**Notes on Early Pennsylvania Promotion Literature**

The emigration of settlers to the American colonies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was effected in large measure by means of the publication and dissemination of descriptive tracts designed primarily to attract emigrants to the New World. Practically every colonial project, with the exception of the Puritan Commonwealths and Rhode Island, was thus advertised. A vast number of these promotion pamphlets describing the proprietary colonies of Virginia, Maryland, Carolina, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, the colonial adventures of the Dutch in the New Netherlands and Surinam, the Scots in Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, the French in Carolina, the Swedes in New Albion, and the English in the West Indies and Carolana are still extant and constitute a great corpus of historical information regarding seventeenth and eighteenth century social and economic conditions in Europe and in the colonies. This body of material has never been exhausted by historians.

The following detailed treatment of the early Pennsylvania tracts will be best appreciated if regarded as a part of a general study of promotion literature which, upon completion, will constitute a re-examination of the beginnings of American colonization. This general study will consist of a series of intensive studies of various colonial projects, followed by a comparison of the conclusions drawn from these detailed investigations. The contents of the various tracts will be carefully analyzed to determine, if possible, the order and circumstances of their appearance, and to gain, therefrom, information regarding the characters and aims of the proprietors and promoters, the conditions of settlement offered to prospective emigrants, the types of people appealed to and obtained, the constitutional provisions proposed and adopted, the conditions existing in England and on the continent which influenced or checked emigration, as well as the conditions indigenous to America which may have shaped both the character and the progress of settlement.
A part of this general study, *The Colonial Promotion and Promotion Literature of Carolina, 1660–1700*, has been completed as the author's thesis for the doctorate at Brown University. The promotion literature of Pennsylvania constitutes a particularly fertile field for a similar study. So numerous are the extant tracts describing this colony, it has been deemed best to limit the scope of this article to a discussion of those pamphlets which were issued by the proprietor and his agents in 1681 and 1682, *i.e.*, prior to the date of his departure for his colony in August, 1682. These tracts will be discussed in detail later. They are listed below in the order in which a careful examination of their texts and of all available evidence regarding their publication has convinced the author they were issued.

1. **Some Account of the Province of Pensilvania in America; Lately Granted under the Great Seal of England to William Tenn, &c. Together with Privileges and Powers necessary to the well-governing thereof. Made publick for the enformation of such as are or may be disposed to Transport themselves or Servants into those Parts.** London: Printed, and Sold by Benjamin Clark Bookseller in George-Yard, Lombard-street, 1681. Folio. (2), 10 p. A-C.


2. **A Brief Account of the Province of Pensilvania in America, lately granted under the Great Seal of England to William Tenn &c.** London, 1681.

   A single folio sheet \(11\frac{1}{4} \times 7\) inches printed on both sides. A copy of this tract is in the Harvard College Library.

   3. "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."

The author has found no evidence to corroborate the statements of Proud or Hazard that William Penn published the "Concessions," if by that expression they mean produced a printed book. It is possible, however, that they have used the word published merely in the sense "made public."


A rare broadside 16/ x 20 in inches. An original copy of this map, with printed description attached, is to be found in the Blathwayte collection of maps in the John Carter Brown Library, another is in the American Philosophical Society. The four octavo page descriptive text, which contains the same information as the eight page folio *A Brief Account* (see infra), is reprinted by W. C. Ford in the Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings*, LVII. 172-83 (1923). A facsimile of the map was produced by A. C. Myers in 1923 from an original owned by Colonel Henry D. Paxson of Philadelphia.


10. The Frame of the Government of the Province of Pennsylvania in America: Together with certain Laws Agreed upon in England By the Governour And Divers Free-Men of the aforesaid Province. To be further Explained and Confirmed there by the first Provincial Council and General Assembly that shall be held, if they see meet. Printed in the year MDCLXXXII. Folio. 2p. i., 11p. A-D. B incorrectly lettered A.


12. [Loddington, William]. Plantation Work the Work of this Generation Written in True-Love To all such as are weightily inclined to Transplant themselves and Families to any of the English Plantations in America. The Most material Doubts and Objections against it being removed, they may more cheerfully proceed to the Glory and Renown of the God of the whole Earth, who in all Undertakings is to be looked unto, Praised and Feared for Ever. [one line]. London, printed for Benjamin Clark in George-Yard in Lombard-street, 1682. Quarto. (ii), 18p. A-B, C.


Titles of Promotion Tracts published after 1682 but referred to in this article.

13. A Letter from William Penn Proprietary and Governour 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 Encrease thereof. [six lines]. To which is added, An Account of the City of Philadelphia Newly laid out . . . [one line] 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 . . . [two lines]. Printed and Sold by Andrew Sowle, at the Crooked-Billet in Holloway-Lane in Shoreditch, and at several Stationers in London, 1683. Folio. 10p. Chart 7.5 x 11.8 inches.


