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*William Penn
and the Founding
of Pennsylvania*

A Documentary History

Petition to Charles II

[May? 1680]

A

For the
The Humble Ad
Son to Sir W
Showeth,
That having
in *Ireland* by the oppression of the Lord
decease (though most of it remitted by
to borrow every penny of it, by reason
England was under the Stop of the Ex
with the growing interest of it, and 9 ye
for the relief of his own and his mother's
ruin.

He humbly prays that
that princely respect he of
his compassion to the afflicted
America, lying north of *M*
River, on the west, limit
extend as far as plantable,
he doubts not by his interest
profitable plantation to the
to raise that speedy and sufficient
encumbrances, that he may
debt of at least £11,000 and be
and time as shall be most
And

Printed transcript. HSP. (PWP, 2:30-33).

B

For the King's Majesty
The Humble Address of William Penn
Son to Sir William Penn,¹ deceased,
Showeth,
That having sought payment for debts due to his father
in *Ireland* by the oppression of the Lord Treasurer, this account was not settled at his father's
decease (though most of it remitted by order of the Ordnance Office), he was forced
to borrow every penny of it, by reason that since the year 1672, His Majesty's Treasury of
England was under the Stop of the Exchequer,² so that the debt now amounts to £16,000³
with the growing interest of it, and 9 years having passed, the petitioner humbly prays
for the relief of his own and his mother's great debts and otherwise certain
ruin.

He humbly prays that the King's Majesty, out of his Royal Grace and
that princely respect he of old has shown to the petitioner's father, and from
his compassion to the afflicted d, will grant him letters patent for a tract of land in
America, lying north of *M aryland*, on the east bounded with Delaware
River, on the west, limit ed as Maryland is, and northward to
extend as far as plantable, which is altogether Indian. And
he doubts not by his interest st that he will undertake to render it a
profitable plantation to the crown. And the petitioner further promises
to raise that speedy and sufficient sum of money from this grant to satisfy his
encumbrances, that he may settle his accounts and extinguish his
debt of at least £11,000 and be of such service to His Majesty in this place
and time as shall be most beneficial to the Kingdom.
And he in duty prays, etc.

1. Sir William Penn (1621-1670), admiral, was the son of Giles Penn, a Bristol merchant and mariner, and Joan Gilbert. He joined the Parliamentary Navy during the English Civil War and rose rapidly to become one of the country's most important admirals. In 1660 he supported the restoration of Charles II to the throne and became a close friend of the king's brother, James, Duke of York.

2. In 1672 the king suspended payment of orders from the Exchequer totaling £1,200,000. WP was victimized by this royal bankruptcy because he had apparently secured an order for the settlement of his father's victualing account.

3. WP mentioned this figure years later. An original debt of £11,000 could well have advanced, with interest added, to £16,000 within nine years.

4. Margaret Jasper Vanderschuren Penn (1610?-1682), WP's mother, was the daughter of a Rotterdam merchant. She first married Nicholas Vanderschuren, a Dutch merchant living in Ireland, and after his death married William Penn. Under Admiral Penn's will, she received a life interest in his personal and household goods, and she continued to live on their estate in Essex, paying WP rent for its use.

Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania

LIKE real estate developers today, WP was eager to advertise the advantages of moving to his new property. He wrote eight promotional tracts "to give some public notice" of Pennsylvania "to the world." If he were trying to sell land today, he would have produced a flashy brochure filled with many pictures, but WP's promotional tracts were very different—sober and restrained in tone. He had no real need to exaggerate or oversell, for the printed word had enormous impact upon seventeenth-century readers.

Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania was the first promotional tract WP wrote after obtaining his charter in March 1681. Since he was already widely known as a Quaker leader, he made no mention of his religion or of his plans for a holy experiment in this pamphlet. Clearly WP was hoping to appeal to a wider, non-Quaker audience, but he also sent the tract to Friends throughout England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, and it was quickly translated into Dutch and German.

Since WP had not yet been to Pennsylvania when he wrote *Some Account*, his description of his new land was necessarily brief, and his tips for packing and preparing for the journey rather vague. He concentrated instead on a lively defense of colonization, and stressed the advantages of leaving the Old World for the New, where land, material profits, improved family life, and good government awaited the industrious adventurer. The contrast he painted between the decadence of the Old World and the hard-working innocence of the New World would become a regular fixture in American literature.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN AMERICA;

Lately Granted under the Great Seal of ENGLAND
to William Penn, etc.

Together with Privileges and Powers
necessary to the well-governing thereof.

Made public for the Information of such as are or may be
disposed to Transport themselves or Servants into those Parts.

LONDON: Printed and Sold by Benjamin Clark¹
Bookseller in George Yard Lombard Street, 1681.

Since (by the good providence of God) a country in *America* is fallen to my lot, I thought it not less my duty than my honest interest to give some public notice of it to the world, that those of our own, or other nations, that

are inclined to transport themselves or families beyond the seas, may find another country added to their choice; that if they shall happen to like the *place, conditions and constitutions* (so far as the present infancy of things will allow us any prospect), they may, if they please, fix with me in the *province* hereafter described. But before I come to treat of my particular concernment, I shall take leave to say something of the benefit of *plantations* or *colonies* in general, to obviate a common objection.

Colonies, then, are the seeds of nations begun and nourished by the care of wise and populous countries, as conceiving them best for the increase of human stock, and beneficial for commerce.

Some of the wisest men in history have justly taken their fame from this design and service. We read of the reputation given on this account to *Moses, Joshua and Caleb*² in Scripture records; and what renown the *Greek* story yields to *Lycurgus, Theseus*, and those *Greeks* that planted many parts of *Asia*. Nor is the *Roman* account wanting of instances to the credit of that people. They had a *Romulus, a Numa Pompilius*;³ and not only reduced, but moralized the manners of the nations they subjected, so that they may have been rather said to conquer their barbarity than them.

Nor did any of these ever dream it was the way of decreasing their people or wealth. For the cause of the decay of any of those states or empires was not their *plantations*, but their *luxury and corruption of manners*. For when they grew to neglect their ancient discipline that maintained and rewarded virtue and industry, and addicted themselves to *pleasure and effeminacy*, they debased their spirits and debauched their morals, from whence ruin did never fail to follow to any people. With justice, therefore, I deny the vulgar opinion against *plantations*, that they *weaken* England. They have manifestly enriched and so strengthened her, which I briefly evidence thus:

1st. Those that go into a foreign *plantation*, their industry there is worth more than if they stayed at home, the product of their labor being in commodities of a superior nature to those of this *country*. For instance, what is an improved acre in *Jamaica* or *Barbados*⁴ worth to an improved acre in *England*? We know it is three times the value, and the product of it comes for *England*, and is usually paid for in *English growth and manufacture*. Nay, *Virginia* shows that an ordinary industry in one man produces three thousand pound weight of tobacco and twenty barrels of corn yearly. He feeds himself, and brings as much of commodity into *England* besides as being returned in the growth and workmanship of this country, is much more than he could have spent here. Let it also be remembered, that the three thousand weight of tobacco brings in three thousand twopences by way of custom to the king, which makes £25—an extraordinary profit.

2dly. More being produced and imported than we can spend here, we export it to other countries in *Europe*, which brings in money or the growth of those countries, which is the same thing. And this is [to] the advantage of the *English* merchants and seamen.

3dly. Such as could not only not *marry* here, but hardly live and allow themselves clothes, do marry there, and bestow thrice more in all necessaries and conveniences (and not a little in ornamental things, too) for themselves,

their wives, and children, both as to apparel and household stuff, which coming out of *England*, I say it is impossible that *England* should not be a considerable gainer.

4thly. But let it be considered that the plantations employ many hundreds of shipping and many thousands of seamen, which must be in diverse respects an advantage to *England*, being an island, and by nature fitted for navigation above any country in *Europe*. This is followed by other depending trades, as shipwrights, carpenters, sawyers, hewers, trunnel-makers, joiners, slopsellers, drysalters,⁵ iron-workers, the *Eastland* merchants, timber-sellers, and victualers,⁶ with many more trades which hang upon navigation. So that we may easily see the objection (that colonies or plantations hurt *England*) is at least of no strength, especially if we consider how many thousand blacks and Indians are also accommodated with clothes and many sorts of tools and utensils from *England*, and that their labor is mostly brought hither, which adds wealth and people to the *English* Dominions. But it is further said: They injure *England*, in that they draw away too many of the people; for we are not so populous in the countries as formerly.⁷ I say there are other reasons for that.

1st. Country people are so extremely addicted to put their children into gentlemen's service, or send them to towns to learn trades, that husbandry is neglected; and after a soft and delicate usage there, they are forever unfitted for the labor of a farming life.

2dly. The pride of the age in its attendance and retinue is so gross and universal, that where a man of £1000 a year formerly kept but four or five servants, he now keeps more than twice the number. He must have a gentleman to wait upon him in his chambers, a coachman, a groom or two, a butler, a man cook, a gardener, two or three lackies, it may be an huntsman and a falconer; the wife, a gentlewoman, and maids accordingly. This was not known by our ancestors of like quality. This hinders the plow and the dairy, from whence they are taken, and instead of keeping people to manly labor, they are effeminated by a lazy and luxurious living. But which is worse, these people rarely marry, though many of them do worse; but if they do, it is when they are in age. And the reason is clear: because their usual keeping at their master's is too great and costly for them with a family at their own charge, and they scarcely know how to live lower; so that too many of them choose rather to vend their lusts at an evil ordinary than honestly marry and work, the excess and sloth of the age not allowing of marriage and the charge that follows; all which hinders the increase of our people. If men, they often turn either soldiers, or gamesters, or highwaymen. If women, they too frequently dress themselves for a bad market, rather than know the dairy again or honestly return to labor, whereby it happens that both the stock of the nation decays and the issue is corrupted.

3dly. Of old time, the nobility and gentry spent their estates in the country, and that kept the people in it; and their servants married and sat at easy rents under their master's favor, which peopled the place. Now the great men (too much loving the town and resorting to *London*) draw many people thither to attend them, who either don't marry, or if they do, they pine away their small gains in some petty shop; for there are so many, they prey upon one another.

4thly. The country being thus neglected, and no due balance kept between

trade and husbandry, city and country, the poor country man takes double toil, and cannot (for want of hands) dress and manure his land to the advantage it formerly yielded him. Yet must he pay the old rents, which occasions servants, and such children as go not to trades, to continue single, at least all their youthful time, which also obstructs the increase of our people.

5thly. The decay of some country manufactures (where no provision is made to supply the people with a new way of living) causes the more industrious to go abroad to seek their bread in other countries, and gives the lazy an occasion to loiter and beg or do worse, by which means the land swarms with beggars. Formerly it was rare to find any asking alms but the maimed, or blind, or very aged. Now thousands of both sexes run up and down, both city and country, that are sound and youthful and able to work, with false pretenses and certificates. Nor is there any care taken to employ or deter such vagrants, which weakens the country as to people and labor.

To which let me add, that the great debauchery in this kingdom has not only rendered many unfruitful when married, but they live not out half their time, through excesses, which might be prevented by a vigorous execution of our good laws against corruption of manners. These and the like evils are the true grounds of the decay of our people in the country, to say nothing of plague and wars. Towns and cities cannot complain of the decay of people, being more replenished than ever, especially *London*,⁸ which with reason helps the country man to this objection. And though some do go to the plantations, yet numbering the parishes in *England* and computing how many live more than die, and are born than buried, there goes not over to all the plantations a fourth part of the yearly increase of the people. And when they are there, they are not (as I said before) lost to *England*, since they furnish them with much clothes, household stuff, tools, and the like necessaries, and that in greater quantities than here their condition could have needed, or they could have bought, being there well to pass that were but low here, if not poor; and now masters of families, too, when here they had none, and could hardly keep themselves. And very often it happens that some of them, after their industry and success there have made them wealthy, they return and empty their riches into *England*, one in this capacity being able to buy out twenty of what he was when he went over.

Thus much to justify the credit and benefit of plantations, wherein I have not sought to speak my interest, but my judgment; and I dare venture the success of it with all sober and considering men. I shall now proceed to give some account of my own concern.

1st. I shall say what may be necessary of the place or province.

2dly. Touch upon the Constitutions.

3dly. Lay down the conditions.

4thly. Give my sense what persons will be fit to go.

5thly. What utensils, furniture, and commodities are fit to carry with them, with the charge of the voyage, and what is first to be done and expected there for some time.

And lastly, I shall give an abstract of the grant by letters patents under the Great Seal of *England*, that an account may be given of the estate and power granted to me thereby.

I. Something of the Place.

The place lies 600 miles nearer the sun than *England*; for *England* begins at the 50th degree and ten minutes of north latitude, and this place begins at forty, which is about the latitude of *Naples* in *Italy*, or *Montpellier* in *France*.⁹ I shall say little in its praise to excite desires in any, whatever I could truly write as to the soil, air, and water. This shall satisfy me, that by the *blessing* of God and the honesty and industry of man, it may be a good and fruitful land.

For *navigation* it is said to have two conveniencies: the one by lying nine score miles upon *Delaware* River, that is to say, about three score and ten miles before we come to the *Falls*¹⁰ where a vessel of two hundred tons may sail (and some creeks and small harbors in that distance, where ships may come nearer than the river into the country), and above the *Falls*, for sloops and boats, as I am informed, to the extent of the patent. The other convenience is through *Chesapeake Bay*.

For timber and other wood, there is variety for the use of man.

For *fowl*, *fish*, and *wild deer*, they are reported to be plentiful in those parts. Our *English* provision is likewise now to be had there at reasonable rates. The commodities that the country is thought to be capable of, are *silk*, *flax*, *hemp*, *wine*, *cider*, *woad*, *madder*, *licorice*, *tobacco*, *potashes*,¹¹ and *iron*, and it does actually produce *hides*, *tallow*, *pipe-staves*,¹² *beef*, *pork*, *sheep*, *wool*, *corn*,¹³ as *wheat*, *barley*, *rye*, and also *furs*, as your *peltry*, *minks*, *raccoons*, *martens*,¹⁴ and such like; store of *furs* which is to be found among the *Indians*, that are profitable commodities in *Europe*.

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

II. The Constitutions.

For the *Constitution* of the country, the patent shows, first, that the people and governor have a legislative power, so that no law can be made, nor money raised, but by the people's consent.

2dly. That the rights and freedoms of *England* (the best and largest in *Europe*) shall be in force there.

