ON AUGUST 18, 1684, William Penn bade his final farewells from aboard the ketch En
davor, riding at anchor in the lower Delaware River, and began his seven-week return voyage to England. Little did Penn realize that he would not see Pennsylvania again until 1699, for his mission in England was simply to neutralize the influence of Lord Baltimore, who had preceded him to London to obtain a favorable settlement of the Maryland-Pennsylvania boundary dispute. After obtaining adjudication of this matter, the Quaker proprietor intended to resume his personal supervision of the "Holy Experiment" in Pennsylvania.

Once in England, however, Penn found that a swiftly moving tide of events intervened again and again to prevent his return. Negotiations with Baltimore dragged on interminably. More important, his presence in England seemed vital in parrying the moves of imperial reformers, who, beginning in 1685, were mounting an offensive against all proprietary governments—"a Storm . . . that is falling upon other Colonys," as Penn warned his settlers.¹ No sooner had this danger passed than James II lost his throne, and Penn, because of his intimate association with the King, was forced into semi-exile. Until 1694 he lay under a cloud of suspicion, charged with treasonable activity; and even when absolution came, Penn felt compelled to remain in London, once more to preserve the autonomy of his colony during a period of imperial reorganization.

¹ Penn to James Harrison, Sept. 23, 1686, Penn Letters, 17, Dreer Coll.; also see Penn to Thomas Lloyd, Nov. 6, 1686, Proud Papers, II, 5, Parrish Coll., Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP). All manuscripts referred to are in HSP unless otherwise noted.
Despite his harried, sometimes desperate, situation in England, Penn never gave up the attempt to maintain control in Pennsylvania. In this endeavor, the receipt of accurate reports from the colony was critically important. Penn had supposed that the Provincial Council, upon which he had conferred the executive power of government in his absence, would keep him closely informed on all matters of consequence. But to Penn's disappointment the Council remained notably uncommunicative. Individual members—Thomas Lloyd, Nicholas More, James Harrison, Joseph Growdon, Phineas Pemberton, Samuel Carpenter, and Robert Turner—did write sporadically, but their letters were as variable in the interpretation of events as the individuals themselves. Only two persons seem to have written Penn regularly in an attempt to keep him systematically advised on public affairs. These were Thomas Holme and William Markham, trusted officeholders and kinsmen of Penn. To a large extent, he was forced to rely on their reports for information.

Probably no two were in a better position to observe the official life of the colony than Markham and Holme during the years after Penn's departure. Markham, who had preceded Penn to the New World and had served as Deputy Governor until Penn's arrival, was a member of the Board of Property, which acted for the proprietor in all matters relating to land, and he was also Clerk of Council, Clerk of the Provincial Court, and Provincial Secretary. Because of his multiple offices, there was hardly an action taken—either legislative, executive, judicial, or pertaining to land—to which he was not a witness. Holme, as Surveyor General throughout the period, councilor in 1684–1685, frequently a justice of the Philadelphia County Courts, a member of the Free Society of Traders governing board, and an experienced Indian negotiator, occupied similarly important vantage points. Moreover, both Markham and Holme, unlike many of Penn's officeholders, remained unalteringly faithful to the proprietary cause and stood relatively aloof from the fierce infighting which occupied many members of the Quaker elite and which deeply colored their reports to Penn.

Historians have long been aware from references in Penn's letters that Markham and Holme corresponded frequently with their patron

---

throughout the 1680's, but only a few—and relatively unimportant—letters from these advisors have been found among the various Penn manuscripts that have survived the intervening centuries. However, seven "new" letters—four from Markham and three from Holme—all written between August, 1686, and May, 1688, have recently come to light. Because each of them contained a fragment of information relevant to an investigation being conducted in Pennsylvania, Thomas Penn, the founder's son, entrusted the letters to James Hamilton who brought them to Philadelphia in 1759 and turned them over to Benjamin Chew, thus preserving them from the ravages which later befell many of the proprietary papers remaining in England. Today they are part of the manuscript collection of the Chew family of Philadelphia, whose generous permission to publish the letters is gratefully acknowledged.3

Taken together, the letters throw an extraordinary amount of light on previously obscured events in the early history of Pennsylvania. But they are of even greater importance for the insights into the problems of early Pennsylvania society which their richness of detail and pungent observations provide. Few contemporary accounts of the seventeenth-century American colonies are so suggestive of the problems besetting transplanted Englishmen in the primitive American environment.

The most obvious observation to be made from the accounts of Markham and Holme is that it was no easy task for a proprietor to control the apparatus of provincial government from the opposite side of the ocean. Despite considerable power in matters of land and government, which Penn derived from his charter, the machinery of proprietary management was remarkably irresponsible when the hand at the controls was three thousand miles away. And of course there were many in Pennsylvania, even from the early stages of settlement, who were little wont to subordinate themselves to the proprietary system, regardless of the location of its founder.

It might be said that Penn's departure only compounded the difficulties of a society undergoing a painful process of adjustment.

3 For an account of the dispersal and reintegration of the Penn Papers, see Nicholas B. Wainwright, "The Penn Collection," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography (PMHB), LXXXVII (1963), 393-419. Affidavit of James Hamilton, June 12, 1762, and Benjamin Chew to Thomas Penn, July 3, 1762, Chew Papers, Cliveden.
Among the officeholding elite, Penn’s associates in the management of provincial affairs, the proprietor’s return to England intensified the scramble for position and place that was not unknown even while Penn was in the colony. “I am very much afflicted in my spirit that no care is taken . . . by persuasion or authority to stop those scurvy quarrels that break out to the disgrace of the Province,” Penn wrote in 1686.4 “If magistrates draw themselves into Contempt by a mean behaviour,” he chastised in the following year, “they can never exercise power honorably, nor successfully.”5 Even within the colony the intensity of factionalism dismayed men of influence. One of Penn’s confidants despaired at “the surging waves of pestiferous apostates and runagadoes” which threatened to overwhelm the infant government.6

Part of the problem of factionalism, among a group of men who were supposedly bound together by common purpose, both religious and political, was the corrosive effect of the wilderness environment. In England, a relative orderliness, at least in public affairs, was assured by the long development of prescriptive authority which operated in every sphere of life. This did not mean that in England there was no scrambling for place and position but merely that such competition was conducted within prescribed channels. But in Pennsylvania, inchoate institutions and unfixed patterns of political recruitment led to a pursuit of position which bordered at times on anarchy. What was true in public life, moreover, was hardly less true in private. Penn, who fully recognized this disintegrative effect of the expansive wilderness, adjured the Provincial Council in 1686 to cultivate sobriety, suppress “clandestine looseness,” and set a high example for those in lower stations. “For since people are less under Notice and so more left to themselves in the wilderness of America, then in these more planted and crowded parts of the world,” he warned, “so they have more need to watch over themselves and become a law to themselves.”7

---

4 Penn to James Harrison, Nov. 20, 1686, Penn Papers, Domestic and Miscellaneous Letters, 31.
5 Penn to Thomas Lloyd, Nicholas More, James Claypoole, Robert Turner, and John Eckley, Feb. 1, 1686/7, ibid., 84.
6 Phineas Pemberton to Penn, Apr. 31, 1687, Pemberton Papers, I, 20, Etting Coll.
7 Penn to Council, ————, 1686, PMHB, XXXIII (1909), 310.
No less important in the failure to achieve political stability in the seventeenth century was the effect of the New World in raising the immigrants' level of expectations. Among Quakers this was especially true. For having obtained release from the burdens of persecution in the Old World, and having subscribed to the millennial promotional literature which poured from the founder’s pen in the early years, they were psychologically conditioned to expect a New Jerusalem on the banks of the Delaware. “More and not less [liberty] seems the Reasons . . . to Plant this Wilderness,” Penn would later reflect.\(^8\) Or, he would write, “are wee come 3000 miles into a Desart of orig[inal] wild people as well as wild Beasts . . . to have only the same priviledges wee had at home?”\(^9\) Penn at the time was objecting to the diminution of provincial autonomy at the hands of the government in London, but his words point to a sense of anticipation felt in Pennsylvania from the outset. In somewhat the same vein there was a tendency of those at or near the top of the economic and political process—men whose religion and circumscribed positions in English society had made any lofty aspirations unthinkable heretofore—to acquire almost overnight in Pennsylvania an enlarged sense of self-importance. Some years later Penn noted this defect with exceptional perceptivity:

There is an excess of vanity that is apt to creep in upon the people in power in America, who, having got out of the crowd in which they were lost here, upon every little eminency there, think nothing taller than themselves but the trees, and as if there were no after superior judgment to which they should be accountable; so that I have sometimes thought that if there was a law to oblige the people in power, in their respective colonies, to take turns in coming over for England, that they might lose themselves again amongst the crowds of so much more considerable people at the custom-house, exchange, and Westminster Hall, they would exceedingly amend in their conduct at their return, and be much more discreet and tractable, and fit for government.\(^10\)

There was, of course, far more to the political disorderliness than the corrosive effects of the environment and the rising level of expectations. A capriciously administered land system, resentment over

---

\(^8\) Penn to the Board of Trade, Apr. 22, 1700, Penn Letterbook, 28.

\(^9\) Penn to Charlwood Lawton, Aug. 18, 1701, ibid., 111.

quitrents, distrust of officeholders, an imbalance of legislative power, a distant proprietor, a shortage of specie, unrest in the Lower Counties, and the hostility of neighboring Maryland and New York all combined in the first decade of settlement to produce a want of confidence in Penn which is reflected in the letters of Markham and Holme. The full effects of these various factors would not reach a climax until the years 1689 to 1693. It was then, with the near-revolution precipitated by Penn's appointment of the Puritan John Blackwell as Lieutenant Governor, and the Keithian apostasy that followed, that the paradox of economic success and political failure on the Delaware became most strikingly apparent. "I hear the Country thrives but that those in government apt to fall out, a sorrow to me, a dishonour to the Province, and a shame to themselves," Penn wrote in 1686, not without bitterness. In the same vein he would charge that there was "nothing but good said of the place, and little thats good said of the people." These statements—and the letters from Markham and Holme—should not be taken as an indictment of the Society of Friends as a religious sect, for there is little to indicate that the Quakers, in matters of nation-building or colony-building, were much different from other Englishmen who colonized the New World in the seventeenth century. Rather, they must be viewed as symptomatic of the oftentimes agonizing quest for stability and political maturity which absorbed all Anglo-Americans who were seeking to reconcile inherited ideas and institutions with a totally new environment.

To render the letters more intelligible contracted words have been expanded and punctuation added where necessary.

