names and to our use to ask, demand, [and] levy" for any financial dealings concerning trading that were required in the colony.³⁵ Lamb belonged to a London merchant family, another member of which was a first purchaser of 2,500 acres in Penn's colony. Richard Haynes was another purchaser of Pennsylvania land.³⁶

The London Land Company, headed by London merchant Henry Gouldney, purchased 60,000 acres in Pennsylvania, presumably within the first two decades of its settlement.³⁷ Purchases were also made by relatives of businessmen, as in the case of Alexander Halsell, a Levant Company member, whose relative, Samuel Halsell, is listed as a Pennsylvania land

³³ Colonial MSS, 5/1233 Public Record Office, London; *ibid.*, 388/343-344. It appears that this was the price Penn had to pay to become reconciled with William III. See Geiter, "The Incorporation of Pennsylvania and Late Stuart Politics," Ph.D. diss., Cambridge University, 1993, chap. 5.

³⁴ "A List of the First Subscribers to the New Pensilvania Company," Broad-sides, Ab. fol. 61, n.d., HSP. The date of the first subscribers is 1693, but when the society recatalogued its manuscripts, for some inexplicable reason this document was listed as having no date. A note at the top of the manuscript puts the date at "about 1725."

³⁵ William Henry Egle, ed., *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2d ser. (19 vols., Harrisburg, 1879-93), 19:114-15.

³⁶ *PWP*, 2:647.

³⁷ *PWP*, 2:661; 4:214. Miscellaneous Philadelphia County Papers, vol. 1, 1682-1739, fol. 39, HSP. There is no list of names for the London Land Company. However, this document shows a plan of "two tracts of land containing twenty one thousand and five hundred acres surveyed unto Henry Gouldney and company pursuant to warr[an]t dated the 17th of the 6th [o.s. August] month 1699 certified by one Jacob Taylor" which was adjacent to Letitia Penn's land "on the back of New Castle County"; *ibid.*, Taylor Papers, 6, item 1084, shows a map of a further 2,000 acres of land in Pennsylvania bought by the London Land Company in 1709.

purchaser.³⁸ The overwhelming majority chose, like Penn himself for most of his career, to stay in the metropolitan capital, where they could influence colonial policy much more effectively than they could by moving to Philadelphia. The success of the colony, as far as its London investors were concerned, depended on its ability to generate trade.

Penn's connections with these merchants and with the New World long antedated his petition for a colonial charter. His family was intimately linked with the Levant; his grandfather, Giles Penn, had been consul in the Mediterranean in the early part of the seventeenth century. There were also connections through marriage. Isaac Pennington, William's father-in-law, was a descendant of London merchants, mayor of London, and a member of the Levant Company.³⁹ William's father, Sir William Penn, trained on merchant ships to the Levant in his early years, prior to becoming admiral, knight, and member of Parliament. His involvement in the "Western Design" must have made his son aware of the significance of trade in the New World. The younger Penn's apprenticeship as administrator of his father's lands in Ireland prepared him with the knowledge and experience needed for managing a plantation.⁴⁰ Correspondence between father and son during Penn's years in Ireland shows a close relationship and one of trust in which Penn's supervision over Kinsale and Cork, both ports for Atlantic trade, made him knowledgeable about commerce with the West Indies.⁴¹ His sister Margaret married into the powerful Lowther family. Her husband, Anthony Lowther, was M.P. for Poole and head of a family of London merchants. Another family member, Sir John Lowther, developed Whitehaven, which became a principal port for colonial trade in the second half of the seventeenth

³⁸ Dartmouth MSS, D/(W)1778/I/i/703A, Staffordshire Record Office.

³⁹ Granville Penn, *Memorials of the Professional Life and Times of Sir William Penn* (2 vols., London, 1833), 2:311; J. E. Williams, "Whitehaven in the Eighteenth Century," *Economic History Review* 8 (1956), 393-404.

