Holdsworth, L. V. "The Problem of Edward Byllynge. . . His Connection with Cornwall." In *The Children of Light,* edited by H. H. Brinton. New York: Macmillan, 1938.

Jennings, Samuel. *Truth Rescued from Forgery and Falsehood. . . .* Philadelphia: Reynier Janson, 1699.

Leaming, Aaron, and Spicer, Jacob, eds. *The Grants, Concessions, and Original Constitutions of the Province of New Jersey.* Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1758.

[Leeds, Daniel.] *The Case Put and Decided. . . .* New York: W. Bradford, 1699.

Nickalls, J. L. "The Problem of Edward Byllynge: His Writings. . . and Influence on the First Constitution of West Jersey." In *The Children of Light,* edited by H. H. Brinton. New York: Macmillan, 1938.

Pomfret, John E. "Edward Byllynge's Proposed Gift of Land to Indigent Friends." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 61 (1937): 88-92.

______. "The Problem of the West Jersey Concessions of 1676/77." *William and Mary Quarterly* 5 (1948): 95-105.

______. *The Province of West New Jersey, 1609-1702: A History of the Origins of an American Colony.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956.

______. "Thomas Budd's 'True and Perfect Account' of Byllynge's Proprieties in West New Jersey." *William and Mary Quarterly* 5 (1948): 325-31.

John E. Pomfret

ROBERT BARCLAY (December 23, 1648-October 3, 1690), a man of uncommon versatility, was one of the principal leaders of seventeenth-century Quakerism. By the age of thirty he was considered the greatest Quaker apologist of his day, and by the time of his death, eleven years later, he had excelled in four disparate occupations—scholarship, the ministry, court politics, and colonial government.

Barclay was born at Gordonstown, Murrayshire, Scotland, on December 23, 1648, the first son of David Barclay (1610-86) and Katharine Gordon. His father was a professional soldier who supported the royalist cause during the Civil War, his mother the daughter of Sir Robert Gordon, second cousin to England's King James I. In 1659 young Barclay was sent to Paris to study with his uncle, rector of the Scot's College, an institution for training missionary priests to reconvert Scotland to Roman Catholicism. He returned to Scotland on his mother's death in 1663 and pursued the study of Greek, Hebrew and ecclesiastical history. Shortly after, a set of confusing political circumstances led to his father's imprisonment, during which he met the persuasive Quaker John Swinton. Profoundly moved by Swinton's sincerity and enthusiasm, the elder Barclay publicly acknowledged himself a Friend in 1666, and Robert followed suit a year later. Robert's marriage in 1670 to Christian Molleson, daughter of a pioneer Scottish Quaker family, cemented the Barclay commitment. The couple had nine children, seven of whom lived to become vigorous and influential Friends.

During the succeeding decade, Barclay devoted his intellect and energy to the propagation of his new faith. Between 1670 and 1678 he published more than a dozen religious treatises, including *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity* (1676), a seventeenth-century religious classic. So great was the impact of these works that D. Elton Trueblood, Barclay's biographer, credits him with saving Quakerism from extinction. Between treatises Barclay spent considerable time traveling, speaking, and corresponding in the Friends' behalf, and these activities assumed even greater importance during the last dozen years of his life.

As his literary production waned, Barclay concentrated his energies on politics. Familial and social connections most profoundly affected his career. Like many Scottish Quakers, he suffered persecution and imprisonment. His relentless efforts to win over the king's brother and heir,

James, duke of York, to a policy of religious toleration—a task for which Barclay was particularly well suited—dominated his later life. James remembered the financial assistance the elder Barclay had given his father, the ill-fated Charles I, and moreover he appreciated the political power of Robert's cousin, the earl of Perth. Furthermore, as a Catholic, the future king tended to sympathize with religious nonconformity. James was so fond of Barclay that in 1680 George Fox, a leading spokesman for the Friends, pleaded with his young colleague to use his influence to obtain the right of self-government for the Quaker colony of West Jersey.

