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The Planting of Philadelphia
A Seventeenth-Century Real Estate Development

I

UNLIKE the Plymouth settlement, Philadelphia has no continuous contemporary record telling of the city's development during its first years. In his few surviving letters of that period, Penn was always careful to present the progress of his "holy experiment" in the most favorable light; he rarely mentioned the problems he encountered in his dealings with the first settlers and in the implementation of their mutual plans. As a result, most studies of Philadelphia's early history have dealt only with the political scene or with various economic aspects which developed once the city was established.[1]

[1] One recent example is Edwin B. Bronner's *William Penn's "Holy Experiment"* (New York and London, 1962), a study of the politico-economic-religious elements of Pennsylvania's early years as centered in Philadelphia. A recent study centered on the city's trade is Arthur L. Jensen's *The Maritime Commerce of Colonial Philadelphia* (Madison, Wis., 1963). The early account of Robert Proud, *History of Pennsylvania* . . . (Philadelphia, 1797), I, 233, 241, deals only briefly with and in general terms of the initial settlement of Philadelphia, while in J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884* (Philadelphia, 1884), I, 96, the evidence then available was misinterpreted. Dates, as cited from original documents, are given in modern form.

Recent urban redevelopment has sparked a new interest in the city's physical aspects, in the development of its architecture, and in the impact of its plan on the community as a whole. No studies dealing with these features have included any extended explanation of how Philadelphia acquired the form it did. None have related the evolution of its plan to the forces generated by its geographical situation, by the problems encountered in actual settlement, or by the people involved in that settlement.[2] A comprehension of the fluid quality inherent in all community planning is lacking.

The physical emergence of Philadelphia as an urban center is to be found in a study of hitherto unexplored records. These relate to land: the warrants Penn granted his first settlers to take up city lots; the subsequent surveys of those lots; and the successive transfers of real estate. When these records are placed in juxtaposition with such other contemporary records which have survived, the story of Philadelphia's evolution from wilderness to settled urban community is clarified.

To comprehend this emergence and the atmosphere in which it developed, the search must begin, not on the banks of the Delaware, but in England with Penn's grant from the king, with the records revealing Penn's original purpose in establishing a colony in a wilderness, and how he intended to do it. Also to be considered is the wilderness itself, the conditions then obtaining in it, the lay of the land and how that determined the city's physical form. Finally, it is necessary to know something about the people who came to use the land, who created the community. Their transposition to a new environment, under unique and unfamiliar conditions, heightened the uncertain human element in which the community had its genesis.

[2] In William E. Lingelbach, "William Penn and City Planning," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (*PMHB*), LXVIII (1944), 398–407, the interpretation of the planning of Philadelphia is based solely on that part of the *Conditions or Concessions* and Penn's instructions to his commissioners which referred to the "town bounds," not to the city as it was laid out. Devoted to the city's architecture, George Tatum's *Penn's Great Town* (Philadelphia, 1961), summarizes in three pages the city's initial years. The most recent studies of city planning as such are Anthony N. B. Garvan, "Proprietary Philadelphia as Artifact," in Oscar Handlin and John Burchard, eds., *The Historian and the City* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 191–193, and John W. Reps, *The Making of Urban America* (Princeton, N. J., 1965), 158. Both are good, but neither takes a wide enough view of all the factors involved. These last two studies were brought to my attention by Dr. Gary B. Nash of the History Department, University of California, Los Angeles, whose prime interest is in the political conflict arising out of Penn's land policy.

Through the examination of records relating to these themes—many of them fragmentary—a new comprehension of Philadelphia's founding and first years emerges. Gone is the easy assumption that, when Penn arrived in the Delaware in October, 1682, the city was an accomplished fact, with streets neatly laid out and lots already surveyed for individual purchasers. No longer valid is the premise that the "greene Country Towne," first envisaged by Penn, was in any way related to the city depicted in Thomas Holme's *Portraiture of a City*, or that the *Portraiture* itself was a final and immutable picture of the city in fact. Instead, it becomes evident that the limitations of available land, the necessity of resolving immediate problems of settlement, the pressures exerted by the participants in the venture, all contributed to the final result. In short, within the narrow period of twenty months, the influence of these elements resulted in a city designed on so grand a scale as to prove adequate for generations to come. What had begun as the first step in a holy experiment had become, in essence, a broadly conceived real estate development.

The Vision

When Penn received his charter for Pennsylvania from Charles II in March, 1681, the thirty-six-year-old Quaker's theories on government and religious toleration had already crystallized. As "Philanglus," he had publicized what he considered the fundamental rights of all Englishmen: the right and title of each to his own life, liberties and estate; a voice in government; the right of trial by jury.[3]

These principles, fundamental to the government and society he envisioned, were based on a framework firmly embedded in custom and law handed down from the days of William the Conqueror. All land tenure was pyramidal in structure. It was held ultimately of the king; under him were his feofees or lordships, and under them their tenants and undertenants. Grants of land, whether by king or lord, were conditioned by specific services, such as knight service, or fees in place of such service, usually in the form of rents, either of which was established by the immediate overlord to whom they were due.

In Penn's case, the grant to him was of a "signiorie" (seigniory) which he held as of the king's "Castle of Windsor in our County of

[3] Catherine Owens Peare, *William Penn: A Biography* (Philadelphia and New York, 1957), 203.

Berks," but it was by fealty only, subject to the nominal payment of two beaver skins annually. He, in his turn, had all the rights and powers of a lordship. Under his charter he could erect manors with the usual manorial privileges and licenses, including that of court-baron for maintaining whatever service or duties he cared to establish, and the view of frank-pledge, the corporate responsibility of all within the manor for the general good behavior. His lesser land grants would be held of him as of the "said Seigniory of Windsor" and would be subject to whatever service, custom, or rent he saw fit to impose.[4]

This concept of land tenure was standard and familiar to all, and was the natural basis for the land policy Penn intended to initiate. But, while conforming to the pattern, he did not intend to exploit it solely for his own advancement. "For my country, I eyed the Lord, in obtaining it," he wrote; in keeping it he was determined to use the gift bestowed on him in such a fashion "that an example may be set up to the nations"[5] which would show what man could achieve when guided by the purest Christian principles. Within the framework of a feudal land policy, he believed his theories of government, his concept of liberty, privilege, and property, would benefit those who sought a brighter place in the sun or surcease from the increasingly burdensome pressures in England.

In April, 1681, only a month after gaining his charter, he published his proposed plan "to settle a free, just and industrious colony" in Pennsylvania. In this first promotional tract, *Some Account of the Province of Pennsilvania . . . for the Information of such as are or may be disposed to Transport themselves or Servants into those Parts*, his initial description of the physical aspects of the province was necessarily vague. He acknowledged that such information as he had was second-hand, acquired mainly from "Traders, Planters and Shipmasters, that know those parts." The chief feature of the place, he had been told, was the seventy miles of frontage along the Delaware

[4] The charter has been published numerous times. The version consulted in this study is in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Eighth Series (*Votes of Assembly*), I, xxvii–xl.

[5] William Penn to James Harrison, Aug. 25, 1681, as quoted in Proud, I, 169. The original is in Penn Manuscripts, Domestic and Miscellaneous Letters, 1682–1794, 6, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP). Unless otherwise noted, all manuscripts hereinafter cited are in the collections of the Society.

River, the eastern boundary of his grant. Here numerous "creeks and small harbours . . . where ships may come nearer than the river into the country" would provide excellent conveniences for those who would follow commerce and navigation. The land was not solely inhabited by Indians, as West New Jersey had been at the start of its colonization. Long-established Swedes, Dutch, and a scattering of English who had moved across the river during West Jersey's first troubled years, were on hand to "yield accomodations to such as at first go." He also understood that the climate was salubrious, the place being some 600 miles "nearer the sun than England," and that the land was plentifully supplied with the natural products of its forests and streams. "By the blessing of God, and the honesty and industry of man," he was satisfied that it would be "a good and fruitful land."[6]

From the initial terms or conditions he proposed in *Some Account*, it is apparent Penn hoped to interest more than one economic class of settlers in his venture. Without "industrious husbandmen and day-labourers" no wilderness could be transformed into a settled community. Without a local trade operating between yeomen farmers and those engaged in "laborious handicrafts"—artisans and "mechaniks"—the community could not function, nor could it flourish without adequate funds derived from the wider commerce of "merchandise and navigation." He therefore related his proposals to "three sorts of people," those who would buy land from him, those who would rent from him, and servants sent over by masters disinclined themselves to settle but willing to invest in the province's future.

The first to buy, he proposed, would be individual shareholders under him:

> The shares I sell shall be certain as to acres, that is to say, every one shall contain five thousand acres, free from any Indian incumbrances, the price a hundred pounds, and for the quit-rent but one English shilling or the value of it yearly for a hundred acres, and the said quit-rent not to begin to be paid till 1684.

6 Penn to Robert Turner, Anthony Sharp, and Roger Roberts, Apr. 12, 1681, *Memoirs of HSP*, I (1826), 202. For the publication of *Some Account* by April, 1681, see Hope Frances Kane, "Notes on Early Pennsylvania Promotion Literature," *PMHB*, LXIII (1939), 152. The tract was first reprinted in part in Samuel Hazard, *The Register of Pennsylvania* . . .

The "second sort"—men with little or no capital to invest—would take up land upon rent, "paying yearly one penny per acre not exceeding two hundred acres." For servants sent over, comprising the "third sort," fifty acres would be "allowed to the master for every head, and fifty acres to every servant when their time is expired."[7]

Further to entice buyers who would adventure with him, he suggested an added inducement or "dividend":

If the persons concerned please, a tract of land shall be survey'd; say fifty thousand acres to a hundred adventurers, in which some of the best shall be set out for towns or cities; and there shall be so much ground allotted to each in those towns as may maintain some cattel and produce some corn; then the remainder of the fifty thousand acres shall be shar'd among the said adventurers (casting up the barrens for commons, and allowing for the same) whereby every adventurer will have a considerable quantity of land together; likewise every one a proportion by a navigable river, and then backward into the country.[8]

Within this suggested dividend lies Penn's initial concept of settled communities. He was not thinking in terms of urban centers but of rural communities—green country towns—where each individual purchaser would have pasture and garden and some river frontage. It was not a firm offer, however, only a suggestion, for Penn was careful to add:

The manner of dividend I shall not be strict in; we can but speak roughly of the matter here; but let men skillful in plantations be consulted, and I shall leave it to the majority of votes among the adventurers when it shall please God we come there, how to fix it to their own content.

(Philadelphia, 1828), I, 305–308, and then in his *Annals of Pennsylvania* . . . (Philadelphia, 1850), 505–513. For a complete reprint, see Albert Cook Myers, *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, 1630–1707* (New York, 1912), 202–215.

7 These conditions or proposals, while similar to those offered purchasers in West Jersey, with which he was familiar as arbitrator and trustee, Penn altered to suit his peculiar situation. The West Jersey trustees had set up a joint stock company of 100 shares at £350 each. Those who purchased a share were individual proprietors, each having an equity in 1/100 of all land in that colony, but having no precise knowledge of how much land each would get, or where it would be located. Land allotted to renters and servants was on a graduated scale related to time of arrival, age, and physical ability. John E. Pomfret, *The Province of West New Jersey, 1609–1702* (Princeton, N. J., 1956), 92, 100. Penn, the sole proprietor of Pennsylvania, by making all his grants specific as to size, could exercise greater control over the development of his province.

8 The idea of a limited number of buyers sharing land was common in seventeenth-century colonial America. A similar division of land had been made in Burlington, the first town established under the trusteeship. There the owner of a whole share was granted land within the town, and meadow "within the town bounds."

As with all ideas utopian in concept but broad enough to permit practical refinement, this initial expression of Penn's thinking would pass through several stages before attaining an acceptable reality.