Copies in the John Carter Brown Library, the Library of Congress, and the Newberry Library. Contains (1) William Penn, Brief Recit de la Province de Pensylvanie, Nouvellement accordé par le Roy; (2) Eclairissemens de Monsieur Furly, sur plusieurs Articles touchant l'establishment de la Pensylvanïa (dated à Roterdam ce 6, Mars, 1684 and signed by Benjamin Furly); (3) [William Penn], Lettre de Monsieur Penn ... contenant une description generale de la dite province. (Signed William Penn and dated "A Philadelphie ce 8 [t. e., 16] Aoust 1683"); (4) Un recit abregé de la situation; & grandeur de la Ville Philadelphie; (5) [Thomas Paschall] Extrait D'une lettre escrite de Pensylvanie, par Thomas Paskel à J. J. Chippenham en Angleterre en datte du 10 Feurier 1683 nouveau style.


Already experienced in the art of writing promotion propaganda by virtue of his activities as trustee and promoter of West New Jersey, William Penn was well equipped upon the receipt of his charter to launch an effective and well organized promotion campaign. Indeed, so numerous and so alike in their titles are the Pennsylvania tracts for the year 1681 alone that the bibliographer must study with care their contents and all other evidence regarding their issuance in order to arrive at an order of publication for the group. Such an analysis gives testimony that Penn issued his first promotion tract soon after the receipt of his charter, and that this tract was the folio of ten pages, *Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania in America*.

Designed to advertise the colony, this tract portrays excellently Penn's great vision and well known aspirations for the future of his colony. It gives little detailed information but might well be considered a prospectus designed to arouse and cultivate without delay a popular, general interest in his colony. Penn, no doubt, planned to satisfy such interest with a more particularized account as soon as he, himself, received positive information regarding the nature of his province and had perfected plans for its settlement. A note of futurity and of plans not yet consummated permeates the entire tract.

This feeling of tentativeness is met with immediately in the first paragraph of the pamphlet, wherein is stated Penn's reason for having published it, namely, that he felt it his duty to give "publick notice of

---

1 William Penn is credited with draughting the *Epistle of Penn, Lawrie, and Lucas, Respecting West New Jersey, 1676*, and the *Concessions and Agreements of the Proprietors, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of West New Jersey, 1676*. Credit is also due Penn for securing from the Duke of York recognizance of the Grant of West New Jersey to Penn, Lawrie, and Lucas as trustees for Edward Byllynge. This confirmation of title was announced in a tract entitled *The Present State of the Colony of West Jersey, in America, 1681*, which, although published anonymously, was doubtless circulated by the trustees and proprietors.
it to the World, and those of our own, or other Nations, that are inclin’d to Transport themselves or Families beyond the Seas, may find another Country added to their choice, that if they should 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 describ’d.”

Having thus stated his purpose, and before treating of the province itself, Penn, with a view to putting his readers in a receptive and favorable frame of mind, published a short treatise on the “benefit of Plantations or Colonies in general” in which he refutes the commonly held objection that colonies tended to weaken the mother country.  

The remainder of Some Account is divided into six sections devoted to some more or less general statements regarding the location and nature of the place, the products the country was thought capable of producing, various conditions relative to settlement, the type of people considered suitable as settlers, the utensils and commodities the settlers should bring with them, the price of the passage, and the manner of effecting settlement upon their arrival. An abstract of the patent granted to William Penn is appended so that “an account of the Estate and Powers granted to me may be given.” The tract concludes with an invocation to God’s Providence for the enterprise. A postscript gives notice that “Whoever are desirous to be concern’d with Me . . . may be treated with and further Satisfied, at Philip Fords in

2 This treatise on the benefits of colonies is reprinted in an undated tract published anonymously and entitled Select Tracts relating to Colonies . . . London. Printed for J. Roberts at the Oxford-Arms in Warwick Lane, [n.d.]. The probability that Oglethorpe edited this compilation is discussed in Verner W. Crane, Promotion Literature of Georgia, in Bibliographical Essays: a Tribute to Wilberforce Eames (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), 289. Professor Crane, citing The Gentleman’s Magazine, II. 1087, proves that this tract was published in 1732 and not in 1700 as suggested in the catalogue of the British Museum. Further evidence of Oglethorpe’s responsibility for this tract and of the date of its publication is found in the following postscript to a letter written by Thomas Coram, November 20, 1732: “P. S. If you have not one of the Stitched Books containing about 40 or 5 [sic] pages wch Mr. Oglethorpe had printed entitled Select Tracts relating to Colonys I will inclose one of them to you if you will permit me. T. C.” The above letter is printed in Herbert Compston, Thomas Coram, Churchman, Empire Builder and Philanthropist (London, 1918), 65. The John Carter Brown Library possesses a copy of the Select Tracts.

3 Philip Ford was Penn’s trusted friend and agent and author of the pamphlet A Vindication of William Penn . . . from the late Aspersions spread abroad on purpose to Defame him (London, Benjamin Clark, 1683; reprinted in the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, VI. 174-81. In later years Ford defrauded Penn and brought him into financial difficulties and the debtors’ prison.
Bow-lane in Cheapside, and at Thomas Rudyard's or Benjamin Clark's in George-Yard in Lombard-street. . . ."