⁴⁰ Selections from the Correspondence of James Logan, D. Logan, ed., 3:311, American Philosophical Society. In a scathing letter to Hannah Penn, years after the death of her husband, James Logan attacked Penn's sons for their sloth in dealing with Pennsylvania business and wished that they had "followed their father's example who at the age of two or three + twenty got the whole Irish estate settled, a business of much greater difficulty at that time."

⁴¹ J. D. Alsop, "William Penn's West Indian Peace Aims of 1709," *Journal of Caribbean History* 19 (1984), 68-75; *PWP*, 1:40-47—documents 8-14 highlight the relationship between Sir William Penn and his son; Granville Penn, *Memorials*, 2:397.

century, dealing in tobacco imports from Virginia.⁴²

The younger Penn also had personal experience in dealing with colonial trade. Well before his involvement in New Jersey he was concerned in the North American colonies. That he "became a colonizer quite by accident; [and that] there is no evidence that he had any interest in America before he was suddenly drawn into the settling of a dispute between two Quakers over land in West Jersey" requires qualification.⁴³ As early as 1673 Penn wrote to James, duke of York, making a recommendation for two colonial posts: "The Lords of Carolina want a Lieut Gov[er]n[ou]r the province of Virginia wants a secretary, & for ought I know either of these will answear the bearers ambition & meritt for w[hi]ch cause pray please to fix on either."⁴⁴ Future involvement in North America clearly arose from the opportunity provided by long-established mercantile contacts. Penn's activities in the Jerseys, which were partly an extension of his religious activities as a Quaker, were also a result of connections within the London mercantile community. Thus his association with Lord Berkeley was significant because Berkeley was proprietor of East Jersey and a member of an important merchant family involved in the Levant Company.⁴⁵ Penn's experiences in Ireland as agent for his father as well as his connections to the mercantile world influenced the way in which he attracted investors. But the political crisis that was occurring during that time also played a major part in his promotional tracts.

As an Englishman and loyal subject, Penn was concerned with England's greatness. From his point of view the development of his colony would be to the "Advantage of the English merchants and seamen" and, therefore, of

⁴² Williams, "Whitehaven in the Eighteenth Century," 393-404; *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. Lowther, John; Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs, 1660-1714* (6 vols., Oxford, 1857), 1:507. Probably through his cousin John in the treasury, Sir John became influential in William and Mary's reign as a commissioner of the Admiralty from 1689 to 1696.

⁴³ Cf. *PWP*, 1:383.

⁴⁴ William Penn to My Noble Lord, Sept. 23, 1673, Dartmouth MSS pt.1, 1887, 23, Historical Manuscript Commission. The Dartmouth manuscript credits the Noble Person as Lord Dartmouth. *PWP*, microfilm 1:535, Sept. 23, 1673 (not in the published volume). But George Legge, future earl of Dartmouth, was not a peer at the time. He was, however, a contact for correspondents with the duke. Thus the letter was almost certainly addressed to the duke of York.

⁴⁵ Pomfret, *Colonial New Jersey: A History* (Princeton, 1973), 8-10; Pomfret, *The Province of West New Jersey*, 284-89; Pomfret, *The Province of East New Jersey*, 396-98. George Berkeley was governor of the Levant Company.

England. Investing in Pennsylvania was another means to this end.⁴⁶ The rhetoric, therefore, is primarily aimed at investors. Of course the success of English investment depended upon the type of people who emigrated. Past experience had shown the business community that without able settlers their investments would be lost. After all, the first venture at Jamestown was hardly a financial success. Therefore, only the "industrious" were encouraged. Men who were interested in "improving themselves" and those with "an eye for good government" were necessary for the success of the kingdom.⁴⁷ These sentiments mirror traditional literature on trade, which argued the benefits both to public and to private persons by enlarging men's minds and furthering English growth. Penn's promotion of the "universal mind" parallels the writings of merchant George Berkeley who stressed that one advantage of discovering other lands was enlarging men's minds as well as their fortunes, not to mention the increased revenue to the Crown.⁴⁸