The staging process began immediately. While little is known of the conferences which were held, or of the private meetings Penn had with prospective buyers, it is obvious that at such gatherings ideas and opinions were broached, examined, rejected or accepted in whole or in part. Cautious, hard-headed merchants and tradesmen, willing to invest their funds, insisted upon certain conditions without which they would not buy. Anxious to satisfy these potential customers, yet holding to his fundamental aims, Penn agreed to concede certain points. "I cannot make money without special concessions," he wrote in July, 1681. "Though I desire to extend religious freedom, yet I want some recompense for my trouble."[9]

By then an apparently mutually satisfactory agreement covering land distribution, the treatment and status of Indians, and items of general policy had been reached. Incorporated under the heading of *Certain Conditions or Concessions agreed upon by William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, and those who are the Adventurers and Purchasers in the same Province*,[10] the first half of its twenty articles dealt with land distribution. The indefinite "towns or cities" of Penn's first proposal were now reduced to a single settlement, "a large town or city" to be laid out as soon as possible "in the most convenient Place upon the River for Health and Navigation." Each purchaser and adventurer or renter would "by Lot, have so much Land therein as will answer to the proportion which he hath bought or taken up upon Rent." Roads in both town and country, having a minimum width of forty feet, were to be laid out before any dividend of acres was made for the purchasers.

Those who wished their land to lie together, in both town or country, were to be so accommodated. Purchasers of five or ten thousand acres who wanted their land laid out as a single township were to have it "in such Places as have convenient Harbours or navigable

[9] Penn to unknown correspondent, July, 1681, William Penn Letters, Joshua Francis Fisher copy.

[10] The *Conditions or Concessions*, frequently miscalled *Conditions and Concessions*, have been printed in Proud, II, Appendix, 1–5; *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* (*Colonial Records*), I, 26–29; Hazard, *Register*, I, 324–326, and *Annals*, 516–520; as well as in *Votes of Assembly*, I, xli–xlvi, from which last source the quotations in the text are taken.

Rivers attending it, if such can be found." But if any of those purchasers failed to improve their land, "according to Agreement in this Concession," to the prejudice of the rest, and complaint was made to the Governor or his deputy, the "lands so not seated" would be awarded to the complainant if he paid the survey, purchase money, and interest due. Also, within three years at least one family had to be settled on every thousand acres surveyed in one place; if not, newcomers could be settled upon the land and the original purchasers would have to go "up higher for their Shares" into the back country.

Whether expressed or not in the deeds to be given the purchasers, all rivers and streams, woods, quarries, mines and minerals, except "mines Royal," were to be freely enjoyed by the purchasers into whose land they fell. To encourage the search for gold and silver, all were free to prospect on any man's property so long as the owner was reimbursed for any damage done, and the shares resulting from any discoveries were established. In every hundred thousand acres surveyed, ten thousand were to be reserved for the Proprietor. Quitrents on land granted to servants and their masters were reduced to about a half penny per acre.

Two of the ten articles, the second and the fifth, were curiously worded. The second stated that the "Land in the Town be laid out together after the proportion of Ten Thousand Acres of the whole Country, that is, Two Hundred Acres, if the place will bear it," and that "the Proportion be by Lot, and intire." According to the fifth article, "the Proportion of Lands that shall be laid out in the first great Town or City, for every Purchaser, shall be after the Proportion of Ten Acres for every Five Hundred Acres Purchased, if the Place will allow it."

Both of these articles have been generally accepted as referring to the urban city as it was eventually laid out. Such was not the case. Penn's initial concept of settled communities had been broadened, reflecting the pressures on him of practical merchants who, while in favor of utopia, would not venture their money in it unless adequate space and facilities were provided for their business enterprises.

By the second article, the "town" or commercial center, at this stage of its planning, was to be allotted two hundred acres, two per cent of the ten thousand acres comprising the greater town bounds.

Within this commercial center the distribution of land would be by lot and by the whole share, so that those who chose to be together "might be so laid." The greater town bounds, in the fifth article called the "great Town or City," were to be allotted to each purchaser at the two per cent rate of ten acres for every five hundred purchased. Such distribution or allocation of land set up in either article was only "if the place will allow of it."

Once the *Conditions or Concessions* were signed by the participating parties in London,[11] actual sales began. Batches of deeds of lease for a year, and releases to be dated the following day (the common form of land conveyance then in use), were drawn up ready for insertion of dates, buyer's name, amount of land purchased and price, and Penn's signature.[12] Each release, after reciting the King's charter to Penn, declared the land sold was to be laid out in Pennsylvania "in such manner and at such time or times as are by certain Conditions or Concessions" already agreed upon and signed by Penn and the purchasers, "or hereafter to be signed, sealed and executed" between the same parties as "shall be agreed, limited and appointed." Probably all these legal papers were prepared in the office of Penn's solicitor, Thomas Rudyard, one of the witnesses to the *Conditions* and "a Man skillful in the Law of the Land, and zealous for the Liberties of the People."[13] Some would-be purchasers wrote directly to Penn or to his steward, Philip Ford, in Bow Lane. Others made their contact with Penn through Friends in centers remote from London. Active in promoting such sales were Robert Turner, well-to-do Quaker linendraper in Dublin and one of the Proprietors of West Jersey; Robert Barclay, governor for life of that colony and Quaker leader in Scotland; James Harrison of Bolton in Lancashire, later Penn's steward at Pennsbury; and Benjamin Furly, the Quaker trader in Rotterdam. By the third week in August, Penn wrote that

[11] Of the ten men who signed, one bought 500 acres, four 1,000 acres each, two 1,250 acres, one 2,500 acres, and two 5,000 acres. Two of them styled themselves merchants, one a gentleman. The others, all substantial men, were a wine cooper, a fellmonger, a cooper, a glover, a hosier, a chairmaker, and a "chirurgeon." Only two of them emigrated.

[12] A chronological list of purchases clearly shows that Penn signed deeds in batches; nine of these early deeds, for instance, were dated July 26, 27, 1681.

[13] Quoted in John E. Pomfret, "The Proprietors of East New Jersey," *PMHB*, LXXVII (1953), 262.

he had already signed "about 34 deeds & [had] about 20 reddy" for signing.[14]

The Wilderness

Meanwhile, his cousin, Captain William Markham, commissioned deputy governor on April 10, 1681, had arrived at New York late in June and had presented his credentials to the English government. Markham then proceeded to the Delaware, where by early August at Upland (later named Chester) he had selected for his council nine men thoroughly familiar with the Delaware valley[15] and had thus initiated Penn's government.

As Markham's instructions also required him to settle the province's bounds with Maryland, he next journeyed south to confer with Lord Baltimore. While there he fell sick "by reason of the great heats" of August and did not return to the Delaware until the end of the following month. Consequently, it was not until October that he was relatively free to carry out his further instructions "to survey, set out, rent or sell lands" and "to look out [for] a convenient tract of land for a first settlement."[16]

To assist him he selected from his council young Thomas Fairman, originally from Hertfordshire. Together they were seven weeks "Taking the Courses & Soundings of the Channel of [the] Delaware." Probably accompanying them as interpreter was another member of Markham's council, thirty-five-year-old Lasse (Lawrence) Cock, the eldest son of one of the earliest Swedish settlers on the Delaware, Peter Larsson Cock. Lasse Cock's intimate knowledge of the settle-

14 Penn added that "if any there away desire to have land wth me, they must write to me what & how much & I will have ye deeds prepared at Thomas Rudyard's. . . ." Penn to Thomas Janney, Aug. 21, 1681, *ibid.*, XXXII (1908), 502–503, from a copy in Society Miscellaneous Collection.

15 For Markham's arrival at New York by June 21, 1681, see "The Record of the Court at Upland, in Pennsylvania, 1676 to 1681," *Memoirs of the HSP* (Philadelphia, 1860), VII, 195–196, hereinafter cited as *Upland Court Records*. Markham's council, sworn in Aug. 13, 1681, is in *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, I, 38. Six of the members were English, residents in the valley since 1678 or before; two were Swedes, born and raised in the valley; and one, of Scotch ancestry, had been a resident of the valley for about twenty years. Markham's commission is in Hazard, *Annals*, 503–504.

16 Markham's journey to Maryland is recounted in "Pennsylvania and Maryland Boundaries," *PMHB*, VI (1882), 414–416, 427. His further instructions, mentioned in his commission, have not survived, but that such directions were included is evident from Penn's letter of April 12, to Robert Turner, cited in Note 6.

ments along the river and of the Indian language would have been invaluable.[17]

What Markham learned from these men in the course of their work was disturbing, in view of his instructions to seek out a site suitable for a first settlement. Between New Castle, below the southern boundary of Penn's jurisdiction under his charter from the King, and the Schuylkill River, a number of navigable streams emptied into the Delaware. But as sites for settlement the mouths of these tributaries were unsuitable. Either they had already been settled years before by Swedes and Dutch, or the land was too low and marshy. The largest of these early villages, first settled in 1648, was at Upland Creek. There at Robert Wade's house on the west side of the creek Friends held their meetings. Across the creek Upland Court met in a converted "house of defense," near which Neels Laersson's tavern provided accommodations for travelers. With at least one landing where ships loaded and unloaded, Upland was ready made as a nucleus for a commercial center except for one thing: it was surrounded by the clearings of original settlers.[18]

Between Upland and the Schuylkill, the largest of the Delaware's tributaries, the situation was no better. Low, marshy islands dotted most of the riverside. Where the land was dry there were individual Swedish settlements of long standing, such as that at Tinicum Island, first improved in 1643 by Governor Printz. Up the Schuylkill, along its west bank and beyond the bordering marshes, the land had been cultivated as early as 1644 by tenants and employees of the New Sweden Company. Later, after the Dutch, and then the English, had established jurisdiction on the Delaware, a small village of home lots had grown up around the fort facing the Minquas Kill in the area known as Kingsessing. Further up the Schuylkill at Arunamink, near

17 Lasse Cock had been interpreter for John Collier in 1676–1677, and in 1680 was commissioned by Governor Andros a justice of the peace for Upland District, a position he still held when Markham arrived. *Upland Court Records*, 52–53, 165–166. Thomas Fairman's activities are itemized in Philadelphia County Deed Book D-13, 274: Dec. 10, 1713, Thomas Fairman's Release to William Penn, Department of Records, City Hall, Philadelphia. Hereinafter all deeds, patents, exemplifications, wills and administrations cited are Philadelphia County records unless otherwise noted.

18 For the settlements above New Castle in 1644 and 1653, see Amandus Johnson, *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware* (New York, 1911), II, 526–527, 704–707. Upland references are from George Smith, *History of Delaware County* (Philadelphia, 1862), 103–104, 107, 114, 476.

Hans Moenson's mill, there were more plantations settled by Swedish immigrants.[19]

In 1677 at Passayunk, on the east bank of the Schuylkill, the Duke of York had granted one thousand acres to a group of ten English settlers from Long Island. Their home lots fronted the river, but their farmland ran eastward into the interior of the bulge of land formed by the bend of the Schuylkill before it joined the Delaware. Subsequently, five of these English purchasers had sold out to Swedes whose original homesteads lay still further inland in the area called Moyamensing.[20] Farther up the Schuylkill, between the Passayunk grant and the Falls of the Schuylkill, there were eleven more plantations of varying sizes, most of which had been taken up by Swedes.[21]

Around on the west side of the Delaware, Markham learned that nearly a dozen owners held land from the end of the marshes at the mouth of the Schuylkill up to the next significant stream, the Quessinawomink (Frankford Creek). More than two miles of river front north of the marshes was owned by the three Swanson brothers, whose father, Sven Gunnarsson, had come to the valley in 1640. Their homestead on the river, in that part of their land called Wicaco, was within sight of the "log house of defense" which had been used for more than ten years as the Swedish Lutheran parish church.[22]