3dly. That making no law against allegiance (which should we, it were by the law of *England*, void of itself that moment) we may enact what laws we please for the good prosperity and security of the said province.¹⁵

4thly. That so soon as any are engaged with me, we shall begin a scheme or draft together, such as shall give ample testimony of my sincere inclinations to encourage planters, and settle a free, just, and industrious colony there.

III. The Conditions.

My conditions will relate to three sorts of people: 1st, those that will

buy; 2dly, those that take up land upon rent; 3dly, servants. To the first, the shares I sell shall be certain as to number of acres; that is to say, every one shall contain five thousand acres, free from any *Indian* encumbrance, the price £100, and for the quitrent but one *English* shilling or the value of it yearly for a hundred acres; and the said quitrent not to begin to be paid till 1684. To the second sort, that take up land upon rent, they shall have liberty so to do, paying yearly one penny per acre, not exceeding two hundred acres. To the third sort, to wit, servants that are carried over, fifty acres shall be allowed to the master for every head, and fifty acres to every servant when their time is expired.¹⁶ And because some engage with me that may not be disposed to go, it were very advisable for every three adventurers to send an overseer with their servants, which would well pay the cost.

The *divident*¹⁷ may be thus: if the persons concerned please, a tract of land shall be surveyed, say fifty thousand acres to a hundred adventurers, in which some of the best shall be set out for towns or cities; and there shall be so much ground allotted to each in those towns as may maintain some cattle and produce some corn. Then the remainder of the fifty thousand acres shall be shared among the said adventurers (casting up the barren for commons, and allowing for the same) whereby every adventurer will have a considerable quantity of land together, likewise every one a proportion by a navigable river, and then backward into the country. The manner of *divident* I shall not be strict in; we can but speak roughly of the matter here; but let men skillful in plantations be consulted, and I shall leave it to the majority of votes among the adventurers when it shall please God we come there, how to fix it to their own content.

IV. These persons that Providence seems to have most fitted for plantations are,

1st. Industrious husbandmen and day laborers, that are hardly able (with extreme labor) to maintain their families and portion their children.

2dly. Laborious handicrafts, especially carpenters, masons, smiths, weavers, tailors, tanners, shoemakers, shipwrights, etc.,¹⁸ where they may be spared or are low in the world. And as they shall want no encouragement, so their labor is worth more there than here, and there provision cheaper.

3dly. A plantation seems a fit place for those ingenious spirits that being low in the world, are much clogged and oppressed about a livelihood. For the means of subsisting being easy there, they may have time and opportunity to gratify their inclinations, and thereby improve science and help nurseries of people.

4thly. A fourth sort of men to whom a plantation would be proper, takes in those that are younger brothers of small inheritances; yet because they would live in sight of their kindred in some proportion to their quality, and can't do it without a labor that looks like farming, their condition is too strait for them; and if married, their children are often too numerous for the estate, and are frequently bred up to no trades, but are a kind of hangers on or retainers to the elder brothers' table and charity; which is a mischief, as in itself to be lamented, so here to be remedied. For land they have for next to nothing, which with

moderate labor produces plenty of all things necessary for life, and such an increase as by traffic may supply them with all conveniences.

Lastly, there are another sort of persons, not only fit for, but necessary in *plantations*, and that is, *men of universal spirits* that have an eye to the good of posterity, and that both understand and delight to promote good discipline and just government among a plain and well intending people. Such persons may find *room in colonies for their good counsel and contrivance*, who are shut out from being of much use or service to great nations under settled customs. These men deserve much esteem, and would be hearkened to. Doubtless it was this (*as I observed before*) that put some of the famous *Greeks and Romans* upon transplanting and regulating *colonies* of people in diverse parts of the world, whose names, for giving so great proof of their wisdom, virtue, labor and constancy, are with justice honorably delivered down by story to the praise of our own times; though the world, after all its higher pretenses of religion, barbarously errs from their excellent example.

V. The Journey and its Appurtenances, and what is to be done there at first coming.

Next let us see, *what is fit for the journey and place when there, and also what may be the charge of the voyage, and what is to be expected and done there at first*, that such as incline to go, may not be to seek here, or brought under any disappointments there. The *goods* fit to take with them for use, or sell for profit, are all sorts of apparel and utensils for husbandry and building and household stuff. And because I know how much people are apt to fancy things beyond what they are, and that imaginations are great flatterers of the minds of men, to the end that none may delude themselves with an expectation of an immediate amendment of their conditions so soon as it shall please God they arrive there, I would have them understand *that they must look for a winter before a summer comes*; and they must be willing to be two or three years without some of the conveniences they enjoy at home. And yet I must needs say that *America* is another thing than it was at the first plantation of *Virginia* and *New England*,¹⁹ for there is better accommodation, and *English* provisions are to be had at easier rates. However, I am inclined to set down particulars as near as those inform me that know the place, and have been planters both in that and in the neighboring *colonies*.

1st. The passage will come for masters and mistresses at most to £6 a head, for servants £5 a head, and for children under seven years of age, fifty shillings, except they suck, then nothing.

Next being, by the mercy of God, safely arrived in *September* or *October*, two men may clear as much ground by spring (when they set the corn of that country) as will bring in that time, twelve month, forty barrels, which amounts to two hundred bushels, which makes twenty-five quarters of corn. So that the first year they must buy corn, which is usually very plentiful. They may, so soon as they come, buy *cows*, more or less, as they want or are able, which are to be had at easy rates. For *swine*, they are plentiful and cheap; these will quickly increase to a stock. So that after the first year, what with the poorer sort sometimes laboring to others, and the more able *fishing, fowl-*

ing, and sometimes buying, they may do very well, till their own stocks are sufficient to supply them and their families, which will quickly be, and to spare, if they follow the *English husbandry* as they do in *New England*, and *New York*, and get winter fodder for their stock.

VI. And Lastly, an Abstract of the Patent granted by the King to William Penn, etc., the Fourth of *March*, 1681. . . .

[There follows an outline of WP's charter, similar to the one provided in the headnote to doc. 11, above.]

To conclude, I desire all my dear country folks, who may be inclined to go into those parts, to consider seriously the premises, *as well the present inconveniences as future ease and plenty*, that so none may move rashly or from a fickle but solid mind, *having above all things, as eye to the providence of God, in the disposal of themselves*. And I would further advise all such at least, to have the permission, if not the good liking of their near relations, for that is both natural, and a duty incumbent upon all; and by this means will natural affection be preserved, and a friendly and profitable correspondence be maintained between them. In all which *I beseech Almighty God to direct us, that His blessing may attend our honest endeavor, and then the consequence of all our undertaking will turn to the glory of His great name, and the true happiness of us and our posterity*. Amen.

WILLIAM PENN

POSTSCRIPT.

Whoever are desirous to be concerned with me in this *province*, they may be treated with and further satisfied, at *Philip Ford's*²⁰ in *Bow Lane* in *Cheapside*, and at *Thomas Rudyard's*²¹ or *Benjamin Clark's* in *George Yard* in *Lombard Street*.

THE END.

Printed tract. Not published in *PWP*, Vol. Two.

1. Benjamin Clark was a London Quaker printer who published several of WP's promotional tracts.
2. These three Hebrew leaders were regarded as colonizers by WP because they headed the exodus out of Egypt that led to the birth of Israel.
3. Lycurgus was the legendary law-giver of Sparta; Theseus was the legendary king of Athens who unified the communities of Attica into the city-state of Athens; Romulus was the legendary founder of Rome and of the first Roman colony; and Numa Pompilius was Rome's second king and law-giver. These four figures are the first characters in *Plutarch's Lives*, which WP knew; thus WP is subtly comparing himself with these classical heroes who created powerful new nations.
4. Jamaica and Barbados, the chief sugar islands in the British West Indies, were known for their rich soil.
5. Hewers were wood- and stone-cutters. Trunnel-makers made wooden pegs (trunnels) used in shipbuilding. Joiners were carpenters. Slopsellers sold cheap clothing, especially sailor's clothes. Drysalters dealt in drugs and dyes, many of which were imported from America.
6. The Eastland merchants engaged in the Baltic trade. Victualers were suppliers of food and provisions.

7. It was believed (probably correctly) that England's rural population was declining during the late seventeenth century.

8. Despite its terrible disease environment and high mortality rate, London doubled in population during the seventeenth century. In 1681 roughly 500,000 people (one-tenth of the total population of England) lived in or around the city.

9. The latitude of Naples, Italy, is 40 degrees 52 minutes north. Montpellier, in southern France, is considerably north of Pennsylvania, at almost 44 degrees.

10. The Falls of the Delaware, at present-day Trenton, New Jersey.

11. Woad is a plant whose leaves give a blue dye. Madder is a plant whose root is used in making red dye. Potash is a crude form of potassium, obtained by washing and then evaporating wood ashes in large iron pots; it was used in making soap and glass.

12. Pipe-staves were strips of wood used for making large casks to hold liquids.

13. Cereal crops, excluding Indian corn which the English called maize.

14. Martens, or sables, are small animals with soft, dark fur.

15. Up to this point, the editors have followed the original printer's use of italics. Beginning here and continuing to Part VI, however, the printer placed most of the text in italic type and used roman for words he wanted to emphasize. The editors have reversed this usage here so that this section conforms to the rest of the text; hence, words needing emphasis are printed throughout in italics.

16. For a discussion of WP's land policy, see the headnote to doc. 17.

17. The method of distributing or dividing. WP expects that groups of purchasers will receive large blocks of land collectively from the proprietor, and then share out individual holdings among themselves.

18. WP was particularly successful in recruiting craft workers of this sort for Pennsylvania. Of the 352 purchasers of land in 1681-1685 who can be identified by occupation, 48 percent were craftsmen. Only 23 percent were husbandmen, or farmers.

19. When Virginia was first settled in 1607, and New England in 1620, the colonists experienced a "starving time." As WP correctly predicted, there was no such disaster in Pennsylvania in the 1680s.

20. Philip Ford (c. 1631-1702) was a London Quaker shopkeeper whom WP employed as his principal business manager from 1669 to the 1690s, when the two men disagreed over money that WP owed Ford. After Ford's death, his widow, Bridget, sued WP for a large debt and won her case.

21. Thomas Rudyard (d. 1692), a Quaker lawyer of London, was one of WP's chief land agents and helped him draft the *Frame of Government* (see doc. 29, below). He served briefly as deputy-governor of East Jersey in 1682-1684, and fell out with WP over the privileges of First Purchasers in Philadelphia in 1684 (see doc. 96, below).

16 §

To Robert Turner, Anthony Sharp, and Roger Roberts

WP addressed the following letter to three prominent Friends in Dublin whom he had known and worked with on Quaker causes for more than a decade. The letter provides a good illustration of how WP advertised his new colony among Quakers throughout England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and Holland.

Westminster, 12 April 1681

Friends Robert Turner, Anthony Sharp, and Roger Roberts

My love salutes you in the abiding Truth of our God that is precious in all lands; the Lord God of righteousness keep us in it, and then shall we be the daily witnesses of the comforts and refreshments that come from it to His praise, that is the fountain of all good. Having published a paper with relation to my province in America (at least, what I thought advisable to publish), I here inclose one,¹ that you may know and inform others of it. I have been these 13 years the servant of Truth and Friends,² and for my testimony sake lost much, not only by the greatness and preferments of this world, but £16,000 of my estate, that had I not been what I am I had long ago obtained.³ But I murmur not, the Lord is good to me, and the interest His Truth with His people may more than repair it. For many are drawn forth to be concerned with me, and perhaps this way of satisfaction has more of the hand of God in it than a downright payment.

This I can say, that I had an opening of joy as to these parts in the year 1661 at Oxford, 20 years since;⁴ and as my understanding and inclinations have been much directed to observe and reprove mischiefs in government, so it is now put into my power to settle one. For the matters of liberty and privilege, I purpose that which is extraordinary, and to leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief, that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country; but to publish those things now and here, as matters stand, would not be wise,⁵ and I was advised to reserve that till I came there. Your ancient love to me makes me believe you will have a brotherly eye to my honest concern, and what Truth makes you free to do, you will, and more I expect not. It is a clear, untangled, and I may say, honorable bottom. No more, but let Friends know it, as you are free. With my [fervent] love in that which no waters can quench, nor time make wax old, nor distance wear out.

Your friend and brother,
Wm Penn

The enclosed was first read to traders, planters, and shipmasters that know those parts, and finally to the most eminent of Friends hereaway, and so comes forth. I have forborn pains⁶ and allurement, and with Truth,

W. P.

There are several inhabitants on the place already able to yield accommodation to such as at first go, and care is taken already for to look out [for] a convenient tract of land for a first settlement.

Transcript. APS. (PWP, 2:88-90).

1. A copy of *Some Account*. See doc. 15.

2. WP became a Quaker in late 1667 while he was in Ireland overseeing his father's estates. He was converted after hearing Thomas Loe, a traveling minister, speak in Cork.

3. In his petition to Charles II (doc. 1), WP described his debt of "at least £11,000;" with interest, this sum could have totaled £16,000 by 1681. In addressing the king, WP blamed the Stop of the Exchequer for his financial problems, but here he presents himself to fellow Quakers as a victim of religious persecution.

three years. Finally, WP pledged to give bonus lots to early purchasers in "a large town or city" (the future Philadelphia) at the rate of one acre in the city for every fifty purchased. This promise proved particularly tempting, and in 1682-1684 the First Purchasers snapped up their city lots in Philadelphia.

WP's land sales now proceeded briskly. Between July and October 1681, he sold over 300,000 acres to nearly 300 First Purchasers. Appropriately, the first deed of sale (doc. 18) was for a 5000-acre share to Philip Ford, who was WP's business agent in London and one of his principal salesmen for land in Pennsylvania. During the first four years after WP obtained his charter, about 600 First Purchasers bought more than 700,000 acres of Pennsylvania land. They paid WP approximately £9000, which was less than he had hoped for, but in every other respect his salesmanship proved to be highly successful. The First Purchasers were primarily Quaker merchants, craftsmen, shopkeepers, and farmers. Some of them came from Ireland, Wales, Scotland, Holland, France, Germany, the West Indies, and North America, but the great majority lived in the country districts of southern and western England, and in the cities of London and Bristol. About half of them actually migrated to Pennsylvania, bringing their families as well as many servants, and making possible the rapid development of the new colony.

17 §

Conditions or Concessions to the First Purchasers

Certain Conditions or Concessions agreed upon by William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, and those who are the Adventurers and Purchasers in the same Province.