Barclay's association with the English heir set the stage for his final, and perhaps most ambitious, undertaking—the proprietary governorship of East New Jersey. After Sir George Carteret died in 1680, his heirs made several efforts to sell his East Jersey holdings. Early in 1682 the province was put up at auction and purchased by twelve men—all Quakers but one—headed by William Penn. Within a few months the group increased to twenty-four, including twenty Quakers, Barclay among them. In September 1682, when the proprietors elected him governor, Barclay recorded the event in his diary with characteristic modesty: "The proprietors of East Jersey would have me a partner with them and did choose me their governor." Under the terms of the agreement, Barclay was given a full proprietary share plus 5,000 acres, and he received the right of government for life from King Charles II, without the requirement of residence in the province. To be made an influential partner in the enterprise with no personal investment testifies to Barclay's reputation. The proceedings became official in 1683, when the duke of York granted a patent to the proprietors, and Barclay was appointed governor on July 17.

The governorship of East Jersey presented Barclay the opportunity to realize a persistent vision—the establishment of a colony for persecuted Scottish Quakers. William Penn had recently begun the great Quaker experiment in Pennsylvania, and, for a number of years, the province of West Jersey had provided a climate of religious toleration. Now it was Barclay's turn to apply his principles to the reality of colonial administration. No doubt, another colony devoted to religious liberty bounding his province of New York satisfied James's concern for the Catholic minority in England. Barclay, therefore, had good reason to expect powerful backing from his royal friend. His association with James and the influence of his powerful cousins the earls of Perth and Melfort had been instrumental in his selection as governor. The relationship between Barclay and the other proprietors was meant to be complementary. While James, Perth and Melfort provided the solidity of political power, Barclay gave the venture the stamp of moral respectability.

Having insured the initial success of their venture with Barclay's election to the governorship, the proprietors sent a letter to the inhabitants of East Jersey expressing the hope that they would be pleased with their new governor. In it they pledged to strive for prosperity, adding that success was contingent upon the settlers' cooperation: "We are resolved to advance, knowing that your interest is now so bound up with ours, that we cannot suffer if you prosper, nor prosper when you are injured." The proprietors next drew up several articles of government, the Fundamental Constitutions. While the elaborate system of laws was never put into effect, it is interesting as a revelation of what they considered a model form of government. The system's principal drawbacks lay in its undue complexity and its concentration of power in the hands of the absentee proprietors. After a cautious delay, the proprietors presented the articles to the resident legislators for approval, only to have them rejected by the assembly, the council and the deputy governor. The historian John E. Pomfret attributes the rejection to the liberal concessions issued by Sir George

Carteret and a workable system of town government, both of which had enjoyed two decades of precedence in East Jersey.

To attract Scottish settlement, the proprietors sponsored two promotional tracts during the development years. The first, published by John Reid in 1683, maintained that the time was ripe for Scottish colonization in America. It minimized the advantages of remaining in the old country and expounded at length on the financial and political benefits of emigration. A more ambitious effort, George Scot's *Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey . . .*, provided an interesting account of the province after twenty years of settlement. To counter the natural Scottish predisposition against colonization, it rhapsodized about the climate, soil, fish, game, waterways, forests and available land and enthusiastically described the successful settlements at Woodbridge, Piscataway, Newark, Elizabethtown, Shrewsbury, and Middletown (Middletown Township, Monmouth County), and of the liberal system of government. The tract concluded with a discussion of the terms of settlement in the province and included more than thirty favorable letters from Scottish residents.

But the vision of a Scottish colony, Quaker or otherwise, was never realized. The first ship embarked in August 1683, and two more sailed the following summer. Others followed, but always fewer than Barclay and his associates had hoped. As for Quaker migration, the extraordinary success of Pennsylvania meant that few Friends would choose to settle in East Jersey. As this became apparent, the governor gradually altered his vision to include all persecuted Scots. After some initial setbacks, he secured permission to bring twenty-four prisoners to America. They sailed aboard the *Henry* and *Francis* in September 1685, with about seventy-five others described by a critical contemporary as a mixture of debtors, paupers, "whoores or prodigal wasters," and some of "phaniticall principles." But the voyage ended in disaster when an epidemic of malignant fever killed more than two-thirds of the passengers en route. Barclay suffered a more personal loss when his younger brother, David, died aboard a ship that had embarked the previous month. By this time, the duke of York had acceded to the English throne, and as James II he drastically curtailed religious persecution in Scotland, removing a primary motive for emigration.