The promotional literature of the colony, which in part was an extension of the traditional literature on all of the colonies, also complemented the contemporary tracts on trade. After all, the business of trade was to advance the greatness of the mother country.⁴⁹ Thus the advertisements were aimed not exclusively at prospective settlers but at English-based investors. Trade possibilities as well as the prospect of gold were paramount. John Brereton's account of hitherto unexplored southeastern New England, published in 1602, described its native population, climate, and natural resources in terms that could benefit England.⁵⁰ Indeed the very basis for exploration, as noted in contemporary tracts, was that "all kingdoms are maintained by rents or trade, but especially the latter; which in maritime places flourished the most by means of navigation."⁵¹ The Reverend William Symonds added religious

⁴⁶ *Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania in America; Lately Granted under the Great Seal of England to William Penn* (London, 1681).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ George Berkeley, *Historical Applications and Occasional Meditations upon Several Subjects* (London, 1680), 1.

⁴⁹ "The entire summary of my voyage . . . I promise that with a little assistance afforded me by our most invincible sovereigns, I will procure them as much gold as they need, as great a quantity of spices, cotton . . ."; R. H. Major, ed., *Select Letters of Christopher Columbus* (London, 1847), 1-17.

⁵⁰ John Brereton to Sir Walter Raleigh (1602), Mortimer J. Adler, ed., *Annals of America* (18 vols., Chicago, 1976), 11-14.

⁵¹ "On the Value of Colonies," *Annals*, 1:18.

conviction when he wrote in 1609 that it was destiny and obedience to God to "spread abroad and inhabit the earth."⁵²

The economic literature of the period testifies to the expansionist mood of the merchant community. In the second half of the seventeenth century, when England acquired not only Jamaica but New York and the Carolinas, the merchants' attitude toward North America was enunciated through petitions and commercial tracts. In the period immediately prior to the restoration of Charles II, several proposals were initiated for enhancing trade prospects, such as one for the incorporation of a company of merchants of England trading to the colonies. It was clearly a forward-looking petition in its ambition that "further trade & com[m]erce . . . [be] established in all other parts of America."⁵³ This vision was carried through with the *Trade of England Revived* (1681), which was partly a response by the Levant Company to the problems of monopolies, but also evidence of the growing interest in the New World as a potential supplier of trade goods for the silk trade.⁵⁴ Thus the Restoration represented not a break in policy but rather a continuation, albeit within a much restricted budget.

Tracts also reflected concerns over problems in the new regime that threatened the growth of trade. Disputes arose over trading issues involving liberty of conscience. One such dispute was touched off by Charles II's relationship with Louis XIV, embodied in the Treaty of Dover, and inflamed by the subsequent Catholic marriage of the the duke of York. Moreover, the proprietors of New York and Maryland were Catholic. Tracts produced by merchants, such as the Whig polemicist Slingsby Bethel, illustrate the important link between free conscience and free trade. They emphasized the advantage of freedom of worship with successful trade as an unbeatable combination against French competition in the West Indies and areas further north.⁵⁵ Penn himself reinforced this fear when he petitioned the king to relieve the inhabitants of West New Jersey from duties imposed by New York, warning that, "all men take the just moddell of govern[en]t in New York to be the schem & draught in litle of his admin[istrati]on of old

⁵² "William Symonds: Britain's Claim to a New World Empire Justified," *Annals*, 1:34.

⁵³ Egerton MSS 2395, fols. 62-270, British Library.

⁵⁴ Syn., 4.68.41, 1681, Cambridge University Library.

⁵⁵ Slingsby Bethel, *The Interest of England Stated* (London, 1680).