The 11th of July 1681.¹

1st. That so soon as it pleases God that the abovesaid persons arrive there, a certain quantity of land or ground plot shall be laid out for a large town or city in the most convenient place upon the river for health and navigation, and every purchaser and adventurer shall by lot have so much land therein, as will answer to the proportion he has bought or taken up upon rent.² But it is to be noted that the surveyors shall consider what roads or highways will be necessary to the cities, towns, or through the lands. Great roads from city to city, not to contain less than forty feet in breadth, shall be first laid out and declared to be for highways, before the dividend of acres be laid out for the purchaser; and the like observation to be had for streets in the towns and cities, that there may be convenient roads and streets preserved not to be encroached upon by any planter or builder, and that none may build irregularly to the damage of another, in this custom guide.

2dly. That the land in the town be laid out together after the proportion of 10,000 acres of the whole country: that is, 200 acres if the place will bear it. However, that the proportion be by lot and entire, so as those that

desire to be together, especially those that are by the catalogue laid together, may be so laid together both in the town and country.³

3dly. That when the country lots are laid out, every purchaser from 1000 to 10[000 acres?], or more, not to have above 1000 acres together unless in 3 years they plant a [family?] upon every 1000 acres; but that all such as purchase together lie together, and if as many as comply with this condition, that the whole be laid out together.

4thly. That where any number of purchasers more or less, whose number of acres amounts to five or ten thousand acres, desire to sit together in a lot or township, they shall have their lot or township cast together in such places as have convenient h[arbors or ?] navigable rivers attending it, if such can be found. And in case any one or more purchasers plant not according to agreement in this concession to the prejudice of others [of the same ?] township, upon complaint thereof made to the governor or his deputy with [assistance?], they may award (if they see cause) that the complaining purchaser may, paying the survey money and the purchase money and interest thereof, etc., [be] entitled, enrolled, and lawfully invested in the lands so not seated.

5thly. That the proportion of lands that shall be laid out in [the] first great town or city for every purchaser shall be after the proportion of ten acres for every five hundred acres purchased, if the place will allow it.

6thly. That notwithstanding there be no mention made in the several deeds made to the purchasers, yet the said William Penn does accord and declare that all rivers, rivulets, woods and underwoods, waters, water-courses, quarries, mines, and minerals (except mines royal⁴) shall be freely and fully enjoyed and wholly by the purchasers into whose lot they fall.

7thly. That for every 50 acres that shall be allotted to a servant at the end of his service, his quitrent shall be two shillings per annum; and the master or owner of the servant when he shall take up the other 50 acres, his quitrent shall be four shillings by the year. Or if the master of the servant (by reason in the indenture he is so obliged to do) allot out to the servant 50 acres in his own division, [the?] said master shall have on demand allotted him from the governor, the one hundred acres at the chief rent of six shillings per annum.⁵

8thly. And for the encouragement of such as are ingenious and willing to search out gold and silver mines in this province, it is hereby agreed that they have liberty to bore and dig in any man's property, fully paying the damage done; and in case a discovery should be made, that the discoverer have one-fifth, the owner of the soil (if not the discoverer) a tenth part, the governor two-fifths, and the rest to the public treasury, saving to the king the share reserved by patent.⁶

9thly. In every hundred thousand acres, the governor and proprietary by lot reserves ten to himself which shall lie but in one place.⁷

10thly. That every man shall be bound to plant or man so much of his share, or land, as shall be set out and surveyed within three years after it is so set out and surveyed, or else it shall be lawful for newcomers to be settled thereupon, paying to them their survey money, and they going on higher⁸ for their shares.

11thly. There shall be no buying and selling, be it with the Indians or one among another, of any goods to be exported, but what shall be performed in public market when such places shall be set apart or erected, where they shall pass the public stamp or mark. If bad ware and prized as good, and deceitful in proportion or weights, to forfeit the value as if good and in full in weight and proportion to the public treasury of the province, whether it be the merchandise of the Indian or that of the planters.⁹

12thly. And forasmuch as it is usual with the planters to overreach the poor natives of the country in trade, by goods not being good of the kind or debased with mixtures, with which they are sensibly aggrieved, it is agreed whatever is sold to the Indians in consideration of their furs shall be sold in the marketplace, and there suffer the test whether good or bad; if good to pass; if not good, not to be sold for good, that the natives may not be abused nor provoked.

13thly. That no man shall, by any ways or means in word or deed, affront or wrong any Indian, but he shall incur the same penalty of the law as if he had committed it against his fellow planter. And if any Indian shall abuse in word or deed any planter of this province, that he shall not be his own judge upon the Indian, but he shall make his complaint to the governor of the province, or his lieutenant or deputy, or some inferior magistrate near him, who shall to the utmost of his power take care with the king of the said Indian, that all reasonable satisfaction be made to the said injured planter.

14thly. That all differences between the planters and the natives shall also be ended by twelve men, that is, by six planters and six natives; that so we may live friendly together and, as much as in us lies, prevent all occasions of heart burnings and mischiefs.

15thly. That the Indians shall have liberty to do all things relating to the improvement of their ground and providing sustenance for their families, that any of the planters shall enjoy.

16thly. That the laws, as to slanders, drunkenness, swearing, cursing, pride in apparel, trespasses, distresses, replevins, weights and measures, shall be the same as in England till altered by law in this province.¹⁰

17thly. That all shall mark their hogs, sheep, and other cattle, and what are not marked within three months after it is in their possession, be it young or old, it shall be forfeited to the governor; that so people may be compelled to avoid the occasion of much strife between planters.

18thly. That in clearing the ground, care be taken to leave one acre of trees for every five acres cleared, especially to preserve oak and mulberries for silk and shipping.

19thly. That all shipmasters shall give an account of their countries, names, ships, owners' freights, and passengers to an officer to be appointed for that purpose, which shall be registered within two days after their arrival; and if they shall refuse so to do, that then none presume to trade with them, upon forfeiture thereof, and that such masters be looked upon as having an evil intention to the province.

20thly. That no person leave the province without publication being made thereof in the marketplace three weeks before, and a certificate from

some justice of the peace of his clearness with his neighbors and those he has dealt withal, so far as such an assurance can be attained and given. And if any master of a ship shall contrary hereunto receive and carry away any person that has not given that public notice, the said master shall be liable to all debts owing by the said person, so secretly transported from that province.

Lastly, that these are to be added to, or corrected by and with the [consent?] of the parties hereunto subscribed.

Wm Penn

Scaled and delivered in
the presence of

William Boelham,
Herbert Springett,
Thomas Rudyard.

Scaled and delivered in the
presence of all the propri-
etors, who have hereunto
subscribed, except Thomas
Farneborough and John
Goodson, in presence of

Hugh Chamberlain,
R. Murray,
Herbert Springett,
Humphrey South,
Thomas Barker,
Samuel Jobson,
John [and] Joseph Moore,
William Powel,
Richard Davies,
Griffith Jones,
Hugh Lamb,
Thomas Farneborough,
John Goodson.¹¹

Copy. HSP. (PWP, 2:96-102).

1. As of 11 July, WP had apparently sold no land; the first surviving deed is dated 14 July, to Philip Ford (doc. 18, below). The "Adventurers and Purchasers" who signed doc. 17 were stating their intention to buy land.

2. WP was here pledging that every purchaser would be given bonus land in the new capital city.

3. This clause sets the ratio (1:50) of town to country acreage; in 1682, WP discovered that he had promised to give more bonus town land than he could deliver. The "catalogue" is probably a list of First Purchasers which WP sent to America with his commissioners in Oct. 1681; this list arranged 259 purchasers into thirty-two 10,000-acre sections.

4. Gold or silver mines.

5. The quitrents on land that masters received by headright and that servants earned through their service were much higher than those paid on purchased land, for which WP charged only one shilling per one hundred acres. Clearly WP wanted some long term income from this land, which he was giving away rather than selling.

6. WP's charter to Pennsylvania (doc. 11, sect. 3, above) reserved one-fifth of all gold and silver found in the colony for the crown.

7. In his charter WP was given the right to create proprietary manors; this is his first reference to their establishment.

8. Farther inland, on higher ground.

9. This clause attempts to establish a public standard for the price and quality of

Pennsylvania exports, partly to prevent cheating, and partly to protect the colony's commercial reputation.

10. According to the legal code of seventeenth-century England, people were liable to prosecution for slander, drunkenness, and trespass, and in addition they could be prosecuted for blasphemy or for wearing showy or "proud" clothing beyond their social station. Distresses were legal actions to seize property in payment of debts. Replevins were legal actions to recover property illegally taken.

11. Boelham, Springett, and Rudyard signed this document as witnesses. The other signers except "R. Murray" (perhaps a copyist's mistake for H[enry] Murrey, a minor First Purchaser), were all major First Purchasers of Pennsylvania land, and Boelham could be the purchaser William Bowman. All of these purchasers, except the Welshman Richard Davies, were residents of greater London.

18 §

Land Sale to Philip Ford

14 July 1681

Know all men by these presents, that I, William Penn of Warminghurst¹ in the County of Sussex, Esquire, have had and received of and from Philip Ford of London, merchant, the sum of one hundred pounds of lawful English money, which said one hundred pounds is the consideration money for the purchase of five thousand acres of land in PENNSYLVANIA mentioned and expressed in one pair of indentures of bargain, sale, and release thereof, bearing even date herewith and made, or mentioned to be made, between me the said William Penn of the one part and Philip Ford of the other part; of and from which said one hundred pounds I, the said William Penn, do hereby for myself, my heirs, and assigns, remise² and release and quit claim the said Philip Ford, his heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, and every of them, by these presents. Witness my hand this fourteenth day of July, *anno Domini* one thousand six hundred eighty and one, *annoque regni regis Carolus Secundi xxxciii*³

Wm Penn

Sealed and delivered in the presence of

Herbert Springett
Thomas Coxe
Isaac Swinton

DS. Bedfordshire Record Office, England. (*PWP*, 2:102).

1. In 1676 WP bought the manor house at Warminghurst, 45 miles south of London, with about 300 acres of land. He and his family lived there until 1697. WP and his son, William Penn, Jr., sold the estate in 1707.

2. Surrender.

3. "And in the year of the reign of King Charles II the thirty-third."

19 §

To James Harrison

WP depended on a number of friends throughout the British Isles and in Europe to sell Pennsylvania land and to give him advice on setting up his colonial government. One man who helped promote WP's province and who later joined his inner circle of advisors in Pennsylvania was James Harrison (c. 1628-1687), a Quaker minister of Bolton, Lancs., in northern England. In this letter, WP commissions Harrison as one of his land agents, and explains his rent and quitrent policy for settlers and servants. He also delivers his most memorable description of his new colony as a "holy experiment," an example to the wicked world of service to God's truth. Harrison does not seem to have been an effective salesman, for few people in Lancashire bought land from WP. Harrison did buy 5000 acres himself, and apparently sold part of his tract to others (see doc. 65, below). He sailed to the new colony in 1682 and soon became the steward of WP's country estate, Pennsbury Manor in Bucks County.

25 August 1681

Dear J. Harrison:

In the fellowship of the Gospel of love, life, and peace, which God our Father that has brought with Jesus from the dead, do I tenderly salute thee, owning thy love and kindness to me, of which thine of the 5th month¹ gave me a sense and fresh remembrance which met me at London on my return from the west,² where the Lord prospered me beyond words, blessed be His honored name.

As to my voyage, it is not like to be so quick as I hoped; for the people upon whose going both my resolutions and service in going depended, though they buy and most send servants to clear and sow a [piece?] of land against they come, not one-[fifth?] can now get rid of their concerns here till spring. When they go, I go, [but?] my going with servants will not s[ettle?] a government, the great end of my going.³ [Besides?], many flock in to be concerned with me. I am like to have many from France, some from Holland, and I hear some Scots will go.⁴ For my country, [I eyed?] the Lord in the obtaining of it; and more was I drawn inward to look to Him, and to o[we] it?] to His hand and power, than to any o[ther] way?. I have so obtained it and desire that I may not be unworthy of His love, but do that which may answer His kind providence and serve His truth and people; that an example may be set up to the nations. There may be room there, though not here, for such a holy experiment.

Now dear James, for the 50 acres a servant to the master, and 50 to the servant, this is done for their sakes that can't buy, for I must either be paid by purchase or rent. That is, those that can't buy, may take up: if a master of a family, 200 acres at a penny an acre; afterwards, 50 acres per head for every

apiece, and the purchasers of each share were to receive 100 acres of town land, totaling 10,000 acres in all.

7. The "letter" is probably doc. 23. Sects. 11-15 of doc. 17 instruct purchasers on how to deal with the Indians.

8. See WP's full description of the Delaware Indians in doc. 76, below.

9. WP is here instructing his commissioners to ignore all patents to undeveloped land held by the "old" settlers who came to Pennsylvania before WP received his charter.

10. For his manors; see doc. 17, sect. 9, above.

11. Two hundred paces would set each house 1000 feet back from the river; a quarter of a mile would set dwellings back 1320 feet.

12. WP probably had in mind here the great plague of 1665 in London, and the great fire of 1666, the first of which he had experienced. His open town plan was designed to prevent such disasters in Philadelphia.

13. 825 feet.

14. Richard Vickris (1650?-1700), Thomas Callowhill (c. 1640-1712), and Charles Jones, Jr., (d. 1701) were all Bristol Quaker merchants who bought land in Pennsylvania but did not go to the colony. Callowhill's daughter Hannah became WP's second wife in 1696. Jones's daughter Mary married WP's son William in 1699.