Princeton University

PART I

Philadelphia August 22th 1686

Sir,

My Last was by Symson of the 14th July last the which I feared would hardly come to hand he being a great Consort of Conways. Therefore I intend here to Resite what was materiall sent by him,

11 Penn to Council, Sept. 23, 1686, Penn Letters, 17, Dreer Coll.
12 Penn to James Harrison, Nov. 20, 1686, Penn Papers, Domestic and Miscellaneous Letters, 31.
and begin with the proceedings of the Last Generall Assembly. The promulgated bills I sent before by Richard Ingelo.\textsuperscript{13}

The tenth of May the President Came hether from New York.\textsuperscript{14} The Councill and Assembly satt with their adjornments untill the 18th which was the Last day in which time they had severall Conferences between the whole Councill and the Assembly, wholy managed by President Lloyd and John White.\textsuperscript{15} I feare it will prove an Ill president tho the argument was well mannaged by President Lloyd—their Subject was the privilidg of the people, a Dangerous thing to Dispute in the face of such a Congregation, occasioned by the Assemblies sending a note to the Councill and is thus verbatill. The Assembly Desires these three amendments in the bill No. 1 (viz) after the word Except these words be added, Such Laws as have been by former Laws Repealed and that such Laws Shall be Continued with the Variations as by Succeeding Laws have been Varied.\textsuperscript{16} Secondly that the Late Laws Relating to the Killing Kow Calves etc. and the Law relating to pipe staves be no longer

\textsuperscript{13} Symson and Conway were ship captains, probably engaged in the Chesapeake tobacco fleet by which most letters from Pennsylvania were transmitted to England. Richard Ingelo arrived with Penn on the \textit{Welcome} in October, 1682, and was subsequently appointed Clerk of Council.

\textsuperscript{14} Thomas Lloyd, President of the Council, Master of the Rolls, Keeper of the Seal, and member of the Board of Property, resided in New York after his marriage in 1685 to Patience Story, widow of New York Quaker merchant Robert Story. Pursuing the extensive mercantile interests left by his wife's former husband, he came to Philadelphia only as governmental business required.

\textsuperscript{15} White, Speaker of the Assembly from 1685–1688 and later Sheriff of Philadelphia County, was a resident of New Castle County as early as 1676. An Anglican, he was one of the leaders of the emerging anti-proprietary party. The "conferences" of which Markham writes had already brought the Council and Assembly close to sword's points. At the outset of the General Assembly of 1686 the Council had issued a warrant against John White, demanding his presence before Council to answer charges relative to a misdemeanor committed earlier as Sheriff of New Castle County. The Assembly denied Council's right to arrest one of its members while the Assembly was in session and voted that White ignore the summons. See \textit{Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania} (Philadelphia, 1852–1853), I, 178 (hereinafter cited as \textit{Minutes}); and \textit{Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania}, \textit{Pennsylvania Archives, Eighth Series} (Harrisburg, 1931–1935), I, 73 (hereinafter cited as \textit{Votes}).

\textsuperscript{16} The bill referred to was an act of continuation. Since 1684, the first law offered at each session was a bill for the "continuation of former laws." The wording of this critical act had always been ambiguous, but many believed that without its yearly passage the entire body of provincial laws must lapse. The continuation bill, as initially promulgated by Council in 1686, is in \textit{Minutes}, I, 171.
Continued. Thirdly the Laws to Continue till twenty days after the rising of the next Generall Assembly and no longer.\textsuperscript{17}

This bill no. 1 was the bill for Confirming the former Laws. Their Second desire in their note was only to gaine their poyn't, to gett a Law made Voyd with out promulgation. The Last if gained would have destroyed all the Laws, for had not the next Generall Assembly passed a Law for the Continuance of the former Laws, they had all of them been Voyd twenty days after. But I think in that they sought their owne Ruine, and Left an Example for a Proprietary to doe the Like when too uneasie to him; at the Last day of sitting the Councill began to think what to doe to preserve the Goverment in its present State. The President Drew up a Declaration which was Recorded and I have here Inclosed: Read the 1st Minute of Councill begining with the Councill Seriously weighing etc.\textsuperscript{18}

The Assembly Came downe to the Councill where after a tedious Dispute it was Concluded By the Generall Assembly that all things should Remaine in the same Condition they were at that present and so the assembly broak up.\textsuperscript{19} The Counciell ordered that this Inclosed notice should be taken upon Record. Read the 2nd minute.\textsuperscript{20} Here I End this Relation, but Doe observe that if Such Disputes be allowed it will hazard the over throw of the Government, for what ever privilidg you once grant you must never think to Recall with out being Reflected on and Counted a great oppressor.

The next is to give an account of Major Dyer.\textsuperscript{21} He hath Resided here Ever since the 5th of May. He hath a Commiss[i]on for Col-

\textsuperscript{17} Such a clause, giving the lower house the power to void all laws by withholding their assent to a continuation bill, indicated the determination of the Assembly by 1686 to enlarge its scope of power.

\textsuperscript{18} See Minutes, I, 183.

\textsuperscript{19} As Markham implies, no continuation bill was passed in 1686. Council, able to count on the support of the Provincial Court, which its members controlled, fell back on the assumption that failure to pass the act of continuation did not abrogate the criminal and civil code of the province.

\textsuperscript{20} "Upon the Serious Consideration of the Premises, it was deemed Expedient by the Generall Assembly that the Reading of the promulgated bills should be Waved for this present Session, Least a misunderstanding, or a greater Inconvenience might thereupon Ensue." Minutes, I, 184.

\textsuperscript{21} William Dyer, son of the Quaker martyress Mary Dyer, was Customs Collector in New York from 1678–1681. In December, 1683, he was commissioned Surveyor General of Customs in North America. Dyer was an old enemy of the New York merchants, who in 1681 had arrested him for establishing what they alleged were false customs. Sent to England for trial, he was absolved of guilt and rewarded with broader responsibilities in the colonies.
lector of this Province and Territories Dated in May [16]83 which I never saw till some Dispute arose between him and I about the Lower Counties Since which wee have had a Kinde Correspondency together so that he Enters and CLEARS all the Shipp for the Government at New Castle where he Lives and I Doe his Business for the King at Philadelphia. I Believe he will be a very servisable man to the Government, being one of Excellent Method in his Business and well acquainted with all parts of America. But Cannot forbear that saterricall way of writeing. On the 21 of June Came hether one Mr. Mein22 who is by Commission Surveyor General of all his Majesty’s Customs in America, brought up Chesapeake Bay and Landed at Bohemia by Capt. Allin. He went to New York for the Seasoning time. Is Expected back about 3 weeks hence. I hear he is much Respected by Governor Dungan.23 The New Yorkers are of opinion that Major Dyers writeing home against their Governor was the Cheiff means of his being putt out of that Imployement before he had finished his Circuite.24

The 23 of June arrived here the Desire of Plimouth Capt. Cock Commandor. His passengers all well, one borne at Sea. He Loaded hence for Barbados and about the middle of July sayled from New Castle.

The 11 of July the Delaware that was Capt. Taylors ship of Bristol arrived at Philadelphia.25 Loaded hence for Barbados. Know not whether shee be gon from New Castle yett but was Ready to saile two Days since.

The 14th of July arrived at Philadelphia] the Ammaty Richard Dymond Commandor. Had buried 4 or 5 of his passengers.26 One was a servant ship’t by Phillip Ford a Carpenter. The 28th of July he

22 Patrick Mein, who replaced Dyer as Surveyor General of Customs in 1685.
23 Thomas Dongan, Governor of New York from 1683-1688, and later Earl of Limerick.
24 Dyer, never a man of unusual discretion, had the bad judgment to launch an attack on Thomas Dongan, whose patron was the Duke of York.
25 Thomas Taylor was engaged with Charles Jones & Company, Quaker merchants of Bristol, in supplying Pennsylvania with English goods. William Frampton, earlier a Quaker merchant in New York, and Andrew Robeson, one of the initial proprietors of West New Jersey, were the Philadelphia agents of Jones & Company. For extensive correspondence relating to these early trading ventures see Early Letters from Bristol and Philadelphia, AM 2532.
26 One of the best-known sea captains in Pennsylvania, Richard Diamond had been plying the route between England and Pennsylvania since 1682.
sayled hence for New England and so Intended for Barbados. I went on board him before he Came to anchor. He Immediately began upon the Governors unkindness in not sparing him the Swamp nigh his Land and was Resolved—never to Settle in these parts. But before he went away he was so pleased with the Country that he was fully bent to bring his Wife and Live here.

The 22d of July I Being at New Castle the master of the Shield of Stockdon Desired I would pylote him up to Philad[elphia]. He had Rod[e] at New Castle about a week and had putt Several of his passengers on Shoar that had a mind to settle thereabouts. The next day wee arrived at Philadelphia. William Frampton27 hyred her and is almost Loaded for Barbados—Daniall Joase [Jones]28 Hyred a Sloope to Carry his goods to Maryland.

The 26th of June Dyed Christopher Taylor29 the Copy of his will I have here sent you. On the 5th of July the Councill satt to Dispose of his place30 and to appoynt some [one] to Look after his Estate in the absence of the Executors. As to his place the Copy of the Commission will Informe how disposed off. As to his Estate the Commissioners mention the Commission for Registry hath secured what they Cann and will take Care to preserve it untill an Executor shall arrive. All admires that Ralph Frettwell31 should be made an Executor that owed him so much money by which he is in Law Discharged of the Debt. When the Councill Satt for the Selling of the Registry, James Claypoole32 putt in his Petition for the same. The Copy is

27 Frampton had come to Philadelphia from New York in 1683 and had become, by this date, perhaps the most active trader on the Delaware.
28 A tobacco planter and merchant of Kent County.
29 An associate of Penn's in the early planning of Pennsylvania, a purchaser of 5,000 acres of land, and a leader in affairs of church and state, Taylor had come to Pennsylvania in 1682.
30 As Register General of the province, one of the more lucrative offices.
31 A Barbados Quaker merchant, Frettwell had agreed to purchase 40,000 acres from Penn in 1684. Frettwell's popularity in Pennsylvania was at low ebb thereafter, for Penn not only agreed to sell the immense tract at less than the heretofore uniform price, but ordered that the tract be laid out in Chester and Philadelphia Counties where it would have pre-empted much of the remaining land near the capital city. For the controversy that ensued see Minutes of the Board of Property, Pa. Archives, Second Series, XIX, 700, and a series of letters from Frettwell and his critics to Penn in the Albert C. Myers Collection, Box 2, Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, Pa.
32 Another of the London Quaker merchants close to Penn in the early stages of developing Pennsylvania, Claypoole had invested heavily in the Quaker colony and by 1686 was treasurer of the Free Society of Traders, a member of the Philadelphia County Court, and a member of the Assembly.
herewith sent. But I had spok to severall of the Councill before they Satt and Likewise moved it at the Board that the Governor Might have the Disposeing of the place himselfe as his proper right, and not to Dispose of it to any tho pro tempore least they should lay the Governor under a necessity of Disobligeing Either some person he might have promised, or Dispossesing the person they should putt in. But by what I Could perceive this was not the Reason that James Claypoole had it not but (with Submission Sir) James Claypoole being the Person.33

I had an other End in my proposition which was this. I haveing sett on foot the Subscription about the Revenue and tho I used all the Intrest and Skill I had to perfect it, urging many times the great Charge and Vast Expence you have been and Dayly are at, and seeing so little Regard taken of it,34 thought that if you would take to your selfe the profitts [that] might be made of the Imployments in your Government as by Law they are Established they will be some Ease to you Especially in finding your pocket with Ready mony, a thing often wanted in this Country.

