



THE
Pennsylvania
Magazine
OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

The First Purchasers of Pennsylvania
1681-1700

PENNSYLVANIA, like West New Jersey, was a Quaker undertaking and had the wholehearted support of the Quaker leaders. Without the backing of this sect as a whole, William Penn would have been only another on a long list of proprietor-adventurers in the New World. As it turned out, when he launched his campaign for purchasers and settlers in the early summer of 1681, he found a response to his idea of a "Holy Experiment" that has no parallel in the story of American colonization.

The vigor of the reception given Penn's scheme is to be attributed to the concern of the Quakers with existing conditions in Great Britain and Ireland.¹ It is true that the persecutions of nonconformists under Charles II did not compare in intensity and harshness with those of earlier periods, that the persecutions were nowhere as vindictive or cruel or as near the extermination point as some thought, and that they were intermittent in the sense that all penal legislation was never enforced everywhere at one time nor anywhere continuously through the reign. And yet, as thinking Quakers reflected upon the course of the persecution since 1660, as they wit-

¹ William C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism* (London, 1921), discusses fully the nature and extent of the persecutions, 1660-1688. See especially pages 21-211.

nessed its quick renewal in 1678 upon the acceptance of the flimsy evidence produced by the Titus Oates Plot, and as they observed the fierce antagonism of the extreme Whigs toward the Crown and the deep suspicion of the machinations of Charles II, they were convinced that England, though "sound, solvent, and sober-minded," was certainly for them no land of promise either for the present or for future generations.²

The Friends were a small sect, but they were peculiarly vulnerable because they refused to meet in secret or to compromise on any principle that would substitute man-made law for the law of God. Such stubbornness clashed with long-established theory that religious nonconformity was tantamount to civil disobedience. Thus the Quakers were held in contempt both by the governing authorities and by the populace, who regarded them as disloyal. Because of their lack of guile and their scorn of simulation, they were easy to apprehend and easy to make an example of. Of all the nonconformists, they were a marked people.

In 1681, the year Penn's patent was granted, there were hardly more than 50,000 Quakers in Great Britain and Ireland, constituting at most five per cent of the population. With the flow of emigrants to West Jersey and Pennsylvania during the decade following 1676, their number increased little if at all, since more than 1,500 of them went to West Jersey and more than 6,000 to Pennsylvania. Unhampered by active persecution after 1686, their number rose again.

During the early years of the Restoration, Friends were drawn from the worker and yeoman classes. Later, as the fanaticism characteristic of many new sects waned, they were augmented by artisans, merchants, and a few gentry. Men like William Penn, Robert Barclay, George Keith, Robert Turner, and Thomas Lloyd were attracted to Quakerism not only because of the simplicity of its beliefs, but also because of its staunch advocacy of the principle of liberty of conscience. The Quaker meeting, like other dissenter meetings, held a strong appeal for an England that was still Puritan at heart, and the steadfast practice of the Friends in aiding those in distress attracted men with humanitarian leanings. One Quaker historian makes bold to suggest that the Quaker movement was in more vital

² Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period in American History* (New Haven, Conn., 1937), III, 277.

touch with the people during this period because its despised meetings did not suffer from the oppressive respectability of a later day.³

The Quaker ways of thrift, industry, and sobriety tended to prosperity. Hundreds of this disciplined group, despite the continuous persecutions, rose to be independent shopkeepers, merchants, home manufacturers, and small landholders. By 1675 there existed a numerous, well-circumstanced class from which were to be drawn the Original Proprietors of West New Jersey, the First Purchasers of Pennsylvania, and the Twelve Proprietors of East New Jersey.

The Restoration period, 1660–1688, was one of persecution for the Quakers, with peaks and lapses in severity. During this period, according to the records of "sufferings" compiled by Besse and Stockdale, the astonishing number of 20,000 Friends were fined or imprisoned, and four hundred and fifty died as a result of imprisonment. The high points of the persecutions were in 1661, with 4,257 Friends in prison; 1662, with 1,300 in prison; 1672, with 500; 1683, with 1,000; and 1685, with 1,460. Of the Original Purchasers of West New Jersey, a third suffered imprisonment or fine; and of the First Purchasers of Pennsylvania, fully half had endured similar sufferings.⁴

The history of the persecution from 1670 to 1686 was but a replica of what had gone before. There was a renewed effort to root out nonconformity, with the Quakers bearing the brunt of the burden. The Conventicle Act of 1670 was intended to tighten the machinery of law enforcement against the nonconformists and was brought about at the instance of the church authorities who believed that Charles II was endeavoring to afford relief to the Catholics. "If the question," writes Braithwaite, "could have been freed on the one hand from the memories of Puritanism in power and on the other from the fears of Jesuit domination, twenty years of struggle might have been spared." But Parliament was alarmed by the evidence that there had been a rapid growth of dissenter meetings. By threatening to withhold the King's supply, it was able to force Charles to accept the harsh provisions of the act. Many in Parliament