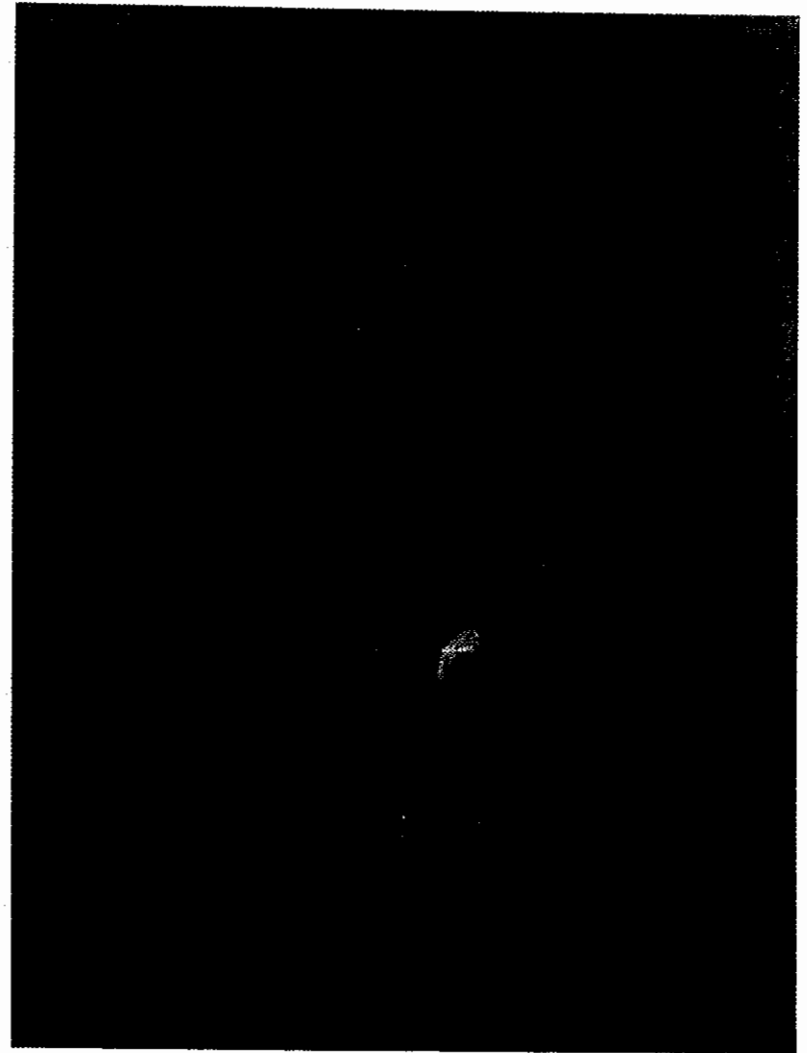
15. Philip Theodore Lehmann (d. 1687), whom WP sometimes called "Philip the German," had been WP's secretary since about 1673. He accompanied WP to America in 1682.

16. Ralph Withers (1631-c. 1683) was a Quaker First Purchaser from Wiltshire who immigrated to Pennsylvania and became deputy-treasurer of the Free Society of Traders and a provincial councilor.

23 §

To the Kings of the Indians

ON the eve of European colonization, the Lenni Lenape (or Delaware) Indians inhabited the region from northern Maryland into New York, from the Atlantic Ocean to the western edge of the Delaware River watershed. Their language was Algonkian, and the name of their tribe meant "Original People." The Lenni Lenape lived a seminomadic village existence and raised crops of corn, beans, and squash. In the wintertime they left their small villages of six to eight houses to hunt. In the spring they returned to their villages to plant their crops. By 1680 the Lenni Lenape had been in contact with Europeans for nearly eighty years, and the use of European cloth, kettles, blankets, guns, liquor, hatchets, and other tools had become common among them. European contact also brought new diseases, such as smallpox, tuberculosis, and measles, against which the Lenni Lenape had no immunity; thus the native population was sparse. Before the arrival of the Quakers, the Swedish and Dutch colonists had fortified their settlements against Indian attack. WP intended to dispense with fortifications and live in peace with the Indians, but he also intended to purchase large tracts of land from them before allowing his settlers to come. In doc. 22, WP instructed his agents to deal fairly with the Indians. Doc. 23, WP's first letter to the Lenni Lenape, outlines more directly his ideas for Indian-white relations.



Tishcohan, by Gustavus Hesselius, 1735, HSP. This portrait of an eighteenth-century Lenni Lenape leader was probably commissioned by WP's son, John Penn.

London, 18 October 1681

My Friends

There is one great God and power that has made the world and all things therein, to whom you and I and all people owe their being and well-being, and to whom you and I must one day give an account for all that we do in this world. This great God has written his law in our hearts, by which we are taught and commanded to love and help and do good to one another, and not to do harm and mischief one unto another. Now this great God has been pleased to make me concerned in your parts of the world, and the king of the country where I live has given unto me a great province therein, but I desire to enjoy it with your love and consent, that we may always live together as neighbors and friends, else what would the great God say to us, who has made us not to devour and destroy one another, but live soberly and kindly together in the world.

Now I would have you well observe, that I am very sensible of the unkindness and injustice that has been too much exercised towards you by the people of these parts of the world, who have sought themselves, and to make great advantages by you, rather than be examples of justice and goodness unto you; which I hear has been matter of trouble to you and caused great grudgings and animosities, sometimes to the shedding of blood, which has made the great God angry. But I am not such a man, as is well known in my own country. I have great love and regard toward you, and I desire to win and gain your love and friendship by a kind, just, and peaceable life; and the people I send are of the same mind, and shall in all things behave themselves accordingly. And if in anything any shall offend you or your people, you shall have a full and speedy satisfaction for the same by an equal number of honest men on both sides,¹ that by no means you may have just occasion of being offended against them.

I shall shortly come to you myself, at what time we may more largely and freely confer and discourse of these matters. In the meantime, I have sent my commissioners to treat with you about land and a firm league of peace. Let me desire you to be kind to them and the people, and receive these presents and tokens which I have sent to you as a testimony of my good will to you and my resolution to live justly, peaceably, and friendly with you. I am your friend.

Wm Penn

LS. HSP. (PWP, 2:127-29).

1. Similar provisions for juries of Indians and whites were included in the West New Jersey Concessions of 1676, which WP may have played a role in drafting, and in WP's "Conditions or Concessions to the First Purchasers" (see doc. 17, sect. 14, above).

24 §

Additional Instructions to William Markham

London, 28 October 1681

Memorandum of Additional Instructions to
William Markham and William Crispin and John Bezar

First, to act all in my name as proprietary and governor.¹

Secondly, to buy land of the true owners, which I think is the Susquehanna people.²

Thirdly, to treat speedily with the Indians for land before they are furnished by others with things that please them. Take advice in this.

Fourthly, that all evidence or engagements be without oaths, thus: "I, A. B., do promise in the sight of God and them that hear me, to speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the whole truth. A. B."³

Fifthly, I do call the city to be laid out by the name of Philadelphia,⁴ and so I will have it called.

Given under my hand and seal, 28 8th month 1681 at London.

Wm Penn

Sealed and delivered in the presence of

George Fox,⁵ Richard Davies,⁶ Christopher Taylor,⁷ Thomas Rudyard.

Transcript. Chester County Historical Society. (PWP, 2:129-30).

1. WP intended that Crispin be Gov. Markham's first assistant. On 25 Oct. 1681 WP had appointed Crispin, Bezar, William Haige, and Nathaniel Allen as commissioners to distribute land to the First Purchasers.

2. It was difficult to determine the "true owners" of the west bank of the Delaware River in 1681. The area had long been occupied by the Delaware (Lenni Lenape) Indians, but the Susquehannocks had moved from the Susquehanna River (near present-day Lancaster) to settle among the Delaware in the 1670s. The Delaware had a better claim and had not been conquered by the Susquehannocks, but WP, like some others in his day and since, may have thought they had been.

3. WP, like all Quakers, believed that the swearing of oaths was blasphemy against God, and he had been sent to prison in 1671 for refusing to swear a loyalty oath. In Pennsylvania, the colonists were to pledge their honor by affirmation, not oaths.

4. WP undoubtedly chose this Greek name for its meaning: city of brotherly love. The ancient city of Philadelphia, one of the major Christian cities in Asia Minor (now Turkey), was praised in Revelation 2-3 for its faithfulness and was promised protection "from the hour of temptation." WP may also have been thinking of the Philadelphians, an English pietist group, many of whose members became Quakers.

5. George Fox (1624-1691), founder of the Society of Friends, and a close friend and colleague of WP from 1669.

6. Richard Davies was a Welsh Quaker and a First Purchaser of 5000 acres; he signed WP's "Concessions" of 11 July 1681 (doc. 17, above). His son, David, came to Pennsylvania and settled in Bucks Co.

7. Christopher Taylor (d. 1686) was a Quaker preacher and schoolmaster from Yorks. He was a First Purchaser of 5000 acres who immigrated to Pennsylvania, where he served in the Assembly and on the Provincial Council.

To the Emperor of Canada

London, 21 June 1682

To the Emperor of Canada.

The great God, that made thee and me and all the world, incline our hearts to love peace and justice that we may live friendly together as becomes the workmanship of the great God. The king of England, who is a great prince, has for divers reasons granted to me a large country in America which, however, I am willing to enjoy upon friendly terms with thee. And this I will say, that the people who come with me are a just, plain, and honest people, that neither make war upon others nor fear war from others because they will be just. I have set up a Society of Traders in my province to traffic with thee and thy people for your commodities, that you may be furnished with that which is good at reasonable rates. And that Society has ordered their president [Nicholas More] to treat with thee about a future trade, and have joined with me to send this messenger to thee with certain presents from us to testify our willingness to have a fair correspondence with thee. And what this agent shall do in our names we will agree unto. I hope thou will kindly receive him and comply with his desires on our behalf, both with respect to land and trade. The great God be with thee. Amen.

Philip Theodore Lehmann, Secretary

Wm Penn

DS. Division of Land Records, Bureau of Archives and History, Harrisburg. (PWP, 2:260-61).

Deed from the Delaware Indians

A

15 July 1682

This indenture made the fifteenth day of July in the year of our Lord according to English account, one thousand six hundred eighty and two, between Idquahon, Janottowe, Idquoqueywon, Sahoppe for himself and Okanickon, Merkekowen, Oreckton for Nanacussey, Shaurwawghon, Swanpisse, Nahoosey, Tomackhickon, Westkekitt, and Towhawsis, Indian sachemakers¹ of the one part, and William Penn, Esq., chief proprietor of the province of Pennsylvania of the other part. Witnesses that for and in consideration of the sums and particulars of goods, merchandise, and utensils hereinafter mentioned and expressed, that is to say: three hundred and

fifty fathoms² of wampum, twenty white blankets, twenty fathoms of stroudwaters, sixty fathoms of duffels,³ twenty kettles (four whereof large), twenty guns, twenty coats, forty shirts, forty pair of stockings, forty hoes, forty axes, two barrels of powder, two hundred bars of lead, two hundred knives, two hundred small glasses, twelve pair of shoes, forty copper boxes, forty tobacco tongs, two small barrels of pipes, forty pair of scissors, forty combs, twenty-four pounds of red lead, one hundred awls,⁴ two handfuls of fishhooks, two handfuls of needles, forty pounds of shot, ten bundles of beads, ten small saws, twelve drawing knives,⁵ four ankers⁶ of tobacco, two ankers of rum, two ankers of cider, two ankers of beer, and three hundred guilders,⁷ by the said William Penn, his agents or assigns, to the said Indian sachemakers for the use of them and their people, at and before sealing and delivery hereof in hand paid and delivered whereof and wherewith they, the said sachemakers, do hereby acknowledge themselves fully satisfied, contented, and paid.

The said Indian sachemakers (parties to these presents), as well for and on the behalf of themselves as for and on the behalf of their respective Indians or people for whom they are concerned, have granted, bargained, sold, and delivered, and by these presents do fully, clearly, and absolutely grant, bargain, sell, and deliver unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, forever, all that or those tract or tracts of land lying and being in the province of Pennsylvania aforesaid, beginning at a certain white oak in the land now in the tenure of John Wood⁸ and by him called the "Graystones" over against the Falls of Delaware River, and so from thence up by the riverside to a corner marked spruce tree with the letter "P" at the foot of a mountain, and from the said corner marked spruce tree along by the ledge or foot of the mountains west-northwest to a corner white oak marked with the letter "P" standing by the Indian path that leads to an Indian town called Playwicky,⁹ and near the head of a creek called Towamensing,¹⁰ and from thence westward to the creek called Neshaminy Creek and along by the said Neshaminy Creek unto the river Delaware, alias Makerisk Kittan.¹¹ And so bounded by the said main river to the said first-mentioned white oak in John Wood's land. And all those islands called or known by the several names of Matinicum Island, Sepassincks Island, and Oreckton's Island,¹² lying or being in the said river Delaware, together also with all and singular isles, islands, rivers, rivulets, creeks, waters, ponds, lakes, plains, hills, mountains, meadows, marshes, swamps, trees, woods, mines, minerals, and appurtenances whatsoever to the said tract or tracts of land belonging or in anywise appertaining. And the reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders thereof, and all the estate, right, title, interest, use, property, claim, and demand whatsoever, as well of them the said Indian sachemakers (parties to these presents) as of all and every other the Indians concerned therein or in any part or parcel thereof. To have and to hold the said tract and tracts of land, islands, and all and every other the said granted premises, with their and every of their appurtenances unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, forever, to the only proper use and behoof of the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, forevermore. And the said Indian sachemakers and

their heirs and successors and every of them, the said tract or tracts of land, islands, and all and every other the said granted premises with their and every of their appurtenances, unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, forever, against them the said Indian sachemakers, their heirs and successors, and against all and every Indian and Indians and their heirs and successors claiming or to claim any right, title, or estate into or out of the said granted premises or any part or parcel thereof, shall and will warrant and forever defend by these presents. In witness whereof the said parties to these present indentures interchangeably have set their hands and seals the day and year first above written, 1682.