The exact date of the publication of Some Account has not been ascertained. However, a study of Penn's correspondence with Robert Turner, his Dublin agent, indicates that it must have been published after March 5 and before April 12, 1681. In a letter of the first date, March 5, hitherto noted chiefly for containing Penn's sentiments regarding the naming of his province, we find "Thou mayst communicate my grant to friends, and expect shortly my proposals. . . . I shall have a tender care to the government, that it will be laid at first." That the above-mentioned "proposals" were available by April 12, is proved by Turner's endorsement on a letter of that date received from Penn, "William Penn, his advise about his country Pensilvania —came with the printed Booke." The Proprietor's comments on the enclosed pamphlet and the nature of the additional information concerning his province found in the letter itself leave little room for doubt that Some Account was the "printed Booke" enclosed therein. Thus, in keeping with his admission in the tract itself of his limited knowledge of Pennsylvania and of his intention to "write truly and avoid exaggeration," Penn states "The inclosed 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 forborne paint and allurement, and writt truth. W. P." And, again, "There are several inhabitants on the place already able to yield accomodation to such as at first go. . . ."—a fact he incorporates and elaborates upon in a later tract. The absence of specific information of this sort from the tract Some Account may thus be considered negative

4 Thomas Rudyard, originally from the town of Rudyard in Staffordshire, was a lawyer in George Yard in Lombard Street at whose office Penn signed his first deeds granting lands in Pennsylvania. Rudyard became one of the New Jersey Proprietors and, in 1682, came to America as Deputy Governor of East Jersey. For further particulars see William A. Whitehead, East Jersey under the Proprietary Governments (Newark, 1875), 164-68.

5 A London bookseller, 1674-1698, printer and publisher for the Quakers. For further information see H. R. Plomer, Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers. . . . in England, Scotland, and Ireland (Oxford, 1922), 71.

6 Memoirs of the H. S. P. (Philadelphia, 1826), I. 201-202. Hereafter cited as Memoirs. Manuscripts of the letters cited hereafter from the Memoirs, from Hazard's Annals, and from Proud's History of Pennsylvania are in the collections of the H. S. P. Some are in Penn's hand, others are contemporary copies, and a few were copied at a later date.

7 Memoirs, I. 204.

8 Ibid., I. 204.

9 The folio of eight pages, A Brief Account of Pennsylvania, 1681.
proof that the latter is the pamphlet referred to in Turner’s endorsement.

Penn also informs Turner in this letter of April 12 that “care is taken already for to look out a convenient tract of land for a first settlement.” He doubtless referred in this instance to his instructions of April 8, 1681, concerning the settling of boundaries, surveying, setting out, renting, and sale of lands, issued to and mentioned in the commission of Penn’s cousin, William Markham, as deputy governor.\(^{10}\) As Penn was busy at this time preparing Markham’s instructions and commission and his (Penn’s) letter to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, April 8, 1681,\(^{11}\) it may well be supposed that he, of necessity, prepared his pamphlet for the press sometime before penning the more personal documents. The absence of the Declaration of the King, addressed to the inhabitants and planters of Pennsylvania, April 2, and published in the folio *A Brief Account*, but not found in *Some Account*, may likewise be considered negative evidence that the latter had already appeared or was at least in the hands of the printer by that date.

Positive proof of the priority of publication of *Some Account* will be presented presently, gleaned from a detailed comparison of its contents with those of the folio *A Brief Account*, for though *Some Account* is generally accepted as the earlier, *A Brief Account* has certain features of style which has occasionally led investigators to suggest that it preceded the other in time of issue. Before undertaking this comparison, a very rare tract, of similar title which the author believes to be the second tract published by William Penn, will be considered and a brief report made of Penn’s activities as a promoter up to the middle of July, 1681. This rare tract is entitled *A Brief Account of the Province of Pennsylvania, in America lately granted under the Great Seal of England to William Penn &c.* (London, 1681). It is a single folio sheet printed on both sides. It must not be confused with the folio of eight pages of similar title, printed in the author’s opinion some months later, nor should it be mistaken for an abstract of the latter.\(^{12}\) It is, in fact, an abstract of *Some Account* and


\(^{12}\) Justin Winsor in his *Narrative and Critical History*, III. 496, n. 4 refers erroneously to this tract as an abstract of *A Brief Account*. 
its contents are further testimony of the priority of Some Account. Proof that this piece of promotion writing appeared subsequent to Some Account is found first in the Proprietor's own statement made therein, "I thought good to publish this abbreviated account of the former Relation, as less troublesome to Send or Read, for their satisfaction that are soberly desirous and resolved for those parts of the World" and, secondly, in the fact that the subject matter dealt with is divided into the same number of sections which bear the same notations and titles as those in Some Account, although the treatise on colonies and the Abstract of the Patent are omitted. The Declaration of the King, which is to be found in the later tracts, is not found in this tract, nor is there any mention of a map with description attached to which reference is made in a later tract and in the translations of Some Account. Had this map and description been in existence at the time Penn prepared this abstract, it is most improbable that he would have failed to appreciate their value as promotion devices and have neglected to advertise them.

In the months following the granting of his charter, William Penn labored diligently and enthusiastically that the business of settling his colony might be gotten underway with all possible speed. To clear the title to his claim, he negotiated with Lord Baltimore in respect to the boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland, and with the Duke of York in regard to the lower counties of Delaware. At the same time, while engaged in correspondence with the various agents who were promoting his colony in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and on the continent, Penn not only advertised his province by means of printed tracts but also by traveling through the eastern counties of England, where he addressed several meetings of Friends and negotiated for ships to transport settlers to Pennsylvania.