England at large if the Crown should ever divolve upon his [the duke's] head."⁵⁶

The four promotional tracts that Penn published within the first year of gaining the colonial charter also indicated that there were interested parties other than settlers.⁵⁷ The first section in *Some Account of Pennsylvania* is persuasive to international traders, noting the location of the new colony and describing its climate is as conducive to growth as Naples in Italy.⁵⁸ The list of potential commodities of the colony was aimed at merchants who dealt with Europe, the eastern countries, and the southern colonies in North America. Silk, flax, hemp, wine, cider, furs, tobacco, and pipe staves were some of the items highlighted. A detailed description of how trade operated worldwide was also included; it emphasized the re-export of goods from England to Europe.⁵⁹

Section two of *Some Account* and *Brief Account* contains the constitution for Pennsylvania, which appears at first glance to be concerned with settlers. However, at the time Penn began the first draft of the constitution there were interested parties other than settlers involved in its formation. The first finished draft, known as "The Fundamental Constitution of Pennsylvania," thought to have been finished in the summer of 1681, almost certainly predates the

⁵⁶ William Penn, *The Case of New Jersey Stated*, (London, [c. 1680]), 10. This tract was probably published sometime between September 1679, when the inhabitants first asked to be exempt from taxes by New York (*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1677-1680*, 1: #1133, Sept. 19, 1679) and August 1680 when the duke of York accepted the opinion of Sir William Jones that New Jersey was exempt.

⁵⁷ *Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania in America; Lately Granted under the Great Seal of England to William Penn* (London, 1681); *A Brief Account of the Province of Pennsylvania in America, Lately Granted under the Great Seal of England to William Penn etc.* (London, 1681); *A Map of Some of the South and East Bounds of Pennsylvania in America, Being Partly Inhabited* (London, 1681); *A Brief Account of the Province of Pennsylvania Lately Granted By the King, Under the Great Seal of England, to William Penn, and His Heirs and Assigns* (London, 1681); *Eine Nachricht wegen der Landschaft Pennsylvania in America: Welche Jungstens unter dem Grossen Sigel in Engelland an William Penn, etc.* (Amsterdam, 1681); *Een Kort Bericht Van de Provintie ofte Landschap Penn-Sylvania Genaemt, Leggende in America; Nu Onlangs Onder het Grootte Zegel van Engeland Gegeven an William Penn, etc.* (Rotterdam, 1681). For the chronology of these publications see Francis Hope Kane, "Notes on Early Pennsylvania Promotional Literature" *PMHB* 63 (1939), 145-68.

⁵⁸ *Some Account*, 4-5.

⁵⁹ "The way of trading in those countries is thus: they send to the southern plantations corn, beef, pork, fish and pipe-staves, and take their growth and bring for England, and return with English goods to their own country. Their furs they bring for England, and either sell them here, or carry them out again to other parts of Europe, where they will yield a better price: and for those that will follow merchandize and navigation there is conveniency, and timber sufficient for shipping." *Some Account*, 5.

first purchase of land, which occurred in July of that year.⁶⁰ Moreover, in March 1681, in a letter to "Friends in the Countries," Penn enlisted traders as the first people to whom *Some Account* was read.⁶¹ This suggests that the primary influence on the constitution was not the prospective settlers but English mercantile interests, including some merchants already operating in North America around Pennsylvania. Furthermore, each subsequent draft of the constitution became more restrictive, ultimately vesting political power in the governor and council. That Benjamin Furly objected to the constitutional provision giving the provincial council power over the assembly ties in with the assumption that the increasing restrictiveness of each draft of the constitution was influenced by merchants and other investors interested in the colony.⁶² Indeed, this very restrictiveness was in direct contrast to Penn's advocacy of a free Parliament during the two English elections of 1679. Although country ideology could draw a distinction between "free" parliaments in England and executive control of assemblies in Ireland and the colonies, even Algernon Sidney criticized the final version as one where the elite had more absolute power than the Turk.⁶³

Sections three, four, and five of the two publications concentrate on the types of people Penn regarded as most suitable to invest in Pennsylvania. The first is those who buy. This includes people who would not necessarily emigrate but who would buy shares in colonial companies. To these Penn proposed that "it were very advisable for every three adventurers to send an overseer with their servants, which would well pay the cost."⁶⁴ The second and third sort mentioned are those who will rent the land and those who are servants. However, Penn stressed the advantage to the trader of guaranteeing water outlets for their produce; to "every one a proportion by a navigable river, and then backward into the country."⁶⁵

The publicity for the colony makes it clear that Delaware Bay was the strategic core of a maritime and mercantile venture. Its importance was further clarified

⁶⁰ *PWP*, 2:137-50. There were at least ten drafts of this final version before it was presented to the Pennsylvania Assembly at its first meeting in 1682.