The mark of Idquahon	The mark of Shaurwawghon
The mark of Janottowe	The mark of Swanpisse
The mark of Idquoqueywon	The mark of Nahoosey
The mark of Sahoppe	The mark of Tomackhickon
The mark of Merkekowen	The mark of Westkekitt
The mark of Oreckton for himself and Nanacussey	The mark of Towhawsis

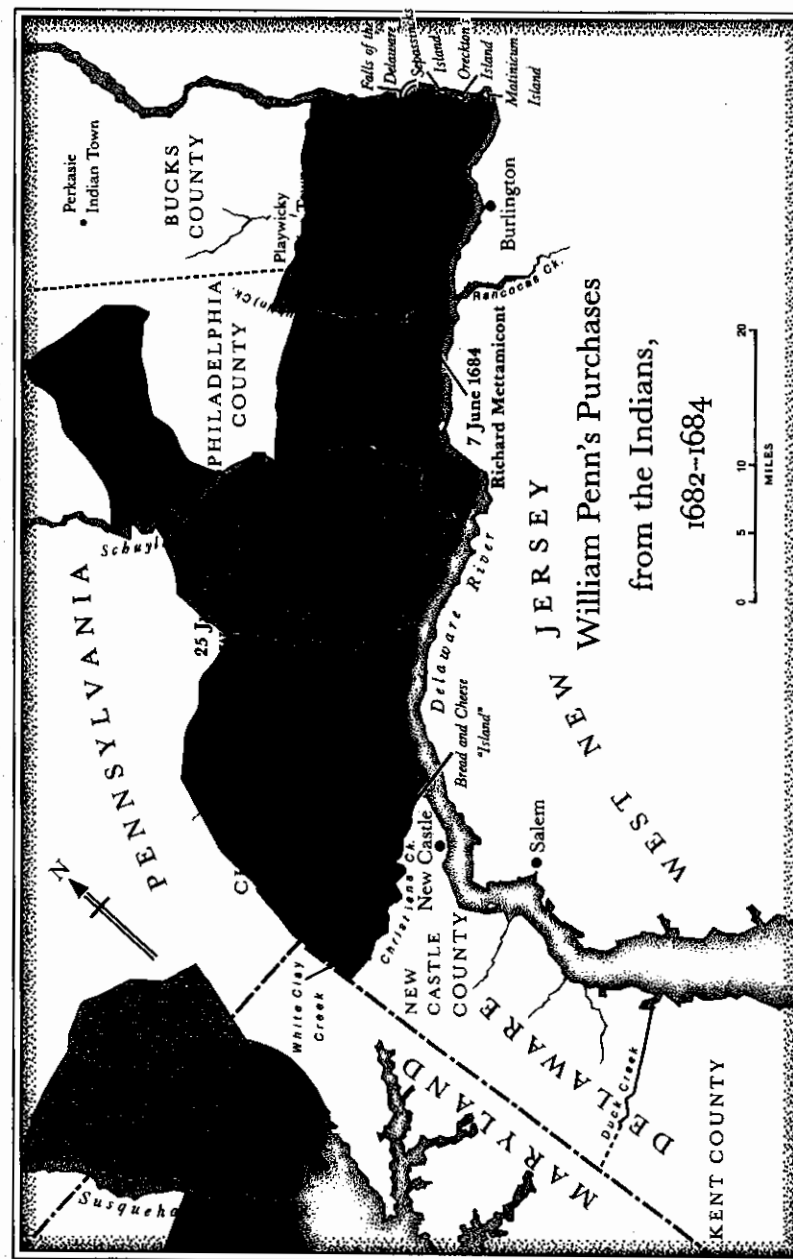
Memorandum: That the day and year within written, full and peaceable possession and seisin¹³ of the within granted tract and tracts of land and all other the premises with their and every of their appurtenances was had, taken, and delivered, by the within named Janottowe for and on the behalf of the within written sachemakers unto William Haige, Gent., to and for the within named William Penn to hold to him, his heirs and assigns, forever, according to the purport, true intent, and meaning of the deed within written. In the presence of

The mark of
Kowyockhicken
Lasse Cock
Silas Crispin¹⁴
Richard Noble¹⁵

B

First day of August 1682
At the house of Capt. Lasse Cock.

We whose names are here underwritten for ourselves and in name and behalf of the rest of the within mentioned sachemakers (in respect of a mistake in the first bargain betwixt us and the within named William Penn of the number of ten guns more than are mentioned in the within deed, which we should have then received) do now acknowledge the receipt of the said ten guns from the said William Penn. And whereas in the said deed there is only mention made of three hundred and fifty fathom of wampum, not expressing the quality thereof, we therefore for ourselves and in behalf as said is declare the same to be one half white wampum, and the other half black wampum. And we Kekerappamand, Pytechay, and Essepamazatto,



Indian sachemakers who were the right owners of the land called Sepasincks, and of the island of the same name, and who did not formerly sign and seal the within deed, nor were present when the same was done, do now by signing and sealing hereof ratify, approve, and confirm the within named deed and the possession of the lands therein mentioned, writ, and given on the back thereof, in all the points, clauses, and articles of the same, and do declare our now sealing hereof to be as valid, effectual, and sufficient for the conveyance of the whole lands and others within named to the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, forevermore, as if we had then with the other within named sachemakers signed and sealed the same.

Signed, sealed, and delivered in presence of us

Nathaniel Allen	The mark of Idquoqueywon
Lasse Cock	The mark of Swanpisse
	The mark of Kekerappamand
	The mark of Nannecheschan ¹⁶
	The mark of Essepamazatto
	The mark of Pytechay

C

Memorandum:

1

That they¹⁷ make no differences between the Quakers and English.

2

To take upon their delivery of the land a turf out of the ground, to bring them (upon the treaty with them) to give us notice if any other Indians have any design against us.

3

Remembering our neighboring colonies.

4

That there be a meeting once every year to read the articles over; the day to be appointed.

5

That we may freely pass through any of their lands, as well that which is not purchased as that which is, without molestation as they do quietly amongst us.

6

That if English or Indian should at any time abuse one the other, complaint might be made to their respective governor, and that satisfaction may be made according to their offense.

7

That if at any time an Englishman should by mistake seat himself upon land not purchased of the Indians, that the Indians shall not molest them before complaint made to the government where they shall receive satisfaction.

The prices of the whole 600 fathoms of wampum, }
 half white, half black, white at 3 guilders per }
 fathom and black at 5 guilders per fathom is } £ s d

		60	00	00 ¹⁸
Falls purchase	40 white blankets	25	0	0
80 yds.	40 fathom stroudwaters	27	0	0
120	60 fathom duffels	28	0	0
	40 kettles, 4 whereof large	25	0	0
	40 guns	30	0	0
	40 kersey ¹⁹ coats	30	0	0
	60 shirts	15	0	0
	40 pair stockings	04	0	0
X	20 mounteare ²⁰ caps	5	0	0
	40 hoes	4	0	0
	40 axes	4	0	0
150 lb.	3 half ankers powder	7	10	0
	300 small bars lead	3	15	0
	200 knives	2	10	0
	200 small glasses	3	6	8
	20 pairs shoes	4	0	0
	40 copper tobacco boxes	2	0	0
	40 tobacco tongs	0	13	4
	a small barrel [of] pipes	0	10	0
	40 pair scissors	0	10	0
	40 combs	0	13	4
	12 lb. red lead	0	06	0
	200 awls	0	16	8
	15 pistols	7	10	0
	Two handfuls fishhooks	1	0	0
	One handful needles	1	0	0
	50 lb. duck shot	1	5	0
	10 bundles of small beads	10	15	0
X	20 glass bottles	0	10	0
	5 small saws	0	10	0
	6 drawing knives	0	15	0
	2 ankers tobacco	0	10	0
	2 ankers rum	2	10	0
	1 anker cider	0	10	0
	2 ankers beer	0	10	0
		240	16	0 ²¹
		240	16	
		60	0	
		541	02	
		40		
		<hr/>		
		21644 ²²		

The deed of 15 July 1682 and supplement of 1 Aug. 1682 are DS, HSP. The second memorandum and list of goods are reprinted from Albert Cook Myers, *William Penn, His Own Account of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians 1683* (Moylan, Pa., 1937), pp. 79-81. (PWP, 2:261-69).

1. Sachemakers, or sachems, were leaders, or "kings," of Indian bands or tribes. Four of these men, Idquoqueywon (d. c. 1711), Okanickon (d. 1682), Oreckton, and Nanacussey, had sold this same tract of land to representatives of Gov. Andros of New York in 1675. Most of the others are known to have sold land elsewhere in Pennsylvania and New Jersey to the English in the 1670s.

2. A fathom is six feet.

3. Stroudwater cloth was blue and red woolen cloth made in England. Duffel was a coarse woolen cloth.

4. An awl is a pointed tool used for making holes in wood or leather.

5. A blade with handles at both ends, used for shaving wood.

6. An anker is a cask or keg holding about ten U.S. gallons.

7. A Dutch coin, the *gulden* was corrupted in English to "guilder," or "gilder." See n. 18, below.

8. John Wood (d. 1692), a farmer from Sheffield, Yorks., landed at Burlington, New Jersey, in 1678 and soon moved across the Delaware, settling at the Falls. In 1679 he held 478 acres along the Delaware River and an island opposite. He was probably not a Quaker.

9. The exact location of Playwicky is disputed, though there is a marker one-half mile west of Neshaminy Creek, two and one-half miles west of Langhorne, Bucks Co. This Delaware village was the home of "King" Tammany, who sold the lands between Neshaminy and Pennypack creeks to WP on 23 June 1683.

10. Towamensing Creek (the Indian name probably means "the fording place at the Falls") was where the Indian trail crossed the Delaware.

11. Probably *Maquaas-Kittan*, meaning "the great river of the Mohawks."

12. Two islands in the Delaware were known as Matinicum or Tinicum. The one referred to here is now known as Burlington Island; the other is south of the mouth of the Schuylkill River at present-day Tinicum. Sepassincks is the name given to the island and adjoining lands at the Falls of the Delaware, just below present-day Trenton. Oreckton's Island is probably the island opposite Trenton now known as Biles Island.

13. Legal possession.

14. Silas Crispin (c. 1655-1711), son of William Crispin, was a First Purchaser and an assistant to Deputy-Governor William Markham.

15. Richard Noble, a Quaker, came to West Jersey in 1675. In 1679 he was made surveyor of the west side of the Delaware for the duke of York's government, and, in 1682, he became the first sheriff of Bucks Co.

16. Probably Nanacussey, who was absent when the 15 July deed was signed.

17. The Indians.

18. By this computation, there were 40 gulden per English pound. In fact, there were about 11.1 gulden per pound sterling. The author may have confused the gulden with the *schellingen*, valued at about 37 per pound sterling. In the following list, note that some items differ in quantity from the amount specified in the deed, or (especially those items marked with Xs) are not included at all in the deed.

19. Kersey, a woolen fabric, often ribbed.

20. Perhaps an error for "Monmouth" cap, a type popular with sailors and soldiers.

21. There is a mistake in the addition. The correct sum, excluding £60 for wampum, is £250.10. —

22. This is an effort to compute the total in gulden. £240.16 + £240.16 + £60 = £541.2.0. £541.2 times 40 gulden per pound equals 21,644 gulden. Just why the sum £240.16 should be doubled is not clear. See n. 18, above.

William and Jane Yardley to James Harrison

IN the spring of 1682 large numbers of WP's settlers boarded ships bound for Pennsylvania. Among them were the Quakers William and Jane Yardley who set sail from Liverpool, the major port in northwestern England, on the *Friend's Adventure*. Their letter to James Harrison offers a rare glimpse of the conditions that seventeenth-century immigrants experienced during their travels. Battering winds and choppy seas, unappetizing food, and disabling seasickness were enough to make these prospective colonists wonder if they had displeased God by leaving home. But the Yardleys believed "these things to be but accidental" and were satisfied that "the Lord's ordering hand" was with them. Indeed, they arrived in Pennsylvania by the end of September and staked out their Bucks County farm.

Ramsey in the Isle of Man,¹ 21 July 1682

Dear Brother²

Having this opportunity I could not well omit it but send thee a line or two by which you might have a little understanding [of] how things are with us. Upon the 14th instant in the evening we left Liverpool, then set sail, having a very fair gale of wind. But it did not long continue but turned very cross, so that it made the sea very rough, which caused the most of us to be very sick. And though we had got part of the island on our right hand yet the night following, by reason the wind proved so cross, that we were forced to leave the south side and fall to the north, and so came along the island till we came to this bay called Ramsey Bay, where some of us that evening went ashore. It being the first day of the week, we met with some Friends and were glad to see them, and after we had refreshed ourselves, we went aboard again. Having got a little milk, we took it with us aboard, which was very acceptable to our poor weak women and children. We stayed then at anchor that night, and the next day we came ashore again and bought some fresh provisions and took in some fresh water. So that evening the wind presented very fair, we set sail and sailed all night very quietly, and the next morning we got sight of Ireland and was in hopes to have gained the Irish shore. But the wind turning westerly proved very boisterous and being so cross that it made the sea very turbulent, that caused us to be many of us very sick, and that night it was very stormy so that it made the sea very turbulent that we were forced to go round the island and come to this bay again where we are at anchor at this present. Randolph Blackshaw, his maid³ came ashore with our maid to wash some linen and is stolen away and we are in doubt we shall lose her. We are both of us very weak in body yet very fervent in mind, for we look upon these things to be but accidental, although we are satisfied the Lord's ordering hand is with us, and we can say that it is good, and we hope



Peaceable Kingdom, by Edward Hicks, 1826, Philadelphia Museum of Art: Bequest of Charles C. Willis. Hicks painted about sixty versions of this scene. In many of these paintings, the Christ child makes peace between the lion and the lamb, while in the background WP makes peace with the Indians.

ONE of the most distinctive features of WP's design for Pennsylvania was his Indian policy. Just a few years after the bloody King Philip's War in New England and Nathaniel Bacon's massacre of Indians in Virginia, WP was pursuing a policy of unarmed friendship with the native Americans in the Delaware Valley. By July 1683, as shown on the map on p. 159, WP had bought Indian title to most of the land bordering the west bank of the Delaware River. Delighted with this accomplishment, WP devoted nearly half of his long promotional letter of 16 August 1683 to the Free Society of Traders (doc. 76, below) to a lively description of the "persons, language, manners, religion, and government" of the local Delaware Indians. In recounting his treaty negotiations with the Delaware, WP could justly boast that "great promises passed between us of kindness and good neighborhood, and that the Indians and English must live in love, as long as the sun gave light."

But WP was also keenly interested in making money from the interior fur trade. When he discovered that the local Delaware could give him no access to that trade, he endeavored in 1683 to expand his treaty network northward and to negotiate with the Iroquois in New York in order to open up a trade along the Susquehanna River (see the headnotes to docs. 36 and 72, above). Inevitably, WP's expansionist policy brought him into conflict with the Albany fur traders and with the governor of New York. From WP's arrival in America until July 1683, he had dealt with a weak interim administration in New York, but Governor Thomas Dongan reached his colony in August and quickly moved to cut off WP's plans. The resulting Pennsylvania-New York conflict is discussed in the headnote to doc. 78.

In the fall of 1683 WP had another aggressive neighbor to worry about — Lord Baltimore. By this point WP and Baltimore had reached a total impasse over the Pennsylvania-Maryland boundary line. The new developments in their quarrel are discussed in the headnotes to docs. 79 and 86.

In other respects WP's colony was continuing to prosper. During the closing months of 1683, WP had the pleasure of welcoming a large new wave of immigrants to Pennsylvania. About as many ships and passengers arrived in 1683 as in 1682, and most of them reached Philadelphia between

August and November. The newcomers were conspicuous for their many talents as well as for their ethnic and geographic diversity. Francis Daniel Pastorius arrived and, with settlers from Krefeld, staked out Germantown (see docs. 81 and 89); Thomas Lloyd, who became the chief executive in Pennsylvania when WP returned to England, was one of many new Welshmen; and the incoming merchants included James Claypoole from London (doc. 85) and Samuel Carpenter from Barbados (doc. 92). To provide for these immigrants, WP's surveyors laid out new farms and city lots (doc. 84). With reason, WP could brag about the material prosperity and spiritual vitality of his fast-growing colony.