These early efforts of Penn apparently bore fruit, for on July 11, 1681, a sufficient number of men having agreed to join Penn as adventurers, a formal agreement was entered upon entitled "Certain Conditions and Concessions agreed upon by William Penn Proprietary and Governor of the province of Pennsylvania and those who are adventurers and purchasers in the said Province." This agreement established rules regulating settlement, Indian relations, and the maintenance of peace which were to be observed by all settlers upon their
arrival in Pennsylvania. It was in the nature of a temporary constitution and might be termed the first of many tentative draughts of a form of Government or "fundamental constitutions" that were prepared by Penn and from which finally emerged the Frame of Government published in 1682. That Penn sent the "Concessions" to America may be concluded from a letter to Markham, dated October 18, 1681, and from the instructions previously issued on September 30, 1681 to the commissioners about to depart for Pennsylvania... "to lay out the first and best land, to the first adventurers..." and—in regard to dealings with the Indians "let my letter and conditions, with my purchasers about just dealing with them, be read in their tongue," and after reading my letter and the said conditions, then present their kings with what I send them, and make a friendship and league with them, according to those conditions, which carefully observe, and get them to comply with you..." In dividing the town lots and selecting a site for his house, Penn instructs the commissioners that he will be satisfied with less than the thirtieth part, to wit 300 acres allowed him in the Concessions.

That Penn intended the subject matter of the "Concessions" be made known to all prospective emigrants can be deduced from the fact that he makes specific mention of them in two new promotion tracts published by him about this time: the first, the very rare broadside printed in four columns and attached to the bottom of a new map of Pennsylvania, entitled Map of Some of the South and east bounds of Pennsylvania in America... Sold by John Thorton at the signe of England, Scotland and Ireland in the Minories and by John Seller... in Popeshead Alley in Cornhill, London, and the second, the eight page folio, A Brief Account of the Province of Pennsylvania... London, Printed by Benjamin Clark in George-Yard in Lombard-street, 1681. The texts of these two tracts are so similar that it is diffi-

13 Instructions issued by William Penn to William Crispin, John Bezar, and Nathaniel Allen, commissioners for settling the colony. See Hazard, Annals, 527-531. Two manuscript copies of the instructions are in the H. S. P. The Letter to Markham is in the Dreer Collection (H. S. P.). In it Penn declared his plans as follows: "with this comes Instructions, & Concessions, with some Company... I have sent my Cosen William Crispin to be thy Assistant, as by Commission will appear..."

14 Penn's letter to the Indians is printed in Hazard, Annals, 532.

15 Compare Instruction no. 9 with Concessions XI-XVI and Instructions no. 13 with Concession IX. See Hazard, Annals, 518 and 529.
cult to determine which appeared first. The truth of the situation may well be that they were published almost, if not, simultaneously. The only outstanding differences in their contents are omissions or contractions made in the broadside for the sake of brevity. The fact that a map and printed proposals are advertised in the folio may indicate that they were printed before the latter, since the broadside does not mention the existence of the eight page book. However, limited space may well explain the omission of such information from the broadside, while Penn's failure to include a map in the pamphlet edition would render it imperative that he advertise therein the existence of a map which had been admittedly published "to satisfy the desire of people involved, and to correct mistakes of other maps and to leave room for correction by time." The reason for issuing the description attached to the map is stated therein, namely "to give an account of the Province of Pennsylvania from Relations received from persons there that could give light towards or with other matters fit for them to know that incline to go there."

The references within both tracts to the Concessions enable us to place their date of publication after July eleventh. The text of two letters written by Penn on August 25 prove that these tracts were available at that time. In the first of these letters, that addressed to Robert Turner, Penn stated, that he was sending "maps and accounts too, by Friend Thomas Lurting." This letter bears two endorsements. The first reads "Wm. Penn adviseth that books or printed proposals, with maps, is sent by Thomas Lurttin; about Pensilvania"; the second gives evidence that Lurting had arrived. The contents of the letter itself reveal that it had been written upon Penn's return from a successful journey in the west of England. Penn's second letter of August 25 was written to James Harrison then in England. In this letter Penn explained to Harrison his views in regard to indentured servants, head-rights, and quit rents, and in the following manner appointed him his agent and bestowed upon him his power of attorney. "I do hereby nominate and appoint thee my lawful agent, in my name, and to my behoof, to bargain and sell (according to printed instructions) any parcel of land in Pennsylvania, not below 250 acres to any one person..." The printed instructions referred to were doubtless

17 Hazard, Annals, 524.
either the broadside or the tract *A Brief Account* for the body of the letter, as has been stated, dealt with the rate of quit rents to be charged servants and others who were unable to buy or pay their own passage and the amount of land that was to be granted to them once their periods of indenture had expired. It must be noted here that the only phrases in the "Concessions" referring to quit rents to be charged deal with this same problem. Penn evidently appreciated the need of a clearer explanation of the terms upon which lands would be granted, for in his letter to Turner he likewise elaborated upon certain clauses referring to rents and promised an amplification of the subject by Philip Ford, his secretary or steward.

