

**“Turbulent tymes” in a New Colony:
Philip Carteret’s Letter to the Proprietors, August 3, 1666**

By Timothy J. Crist

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14713/njs.v7i2.251>

In August 1666, a year after first arriving in New Jersey, Governor Philip Carteret sent Surveyor General Robert Vauquellin to London to seek guidance and secure assistance from Sir George Carteret and Lord John Berkeley, Proprietors of New Jersey. In the letter he wrote with his provincial secretary, James Bollen, to accompany Vauquellin on his voyage, Governor Carteret described for the proprietors the daunting financial, administrative, and security challenges confronting the new colony. Transcribed here from the draft now in the Stevens Family Papers at the New Jersey Historical Society, the letter makes clear how tenuous Carteret’s position was as he worked to establish his authority as Governor, not least due to conflicts with New York. The letter’s survival, likely due to efforts by attorneys James Alexander and David Ogden in the 1740s to locate records to support their filings on behalf of the East Jersey Proprietors, illustrates how eighteenth-century legal battles over quitrents and land titles helped to identify and preserve foundational documents that continue to inform the study of early New Jersey.

During his first year as Governor of New Jersey, Philip Carteret faced formidable challenges in establishing a proprietary government in the new colony. To secure advice and support from the proprietors in addressing those challenges, he sent Surveyor General Robert Vauquellin to London in August 1666 to consult with Sir George Carteret and Lord John Berkeley. In the letter he wrote with Provincial Secretary James Bollen to accompany Vauquellin on his voyage to England, Carteret noted his chief concerns: reports the proprietors would lose their patent for New Jersey; New York’s claim to Staten Island and imposition of customs duties on vessels bound for New Jersey; lack of trade goods for dealing effectively with Native American

leaders; extended negotiations with New England settlers about grants of land; and the want of ammunition and “all things Else necessary for the settling . . . of this Colony.”¹ While the proprietors presumably gave assurance about retaining their patent for New Jersey, they did not resolve issues related to Staten Island or provide substantial additional aid. For the next several years, Carteret was left to manage largely on his own.

Carteret’s letter in August 1666 is the sole example of his correspondence with the proprietors to come to light so far, but it has rarely been cited by historians.² Transcribed here for the first time, the letter provides key insights into the “turbulent tymes” Carteret navigated during his first year in New Jersey. A note regarding the likely provenance of the letter is appended at the end.

Neither Sir George Carteret (circa 1610–1680) nor Lord John Berkeley (1607–1678), Proprietors of New Jersey, ever visited the 8,700 square miles of territory that James, Duke of York, granted them in June 1664. Instead, on February 10, 1665, the same day they issued their *Concessions and Agreement* to attract settlers, they appointed Philip Carteret (1639–1682), Sir George’s distant cousin, who was then just 26 years old, to serve as Governor and exercise their rights and authority over the new province named in honor of Sir George’s ties to the Isle of Jersey.³ Sir George Carteret had gained royal favor in 1649 by hosting King Charles II, his brother

¹ Philip Carteret to Sir George Carteret and Lord Berkeley, August 3, 1666; Stevens Family Papers, MG409, Box 1, Folder 1, New Jersey Historical Society. I am grateful to Dr. James Amemasor for his guidance while working with the Stevens Family Papers.

² Carteret’s letter was not available to historians Richard P. McCormick and John E. Pomfret when writing their standard histories of early New Jersey. Richard P. McCormick, *New Jersey from Colony to State: 1609–1789* (Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, revised edition, 1981). John E. Pomfret, *The Province of East New Jersey, 1609–1702* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1962). John A. Latschar cited it in his unpublished Rutgers University PhD dissertation, “East New Jersey, 1665–1682: Perils of a Proprietary Government,” 1978.

³ King Charles II granted territory between the west side of the Connecticut River and the east side of Delaware Bay to his brother James, Duke of York in March 1664; the duke, in turn, granted the land between the Hudson and Delaware Rivers to Carteret and Berkeley on June 23 and June 24, 1664, through a lease and release transaction. This took place before the English captured New Netherland, including what became New Jersey, from the Dutch in September 1664, although the English fleet had sailed in May. Sir George Carteret, Lord John Berkeley, and William Coventry, members of a special Privy Council committee, had provided advice on seizing the Dutch territory. “The

James, Duke of York, and their entourage in exile on the Isle of Jersey, the last Royalist stronghold as Oliver Cromwell tightened his control over England. As his biographer noted, “Royalism became [Sir George’s] religion, a simple, almost dog-like, devotion to the Crown.”⁴

An experienced sailor and brilliant naval tactician, Sir George gained further royal favor and newfound wealth in the early 1650s from privateering activities in the English Channel, where his ships disrupted and seized Cromwellian shipping. After the Restoration of Charles II to the English throne in 1660, Sir George became Vice-Chamberlain of the Royal Household, a member of the Privy Council, and Treasurer of the Navy. All were powerful positions and, at least in the case of Treasurer of the Navy, highly remunerative; he was entitled to threepence out of every pound spent from Treasury accounts. Immensely wealthy, Sir George searched for new places to invest his funds. He added several landed estates in England to his holdings and sought new ventures abroad that promised rich returns. These included the Company of Royal Adventurers into Africa and its successors, which developed the English slave trade (chartered in 1660 and renewed in 1662 and 1672 under slightly different names); the Royal Fishing Company (chartered in 1664); and, indirectly, the Hudson’s Bay Company (1670), as well as the province of Carolina, where he and Lord John Berkeley were among the eight proprietors (1663); the Bahamas, where he was one of six proprietors (1670); and of course New Jersey in 1664.⁵

New Jersey Venture,” *Societe Jersiaise Annual Bulletin*, XVIII (1964), 429–436, <https://societe-jersiaise.org/digital-publications/bulletin?file=../bulletin-pdfs/ABSJ1964-web.pdf>, accessed December 14, 2020. McCormick, *New Jersey from Colony to State: 1609–1789*, 16, 18. Pomfret, *The Province of East New Jersey*, 27–33. Maxine Lurie, “New Jersey: The Unique Proprietary,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 111, no. 1 (January 1987), 78–79. The *Concessions and Agreement* and Philip Carteret’s commission and instructions from the Lords Proprietors are printed in William A. Whitehead, ed., *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey* (Newark: Daily Advertiser Printing House, 1880), Volume I, 20–25; 28–43. [Hereafter cited as *New Jersey Archives I.*] David Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 250.

⁴ G. R. Balleine, “Sir George Carteret,” *Societe Jersiaise Annual Bulletin*, Volume XVII (1957), 55, <https://societe-jersiaise.org/digital-publications/bulletin?file=../bulletin-pdfs/ABSJ1957-web.pdf>, accessed December 14, 2020. G. R. Balleine, *All for the King: the life story of Sir George Carteret* (St. Helier, Jersey: Société Jersiaise, 1976), 39–57.