Therefore I projected to my selfe that if your Secretarys Office was like the Custume house in London where all the severall offices Relating thereunto are Kep't as Controller, Collector, Sercher, Waighter and many more in Severall apartments of that house, so all the offices in your Government might be kept within your owne and you then have the over sight of all and the profitts to your selfe. Your Secretary with a Sufficient number of Clarks which might be all your own Servants to mannage it. I am Sure it would give great

33 The petition of Claypoole, who was out of favor with most of the Council members at the time, was ignored. Instead Council appointed Robert Turner, William Frampton, and William Southeby to act jointly in the office. Minutes, I, 185. Five months later, in accord with Penn’s instructions, Claypoole was appointed, though with half the profits of his office reserved for the proprietor. The controversy over replacing Taylor, another of the contretemps which added to the political disquietude of the period, may be followed in greater detail in Minutes, I, 195; Penn to Harrison, c. June, 1686, Penn Papers, Domestic and Miscellaneous Letters, 28; and same to same, June 10, 1686, ibid., 30.

34 In 1684, the merchants of Philadelphia had offered to raise privately a “supply” of £500 for Penn if he would repeal a proprietary excise tax passed by the General Assembly of 1684. The subscription was so repeatedly evaded that by 1686 Penn would write in anger of “that gross delusion of the merchants about the supply.” Penn to Council, Sept. 23, 1686, Penn Letters and Papers, 17, Dreer Coll.; see also Penn to James Harrison, Sept. 23, 1686, Penn Papers, Domestic and Miscellaneous Letters, 29.
Satisfaction to the people that they Can have their business don at one place whereas they are to goe from office to office and that severall times before they Can have their business don or finde them within that should doe it. This Sir I shall leave to your owne Consideration. I sent by Simson an account of what warrants has been granted since the Date of my Commission, but since have thought it had been more proper for the Surveyor Generall\textsuperscript{35} to have sent what quantitys of Land he hath Laine out for perhaps not halfe the warrants granted might not be Executed. Great quantities of Land hath been taken up in New Castle County. If my Cousen does not make use of his Time I question not but his Deputy will for he has surveyd all the heat of this Summer. The time of our provincial Court Draws neare. The 2d of the next month is the Time appoynted for the Council to Sitt about the appoynting Judges,\textsuperscript{36} but this brings into my minde a letter you was pleased to send by your Attorney Generall\textsuperscript{37} wherein you order that he should have the place of Clark of that Court. When I was made Secretary I Looked upon the place of belong to me it being formerly in the Council and the fees Established by Law upon the Secretary are the fees of that Court. And accordingly in the Last Court I personally acted as Clark. I Can justly say I have not gott by the Provincall Secretaries place five pounds since I have been in it, tho I have made Ex officio, two terrible winter Jornys at my owne Cost, the one to Joneses for the tryall of Curtis, the other to the Falls for the Tryall of David Davis,\textsuperscript{38} Except what I gott the Last Provincall Court. And not one farthing of that paid either but hope I shall by givinge one halfe to gett the other for it is not like the County Courts that trusts their Neighbours, but the

\textsuperscript{35} Thomas Holme, a central figure in Penn's inner circle of officeholders.

\textsuperscript{36} In 1685, the General Assembly had passed a judiciary act. While advertised as an attempt to render more efficient the administration of justice, the law was perhaps most notable for transferring the power to appoint the provincial court from the proprietor to Council. For the 1685 court law see Staughton George, Benjamin Nead, et al., Charter to William Penn and Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania . . . (Harrisburg, 1878), 177-178.

\textsuperscript{37} David Lloyd, who had arrived in Philadelphia in July, 1686, and had presented his commission as Attorney General to Council on Aug. 5, 1686. Minutes, I, 188.

\textsuperscript{38} John Curtis, one of the largest planters of Kent County (previously St. Jones County), was indicted in 1685 for “Speaking of Dangerous and Treasureable words against the King.” Curtis was acquitted by the grand jury of Kent County. Minutes, I, 158, 161, 163-164. David Davis, son of the Welsh First Purchaser Richard Davis, was tried in Bucks County “on suspicion of killing his servant.” Ibid., 164.
farthest part of the Government must be trusted that will never pay you with out fetching and it is better to part with one halfe then fetch the whole, so that the Dubble fees are not so good as Single ones. Tho the place be Small yett it adds. Being unwilling to baulke my Labor and tho small profitt Comes by it, but if they take it from me I will give up the Secretarys place with it Knowing a man had as good sitt still and gett nothing as work and gett nothing, Unless it be by your positive order which I shall Readily Submitt to in all things. Your Letter to the Councill of the 24th 2d mo[nth] Last was on the 5th Instant read at the board. There was Present President Lloyd, John Symcock, William Clark, Edward Green, William Southesby and my selfe. I Know no other notice taken of it then Presidt Lloyd said he would answer it to the Governor. Caves were mentioned in this as well as other Letters you have sent, but after they are Read there is no more notice taken of them. Just by your door one Keeps so many hoggs in a Cave that they have undermined your pailles and Destroyed the Grass plott. And Deboachery is growne to that hight in Philadelphia it will in Short time want a Comparisson and all because they are divided amongst themselves for you would admire to heare what Clashing there is amongst the Magistrates Even upon the Bench.

Here I Begg leave to Relate a passage [from] the Last County Court at Philadelphia which was the 3d Instant. Doctor More Sues the Socety upon two bonds. One was the Societies alone, the other there was bound Benjamin Chambers as I take it, but however severall of the Socety were bound severally from the Socety for

39 Penn's letter is reprinted in PMHB, XXXIII (1909), 303-304.
40 Simcock, Clark, and Southeby, all Quakers, were important officeholders and members of the ruling Quaker elite. Edward Green, a planter and merchant of New Castle County, sat as justice of the County Court from 1684-1689.
41 Some of the earliest arrivals in Pennsylvania, seeking temporary shelter, had dug caves into the bank of the Delaware along what was to become the Philadelphia waterfront. Within a few years some of the caves had been converted to dens of prostitution, and Penn was receiving reports that among the Philadelphians "Vices Creepe in like the old Serpent and are now almost to strong for them." Nicholas More to Penn, Dec. 1, 1684, Albert C. Myers Collection, Box 2, No. 6, Chester County Historical Society. Shortly after receiving Markham's letter, Penn issued "A Proclamation concerning the Caves of Philadelphia," which ordered the caves cleared because of "the Disorders that their great Secresy hath given occasion to loose People to commit in them." Pa. Archives, Second Series, XIX, 3-4.
the payment of the money. When these Causes was trying President Lloyd had a Great arme Chear sett in Court. I was then in Court sitting upon a Little bench by the Clark which I usually did to learn his methods. When I saw the Chear wondered who it was for, until I saw the President Com in and Sitt in it. While president More was pleading, President Lloyd spoak something I supposed that Concerned the Cause. I Desire said Doctor More that no man Speak but has leave of the Court. I may Speak said President Lloyd. They that make the Court, may Speak in the Court. I Deny said Dr More that any man here makes this Court. A Little time after President Lloyd spoake again. Doctor More againe Desired that none but what had leave of the Court should speak. I wonder at thee Doctor More said President Lloyd. I take notice of thy Incivility, I tell thee I may speak here or in any Court of this Government as I am the Cheiff Justice in it by being Keeper of the Seal. I never Saw that power yeett said Doctor More but if you are said he then pray Sitt upon the Bench that I may Know where to Direct my Speach. In fine Doctor More Cast the Socyety in both Causes. They appeale to the Pro vinciall Court. Both the appeals was granted, but the Court would admitt of Griffeth Jones, who Benjamin Chambers brought for Security, to be security but to one of the appeals, he being ingaged for one of his owne Juste before in Court, so that for want of Security Benjamin Chambers Could Enter but one appeale before the Court Broak up. At this time the President was not there. The Court had adjoind and the President came not to the next Sittong, but in a private Roome at Hootons where he Could here and see what was don in it there he satt. The next day President Lloyd getts as many

42 Nicholas More, a wealthy London physician, had invested heavily in Pennsylvania. His importance in the early affairs of the colony is indicated by the fact that he served concurrently in 1684 as president of the Free Society of Traders, Speaker of the Assembly, and first Chief Justice of the Provincial Court. Benjamin Chambers replaced him as president of the Free Society in 1685. For the background of the legal dispute involving More and the Society see Gary B. Nash, "The Free Society of Traders and the Early Politics of Pennsylvania," PMHB, LXXXIX (1965), 147-173.