Just when these tracts were ready for circulation is unknown, but letters of James Claypoole to Samuel Claridge give at least a clue. On July 15, 1681 Claypoole, evidently in answer to a request from Claridge for information regarding Penn's projected settlement in Pennsylvania, wrote his approval of it and stated, "When he [William Penn] comes to town, I shall treat with him for 5000 acres for thee. I know £100 is the purchase thereof, ..." On July 26, Claypoole again addressed Claridge, "My serv* sent thee a pap that Wm. Penn gave him about Pensilvania: I would have had some discourse with him but that hee was in such extra haste to be gone towards Bristol that wee could not have time, but hee said hee had writt to thee, and would discourse mee fully in a few dayes there is great encour-agm* both as to the Country and Governour...." Claypoole, although convinced of the good-faith of William Penn, voiced to Claridge an unwillingness on his own part to be involved in the undertaking until he saw that Lord Baltimore was not going to interfere with Penn's taking up his grant. Thus was Claypoole, who later became Secretary of the Free Society of Traders, beset with indecision regarding the enterprise, although he requested Claridge to "keep this to thyselfe." Claypoole soon abandoned his fears for on October 22, he informed Claridge that he had "possitively bought 5000 Acres of land of Wm. Penn and am to pay him 100lb for it next 3d. day, and I know not but that I may buy the quitt Rent off also for 20lb."

The exact nature of the paper Penn gave Claypoole's servant has

---

18 Hazard, *Annals*, 520.
20 Ibid., X. 189 (1886).
not been ascertained. While it may have been a copy of *Some Account* or its abstract, it is not improbable that the broadside was in circulation at that time. The use of the word “pap” rather than book would seem to indicate that Penn gave the servant either a copy of the abstract of *Some Account* or the broadside printed to accompany the map. On the day Penn gave the servant the paper, he [Penn] left for Bristol, not to return until on or about August 25, as is shown by his letter of that date to Turner. His letter to Harrison, of the same date, with its explanatory clauses regarding land sales and quit rents, indicates that at that time Harrison already had at hand a document referred to as the “printed instructions” which differed in certain details from *Some Account*. A study of the construction and contents of the pamphlet *A Brief Account* not only gives evidence that this tract may be the “printed instructions” referred to in the letter to Harrison but also reveals further proof that it was published after *Some Account*. As the broadside contains practically the same material as the folio pamphlet, only the latter need be considered. *A Brief Account* appears to be the product of Penn’s attempt to supply as readily and as hastily as possible further information regarding his province. The composition of this tract is so crude in comparison with the more finely organized and carefully constructed *Some Account* that it has been erroneously thought to be a first draught of the latter tract. An analysis of the contents of the two tracts soon dispells this idea and reveals at the same time interesting information regarding the progress made in promoting the province and the revised terms which Penn evidently believed to be expedient.\(^{21}\)

\(^{21}\) So clumsily written is *A Brief Account* when compared with the polished *Some Account* that one is tempted to question whether the former is really a hastily compiled product of Penn’s own or if it might not be the work of one of his assistants, possibly his secretary Philip Ford. We have no evidence to substantiate such a belief, save one statement of very doubtful value, that contained in Penn’s letter to Robert Turner, August 25, in which he tells Turner he might expect an amplification of the subject of quit rents from Philip Ford. Nothing is said to suggest that such amplification, if forthcoming, would be in printed form, yet it is true that the statements regarding rents in *A Brief Account* are decidedly fuller and more specific than those given either in *Some Account* or the broadside, and correspond to the figures given in the “Concessions” and Penn’s letter to Harrison.

Should this hypothetical stab in the dark prove true, it would mean probably that the paper given Claypoole’s servant was the abstract of *Some Account*; that, while Penn toured the western counties, his agent Ford prepared both the broadside to accompany the map and the folio *A Brief Account* from *Some Account*, the “Concessions,” and
A Brief Account follows a plan very similar to though somewhat more extensive than that employed in Some Account. Not only is the general order of topics varied, and some facts omitted and some new material added, but different titles are given to the sections. Designed to present a concrete picture of the province, which lack of information may have rendered impossible previously, the tract proceeds directly to the business of describing Pennsylvania. The general remarks concerning the benefits of plantations found in Some Account are omitted. In their place appears a brief paragraph dealing with the King's title to the country before it was granted to William Penn. The Abstract of the Patent granted by the King to Penn, printed in Some Account as the last section, appears in A Brief Account as the first part of the second section. The latter part of the second section is devoted to "the King's Declaration to the Inhabitants and Planters of the Province of Pennsylvania given at Whitehall the Second day of April 1681 . . . ," a document which, as has been shown, did not appear in either Some Account or in its abstract.

The third section of A Brief Account, entitled "the Reasons of the Grant," did not appear in Some Account. The fourth section, "Of the Country, and its Products," compares in the general nature of its contents with Section I of Some Account, although the material dealt with therein has been greatly elaborated upon in A Brief Account, extended in fact into three sections. Thus while the material in this section of Some Account may be said to be presented in a more polished and coherent style, an analysis of the information contained in the two accounts gives evidence that A Brief Account presents by far the more definite knowledge. For example, in Some Account, Penn lingers over the location of the province and his intention to "say little in its praise to excite desires of any whatever I could truly write as to Soil Air and Water," and dispenses with these matters in such single sentences as: "For Timber and other Woods there is variety for use of man. For Foul, Fish and Wild Deer, they are reported to be plen-

letters received from Pennsylvania; that the Map, the Broadside and the folio were ready for distribution upon Penn's return to London; and that the folio, "the printed instructions" was included in Harrison's letter but was sent to Turner by Friend, Thomas Lurt-
tiful in those Parts. Our English Provision is likewise now to be had at reasonable rates..." In *A Brief Account* one finds this material dealt with in a more direct manner. Much more specific information is given regarding the air, the seasons, the various species of trees, grain, and fish to be found there, the manner of paying for commodities, the price of live stock, and the comparative value of peltry in English goods. So much more particular is the knowledge of Pennsylvania revealed in this section, one cannot doubt that the compiler of it gleaned his facts from reports or communications received from those who had had some first-hand experience with that section of the New World.