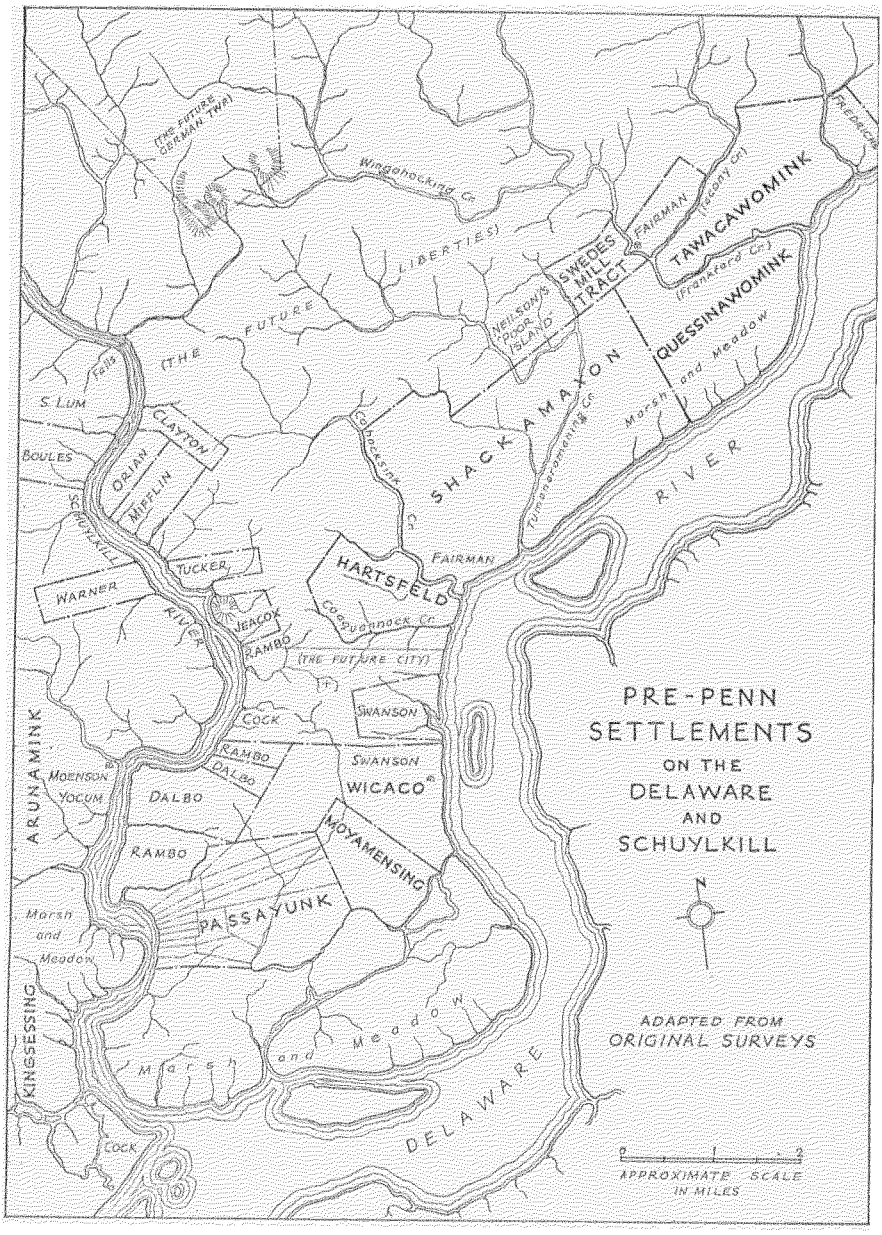
Above the Swansons, between two streams coming down from the west—the Coaquannock (Pegg's Run) and the Cohocksink—land which had been taken up in 1675 by Jurian Hartsfelder was now

19 *Upland Court Records*, 115, 181.

20 The Passayunk patent is in Exemplification Book 8, 423: Jan. 1, 1667, Richard Nichols to Robert Ashman *et al.* The Moyamensing settlers are mentioned in "Minutes of the Board of Property," *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, XIX, 353–354.

21 The plantations above Passayunk were held by Peter Rambo, Sr., 300 acres (Exemplification Book 8, 439); Peter Dalbo, 300 acres (*ibid.*, 1, 311; 8, 447); Rambo and Dalbo jointly, 300 acres (*ibid.*, 1, 60); Peter Cock, 100 acres (*Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, XIX, 427); Peter Rambo (*ibid.*, 496–497); William Jeacox, 200 acres (*ibid.*); Richard Tucker, 100 acres (*ibid.*, 554; Warrants and Surveys of the Province of Pennsylvania, 1682–1759, III, 557, Municipal Archives, Department of Records, City Hall, hereinafter cited as Warrants and Surveys); John Mifflin, 300 acres (*Upland Court Records*, 181–182, and recited in Deed Book E-1-5, 72: Apr. 2, 1685, John Mifflin *et al.* to William Forrest); William Orian, 150 acres, and William Clayton, 200 acres (surveys for both in Early Land Surveys, Pennsylvania and Delaware, 1671–1681, Am. 298).

22 Exemplification Book 2, 542: May 3, 1671, Patent to Swen Gonderson, Swen Swenson *et al.* A transcript of the survey of their adjoining land is in Hazard, *Annals*, 514.


PRE-PENN
SETTLEMENTS
ON THE
DELAWARE
AND
SCHUYLKILL
N
ADAPTED FROM
ORIGINAL SURVEYS
APPROXIMATE SCALE
IN MILES
(THE FUTURE GERMANTWN)
Wingohocking Cr.
(THE FUTURE LIBERTIES)
SWEDES MILL TRACT
FAIRMAN
(Cedary Cr.)
TAWACAWOMINK
(Frankford Cr.)
QUESSINAWOMINK
NEILSON'S "POOR ISLAND"
SHACKAMAXON
Tacony Cr.
Marsh and Meadow
RIVER
Cohocksink Cr.
FAIRMAN
HARTSFELD
Cohquannock Cr.
(THE FUTURE CITY)
SWANSON
COCK
RAMBO
DALBO
SWANSON
WICACO
MOYAMENSING
PASSAYUNK
Marsh and Meadow
DELAWARE
S. LUM
BOULES
CLAYTON
ORIAN
MIFFLIN
SCHUYLKILL
TUCKER
WARNER
RIVER
VEACOK
RAMBO
MOENSON
YOCUM
DALBO
RAMBO
ARUNAMINK
KINGESSING
Marsh and Meadow
COCK

owned by Hannah Salter, a Quaker widow from Burlington. Beyond that was Thomas Fairman's land, purchased in 1678 by his wife Elizabeth Kinsey from Lasse Cock. It was part of 1,800 acres called Shackamaxon, granted in 1664 to Cock's father Peter. The balance of that large tract, and the rest of the land up to the Quessinawomink, was held by six Swedish farmers, three of whom were Lasse Cock's younger brothers. All six lived on their portions of the undivided larger tract.[23]

Inland, along the south bank of the Quessinawomink, a mill tract was held jointly by all the Swedes living on both sides of the creek. Running north and south through the mill tract was the main Indian path, or "highway," connecting the Indian settlements scattered along the Delaware. Opposite the mill tract on the north side of the creek, Fairman held a second tract of land acquired from Upland Court in 1680. Between this land and the Delaware on the east, the area called Tawacawomink (Tacony) was occupied by Swedish settlers whose home lots formed a small village at the mouth of the creek.[24]

Up the river from the Quessinawomink, plantation followed plantation from stream to stream as far as the Falls of the Delaware; some twenty-six settlements had been established along there since 1677. Some of these had been granted by Upland Court to second generation Swedes, sons of early inhabitants of the valley, others to men who had moved up river from below the Schuylkill. Between the Poquessing and Neshaminy, such men as Thomas Fairman and Lasse Cock, as well as James Sandelands, another member of Markham's council, held additional tracts. Above the Neshaminy, the larger of those two streams, and across from the village of Burlington, a dozen

23 The Hartsfelder patent and subsequent sale are recorded in Exemplification Book 1, 122, and 2, 27; Lasse Cock's sale to Elizabeth Kinsey in *Upland Court Records*, 116–118. The Shackamaxon survey and of the adjoining land are in Albert Cook Myers, ed., *Walter Wharton's Land Survey Register, 1675–1679* (Wilmington, Del., 1955), 40–43. "Shackamaxen rights from the Sweads," reciting the division of the land, is in the Howell-Harmstead Collection, Miscellaneous Papers, 1671–1699.

24 The "highway," present Frankford Avenue, is mentioned in the Shackamaxon survey, the survey of the mill tract, through which it ran, in Warrants and Surveys, III, 649. Surveys for some of the Tacony lands are in Wharton's *Survey Register*, 43, 45, notice of others in *Upland Court Records, passim*. The village at the mouth of Frankford Creek is noted in Jaspar Daenkerts "Journal of a Voyage to New York in 1679/80," first published in *Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society*, I (1867), 177.

tracts had been granted since 1680 by Upland Court to English settlers who had moved across the Delaware from West Jersey. Little of this pre-empted land, however, extended much more than a mile or two back from the river into the woods.[25] Such, then, was the situation as Markham found it in the course of sounding the Delaware.

By September 15, before this initial exploration had begun, Penn and "a great part of the purchasers at London" had agreed on additional details relating to the initial settlement in his province; two ships, one at London and one at Bristol, were loading goods for the first of the emigrating purchasers. To supervise their settlement, according to the more precise details which had been developed, Penn had appointed three commissioners. At their head was William Crispin, another of his cousins, experienced "in Court keeping &c," a man Penn's father, the Admiral, "had great confidence in and value for." Crispin would act as Markham's assistant, and as Chief Justice would "keep ye Seal, ye Courts & Sessions." He and his son Silas planned to sail from London on the *John & Sarah* as soon as she finished loading. The other two commissioners, John Bezer, a Wiltshire maltster and purchaser of 1,000 acres, and Nathaniel Allen, a Bristol cooper who had purchased 2,000 acres, intended to travel on the *Bristol Factor*. When it became apparent the *Bristol Factor* would be ready to sail first, Penn elected to send the new instructions on her. Drawn up and signed on September 30, they were delivered to Bezer and Allen at Bristol, where Penn had gone to bid farewell to this first "colony" of emigrants. Sailing about the middle of October, the *Factor* arrived at New Castle on December 15.[26]

The Green Country Town

Drawn up before he was apprised of Markham's discovery of conditions on the Delaware, the principal object of Penn's new instruc-

25 Thomas Holme's *Map of the Province of Pennsylvania* . . . shows most of these early Swedish and English grants along the upper reaches of the Delaware.

26 No evidence has ever been offered that Crispin was commissioned surveyor general, as is sometimes claimed. His position as chief justice, however, is in Penn's letter to his "cosin Markham," first quoted in *PMHB*, VI (1882), 464–465. The original letter, dated Oct. 18, 1681, is in William Penn Letters, 5, Dreer Collection. For the sailing of the *Factor* and the arrival of all the 1682 ships, see Marion Balderston, "William Penn's Twenty-three Ships," *Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine* (*PGM*), XXIII (1963), 27–67.

tions[27] was to keep the first purchasers happy by defining their dividend: the liberty lands or country town. Details concerning the commercial center could wait until he was on the spot and could see for himself the immediate situation. Local conditions would then determine what should be done at the center.

Knowing of the long-established settlement at Upland, and trusting it would serve as the nucleus of the center around which the country town could be laid out, Penn directed the commissioners to sound the rivers and creeks "especially [at] Upland, in order to settle a great town" around it. "Such a place being found out"—where navigation could be accommodated readily, where the situation was healthy and the soil good—the commissioners were "to lay out ten thousand acres contiguous to it" in the best manner they could, "as the bounds and extent of the liberties of the said town." The proportion in the liberties was "to be thus: every share, or five thousand acres, shall have an hundred acres of land out of that ten thousand acres," thereby assuring to the purchasers of the first hundred shares their individual dividend. However, "if it should happen that the most convenient place for this great town should be already taken up, in greater quantity of land than is consistent with the town-plot," the commissioners were to get what they could and divide it at the same rate, "though it were but fifty acres for a share." It is evident that the proportion of land in the "great town," synonymous with the "liberties of the town," to the size of the commercial center he visualized at Upland, was to be retained as it had been established in the second article of the *Conditions or Concessions*.

To maintain that ratio, "if it should happen that the most convenient place for this great town" was already largely taken up but not yet improved, the commissioners were to use their utmost skill to obtain what was wanting "that so necessary and good a design be not spoiled." If there were ten acres by the waterside held by owners reluctant to sell, they were to offer those owners five acres backwards, if they would give up five by the water, and so in proportion, for "by the settlement of this town, the remaining five, in two or three year's

[27] A copy of the instructions, apparently contemporary, is in Pennsylvania Miscellaneous Papers, Penn and Baltimore, 1653–1724, large folio, 5, 6. The version in Hazard, *Annals*, 527–531, varies extensively in punctuation and capitalization: it was taken from the transcript in *Memoirs of the HSP*, II (1827), 215–221.

time, will be worth twice as much as those ten before." If such an offer failed, the commissioners were to grant the owners "what gratuity or privilege you think fit, as having a new grant at their old rent; nay, half their quit rent abated," or even to make them "as free as purchasers, rather than disappoint my mind in this township."[28] They should observe, however, that they "must narrower spread by the water side, and run backward more or less" into the country "according to the compass you have by the water side," in order to accommodate the hundred shares "for their proportion in the said ten thousand acres."

