

Lovelace summoned the assembly into session in March 1709.

No doubt realizing that his personal fortunes depended on cooperation with the lower house, Lovelace adopted a conciliatory tone. "I persuade myself," he told the assemblymen, "I shall not give you any just cause to be uneasy under my administration . . . Let past differences, and animosities be buried in oblivion," he continued, "and let us seek the peace and welfare of our country." With these blandishments completed, Lovelace got to the heart of the matter and asked for a revenue, but tactfully added, "You know best what the province can conveniently raise for its support, and the easiest methods of raising it."

The assembly responded in terms designed to persuade the governor to follow its lead, promising to "contribute to the support of Her Majesty's government to the utmost of our abilities and most willingly so at a time when we are freed from bondage and arbitrary encroachment." This promise, it turned out, had a few strings attached. The assembly did not simply provide Lovelace with a revenue; it also sought to oversee that revenue, first by demanding to examine the books of receiver general Peter Fauconnier, and then by insisting that Lovelace submit his nominee for treasurer, Miles Forster, for assembly approval. Lovelace complied, and the house had won a new right.

Meanwhile, the assembly pressed its attack against the Cornbury faction. It secured indictments against former governor Jeremiah Basse, who had been province secretary under Cornbury, for perjury, and against Peter Sonmans, the corrupt East Jersey receiver general and Cornbury lieutenant, for perjury and adultery.

With these successes against the Cornbury Ring and the now evident cooperation of the governor, the assembly turned its attention to the question of revenue. In early April, it passed a one-year measure that specified the salary of each colonial official. The assembly was so specific, it informed Lovelace, not because it dis-

trusted him but because it lacked confidence "in these gentlemen that are now of her majesties council." Lovelace had no choice but to accept this new method of allocating money.

With one revenue now secure, Lovelace quickly returned to New York to meet with its assembly, and a similar situation ensued. He made a conciliatory address that included an unfavorable reference to Cornbury. The assembly responded positively but complained of past injustices. The house then spent a month debating a revenue bill. On May 5, it finally agreed to grant Lovelace £1,600 for one year and specified further how all additional revenue would be spent, establishing a precedent in New York.

Lovelace was now financially secure. Unfortunately, he never received the benefits, for he suffered a fatal stroke on May 6, 1709, before he could enjoy his new wealth.

McCreary, John R. "Ambition, Interest and Faction: Politics in New Jersey, 1702-1738." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Nebraska, 1971.

Pomfret, John E. *Colonial New Jersey: A History*. New York: Scribner's, 1973.

Smith, William, Jr. *The History of the Province of New-York*. Vol. 1. *From the First Discovery to the Year 1732*. Edited by Michael Kammen. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1972.

Edward J. Cody



RICHARD INGOLDESBY (d. March 1, 1719), British army officer and lieutenant governor of New York and New Jersey, 1702-9, was acting governor of both colonies from May 1709 to about April 1710.

Richard Ingoldesby's early life is largely obscure. He was born into "a worthy

family" and may have been the son of Thomas Ingoldesby, a captain in a parliamentary army during the English Civil War. Before the Glorious Revolution, Richard served the Prince of Orange as a field officer in Colonel Thomas Tollemache's English regiment of foot. In 1688, borne along by the celebrated "Protestant Wind," Ingoldesby accompanied his regiment back to England in support of William and Mary, and in the Irish campaign the year following he took part in the successful siege of the Jacobite stronghold of Carrickfergus. As a reward for his services to the new monarchs, in September 1690 Ingoldesby was commissioned captain and major of one of the independent companies of English regulars that were being sent to New York with Governor Henry Sloughter to help restore royal authority in the wake of Leisler's Rebellion. The duke of Bolton, an eccentric Whig nobleman and military officer who sometimes acted as Ingoldesby's patron, also influenced the appointment.