⁵ Cecil T. Carr, ed., *Select Charters of Trading Companies, AD 1530–1707*. Selden Society, Volume 28 (London: B. Quaritch, 1913), 172–192; Lord John Berkeley also invested in the African and Fishing companies. Barry M. Gough,

Sir George took the lead from Lord John Berkeley in overseeing their joint New Jersey proprietary. He hoped for consistent income from quitrent revenue on lands patented to settlers in New Jersey, even though he invested minimal capital in the development of the new colony. However, he had little time to focus on matters relating to New Jersey; the Privy Council met twice every week, often with the king present, and his roles as Vice-Chamberlain and Treasurer of the Navy demanded all his administrative skill. As a result, he expected Philip Carteret to govern New Jersey in the name of both proprietors but not demand either his attention or his capital. It proved to be an extraordinarily challenging and intensely frustrating role for Philip Carteret.⁶

At first, Philip Carteret took on his responsibilities as Governor with a measure of keen anticipation—a chance to gain favor with his well-placed relative and build his own fortune. In April 1665, he sailed for New Jersey on the ship *Philip* with about 30 other settlers mostly from the Isle of Jersey, including 18 indentured servants (among them at least three women).⁷ Robert Vauquellin (circa 1607–1698), a Frenchman originally from Caen, accompanied him. Sir George Carteret had appointed Vauquellin to the crucially important role of Surveyor General, with responsibility for surveying lands for settlers who would then be required to take out patents and pay halfpenny per acre quitrents, starting in 1670. Sir George also considered Vauquellin “a good Injeneral [i.e., engineer] for the making of fortifications,” so he presumably expected that he would help build defenses in New Jersey against external threats.⁸ In mid-June, the *Philip* reached Newport News, Virginia, and Philip Carteret wrote to Governor John Winthrop Jr. of Connecticut

“The ‘Adventurers of England Trading Into Hudson’s Bay’: A Study of the Founding Members of the Hudson’s Bay Company, 1665–1670.” *Albion* 2, no. 1 (1970): 35–47. Balleine, *All for the King*, 148–159.

⁶ Latschar, “East New Jersey,” 93–95.

⁷ Latschar, “East New Jersey,” 103–104. Edwin F. Hatfield, *History of Elizabeth* (New York: Carlton & Lanahan, 1868), 58.

⁸ Vauquellin’s commission is printed in *New Jersey Archives* I, 26–27. He was appointed on the same day Philip Carteret was named Governor. William Laurence Saunders, ed. *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: P. M. Hale, 1886), Volume I, 53. Hatfield, *History of Elizabeth*, 97–98.

about a two-thirds interest in “a salt worke and pottash worke” that Sir George Carteret and he had purchased from one Samuel Hutchinson. Carteret understood that Winthrop had “contrived” plans for the works, and he offered Winthrop “the 1/16 parte of the profit” if he continued to provide advice. Winthrop responded that he was unaware of Hutchinson’s plans for “such works in these parts of the world,” adding that “New Jarsy . . . is a place I know not nor have ever heard where it is;” besides, ships from the West Indies used salt as ballast on their voyages to New England and then sold it “very cheap,” making Carteret’s venture unlikely to succeed.⁹

While in Newport News, Carteret also forwarded a letter from the proprietors to James Bollen (circa 1629–1682) in New York, appointing him Secretary of the new colony. Carteret spoke both English and French, but he was likely more comfortable expressing himself in French and may have needed a secretary who was also bilingual but fluent in English.¹⁰ Bollen was an efficient administrator then serving as Governor Richard Nicolls’s commissary of military stores in New York, and he had been one of those deputized by Nicolls to receive the surrender of New Amsterdam by the Dutch the year before. It is likely he also was originally from Jersey and spoke French; his name was variously spelled Bollen, Bullen, Bullaine, and Balline, all similar to

⁹ Philip Carteret to John Winthrop, Jr., Newport News, Virginia, June 13, 1665; John Winthrop, Jr. to Philip Carteret, Hartford, July 18, 1665. *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 3rd series, Volume X (1849), 51–53. Carteret exchanged two more letters with Winthrop in the fall, both dated from New York, where Carteret apparently went to receive and send correspondence in the first months after he arrived in New Jersey, indicating that he had dropped plans for the salt work; Carteret to Winthrop, New York, 28 September 1665, “I am altogether Ignorant in those undertakings, and therefore shall not Involve myself in a business I doe not understand.” Winthrop to Carteret, Hartford, October 23, 1665, reporting on the irons Hutchinson sent to Boston and sending news of a “very sad report of the increase of the Plague in London and many parts of England . . .” Carteret to Winthrop, New York, November 15, 1665, “. . . these parts are so full of fresh Water Rivers that Comes downe, that makes it Unfitt for such a Worke.” Winthrop Family Papers, Ms. N-262, Box 14, Massachusetts Historical Society.

¹⁰ During the 1670s, Carteret wrote letters in both French and English to his brother Peter, Governor of Albemarle (North Carolina), and in French to his mother, Rachel. These letters are transcribed and translated in *New Jersey: autograph letters from Philip Carteret (first governor of New Jersey) 1672–1682* (London: Maggs Bros., 1934). The original letters are in the “Philip Carteret Collection, 1672–1682,” Princeton University Library, <https://findingaids.princeton.edu/catalog/C0901>, accessed May 4, 2021.

Balleine, an ancient family on Jersey.¹¹ If Bollen was indeed from Jersey, he probably had ties to Sir George Carteret and felt obligated to accept the appointment. In the event, Bollen showed the letter to Governor Nicolls, who was greatly irritated with the news about the creation of New Jersey. Nicolls soon protested to the Duke of York that he had given away “all the improoveable part” of the duke’s patent, “capable to receive twenty times more people than Long Island and all the remaining Tracts.” Philip Carteret no doubt received a guarded reception from Governor Nicolls when he arrived in New York for consultations at the end of July 1665.¹²

Philip Carteret finally landed in New Jersey for the first time in early August, joined by James Bollen, Robert Vauquellin, and members of his small party of settlers who had accompanied him on the *Philip*.¹³ Carteret decided to join John Ogden and others in their just-formed settlement, to which he gave the name Elizabethtown, after Sir George Carteret’s wife. He soon established his council, with James Bollen and John Ogden as early members. Likely concerned about the loyalty of Dutch settlers in Bergen, he secured oaths of allegiance to King Charles II and the proprietors from them in November. Settlers in Elizabethtown took the oath the following February.¹⁴

¹¹ Latschar, “East New Jersey,” 101; Hatfield, *History of Elizabeth*, 108–109; “The New Jersey Venture,” 429.

¹² Latschar, “East New Jersey,” 101–103; E. B. O’Callaghan and Berthold Fernow, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1853), Volume III, 105–106; Robert C. Ritchie, *The Duke’s Province: A Study of New York Politics and Society, 1664–1691* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 49–50.

¹³ Some of Carteret’s indentured servants later ran away. While he was in Milford, Connecticut, in June 1666 helping to recruit settlers to New Jersey, James Bollen reported to Governor Winthrop “that our Governor Captt. Carteret hath several of his servants that are Runn away from him, and they Coming into this Collony, the people here abouts are so farr from Examaning and Stopping of them, that they doe not only Relieve them butt help to Convay them away . . .” James Bollen to Governor John Winthrop, Jr., Milford, June 6, 1666, Winthrop Family Papers, Ms. N-262, Box 14, Massachusetts Historical Society.