43 A former Quaker merchant in London, Jones became one of the principal merchants and land speculators of Pennsylvania.

44 Thomas Hooten’s house on Front Street between Walnut and Chestnut adjoined Samuel Carpenter’s house, which was often used for legislative and judicial proceedings during this period.
of the Councill Together as he Could, sends Benjamin Chambers to
bid I should not be out of the way for the Council was going to sitt.
When they satt they Expected Benjamin Chambers’s Petition but
he had writt none, but took Penn Ink and paper from me and writt
it at the Table. It not being don according to the Presidents mind he
Caused it to be altered and gave Directions how. The Petition I have
a Coppy of and a Coppy of the Sureties had signed on the back of it
as also the Coppy of the minute Entred upon it, the which minute
Benjamin Chambers in the Same manner you see it and carries it to
the Justices, as an order of Councill. This sett them all together in
Confusion that when Doctor More Came to have his Execution
Signed, one said he Could not nor dare not Disobey the order of
Councill. Others said it was only a Coppy of the Minute of Councill
and some that Knew not what a Minute was, took it for a strange
thing and thought it Safest to Keep their hands from Signing. The
President never stayed the Brunt for before this same light away
went he to New York haveing Staied with us about 3 weeks. But I
must needs say it was to Dispose of the goods he [his] wife had sent
hether in a Sloope. Doctor More has gott William Salways hand
to the Execution and Intends to serve it, his fourteen day which he
promised not to Exicute it in being Expired and no proposition made
according to promise, so that I fear the Consequences of such actions
for both More and Lloyd have parties and as they disagree so dos
their friends. Sir Pray don’t think what I have writt Concerning
President Lloyd and Doctor More is Either in prejudice or favour of
Either of them for were not your government Concerned I Could
sport at such actions. Nor have I Deviated one tittle from the Truth
as an Eye and Eare witness to the whole. For my Designe in laying
it before you is to lett you Know whats likely to be if you stay much
Longer. Or [send] one to govern that Could doe it with out passion
favour or affection. For when James Claypoole Came to ask my
advice about that he Called the order of Councill and Doctor Mores
Execution against the Socety he was so mad as to say they would
give the Constables warrant to oppose the sheriff in Executing or
Serving his Execution. But I passified him and showed him the

45 Chambers’ petition is in Miscellaneous Papers of Philadelphia County, I, 11. Details of
this incident are also provided in Minutes, I, 189.
46 Salway was a member of the Philadelphia County Court in 1685–1686.
Danger of but such a thought. In this Condition will any people be that are without a head. I shall instance no more things of this nature but assure you there are many. I have Inclosed sent you three Letters of Mr. Grays and intend to Explain them as well as I Cann. By the Copy of his Petition you will see that he Desires the Commissioners would grant him the overpluss of Dunk Williamses land, he pretending that that very place where he has made his Improvements upon and more going forward with was the over pluss Land which he had bought of Joseph Growdon. And Doubting Joseph Growdon’s Tytle thereto was desirous of makeing a sure one before he proceeded any farther or Laid out any more money, haveing as he said stop’d the peoples proceeding that was building him a Barne untill he was Certaine he built on his owne Land. The Commissioners Understanding that he had made great Improvements upon it, granted him the over pluss, supposeing all the over pluss of Dunk Williamses and Francis Walkers Land to be all within the thousand acres Solde him by Joseph Growdon and he proffering such a price was Resolved to Lett him have the Governor’s tytle to it. A warrant he had for a Resurvey and the overpluss to be granted him at the Rate he Requested at. Joseph Growdon Came to towne the next day and understanding what had been don in it petitions the Commissioners to Revoke the said Warrant till he had a hearing about it before the Commissioners, he assureing them that there was very little of Dunk Williams and Francis Walkers Land in it. A warrant was made to Countermand the former and sent to Thomas Fairman who had the warrant to Execute. Thomas Fairman gives back the warrant to Gray, advises him what to doe in it. So Gray got Israel

47 John Gray, known also as John Tatham, had fled a Benedictine monastery in 1685, purchased 5,000 acres of Pennsylvania land from Penn, and immigrated to the colony. Some of the details of his stormy career that followed are recounted in Henry H. Bisbee, “John Tatham, Alias Gray,” PMHB, LXXIII (1959), 253-264.

48 Growdon, from Cornwall, England, had purchased with his father 10,000 acres of land in Pennsylvania. Not unexpectedly, he took up a leading role in the political affairs of Bucks County where he settled. The Gray-Growdon land dispute, which became a cause célèbre in Pennsylvania, ill-served Penn, for Growdon’s grievances in the matter were translated into anti-proprietary sentiment among his numerous friends. The Growdon-Gray dispute can be followed in J. E. B. Buckenham, comp., Records of the Courts of Quarter Sessions and Common Pleas of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, 1684-1700 (Meadville, Pa., 1943), 404-408; and Joseph Growdon to Penn, Mar. 16, 1687/88, (copy) Albert C. Myers Collection, Volume 148, p. 18, Chester County Historical Society.
Taylor to Execute it tho not Directed to him and found 500 acres overpluss and all without the thousand acres he bought of Joseph Growdon. This occasioned the first Letter to James Claypoole and soon followed by an other directed to the Commissioners R[obert] T[urner] and J[ames] C[laypoole]. The first I was desired to answer, but Joseph Growdon haveing it to send I understand he never sent it. An other of his Letters I have sent you a Copy off Directed to Capt. Holme. That was occasioned by Charles Pickering finding a mine and bringing some of the minerall to towne to try it maid good Copper. (I sent by Simson some of the Minerall and some of the Copper it made). Robert Hall of Bucks County hearing of it En-devoured by all the means he Could to finde out the Land and take it up. He Came to me, would have me make him warrants to take up severall peoples Land that he named were purchasers and some to take up upon Rent. I told him if he would bring me an order from the Commissioners I would make them. He came no more to me, but went to Gray who had then warrants by him to Execute and to share with him shows him the Land. First haveing by some means whee-dled the Indian to Discover the place to him Gray takes Thomas Fairman with him who Lays this Land out for him tho it was Twenty miles from any Inhabitants and many miles from any land that was laid out and not near the County he used to Survey for. Capt. Holme would not admitt of this Irregular Survey, first because it was on that side of the Scoolkill he was not to Survey on and Secondly it was not Contiguous to Land Laid out. But Capt. Holme haveing great quantities of Land to Lay out takes his Deputy and Laiies out Land Contiguous one to the other untill he Comes to this tract of Land, and then Lays out 4000 acres for Charles Pickering (takeing in the 1000 acres Fairman had Surveyd for Gray) by vertue

49 Son of Christopher Taylor and Deputy Surveyor for Bucks County.
50 A soldier of fortune, Pickering had a checkered career in Pennsylvania as ship captain, land speculator, shopkeeper, and merchant. In 1683 he was prosecuted by the Philadelphia County Court for passing counterfeit money. Minutes, I, 84-92.
51 A settler on the Delaware before the arrival of Penn, Fairman’s extensive knowledge of the region was later invaluable to Penn, who employed him in a variety of jobs. At this time Fairman was Deputy Surveyor for Philadelphia County, which he had largely laid out between 1683 and 1686.
52 Negotiations were currently underway with the Indians for the purchase of all that land between the Schuylkill River and Neshaminy Creek. By Penn's orders no land not contiguous to tracts already laid out was to be surveyed.
of four warrants, one was for 1000 an other for 500 and before my
time in Right of Rakestraw\textsuperscript{53} whose 2500 acres he purchased, an
other for a thousand which made up Rakestraws 2500 acres all
granted before my time, and an other warrant he had granted lately
for 1500 acres which was in Right of Bowman\textsuperscript{54} who had sold his
whole purchase to one Samuell Richardson a Bricklayer of Jamaica\textsuperscript{55}
of whom Pickerin bought 1500 acres. This 4000 acres are Laid out in
one tract and a Returne made of it to my office and a Pattent Drawn.
I am at a non plus what to doe with it. Part with it I will not unless
upon good grounds to your selfe. What Capt. Holme had don as to
your Intrest I know not, but both him and Pickering tells me they
have sent account of it home to you. Both Gray and Pickerin are
Building, Gray a very little thing, Pickerin a very good house within
the length of your gradon [garden?] one of the other. What he men-
tions of me in his Letter to my knowledg I never had such a thought
nor any way Concerned myselfe with their Difference. When I had
Read the Letter and Capt. Holme was come to me for it againe told
me Gray was in towne. Then said I pray lett us goe speak with him.
I Could by no means perswade him to goe with me but as wee were
taulking together, Gray looks out of the window at an ordinary in
the towne (which is Arther Cooks\textsuperscript{56} brick house Kept by Thomas
Hollyman), and beckoned us to come up. I Desired Capt. Holme to
goe with me but could not prevaile. I went up to him my selfe. He
civily Saluted me when I Came into the room. There was with him
his Insepperable Compannion John Songhurst and Benjamin
Whitehead.\textsuperscript{57} I Replyed Mr Gray I am Sorry I had not met you

\textsuperscript{53} William Rakestraw, an English Quaker, had purchased 2,500 acres from Penn in 1683
but had not immigrated to Pennsylvania.

\textsuperscript{54} William Bowman, a glazier of Surrey, England, never came to Pennsylvania to take up
his purchase of 5,000 acres. Like many of the First Purchasers his interest in New World land
was purely speculative.

\textsuperscript{55} From modest beginnings, Richardson, who immigrated to Philadelphia in 1687, became
one of the powerful mercantile and political figures in the colony by the end of the seventeenth
century.

\textsuperscript{56} Another of the early members of the London Quaker mercantile community, Cooke came
to Philadelphia in 1684 by way of Portsmouth, R. I., where he had resided since about 1679.

\textsuperscript{57} Songhurst, a Quaker preacher and author, though carpenter by trade, had arrived in
Philadelphia from Sussex, England, in 1682. Like Benjamin Whitehead, also an English
Quaker, he had developed considerable property interests in West New Jersey. Gray was also
involved in Jersey real estate at the time, which may explain the friendship to which Markham
alludes.
before I had Read the Letter you sent to Capt. Holme wherein you abused me that instead of greeting you with friendshipp, I must Demand Satisfaction of you. He was Exceedingly Dash’d. Much more passed which to Repeat would seem ostentatious but were Reconsiled before wee parted. Capt. Holme was then in the House [and] sent for me from Grays Company. I took my leave of Mr Gray and his Company, went to Capt. Holme. He Carried me into a little private Room to Inquire of me what passed between Gray and I. I told him whatever passed wee had now don and advised him to goe make the same End with him that I had don. In the meantime in Came Mr Gray. Now said I Capt. Holme you have as faire an opper- tunity as I had. If you have wronged Mr. Gray make him satisfac- tion. If he has you, make him make it. Mr Gray Began with him pritty sharply. I have seen Capt. Holme shake his Cane and stroak his beard sometimes in anger but now he was soe sheepish that for shame I left them. Sir This account I have given of Gray is to open to you his humour and show you what he would doe if in his power. I hope Sir you will make an Inquirie what he is and what that woman is he Calls his Wife and is Ready to ly In. People taulks of it here strangly and I have been privately Informed that she is a Coachmans Wife in london (she may be so for her Breading) and here Sir I End this Relation of Gray.