Having laid the foundation for the purchasers' dividends, the instructions proceeded to the manner in which it was desirable for each dividend to be laid out. Penn's vision of a country town is clear, reflecting the seventeenth-century passion, current among English planners since London's great fire of 1666, for order and symmetry. Streets were to be "uniform down to the water from the country bounds." Houses should be built "in a line, or upon a line, as much as may be," at a suggested distance back from the creek or harbor of "a measured quarter of a mile, at least two hundred paces, because of building hereafter downwards to the river."[29] Since more than one buyer might be concerned in a share, it was hoped that each whole share might "have fifty poles upon the front to the river, and the rest backward." The commissioners, however, would have to be guided by the amount of available land "that is yet unplanted," as well as by that which "will not be parted with." They were therefore to be sure to follow their "land and situation, being always just to proportion." Houses within each share were to be placed, if agreeable to their owners, "in ye middle of its platt, as to the breadth way of it, that so there may be ground on each side for Gardens or Orchards, or feilds, yt it may be a greene Country Towne which will never be burnt, and always be wholesome." His own house should be placed in "the very middle of the plat where the town or line of houses is to be

28 Penn's use of the word "township" here, rather than "town," suggests the ancient English connotation of parish as it already had been translated to New England. There the town (or township) encompassed, as in the parish, several villages.

29 Robert Hooke's model of London, which Penn may have studied, provided for the chief streets "to lie in an exact line; and all the cross streets turning out of them at right angles . . . ," as quoted in Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness* (New York, 1960), 12n.

laid or run, facing the harbour and great river." Its lot need not be a tenth part of the ten thousand acres comprising "the town," as established in the *Conditions*, but could be as little as three hundred acres. Since several purchasers might have two whole shares and thus two hundred acres, it was fitting for his lot "to exceed a little."

As set down in these instructions, Penn's planning for his green country town was on a vast scale. Unaware of actual conditions along the Delaware, he could not believe that his splendid vision was impossible. Nor does he appear to have realized that, like so many visions, it was impractical; he failed to take into account man's natural instinct to cling to man when in hostile or unfamiliar surroundings. For if each share were allotted fifty poles (825 feet) along the river front, the liberties or country town would extend a mile back from the river and better than fifteen miles in length, or eight miles on each side of the commercial center.

That center was of little interest to Penn at the moment. No detailed recommendations for the center, such as had been set out for the country town, were included in the instructions. To be sure, ships should be able "to load or unload at the bank or key side without boating or lightering"; the storehouse should be "on the middle of the key, which will yet serve for market and statehouse, too." But even that, Penn said, "may be ordered when I come." Plainly his prime concern was with the country town.

Until William Crispin, head of the commission, arrived, Bezer and Allen could take no action toward implementing these instructions. They could only check Markham's findings and familiarize themselves with the general conditions on the Delaware. When the *John & Sarah* finally reached the Delaware late in the winter, they learned that Crispin had died during the crossing. However, a fourth commissioner was on board, the London merchant William Haig, a purchaser of 500 acres and a Proprietor of West Jersey. He carried a new, quadripartite commission from Penn, dated October 25, 1681,[30] which authorized Crispin, Haig, Bezer, and Allen to do

> . . . whatever may be Requisite for settling the Present Colony Embarqut this Autumn at London and Bristoll for Penn-sylvania and all other

[30] Crispin's death "transmarinus," and letters of administration on his estate granted in Ireland, July 7, 1682, are noted in M. Jackson Crispin, "Captain William Crispin," *PMHB*,

Adventurers with respect to the Survey and Allottment of every Man his Share according to the Cataloge of Purchasors and the Instructions that are herewith given to you.

The "present Duty" of the commissioners was

. . . to lay out Ten Thousand Acres for a Town in which the Purchasor or Purchasors of every five Thousand Acres shall have one hundred Acres. And that the Town Shares be laid out Together according to this Catalogue and the Contiguousness of the Counties the Purchasors belong to.

"The last part of this Town," that is, the town shares, were to "be laid out for the present Purchasors." For additional information, the commissioners were referred to instructions dated October 14, 1681. Those instructions have not survived, but the "Catalogue" of purchasers has, with the commissioners' warrant and note of their "present duty."[31]

In all but a few instances in this initial catalogue of first purchasers, those whose total acreage amounted to 10,000 acres, or two shares, were listed together in thirty-two separate groups.[32] They represented the sale so far of sixty-four of the one hundred shares reserved for Penn's first purchasers, and of 319,000 acres, a little better than sixty per cent of the 500,000 acres he had set aside for those buyers.

Two-thirds of the 231 separate sales listed in the catalogue were for purchases of 250, 500, or 1,000 acres. The buyers included men

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LIII (1929), 130. Since the instructions brought on the *Bristol Factor* were directed only to Crispin, Bezer, and Allen, Haig was appointed between September 30, the date of the first instructions, and before October 25.

31 The catalogue was not recorded until July 21, 1763, in Patent Book AA-5, 130, Land Office, Department of Internal Affairs, Harrisburg. What is reported to be a contemporary copy was owned by the late Mrs. Philip M. Allen, Blue Bell, Pa. For drawing up the original list, apparently on "2 Large skins sent with first ship" from London, Penn was charged £2 by his lawyers, according to the quotation in *PMHB* (1929), LIII, 127. For drawing the four commissions, the charge was *6s. 8d.* each, and for the "Charter Pt^y^ int[er] Smith" (Henry Smith, Master of the *John & Sarah*), *10s.*

32 The combining of two 5,000-acre shares into a single unit of 10,000 acres probably was merely an expedient for listing sales. Penn continued to think in terms of a single 5,000-acre share, and to consider it an appropriate size for a township, as indicated in his "Further Account of the Province of Pennsylvania . . . ," *PMHB*, IX (1885), 67. Certainly the first townships laid out in the province were no larger than 5,000 acres, although later ones generally included 10,000 acres.

who followed such assorted crafts as serge and felt making, carpentry, shoemaking, brewing or malting and distilling; tradesmen such as linen and woolen drapers, mercers, clothiers and haberdashers. There were also three "chirurgeons," seven spinsters or widows, six merchants, and eight who styled themselves gentlemen. The largest single classification, that of yeoman, included not only twenty-one who had bought 1,000 acres or less, but ten additional purchasers of 1,250, 2,500, or 5,000 acres. Not surprisingly, most of them lived in the counties surrounding London, or in Wiltshire, the two largest centers of Quakerdom in the south and west of England.

The *mélange* they represented, the alacrity with which they had responded to Penn's offers, and the quantity of land they had bought, all served to reassure him that it was indeed "a clear and just thing" he was attempting. Rather than delay its fulfillment until his own arrival, he was content to let his commissioners lay the groundwork for his "holy experiment."

The Site and the First Plan

The implementation of Penn's new instructions to lay out a green country town was influenced by conditions which he did not fully anticipate and over which the commissioners had little control. On the one hand, they were hampered by the lack of available land suitable for a country town as grandiose as Penn envisioned; on the other, they were constantly exposed to the pressures of impatient settlers, anxious to establish themselves in the promised utopia. The commissioners' solution of the problem engendered by these conditions was the next stage in the evolution of Philadelphia as an urban community.

As soon as William Haig, now head of the commission, had seen for himself the extent of settlement along the river, it is apparent that he, with Markham and the other commissioners, agreed on two basic conclusions. Land around Upland, Penn's original choice for the commercial center, was all taken up and there was no other suitable village site nearby where lots of fifty poles or less fronting the river could be laid out adjacent to it for the holders of the first one hundred shares. A new site must be found where both a commercial center and the dividend for the shareholders could be accommodated. To facilitate the search for such a place, Markham, whose headquarters had

been at Upland in a house he had taken as an escheat for the Proprietor's eventual use, moved upriver to Thomas Fairman's, where Haig was lodged.[33]

Possibly the commissioners looked into the suitability of land above the Neshaminy and opposite Burlington, where land grants were of relatively recent date. One of the owners in this area, Richard Noble, official surveyor for Upland District since 1679, had laid out Burlington.[34] However, he may have pointed out the disadvantage of establishing a new community so near that village. A location downstream from it would be more advantageously situated for the command of vessels coming upriver.

Between Upland Creek and the Neshaminy the most suitable location appeared to be at the Schuylkill. Although plantations rimmed both it and the Delaware, a number of these were not so long established as those at Upland, and less ground was improved. Between the lower reaches of the Schuylkill to the west, and the Delaware on the east, the land at its narrowest point was about two miles wide, relatively high, very well watered and heavily wooded. On the Delaware side, the area had the further advantage of including a nearly hidden cove, later called the Dock, which would provide suitable anchorage for small vessels. Sheltered on the south by a promontory eventually called Society Hill, and having along its eastern shore a good sandy beach, where smaller boats could be drawn up with ease, it was a natural site for a commercial center. Furthermore, inland between the plantations lining the two rivers on the east and west,

33 See Fairman's release, cited in Note 17: "To my Lodging Captn Markham and Wm Hague in my House." The house at Upland which Markham occupied had been sold in 1678 by Jonas Juriansen Kien to John Test, and then by Test to Marmaduke Randall, a London merchant. Walter Wharton rented it until his death early in 1679; after Randall's death, no heirs appearing to claim it, Markham had appropriated it. *Upland Court Records*, 90–91; *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, XIX, 63–64.

34 Noble's settlement is indicated on John Thornton's 1681 *Map of Some of the South and east bounds of Pennsylvania* . . . , appended to Penn's second promotional tract, "A Brief Account of the Province of Pennsylvania," *PMHB*, XLVIII (1924), frontispiece. After Noble was dismissed in 1676, "for neglect of duty" and "creating dissatisfactions, &c.," he had disposed of his land in West Jersey and moved across the Delaware to Marretties Kill (Marcus Hook). "Calendar of Records . . . ," *New Jersey Archives*, First Series, XXI, 555, 575; *Upland Court Records*, 73, 157. Noble owned the Neshaminy land until 1697, when it was seized, while he was in England, on a judgment obtained by the heirs of Samuel Clift, whose executor Noble was. *Records of the Courts of Quarter Sessions and Common Pleas of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, 1684–1700* (Meadville, Pa., 1943), 33.

just south of the Quessinawomink and the Swedish mill tract, there was a large area of unpatented ground. Estimated to contain about 10,000 acres, it was enough for the town shares or liberties. If some river frontage could be acquired on either or both of the two rivers from the present owners, the commissioners decided this was the best available site for the first settlement.

An examination of land grants in the area proved helpful. Along the Delaware above the marshes at the mouth of the Schuylkill, the northern third of the Swansons' 1,145 acres had been surveyed for them only the previous June and was still unimproved. They agreed to give up at this north end of their property some 300 acres fronting the river, including the cove, in exchange for double the amount to be laid out nearby with frontage on the east bank of the Schuylkill.[35] The commissioners now had more than enough to fulfill the second of the *Conditions*, which set 200 acres for the commercial center adjacent to enough acreage for the town bounds or liberties established by the fifth article of the *Conditions*. Search for additional river frontage for the liberties could wait until Penn's arrival.

Word went back to England that the commissioners had chosen a site for the first settlement, not at Upland but further upriver where the cove offered equal if not greater advantages for commerce and navigation. In London by mid-July, 1682, some concept of an urban center had emerged. James Claypoole, a purchaser of 5,000 acres, wrote that he understood "our Capital City is to be upon ye River near Schoolkill & Peeter Cock's."[36]

Meanwhile, Thomas Fairman was engaged in surveying the Swansons' 300 acres "and the Rest of the Land unto Schuylkill." During that spring of 1682, he also made "many weary journeys to Upland to attend Captn Markham on the Proprietaries Service and

35 The Swansons' original grant at Wicaco began at "Moyamensing Kill" and extended up the Delaware 400 perches or 6,600 feet. Their second grant of 345 acres, at one point on its south bounds touching the north line of the original grant, had a frontage on the river of 210 perches or 3,465 feet, about two-thirds of a mile. This frontage extended south from a small run called "Coaconocon," possibly an early name applied to a little stream south of the Coaquannock which broke the river bank and eventually dried up.

36 Claypoole probably had seen the Thornton map on which Peter Cock's name was entered between Wicaco and the Schuylkill in the area known locally as Moyamensing. Whoever told the London merchant where the chosen site was to be certainly was no more familiar with the area than Claypoole himself. James Claypoole to Norton Claypoole, July 14, 1682, Claypoole Letter Book, 233.

the Countries Business," furnished Markham and Haig with horses, "accompanying them in the Woods often" to locate lands for settlers, and in the early summer provided the commissioners "with Diet & Liquors for Treates" with Indians when Markham concluded the first purchase of land from the local chiefs.[37] Haig was equally busy, taking observations on the Delaware and at the head of Chesapeake Bay. The precise location of the fortieth parallel, claimed by Lord Baltimore as his northern boundary, had to be known in order to establish the southern limits of Penn's province.