76 §

Letter to the Free Society of Traders

IN many of WP's letters to his friends and patrons in England, he described his colony in glowing terms (for example, in docs. 66 and 71, above). Doc. 76 is the longest and most informative of WP's descriptions. He sent it to the London managers of the Free Society of Traders, and they published it in London in late 1683. This piece was immediately recognized as WP's most effective promotional tract. It was reprinted twice in 1683 and again in 1687 and was translated into Dutch, German, and French. We know that WP took considerable pains with this letter because we have a draft of it, mainly in his handwriting. This *Letter* is especially notable for its lengthy description of the Indians of Pennsylvania. In comparing the Indians to Europeans, WP betrays some of the common prejudices that Englishmen held against other groups—Jews and Italians, in this case. Despite this, and despite WP's willingness to stereotype the Delaware in many ways, his account is probably the best contemporary description we have of the Delaware Indians and their culture.

At the close of his *Letter*, WP also presents considerable useful information about his capital city of Philadelphia. He sent home what he called a "plat-form," or map, of the city, prepared by his surveyor Thomas Holme, and this map (which is reproduced on pp. 320–21) was printed as an illustration to his *Letter*. It shows the rectangular plan of the new city, and the grid network of streets that WP and Holme laid out; WP even supplied a key to the map so that the First Purchasers in England could locate their town lots. Today, Center City Philadelphia still retains WP's grid plan. Broad Street and High (now Market) Street are still one hundred feet wide, as he designed them—far wider, incidentally, than any street in seventeenth-century London. And the other principal streets and open squares on WP's grid still have the dimensions, and many of them have the names, that he assigned three centuries ago.

Philadelphia, 16 August 1683

A
LETTER
FROM
William Penn
Proprietary and Governor of
PENNSYLVANIA
In America,
TO THE
COMMITTEE
OF THE
Free Society of Traders
of that Province, residing in *London*.
CONTAINING

A General Description of the said *Province*, its *Soil, Air, Water, Seasons, and Produce*, both Natural and Artificial, and the good Increase thereof.

Of the *Natives or Aborigines*, their *Language, Customs and Manners, Diet, Houses or Wigwams, Liberality, Easy Way of Living, Physic, Burial, Religion, Sacrifices and Cantico*,¹ *Festivals, Government*, and their order in *Council* upon *Treaties for Land, etc.*, their *Justice* upon *Evildoers*.

Of the *first Planters, the Dutch, etc.*, and the *present Condition and Settlement* of the said *Province*, and *Courts of Justice, etc.*

To which is added, an Account of the CITY of
PHILADELPHIA

Newly laid out.

Its Situation between two Navigable Rivers, *Delaware* and *Schuylkill*
WITH A

Portraiture or Plat-form thereof,

Wherein the Purchasers' Lots are distinguished by certain Numbers
inserted,

directing to a Catalogue of the said Purchasers' Names

And the Prosperous and Advantageous Settlements of the *Society* aforesaid
within the said City and Country, *etc.*

Printed and Sold by Andrew Sowle, at the Crooked-Billet in Holloway-Lane in Shoreditch, and at several Stationers in London, 1683.

My Kind Friends;

The kindness of yours by the ship *Thomas and Anne*,² does much oblige me; for by it I perceive the interest you take in my health and reputation, and the prosperous beginnings of this province, which you are so kind as to think may much depend upon them. In return of which, I have sent you a long letter, and yet containing as brief an account of myself and the affairs of this province as I have been able to make.

In the first place, I take notice of the news you sent me, whereby I find some persons have had so little wit and so much malice as to report my death, and to mend the matter, dead a Jesuit too.³ One might have reason-

bly hoped that this distance, like death, would have been a protection against spite and envy; and indeed absence being a kind of death, ought alike to secure the name of the absent as the dead; because they are equally unable as such to defend themselves. But they that intend mischief do not use to follow good rules to effect it. However, to the great sorrow and shame of the inventors, I am still alive, and no Jesuit; and, I thank God, very well. And without injustice to the authors of this, I may venture to infer that they that willfully and falsely report, would have been glad it had been so. But I perceive many frivolous and idle stories have been invented since my departure from England, which perhaps at this time are no more alive than I am dead.

But if I have been unkindly used by some I left behind me, I found love and respect enough where I came; a universal kind welcome, every sort in their way. For here are some of several nations, as well as divers judgments; nor were the natives wanting in this, for their kings, queens, and great men both visited and presented me, to whom I made suitable returns, etc.

For the PROVINCE, the general condition of it, take as follows:

I. The country itself in its soil, air, water, seasons, and produce, both natural and artificial, is not to be despised. The land contains divers sorts of earth, as sand, yellow and black, poor and rich; also gravel, both loamy and dusty; and in some places a fast fat earth, like to our best vales in England, especially by inland brooks and rivers. God in His wisdom having ordered it so, that the advantages of the country are divided, the back lands being generally three to one richer than those that lie by navigable waters. We have much of another soil, and that is a black hazel mold upon a stony or rocky bottom.

II. The *air* is sweet and clear, the heavens serene, like the south parts of France, rarely overcast; and as the woods come by numbers of people to be more cleared, that itself will refine.

III. The *waters* are generally good, for the rivers and brooks have mostly gravel and stony bottoms, and in number hardly credible. We have also mineral waters that operate in the same manner with Chipping Barnet and Northhaw,⁴ not two miles from Philadelphia.

IV. For the *seasons* of the year, having by God's goodness now lived over the coldest and hottest that the oldest liver in the province can remember, I can say something to an English understanding.

1st, of the fall, for then I came in. I found it from the 24th of October to the beginning of December, as we have it usually in England in September, or rather like an English mild spring. From December to the beginning of the month called March, we had sharp frosty weather; not foul, thick, black weather, as our northeast winds bring with them in England, but a sky as clear as in summer, and the air dry, cold, piercing, and hungry; yet I remember not that I wore more clothes than in England. The reason of this cold is given from the great lakes that are fed by the fountains of Canada. The winter before was as mild, scarce any ice at all, while this for a few days froze up our great river Delaware. From that month to the month called June, we enjoyed a sweet spring, no gusts, but gentle showers and a fine sky. Yet this I observe, that the winds here, as there, are more inconstant, spring

and fall, upon that turn of nature, than in summer or winter. From thence to this present month, which ends the summer (commonly speaking), we have had extraordinary heats, yet mitigated sometimes by cool breezes. The wind that rules the summer season is the southwest; but spring, fall, and winter, it is rare to want the wholesome northwesterly seven days together. And whatever mists, fogs, or vapors foul the heavens by easterly or southerly winds, in two hours time are blown away, the one is always followed by the other, a remedy that seems to have a peculiar providence in it to the inhabitants, the multitude of trees yet standing being liable to retain mists and vapors, and yet not one-quarter so thick as I expected.

V. The *natural produce* of the country, of vegetables, is trees, fruits, plants, flowers. The trees of most note are the black walnut, cedar, cypress, chestnut, poplar, gumwood, hickory, sassafras, ash, beech; and oak of divers sorts, as red, white, and black, Spanish, chestnut, and swamp, the most durable of all; of all which there is plenty for the use of man.

The *fruits* that I find in the woods are the white and black mulberry, chestnut, walnut, plums, strawberries, cranberries, huckleberries, and grapes of divers sorts. The great red grape (now ripe) called by ignorance the fox grape (because of the relish it has with unskillful palates), is in itself an extraordinary grape, and by art doubtless may be cultivated to an excellent wine; if not so sweet, yet little inferior to the Frontignac,⁵ as it is not much unlike [it] in taste, ruddiness set aside, which in such things, as well as mankind, differs the case much. There is a white kind of muscatel, and a little black grape like the cluster grape of England, not yet so ripe as the other; but, they tell me, when ripe, sweeter, and that they only want skillful *vignerons*⁶ to make good use of them. I intend to venture on it with my Frenchman⁷ this season, who shows some knowledge in those things. Here are also peaches, and very good, and in great quantities, not an Indian plantation without them; but whether naturally here at first I know not. However, one may have them by bushels for little; they make a pleasant drink and I think not inferior to any peach you have in England, except the true Newington.⁸ It is disputable with me, whether it be best to fall to refining the fruits of the country, especially the grape, by the care and skill of art, or send for foreign stems and sets, already good and approved.⁹ It seems most reasonable to believe, that not only a thing grows best where it naturally grows, but will hardly be equaled by another species of the same kind that does not naturally grow there. But to solve the doubt, I intend, if God give me life, to try both, and hope the consequence will be as good wine as any European countries of the same latitude do yield.

VI. The *artificial produce* of the country is wheat, barley, oats, rye, peas, beans, squashes, pumpkins, watermelons, muskmelons, and all herbs and roots that our gardens in England usually bring forth. Note, that Edward Jones, son-in-law to Thomas Wynne, living on the Schuylkill, had with ordinary cultivation, for one grain of English barley, seventy stalks and ears of barley; and it is common in this country from one bushel sown, to reap forty, often fifty, and sometimes sixty. And three pecks of wheat sow an acre here.

VII. Of living creatures, *fish, fowl*, and the beasts of the woods, here are

divers sorts, some for food and profit, and some for profit only. For food as well as profit, the elk, as big as a small ox, deer bigger than ours, beaver, raccoon, rabbits [and] squirrels, and some eat young bear, and commend it. Of fowl of the land, there is the turkey (forty and fifty pound weight), which is very great, pheasants, heath-birds,¹⁰ pigeons, and partridges in abundance. Of the water, the swan, goose, white and gray, brants, ducks, teal, also the snipe and curlew, and that in great numbers; but the duck and teal excel, nor so good have I ever eaten in other countries. Of fish, there is the sturgeon, herring, rock, shad, catshead, sheepshead, eel, smelt, perch, roach; and in inland rivers, trout, some say salmon, above the Falls. Of shellfish, we have oysters, crabs, cockles, conches and mussels; some oysters six inches long, and one sort of cockles as big as the stewing oysters; they make a rich broth. The creatures for profit only by skin or fur, and that are natural to these parts, are the wildcat, panther, otter, wolf, fox, fisher,¹¹ mink, muskrat; and of the water, the whale for oil, of which we have good store; and two companies of whalers, whose boats are built, will soon begin their work, which has the appearance of a considerable improvement; to say nothing of our reasonable hopes of good cod in the bay.

VIII. We have no want of *horses*, and some are very good and shapely enough. Two ships have been freighted to Barbados, with horses and pipe-staves, since my coming in. Here is also plenty of cow-cattle and some sheep; the people plow mostly with oxen.

IX. There are divers *plants* that not only the Indians tell us, but we have had occasion to prove by swellings, burnings, cuts, etc., that they are of great virtue, suddenly curing the patient. And for smell, I have observed several, especially one, the wild myrtle; the other I know not what to call, but are most fragrant.

X. The woods are adorned with lovely *flowers*, for color, greatness, figure, and variety. I have seen the gardens of London best stored with that sort of beauty, but think they may be improved by our woods. I have sent a few to a person of quality this year for a trial.

Thus much of the country, next of the natives or aborigines.

XI. The NATIVES I shall consider in their persons, language, manners, religion, and government, with my sense of their original. For their persons, they are generally tall, straight, well built, and of singular proportion; they tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty chin. Of complexion black, but by design, as the gypsies in England. They grease themselves with bear's fat clarified, and using no defense against sun or weather, their skins must needs be swarthy. Their eye is little and black, not unlike a straight-looking Jew. The thick lip and flat nose, so frequent with the East Indians and blacks, are not common to them; for I have seen as comely European-like faces among them, of both, as on your side [of] the sea; and truly an Italian complexion has not much more of the white, and the noses of several of them have as much of the Roman.

XII. Their *language* is lofty, yet narrow, but like the Hebrew; in signification full, like shorthand in writing; one word serves in the place of three, and the rest are supplied by the understanding of the hearer; imperfect in

their tenses, wanting in their moods, participles, adverbs, conjunctions, interjections. I have made it my business to understand it, that I might not want an interpreter on any occasion; and I must say that I know not a language spoken in Europe that has words of more sweetness or greatness, in accent and emphasis, than theirs; for instance, Octoraro, Rancocas, Oreckton,¹² Shackamaxon, Poquessing,¹³ all which are names of places, and have grandeur in them. Of words of sweetness, *anna* is mother; *issimus*, a brother; *netap*, friend; *usque oret*, very good; *pone*, bread; *metse*, eat; *matta*, no; *hatta*, to have; *payo*, to come; *Sepassincks*, *Passyunk*,¹⁴ the names of places; *Tammany*, *Secane*, *Menangy*, *Secetareus*,¹⁵ are the names of persons. If one asks them for anything they have not, they will answer, *matta ne hatta*, which to translate is "not I have," instead of, "I have not."

XIII. Of their *customs* and *manners* there is much to be said. I will begin with children. So soon as they are born they wash them in water, and while very young, and in cold weather to choose, they plunge them in the rivers to harden and embolden them. Having wrapped them in a clout, they lay them on a straight thin board, a little more than the length and breadth of the child, and swaddle it fast upon the board to make it straight; wherefore all Indians have flat heads; and thus they carry them at their backs. The children will go very young, at nine months commonly; they wear only a small clout round their waist, till they are big; if boys, they go a-fishing till ripe for the woods, which is about fifteen; then they hunt; and after having given some proofs of their manhood by a good return of skins, they may marry, else it is a shame to think of a wife. The girls stay with their mothers, and help to hoe the ground, plant corn, and carry burdens; and they do well to use them to¹⁶ that [work] young [which] they must do when they are old; for the wives are the true servants of their husbands. Otherwise the men are very affectionate to them.

XIV. When the *young women* are fit for marriage, they wear something upon their heads for an advertisement, but so as their faces are hardly to be seen but when they please. The age they marry at, if women, is about thirteen and fourteen; if men, seventeen and eighteen. They are rarely older.

XV. Their *houses* are mats, or barks of trees set on poles, in the fashion of an English barn, but out of the power of the winds, for they are hardly higher than a man. They lie on reeds or grass. In travel they lodge in the woods about a great fire, with a mantle of duffels they wear by day wrapped about them, and a few boughs stuck round them.

XVI. Their *diet* is maize, or Indian corn, [in] divers ways prepared; sometimes roasted in the ashes, sometimes beaten and boiled with water, which they call hominy; they also make cakes, not unpleasant to eat. They have likewise several sorts of beans and peas that are good nourishment; and the woods and rivers are their larder.