¹⁴ Hatfield, *History of Elizabeth*, 43–44; 48–52. *New Jersey Archives* I, 48–50.

Letter to the Proprietors

The daunting financial, administrative, and security challenges Governor Carteret faced during his first year are outlined in the letter he drafted with James Bollen on August 3, 1666, almost exactly a year after their arrival in New Jersey. They wrote the letter to accompany the Surveyor General Robert Vauquellin (here called “Mons^r La Prairie”), whom Carteret sent to London to consult with the proprietors and secure their guidance on key matters. The decision to send Vauquellin to London so soon after his arrival could not have been taken lightly. His departure not only put his life at risk from perils at sea, but meant his surveying and patenting of lands, the eventual source of quitrent revenue for the proprietors, would largely come to a standstill during his absence.¹⁵ In his letter, Carteret recognized that “a Verbale Relation [is] more Authentick and Satisfactory then what is Comitted to Writting,” but he still wanted “to give a hint of What is most Consernd.”

Governor Carteret’s chief concern was that Sir George Carteret was “out of office and in disgrace at Court” and that the proprietors’ patent was “broken.” Reports to this effect proved exaggerated, but there was some truth to them. Sir George Carteret was indeed in a more tenuous position in 1666 as he dealt with bureaucratic backbiting from other Privy Council members and worked to finance the navy during the Second Anglo-Dutch War. Whispers circulated in London about his diminished influence after “The Act for an Additional Aid,” a new method of public

¹⁵ Vauquellin was in the middle of surveying Newark when he was sent to England by Governor Carteret. He permitted Newarkers, who first arrived in May 1666, to continue laying out their home lots using his measurements. While Newarkers kept careful land records for their own use, they avoided securing patents for their holdings, which slowed later efforts by the governor to collect quitrents. Newark’s founding magistrate, Robert Treat, recorded in the Town Book that “all home lots in our Town of Neworke are laid out according to Mr Delaprary [i.e., Vauquellin] the Governor Surveyors line of measure that he made a beginning with all. It was somewhat about 17 foot to the rod or pole, who consented we should go on and lay out the lots, he being sent on business to England by the Governor, and accordingly all the home lots are laid out and reckoned by the acre, whether more or less, 6 or 8 acre lots as being laid out by a 17 foot and somewhat more rod or line through the Town.” Newark Town Book, MG267, f. 1, New Jersey Historical Society.

finance that sharply reduced payments to him in his role as Treasurer of the Navy, was put in place in late 1665. In January 1666, Samuel Pepys recorded in his diary that he appeared to be “heartily troubled at this act and the report of his losing his place.”¹⁶ As these rumors reached across the Atlantic, Philip Carteret no doubt found his hand weakened in his consultations with New York Governor Nicolls, who, as noted, was engaged in his own campaign to persuade Whitehall to have the Duke of York’s New Jersey patent reversed.¹⁷ As a result, Governor Carteret emphasized in his letter to the proprietors that he would leave New Jersey and sail home if it was true that the proprietors’ patent had been returned to James, Duke of York.

Carteret wrote his letter at a time when England was at war with both the Dutch and French during the Second Anglo-Dutch War, and transatlantic trade was disrupted. He pointed out how vulnerable New Jersey was, with “the dutch and french on one side and by the Indians and our owne Nation on the Other,” made worse by having neither powder nor ammunition “to ofend an Enemy or defend our selves.” He expressed special irritation with Governor Nicolls’s administration in New York, claiming that “our good friends” [in New York] refused “to lend us a barrell of powder” and hoped “the Indians Would not suffer us to Inhabit here.”¹⁸ New York’s administration of customs added to the friction. Carteret urged the proprietors to clear the status of Staten Island, so “that Wee may have . . . the harbors and rivers free Wthout having our Vessells stopt and searched by the Customers officers of New York, or obliged to give a p^rticul^r account of

¹⁶ Carteret “stood to lose his Treasurer’s poundage on all the goods which now would be paid for directly by the Exchequer, as well as his profits from discount transactions with the bankers.” Robert C. Latham, ed., *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (London: Bell & Hyman, 1970–1985), Volume VI, 292n3; VII, 24. Carteret eventually faced a Parliamentary audit of his Treasury accounts. In 1667, he exchanged his post as Treasurer of the Navy with the Earl of Anglesey, becoming Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, a less demanding and more lucrative post. Balleine, “Sir George Carteret,” 61–62.

¹⁷ See footnote 12, above.

¹⁸ Robert Grumet has suggested that the Hackensacks attempted to play the authorities in New York and New Jersey off against each other, to their own advantage. Robert S. Grumet, *The Munsee Indians: A History* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), 122–125.

their Lading to Mr de La Vall whoe is both Customer and merchant.” He added that the imposition of 10 percent customs duties on “any Merchandize be it Eyther English or West Indian Comodities,” imposed even on families bound from New England for New Jersey with provisions and household goods, was “a great discouragement” to the settling of the province.¹⁹

Carteret noted how the desperate lack of basic supplies and commodities, “as of necessity wee must have out of Europe,” caused great difficulty both for settlers and for trade with Native Americans. In an aside, Carteret observed, “I dare say iff a man had 20 tonn of nailes of all sorts he may putt them of presently to great advantage, their being such want of them.” Limited in his ability to negotiate with Native American leaders due to his lack of trade goods, he explained that he had not yet visited the southern part of the province near the Delaware River, because he lacked items to “present to the Indian Kings or Sachems.”²⁰

Knowing that the proprietors would be keenly interested, Carteret also reported on progress in patenting land to new settlers, who would be required to pay quitrents beginning in 1670. New England was the most promising source for new settlers, and Carteret was willing to negotiate reserving a portion of land in a new township for the proprietors, required in the *Concessions and Agreement*, in order to attract groups of settlers to New Jersey, even though their religious and political views were at odds with the Restoration government in England. His contentious disputes

¹⁹ Thomas Delaval (1620–1682) accompanied Governor Richard Nicolls to New York in 1664 and became a successful merchant while also acting as customs officer. In 1666, he was also serving as Mayor of New York City. His daughter Frances married James Carteret, second son of Sir George Carteret, in 1673, which both Delaval and his daughter later regretted, as James became dissolute. Bartlett B. James and J. Franklin Jameson, eds., *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts, 1679–1680* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1913), 66–67. Philip Carteret struggled with New York over the status of Staten Island until 1669, when it was finally brought under New York’s jurisdiction. Contention over customs duties continued throughout Carteret’s time as Governor. Latschar, “East New Jersey,” 164–165; Ritchie, *The Duke’s Province*, 39.

²⁰ On the role of trade goods in negotiations with Lenapi, see Grumet, *The Munsee Indians*, 90.

with settlers from New England over quitrents, taxation, and the power of the Assembly would come later.