³ Braithwaite, 460–462.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 114–115. The names of 340 of 751 First Purchasers are found in Joseph Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers* (London, 1753), and those of additional Friends in Ireland are found in William Stockdale, *The Great Cry of Oppression . . .* (Dublin, 1683). Besse is indexed, but Stockdale is not.

lifted their voices in favor of toleration, since they believed that it would put a stop to emigration, enable industry and commerce to prosper, and increase sagging land values, but they voted otherwise, for they suspected the King, secretly a Catholic, of plotting with the aid of the French king to bring about absolute rule. This belief was strengthened when Charles in 1672 issued a Declaration of Indulgence which Parliament compelled him to rescind at once. Four years later, after the King's brother, James, Duke of York, married the Catholic Beatrice of Modena and publicly abandoned the national church, an order in Council directed a stricter enforcement of the penal laws and the recall of all licenses for conventicles. As the movement to exclude James from the throne gathered strength, the hope of royal indulgence or relief from Parliament was over. For the Quakers, then, it was to be a period of harshness and futility.⁵

By the Conventicle Act of 1670 the machinery of persecution was perfected. Henceforth, without the benefit of a jury, a single justice was empowered to convict violators and to levy a fine of five shillings upon those attending a conventicle and a fine of ten shillings for any further offense. Moreover, anyone preaching to a conventicle or anyone guilty of sheltering a conventicle was fined twenty pounds. Fines, as usual, were recoverable by distress. The inhuman penalty of transportation was dropped, the object being to ruin rather than deport the offender. Justices were empowered to break into the homes of those suspected of harboring meetings, and the militia was placed at their disposal. But the provisions of this act merely buttressed the code against nonconformists. Under the older statutes of Elizabeth and James I, justices were empowered to levy a fine up to twenty pounds upon those not attending the national church services. Furthermore, the magistrates could require anyone to take the oath of allegiance and upon refusal they could, under the writ of *prae-munire*, impose heavy fines, forfeiture of estates, and imprisonment. Thus, the ancient statutes were available in cases where the Conventicle Act of 1670 seemed inadequate.⁶

Those who were to become the First Purchasers of Pennsylvania had endured this regime of persecution during their entire adult lives. Like other Friends, they were punished for countless transgres-

⁵ Braithwaite, 81-87.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 66-67, 106-107.

sions and misdemeanors arising from the simple conviction that man might worship God according to his conscience. Quakers, for example, were penalized, literally in droves, for refusing to attend the services of the national church, for refusing to pay tithes for the support of the clergyman's salary, for refusing to contribute to the building and repair of churches, for refusing to close their shops on "Christian" holidays, for refusing to remove their hats in church or in the presence of officials, for refusing to pay charges for the support of the militia, for refusing to take oaths, and for refusing to pay fines. They were arrested for holding conventicles in meetinghouses or private homes, in the streets or fields. Since Friends never carried arms or resisted arrest, they were at the mercy of the officers, the militia, and the rabble of the towns. Only upon rare occasions did a jury return a bill *ignoramus*.⁷

The stubborn and open defiance of the Friends drew upon them the full fury of their persecutors, especially when, in 1676, the order was issued in Council insisting upon rigid enforcement. The pattern of the persecution was similar everywhere.⁸ A meeting was broken into, the constable and his "soldiers" or "guards" seized those present and paraded them publicly to the justice of the peace. Frequently the rabble joined in the spectacle; arrests were thus accompanied by shouting, singing, drum beating, pushing, shoving, and blows. The magistrates refused to release anyone who would not give security to appear at the next quarter sessions. Many were simply held in jail. Indeed, some justices were known to back-date their warrants of arrest in order to render the initial period of detainment as long as possible. Invariably a fine was imposed which many Quakers as a matter of principle refused to pay, stating simply, "We cannot pay them, knowing we have injured no man." The offenders were then meted out terms of imprisonment, usually a year or two, but in extreme cases for as long as six or eight years. Prison conditions were inhuman. The prisoners slept on cold stones or on the bare ground, even during the winter season. Food was wretched; sanitation, execrable. More than one hundred Friends perished in the jails from exposure during the decade following 1676.⁹

⁷ Countless illustrations of such persecutions are in Besse and Stockdale.

⁸ Braithwaite, 100-102.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 110-112.