XVII. If a European comes to see them, or calls for lodging at their house or wigwam, they give him the best place and first cut. If they come to visit us, they salute us with an *Itah*, which is as much as to say "Good be to you," and set them down, which is mostly on the ground, close to their heels, their legs upright. [It] may be they speak not a word more, but ob-

serve all passages. If you give them anything to eat or drink, [that is] well, for they will not ask; and, be it little or much, if it be with kindness, they are well pleased, else they go away sullen, but say nothing.

XVIII. They are great concealers of their own resentments, brought to it, I believe, by the revenge that has been practiced among them; in either of these they are not exceeded by the Italians. A tragical instance fell out since I came into the country. A king's daughter, thinking herself slighted by her husband in suffering another woman to lie down between them, rose up, went out, plucked a root out of the ground, and ate it, upon which she immediately died; and for which, last week, he made an offering to her kindred for atonement and liberty of marriage; as two others did to the kindred of their wives that died a natural death. For till widowers have done so, they must not marry again. Some of the young women are said to take undue liberty before marriage for a portion; but when married, chaste; when with child, they know their husbands no more, till delivered; and during their month[ly period], they touch no meat they eat but with a stick, lest they should defile it; nor do their husbands frequent them until that time be expired.

XIX. But in liberality they excel; nothing is too good for their friend. Give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks; light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent, the most merry creatures that live, [they] feast and dance perpetually; they never have much, nor want much. Wealth circulates like the blood, all parts partake; and though none shall want what another has, yet [they are] exact observers of property. Some kings have sold, others presented me with several parcels of land;¹⁷ the pay or presents I made them were not hoarded by the particular owners; but the neighboring kings and their clans being present when the goods were brought out, the parties chiefly concerned consulted, what and to whom they should give them? To every king then, by the hands of a person for that work appointed, is a proportion sent, so sorted and folded, and with that gravity that is admirable. Then that king subdivides it in like manner among his dependents, they hardly leaving themselves an equal share with one of their subjects; and be it on such occasions, at festivals or at their common meals, the kings distribute, and to themselves last. They care for little because they want but little; and the reason is, a little contents them. In this they are sufficiently revenged on us; if they are ignorant of our pleasures, they are also free from our pains. They are not disquieted with bills of lading and exchange, nor perplexed with chancery suits and exchequer reckonings. We sweat and toil to live; their pleasure feeds them, I mean, their hunting, fishing, and fowling, and this table is spread everywhere. They eat twice a day, morning and evening; their seats and table are the ground. Since the Europeans came into these parts, they are grown great lovers of strong liquors, rum especially, and for it exchange the richest of their skins and furs. If they are heated with liquors, they are restless till they have enough to sleep. That is their cry, "Some more, and I will go to sleep." But when drunk, one of the most wretchedest spectacles in the world.

XX. In sickness, impatient to be cured, and for it give anything, espe-

cially for their children, to whom they are extremely natural. They drink at those times a *teran* or decoction of some roots in spring water; and if they eat any flesh, it must be of the female of any creature. If they die, they bury them with their apparel, be they men or women, and the nearest of kin fling in something precious with them, as a token of their love. Their mourning is blacking of their faces, which they continue for a year. They are choice of the graves of their dead; for lest they should be lost by time and fall to common use, they pick off the grass that grows upon them, and heap up the fallen earth with great care and exactness.

XXI. These poor people are under a dark night in things relating to religion, to be sure, the tradition of it; yet they believe [in] a God and immortality, without the help of metaphysics;¹⁸ for they say, there is a great king that made them, who dwells in a glorious country to the southward of them, and that the souls of the good shall go thither, where they shall live again. Their worship consists of two parts, sacrifice and cantico. Their sacrifice is their first fruits; the first and fattest buck they kill goes to the fire, where he is all burnt with a mournful ditty of him that performs the ceremony, but with such marvelous fervency and labor of body that he will even sweat to a foam. The other part is their cantico, performed by round-dances, sometimes words, sometimes songs, then shouts, two being in the middle that begin, and by singing and drumming on a board direct the chorus. Their postures in the dance are very antic¹⁹ and differing, but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness and labor, but great appearance of joy. In the fall, when the corn comes in, they begin to feast one another. There have been two great festivals already, to which all come that will. I was at one myself; their entertainment was a great seat by a spring, under some shade trees, and twenty bucks, with hot cakes of new corn, both wheat and beans, which they make up in a square form in the leaves of the stem, and bake them in the ashes; and after that they fell to dance. But they that go must carry a small present in their money (it may be six pence) which is made of the bone of a fish; the black is with them as gold, the white, silver; they call it all *wampum*.

XXII. Their government is by *kings*, which they call *sachema*, and those by succession, but always of the mother's side. For instance, the children of him that is now king will not succeed, but his brother by [his] mother, or the children of his sister, whose sons (and after them the children of her daughters) will reign, for no woman inherits. The reason they render for this way of descent is that their issue may not be spurious.

XXIII. Every king has his *council*, and that consists of all the old and wise men of his nation, which perhaps is two hundred people. Nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war, peace, selling of land, or traffic, without advising with them; and, which is more, with the young men too. It is admirable to consider how powerful the kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people. I have had occasion to be in council with them upon treaties for land, and to adjust the terms of trade. Their order is thus: the king sits in the middle of a half moon, and has his council, the old and wise on each hand; behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger fry, in

the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the king ordered one of them to speak to me. He stood up, came to me, and in the name of his king saluted me, then took me by the hand, and told me that he was ordered by his king to speak to me, and that now it was not he, but the king that spoke, because what he should say was the king's mind. He first prayed me to excuse them that they had not complied with me the last time; he feared there might be some fault in the interpreter, being neither Indian nor English.²⁰ Besides, it was the Indian custom to deliberate, and take up much time in council, before they resolve; and that if the young people and owners of the land had been as ready as he, I had not met with so much delay. Having thus introduced his matter, he fell to the bounds of the land they had agreed to dispose of, and the price (which now is little and dear, that which would have bought twenty miles not buying now two). During the time that this person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile; the old, grave, the young, reverent, in their deportment. They do speak little, but fervently, and with elegance. I have never seen more natural sagacity, considering them without the help (I was a going to say, the spoil) of tradition; and he will deserve the name of wise that outwits them in any treaty about a thing they understand. When the purchase was agreed, great promises passed between us of kindness and good neighborhood, and that the Indians and English must live in love, as long as the sun gave light. Which done, another made a speech to the Indians, in the name of all the sachemakers or kings, first to tell them what was done; next, to charge and command them to love the Christians and particularly [to] live in peace with me and the people under my government; that many governors had been in the river, but that no governor had come himself to live and stay here before; and having now such a one that had treated them well, they should never do him or his any wrong. At every sentence of which they shouted, and said "Amen" in their way.

XXIV. The *justice* they have is pecuniary. In case of any wrong or evil fact, be it murder itself, they atone by feasts and presents of their *wampum*, which is proportioned to the quality of the offense or person injured, or of the sex they are of. For in case they kill a woman, they pay double; and the reason they render, is that she breeds children, which men cannot do. It is rare that they fall out, if sober; and if drunk they forgive it, saying, it was the drink, and not the man, that abused them.

XXV. We have agreed that in all differences between us, six of each side shall end the matter. Don't abuse them, but let them have justice, and you win them. The worst is, that they are the worse for the Christians, who have propagated their vices and yielded them tradition for ill, and not for good things. But as low an ebb as they are at, and as glorious as their own condition looks, the Christians have not outlived their sight²¹ with all their pretensions to a higher manifestation. What good then might not a good people graft, where there is so distinct a knowledge left between good and evil? I beseech God to incline the hearts of all that come into these parts to outlive the knowledge of the natives, by a fixed obedience to their greater knowledge of the will of God. For it were miserable indeed for us to fall

under the just censure of the poor Indian conscience, while we make profession of things so far transcending.

XXVI. For their *original*, I am ready to believe them of the Jewish race, I mean of the stock of the ten tribes, and that for the following reasons. First, they were to go to a land not planted or known, which to be sure Asia and Africa were, if not Europe; and He that intended that extraordinary judgment upon them might make the passage not uneasy to them, as it is not impossible in itself from the easternmost parts of Asia to the westernmost of America. In the next place, I find them of like countenance, and their children of so lively resemblance, that a man would think himself in Duke's Place or Berry Street²² in London when he sees them. But this is not all: they agree in rites; they reckon by moons; they offer their first fruits; they have a kind of Feast of Tabernacles; they are said to lay their altar upon twelve stones; their mourning a year, customs of women, with many other things that do not now occur.

So much for the natives, next the old planters will be considered in this relation, before I come to our colony and the concerns of it.

XXVII. The *first planters* in these parts were the Dutch, and soon after them the Swedes and Finns. The Dutch applied themselves to traffic, the Swedes and Finns to husbandry. There were some disputes between them [for] some years; the Dutch looking upon them as intruders upon their purchase and possession, which was finally ended in the surrender made by John Rising, the Swedes' governor, to Peter Stuyvesant, governor for the States of Holland, anno 1655.

XXVIII. The Dutch inhabit mostly those parts of the province that lie upon or near to the bay, and the Swedes the freshes of the river Delaware. There is no need of giving any description of them, who are better known there than here; but they are a plain, strong, industrious people, yet have made no great progress in culture, or propagation of fruit trees, as if they desired rather to have [just] enough than plenty or traffic. But I presume the Indians made them the more careless by furnishing them with the means of profit, to wit, skins and furs, for rum and such strong liquors. They kindly received me, as well as the English, who were few before the people concerned with me came among them. I must needs commend their respect to authority and kind behavior to the English; they do not degenerate from the old friendship between both kingdoms. As they are people proper and strong of body, so they have fine children, and almost every house full; rare to find one of them without three or four boys, and as many girls; some, six, seven, and eight sons. And I must do them that right, I see few young men more sober and laborious.

XXIX. The Dutch have a meeting place for religious worship at New Castle, and the Swedes, three: one at Christiana, one at Tinicum, and one at Wicaco,²³ within half a mile of this town.

XXX. There rests that I speak of the condition we are in, and what *settlement* we have made, in which I will be as short as I can; for I fear, and not without reason, that I have tried your patience with this long story. The country lies bounded on the east by the river and bay of Delaware and east-

ern sea; it has the advantage of many creeks, or rivers rather, that run into the main river or bay, some navigable for great-ships, some for small craft. Those of most eminence are Christiana, Brandywine, Shelpott,²⁴ and Schuylkill; any one of which has room to lay up the Royal Navy of England, there being from four to eight fathoms [of] water.

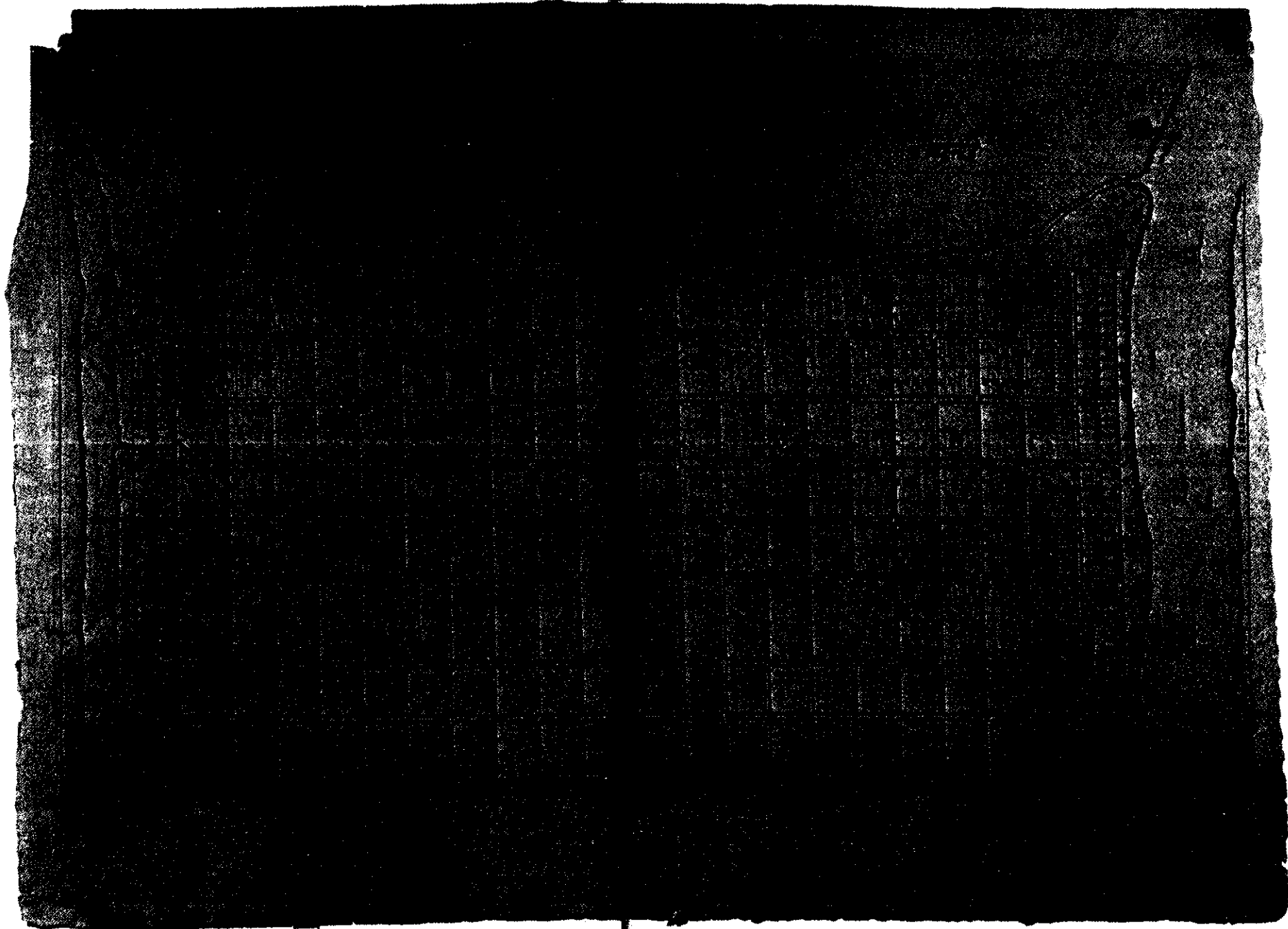
XXXI. The lesser creeks or rivers, yet convenient for sloops and ketches of good burden, are Lewes, Mispillion, Cedar, Dover, Crane Hook, Feversham, and St. George's, below; and Chichester, Chester, Tacony, Penny-pack, Poquessing, Neshaminy, and Pennsbury in the freshes;²⁵ many lesser, that admit boats and shallops. Our people are mostly settled upon the upper rivers which are pleasant and sweet, and generally bounded with good land. The planted part of the province and territories is cast into six counties, Philadelphia, Buckingham, Chester, New Castle, Kent, and Sussex, containing about four thousand souls. Two General Assemblies have been held, and with such concord and dispatch that they sat but three weeks, and at least seventy laws were passed without one dissent in any material thing.²⁶ But of this more hereafter, being yet raw and new in our gear. However, I cannot forget their singular respect to me in this infancy of things, who, by their own private expenses so early considered mine for the public, as to present me with an impost upon certain goods imported and exported, which, after my acknowledgments of their affection, I did as freely remit to the province and the traders to it.²⁷ And for the well government of the said counties, courts of justice are established in every county, with proper officers, as justices, sheriffs, clerks, constables, etc.; which courts are held every two months. But, to prevent lawsuits, there are three peacemakers chosen by every county court, in the nature of common arbitrators, to hear and end differences betwixt man and man. And spring and fall there is an orphan's court in each county, to inspect and regulate the affairs of orphans and widows.