⁶¹ *PWP*, 2: microfilm #1088, [March 1681?]. In this letter Penn sets out in order those parties who read *Some Account* before he released it: "It has been read to Traders & to Planters & Shipmasters, & finally, to several eminent Friends, before it was printed; that it might be clear & go without surprize."

⁶² William Markham to Governor Fletcher, May 26, 1696, *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1696-1697*, (London, 1904), 17.

⁶³ William I. Hull, *William Penn: A Topical Biography* (London, 1937), 229.

⁶⁴ *Some Account*, 6.

⁶⁵ *Some Account*, 6; *Brief Account*, 1.

two decades later by Penn and his financiers, who agreed that without Delaware under their jurisdiction the venture was not economically viable. Thus it was stated in a petition by Philadelphia merchants who asserted that the assurance of free passage up the Delaware River was the principal motive for granting the charter for Pennsylvania, in order "to induce merchants to settle in this place."⁶⁶ The area that became Philadelphia was in a better position to gather news on market information from the more southern colonies. It is significant that shortly after Pennsylvania was settled, a brisk peltry trade was established there by London merchants whose agents were located in other colonies, such as New Jersey and New York.⁶⁷

Settlers were crucial to the success and growth of Pennsylvania. However, investors were the critical force that brought life to the endeavor and without which the colony would have remained only a dream. The combination of a political crisis in England and the astute entrepreneurship of Penn, who seized the opportunity to head a colonial venture, resulted in the launching of the most successful of England's colonies.

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⁶⁶ *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania* (6 vols, Philadelphia, 1752-54), 1:169.

⁶⁷ Francis Jennings, "Brother Miquon: Good Lord!" Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn, eds., *The World of William Penn* (Philadelphia, 1986), 196; Stephen H. Cutcliffe, *Indian, Furs, and Empires: The Changing Policies of New York and Pennsylvania, 1674-1768* (Bethlehem, Pa., 1976), 14. Cutcliffe stresses the strategic importance of Philadelphia in the fur trade.

APPENDIX

London Investors in Pennsylvania Companies, 1682-96

The 292 names listed below represent only London-based investors in Pennsylvania who, in many cases, were involved in other companies. For instance, Levant Company members were also involved in the Free Society of Traders and the New Mediterranean Sea Company. The list indicates non-Quaker as well as Quaker involvement. Thus James Claypoole's business contacts, as documented by his letterbook, with merchants such as Thomas Clutterbuck are indicative of the wide sphere of dealings that enhanced Pennsylvania's trade. Of the 187 Free Society of Traders listed, 163 can be considered non-Quaker due to their involvement in the other companies listed below. Except for the Free Society of Traders, membership in these companies required the swearing of an oath, an act prohibited by the Society of Friends. This leaves 124 names that do not overlap, which does not necessarily mean all of them had Quaker affiliations, but a significant number were, in fact, Friends. This information does, however, put the Quaker influence in the launching of Pennsylvania into perspective. The political crisis at the time of the colony's birth required the careful consideration of those investors who were also involved in politics, particularly in London.⁶⁸ For example, the Levant Company members who invested in the start-up of Pennsylvania were politically active during the period of crisis, as noted by their involvement in petitioning for a free Parliament in 1680.⁶⁹

Although the London-based proprietors of East and West New Jersey had relatively little political involvement, they were nevertheless involved in intercolonial activity. Thus there are eight New Jersey proprietors from London investing in the Free Society of Traders and, later, the New Pennsylvania Company. The Baltic Company members who invested in the Pennsylvania venture, of which evidence suggests only two residing in London, illustrate the extent of international activity that brought the Old World into contact with the New.