At the same time, Penn was working on further details for setting up the province. Proposed laws and a frame of government were eventually agreed upon with his chief purchasers. As in the settling of the *Conditions or Concessions*, it was no easy matter to reconcile his own ideas with those of the practical businessmen who would adventure with him. Notably, in exchange for the purchase of 20,000 acres to be henceforth known as the Manor of Frank, he chartered a joint stock company, the Free Society of Traders in Pennsylvania, alienating to the Society his own manorial rights within the manor, and granting it "all other reasonable liberties, franchises and immunities, whatsoever, which have at any time heretofore been granted to the city of London." Most of the charter members were prosperous Quaker merchants and tradesmen; he expected them, through the Society, to play an important part in developing the economic life of the colony.[38]

On April 18, 1682, Penn commissioned his "Loving Fr^d^" Captain Thomas Holme of Waterford, Ireland, surveyor general of the province. Holme was directed to obtain as speedily as possible an accurate survey of "the exact quantities of every distinct and individual part and parcel of land in the said province, that already is, or hereafter may be granted and disposed of." His deputies were to return into his office a true duplicate of all original fieldwork. These, when examined, approved, and entered on record, would then be "conclusive

[37] For all these services Fairman charged Penn £32. For his own "Time and Expence intreating with the Swansons for the 300 acres Land," his charge was £5, and for the survey, £10. Fairman release, cited in Note 17.

[38] The Society's charter is in Hazard, *Annals*, 541–550, its articles of association in *PMHB*, V (1881), 41–47, and a list of subscribers in *ibid.*, XI (1887), 175–180. For a recent study of the Society's early history, see Gary B. Nash, "The Free Society of Traders and the Early Politics of Pennsylvania," *ibid.*, LXXXIX (1965), 147–173.

and binding," both on Penn and his heirs, and "on all the adventurers, purchasers, planters and inhabitants in the said province. . . ."[39]

Sailing on the *Amity*, Richard Diamond, Master, from the Downs on April 23, 1682, Holme arrived at Upland on August 3, 1682, with his family and a large group of settlers and representatives of the Free Society. Six more ships with other emigrants from London, the south coast of England, Bristol and Liverpool, arrived in rapid succession before the month was out. By the end of August there was "a Crowd of people striving for ye Country land, for ye town lot is not divided," as Edward Jones, one of the newcomers and leader of the first Welsh emigrants, wrote home from Upland. "We are short of our expectations," he went on, "by reason that ye Town is not to be builded at Upland," but "15 or 16 miles up ye River" at a place "called now Wicaco."[40]

Within a week or two the crowd of people was further increased by two additional shiploads of settlers. One of the ships, probably the *Samuel* from London, brought a second catalogue of purchasers supplementing the first one sent by Haig and Crispin in October, 1681. With it were two warrants, one of which, dated May 22, 1682, directed Thomas Holme "to set out ye Survey^d Bounds to the Respective purchasers use" of their shares in the first settlement according to the list "now sent." The other warrant, dated May 31, 1682, at Gravesend, authorized Holme, Haig, Bezer, and Allen to "see the Lotts of Land laid out by order of my Surveyor General according to the affixed Catalogue & the first, second and third Instructions he has Received to that purpose."[41]

39 Surveyor's records today are just as "conclusive and binding" as when Penn so ordered. Holme's commission is entered in Patent Book A-1, 7, Land Office, Harrisburg. A transcript is in Hazard, *Annals*, 555–557.

40 Edward Jones to John ap Thomas, Aug. 26, 1682, as quoted in James J. Levick, "John ap Thomas and His Friends," *PMHB*, IV (1880), 314–315. Jones and Thomas had purchased 5,000 acres for themselves and as agents for a group of Welsh Friends. Jones' use of the term Wicaco followed the Indian and Swedish designation of the geographical area between the Delaware and Schuylkill, rather than the present local connotation of the immediate vicinity of Gloria Dei (Old Swedes') Church. A. R. Dunlap and C. A. Weslager, "More Missing Evidence: Two Depositions by Early Swedish Settlers," *ibid.*, XCI (1967), 36, 40.

41 The *Samuel's* last loading for Pennsylvania was May 20, 1682. According to one of its passengers, it arrived in the Delaware the middle of September. *Ibid*, IX (1885), 227. The warrant to Holme is quoted in Hazard, *Annals*, 576, and *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, I 39. In both, the warrant precedes a list of purchasers, grouped into fifty-seven 10,000-acre shares,

This new catalogue of eighteen purchaser-groups, representing the sale of 194,450 acres when added to the initial thirty-two groups, brought the total number to fifty and completed the 100 shares Penn had set as the limit to sales to his first purchasers. In view of the 319,000 acres already sold, it was apparent he had oversold by some 13,000 acres. In the new catalogue, acreage exceeded 10,000 acres in six groups, and in two was less.[42]

With the complete list of purchasers and instructions to guide him, Holme's task now was to lay out the two components of the first settlement, the commercial center and the green country town bounds. The site for the first undoubtedly was centered around the cove with its facilities for navigation and shipping, and was contained within the acreage released by the Swansons. Contiguous to it, it was supposed, were 10,000 acres for the "bounds and extent of the liberties," in which two per cent of each purchaser's total acreage, as listed in the combined catalogues, was to be located. But that area had no frontage on the Delaware and practically none on the Schuylkill, surrounded as it was by land still held by early settlers. A green country town such as Penn envisioned could hardly be laid out here according to his directions.

Also to be considered was the present attitude of the colonists camped along the banks of the Delaware. On paper, Penn's utopian concept of a commodious rural community implicit in the 10,000-acre

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which demonstrably is not contemporary with Holme's warrant. The warrant to the others, dated at Gravesend, is given at the end of the second catalogue of purchasers on John Reed's *Map of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia*, drawn in 1774. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, IV, end of volume.

42 If this second catalogue has survived in its original form, its location presently is unknown. It was extant when Reed had his map drawn, and when he compiled his alphabetical listing of first purchasers, included in "An Explanation of the Map of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia," in *ibid.*, III, 327–344. That listing varies slightly from the catalogues on the map, as a reconstructed list from Reed's alphabetical list demonstrates. The third catalogue on Reed's map, also alphabetical, includes purchasers whose sales were dated subsequent to the April closeout date later implied by Penn. That date, incorrectly transcribed as "2d 6th mo. 1682," in Edward Armstrong, ed., *Correspondence between William Penn and James Logan* . . . (Philadelphia, 1870), I, 275–276, Penn said was "2d mo. [April] 1682," in a letter to James Logan, March 10, 1703/4, Penn Manuscripts, Letters of the Penn Family to James Logan, I, 20.

liberties had appeared very alluring. But since the colonists' arrival they had found themselves face to face with vast stretches of a seemingly hostile wilderness, densely wooded and inhabited by a generally alien people, as well as savages. To the colonists' immediate physical need for adequate shelter against the elements was added their human compulsion, in the face of these realities, to maintain physical contact with their known friends, to keep within sight of, or within hailing distance of, their own kind. The present advantages of an urban-type community, familiar in pattern, precise in its limits, assumed a significance greater than the possible ultimate benefits of a vast rural community with which they had no experience.

In view of such sentiments, any thought of laying out a country town was set aside for the time being. In its place a sketch for a commercial center which was urban in concept, was drawn up. Perhaps it followed in some degree the simple plan Robert Noble had evolved for Burlington, but it included more streets: a Broad Street, a Second Street "from the River," a Fourth Street, and a "Back Street." Along each of these streets, on this sketch, fifty-four numbered lots, presumably of uniform size, were marked off, one for each of the fifty groups, or shares, listed in the two catalogues, an extra one for the Free Society of Traders' second share of 10,000 acres, one for the Proprietor, and the remaining two possibly for the overplus acreage listed in the groups which exceeded 10,000 acres. Presumably, each of the 208 lots on these four streets would be subdivided for the individual purchasers in each group at the same two per cent ratio established for the division of liberty lands.[43]

Since the *Conditions or Concessions* called for land in this town to be distributed by lot, as well as by purchaser-group or share, on September 19, 1682, a street-by-street drawing or lottery was held for each of these fifty-four town lots. In each drawing the same representative for each of the purchaser-groups drew a numbered slip corresponding to a numbered lot on the sketch. Superintending the affair were Markham, Holme, Haig, and Griffith Jones, the latter a purchaser of 5,000 acres in his own right and a representative of the Free Society of Traders, the largest single investor. Of these officials,

[43] This would be consistent: two per cent of a total purchase to be laid out in the 10,000-acre liberties; two per cent of that to comprise a 200-acre commercial center in which each original purchaser would have a lot two per cent of his liberty land.

only Holme and Markham actually drew lots as representatives of their groups.[44]

Before any conclusive action based on the drawings was taken, word reached the Delaware that Penn himself might be expected at any moment on the *Welcome*. The vessel bringing this news, presumably the *Elizabeth, Anne & Catherine* of London, which arrived on September 29 (during July she had loaded goods and taken on passengers at the same time as the *Welcome*), was followed in October by three more ships with a new influx of settlers. The necessity of arranging accommodations for them leaving little time for the town, Markham, Holme, and the Commissioners decided to postpone further work on the first settlement until the Proprietor was present.

The Second Plan

The capacity to project a first concept into the future is a basic quality essential for good planning. Penn had the necessary breadth of vision. It was the key which opened the way for the expansion of a small commercial center, in which he had no primary interest, into a city such as no man of his time had ever contemplated. Once he had set the course, within less than two months a basic plan was settled and the actual work begun of transforming the plan into reality.

Landing at Upland on Sunday, October 29, Penn inspected the site of the proposed settlement some time before Thursday, November 2, when he met with his first General Court at New Castle. In the intervening three days, he undoubtedly heard at first hand of the colonists' importunities and fears, of their insistence that the small commercial center, rather than the grand country town which he had planned for them, be laid out promptly.

He would have seen Holme's sketch for that commercial town, inspected the lottery lists, and learned that, in spite of the crowd of people already arrived, less than one-third of his largest purchasers, those who had bought a thousand acres or upwards and on whom he depended to initiate trade, had emigrated. Since the other two-thirds

44 The lists of the four drawings are in Hazard, *Annals*, 642–643. An analysis of them indicates that the names of persons selected to draw lots for one purchaser-group or share generally were of the largest purchaser in the group, or of one whose name headed the group in the catalogues, or was of a person (or his agent) actually present at the drawing. About half of them were in the latter category.

represented eighty per cent of the acreage he had sold and all had been represented in the September lottery,[45] this meant that until those absentees came over, or sent agents or servants to develop their share of purchased land, eighty per cent of the town, as well as of the country land, would remain unimproved.

Worse yet, it is likely that Holme's concept of the commercial town was less than satisfactory to the present one-third of those larger purchasers on whom the burden of initiating trade would rest until, and if, their number were augmented. Although sharing in the fifty-four lots nearest the river, as well as in those on the other three streets, they had no guarantee where their fraction of each lot would lie, if the subdivision of the lots among the individuals in each group or share was also by lottery at the two per cent ratio. In view of such factors, an alternative solution was essential.

When Penn saw the site, a possible compromise presented itself. To achieve it, however, he needed the consent of the purchasers, mutually bound as he and they were by the *Conditions or Concessions*. His plan was predicated on acquiring frontage on the Schuylkill opposite what he already had on the Delaware. If that were feasible, he would incorporate all the land between into a city truly urban in plan. Within that city the first purchasers would still have their lots at the two per cent ratio of their liberty lands. But those lots would be regularly laid out so that each man would know precisely where his lot was. Those who chose to settle on Delaware side would be so accommodated; the absent purchasers could go on Schuylkill side where their vacant lots would be less noticeable.

The rest of the land in the city, however, must be open to all to allow for future development. In view of their few numbers, strangers with capital to invest must be sought; renters must be able to share in the common venture. Their labors would hasten the clearing of land and, though unable to buy at present, in time they would be transformed into purchasers and so enhance the value of the whole. Neither strangers nor renters would encroach on or share in the adjacent country town or liberties; that would remain reserved for the original first purchasers, according to the *Concessions*.