Carteret briefly commented on “Another towne ship [Woodbridge] . . . to be settled by the Newbery men,” but went into more detail about negotiations with “new haven and Milford men,” some of whom settled Newark.²¹ He viewed the Milford and New Haven groups as related, but separate; the two groups jointly inspected land along the Delaware River but, Carteret noted, did not find “places for the settling of such great townes as they Intended” and then disagreed about what to do next.²² The Milford men decided to acquire the parcel of land to the north of Elizabethtown that became Newark, with plans to “settle a towne of 80 or 100 families.” Carteret, who lacked the resources needed to clear indigenous land titles and thus would not want land prices bid up, thought the Milford men agreed to a price with Hackensack leaders that was more than four times the value of the land. In another example of how he thought Governor Nicolls was working against him, he bitterly suggested the high price was “by the Instigation of our good freinds of New York.”²³

²¹ On Woodbridge, see Latschar, “East New Jersey,” 125–133; Michael J. Gall, ““An Earthly Tabernacle”: English Land Use and Town Planning in Seventeenth-Century Woodbridge, New Jersey.” *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 43, no. 1 (2014): 3; Maxine N. Lurie, “The Reality of Empire: New Englanders on the Ground in Seventeenth Century East Jersey,” *New Jersey Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* (Summer 2017): 6–14.

²² William Jones (1624–1706), former deputy-governor of New Haven Colony, informed New Haven’s General Court on December 4, 1665, about “y^e busines of Delaware, & y^e Articles were read to y^e towne & y^e towne told yⁱ there was a Committee for the ordering of yⁱ affayre.” These articles are not extant, but Governor Carteret’s response to them, addressed to William Jones “and the rest of the undertakers of the Plantation upon Delaware bay or River,” February 27, 1666, is printed in *New Jersey Archives*, I, 51–54. Matthew Gilbert, former deputy governor of New Haven Colony, was among the New Haven men who viewed possible sites in Delaware in the spring of 1666. Franklin Bowditch Dexter, “New Haven Town Records, 1662–1684,” *Ancient Town Records* (New Haven: The New Haven Colony Historical Society, 1919), Volume II, 155, 176. Residents of New Haven Colony had tried several times during the prior two decades to establish a settlement on the Delaware River, going so far as to acquire indigenous land titles, but had been prevented by the Dutch and Swedes from settling permanently. C. A. Weslager, *The English on the Delaware: 1610–1682* (Rutgers University Press, 1967). Jasper Crane, later a magistrate in Newark, attempted to settle there in 1651, but was detained by the Dutch in New Amsterdam before he could reach the Delaware; he petitioned the commissioners of the United Colonies for relief. David Pulsifer, ed., *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth, in New England* (Boston: Press of W. White, 1859), Volume 9, 210–212 (mis-transcribed as “Jasper Graine”).

²³ Governor Carteret provided a letter of introduction for Robert Treat (1624–1710), leader of the men from Milford who settled Newark, to Oraton, the Hackensack Sachem, and a letter of instruction to Captains Post and Cornelius,

In the meanwhile, Carteret continued to negotiate with “those of New Haven.” Apparently, the original idea was that the entire town would move, but that fell apart, “they not agreeing wth their Church Concerning their removing,” perhaps due to the serious illness in this period of John Davenport, the minister of New Haven’s church.²⁴ Nonetheless, a number of New Haven men on their own account still “resolved to Come and settle about these parts.” To that end, Carteret offered “to purchase a neck of Land adjoining to those of Milforde” for the New Haven men.²⁵ He pointed out to the proprietors that “these townes Wilbe of great Consernment and Strengtning to us against the Indians,” but added he lacked the resources to clear the indigenous title to the land: “there is nothing Wanting butt Comodities for the satisfying of the Indians wthout Which there is nothing to be donn.”²⁶ He also explained that it proved “Impossible” in his negotiations with both the Milford and New Haven men “to Reserve the 1/7 or any part” of the land for the proprietors as

two interpreters, both dated May 26, 1666. *New Jersey Archives* I, 55–56. The eleven Hackensack signatories to the Newark deed of sale, witnessed on July 11, 1667, after being “enlarged and perfected,” are discussed by Grumet, *The Munsee Indians*, 123–124. The deed of sale is printed in *Records of the Town of Newark* (Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1864, reprinted 1966), 278–280; the Newark settlers paid a “consideration of fifty double-hands of powder, one hundred barrs of lead, twenty Axes, twenty Coates, ten Guns, twenty pistols, ten kettles, ten Swords, four blankets, four barrels of beere, ten pair of breeches, fifty knives, twenty howes, eight hundred and fifty fathem of of wampem, two Ankors or Licquers or something Equivalent, and three troopers Coates.” Two decades later, on March 13, 1688, Robert Treat provided a deposition about the purchase; he had expected Governor Carteret to have cleared the title to the land, and “I with some others sollicitated the Governor to pay for our Purchase to the Indians; which he refused, and would not disburse any Thing, unless I would reimburse him again.” *A Bill in the Chancery of New-Jersey* (New York: James Parker, 1747), 118. James Bollen traveled to Milford in June 1666 to assist with arrangements for the move; “Capt. Bulling was att our towne going to the new plantation”; letter of Alexander Bryan to John Winthrop, Jr., June 8, 1666, Winthrop Family Papers, Ms. N-262, Box 14, Massachusetts Historical Society.

²⁴ John Davenport (1597–1670) was quite ill in the fall of 1665, and at the age of nearly 70 likely felt unable to withstand the rigors of a new settlement. He apparently persuaded his colleague Abraham Pierson (circa 1611–1678), minister in Branford, who shared his views about godly government and whose daughter was married to his son, to become the minister in Newark.

²⁵ Mostly likely Barbadoes Neck, on the eastern bank of the Passaic River opposite Newark. To the dismay of Newark settlers who recalled this promise to the New Haven men, Governor Carteret later granted the 15,000-acre tract to William Sandford on behalf of Nathaniel Kingsland, a Barbados planter. Correspondence in the Winthrop Papers suggests controversy over possession of the tract may have contributed to the Rebellion of 1672; I hope to discuss this controversy in a subsequent article. Edward S. Rankin, “The Newark-Elizabethtown-Barbadoes Neck Controversy,” *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, n. s., Volume 11, no. 3 (1926), 353–364.

²⁶ While Carteret and the proprietors later “insisted that settlers . . . clear Indian titles by paying out of their own pocket,” (Lurie, *The Reality of Empire*, 12), it is evident from Carteret’s letter that in 1666 he still contemplated clearing indigenous titles to land. It is possible that after receiving his letter, the proprietors instructed him not to acquire indigenous titles and to rely instead on the proprietary patent for title.

required in their *Concessions and Agreement*, because the settlers insisted on living “so Close together,” as they had in their New England towns. However, each settler would pay a quitrent “for somuch land as they doe pattent.”²⁷ He argued that in the long run the arrangement would be “more advantageous” for the proprietors, not only because there were other parcels of land nearby that were just as good, but also because the most important objective in their current situation was “to Strengthen our selves and keep possession and Nott to be beaten off by the Indians as formerly the dutch have bene.”²⁸

Closing the letter, Carteret asked for Vauquellin’s quick return with the proprietors’ response to his concerns and request for aid, adding that he and Bollen were “all att a stand and Cannott proceed any farther tell Wee . . . knowe In What Condition Wee are in here.”