XXXII. Philadelphia, the expectation of those that are concerned in this province, is at last laid out to the great content of those here that are anyways interested therein. The situation is a neck of land, and lies between two navigable rivers, Delaware and Schuylkill, whereby it has two fronts upon the water, each a mile, and two from river to river. Delaware is a glorious river; but the Schuylkill being a hundred miles boatable above the falls, and its course northeast toward the fountain of Susquehanna (that tends to the heart of the province, and both sides our own), it is like to be a great part of the settlement of this age. I say little of the town itself, because a PLAT-FORM will be shown you by my agent, in which those who are purchasers of me will find their names and interests.²⁸ But this I will say, for the good providence of God, that of all the many places I have seen in the world, I remember not one better seated. So that it seems to me to have been appointed for a town, whether we regard the rivers or the conveniency of the coves, docks, springs, the loftiness and soundness of the land and the air, held by the people of these parts to be very good. It is advanced within less than a year to about four score houses and cottages, such as they are, where merchants and handicrafts [men] are following their vocations as fast as they

can, while the country men are close at their farms. Some of them got a little winter corn²⁹ in the ground last season; and the generality have had a handsome summer crop, and are preparing for their winter corn. They reaped their barley this year in the month called May; the wheat in the month following; so that there is time in these parts for another crop of divers things before the winter season. We are daily in hopes of shipping to add to our number; for, blessed be God, here is both room and accommodation for them; the stories of our necessity being either the fear of our friends, or the scarecrows of our enemies; for the greatest hardship we have suffered has been salt meat, which, by fowl in winter and fish in summer, together with some poultry, lamb, mutton, veal, and plenty of venison, the best part of the year, has been made very passable. I bless God I am fully satisfied with the country and entertainment I can get in it; for I find that particular content which has always attended me, where God in His providence has made it my place and service to reside. You cannot imagine my station can be at present free of more than ordinary business, and, as such, I may say it is a troublesome work. But the method things are putting in will facilitate the charge, and give an easier motion to the administration of affairs. However, as it is some men's duty to plow, some to sow, some to water, and some to reap, so it is the wisdom as well as [the] duty of a man to yield to the mind of providence, and cheerfully as well as carefully embrace and follow the guidance of it.

XXXIII. For your particular concern, I might entirely refer you to the letters of the president of the Society.³⁰ But this I will venture to say, your provincial settlements both within and without the town, for situation and soil, are without exception. Your city lot is a whole street and one side of a street, from river to river, containing near one hundred acres, not easily valued;³¹ which is, besides your four hundred acres in the city liberties, part of your twenty thousand acres in the country. Your tannery has such plenty of bark, the sawmill for timber, the place of the glass house [is] so conveniently posted for water carriage, the city lot for a dock, and the whalery for a sound and fruitful bank, and the town [of] Lewes by it to help your people, that by God's blessing the affairs of the Society will naturally grow in their reputation and profit. I am sure I have not turned my back upon any offer that tended to its prosperity; and though I am ill at projects, I have sometimes put in for a share with her officers to countenance and advance her interest. You are already informed what is fit for you further to do. Whatsoever tends to the promotion of wine, and to the manufacture of linen in these parts, I cannot but wish you to promote it; and the French people are most likely in both respects to answer that design. To that end I would advise you to send for some thousands of plants out of France, with some able *vignerons*, and people of the other vocation. But because I believe you have been entertained with this and some other profitable subjects by your president, I shall add no more, but to assure you that I am heartily inclined to advance your just interest, and that you will always find me

Your kind cordial friend,
William Penn



A Portraiture of the City of Philadelphia, by *Thomas Holme*, 1683, *Library Company of Philadelphia*.

The City of Philadelphia now extends in length, from river to river, two miles, and in breadth near a mile; and the governor, as a further manifestation of his kindness to the purchasers, has freely given them their respective lots in the city without defalcation³³ of any [of] their quantities of purchased lands. And as it is now placed and modeled between two navigable rivers upon a neck of land and that ships may ride in good anchorage in six or eight fathom water in both rivers, close to the city, and the land of the city level, dry, and wholesome: such a situation is scarce to be paralleled.

The model of the city appears by a small draft now made, and may hereafter, when time permits, be augmented; and because there is not room to express the purchasers' names in the draft, I have therefore drawn directions of reference, by way of numbers, whereby may be known each man's lot and place in the city.

The city is so ordered now, by the governor's care and prudence, that it has a front to each river, one-half at Delaware, the other at Schuylkill; and though all this cannot make way for small purchasers to be in the fronts, yet they are placed in the next streets, contiguous to each front, viz., all purchasers of one thousand acres and upwards have the fronts (and the High Street), and to every five thousand acres purchase in the front about an acre, and the smaller purchasers about half an acre in the backward streets; by which means the least has room enough for house, garden, and small orchard, to the great content and satisfaction of all here concerned.

The city (as the model shows) consists of a large Front Street to each river, and a High Street (near the middle) from front (or river) to front, of one hundred foot broad, and a Broad Street in the middle of the city, from side to side, of the like breadth. In the center of the city is a square of ten acres;³⁴ at each angle are to be houses for public affairs, as a meeting house, assembly or state house, market house, school house, and several other buildings for public concerns. There are also in each quarter of the city a square of eight acres,³⁵ to be for the like uses, as the Moorfields in London;³⁶ and eight streets (besides the High Street) that run from front to front, and twenty streets (besides the Broad Street) that run across the city, from side to side; all these streets are of fifty foot breadth.

In each number in the draft, in the fronts and High Street, are placed the purchasers of one thousand acres and upwards, to make up five thousand acres lot (both in the said fronts and High Street), and the numbers direct to each lot, and where in the city; so that thereby they may know where their concerns are therein.

The front lots begin at the south ends of the fronts, by the numbers, and so reach to the north ends, and end at Number 43.

The High Street lots begin towards the fronts, at Number 44, and so reach to the center.

The lesser purchasers begin at Number 1, in the Second Streets, and so proceed by the numbers, as in the draft; the biggest of them being first placed, nearest to the fronts.

Printed tract. (See PWP, 2:442-60 for WP's draft of this letter).

1. Songs.
2. The *Thomas and Anne*, Thomas Singleton, master, had sailed from London in mid-January 1683 for New York and Pennsylvania.
3. Thomas Hicks, an Anabaptist controversialist who had quarreled with WP in the 1670s, made these charges. WP's steward answered them in a broadside printed in London, *A Vindication of William Penn*. See PWP, 2:443-45, for a fuller commentary by WP on Hicks' charges.
4. Chipping Barnet and Northaw, Herts., both have mineral springs that were considered healthful in the seventeenth century.
5. Frontignac was a muscatel wine, made at Frontignon, Languedoc, France.
6. Winemakers.
7. WP's French viniculturist was Andrew Doz, a Huguenot exile who came to Pennsylvania in 1682 and tended WP's vineyard in the manor of Springettsbury on the east bank of the Schuylkill.
8. Probably named for the town of Newington, Kent, in the English orchard district.
9. On WP's instructions, James Claypoole ordered grape vines from Bordeaux in 1682.
10. Black grouse.
11. Marten.
12. Octoraro Creek flows into the Susquehanna from the east. Rancocas Creek flows into the Delaware River opposite Philadelphia. See the maps on pp. 159 and 175. For Oreckton, see doc. 37, n. 12.
13. Shackamaxon, in the present Kensington section of Philadelphia, was the site of WP's legendary treaty of friendship with the Indians. Poquessing Creek forms the northern boundary of the present City of Philadelphia.
14. For Sepassincks, see doc. 37, n. 12, and the map on p. 159. Passyunk is in present South Philadelphia.
15. Tammany, a Delaware sachem, sold lands between Neshaminy and Pennypack creeks, on 23 June 1683. Secane sold WP land between the Schuylkill and Chester Creek on 14 July 1683. Menangy, or Menanget, met with Tammany, WP, and others at Perkasio Indian Town about 24 and 25 May 1683. Secetareus, sachem of Queonemysing Indian Town, with other Delaware sold the land between Christiana and Chester creeks to WP on 19 Dec. 1683. See doc. 68 and the map on p. 159.
16. Get them used to.
17. By 16 Aug. 1683, WP had bought five parcels of land from the Indians. See docs. 37 and 68, above, and the map on p. 159.
18. The branch of philosophy which treats of first principles, including the origins of life.
19. Fantastic.
20. The Indian seems to be referring here to WP's Swedish interpreter, Lasse Cock. See doc. 32.
21. Have not excelled the Indians' understanding of virtue.
22. Duke's Place and Berry Street were centers of the Jewish ghetto in London.
23. Christiana was a Swedish settlement at the site of present Wilmington, Del.; Tincicum was a Swedish settlement on the Delaware between Chester and Philadelphia; Wicaco was just south of the original boundary of Philadelphia. The church there is now known as Gloria Dei, or Old Swedes'.
24. Shelpott Creek flows into the Brandywine.
25. That is, beyond the salt water forced up the river by the tides.
26. See doc. 62, above.
27. See doc. 70, above.
28. At the end of the *Letter* WP appended Thomas Holme's plan of the City of

Philadelphia (reproduced on pp. 320-21) and a list locating the town lots of the First Purchasers (which the editors have not reproduced here).

29. Wheat.
30. Nicholas More.
31. The Free Society's lot was between Spruce and Pine streets.
32. Thomas Holme.
33. Reduction by taking away a part.
34. Center Square, the present site of Philadelphia's City Hall.
35. These squares are now Washington, Franklin, and Rittenhouse squares, and Logan Circle.
36. Moorfields was a marshy area to the north of the walls of the old city of London. It was first drained in 1527, laid out into walks in 1606, and first built upon c. early 1680s.

77 §

Gulielma Penn to Margaret Fox

WHILE WP was in Pennsylvania, his wife Gulielma had a very difficult time in England. She had stayed behind to nurse her dying mother and to bear a child (see doc. 39). In this letter she reports the birth and death of her newborn daughter and her subsequent illness to Margaret Fox, wife of the founder of Quakerism, George Fox. She does not yet know whether WP wants her to bring their other children to Pennsylvania, but the sailing season for 1683 will soon be past, and Gulielma is clearly in poor shape for an ocean voyage.

Warminghurst, 21 August 1683

Dear M. F.

My dear and truly honored friend in the sense of that which has made thee so among the Lord's faithful chosen people, I most dearly salute thee; and I can truly say it is often brought before me how amiable thou has been and are in the eyes of those that truly have kept their first love. And the Lord has and will crown thee with blessings for thy faithful service all along to Him and His Truth, even when there were very few that stood for His name and thought. It is forgotten by many that are wandering abroad from their habitations, yet it may be brought to their remembrance, to their confusion, and they that abide therein see and know thee.

Dear M. F., I received thy dear and tender lines long since when I lay in. Several things prevented me from writing to thee again which I hope thou will pass by. I was very weak a long time after my lying in and it pleased the Lord to take away my little one when it was about 3 weeks old.¹ It was a mighty great child and it was near dead when it was born, which I think I never got over. Dear G[eorge] F[ox] came a purpose to see me,² which I took very kindly and was truly refreshed in his company. I have since had a

sore fit of illness, that they call St. Anthony's fire,³ in my face and a fever. I could not see [but] very little several days and nights, my face and eyes were so swelled but it pleased the Lord to raise me up again. I am not wholly come to my strength yet; my eyes are very weak. Thy son and daughter Rous have been here since to see me. Bethia has been here a pretty [long] while.⁴ I think she will write.

I have had several letters from my husband. He was then very well and Friends [also]. They have large meetings at Philadelphia which is the city, 300 at a meeting. I lately received this epistle from him and Friends,⁵ which I was desirous thou should see it. I know not whether thou has had it from any other. I expect to hear shortly what my husband will have me to do, whether I shall go this year or no, but fear if he does send I shall scarce be well enough yet to go. I am truly glad when I hear of you or from you. Here was Thomas Langhorne that gave me an account of your welfare. Our meetings here are quiet at present. I desire my very dear love to Thomas Lower and Mary, and to Daniel Abraham and Rachel, and to Isabell,⁶ which is again to thyself beyond expression.

Thy truly affectionate friend that truly
loves and honors thee in the Lord,
Gulielma Maria Penn

ALS. Chester County Historical Society. (PWP, 2:460-61).

1. Gulielma gave birth to her seventh child, a daughter, in early Mar. 1683. The infant was apparently "in good health" when James Claypoole visited Warminghurst on 20-26 Mar. (see doc. 58, above) but died soon after. Her name and exact birth and death dates are not known.

2. George Fox had visited Gulielma with the Claypooles; see doc. 58, above.

3. A disease that causes fever and intense local inflammation, particularly on the face or legs.

4. Margaret Fox's eldest child, Margaret, was married to John Rous, a Barbados Friend who had moved to London. Bethia Rous (b. 1666) was their daughter.

5. Only one letter written by WP to Gulielma from Pennsylvania now survives (doc. 100, below). The letter that Gulielma passed on to Margaret Fox was probably a circular letter from a Friends' meeting in Pennsylvania to Friends in England.

6. Mary, Rachel, and Isabell were Margaret's daughters. Mary was married to Thomas Lower and Rachel to Daniel Abraham; Isabell Fell Yeamans was a widow, and was probably living with her mother at Swarthmore Hall, Lancs.

78 §

From William Haige

IN August 1683 WP sent commissioners James Graham and William Haige to Albany, New York, to purchase land along the Susquehanna River from the Indians (see doc. 72, above). On 27 August, Haige arrived in New