[45] A compilation of acreage purchased up to May, 1682, indicates there were approximately 154 purchasers of 1,000 acres and upwards. Of these, about 106 had not arrived or sent over agents or servants by November, 1682.

As outlined to the colonists, the advantages of this new concept appeared reasonable and met with general approval. In accordance with the provision in their deeds of release to admit of new conditions or concessions, the purchasers present, "Reposing confidence in the Justice of the Propriety and his deputies that no person should be wronged of his just lots, gave by some writing under their hands the Trust thereof to him."[46]

Preliminary to the fulfillment of this augmented concept was the acquisition of land along the Schuylkill. Initially Penn was only partly successful, obtaining from some of the Swedish owners a little less than a mile of frontage on the Schuylkill similar to that released by the Swansons on the Delaware.[47] No doubt, he hoped to get more, but what he gained at this time was adequate for the immediate purpose; in due time the rest of the old inhabitants might be persuaded to part with additional acreage. So, as he wrote three years later, "Tho this Town seemed at first contrived for the Purchasers of the first hundred shares, each share consisting of 5000 Acres, yet few going, and that their absence might not Check the Improvement of the Place, and Strangers that flockt to us be thereby Excluded, I added that half of the Town, which lies on the Skulkill, that we might have Room for present and after Commers, that were not of that number. . . ."[48]

The foundation was now laid for the community's ultimate urban character. The form it would assume was yet to be settled; the arrangement of two square miles in a coherent pattern, adapted to the physical features of the larger site and acceptable to those who had first claim to it, was a task Penn left to others. During the ensuing weeks matters of a different nature claimed his attention.

46 Cited in Item 8 in the Remonstrance and Petition of Inhabitants and Adventurers of Philadelphia . . . , postdated Aug. 3, 1684, Proud Papers Miscellaneous, Box 2. A copy is in the Parrish Collection, Proud Papers, Case 61, Bound Volume I, 33–37. Who signed the "writing" given Penn, which has not survived, remains unknown. By the time the agreement was reached, twenty ships had brought scores of colonists, any of whom might have been present. In 1701, Penn recalled that there was nothing in the agreement "to which the first Purchasers then present did not readily seem to comply with." *Votes of Assembly*, I, 293.

47 The Schuylkill frontage probably included Peter Cock's 100 acres, surveyed by Richard Noble in July, 1680, and perhaps the Rambo grant, both cited in Note 21. Their exact location remains unknown.

48 "Further Account . . . ," *PMHB*, IX (1885), 66–67.

At New Castle on November 2, with Markham, Holme, and the Commissioners in attendance, he publicly announced his assumption of jurisdiction over the lower counties, granted to him by the Duke of York just before he had sailed from London, and assured the local inhabitants of "full and equal privileges with those of Pennsylvania." To Maryland he sent two emissaries to set a time for a meeting with Lord Baltimore. Then, after arranging with Thomas Fairman to vacate his house at Shackamaxon so that Penn and his official family could be accommodated there, he set out for New York to pay his respects to the Duke's government. On this trip he visited the Friends' Meetings on Long Island, and stopped off in East Jersey on his return journey to confer with his former solicitor, Thomas Rudyard, who had recently arrived there as that colony's deputy governor. Not until the end of November did Penn make his reappearance on the Delaware.[49]

During his absence work began on the city's plan. Thomas Fairman's no longer extant survey of the Swansons' 300 acres "and the rest of the Land unto Schuylkill" would have shown that the city's area now included about 1,200 acres and was approximately a mile wide and two miles long between the two rivers. Rising from either side of a natural, apparently centrally located watershed, many-branched streams flowed east and west into each river. At the southern end of the Delaware side, two of these streams emptied into the north and south extremities of the cove. Their waters then coursed out into the Delaware through a narrow channel at the cove's southern edge. From the channel's southern marshy shore, described in later years as "grassy and wet soil, fruitful in whortleberries," the ground rose to form the hill visible for some miles downriver.[50] At the north end of the available frontage on Delaware side, a third stream, the Coaquannock (Pegg's Run), rising from the east side of the central watershed, emptied into the Delaware between low marshy banks just south of the former Hartsfelder tract. Between the low sandy

[49] Fairman made no charge for "Leaving my House in the Winter Season, for the Proprietors Use." Fairman's Release, cited in Note 17. Penn's own account of his activities in November is in his letter to the Lords of Plantations, quoted in Proud, I, 268. Other references to this period are in Hazard, *Annals*, 603–605.

[50] John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania* . . . (Philadelphia, 1927), I, 130.

beach of the cove to the south and the mouth of this stream, the Delaware's banks rose gradually to a height of about thirty feet above the river, then shelved down abruptly to the Coaquannock. Near the bank's highest point it was broken by a dry gut (where Arch Street was located) down which water raced in times of heavy rainfall.

West of this mile of Delaware river front, and north of the Swedish settlements above Passayunk, a number of small streams and one large one emptied into the Schuylkill. Toward the north end, this large one, called by the old inhabitants Kentin Tomessin, was fed by numerous springs rising at the central watershed. It followed a serpentine course to its mouth slightly above the mid-point of the available river front. Both at its mouth and at the confluence with the Schuylkill of the other streams, marshland merged with the waters of the river.[51]

Of these physical features, those indicated on Holme's "small Draught," which "may hereafter when time permits be augmented" —known as his *Portraiture of a City*[52]—certainly influenced the city plan as it developed. The high point of the watershed, thought to be more or less equidistant not only from the two rivers but from the Coaquannock on the north and the limits of the adversely owned land to the south, suggested the principal axes of the plan shown in the *Portraiture*. Burlington's modest plan, laid out in 1675 by Richard Noble, was based on similar axes, as were the standard military camp plans for seventeenth-century English armies, long familiar to Holme. It is likely he also was familiar with the plan Richard Newcourt proposed for the rebuilding of London in 1666. The chief elements in Newcourt's plan—a grand central square at the intersection of axial streets which he called "High" and "Broad"

51 The streams on Schuylkill side, only four of which are indicated on the *Portraiture*, were still in evidence in 1796, and are shown on John Hill's *Plan of the City of Philadelphia and its Environs*. In 1804 and in 1809, they were even more precisely located by Reading Howell on his manuscript Ordinance Map and Ground Plat of the City, examined in the Map Section, Free Library, Philadelphia. The name Kentin Tomessin is given in the warrant for Christopher Pennock. Warrants and Surveys, I, 855.

52 "A Short Advertisement Upon the Situation and Extent of the City of Philadelphia and the Ensuing Platform thereof by the Surveyor General," prefaced the list of lot holders which accompanied the *Portraiture* when it was sent to England for engraving. An eighteenth-century copy of the "Advertisement" and the list is in Warrants and Surveys, II, 136.

streets, symmetrically placed subordinate squares, and the grid pattern formed by intersecting streets—were all incorporated in Holme's *Portraiture*.[53]

Although not indicated on the *Portraiture*, it is evident that the dry gut breaking the bank on Delaware side established the line of the first street (later called Arch) parallel to and north of the east-west, 100-foot wide High Street. Between High Street and the cove, the land was evenly divided by two parallel streets (Chestnut and Walnut) so placed as to avoid the northern reaches of the cove. That little harbor at first glance appears to have determined the location on either side of it of the first and second streets paralleling the river bank. A second glance suggests other reasoning which might have established their location. When planning his country town, Penn had recommended to his commissioners that town houses be set back from the creek or harbor "a measured quarter of a mile, [or] at least 200 paces." Obviously a quarter of a mile back into the woods was unrealistic here, but 200 paces, about 600 feet, is where Second Street actually was located. Was this second street on Delaware side initially considered as the front or first street, and the distance of 500 feet westward to the next street paralleling the river determined so as to permit larger lots for the largest purchasers? All other streets westward, up to the first parallel street east of the 100-foot wide Broad Street, were evenly spaced at 400-foot intervals.

One important physical aspect of the area was completely ignored on the *Portraiture*. On Schuylkill side there was no cove or natural harbor to establish the line of the first street, but there were the extensive marshes and flats along the river bank between streams. No indication of these appears on the *Portraiture*. Instead, the east line of the first street is shown set back, as on Delaware side, about 200 feet from the river's edge, and at exactly the same distance from the central Broad Street as on the other river front. It is unlikely the omission of the marshland was through ignorance. The failure to indicate undesirable physical features appears to bear out Holme's statement that the plan was only a preliminary draft or sketch to be

53 See the Reps and Garvan studies cited in Note 2. Penn's stricture to his commissioners that in his country town "streets be uniform down to the water," and houses "be in a line or upon a line" fitted neatly into the grid pattern established.

superseded later by a more exact and detailed one. Certainly, when the front street was laid out there, the marshland was taken into full consideration.

The details of the city plan shown by this preliminary draft all recall Newcourt's London plan. While appearing to be asymmetrical about the axial High Street, Holme's plan was, in fact, symmetrical about that axis if the inclusion on it of Penn's "town" lot at the north end is considered. This strip of land extended from the mouth of the Coaquannock to the Schuylkill. Located, as suggested by Penn in his instructions to the commissioners, "in the very middle" between town and liberty land "facing the harbour and great river," it was about a thousand feet wide. The contrasting absence of intersecting streets within its area, since the tract actually was within the liberties and technically no part of the city proper,[54] produced the illusion of asymmetry. A very much narrower strip of land at the south end of town, which was also shown on the plan, apparently was included for the purpose of compensating for the uncertain extent of the Hartsfelder tract north of the Coaquannock, and to ensure a total area of 300 acres for Penn's lot.

Between High Street and Penn's liberty lot, three streets ran from river to river parallel to High Street; south of High there were four. These east-west streets were crossed by north-south streets on either side of and parallel to Broad Street. They were spaced at regular intervals between the Third Street from each river and the streets next to Broad Street. Each of the latter was 700 feet distant from Broad Street. When in time that street might be expected to become the main connecting artery between country lands to the north and south, land values would be greater and lots should be larger.

Five large open areas embellished the plan, relieving the monotony of the grid pattern formed by the intersecting streets. Four of these open areas, each larger than any one city block, were located within

54 By 1705, the east end of Penn's lot along the Delaware, between the Coaquannock and Vine Street, had been laid off in lots so that the town's northern limits were not distinguishable. As a result, when the city was first divided into wards that year, the "true bounds" were disputed, some averring the city terminated at Vine Street, others, less knowledgeable, that it extended to "the Runn this side of Daniel Pegg's land" by the Coaquannock. Entry for Feb. 2, 1704/5, *Minutes of the Common Council of Philadelphia, 1704 to 1776* (Philadelphia, 1847), 14–16.

the quadrants formed by the main axes, and so placed at the intersection of two streets that traffic could not flow completely around them. The fifth and largest open area served as an impressive focal point, crowning the watershed at the intersection of High and Broad Streets. According to Holme, this central square of ten acres was intended for "Houses for Public Affairs," while the smaller ones were designed "for the Like use as Moor Fields in London"—for recreational use.[55]

When Penn returned to the Delaware at the end of November, the draft of this basic city plan was ready for his inspection. At his direction new names had been added to the list of purchasers. While several of his largest investors included in the catalogues had cancelled their purchases, other sales had been concluded during the summer before he sailed. All of these recent purchasers were to have lots in the city.[56]

In the distribution of lots, both present needs and future development were taken into consideration. The settlers' immediate necessity of reasonable access to waterways called for a concentration along the river fronts. Of paramount importance to the overall economy were the shipping and navigation interests of the largest purchasers. They must be nearest the rivers. Smaller purchasers, tradesmen and shopkeepers, their retail trade equally vital to the economy of the city but less directly geared to the waterfront, were placed back of the front lots. Since there was not as much river front as originally anticipated for purchasers of 500 acres and under, their lots should be increased in size to compensate for their less desirable location. The balance of land was for the "present and after Commers" who were not original purchasers, for the renters already pres-

55 See Holme's "Advertisement," cited above. Long a peculiarity of Philadelphians, the use of the term "square" to designate a city block as well as such parks as Independence Square, Washington Square, and Rittenhouse Square, to name a few, may very well have originated with Thomas Holme.