Least by any Mistake or Disaffected people a Rumer Should Come to England of a family in Pennsilvania Destroyed by the Indians, I think it Convenient to give a true Relation of what occasion’d such a Report in this towne and Generally Creditted for one day. On the 31 of July last Zachariah Whitpaine 58 Came betimes in the morning to Towne and gave out that Nicholas Skull 59 with all his family was kil’d that night by the Indians. I went to Zachariah to know the Certainty of it, who Related to me thus that there was a Cantico 60 nere his house, that he himselfe had been among the Indians the Day

68 Whitpaine, whose estate was located on the Schuylkill River near present-day Norris- town, was heavily involved in the Indian trade as agent for a group of London Quaker merchants.
59 Father of the later Surveyor General and mapmaker of Pennsylvania.
60 A religious celebration of the Lenape tribe which chiefly occupied the area. I am indebted to Prof. Francis P. Jennings of Glassboro State College for assistance in identifying Indian names and terms.
before at their Cantico, that after he had been in Bed which he guest might be about Eleven in the night, Nicholas Sculls boy Came Running to his house Crying his master and mistress and all the rest in the House were Kill[ed] and swore many oaths that he saw his master Killed (they are Irish that Can’t speak with out sweareing and Cursing) and that the Indians were Coming with firebrands to sett Zachariahs House on fyre. Skulls is about 3/4 of a mile from Zachariah. Zachariah looked out and as he said saw them Coming with fyre-brands (I believe they were fire flys). He left his house Immediately and Came to towne. The President was then in towne who lent Zachariah his horse to goe back and bring the Certainty of it, for the Indians were then frequent among us and at that time many in towne, therefore Could not Imagine it was Designed. Zachariah with some others went, but that Evening Came to towne on[e] that Lay with Zachariah at his house and that Zachariah had left in bed when he ran away (he is one of Capt. Holme’s Deputy Surveyors). I sent to speak with him. He told me the boy did Come from Skulls in that mannor; that Zachariah Whitpaine Rose and Called up his Servants, but he lay still in Bed. He heard the Indians make a noyse; about break of day he rose; he Could finde nobody about the house; he hollowed and then out of the Bushes that is about the Runn near the house the overseer and his Wife Came. He went afterwards to Skulls house. He found them all well. But Skull had used to sell them Rum and he denyed to sell them anymore, so that in the night they broak into his house through the Windoor and he opposeing them they had a Cuff or two and pulled one the other by the hair. But the Indians overCuming [him] gott from him by force some Rum. This Skull was told off the day before by some Indians, that there was a knot had Combined to gett into his house and take away his Rum. The Surveyor went back to Zachariahs house, acquainted the Servants of it to put away their fear, took his horse and Came to towne but mist Zachariah on the Road. That night Late Zachariah Came to towne againe or the next morning early who gave account to that same Effect.

There was an other Cantico to be in few days nigh the same place. The Councill gave Capt. Holme an order that he with Capt. Cock Zachariah Whitpaine and who Else Capt. Holme should think fitt, should Inquire in this misdemeaner as well on our part as the Indians
that the offenders might be brought to punishment according to Law. Capt. Holme went to Zachariahs House but Capt. Cock was Sick Could not goe. The Indians put off their Cantico and Removed it up to Swanpeses new Plantation which is about 35 miles from Philadelp. From Zachariahs house Capt. Holme sent me Letter desired I would Come to him and Bring with me an Interpreter. I went, Carried with me Mons Cock and Swan Swanson. We went up to Swanpeses plantation but found none of the Indians there that belonged to those Indians that did the fact, but there wee mett all the Sackemaccas that belongs to the Land unbought above the falls and other parts of Bucks County. They had threatned to Kill Israll Taylor if he surveyed any more Land before it be bought. We appointed a Day of meeting them at the falls to purchase the Land of them. Tomorrow is the Day therefore must Close this Letter to night, and if the Vessel be not gon before my Returne will give an account of our proceedings their. Time will not permitt my writeing this over therefore Can have no Copy. But to the Indians, on our Returne homewards wee mett the Indians concerned about Skulls business, appointed a day to meet in Philadelphia about it. On the day appointed some Indians Came to towne, acquainted that their King was Sick and Could not Come since which nothing had been don. This tedious Relation is to prevent falls Reports being Credited.

I have Inclosed the Copy of a Letter from Major Dyer to me and part of an other. A Relation of John White as it stands on the Record of Councill, by which you may see[e] the Insolvency of the Marylanders etc.

---

61 The sale of liquor to Indians was prohibited by law in Pennsylvania. Captain Lasse Cock was a prominent Swedish planter-merchant of the pre-Penn era who served in the 1680's and 1690's as Councilor, Assemblyman, Justice of the Peace in Philadelphia and Chester Counties, Indian interpreter, and militia captain.

62 A Lenape landowner who had moved westward after selling, with others of his tribe, the rights to lands lying between Pemmapecka and Neshaminy Creeks.

63 Swedish settlers active in the Indian trade. Swanson and his brothers had original title to the land upon which Philadelphia was built, but at Penn's urging exchanged their property on the Delaware for land on the Schuylkill River above Philadelphia.

64 A variation of the word sachem, an Indian councilor or chief.

65 Forty armed horsemen under the command of a Major English, White informed Council, had invaded New Castle County and abused the settlers, threatening to drive them from the land. Minutes, I, 188. The incident was only a part of the ongoing conflict between Maryland and Pennsylvania over the disputed boundary between the two provinces.
In your Letter to President Lloyd you were pleased to speak about money, directing him to advise with some about it. He thought the danger of Calling an Assembly was worse than the Continuance of the Coyne to pass as it now dos. But I observeing Major Dyer's receiving the Kings Custome for tobacco the penny per pound at a new England penny, spoake to him about it long before your letter came. Told him that our Law did not destroy the Laws of England nor the Kings Intrest, and therefore I thought that an English penny was the Kings due. Major Dyer made answer that whatsoever the Government had made should be a penny; that he would take and no more. This has often been in my minde since, and this I told to president Lloyd but for Reason aforesaid the assembly must not be Called. I Doubt not Sir but you will be well advised in this Case. It seems to me very materiall, Considering Virginia MaryLand and the Lower Counties are the only places that makes tobacco and in both the first Virginia and MaryLand an English shilling is but 12 pence.

Sir your people are much afraid they shall not see you here this Year which very much dissatisfies them. I begg leave to Remember you, that if you should not be here before President Lloyd's time is out of being one of the Councill, that you will be pleased to Renew and grant him a Commission more positive, that he might sitt as President, for many of the Councill are of opinion, that when he goes out of the Councill, he Ceases to be president, tho I Know he thinks otherwise. Christopher Taylor and he had great Disputes of that Kinde. But I Hope your presents will putt a Stop to any further Dispute. If not I humbly Conceive a new Commission would be very necessary.

Sir time now Calls me to Conclude tho I have not at present any materiall thing more to Informe you off. I Desire you will be pleased to present my Humble service to my Cousen and Cousens of your family and the Like to my Cousen Lowther, and Begg you will

66 By act of the General Assembly in 1683, the legal valuation of English and Spanish coins in Pennsylvania had been raised above the existing rates in neighboring colonies on the assumption that higher valuations would attract badly needed specie. Penn viewed the act with concern, for it was greeted with hostility by the colonial administrators in London who were already instituting *quo warranto* proceedings against the proprietary charters.

67 Councilors were elected for three-year terms.

68 William Lowther, Penn's cousin, had purchased 10,000 acres of land in Pennsylvania.
Excuse me to them for not writing. I forgott to Joyne my Wifes humble service with mine which she desires may be accepted. I am Sir

Your most Humble Servant and Affectionate Kinsman
William Markham

Sir I must Renew My Request that if you Can Conveniently order me some servants that are fitt to goe on a plantation you will be pleased to doe it.

Philadelphia, 8ber: 5th 1686

Sir.

John King being Retarded by the many Irons William Frampton had in the fyre, and since by his Death being his Cheiff freighter, from sayling hence according to Expectation when I Sealed the pacquitt of the 22d of 7ber, shall Continue this from thence and give as Exact an account of materiell things within my Knowledg as am able. 69 On the 23 of August I gott to the falls and Continued there and at your Plantation untill the 27th. The Indians being not come in according to promise [and] haveing none to Doe my business in my absence, Left Capt. Holmes and James Harrison 70 to treat with them, and that night gott home, where I found arrived from Barbados a Barque belonging to Henry Jones of Moyamensing and John Jennings of Barbados who intends here to Settle. They bought her of one Baton a Marchant that built her in Mary Land, and the Last fall came in here with his family from Virginia bought a Plantation in the booght or byght below Chichester of some Finns and there setled. He makes a pritty Creditable show in the Country. The Master of the vessell told me he saw your sloope in Barbados, and that before he came away shee sayled thence againe in her Ballast. On the 1st 7ber the County Court at Philadelphia satt. Their Disturbances being Remarkable will give you an Exact account of it. In Mine of

69 Frampton died in September, 1686. Markham mistakenly refers to a letter of the seventh month, September, but means his letter of the sixth month, Aug. 22, 1686.

70 One of Penn's closest associates in England, Harrison immigrated to Pennsylvania in 1682 to assume a leading role in the affairs of the province.
the 22d of August I gave an account of what happened in Relation to
the Society, Benjamin Chambers and Doctor More and of Benjamin
Chamber's Petitioning the Councill, and what there on happened in
Relation to the Society and likewise of Patrick Robinson's striking
B[enjamin] C[hambers] if I am not mistaken. For then I was in such
haste Could not take the Copy and unwilling to break it open
again. The long peacque that hath been between James Claypoole
and P[atrick] R[obinson] break now very unseasonably out. James
Claypoole takeing the advantage of this action of P[atrick] R[obin-
son]'s sent for him by a Constable (tho he had been with Benjamin
Chambers and had got his pardon) and likewise sent for B[enjamin]
C[hambers] and would force him to prosecute P[atrick] R[obinson]
and took the Depositions of the Witnesses and made the Attorney
Generall David Lloyd draw up a bill against him to the Grand Jury.
At the beginning of the Court notwithstanding, things went on
quietly, but when the presentment against James Claypoole was
brought in by the Grand Jury (the Copy I have here sent) and
James Claypoole believeing P[atrick] R[obinson] was the person
prefer'd it took Immediately the affidavitts out of his pocket and
Called for the witnesses against P[atrick] R[obinson]. But none was
at that present in Court. Upon this and Some other thwarting words,
they fell out. Some of the Justices took part with James Claypoole,
other that I perceive would have Syded with P[atrick] R[obinson]
Kept Sylent; the Court in a short time grew into an Uproare. I Could
then no longer stand Mute, but Spoake after this manner, that I was
very much Troubled to see such Discords in their Court; That if
they Continue so it will Certainly Distroy the Government, Con-
sidering the Circumstances they ly under in Relation to their princi-
pall, which is the same with the Governour whose Sides they p[i]erce
and wound him to the Hart, with their animosities and Revengefull
spiritts. Here James Claypoole tooke me up as if I ment only him. I
Replyd Mr. Claypoole I Direct my Discourse to no particular person