The list of names was derived from the Public Record Office at Kew, for the Baltic Company; John Pomfret's *The Province of West New Jersey, 1609-1702*

⁶⁸ Mary K. Geiter, "The Incorporation Pennsylvania and Late Stuart Politics," 77-127.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

(Princeton, 1956) and *The Province of East New Jersey 1609-1702* (Princeton, 1962), for the East and West New Jersey Proprietors; the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 11 (1887), 175-80, for the names of the Free Society of Traders; the Staffordshire Record Office, for the Levant members list; the Bedfordshire Record Office, for the New Mediterranean Sea Company; the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, for the New Pennsylvania Company; and the Huntington Library, for the petition to the king in 1680. I am grateful to Dr. Mark Knights for a copy of the list of London petitioners. The symbols represent the following:

BC	Baltic Company
ENJ	East New Jersey proprietor
WNJ	West New Jersey proprietor
FST	Free Society of Traders
LC	Levant Company
LLC	London Land Company
NMC	New Mediterranean Sea Company
NPC	New Pennsylvania Company
LP	London petitioners

Adams, Richard, FST
 Anderson, Anne, FST
 Anderson, Hannah, FST
 Anderson, Thomas, FST
 Ashurst, Henry, NMS, LC, LP
 Ashurst, William, NMS, LP
 Austin, John, FST
 Bailey, FST
 Barber, John, FST, LP
 Barker, Samuel, FST
 Barker, Thomas, FST, ENJ, LP
 Barrington, Gobert, NMS
 Bateman, Joas, FST
 Bathurst, Samuel, FST
 Benthal, Walter, NPC
 Bertles, John, FST
 Bezer, John, FST, LP

Bilton, Henry, FST
 Bingley, William, FST
 Blackwell [Sir Sidney or John?], NMS
 Blagdon, Barbra, FST
 Blake, John, NPC, LP
 Bland, Peter, FST
 Blessett, Jeslina FST
 Bond, Thomas, FST, LP
 Boy, John, FST
 Boyle, Robert, NMS
 Braine, Benjamin, NPC
 Braine, James, NPC, ENJ
 Brassey, John, NPC
 Brooke, Edward, FST
 Brooke, Richard, FST, LP
 Browne, William, FST, LP
 Browne, Edward, FST, LP

Buckley, Joseph, FST
 Bullock, Daniel, FST
 Burroughs, Francis, FST
 Burroughs, John, NMS, LP
 Burroughs, Roger, FST
 Byfeld, Thomas, FST, LP
 Chambers, Benjamin, FST
 Champion, FST
 Child, Robert, FST
 Clarke, Benjamin, FST, LP
 Clarke, John, FST, LP
 Claypoole, James, FST
 Cockbill, Richard, FST
 Colkitt, Richard, FST
 Cony, Richard, FST
 Cooper, Thomas, LP
 Cope, Elizabeth, FST
 Cox, Thomas, NPC, ENJ, LP
 Coxe, Daniel, NMS, WNJ, LC, LP
 Crispin, Rebeckah, FST
 Crispin, Silas, FST
 Crome, Thomas, FST, LP
 Crouch, William, FST, LC, LP
 Crow, John, FST, LP
 Dawes, Abraham, FST
 Dawes, Abraham, Jr., FST
 Day, John, FST, LP
 Denham, James, FST, LP
 Diamond, Richard, NPC
 Dixon, Jone, FST
 Dockwra, Thomas, NPC
 Dogget, Henry, FST
 Doyley, Edward, NPC
 Drinsdale, Robert, FST
 Dudley, Joseph, NMS
 East, Mary, FST
 Ecclestone, Theodore, NPC
 Edmondson, Richard, NPC, BC