Although Vauquellin soon returned to New Jersey, presumably with reassurance that the proprietors’ patent would remain in place, it is unlikely the proprietors satisfied Carteret’s needs for ammunition, commodities, and capital. In September 1666, about the time Sir George Carteret would have received the letter and met with Vauquellin to hear his account of conditions in New Jersey, the Great Fire raged through London and Parliament called for an audit of his navy accounts. He also faced ongoing challenges in raising sufficient funds for the navy to keep fighting

²⁷ Drawing on their experience in forming New England towns—self-contained corporate enterprises in which settlers could own land and enjoy the fruits of their labor—the Milford and New Haven men opposed the headright system of distributing land that informed the proprietors’ *Concessions and Agreements*. In the negotiations over the possible settlement along the Delaware River, Governor Carteret had refused to budge on reserving at least a portion of any land grant for the proprietors, as required in the Concessions; “the 500 Acres Allotted to the Lords cannot be altdred, it being a great deal less than they Intended by their Concessions . . .” *New Jersey Archives* I, 52. His willingness to concede the point in this instance may reflect increasing urgency to attract new settlers. On the structure of New England towns, see John Frederick Martin, *Profits in the Wilderness: Entrepreneurship and the Founding of New England Towns in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1991), 248–249 and *passim*.

²⁸ During the so-called Peach War in September 1655, a large group of warriors descended on New Amsterdam in canoes. Settlements at Pavonia and Staten Island were burned and nearly every outlying farmstead was destroyed or forced to be evacuated. Grumet, *The Munsee Indians*, 70–72.

in the Second Anglo-Dutch War. He likely had little time to attend to matters such as the status of Staten Island.²⁹

In the next few years, with the migration of groups of New Englanders to New Jersey almost at a stop, Governor Carteret secured funds for his administration by convening the assembly for the first time in May 1668 (they levied a tax of £30) and by selling large tracts of land between the Passaic and Hackensack Rivers to wealthy planters from Barbados, notably William Sandford in 1668 and John Berry in 1669. These men became members of his council, helping to offset the influence of New England settlers who demonstrated their independence when the second assembly convened in November 1668. Carteret's frustrations continued to grow in subsequent years as many settlers refused to pay quitrents when they came due in 1670, with contention coming to a head in 1672 in a rebellion by "the discontented New England people." At the height of his difficulties in May 1672, he wrote his mother, Rachel, "it is to my great regret that I am living so long here, principally as I see that I do nothing but waste my money and my time, but when you are in a mess, you must try and get out of it." In an effort to find his way out of the "mess," Carteret sailed to London in 1672, a year before the Dutch briefly regained control of New Jersey. He returned in November 1674 with new powers and renewed support from Sir George Carteret, and he remained until his death in 1682.³⁰

Transcription

Philip Carteret's letter to the proprietors, now in the Stevens Papers at the New Jersey Historical Society, is most likely a draft in James Bollen's handwriting, retained as a copy

²⁹ Balleine, *All for the King*, 128–129.

³⁰ McCormick, *New Jersey from Colony to State*, 26–30; Pomfret, *The Province of East New Jersey*, 54. Letter of Philip Carteret to his brother Peter, May 8, 1672; Letter of Philip Carteret to his mother, Rachel, May 17, 1672 (translated from French); *New Jersey: autograph letters from Philip Carteret*, 1, 4.

(figure 1). It was written with a mix of the first-person singular and first-person plural. This transcription retains original spelling, abbreviations, cross-outs, interlineations, and line endings; there are no paragraph breaks in the original.³¹

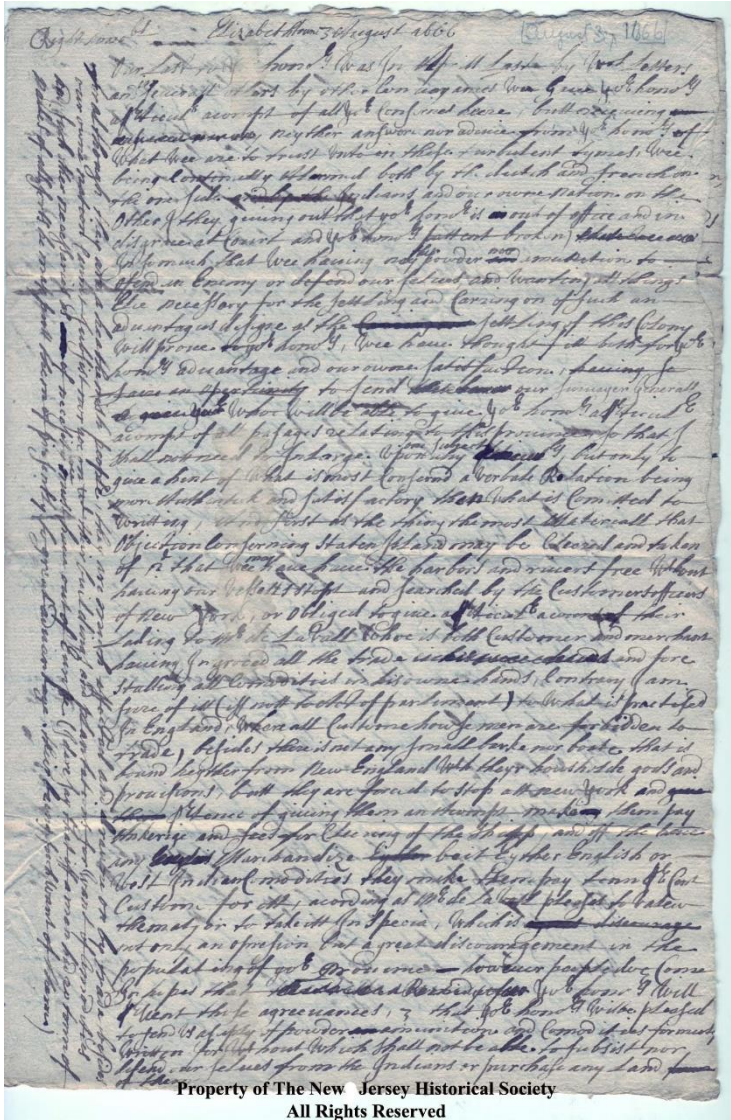


Figure 1: The first page of Philip Carteret’s letter to Sir George Carteret and Lord Berkeley, August 3, 1666; Stevens Family Papers, MG409, Box 1, Folder 1, New Jersey Historical Society. Photo courtesy of New Jersey Historical Society. All rights reserved.

³¹ Philip Carteret and James Bollen to Sir George Carteret and Lord Berkeley, August 3, 1666; Stevens Family Papers, MG409, Box 1, Folder 1, New Jersey Historical Society. I am grateful to Steve Tettamanti, Director of the New Jersey Historical Society, for permission to publish this transcription. The inserted and crossed-out words indicate that it is an initial draft rather than a fair copy. Bollen had a distinctive way of forming different letters, such as his capital A, evident in documents from different periods, including a patent from 1675 (MG1:D79) at the New Jersey Historical Society. Due to pandemic closings, I have not yet been able to compare the Carteret letter with Bollen’s letter in June 1666 to Governor John Winthrop in the Massachusetts Historical Society, or with documents in Bollen’s handwriting in the New Jersey State Archives, including volumes of land records, oaths of allegiance, warrants for surveying land, and a trunk of papers “broke open and the papers promiscuous when delivered” to the governor and council in February 1682/3; New Jersey Archives, XIII (1890), 4–5.