A steady decline in Scottish settlement marked Barclay's closing years as governor. The general antipathy of the Scots toward emigration, the economic failure of Perth Amboy, the increased religious toleration in Britain after the death of Charles II, and the virtual commercial monopoly of the port of New York all contributed to dissolve Barclay's dream. To aggravate matters, the other proprietors were losing interest because of poor land sales. Though Barclay should have realized the experiment had failed, his continuing efforts betrayed no sense of defeat. These efforts, however, were of brief duration. On October 3, 1690, the governor died prematurely at his home estate of Ury, at the age of forty-one.

Though an absentee governor, Barclay appears to have been popular in the province. In 1687 the resident proprietors praised him for his services, which included his appointment of George Keith as surveyor of the colony's western boundary. His disinterested commitment to proprietary duties nearly cost him the friendship of his noted associate, William Penn. As the pressure from New York for the annexation of the Jerseys intensified, Penn moved toward some kind of appeasement. He may have felt that a concession in East Jersey would save West Jersey (he held interests in both colonies), but Barclay saw this as a sign of weakness which would fail. Obviously he was unwilling to sacrifice the interests of his other partners for any one of them, even if that one was William Penn. Ultimately, Penn must have respected Barclay's

courage, for his tribute was the most eloquent of those following the governor's untimely death.

The governorship of Robert Barclay is generally recognized as a positive influence on the development of New Jersey. In intellect he rivaled his most accomplished contemporaries, and his compassion offset the selfish interests of many of his associates. He left a legacy of altruism conspicuous in the colonial history of New Jersey.

Pomfret, John E. *The Province of East New Jersey, 1609-1702: The Rebellious Proprietary*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962.

Trueblood, D. Elton. *Robert Barclay*. New York: Macmillan, 1968.

Clark L. Beck, Jr.

DANIEL COXE (ca. 1640–January 19, 1730), evinced little concern for the welfare of the inhabitants of his dominion when he governed West New Jersey in absentia from 1687 to 1692. He became involved in colonial land speculation for profit only, and West Jersey was just part of his empire, which at various times extended from Maine to the Gulf of Mexico. He enjoyed some degree of support from fellow proprietor William Penn, but he emulated little of the latter's pragmatism. He spent most of his governing tenure working against the express wishes of his constituents and was apparently unconcerned that his policies were unadaptable to the political climate of the province. Historians have regarded Coxe's governorship as a negative influence on the development of West New Jersey.

Coxe devoted his early years to the study of science and maintained a chemical laboratory. One of the first men to conduct scientific experiments on the effects of nicotine on animals, he read a paper on that subject before the Royal Society at Gresham College in 1665, the year he was admitted to the Society. Five years later he received his doctorate of medicine at Cambridge University. In 1674 he published papers on the crystallization of salt in *Philosophical Transactions*, and in 1680 he was elected an honorary fellow at the College of Physicians. Meanwhile he rose rapidly in the medical profession, serving as court physician to King Charles II and Queen Catherine, and later to Queen Anne.

While at court he became interested in the Americas and purchased several properties, including three proprietary shares in West Jersey. In February 1687 he purchased the right of government and five additional shares from the heirs of Edward Byllynge, late chief proprietor. The sale made him the largest proprietor in the province, and he continued to accumulate shares until in 1692 he possessed twenty-two out of one hundred.

In a long letter written in September 1687 Coxe informed the resident proprietors of the change in governorship and the reasons for it. He stated that the London proprietors had been alarmed at the proposed sale of Byllynge's interests to an unidentified party whose ownership of the right of government would have caused "great uneasiness" among both absentee and resident shareholders. The absentee proprietors had decided "for the good of our country and our own security" that Coxe, as the largest shareholder among them, should gain control. Coxe accepted the responsibility but stipulated that he would gladly relinquish the right of government for 1,000 guineas. His associates, including William Penn, assured him that he was well suited for the governorship and that his authority would be respected. Coxe was unaware that as an Anglican he might be resented in the Quaker-dominated colony, and Penn apparently failed to raise the issue with him.