71 Though not a Quaker, Robinson held offices as Deputy Master of the Rolls, Clerk of the
Philadelphia Courts, Deputy Register General, and Provincial Secretary. Like his patron,
Nicholas More, Robinson incurred the wrath of the Assembly in 1685-1686 for his abusive
behavior. By 1686 the Assembly was calling for the impeachment of More and for "the Re-
movall of Patrick Robinson from all publick Offices of Trust." Minutes, I, 136, 141-142, 158,
171, 191-192; Votes, I, 66-71, 75-76.
but to all in Court, yett said I wish this prosecution of your Clark be not more Revenge then anything Else. If he has Don a miss lett him suffer for it, if he Escape 'tis your fault, but lett it not be don in passion nor for any private mans Revenge, but lett it be Don Calmely, for the Glory of God, and Reputation of the Government. I went Immediatley out of Court Lest my passion should wrong me. About an hour after Came in againe when I found a greater Confuse than before; And Arthur Cook ingaged in it for P[atrick] R[obinson]. Thinking A[rthur] C[ooke] agrivated the Justices against him, said what Doe you Come to sow your Seeds here as you have don in Road Island. I Desired the Justices that they would adjorne the Court till tomorrow morning. It was then past Eight at night and in the meantime to Compose theire Spiritts that they might meet againe Calmely in the Morning. This prevailed not with them, but sharp words passed on all hands. At Length Arthur Cook Spoak to me, why I would stand still and see the Governor abused. I told him, I had spok already more than I thought I should have thanks for. But he that has the greatest Kindness for the Governor and Government will best show at this time by first putting his hand before his mouth and holding his peace. Whether that wrought I Know not, but they Immediately adjorned. The next morning before the Court open'd, I mett the Attorny Generall, told him I saw that some people uppon any Litigious Cause they applyed themselves to him, and that yesterday he might have seen many of their humours. Therefore desired him that he would not agrivate what by Laws severity he might doe but when such addresses are made to him that he would Rather use his Endeavours to passifie them and make them friends, then Encourage their hott Spiritts to Vexatious Sutes, Especially at this Juncture of the Governors Absence. For it was Easie to Raise the Spiritt of some men, but hard to lay them. I gave him the best advice I Could to Coole and Lay the Rage and fury that was gott up, the which he received thankfully, and in Recompence told me that some of the Justices were of the opinion that I upheld P[atrick] R[obinson]. I thanked him very Kindly for unlocking their Cabbinett; this should lead me to a Justification of myselfe but shall only begg you will Call us all to account at your first Arrivall, and Spare me not. I mean in Relation to things of the Government, Except those of Ignorance for as it is not a Crime to be
poore so it is not my fault God has made me no wiser but whatever my faults are I shall not Justifie them, but humbly thank a Kind Reprover. Pray Sir pardon this Digression, and Come againe to Court which Satt by adjornment in the meeting house. As soon as it was open'd I went in. P[atrick] R[obinson] made a large Recantation for his offence to the Justices and likewise to Arthur Cook and the Attornu Generall in a very Submissive manner. He was spoak to by some of the Justices on the bench to putt his Words in writeing which he did and gave them immediatly to James Claypoole. I Could not gett the Copy or had sent it. P[atrick] R[obinson] went out of the Court, a little time to lett the Justices Discourse amongst themselves of him. Whilst he was gon I took the opertunity of speaking to them told them that the speach P[atrick] R[obinson] had made putt me in minde of an Information I had that some of the Magistrates had Reflected on me by giveing out I Upheld P[atrick] R[obinson]. I Desired if any of them had such thoughts they would publickly Declare them and I would give them publick Satisfaction. James Claypoole Desired I would say no more of that now but between him and I he would tell me. I knew not what he ment nor doe not to this day, but told them who ever upholds a private person against a Government doth not Deserve to live in it. This day the Court was very quiet, only the Demurr here in Closed putt the Court to a stand, and occasioned many opinions. I found the people on all sides amused at it. I amongst many others gave my opinion to the bench, told them that the methods that hath been hetherto used is best to Continue, being plaine and Easie to our Capasites who are not bred Lawyers, untill such other methods as Easie be prescribed us. For if they would Introduce all the Methods that are used in the Courts of England with their Law Formes they must Consequentely have Learned men at Law to understand them. Here James Claypoole spoak to William Salway upon the bench, asked if I had leave of the Court to plead for Doctor More. No Sir said I, I plead no Cause. What I have said was by way of advice. If it be well taken I am glad of it if not am sorry. The Difference between Dr. More and Benjamin Chambers was made up, so the tryall went not on. The last business in Court was the Indictment against P[atrick] R[obinson]. I at the Request of the Justices took the Minutes at his tryall. It was short for he Confest it in the maine and
threw himselfe upon the mercy of the Bench. James Claypoole gave Judgment with a preamble to it, how acceptable his submission and behaviour had been that Day and therefore fine him but forty shillings. Thus Ended the Court.

The next Day sat the Councill at Robert Turners house (he having been very ill and not able to goe out) for the Choosing of Judges. Francis Harrison was made President as one not likely to be made Judg. Then was ordered a Commission for Arthur Cook John Symcock and James Harrison but all being then in hast going to Burlinton Meeting the Commission was not then Signed. Upon the 9th the President and his Wife, his son in Law Delavall, and his Wife Came to Philadelphia. The 11th was buried William Frampton, the next day the French Minister that Came out of England in Conway. The 14th your pacquit that Came by the Way of New York Came to hand. I sent Immediately according to your Command notice to the Councillors, and on the 20th it was Read in a full Councill and in short, I was ashamed there was so little notice taken of it. Much Grumbling they should be sent for so far to heare so little, not said to me [to] be sure, but my Ears goes beyond the payles of your house. There was Present at Reading President Lloyd, John Symcock, Arthur Cook, Robert Turner, Francis Harrison, Nicholas Newlin, John Cann, Peter Alricks, Edward Green, John Barnes, William Southey, Phineas Pemberton, and Thomas Janny. This day was signed by President Lloyd the Judges Commission. Patrick Robinson was Called to account for his behaviour in the

72 Another of Penn's intimates, Turner had given up his business as a Dublin cloth merchant to take part in the colonization of Pennsylvania. Few in Philadelphia exceeded him in importance as landowner, merchant, and officeholder.

73 A London poulterer, Harrison settled in Chester County which he represented as Councilor and Justice of the Peace.

74 The Yearly Meeting of Pennsylvania and West New Jersey Friends was held alternately at Burlington and Philadelphia.

75 John Delavall, son of a prominent merchant and former mayor of New York, married Thomas Lloyd's daughter Hannah in September, 1686.

76 Newlin was a large landowner in Chester County; Peter Alricks, who had served Dutch, Swedish, and English administrations on the Delaware, continued to play a prominent role in political and economic affairs after Penn's arrival; Cann was a leading merchant of New Castle County; Barnes, Pemberton, and Janney, all Quakers, were influential landowners in Bucks County.

77 Appointing John Simcock, Arthur Cooke, and James Harrison to the Provincial Court.
Last County Court moved by the Petition of James Claypoole; he submitted as per his petitions inclosed but that would not doe so rather then be turn’d out he as it were voluntarily Endorsed his Commission to Request the Councill to accept it 3 months hence. The sheriff Samuell Hersent they have given him 7 days after the next Court to winde up and then one William Carter is to Enter upon that office. President Lloyd moved hard for James Claypoole to have the office of Register Generall but was Spoke against by Robert Turner. The Letter was Read [that] you was pleased to send by David Lloyd, Directed to severall myself one to Recommend him to the best Clarks place in the Province, and as I expected the Provinciall Court was by President Lloyd proposed for him with out the least notice given me, which I took very unfriendly. I told the Councill that I looked upon that place as an appendix to the Secretaries office, it being all the profits I had. For besides it I had not gott in that year and halfe three pounds as Provinciell Secretary. And the last Court came not to Tenn [pounds] of which I have not Received tenn shillings. But if they pleased to turne me out I Could not help it but Desired that he that had the Profitts of the Court might have the trouble of the Secretaries place with it. Then Came the Attorney Generall and threw up his Commission upon the Councill Table, went away and left it. This seemed strange to some of the Councill, but President Lloyd made an Apologie for him by saying what should he doe with it he was Looked upon in the nature of an Informer and there was no profits Came by it. Some of the Councill were of the opinion that they should have requested him to accept it againe. President Lloyd Carried the Commission away with him. What became of it afterwards I Know not. The Councill adjorned for a little time in which time the President Endeavoured to Make a partie to voate me out of the Provinciell Clarks place as one of the Councill told me. Towards Evening the Councill satt againe, then the President said as for the Clarks place of the Provinciall Court he would not say much to it now, but Explained as well as he Could how it did not belong to the Secretary, but that the Judges might Choose whome they please. But I found by the Judges answer that he had wrought upon them. But they said, for this time they would have me. From that part he went to Explaine the fees and there sett forth their Mistake in Supposeing Dubble fees etc. Peter Gronendike
would have had a Copy of an order of me which I thought not Con-
venient to give, too troublesome to relate the whole of that.\textsuperscript{78} He
complained to President Lloyd that I Refused him the Copy, stiling me Governor Markham. Tell him, said President Lloyd that I say he must give one. I told him so before said he, and he said he will not. Tell Governor Markham, Secretary Markham or Clark Markham said President Lloyd if he dos not he shall be no longer so. I am sorry I Can give you no account of the letter you sent to the Councill for after I had read it once, I Desired to Read it a second time, because then I Could doe it more Readily, but it was said it needed not. On the 24th of 7ber, the Provinciall Court satt. The President Came in to see what orders they Kept. When they ad-
joined he told the Judges that there would never be a good Decorum untill he satt there as Chancellor, and they as Masters of Chancery, for his assistants. But that he did not think to doe it at this time tho his Commission as Keeper of the Seal gave him power to do it. The Court went on with their business with Indifferent satisfaction to all Except one Case which was William Guest against Phillip England,\textsuperscript{79} for Detaining his servant too Long. For the Time I have to Relate the whole of it, but the Maine was Guest appealed from the C[ounty] C[ourt] of Philadelphia to the Provinciall Court in Law. The Court would admitt of no more Witnesses to be attested than had been before in the [County] Court. Guest Alleged that the maine Cause of his appeale was his Want of Witnisses in the C[ounty] C[ourt]. The Judges asked the Attornys Generalls opinion who gave that fresh Evidence ought not be taken. This moved Guest (who is nat-
urally passionate) that his [Lloyd's] opinion should [not] be taken that was at that Time pleading against him as Englands attorn, upon which John White putt in arguments against the Attorney Generalls opinion. The Court to quiett them, and Ease themselves it being likely to be a troublesome suit proposed arbitration which was accepted on both sides. Guest Chose William Clark and Henry

\textsuperscript{78} An early Dutch settler on the lower Delaware, Gronendyke sat for Kent County in the Assemblies of 1685 and 1689. For his petition to Council regarding Markham, see Minutes, I, 191–192.