Elton, Anthony, FST, LP
 Emmerton, William, NPC
 Farmborough, Thomas, FST
 Finch, Isaac, NPC
 Flower, Enoch, FST
 Ford, Philip, FST
 Foster, Baszeleon, FST
 Francklin, Jacob, NPC
 Freame, John, NPC
 Fuller, Jacob, FST
 Fuller, John, FST, LP
 Fuller, Joseph, FST
 Fuller, Thomas, FST, LP
 Gary, Nathan, NPC
 Gawthorne, Richard, FST
 Geaunt, Elizabeth [signee: Nicholas
 More], FST
 Gee, John, FST
 Goddard, Richard, NPC, LP
 Goddard, Thomas, FST, LP
 Goodson, John, FST
 Gould, Thomas, NPC
 Gouldney, Henry, LLC, NPC
 Hackshaw, John, NMS
 Haddon, John, NPC
 Haige, William, FST
 Hall, John, NPC, FST, LP
 Hallafield [Hallifield], Samuel, FST,
 NPC
 Hallifield, John, FST
 Hanis, John, FST
 Hard, John, FST
 Harding, James, FST
 Harding, John, FST
 Hare, Henry, Lord Viscount Coleraine,
 NMS
 Harman, John, NPC
 Harriot, Thomas, FST, LC

- Harris, Walter, NMS
 Harrison, Edmund, NMS, LC
 Hatts, Philip, FST
 Hawkes, Richard, FST
 Haynes, Hezekiah, NPC
 Haynes, Richard, NPC
 Haynes, Thomas, NPC
 Higgs, Castor, FST
 Hitchcock, John, NPC
 Hitchcocke, William, FST
 Hodgkins, John, NPC
 Hollis, Thomas, Jr., NPC, LP
 Hook, John, NMS
 Hooke, Nathaniel, NMS
 Hotham, Sir John, NMS
 Houghton, John, FST
 Howel, Mary [Thomas Williams], FST
 Hubbard, John, NPC, LP
 Hubber, Edward, FST
 Hufft, Henry, FST
 Hughes, William, NPC, LP
 Hunt, Thomas, NMS, LP
 Hutton, George, NPC
 Jacques, Martha, FST
 Jefferson, Edward, FST
 Jones, Griffith, FST
 Jones, John, FST, LP
 Jones, Jonathan, FST, LP
 Jones, Joseph, FST, LP
 Jones, William, FST, LP
 Keat, Sir John, NMS, LP
 Keene, Christopher, FST
 Kent, William, NPC, WNJ, LP
 King, Daniel, NPC
 Kingsman, FST
 Knight, George, FST, LP
 Knight, John, FST, NPC, LP
 Knight, Jonathan, FST
 Knight, Robert, FST, LP
 Lambe, John, NPC
 Langley, Robert, FST
 Law, Richard, FST, LP
 Lee, Thomas, FST LP
 Light, John, NPC
 Lloyd, Evan, FST
 Long, Robert, NPC
 Longuet, John, NPC
 Loveday, William, NPC
 Lygeat, Peter [legatt, lidget], NMS,
 LC
 Mace, Gilbert, NPC
 Madockes, George [signee: Nicholas
 More], FST
 Maere, Gilbert, FST
 Main, David, FST
 Maine, Samuel, NPC
 Man, Edward, FST, LP
 Markeham, William, FST, LP
 Marshal, Charles, FST
 Marshall, Charles, NPC
 Martin, Isaac, FST
 Martin, Joseph, FST
 Martin, Joseph, Jr., FST
 Maw, Gilbert, FST
 Mawhal, Charles, FST
 Micklethwaite,
 Jonathan, NPC
 Mildmay, NMS
 Millner, Susannah, FST
 Mills, Richard, FST, LP
 Montague, Ralph, NMS
 Morris, Thomas, FST
 Mortimer, NMS
 Mounson, William, NPC
 Nash, William, FST, LP
 Netheway, Jonathan, NPC