Ingoldesby arrived in New York at the head of two independent companies in January 1691, two months before Sloughter, and promptly set about the task of reestablishing royal authority with a vengeance. He refused to recognize the authority of Jacob Leisler, the rebel leader who had assumed the office of lieutenant governor of New York after the collapse of the Dominion of New England in 1689, and demanded the surrender of a fort in New York City held by Leisler and his adherents. Leisler denied Ingoldesby's authority and refused to hand over the fort. In March 1691, a skirmish resulting in the deaths of two English soldiers brought the conflict between Ingoldesby and Leisler to a head. Sloughter appointed Ingoldesby, among others, to a special commission of oyer and terminer to try Leisler and several of his supporters on charges of murder and treason. The tribunal found Leisler and Jacob Milborne, his chief lieutenant, guilty of treason and sentenced them to be hanged, which was done in May 1691. Ingoldesby's

role in the suppression and execution of Leisler earned him the undying hatred of the fallen leader's followers. One of them, hearing a rumor that Ingoldesby might be appointed governor of New York, angrily exclaimed: "No, that Murtherers dogg will never have ye place."

After Sloughter's death in August 1691, the New York Council, dominated by anti-Leislerians, selected Ingoldesby to serve as commander in chief of the colony until the imperial administration chose a successor for Sloughter. Ingoldesby, ever ambitious for preferment, besought the duke of Bolton to obtain the office of governor of New York for him, but in vain. Benjamin Fletcher received the post instead and superseded Ingoldesby in August 1692. In the meantime Ingoldesby governed in the interests of the anti-Leislerians, although even they eventually tired of his arbitrary ways and complained that he "carried things with a high hand, [and] received Severall Sums of Money without a Concurrance in the Councill."

Under Fletcher's administration Ingoldesby was stationed with his company at Albany and put in charge of military security for New York's northern frontier. Inadequate supplies for his men and irregular pay for himself led him to return to England in 1696 on a one-year furlough. He remained in England for seven years, however, soliciting payment of his accounts and engaging in intrigue for promotion to a higher office. He gained the patronage of the duke of Ormonde, a Tory peer who commanded a unit of the king's Life Troops, and he formed an acquaintance with William Dockwra, the leader of a faction of East Jersey proprietors living in England. During the negotiations in 1701 leading to the establishment of New Jersey as a royal colony, Dockwra, backed by Ormonde, advanced Ingoldesby as a candidate for the post of first royal governor of New Jersey. But the imperial administration, anxious to combine in one man the governorships of New Jersey and New York, passed over Ingoldesby in favor of Edward

Hyde, Lord Cornbury, who had already been appointed governor of New York. Ingoldesby's claims were not ignored entirely, however, for in November 1702 he was commissioned lieutenant governor of New Jersey and New York.

Ingoldesby finally returned to America in March 1704 and soon found himself in a peculiarly frustrating situation. Although the imperial administration expected him to administer New Jersey or New York when Cornbury was absent, its expectation was never realized. Cornbury refused to allow Ingoldesby to exercise authority in either colony, reducing him to the status of a cipher. Since Cornbury spent the greater part of his time in New York, the New Jersey Assembly was especially distressed that the lieutenant governor "declined doing any act of government at all" in the province. Ingoldesby brought this anomaly to the attention of the imperial administration, and in April 1706 the Privy Council approved an order revoking his commission as lieutenant governor of New York, continuing his commission as lieutenant governor of New Jersey, and making him a member of the New Jersey Council. The Board of Trade informed Cornbury of this order, but since Queen Anne neglected to sign a warrant putting it into effect, Ingoldesby's status and authority remained uncertain for several more years. Despite his differences with Cornbury, however, Ingoldesby loyally defended the governor when the New Jersey Assembly brought serious charges of misgovernment against him.