\textsuperscript{79} Both Guest and England emigrated from England in the early years of settlement. Guest took up land in New Castle County and sat in the first Assembly. England operated the Schuylkill ferry under proprietary commission.
Bowman. England Chose Capt. Holme and Thomas Fitzwater, and bound themselves in Court to stand to their award. Holme Would not or Could not stay in towne. England said he could gett nobody Else in his Roome. Guest them moved that it might then Proceed in Law. The Court then said that they had given it out of their power of trying it by submitting themselves to an arbitration and Entering into Recognizance for the same in open Court. Soe Guest and many of that County then present went away Dissatisfied and as I hear hard words were spoak. Upon the 29 7ber President Lloyd Went hence for [New] York Early in the morning before the Court satt. That Day was Called the Causes Between the Society and More. I hope to have it Ready to send by this opertunity Directed to Phillip Ford, who I Doubt not will make no other use of it then Convenient. Doctor More was sick at home but Patrick Robinson produced in Court a letter from him to appeare in his behalfe. The Court accepted him. He made many offers towards a Speach before the proceedings of the County Court was Read, but the Court over-ruled that. After the Reading them, he spoak Apologiseing that what he should say was not his owne words but Doctor Mores own hand, which were that he should press that it might yett Come to an arbitration, according as it was proposed by the Secretary. Here I must Digress to Informe you how that was. In the Councill held at Robert Turners House, there was much Discourse about the order of Councill for the Granting him an Appeale. I foreseeing some unhappy accident was likely to Ensue, told them I thought the two Causes might be worth to me five pounds. I would loose that and give five pounds more it were quietly Ended before the Court. Those of the Councill that were of the Society were very well

80 Among the largest landowners of Sussex County, Bowman was active in political affairs. Fitzwater, from Kingston-on-Thames, near London, was a passenger on the Welcome and a noted preacher in the Society of Friends.

81 Hostility between the Province and Lower Counties was never far from the surface in the early affairs of the colony. In 1684, for example, the Quakers in Council quavered to hear that most of the merchants in the Lower Counties were resolved to revolt against Penn. Representatives from Kent and Sussex Counties boycotted Council sessions and stood ready to throw in their lot with Lord Baltimore, who courted them assiduously. Minutes, I, 101-104; William Welch to Penn, Feb. 18, 1683/84, Personal Miscellaneous Papers, Library of Congress; same to same, Apr. 5, 1684, Dreer Coll.; William Clark to Penn, Apr. 19, 1684, Pa. Archives, Second Series, VII, 8.
pleased with that, and Desired I would sett it on foot. I promised my Endeavours; from thence all the Councill went Directly to Benjamin Chambers his house (Except Robert Turner). I with them but he was not at home. We parted I homeward they to Burlinton Meeting; at your Gate I mett Doctor More with P[atrick] R[obinson]. More Came to have an answer of his Petition which he putt in, Called by him a Letter to the Governor in Councill. I told him I had something to say to him more; he went in with me and Dinner being Read[y] Dyned with me. In that time I proposed accommodations. He was well satisfied but would have had it the Societies first seaking. I putt him from that nice Punctilio but yett he would have me goe with him to Robert Turners that I might speak it before him, the which wee did. He took P[atrick] R[obinson] with him. Few days after I brought Benjamin Chambers and him together, told them that now I have brought them together, I had perform’d my promise, and seeing they were both willing to arbitrate their Difference I would leave them to themselves to Consider of Methods so went my Way. In an hour after I mett Doctor More, asked him if they had Concluded. He said no, for he would have 4 on a side and Benjamin Chambers would have but one, since which time heard no more of it untill it Came into Court, and now Sir will proceed upon it there. P[atrick] R[obinson] Urging the Arbitration told the Court they only Differed in the number of Arbitrators and that if Benjamin Chambers would not admitt of 4 of a side they would take 3, which not being accepted, Patrick Robinson offered two, but one he would not Come to nor was B[enjamin] C[hambers] at this time willing to have it Arbitrated, but P[atrick] R[obinson] not gaining that poynnt, and John Symcock being off of the Bench, as a member of the Socyety, he objected against James Harrison as being your steward, your Commissioner and father-in-Law to Phineas Pemberton, who was then speaking in behalfe of the Socyety; thereby P[atrick] R[obinson] thought to have made it no Court for that tryall. But that objection not serveing his turne, began to question the power of the Court, Desired their Commission might be Read. The Judges said it was Read the first day of their sitting and it should be Read no more. He flew into a Passion and told them they were no Court, or as he Explained him selfe afterwards saying he said they were no Court of Equity, which of them it was I am not possitive, but will here send
you what the Judges Commanded me to write Downe. Very abusive
he was and unmannerly in his behaviour.

It being Meeting day the friends wanted their house. The Court
adjorned, met againe the next morning. The first thing they did
they sent a warrant for P[atrick] R[obinson]. He Came with the
Constables his Negro bringing with him a bagg full of Books. As
soon as he Came in he squatts himselfe downe opposite to me, at the
table I writt which was before the Judges; Arthur Cook spoak to him
thus, wee sent for you not to sitt there. He Replyed he Came not in
obedience to their warrant but voluntaryy to Know what they had
to say to him, and said he, if you are offended at my sitting here I will
sitt there. He then Removed into an Elbow Chaire with a Cushing
in it that had been sett for President Lloyd. His posture when there
was very Indecent, much like a mad Man. I was astonished to see it
in a Man of his understanding. He would needs have proved what he
had said and Called for the books he had brought with him, but the
Judges ordered the Constable to take him out of the Court and Se-
cure him whilst his Mittimus was Made. The Judges haveing fined
him in one hundred pounds, The Mittimus was writt by the Attornay
Generall. The Coppy both of that and the warrant I have here sent.
The Constable Conveyed him to his owne house where he promised
they should finde him when they wanted him. They took his word
and left him at home; on the 1st Instant the Court Adjorned till the
15th that they might have time to finish their Decrees. The
Evening the Councill mett. Their business was wholy about P[atrick]
R[obinson] and ordered a Commission to be made for David Lloyd
for that place. The next morning the Councill satt againe signed
the Commission. Edward Green and William Southey were
apoynted by the Councill (haveing had notice by Edward Green of
Patrick Robinson Desire of Comeing to them) to goe to Patrick and

82 The Provincial Court, lacking a building of its own, used the Friends Bank Meeting on
the west side of Front Street north of Sansom.

83 The decision of the lower court in favor of the former president of the Free Society of
Traders was reversed, More's bond having been "fraudulently obtained" in the judgment of
the provincial bench. The proceedings of the Provincial Court, which agree with Markham's
account in all points of substance, are in the Gratz Coll.: Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. The
provincial judges—Simcock, Harrison, and Cooke—also detailed the case in a letter to Penn of

84 For Lloyd's commission as Clerk of the Philadelphia County Courts see Minutes, I, 192.
acquaint him that if he would Come with his Keeper he might. They went, but he having no Keeper, said if my Keeper will not look after me I will not look after them—So Came with them. The Councill Demanded the Records of him and all the papers belonging to that Court. He freely submitted to their Demands Yeilded his Commission Desireing only to Keep it for his owne Justification for what was past, and that he might have Recourse to Them when he pleased to Draw out accounts for his Debts, and that the Secretary might Receive them of him and not the New Clark. He mentioned the Tenn pounds he gave Southern, but said he would not Insist upon that whilst the Governor Came. The Councill was seemingly pleased with his quiett submission who Just before he Came were Disputing whether they Could break open locks to serch for the Records if Refused. I was ordered to Receive them of him and in the afternoon he gave me Every paper, in Excellent order and so Ended P[atrick] R[obinson].

Since the foregoing, I heard the people of New Castle went Downe full of wrath, at words they say John Symcock Spoke in Court, meening the people (as they say) of that County. It was thus, Wee will Rout them by the power of God. My Author is Griffeth Jones. As soon as I have sett my business of the Provinciall Court in order, which hope will be within two or Three days, intend for new Castle County and tho I am out of power Doubt not but shall have some Influence on those that liveing at that Distance from so Slack a Government have time to hatch their mischeiffs or at least have mallice a nough to doe it. [John] White at last I have drawne from the Knott, and suppose have fix't him to the Government whether for love or fear on the one hand or Disobligation on the other I Know nott. But as things are he may be servisable but haveing occasion to mention, (Just before,) the Provinciall Court, putts me in mind of placing My humble Reques here, That you will by the first oportunity send your orders Either to Confirme it to me as an Appendix to the Secretarys place of the Province (or more properly the Provinciall Secretary) or by a power of your owne which I had Rather, then give priviliges which none will thank for it but are too apt to be

85 John Southern, Robinson's predecessor as Clerk.
86 Markham refers to the clerkship of the Provincial Court, a position which David Lloyd, with the backing of Thomas Lloyd and his faction, was seeking.
snatched. If either pray your order whether to Keep it or quitt it shall submitt, tho I suppose now David Lloyd is provided for by Patricks place and the Deputy Master of the Rolls. I shall not be so spurn’d at for a thing of so little value.

Above all I beseach you if you Come not your selfe before the next Election Day for Councillors that you forgett not that President Lloyds time for being a Counciller will be out, and am Confident they will question his being any longer President by the vertue of that Commission. Therefore if you please to Continue him pray send him an other Commission, for to my Knowledg the force of this will be Disputed. Pray think of it Sir for it is of great Consequence.