To continue our comparison, the material found in Section VI of *A Brief Account*, that dealing with the commodities the country is thought capable of producing, was incorporated in the first section of *Some Account*. However, the information that Hollanders, Swedes, and English already there would furnish newcomers with necessities until they could provide for themselves, comprising Section V of *A Brief Account* was not mentioned in *Some Account*. Section VII entitled "Of the Government" is a much briefer and more direct account than the corresponding Section II of *Some Account* which was entitled "Constitutions." The statements contained in the latter refer to action to be taken in the future, while those in *A Brief Account* convey a positive tone of action already taken. For instance this section in *Some Account* cites in its first three statements the privileges and powers granted to the people and Governor in the Patent for the making of laws, and concluded with a fourth item "that as soon as any are engaged with me we shall begin a scheme or draught together." In *A Brief Account* there is no reference to the Patent itself, although the powers mentioned in the first three statements of this section of *Some Account* are repeated here in a more direct manner. There is no fourth item, an omission accounted for, doubtless, by the fact that the "Concessions," executed July 11, rendered pointless such a statement.

Section VIII of *A Brief Account* and Section III of *Some Account*, both entitled "of the Conditions," are quite different in text. This paragraph in *Some Account* presents a much clearer picture of Penn's intentions and plans regarding the amounts of land to be granted to settlers and the methods of distributing such lands. It must
be noted, however, that in this paragraph a system similar to that already in effect in other proprietary colonies is outlined. This section of *A Brief Account*, while less well written, presents directly, even abruptly, figures as to the prices of the lands with detailed information as to the manner in which an adventurer could dispose of his lands by rents. The “dividend” of the lands i.e. Penn’s plan for laying out the province into city lots and common among the adventurers is not dealt with in *A Brief Account*. In its place the information as to the manner in which those able to transport themselves would be dealt with and the way in which children and servants who had fulfilled their terms of service would be treated are here described, together with the quit rents to be charged. It is interesting to note that the abated rates to indentured servants given in *A Brief Account* are the same as those mentioned in Section VII of the “Concessions” and in the letter to Harrison, dated August 25. Moreover, direct reference is made in this same paragraph to the “Concessions” in a statement concerning the proportion of royalties from “Minerals, Hunting and Fishings” to be given to the settlers as agreed upon “in the concessions.” There can be no doubt that the agreement of July 11 between Penn and the Adventurers is the document referred to, as Section VIII of the “Concessions” reads “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 shall 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.”

The paragraphs dealing with “Persons fitted for Plantations” (Section IX of *A Brief Account* and section IV of *Some Account*) refer to the same classes of people. Yet, in keeping with the character of the rest of the tract, here again the list of tradesmen and artisans desired is much longer and more specific. The references to “ingenious spirits” are the same in both tracts and are quite characteristic of Penn’s altruism. Although younger brothers are appealed to in both tracts, the ability to publish more specific information on several matters

causes the lengthy treatise upon the lamentable position in England of these "hangers on" found in Some Account to give way to a briefer statement in A Brief Account. For the same reason the allusions to the Greeks and Romans found in the appeal to "Men of Universal Spirits" which concluded this section of Some Account are omitted. Section IX of A Brief Account concludes with that advice as to how prospective settlers must plan to employ themselves upon arriving in Pennsylvania which appeared in Section V of Some Account, entitled "The Journey and its Appurtenances, and what is to be done there at first coming."

Section X of A Brief Account is on the whole comparative to Section V of Some Account. Again, in the latter, only general information had been given. Reference was made to general improvement made in America as compared to early Virginia and New England. The price of the passage as stated in Some Account for men and women was £6 at the most, for servants £5, and for children under seven 50 shillings, except infants, who were carried free. The prices for passage are reduced in A Brief Account. Men, women, and servants were carried for £5, and children under ten for 50 shillings. By this reduction, it must be noted, the price of passage became competitive with the cost of passage to Carolina. Furthermore, according to A Brief Account, each passenger was allowed to transport one chest free and all other freight and merchandise was to be carried at forty shillings per ton. Such information together with more specific details given as to the household goods, linens, clothes, tools or instruments of labor to be transported is indicative of a demand for more practical information with which the promoters were beset.