On the death of John Lovelace in May 1709, Ingoldesby became acting governor of New Jersey and New York. He assumed office in New Jersey when the reaction against Cornbury's misrule there was in full swing and when the struggle between the proprietary and anti-proprietary parties was approaching a climax. Not surprisingly, in view of his previous association with William Dockwra and his defense of Cornbury, Ingoldesby aligned himself with the Anglican wing of the anti-proprietary par-

ty, which then controlled the New Jersey Council and had support in England from Dockwra's faction of proprietors. Consequently, Ingoldesby temporarily dashed proprietary party hopes of purging certain leading Anglican leaders from the council and bestowed on his supporters a lush bounty of public offices and splendid land grants. Ingoldesby's alliance with the Anglicans elicited a challenge to his authority from Lewis Morris, the foremost proprietary party leader. Morris charged that Ingoldesby's commission was invalid and claimed that by virtue of his position as New Jersey's senior councillor, he himself was entitled to succeed Lovelace. Although Ingoldesby suspended Morris from the council and convinced a majority of assemblymen that his commission was valid, an undercurrent of suspicion about the legitimacy of his authority plagued him throughout his administration.

During his first meeting with the assembly in May 1709, the most pressing issue facing Ingoldesby was New Jersey's role in the "Glorious Enterprise," a projected land and sea invasion of Canada by a joint expedition of American and British forces. Ingoldesby urged the assembly to raise New Jersey's quota of 200 men for the expedition, but the assembly, with a large minority of Quaker members, was initially less enthusiastic about the project than he. Eventually the assembly decided not to raise the men but to emit £3,000 in bills of credit to pay and equip 200 volunteers. The Quaker minority voted against a bill for this purpose on all three readings, serenely confident the non-Quaker majority would pass the measure and spare Friends the embarrassment of thwarting a measure deemed vital to local and imperial interests. But Ingoldesby and his allies decided to use the situation to bring the Quakers into disrepute, and on the third reading of the bill, two erstwhile supporters from the anti-proprietary party changed their votes and thus defeated it. Ingoldesby thereupon declared an adjournment until the end of July, when it probably would have

been too late in the season for New Jersey to fulfill its quota, and joined the council in urging the home authorities to exclude Quakers from all public offices in the province. However, Samuel Vetch and Francis Nicholson, the chief promoters of the expedition, persuaded Ingoldesby to recall the assembly only ten days after its adjournment, and it finally approved an emission of £3,000 in bills of credit for the 200 volunteers—the first emission of paper money in the colony's history. Unfortunately, the British government, because of untoward military developments in Europe, sent no British regulars to invade Canada, and the "Glorious Enterprise" came to an inglorious end.

Ingoldesby recognized that the imperial administration would not grant his request to be appointed governor of New Jersey, and thus the remainder of his administration was almost anticlimactic. In November 1709 Ingoldesby opened a newly elected assembly with a curt admonition to act with dispatch "that I may be Speedily enabled to Attend her Majestys Service in . . . New Yorke," which was exactly the sort of sentiment that made many New Jerseyans long for a governor of their own. At this time his main concern was to persuade the assembly to alter the support act passed earlier in the year for Lovelace and to divert to himself most of the salary granted to his prematurely deceased predecessor. He secured the passage of a revised support act for this purpose at the cost of allowing the assembly to strengthen its control over the salaries of royal officials, a practice that ran counter to the British government's policy of keeping such officials independent of local representative bodies.

In September and October 1709 the imperial administration revoked Ingoldesby's commission as lieutenant governor of New York and New Jersey. News of this apparently did not reach America until around the following April, when he ceased to be acting governor in both colonies. Thereafter he returned to New York to command an independent com-

pany, and after living for a time in "necessitous circumstances" he died there on March 1, 1719.

A man with ability incommensurate to his ambition, Ingoldesby sought several times in his career to become royal governor of New Jersey or New York, but, as contemporaries noted, he was "a rash hot-headed man" unsuited to the tasks of civil government. His record in New Jersey—where he placed a higher value on discrediting his Quaker adversaries than on securing the colony's participation in an important military venture and where, for personal gain, he acquiesced in a serious encroachment by the assembly on royal authority—fully justifies this assessment.

East Jersey Papers, The New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, N.J.

Livingston-Redmond Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N.Y.

Morris Family Papers, Rutgers University Special Collections, New Brunswick, N.J.

Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Series A, vols. 3 and 4, Library of Congress microfilm.

*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1689-1720; Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York.* Vols. 3-5.

Dalton, Charles, ed. *English Army Lists and Commission Registers, 1661-1714.* Vol. 2. London: Eyre & Spottiswode, 1894.

———. *George the First's Army, 1714-1725.* Vol. 1. London: Eyre & Spottiswode, 1910.

Ingalsbe, Frederick W., comp. *Ingoldesby Genealogy.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Press of U. G. Clarke, 1904.

Kemmerer, Donald L. *Path to Freedom: The Struggle for Self-Government in Colonial New Jersey, 1703-1776.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940.

McCreary, John R. "Ambition, Interest and Faction: Politics in New Jersey, 1702-1738." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Nebraska, 1971.

Webb, Stephen Saunders. "Officers and Governors: The Role of the British Army in Imperial Politics and the Administration of the

American Colonies, 1689-1722." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1965.

Eugene R. Sheridan



ROBERT HUNTER (1666-1734), born in Edinburgh, Scotland, was the son of a lawyer and the grandson of the laird of Hunterston. He seems to have been well educated, for his correspondence shows a familiarity with Latin, Spanish and French as well as an unusual felicity in English. He received his first commission in the army in 1689 and for nearly twenty years pursued a military career, serving under the first duke of Marlborough in the War of the Spanish Succession (in America called Queen Anne's War). Though he fought at Blenheim and Ramillies and reached the rank of colonel, he had neither a regiment of his own nor the large patronage which that position often gave.

Having quarreled with Marlborough, Hunter successfully moved into the nascent colonial service by wangling the lieutenant governorship of Virginia. His means of access to the source of political appointments is obscure, but it is likely that the initial link was through his literary friends, who often doubled as courtiers and civil servants. Among them were Jonathan Swift, Joseph Addison, Richard Steele and Dr. John Arbuthnot, the Queen's physician. En route to Virginia in 1707, Hunter was captured by the French, and he spent nearly two years in France in what was reportedly a socially dazzling captivity. Exchanged in 1709 (though not for the bishop of Quebec, as is customarily reported), Hunter was appointed governor of New York and New Jersey. He arrived in New York in June 1710.

Each of the two provinces offered grave dangers to a royal governor. New York, a

frontier outpost in the long wars between Great Britain and France, lived in constant dread of Indian attack. (Only twenty years before, the town of Schenectady had been destroyed.) As though that were not enough, a long series of corrupt governors had driven the colonists to the point of refusing to raise taxes unless the elective assembly controlled the returns, which meant, in effect, controlling the local government. New Jersey had internal rather than external problems, but they were much more virulent: the province, only recently taken over by the crown, was disrupted by disputing proprietors.

In 1664 James, duke of York, had given New Jersey to two cronies, John, Lord Berkeley, and Sir George Carteret. Ten years later, Berkeley had sold his interest (the western) to the Quakers John Fenwick and Edward Byllynge, beginning a pattern of fragmentation that after thirty years had left each half with dozens of proprietors—a "muddle of perplexity." At Hunter's arrival, there were two sets of contending proprietors. Colonel Daniel Coxe, the son of Governor Daniel Coxe; Jeremiah Basse, who had been governor of the colony between 1697 and 1699; Peter Sonmans; Hugh Huddy; Richard Townley, and William Hall formed one group. They were outspoken in their high-church Anglicanism, though in an age when religion and politics were almost interchangeable they probably had no religious motives per se but used religion as a stalking horse. They had been protected and rewarded by the egregious Lord Cornbury, the first royal governor of New Jersey. The other group was led by Lewis Morris, Thomas Gordon, George Willocks, John Johnstone, Thomas Farmer and Thomas Gardiner. Some of them, Quakers, owned shares bought from the older Coxe's receivers. The younger Coxe made a claim to the property, which if successful would ruin many of these men, for bankruptcy could easily mean life in prison. To add to the confusion, each side had support from pro-