Elizabethtowne 3 August 1666

Right hono.^{bl}

Our Last to Yo^r hono.^{rs} was In Aprill Last by w^{ch} Letters
 in
 and [^] severall others by other Conveyances Wee Gave Yo^r. hono^{rs}
 a p^ticul^r accompt of all Yo^r Consernes heere; butt receiving
~~[crossed-out]~~ neyther answer nor advice from Yo^r hono^{rs} of
 What Wee are to trust unto in these turbulent tymes, Wee
 being Continually Alarmed both by the dutch and french on
 the one side and by the Indians and our owne Nation on the
 Other & they giving out that yo^r hono^r is out of office and in
 disgrace at Court and Yo^r hono^{rs} pattent broken ~~[crossed-out]~~
 Insomuch that Wee having neyther powder nor amunition to
 ofend an Enemy or defend our selves, and wanting all things
 Else necessary for the settling and Carring on of such an
 advantagus designe as the ~~Coming-over~~ settling of this Colony
 will prove to yo^r hono^{rs}, Wee have thought fitt both for yo^r
 hono^{rs} advantage amd our owne satisfaction, ~~having so~~
~~faire an oportunity~~ to send ~~[crossed-out]~~ our Survayer Generall
~~to give yo^r~~ Who Will be able to give Yo^r hono^{rs} a p^ticul^r
 accompt of all pasages relating to this province, so that I
 shall nott need to Inlarge upon any one subject p^ticul^{ly}, but only to
 give a hint of What is most Consernd a Verbale Relation being
 more Authentick and Satisfactory than What is Comitted to
 Writting, And first as the thing the most Materiall that
 Objection Conserning Staten Island may be Cleared and taken
 may
 of p^l. that wee [^] have have [*sic*] the harbors and rivers free Wthout
 having our Vessells stopt and searched by the Customers officers
 of New York, or obliged to give a p^ticul^r account of their
 Lading to M^r de La Vall whoe is both Customer and merchant
 having Ingroced all the trade ~~[crossed-out]~~ and fore
 stalling all Comodities in his owne hands, Contrary I am
 sure of itt (iff nott to Act of parliment) to What is practised
 In England, where all Custome house men are forbidden to
 trade, besides there is not any small barke nor boate that is
 bound hegther from New England wth theyr housholde go[o]ds and
 provisions, butt they are forced to stop att new York and ~~give~~
~~them~~ p^rtence of giving them an Acompt making them pay
 Ankerige and fees for Cleering of the Shipp, and iff the[y] have
 any ~~Englis~~ Merchandize ~~Eyther~~ be it Eyther English or
 West Indian Comodities they make them pay tenn p^r Cent
 Custome for itt, acording as M^r de La Vall pleases to Valew
 them at, or to take itt In Specia, Which is a ~~great discouragement~~

not only an opresion but a great discouragement in the
 populating of yo^r Province – however people doe Come
 In hopes that [~~crossed-out~~] Yo^r hono.^{rs} Will
 p^rvent those agreevances, 3 that Yo^r hono.^{rs} Wilbe pleased
 to send us a suply of powder amunition and Comodities formerly
 Written for, W^hout Which shall not be able to subsist nor
 defend our selves from the Indians or purchase any Land ~~from~~
 of them

[four lines of vertical text in left-hand column of folio 1]

for although they are a heathenish people, they are much affected and drawne on by trade, besides
 our own nation Cannot subsist nor goe on wth their buildings and plantations for Want of
 Comodities
 and such other necessaries as of necessity wee must have out of Europe (I dare say iff a man had
 20 tonn of
 nailes of all sorts he may putt them of presently to great advantage, their being such want of them)

[folio 2]

formerly writt to yo^r hono.^{rs} about

The new haven and Milford men [[^]] [~~crossed-out~~] that had
 a designe to settle upon de La Warr, have bene there and
 taken a View of the place, butt they disagreeing amongts
 them selves and not finding as they saye places for the
 settling of such great townes as they Intended they have
 given over that designe, although they doe aknowledge the
 Land to be Very good and Convenient for townes of 20
 or 30 families and other plantations for p^rticul^r plantions
 in the manner of Virginia and Meriland as M^r [blank] Cann
 more at large Informe Yo^r hono.^{rs}, butt those of Milford have
 on the north side
 [~~crossed-out~~] taken up a p^rcell of land Ajoyning to us [^] upon which they
 Will settle a towne of 80 or 100 famelies, ~~and those of new~~
 although they have paid 4 tymes more then the valew of
 Itt to the Indians by the Instigation of our good freinds of
 New York, Another towne shipp and plantation of about
 the like number is going to be settled by the Newbery
 men neere Boston ~~lying~~ adjacent to us and lying to the
 West ~~north~~ of us, And for those of New haven they not a-
 greeing wth their Church Conserving their removing; most
 upon ther owne acompt
 of them [^] are resolved to Come and settle about these
 parts, for the Effecting Where of I am about to purchase
 a neck of Land adjoyning to those of Milforde, ~~these~~
 as yo^r hono.^{rs} ~~Wilbe Informed~~ there is nothing Wanting

butt Commodities for the satisfying of the Indians wthout
 Which there is nothing to be donn, these townes Wilbe
 [~~crossed-out~~] of great Conserment and Strengtning to us against
 the Indians, butt to Reserve the 1/7 or any part to be

wthin their bounds

at yo^r Lordshipps disposall [[^]] according to y^e Concessions is
 Impossible, the people being [~~crossed-out~~] Generall againte
 itt for the present, in regard that they settle so Close

Rent

togeather and Every man to pay for somuch land as
 they doe pattent, Which Wilbe more advantageous to yo^r
 hono^{rs} then iff itt where according to the Concessions, there
 Wilbe land Enough ajacent to these plantions at yo^r
 Lordshipps disposall Which Will prove as advantageous for
 the future as any land they have, that Chieftest thing
 Wee must Ayme at for the p^rsent is to Strengthen our
 selves and keep possession and Nott to be beaten off by the
 Indians as formerly the dutch have bene, and as wee beleive
 some of our good freinds would have itt, Itt being one
 of their greatest hopes that the Indians Would not suffer
 us to Inhabit here, which may apeare by refusing to lend
 us a barrell of powder, and by questioning whoe should pay
 the Charge iff we shoulde have ocasion of their asistance
 Iff Wee Where butt furnished wth such Amunition and
 Commodities as Wee have Written for Wee should nott much Valew
 yett