An analysis of the contents of A Brief Account reveals that it must have been published later than Some Account. The conclusion that the latter was the first tract concerning Pennsylvania to be published by Penn is supported by the fact that this tract was the first pamphlet forwarded by Penn to his agents in Ireland and in Holland. That Penn notified Robert Turner on April 8 that he was sending him a printed account has already been noted. A study of the text of A Brief Account has shown that the latter could not have been published before July 11, 1681, the date of the "Concessions," the printed ac-

---

count sent Turner must have been the pamphlet *Some Account*. That *Some Account* was forwarded by Penn to Benjamin Furly, his agent at Rotterdam, is proved by the fact that during the year 1681 two foreign translations of this tract appeared; one, a Dutch version, *Een Kort Bericht Van de Provintie ofte Landschap Penn-Sylvania genaemt leggende in America... Tot Rotterdam, Gedrukt by Pieter Van Wynbrugge Boek-Drukker in de Leouwestraat in de Wereld Vol-Druk. Anno. 1681*; and the other, a German version, *Eine Nachricht wegen der Landschaft Pennsilvania in America... In Amsterdam gedruckt bey Christoff Cunraden, In Jahr 1681*. Neither of these accounts is an exact translation of the English edition, although it would seem that the German tract follows the English copy more exactly in that it contains the treatise on plantations which is omitted from the Dutch version. The German tract includes a preface page and a glossary of three pages explaining English words used throughout the text. In the Dutch translation such words are generally explained in the text itself, hence the body of the tract is noticeably longer. In place of the preface, the Dutch tract contains an explanatory note on the English acre signed with the initials B. F., doubtless Benjamin Furly. Since Furly is known to have been able to write French and German and to have prepared the Dutch translation and a later French translation of *A Brief Account*, it is not improbable that he prepared the German version for publication likewise. A letter of an earlier date from Penn to the Council and Senate of the City of Emden, reproaching them for the harsh treatment allotted the Quakers within their city and asking them for tolerance for the Friends, appears in each of these tracts. The date of the letter varies, that in the German tract, following the new calendar is the third of the twelfth month, 1674, that of the Dutch version, using the old calendar, the 14/24 of the 10th month, 1674. The letter itself was originally printed in Dutch in 1675.\(^24\)

Both tracts have postscripts referring to the various agents in England, Rotterdam, and Amsterdam. Each mentions the Declaration of April 2. A notable difference between the translations is in the fact

---

that the Rotterdam or Dutch edition ends with an announcement that a map of the province had been published. Both tracts must have appeared after April second since both contain references to the King's declaration of that date. The advertisement of the map in the Dutch tract alone would indicate that this translation was not printed until after the appearance of the map with the description attached, although no mention is made of the latter account. The absence of any reference to the map in the German translation may be considered evidence that it was published before the Dutch version, as it is highly improbable that so valuable a piece of promotion literature as the map would have passed unnoted had the translator been aware of its existence either through the Dutch version or through any other source.

Both the Dutch and German versions contain charts copied to scale from the chart of the city of Philadelphia made by Thomas Holme and included in Some Account. The charts in the translations are notable because of the great difference exhibited in the care with which the copies were executed, that in the Dutch version being engraved in a much superior manner to that in the German edition. Both charts contain similar explanatory material reduced from that given in the "Short Advertisement upon the situation and extent of the City of Philadelphia" found in the English edition and translated, too, in the Dutch and German versions. The legend on the Dutch chart, which is more extensive than that on the German chart, is signed "G. Drogenham, sec." The absence from the German chart of many of the details found on both the English and Dutch charts tends to strengthen the belief that the German edition was published before the Dutch one. It is probable, too, that the clumsiness with which the chart in the German tract was executed may have been due not only to lack of skill on the part of the engraver but also to the haste in which the chart was prepared.

The absence of any similar German or Dutch translation of A Brief Account has led some to the false conclusion that this particular tract was intended only for circulation in England and was never translated into a foreign language. Although it is quite true no record appears of any translation during the year 1681, there did appear in 1684 a French translation of this tract printed as the first tract in a

25 Commissioned by William Penn, Holme was surveyor of the Province of Pennsylvania.
collection of promotion pamphlets entitled *Recueil de Diverses Pieces concernant la Pensylvanie . . . A La Haye. Chez Abraham Troyel, Marchand Libraire, dans la Grand Sale de la Cour, 1684.* In addition to this translation of *A Brief Account,* which will be dealt with more fully presently, this French pamphlet contains "Explanations of Mr. Furly upon certain articles concerning the establishment of Pennsylvania, Rotterdam, 1684"; as well as Penn's letter to the Free Society of Traders, 1683; Thomas Holme's description of Pennsylvania; and Thomas Paschall's letter to his friend, J. J. at Chippenham, in Wiltshire, February 10, 1683. As we are concerned at the moment with the tracts issued before Penn sailed for Pennsylvania, only the first of this collection need be considered. The date of Furly's receipt of a copy of *A Brief Account* can only be conjectured. It is not improbable that copies of this tract were forwarded to Penn's agents abroad at the same time that they were placed in the hands of his agent in Ireland. Since William Penn valued highly the opinion of Furly, and had forwarded to him copies of his "fundamental constitutions" in order that he might criticise them, it is not improbable that he sent Furly a copy of this new tract.