As to the answer to your Letters in Councill, the first time they Ever took notice of them was the 2d Instant and that was only Entring an order of Council, that the Governors two letters should be answered, and because I Cannot write the stile they would have it in, they Desired Robert Turner, and James Harrison to doe it. But all this time the maine thing is not answered nor like to be unless words would pay scores; which will not be wanting. The Subscriptions are laid aside like an old Tayle told, yett P[atrick] R[obinson] and I had Contrived to bring it on foot againe, and had great hopes on the foundations wee Laid to have sent £500 in bills, but this unhappy accident fell out, that now who is seen to Converse with him must be Reputed an Enimie to the Province. Great men Cannot nor will want flatterers, and you have more then a good many, who will tell you what mighty things they will doe, when you will finde they nothing intended. Lett Every mans actions not words Crowne or Condemn him, your absence will be an Excellent touchstone; hold fast what you have I begg of you, Ruin not your posterity. They are in great Danger as now it is. Pray Consider Every Inch you part with will be an Ell to your Successors loss. I had almost forgott to give you an account how I Came by the paper here Inclosed Called a bill of Cer taine Complaints Exhibited to the Grand Jury. James Claypoole Complained to President Lloyd what the Grand Jury had don against him. He in Councill sent for Thomas Hooton who was forman of the Grand Jury, and Commanded it; he gave it me in Councill by their

87 The £500 subscription to be raised in lieu of proprietary excise taxes.
88 Bills of exchange were drafts on London merchants purchased in Pennsylvania, usually from Maryland merchants who offered them as payment for provisions from the Quaker colony.
order. But what the grand Jury will say to him I Know not. Pray
Examine this bill with same bills that has been Read in the Tryall
between the Society and Doctor More which I shall Inclose to
Phillip Ford, and pray Sir Well weigh all the papers I now send you.
I wish I had Less trouble and more time, but by what I have writt
you may some what see the present Condition wee are in.

There has been of late severall fals storys spread about. The one is
that the Governor had sold his Country and a new Governor would
be here, and that on a day that was prefixt bonfires was to be before
your Gate, and that I had a Letter of it which I Read to severall.
This I will trace and have punished if possible.

An other that I should say that it will never be well whilst; Will,
Dick, Tom, etc. had the Government. This was told me between
Ernest and Jest by James Harrison, before severall of the most note
here, but was almost in Ernest with him because he would not tell
his author. Tho I have heard Doctor More speak the words in your
Court yard, I think to nobody but myselfe but quite to an other
sense then what they would have them, for by Will they would have
you ment as not fitt to Govern, but to you it needs no Explanation,
nor is this nor many other things I have here Inserted worth men-
tioning, but that in them there is a prospective to sute my aim which
is to draw you a tru landskip of your Country. But am prevented
going any further, it being Morning and am quite tyred, and the
Vessell to sayle as soon as the sunns upp. Mine and Wifes humble
service to your selfe my Cousen and Little Cousens, I am Sir

Your Very humble Servant etc.
William Markham

Wellspring\textsuperscript{89} 25°9\textsuperscript{\textdegree}no 86

My dear Governor:

I hope there's no need of expressions by paper to manifest my
sencere love and due respects to thee, and therefore shall pretermit
any thing of that Kinde, and let my constant conscionable care for
thy interest and concerns, since thou first employed me here,
wittness for me, and what ever slip I may be faulty in, yet I have
been and shall be true and faithfull to thee. My last per John King

\textsuperscript{89} Holme's countryseat in the Northern Liberties of Philadelphia.
gave thee account of occurrences then, only as to state affaires, I leave it to them concerned, for I medle not with Courts and Councils, having had my share there. Yet the pub[l]ic peace of the Province I have regard too, tho in that I have received some affront, as hereafter thou may know.

I gave thee account of my transactions with the Bucks Indians about the purchase there;\(^{90}\) it was long and chargeable, but could not be avoyded. I wrote to P[hillip] F[ord] to send the things for them against next spring, being then to pay them off, and till all is paid, we can have no lines run; nor have we a penny raised on pub[l]ic account towards defray of any pub[l]ic concernes, and they of W[est] Jersey are raising some £100 and we here cannot raise any, tho these here 10 times more able but less willing. Nay the £500 in lieu of the Rum Act not a penny paid, nor a way advised [?] by the Council to raise it. I have reasoned with severall, how can they think a Government can be supported without charge, none was, is; or can be; and how can the Governor hold out at this rate, to spend his estate and ruin his family to maintain a Government which the people have so great a share in and benifit by, and that he had better let the K[ing] appoint a Governor, and he only act here as proprietor which will be ease to body and purse, and then doubtless such a Governor from the K[ing] will finde ways to maintain him and the Government etc. But this was not, is not well rescented, and no marvil whilst one of the Generall Assembly had the confidence or rather impudence publiquely to say amongst them he would or could give \(\frac{1}{2}\) his estate, that the Governor had not so much power as he hath, and this by a Q[uaker], not one of the Lower Counties men. But truly, dear Governor unless thou canst exercise more authority by the power of thy present Patent, or obtain more by a new one, as its said, all patents are called in and new ones granted; if so thou may remedy thy self now, and not be beholdng to thy people thus, and yet not please them neither, and unless thou hast more power, this Government will not

\(^{90}\) This was the famous, or infamous, Indian Purchase of 1686, which defined the westward limit of the tract deeded to Penn as the distance "a man can go in one day and a half." The measurement was not made until 1737. The 1686 purchase stemmed from the Indian troubles of the previous year, when the Indian chief Tammany, claiming that the settlers to the north of the Schuylkill River seated land as yet unsold by the natives, threatened the Bucks County landowners and vowed to drive them off the land. See Thomas Holme to James Harrison, Feb. 18, 1684/85, Pemberton Papers, Etting Coll.
thrive as it might. This is a secret, and yet I am no member of Council or Assembly, and so can more freely open my minde to thee, neither am I alone in this.

There are gridges in some, that none are put in places of power but friends, and tis not profession qualifies men for places and powers. Offices shew it too much. Also that the Ch[urch] or meetings should make edicts, or judg of men for places, and if the bounds and limitts of Ch[urch] and state be not ascertained and each kept in their proper stations, histories tell us, the confusion and sad events, verbusat sapienti, there is more in my minde then I can now express. The want of veneration to magistracy, and Courts kept in due order, and respect to them, is not the least cause of reproachs among us, and many disorders and confusions ensue. All fellows in a Ch[urch] way, makes not so in civil Government, and truly as things are here, makes me think sometimes, these peopl are not worthy of such a Governor and Government, nor fitted to rule themselfs, or be ruled by a friend thats a Governor. But this is private, and I hope thou wilt lock it up in thy bosome.

Last week we buryed the old widdow Farmer\textsuperscript{91} in Philadelphia after a tedious sickness, and death of her 3 youngest children and many of her servants. She insisted the plantation was unhealthy. Dr. More is left overseer of her will. The young widdow Farmer lives in town, hath built a brick house but minded to returne for Ireland.

There seems some need of another County or two in this Province. The Lower Countyes outvote this Pro[vince], and tis not safe. But whether thou wilt have anything done in it till thou come, thou knowest best; if, then the bounds of these 3 Counties may reach to Perkomia, and so a line run thence to Delaware, and the other way towards Brandiwine, if thou wilt let thy Mannor of Perkomia be in a new County. I know not but the making of new Counties, and new Towns may give encouragement to settle back.

I think to have a line run from Philadelphia due west to Susquehanah, as being (doubtless) not below the 40th degree, and then we can the more securely settle back; Andrew Robeson tells me, he intends by his way of observation, to try where it is on Delaware. He

\textsuperscript{91} Wife of Jaspar Farmer, an English Quaker and one of the early Indian traders. Farmer's countryseat near Whitemarsh served as a base of operations for the Schuylkill fur trade.
thinks it may be between Philadelphia and Upland. When done thou wilt have account.

I hope thou wilt not trust the fair words of Colonel Dungan about the Sinakes. Let him pretend what he will, he will hinder all he can thy purchasing Susquehannah, and therefore best to be sure, and obtain of the King a positive command to Colonel Dungan to assist thee in that affair, and then he dare not act against thee; This is now of the greatest consequence to thee of any thing relating to Lands here.

James Atkinson was here yesterday, and came from the Lower Counties where he finds cold entertainment in receiving thy rents, and no wonder when William Clark at the last Court at Lewes, instead of countenancing thy Colectour publickly said, that the Governor did not expect the full rents, or the rents for their full quantities; And the last year a distress was rescued from James Atkinson taken for thy rent, and was indicted, and yet quitted. Our peop[e] of this prov[ince] are very backward to pay their rents.

I cannot get a Mapp of the Province yet, for Charles Ashcombe will neither give me his draughts and regular returns, nor account of the survey money, [and] outdares all authority; the great controversy between the Welsh and others in Chester County, hangs

---

92 The Senecas, members of the Iroquois Confederation.
93 In 1683 and 1684 Penn attempted to purchase the Susquehannah Valley south of 43° north from the Indians, recognizing that the area was of strategic importance in capturing control of the Indian fur trade which heretofore had gravitated toward Albany. Governor Dongan of New York, fully aware that the prosperity of his province depended heavily on preserving the fur trade, successfully blocked Penn's ambitions, although the area in question appeared to fall within the bounds of Penn's grant from Charles II. The dispute is discussed in Allen W. Trelease, Indian Affairs in Colonial New York: The Seventeenth Century (Ithaca, 1960), 254-257.
94 Deputy Receiver General for the Lower Counties.
95 Charles Ashcombe was Deputy Surveyor for Chester County. For details on Holme's dispute with Ashcombe see Minutes, I, 154-155; and Penn to the Commissioners of Property, May 13, 1687, Pa. Archives, Second Series, XIX, 7. Ralph Fretwell, no ally of Holme, confirmed the Surveyor General's charges against Ashcombe. "C. Ashcome stirs up the people in manifest contempt to the Commissioners," he wrote to Penn on Dec. 12, 1684. Albert C. Myers Coll., Box 2, No. 11, Chester County Historical Society. Penn had been barraging Holme with requests for a map of the province which might be employed in London for promotional purposes. "'Tis of mighty moment... all cry out, where is your map, What no map of your Settlements," Penn wrote only two weeks before Holme penned this letter. Penn to Thomas Lloyd, Sept. 21, 1686, PMHB, LXXX (1956), 246.
still, it hath been above a year depending before Council and Commissioners, but like other things, nothing done.\textsuperscript{96} I have complained to the Pres. and Council but to no purpose, I hear C[harles] A[shcombe] intends to go away shortly out of these parts, and sell all, and then thou wilt lose considerably for I have thy word for what is due to me.

I write mostly by guess and not by sight, my sight goes away apace; I am as I write

Thy true and faithfull friend
Thomas Holme

\textsuperscript{96} Holme refers to the complaints of the Welsh settlers that their 40,000 acre tract, or “barony,” as they construed it, had been encroached upon by Chester County landholders through the deviousness of Charles Ashcombe. The extended property dispute which followed led eventually to attempts by the Welsh to withdraw entirely from Chester County and to exercise governmental authority independently within their barony. The dispute can be followed in \textit{Pa. Archives, Second Series}, XIX, 8–9, 14–15, and in Charles H. Browning, \textit{The Welsh Settlement of Pennsylvania} (Philadelphia, 1912).