Eyther their asistance or freindshipp, Wee have nott [^] been wth

[folio 3]

the Survayer Generall to take a View of delawarr and other
 parts of the Country, for want of meanes to defray the
 Charges and such things formerly Written for to present to
 the Indian Kings or Sachems, itt Will Require a great
 deale of tyme and Expences to take a View of the Country
 to treat wth the Indians for the purchassing of their Land
 and to survey Yo^r bounds all Which is Requisitt to be donn,
 Wee having advice by Waye of Boston that ~~the~~ our packett
 and Letters sent that Waye, are Come safe to Yo^r hono^{rs}.^{rs} hands
 not

Wee shall [^] Insist upon any thing formerly Written, butt
 Refer Yo^r Lordsh to the p^rticul^{rs} therein Mentioned –
 Wee humbly desire Yo^r hono^{rs} to hasten the returne of
 our Survayer Generall, Wee ~~sho~~ Could not have wanted
 him but in such a Conjunction of tyme as this is, Wee
 being all att a stand and Cannott proceed any farther tell

Wee here from Yo.^r hono^{rs} and knowe In What Condition
 are in
 Wee stand, for iff itt be true as is reported that Yo^r
 patent Is Yeelded Up to his R.H. Wee shall rather Chuse
 to leave the C^o Contry then to staye heere. What is
 Omitted in this M^r d L.P Wilbe able to give Yo^r Lordsh^s
 an aCount of, humbly taking leave Wee p^rsent our
 selves —
 he will give to yo^r hono^{rs} a note of the 16 sails of frenchmen that are
 upon the Coast —

Ph: Carterett

Ja: Bollen

[*endorsement on folio 4*]

Coppie of a Lett^r Written the
 3 August 1666 to my Lord
 Berkley and S^r G Carnett
 By Mons^r La Prairie

Note on Provenance

The likely provenance of Philip Carteret's letter to the proprietors is: Philip Carteret → Townley Family → James Alexander → Stevens Family → New Jersey Historical Society. This provenance illustrates the importance of efforts by eighteenth-century attorneys to collect records relating to long-standing land disputes for the long-term preservation of documents and land records from the early years of New Jersey.

The letter is now part of the Stevens Family Papers, a large collection of historical manuscripts given to the New Jersey Historical Society between 1958 and 1966 by members of the Stevens family. Many of the manuscripts in this collection came from the vast archive of legal documents and family papers of James Alexander (1691–1756), a prominent and highly influential attorney active in both New Jersey and New York politics and land issues. In New Jersey, he served as Attorney General in 1723, a member of the New Jersey Council in 1724, Surveyor

General of East Jersey from 1725–1756, and a board member of the East Jersey Proprietors from 1725–1755; he held similarly important positions in New York. John Stevens Sr. (1716–1792), who married Elizabeth Alexander, one of James and Mary Alexander’s four daughters, was closely associated with Alexander in various land transactions. Stevens also helped to settle Alexander’s estate, and it is most likely at this point that he took possession of some of his papers.³² The Works Progress Administration’s New Jersey Historical Records Survey Project, which had access to the collection while it was deposited at the Stevens Institute of Technology in the 1930s, described Carteret’s letter in the “Calendar of the Stevens Family Papers,” but misattributed it to Robert Vauquellin (“Monsieur de La Prairie”); this attribution was corrected in the microfilm edition of the Stevens Family Papers completed in 1968.³³

The letter likely came into James Alexander’s hands in December 1745, along with a trove of other documents that David Ogden (1707–1798), a Newark-based attorney, found in the possession of Carteret’s descendants. Ogden was one of the lawyers engaged in the 1740s by the East Jersey Proprietors to represent them in various land cases, and he helped Alexander collect records that documented land transactions from the founding of New Jersey 80 years earlier. Alexander and Ogden used these records to build cases against landowners who refused to pay

³² Maxine N. Lurie and Joanne R. Walroth, ed., *The Minutes of The Board of Proprietors of the Eastern Division of New Jersey from 1764 to 1794* (Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1985), 450 (Alexander) and 474 (Stevens). In addition to the Stevens Family Papers, the New Jersey Historical Society holds related materials from James Alexander’s archive in the James and William Alexander Papers. The New-York Historical Society holds other parts of Alexander’s archive in the Alexander Papers, Rutherford Family Papers, the John Rutherford Papers, and the Stuyvesant-Rutherford Papers.

³³ The New Jersey Historical Records Survey Project, Work Project Administration, “Calendar of the Stevens Family Papers, Stevens Institute of Technology Library” (Newark, New Jersey: The Historical Records Survey, December 1940) Volume I, 1664–1750, 3–4. Miriam V. Studley, Charles F. Cummings and Thaddeus J. Krom, eds., *Guide to the microfilm edition of the Stevens family papers* (Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1968), 6, 9–10, 14–15. John A. Latschar cited the letter extensively in his unpublished PhD dissertation, “East New Jersey, 1665–1682: Perils of a Proprietary Government,” Rutgers University, 1978.

quitrents. Many of the records were transcribed in full in *A Bill in the Chancery of New-Jersey*, commonly known as the *Elizabethtown Bill in Chancery*, published in 1747.³⁴

In the fall of 1745, Ogden made one of his most important discoveries—a cache of Carteret documents in the possession of “M^r. Hunlock (husband to the late Widow Townly).”³⁵ This was an exciting find, because the provenance of the documents went back to Philip Carteret himself, through his widow, Elizabeth, who married Richard Townley following Carteret’s death in 1682. Effingham Townley, second son of Richard and Elizabeth Carteret Townley, had died in 1730, but his widow, Sarah, subsequently married John Hunlock.³⁶ The documents included what Ogden later called “Governor Carteret’s Letter and Memorandum Book,” as well as copies of the proprietors’ *Concessions and Agreements* and the Duke’s Laws.³⁷ Among these papers, Ogden found “several . . . which will Explain & Enlighten some facts of that day,” and he planned to communicate what he found to James Alexander once he had reviewed them carefully and taken thorough notes. However, in a conversation with Chief Justice Robert Hunter Morris (circa 1700–1764), Ogden let slip that he had come across the documents. Morris then informed Alexander, who immediately wrote to Ogden in some excitement on November 18, 1745: “I had on Saturday

³⁴ For a discussion of the swirl of land tenure conflicts in eighteenth-century New Jersey, see Brendan McConville, *These Daring Disturbers of the Public Peace: The Struggle for Property and Power in Early New Jersey* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999). For a description of the preparation and printing of the *Elizabethtown Bill in Chancery*, see Joseph J. Felcone, *New Jersey Books, 1698–1800* (Princeton: Joseph J. Felcone Inc., 1992), 21–32.

³⁵ David Ogden to James Alexander, Newark, December 6, 1745, Alexander Papers, Box 4, Folder 1, New-York Historical Society.

³⁶ James Alexander reported to the Board of Proprietors that David Ogden had found the “packet of papers . . . in Hunlock’s hands who had married Mr. Townly’s widow. Townly’s father had married the widow of Gover: Philip Carteret.” George J. Miller, ed., *The Minutes of The Board of Proprietors of the Eastern Division of New Jersey from 1745 to 1764* (Perth Amboy: The General Board of Proprietors of the Eastern Division of New Jersey, 1960), 87–88. Philip Carteret’s widow, Elizabeth (1643–1712), married Richard Townley (1643–1711) and had five children: two who died in infancy; a daughter, Sarah (1685–1731); and two sons, Charles (1686–1756) and Effingham (1690–1730). Effingham married Sarah Evetts (1695–1795); after his death, Sarah married John Hunlock of Elizabethtown (d. 1745).