This French translation of *A Brief Account* appears to follow the English original exactly in all but one particular, the article on "Conditions." Here the translation deviates and introduces material found in *Some Accounts,* namely that payments of quit rents would commence in 1684. As this translation was intended primarily for the encouragement of French Huguenot refugees, Benjamin Furly added to the tract a notice of special terms whereby the Proprietor extended the time of payment to 1685. While the French tract, *Recueil de Diverses Pieces . . .* is said to be a translation of the German tract issued the same year, *Beschreibung Der in America neu-erfunden Provinz Pensylvanien . . .* printed at Hamburg, 1684, the latter does not contain any translation of *A Brief Account* or the explanations of Furley, the first tract being the Letter from William Penn to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders, 1683. The Dutch translation of Penn's letter, *Missive van William Penn Eygenaar en*

26 Translation by Samuel W. Pennypacker in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, VI.* 311-328 (1882).

27 An artisan from Bristol who emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1682. This letter was first published in London in 1683 as a two page folio.

Gouverneur van Pennsylvania, In America Geschreven aan de Com-
issarissen van de Urye Societeyt der Handelaars op de selve Provintie
... 1684, likewise contained no translation of A Brief Account. The
inclusion of the translation of this early tract in the French tract of
1684 and its exclusion from the other translations of that year, may
have been due to the fact that since there had been no French transla-
tion of Some Account, the promoters felt the need of supplying the
French with basic information concerning the terms and conditions of
settlement which had appeared in the earlier tracts.

Thus in the course of one year, 1681, Penn prepared or sponsored
for circulation at least four different tracts and was responsible for the
publication by his continental agent of two translations. The magni-
tude of this production during the initial year of the enterprise seems
the more remarkable when one realizes that the promulgation and
dissemination of promotion literature was but one of the methods by
which Penn strove to further his colonial project. It is well known
that much of his time during this first year was devoted to his efforts
to promote his scheme through personal contacts. So great was the ex-
tent of the business which Penn had to deal with personally, he found
it necessary to postpone the date of his sailing until September, 1682,
a little more than a year after his letter to Harrison, August 25, 1681,
in which he referred to his latest promotion tract, A Brief Account.
The date of his sailing to America may be said to mark the end of
Penn’s first promotion campaign, for those tracts which were pub-
lished in 1683 and thereafter have the advantage of being written
after the Proprietor had actually visited Pennsylvania.

The year 1682, however, is not lacking in promotion tracts, al-
though it may be said that the Proprietor, himself, did not figure so
prominently in their composition and publication. A Brief Account
evidently had had a popular appeal, for a second edition appeared in
1682. William Loddington, a Quaker, published over his initials the
pamphlet Plantation Work, the Work of this Generation. On March
24, 1682, Penn issued the Charter to the Free Society of Traders, and
on the following day there was published a folio pamphlet of sixteen
pages entitled Articles, Settlement, and Offices of the Free Society of
Traders in Pennsylvania ... London, Printed for Benjamin Clark in
George-Yard in Lombard-street. Printer to the Society of Pennsil-
vania, 1682. A fourth tract, published anonymously, *Information and Direction to Such Persons as are inclined to America, More Especially Those related to the Province of Pennsylvania,* a small folio of four pages, two columns to a page, may also have appeared in the year 1682. The actual date of publication is unknown and has been ascribed by some as 1682 and by others, perhaps more correctly, as 1684.\(^9\) While the author of this tract is unknown, it is not improbable that Penn himself helped to draft it. A second edition of it was published at Amsterdam, 1686.

The second edition of *A Brief Account,* published in 1682, bears the same title as the first edition and is printed likewise by Benjamin Clark in George Yard in Lombard Street. The texts of the editions are identical, the only difference occurring in the postscript, wherein the information regarding the map with the description attached is combined into a single paragraph with that concerning the agents to whom settlers might apply. Moreover, although the “Description belonging to the Mapp” is mentioned, there is no separate reference to any “Proposals.” This omission may be due to the fact that the “Proposals” mentioned in the first edition had been embodied in the description itself and the use of the phrase “and some Proposals” may have proved ambiguous and led to confusion; or if, as Mr. Ford suggests, the “Proposals” had referred to the “Concessions,” then these, too, would doubtless have been superseded by such documents as the *Articles, Settlement, and Offices of the Free Society of Traders* and the *Frame of Government* published by Penn in 1682.\(^2\)

At the end of August, 1682, William Penn, who had labored diligently investigating the purchasers of land grants and avoiding all contracts that would interfere in any way with his great desire for effecting a “Holy Experiment,” embarked at last upon the *Welcome for the New World.* Before he left London the subscription rolls for first purchasers had been closed. The results of Penn’s observations in America and especially in Pennsylvania are to be found in the *Letter from William Penn... To The Committee of The Free Society of Traders...* Printed and Sold by Andrew Sowle, at the Crooked-Bil-

---

\(^9\) Cf. *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* IV. 329-342; and the editor’s note in Smith’s *Catalog of Friends’ Books.*

let in Holloway-Lane in Shoreditch, and at several Stationers in London, 1683, one of the most effective examples of promotion literature. This letter together with Some Account and a later pamphlet, A Further Account... of Pennsylvania, 1685, are considered to have been Penn’s most effective promotion tracts. Each of these three tracts was translated into Dutch and German while the letter also appeared in a French translation. However, as these fuller and more elaborate accounts were written after the Proprietor had viewed and lived within his province, they may be left for future consideration, and Penn’s departure for America considered a fitting end to this first period of Pennsylvania promotion.

Saint Mary-of-the-Woods College

Hope Frances Kane