56 Sir William Petty of Dublin and George Evans of London, for example, whose names were included in the September lottery, do not appear in subsequent records. Technically, only those whose names were entered on the first and second catalogues, having bought the first hundred shares, were original purchasers. But some of those, such as the large Welsh buyers, bought as agents, and then resold to the members of their individual groups. They, as underpurchasers, were granted the same rights as the original purchasers. In a similar fashion, any who bought land from an original purchaser acquired rights from that purchaser. None of these underpurchasers, however, were in fact first purchasers.

ent and to come, and for such strangers whom Penn hoped would flock to the town.

The size of individual lots Penn probably left to others to settle. For such detailed computation and division within the city squares he would have had little interest at the moment. He had called for an Assembly of the colonists to meet at Upland the first Monday in December to ratify the laws agreed upon in England. He was working on the composition of a "written Constitution or propos'd Laws"[57] to be submitted to the Assembly for approval. He was also engaged to meet Lord Baltimore in Maryland by December 19. Consequently, in the limited time at his disposal his chief interest was to see that the city achieve a settled appearance rapidly. Those who had plans and resources for building were not to be placed too close together on streets appropriate to the size of their individual purchases, but wherever possible at discreet intervals from each other, preferably on Delaware side. In this fashion inquiring strangers and casual wayfarers, such as itinerant Friends, mariners or traveling merchants, would be more inclined to carry away with them favorable reports of the city about to rise on the banks of the Delaware. Purchasers not yet come over, especially those who had bought primarily for speculation or who had no immediate plans for emigration, must go on Schuylkill side. Sharing no part of the initial hazard and labor of clearing the wilderness, but expecting to profit by the efforts of those who did, it was only fitting that such absent owners be placed where the lack of improvement would be less apparent.[58] The implementation of these underlying principles Penn left to Holme's discretion.

As soon as the first Assembly adjourned on December 7, the Proprietor set out for Maryland, arriving at West River in Anne Arundel County on the eleventh. After an unsatisfactory conference with Lord Baltimore, he attended a Friends' Meeting at Thomas Hooker's, and then one across the bay at Choptank before starting his return journey.[59]

[57] These were not ready on December 5, the second day of the meeting, and were not presented for approval until the next day. *Votes of Assembly*, I, 2, 5, 6.

[58] These basic policies are deduced from a study of the names of lot-holders in Holme's assignment list appended to the *Portraiture*, and from biographical data pertaining to them: their occupations, date of arrival in the Delaware, date and amount of land purchased, and where and when their city lots were surveyed.

[59] Penn's itinerary is in Proud, I, 208–209, 268.

The First Clearings

As Penn later wrote to the London committee of the Free Society of Traders, up to the beginning of December the weather on the Delaware was "rather like an English mild Spring." Then "sharp frosty weather" set in, but the sky remained "as clear as in summer" and the air "dry, cold, piercing and hungry."[60] Under such conditions it was possible to take observations and establish stations from which street lines could be located. Thus, during Penn's absence in December, the initial survey of streets was started on Delaware side. By the time he returned from Maryland near the end of the month, the lines of High Street, the first street north of High, and the two streets to the south were laid off along Delaware Front and staked out perhaps as far west as four squares.[61]

On Holme's plan, squares set aside for first purchasers had been marked off in lots of varying sizes. Those fronting both rivers and on either side of High Street were for purchasers of a thousand acres and upwards. A single purchaser of a whole 5,000-acre share was entitled to an entire lot in each location, lesser purchasers a lot at the rate of about twenty feet on the Front and twenty-six feet on High Street. When laid out, the Front and High Street lots were found to be of equal size but of different widths: 102 feet on the Front, 132 feet on High Street. Their total area, instead of the intended two acres—two per cent of the 100 acres in the liberties—was about seven per cent smaller. Second Street lots were reserved for 500-acre purchasers, while those fronting streets back of Second or streets parallel to High Street were to be divided for still smaller purchasers and renters. Each of the Second Street lots was figured at a third of an acre, the subdivided back lots at not quite a quarter of an acre. Thus, the largest purchasers received slightly less than the two per cent they expected to have, the smaller purchasers, nearly twice as much.[62]

60 Penn's letter to the Society's committee, dated Aug. 16, 1683, is in *ibid.*, I, 246–264. The transcript in Hazard, *Register*, I, 433–437, gives the date as 16 8m "called August" 1683.

61 These limits are based on a compiled list of surveys returned into the surveyor general's office, arranged chronologically by date of survey. For example, the second survey of record was for Christopher Taylor whose lot at the northeast corner of Fourth and High Streets was surveyed Jan. 29, 1682/3, as in Warrants and Surveys, II, 128. The survey of such corner lots was a good indication of the progress made in laying out the streets.

62 Lots fronting both rivers extended west and east 396 feet to the Second Streets: High Street lots all had a depth of 306 feet. Second Street lots were 300 feet deep, those on the back-

Each lot on the plan was numbered in consecutive order along the streets; as each was assigned to purchaser or renter, his name was entered on a separate list against the appropriate number. By this system, assignments did not have to be made in numerical order but could be set down on the list at any time, subject to Penn's discretion or an individual's request. This list would serve as the basic key to the plan's numbered lots, enabling purchasers and others to establish "where their Concerns are therein," as Holme phrased it.[63]

The only lots assigned by the time of Penn's return appear to have been for those who were on the spot and ready to build. About thirty knew where their lots on Delaware Front were to be laid out. Sixteen of these lots probably were north of High Street: two in the first square, five in the second and nine in the northernmost. South of High, fourteen assigned lots were spaced along the Front: six in the first square, three in the next one, and three in the square encompassing the cove. Nearly as many were also assigned on the Second Street from the Delaware. Here perhaps a dozen were south of High in the squares west of the cove, an equal number above High in the two northernmost squares. A few others probably were assigned in the backward streets.

Of the thirty along the Front, corner lots defining the lines of the east-west streets were among the first assigned. Above High Street, at the extreme north end of town where the land dipped down into a valley extending to the Coaquannock, the last lot was assigned to William Crispin's son Silas (who had arrived on the *John & Sarah*) in right of his father's purchase. At the south corner of the next street south, two widows whose husbands had died on the voyage across the Atlantic, Elizabeth Palmer and John Songhurst's daughter, Elizabeth Barber, were allotted part of the whole lot in right of their husbands' purchases. Thomas Holme reserved his own lot in the same

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ward streets generally about 255 feet. The sizes are shown on William Parsons' "Draughts or Several Squares of Ground within the City of Philadelphia," *PMHB*, LXXX (1956), 177–226, reproduced from the originals in HSP. The owners shown on these draughts, it should be noted, were not all original lot owners. For a more contemporary listing of such owners, see Governor Blackwell's 1689 Rent Roll in the Logan Papers, transcribed in *PGM*, XXIII (1963), 71–94.

63 Students of Philadelphia's early years have assumed this assignment list was of first purchasers only. In addition to Holme's own statement prefacing the list, in which he said the numbering was of "Lots of the Purchasers &c," there is ample evidence disproving this contention.

square but at the south end at the corner facing the gut, where he had marked off the first street north of High. In order to match the width of the gut he had set a width of about sixty feet for this street; all others, except the High and Broad Streets, were fifty feet wide.

The north corner lot at High Street was assigned to William Bowman, a glazier of Wandsworth in Surrey, whose son Thomas had come over to take up his father's land. It faced the lot Penn reserved for his little daughter Letitia, and on which he had directed a dwelling be started for his own use. Southward, part of the north corner lot in the next square was assigned to another recent widow, Mercy Jefferson, whose husband was one of the victims of the Atlantic crossing; the other part went to Nathaniel Allen, Penn's commissioner. Further on, at the next street above the cove, the south corner lot was assigned to James Claypoole, now treasurer of the Free Society of Traders. He had sent over a man on the Society's ship, the *Jeffrey*, with instructions to build a house in preparation for Claypoole's arrival with his family. Beyond the cove and up on the hill was the site selected by the agents of the Free Society before Penn's arrival "for themselves and the Bulk of their Business." There the small warehouse they had erected was filled with trade goods brought over on the *Jeffrey*.

Within a month of Penn's return from Maryland, the east-west streets were being identified by the names of the most prominent men to whom adjacent corner lots were assigned: Claypoole, soon shortened to Pool, just above the cove, later to be renamed Walnut; Holme Street, later Mulberry and, eventually, Arch Street, above High; Songhurst, next above Holme, a street later known as Sassafras and then Race, named for the Quaker preacher and Penn's fellow passenger on the *Welcome*.[64] The street eventually to be called Chestnut, between Claypoole and High Street, was identified as Wynne Street, in honor of Dr. Thomas Wynne, another *Welcome* passenger and a co-purchaser of 5,000 acres with John ap John of Wales. Their front

[64] According to Parsons' "Draughts," cited above, Songhurst's original lot was at the northwest corner of Front and Race Streets, and in 1690 his son applied for a bank lot "before the front Lott in Philad'a on Delaware side that was Laid out in Right of his father's purchase," as recited in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, XIX, 25. No survey for that front lot has been found; the only one located is for his lot at the southwest corner of Second and Race, as in Warrants and Surveys, III, 497. This was for back lot 57 on Delaware side in Holme's list.

lot, however, was assigned on Schuylkill side, at the south corner of the street, and was only in John ap John's name.

Lot assignments for purchasers who were not present claimed Penn's attention when he returned from Maryland. Before the year was out he was "busy enough having much to do to please all, and yet to have an eye to those that are not here to please themselves."[65] On December 29, the day he wrote those words, he issued the first known warrant to survey a city lot for just such an absentee purchaser, one, however, he was assured would soon emigrate: Samuel Carpenter, a prominent Quaker merchant of Barbados, and a 5,000-acre purchaser. His lot was laid out two days later at its assigned location on Delaware Front between Pool and Wynne Streets.[66]

There was also the division of country land into townships and the assignment of tracts within those townships to be settled. These matters could be determined on paper and warrants for surveys could be issued, but little actual surveying was accomplished during January, either in the country or in the town. With the advent of the new year, the Delaware froze over "for a few days" and the weather closed in, precluding the necessary observations.

There is evidence, however, that as town lots were assigned to settlers, many of them failed to wait for an official survey before starting to clear their property. Roughly calculating a lot's location within such squares as were staked out, trees on it could be felled when the temperature permitted; the brush could then be cleared away, and a rough shelter or small log dwelling erected. The Swedes, adept at such primitive construction, proved to be of great assistance to the less knowledgeable newcomers.

Christopher Taylor, a "schoolmaster of classical studies" and an eminent minister among Friends, as well as a purchaser of 5,000 acres, was one of the impatient ones. Assigned the 102-foot Front lot immediately north of Samuel Carpenter's, Taylor appears to have entered into an agreement to sell half of his lot to Thomas Hooten of Burlington, a Proprietor of West Jersey and cordwainer by trade. The bargain was made well before the lot was warranted and surveyed at the end of January. By then, Taylor, and probably Hooten as well, both had built on the site. Taylor's conveyance of the south

65 Proud, I, 209.

66 Warrants and Surveys, II, 25; III, 221.

half of his lot to Hooten, however, was not completed until two months after the survey.[67]

In another instance, John Blunston, agent for William Shardlow in London and his co-purchaser, William Wood, reported to his principals that their lot had been "laid out" by early February. What he did not explain was that it had only been staked out and perhaps cleared; it was neither warranted nor surveyed until the following July.[68]

Some purchasers although assigned lots preferred to spend a share of their time improving their first temporary shelters on the river bank—the so-called caves—to working on their own lots. Such was the case with Benjamin Chambers and Nathaniel Allen, neither of whose lots were surveyed until months later.[69]

By the first week in March, well before their lots were surveyed, seven other settlers were so well established that a grand jury presented them for selling "drink & strong Liquors by Retail & suffer it to be drunk in their houses without a License, contrare to ye 40th Law of this Province." Of this number two were new justices of the peace, Thomas Wynne and Griffith Jones. Six weeks before, Jones had bought a sixteen-foot frame building standing on the sandy beach above the mouth of the cove. William Dare, master of a Virginia-owned vessel, had started its construction before Penn's

67 According to Richard Townsend, a "boarded meeting house" for the newly arrived settlers "was set up where the city was to be, near the Delaware." Watson, II, 511. This meeting house was Taylor's house, not the Bank Meeting House north of Arch, indicated by Watson. See also "Minutes of the Philadelphia Meeting," abstracted in *Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania* (*PGSP*), I (1898), 252, 255, 259–260, 281. The half of the lot Taylor retained, and on which was the house, was warranted Jan. 29, 1682/3, and surveyed two days later, as in Warrants and Surveys, II, 128; see also the 1698 Alphabetical list of warrants issued in Surveyor General's Office: An Account of certain books . . . , Miscellaneous Manuscript Collection, American Philosophical Society (APS), Philadelphia. The 1759 copy of the survey, in Warrants and Surveys, III, 237, for Hooten's half "in right of Christopher Taylor," has incorrect dates for his warrant and survey, and the still later copy of his patent of confirmation even different dates, but the latter does have the correct date of sale by Taylor to Hooten, Apr. 10, 1683. Exemplification Book 1, 49.