³⁷ The Duke of York’s Laws were compiled under the direction of Governor Richard Nicolls and first promulgated in 1665. The text is available at <https://www.nycourts.gov/history/legal-history-new-york/documents/charters-duke-transcript.pdf>.

by the post a Letter from Chief Justice Morris wherein he acquaints me that you have discovered and got into your hands three books that belonged to Governor Carteret, one containing the Letters he wrote while Governour the others acts of assembly & publick things the news of which gave me a great deal of pleasure.”

Alexander begged Ogden to let him see the papers “as soon as possibly you can,” and knowing that “they are of too great Consequence to trust by water in this time of year,” he asked him to “tye them up Carefully together” and send them by express over land; “whatever you agree for with the Express, I will readily and Chearfully pay him on bringing the books—it should be a trusty hand that you send.” Almost three weeks later, Ogden chose to send them “by the barer M^r. Solomon Davis who has a good boat and the Carriage by him I believe will be safer than the way you mention.” In a letter he sent with the documents, Ogden added that “M^r. Hunlock has several other papers in his possession Concerning the affairs of this province.”³⁸

Carteret’s letter to the proprietors shows no sign of having once been bound in the letter book, but it may have been among “the several other papers” in Mr. Hunlock’s possession.³⁹ It was not printed in the *Elizabethtown Bill in Chancery*, because it did not contain information relevant to that case. In 1752, Alexander noted the Carteret letter book as being “in the hands of

³⁸ James Alexander to David Ogden, November 18, 1745, Alexander Papers, Box 2, Folder 1, New-York Historical Society; David Ogden to James Alexander, Newark, December 6, 1745, Alexander Papers, Box 4, Folder 1, New-York Historical Society. Ogden noted further that “I am of opinion by the discourse I have had with M^r. Hunlock (who is a very poor man & now under Confinement) that he would accept of a present for those books & other papers he has of publick Concern, in Case they be lodged in one of the publick offices of this province.” After taking careful notes, Alexander apparently retained the “several other papers” but deposited the letter book with the East Jersey Proprietors, where attorneys on both sides of land disputes had access to it. For example, attorneys responsible for the “Bill in Chancery of John Tompkins, John Condict, [et.al.]” (1752) referred to a document “Long since found among the Papers of the said Governor Carteret, which were left in the hands of Mr Effingham Townly since Deceased.” Stevens Family Papers, MG409, Box 40, Folder 11.

³⁹ The Stevens Family Papers include a document similar to Carteret’s letter to the proprietors that may also have been among “the several other papers.” Dated December 11, 1666, and also in James Bollen’s handwriting, it concerns the sale of lands by Philip Carteret, John Ogden, and Luke Watson to Daniel Pierce for what became Woodbridge. MG409, Box 1, Folder 1.

the proprietors of East Jersey,” where he and other attorneys could consult it. He included three documents from the letter book in one of his legal filings, noting the page numbers (e.g., “CLB 37”).⁴⁰ In 1766, Ogden drew on the Carteret documents when he anonymously published *The Claim of the Inhabitants of the Town of Newark in Virtue of the Indian Purchase made by the first Settlers of Newark, in 1667, Stated and Considered*. Citing “Governor Carteret’s Letter and Memorandum Book,” Ogden apparently referred to Carteret’s letter of August 3, 1666 (“on viewing the Country, they did not like it”), as well as earlier letters to William Jones and the Hackensack Sachem Oraton.⁴¹

Ogden’s notes and copies of items from “Governor Carteret’s Letter and Memorandum Book” are not extant. They were most likely destroyed when Patriot troops regained control of Newark early in 1777. A staunch Loyalist, Ogden fled from Newark to New York City on January 5, two days after the defeat of British troops in the Battle of Princeton. The following day, “a regiment of Continental troops came to his dwelling House, who . . . not finding him at Home, plundered & destroyed a great Part of his most valuable Effects,” including “a Desk containing many of [Ogden’s] Papers, w^{ch}. they threw about & many were destroyed.”⁴²

⁴⁰ “The Joint and Several Answers of Andrew Johnston, Lewis Johnston, John Burnet [et.al.] Defendants to the Bill of Complaint of John Tompkins, John Condict [et.al.]” Stevens Family Papers, MG 409, Box 40, Folder 6. Carteret’s letter to William Jones “and the rest of the undertakers of the plantation upon Delaware bay or river,” February 27, 1665[6], was “from pages 25 & 26 of Letter book;” his letter to Oraton, May 26, 1666, was annotated as “CLB 37”; and his letter to the interpreters, also dated May 26, 1666, was noted as “CLB 38.” See footnotes 22 and 23, above.

⁴¹ “In the Year 1666, Mr. *Treat* and others, from *Connecticut*, after treating with Governor *Carteret* about settling in *New-Jersey*, after examining the Concessions, (which they saw and considered) and after having some religious and Privileges (not contained in the Concessions) granted them, came into *New-Jersey* with an Intent of settling on the River *Delaware*, near *Burlington*; but on viewing the Country, they did not like it. On their Return from *Delaware*, they called on Governor *Carteret* at *Elizabeth-Town*; who persuaded them to settle on the Lands now called NEWARK, and wrote a Letter to the Indian Sachem to sell the same to Captain *Treat*, promising the Indian Sachem to satisfy him for the same.” [David Ogden], *The Claim of the Inhabitants of the Town of Newark in Virtue of The Indian Purchase made by the first Settlers of Newark, in 1667, Stated and Considered* (Woodbridge, in New-Jersey: Printed by Samuel F. Parker. M.DCC.LXVI), p. 5. Joseph J. Felcone, *Printing in New Jersey, 1754–1800: A Descriptive Bibliography* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 2012), item 111.

⁴² “The Memorial of David Ogden Esquire late of New Ark in the Colony of New Jersey in America,” March 18, 1784, American Loyalist Claims, 1776–1835, AO 13/110, folio 368v, The National Archives of the United Kingdom, accessed through Ancestry.com, <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/3712/>. “Evidence on the foregoing Mem^l. of David Ogden Esq^r,” July 28, 1784, American Loyalist Claims, 1776–1835, AO 12/16, ff. 50–

Although Ogden's papers were lost, it is possible that Carteret's letter and memorandum book may one day come to light to complement Carteret's "several other papers" that survived among the Stevens Family Papers. If the letter book is found, it will no doubt aid further understanding of the "turbulent tymes" Governor Carteret faced in the early years of the new colony.

Timothy J. Crist is co-founder of the Newark History Society and a trustee of the Newark Public Library. A graduate of Yale University, he earned his PhD in history from Cambridge University, with research on the opposition press in England from 1660–1688. After heading a bibliographical research project at Yale, he worked at Prudential Financial for 37 years before retiring in 2016. He is currently researching the history of Newark in the colonial period.

60, The National Archives of the United Kingdom, accessed through Ancestry.com, <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/3712/>.