Noore [Moore?], John, NPC
 Norton, John, NPC, LP
 Nourse, Luke, FST
 Noyes, Israel, FST
 Oldner, George, NPC
 Olive, Benjamin, NPC
 Ormston, Joseph, NPC
 Osgood, Salem, NPC
 Paice, Jo, NPC
 Palmer, Abraham, FST
 Parker, Alexander, FST
 Parker, Henry, FST
 Parker, John, FST, LP
 Patterson, Alexander, NPC
 Peirce, Edward, FST
 Pemble, Thomas, FST
 Pemble, William, FST
 Penn, Lattitia, FST
 Penn, Richard, FST
 Penn, William, Jr., FST, NMS
 Perkins, Peter, NPC
 Peters, James, FST
 Pleas, Thomas, FST
 Plumstead, Francis, FST, NPC
 Pople, James, FST
 Pussey, Caleb, FST
 Quare, Daniel, NPC
 Raphson, NMS
 Rapier, [Chr.?], NMS, LC
 Robinson, Marmaduke, FST
 Rochford, Dennis, FST
 Rockeby, Nathaniel, FST
 Rogers, James, FST
 Rogers, Thomas, FST, LP
 Rouse, Nathaniel, NPC
 Rudge, Edward, NMS
 Rudyard, Thomas, FST, ENJ
 Russell, Michael, NPC

Samwayes, Edward, FST
 Scott, Thomas, FST, LP
 Serjeant, Thomas, NMS
 Shardlow [Sherlow], William, FST,
 LC
 Shelton, John, NPC
 Sinclair, John, FST
 Skinner [or Skynner], NMS, LC
 Skippon, Sir Phillip, NMS
 Smith, Nathaniel, FST
 Smith, S., Jr., FST, LP
 Stamper, France, NPC
 Staploe, John, NPC
 Staughton, NMS
 Stevens, John, FST, LP
 Stokes, John, FST
 Stringfellow, John, FST
 Strutt, James, FST, LP
 Strutt, Joseph, FST
 Sumner, Robert, FST, LP
 Sweetaple, John, FST, LC
 Sweetaple, Thomas, FST
 Sweeting, Charles, FST
 Sweeting, John, FST
 Sweeting, Samuel, FST
 Sweeting, Thomas, FST
 Sweeting, William, FST
 Tanner, John, NPC, LP
 Taylor, Gerrard, FST
 Taylor, James, FST, NPC, BC, LP
 Thomas, John, FST, LP
 Thompson, Joseph, NMS
 Thompson, Robert, NMS
 Tobson, Francis, FST
 Trevors, NMS
 Tudor, John, NPC, LP
 Turner, Charles, FST
 Turner, Elias, FST

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| Turner, John, Jr., FST | West, Moses, FST |
| Tyzack, John, NPC | Wharley, Daniel, NPC |
| Vaughan, Lord John, third earl Carbery,
NMS, LC | White, George, FST, LP |
| Vincent, Mathias, NMS | Whiteing, John, FST, LP |
| Waddy, Henry, FST | Whitpanie, Richard, FST |
| Wade, William, FST, LP | Wignamore, William, FST |
| Waite, Richard, FST | Wigon, William, FST |
| Waldenfield, Samuel, NPC | Wilcocks, John, NPC, LP |
| Walker, Mathew, FST | Wilkinson, Abel, NPC |
| Walker, Mathew Jr., FST | Williams, Oliver, FST |
| Walker, Thomas, NPC, LP | Williams, Roger, NPC |
| Wansel, Edmond, FST | Williams, Thomas, FST, LP |
| Wansel, William, FST, LP | Wilmer, John, NPC, LP |
| Watson, Zouch, FST | Withers, William, NPC, FST |
| Webster, Joseph, FST, WNJ | Wood, George, FST |
| Weekes, Thomas, FST, LP | Woodley, Henry, NPC |
| West, Edward, FST | Wooley [Wolly], Ezekiel, FST, NPC |
| West, John, FST, ENJ, LP | []owden, Joseph, FST |
| | []hread, Rise, FST |