68 Both Blunston and Shardlow were officers of the Free Society, the former, one of the resident agents, the latter on the London committee. See Blunston to William Shardlow, Feb. 2, 1682/3, Shardlow-Sweetapple Papers, No. 376, Logan Papers, XVI, 11. The survey of the city lot is in Warrants and Surveys, III, 219.

69 They were still occupying the caves on the bank as late as 1687, by which time their building had "been more costly than ordinary." *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, XIX, 11, 13.

arrival. Now called the Blue Anchor, the little tavern, so conveniently located near the cove's channel, undoubtedly did a thriving business, while Jones' family, ensconced in it, enjoyed comforts with which few others were yet provided.[70]

Similar private undertakings left little time or energy for public improvements. During the first months of 1683, other grand jury presentments calling attention to civic needs reflect the slow progress of clearing. "Trees that are amongst the houses in the City that do Imperforate the prospect of the houses" should be removed; "those that knows theire lotts in the front street of Philadelphia and have not cleared the streets from stumps and roots" should get busy and root them out. Not only "the Coquenear [Coaquannock] Creek att ye Northward of the city of Philadelphia" should forthwith be made "passable for footmen," but also "the roade betwixt the blew Anker and the Societys land which is for the most part impassable."[71]

The extent of this Society land up on the hill above the cove appears to have been determined as a matter of expediency. As purchasers of 20,000 acres, the Society was entitled to eight acres in the city, half fronting the river and half on High Street. But since the December Assembly had refused to ratify the Society's charter because of the extensive feudal privileges set down in it, the Society was left without legal status and its officers without the special privileges they had expected to enjoy. To compensate for those losses, Penn agreed to allow the Society about 100 acres in the city in one place: a strip of land not quite a whole square in breadth, extending from the hill above the cove to the Schuylkill Front. The balance of those squares north of this strip, Penn agreed to assign to the company's president, Dr. Nicholas More, a purchaser of 10,000 acres in his own right. Penn limited him, however, to the four squares back from the Delaware Front, and three squares from Schuylkill Front. More thus

70 The original grand jury presentment is in Penn Letters and Ancient Documents Relating to Pennsylvania and New Jersey, 1665–1819, 174, APS. A transcript of this presentment and of others, all in APS, is in *PMHB*, XXIII (1899), 403–405. For William Dare's presence in the town, see *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, I, 51; for Jones' purchase of the tavern, Exemplification Book 8, 5: Jan. 30, 1682/3, Assignment, Edward Hill to Griffith Jones, and recital in Deed Book E-1-5, 361: May 16, 1686, Griffith Jones to George Bartholomew. The warrant to Jones for the lot to remove the Blue Anchor upon notes that Dare built the house. Warrants and Surveys, II, 66.

71 Penn Letters and Ancient Documents, 164, 166, 172, APS.

had about five acres in the city, as against the approximate two which the 5,000-acre purchasers held in their combined Front and High Street lots.

On Delaware side south of the Society's land, Penn assigned lots to William Haig, his chief commissioner; to Philip Ford, his trusted agent; to his son William Penn, Jr.; to the Lowthers, his kinsmen; and to the Growdens of Cornwall, father and son, who were purchasers of 10,000 acres. Except for the Lowthers, all of them were large investors in the Free Society and, except for Haig, all were assigned similar lots on Schuylkill side between the Society's land and the south end of town. By placing his officials, relatives, and heavy subscribers so near the Society, it seems obvious Penn was emphasizing his expectation the company would be "the most capable and likely to improve and render any part of the Town Valuable."[72]

The Liberties

While most of the energy expended during these winter months was aimed at clearing lots in the city proper, the ultimate determination of the liberty lands adjacent to it was not ignored. Late the previous year, Penn had issued orders to all freeholders of both city and county, old as well as new inhabitants, "to bring into Court a full & exact account of all their lands, as the number of their akers and time of possessing the same and by whome their were invested with the rights and titles of them." Once this information was at hand, Richard Noble was then "to survey and surround a tract of land adjoining the city for the good and benefit of the First Purchasers." At the end of February his work was still incomplete.[73]

In the meantime, Penn renewed his efforts to gain more of the land held under early grants. The advantages of the 200-acre Swedish mill tract on the south bank of the Quessinawomink were obvious.

[72] No High Street lots were entered on the assignment list for any of these shareholders. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, XIX, 532.

[73] At New Castle on Dec. 21, 1682, Penn directed the inhabitants of the lower counties to bring in similar records of their holdings, as noted in *PMHB* (1882), VI, 440. At the end of February, 1683, Thomas Holme notified Thomas Fairman that Noble's survey was not yet returned into the office, as noted in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, III, 311. The delay led to an order from Nicholas More, Holme, and Fairman, as justices of the peace, to the sheriff and constables of the city and county to see that the inhabitants brought in to court their records no later than the first of May. Penn Letters and Documents, 186, APS.

Though its facilities were crude, they would serve until other mills could be put in operation. It was also reasonably accessible to the settlers in the city by way of the old Indian path, now renamed the King's highway, running through the tract. As the mill was improved property, Penn was obliged to buy it from the Swedish owners. Once the sale was accomplished, he turned it over to the Society to operate,[74] with the understanding that the Society's 400-acre dividend, established under the *Conditions or Concessions*, would lie adjacent.

On the Schuylkill "adjoining to the North Boundaries of ye Town," was a 200-acre tract called Mt. Seipput (later known as Fairmount). William Jeacox, son of one of the original Passayunk patentees, had never seated or improved it. This tract, lying "between Peter Rambo and Richard Tucker" and adjacent to Penn's own liberty lot, Jeacox agreed to surrender as Rambo had earlier. However, Jeacox extracted a promise from the Proprietor that he should have 200 acres laid out "anywhere in the county of Philadelphia or Chester." Tucker followed suit, giving up his unseated land further upriver.[75]

About two miles up the Schuylkill was a tract which belonged to a Quaker carpenter who had come to the Delaware in 1677, settled below Upland, and been a member of Markham's council until Penn's arrival. Currently he was a justice of the Chester County court. This tract, called Ridgwick "of William Clayton, the elder, lying next below the falls of Schuylkill on this side," Penn hoped to obtain until he learned that Clayton had already sold it to Dennis Rochford.

A fellow passenger on the *Welcome* and well known to the Proprietor, Rochford was a prosperous grocer and had subscribed £50 to the Free Society of Traders. He was also heir to the 5,000-acre pur-

74 The fifty acres "on which the Society's mill now stands" were "part and parcel of 200 acres formerly granted to Swedes and by them sold to Governor Penn and by the Governor resigned to the Society," as recited in Deed Book H-8, 357: July 6, 1689, Benjamin Chambers to Rebecca Stanley. None of the land was surveyed until 1686.

75 The exact sequence of the various transactions Penn undertook is uncertain, but their probable course is based on the sources cited in Note 21. Tucker's land eventually went to Andrew Doz; it was known first as the Vineyard, but is not to be confused with the much later "Vineyard" tract eventually called Francisville. Vineyard Street, still on the city plan, lies within that area. According to the notation in Warrants and Surveys, III, 557, the original Vineyard land "was before surveyed to one Tucker by Autho: from N: York."

chase of his brother-in-law, Thomas Herriot, who had died on the *Welcome*. Apparently unwilling to offend the holder of a whole share, Penn entered into an involved agreement. On his promise to Clayton of hard cash as well as land to be laid out elsewhere, Clayton agreed to cancel his bargain with Rochford. Then, to compensate Rochford, Penn approached the Swedish blacksmith, William Orian, whose 150 acres, known as Edgerle Point, adjoined Clayton's land on the south. He offered Orian land across the Schuylkill if Orian would relinquish his Edgerle Point tract to Rochford. Although both men agreed to this exchange, Penn still had the Swansons to satisfy. Toward that end he then prevailed on Clayton to transfer his Ridgwick tract to them as part of their promised 600 acres.

South of Orian's land was a reputed 300 acres, granted in 1680 "by the court at Kingsessing" to John Mifflin and his son John, Jr. They refused to sell. As a result, of the 850 acres beyond the city's north limits which Penn had retrieved from the old settlers, he was still committed to the Swansons for 100 acres more than his net gain, having already allotted 550 acres between them, the Society, and Rochford. Moreover, Richard Noble's survey revealed that instead of the 10,000 acres intended for the liberties, there was only a little more than 9,100 acres within the surveyed area. Out of that Penn would have to deduct 1,250 acres: 600 for the Swansons, the Mifflins' 300 acres, the 200-acre mill tract, and 150 acres to compensate Rochford, leaving less than 8,000 acres for distribution among the first purchasers.[76]

He had recognized the possibility that geographical limitations might force an alteration in plans conceived without specific foreknowledge: the *Conditions or Concessions* provided that a two per cent dividend could be granted only "if the Place will allow it." Hav-

[76] John Reed's "Explanation of the Map of the City and Liberties," cited in Note 43, was inspired by political polemics aimed at discrediting proprietary land policy. As such his logic and computations are suspect. But the *Map of the City and Liberties*, illustrating his "Explanation," must be accepted as generally accurate, though certainly not in detail when related to the initial survey of individual lots. The one Reed figure which may be assumed to be accurate, since it could be readily checked, is that of 9,161 acres for the area surveyed by Richard Noble on the east side of the Schuylkill intended for distribution as liberty land (p. 314). The total acreage sold the first purchasers listed by Reed on his map in the first and second catalogues was 513,450 acres, two per cent of which was 10,269 acres. Penn was therefore lacking 1,108 acres before he made any deduction for land he was unable to acquire, land he was committed to grant, or for his own 300 acres. If he added that to the 1,250 acres he had to deduct, the balance of land left for distribution was 7,811 acres.

ing less than eighty per cent of the 10,000 acres for which he was committed, the dividend would have to be reduced if all were to be placed east of the Schuylkill. However, between the scattered plantations of old settlers on the west side of the Schuylkill, there was plenty of land where a full dividend could be granted. If a few of the purchasers would accept a full dividend on that side, there would be enough land on the east to grant an eighty per cent dividend to the rest.[77]

When the majority of purchasers present agreed to Penn's proposal, preferring land on Delaware side, where it was closer to their city lots, to more distant land across the Schuylkill, the distribution of liberty lots was established. Wherever possible, lots for the largest purchasers were to be placed on water, such as the Cohocksink and Tumanaromaning Creeks, bordering and flowing through the Shackamaxon land; their waters were deep enough to permit passage of small boats down to the Delaware. The Society's land would, of course, adjoin the mill tract and front the Quessinawomink, renamed Frankford Creek in recognition of the Society's "reputed" Manor of Frank.[78] Along its western branch, the Wingohocking, other large tracts would be located. Those for smaller purchasers, also reduced in size by twenty per cent, would be ranged in the interior, back of and between the larger tracts. Individual surveys pursuant to this pattern could wait, however, until the clearing and improvements of city lots was further along. No warrants for any liberty land were issued until late in May.

Philadelphia HANNAH BENNER ROACH

Part II of this study, which will treat of the actual settlement of Philadelphia, will follow in the April issue.

[77] For every hundred acres located on the west side of the Schuylkill, Penn would gain eighty acres on the east side. He only needed three such tracts (240 acres) in order to increase the 7,811 acres to 8,000 acres, and it was unlikely that every one of his fifty or more 5,000-acre purchasers would choose the east side, when there was more river front available on the west side.

[78] Survey for Patrick Robinson, Warrants and Surveys, I, 804, Apr. 12, 1683. Across the creek on the east side, adjacent to the mill proper, Thomas Fairman had begun to lay out lots on his land for the town of "Franckfurt," by March, 1684. Samuel W. Pennypacker, *The Settlement of Germantown, Pennsylvania, and the Beginning of German Emigration to North America* (Philadelphia, 1899), 88; recital in Deed Book E-1-5, 140; Dec. 10, 1684, Thomas Fairman to Robert Jeffes.