Well-circumstanced Friends like William Penn and Robert Turner were able to pay the fines when they saw fit to do so, but for the large majority this was impossible. The authorities had succeeded only too well in their policy of visiting ruin upon the nonconformists. Fines were large or small, varying with the offense, and exasperating because of their regularity. The fine for attending a conventicle varied from one to twenty pounds, depending upon the place or the justice. For nonattendance at the national church, for refusing to pay tithes for the minister's support, or for church repairs, the fines were smaller but just as frequent. The tithe warden demanded sums, collected quarterly, of from twelve shillings to twenty-four shillings as contributions toward the minister's salary. He was authorized to enter houses and shops in search of money and if none was found, to help himself to wares, such as copper, brass, pewter, utensils, glassware, and pottery, clothing, and furniture. In the country districts the tithe-monger could distrain crops of hay, barley, oats, wheat, and all kinds of poultry and livestock. The Quakers, with good reason, complained that the goods so taken were greatly undervalued. When the Quakers attempted to keep their shops open on Christmas, New Year's, and other "Christian" holidays, they were set upon by the constable, who was accompanied as often as not by the rabble of the towns and villages. It is only too clear that hundreds of Quakers left their homes for West Jersey and Pennsylvania rather than submit to conditions that were ruinous, discouraging, and humiliating.¹⁰

The grant to William Penn in 1681 was the culmination of many years of deliberation on the part of the Quakers. As early as 1661, when Parliament passed an act denouncing them as a dangerous and mischievous people, George Fox had sounded out Josiah Coale, then in Maryland, about the possibility of establishing a Quaker colony on the Susquehanna. In 1672 Fox visited America to strengthen Quaker unity in the colonies, and during his overland journey from Maryland to Long Island became acquainted with the virgin territory on both banks of the Delaware.

A hopeful possibility of establishing a Quaker sanctuary arose in 1675 when three prominent Friends, William Penn, Gawen Lawrie, and Nicholas Lucas, became Trustees for the management of the muddled affairs of Edward Ballynge, a prominent London Friend

¹⁰ These examples are drawn principally from Stockdale.

and the chief proprietor of West New Jersey. Since most of Byllynge's creditors were Quakers, the matter, following Quaker practice, was settled out of court. Since Byllynge's only asset was the joint proprietorship with John Fenwick of West Jersey, purchased in 1674 from John, Lord Berkeley, the Trustees offered one hundred properties or shares for sale, reserving ten for Fenwick, at a price of ninety pounds each. This enterprise was so successful that by 1683 Byllynge was solvent again. Of importance to this study is the fact that the Trustees turned to the membership of the Society of Friends to underwrite the venture, with the result that all the one hundred twenty persons participating, with few exceptions, were Quakers. Secondly, the Trustees undertook to sponsor the establishment of the Quaker colony of Burlington in 1677. This experience undoubtedly influenced Penn in initiating his Holy Experiment four years later.¹¹

William Penn by 1668 had become the foremost advocate of religious liberty in England and the ablest opponent of persecution. He was in trouble with the authorities on many occasions; in fact, from 1667 to 1671, he spent a total of more than two years in prison. All the while he worked tirelessly for the relief of all dissenters, publishing numerous tracts, and petitioning both the King and Parliament for relief. He and the other Quaker leaders had some slight successes, but because dissent was entangled in such political considerations as the King's tolerance of Catholic recusants, his bitter struggles with the Whigs, and later the succession question, the results were disappointing. Penn, with his great force of character, his perception of large issues, and his knowledge of the law, advanced far beyond the Quaker doctrine of passive resistance. His liberal beliefs found their way into the West Jersey Concessions of 1677 and into the Fundamentals of West Jersey adopted in 1681 by the West Jersey legislature. Here there was insistence upon such Whig concepts as liberty of conscience, no taxation without the consent of the taxed, elections through the use of the ballot, trial by jury free from the interference of judges, preservation of the rights of individuals, the right of the inhabitants through their assembly to make the laws, and many others.¹²

¹¹ John E. Pomfret, "Proprietors of the Province of West New Jersey, 1674-1702," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (PMHB), LXXV (1951), 117-144.

¹² Andrews, III, 268-278; Braithwaite, 55-75.

Penn was a moderate Whig and did not subscribe to the extremist views of Shaftesbury, whose policies were calculated to inflame the London populace against the King and to fan support for the popular Duke of Monmouth, a natural son of Charles, as a successor to the throne. The moderate Whigs, who embraced large numbers of dissenters, shied away from violence. On the succession question they would go only as far as the adoption of measures applying limitations upon the legitimate successor, the Duke of York. At critical junctures men like Penn went over to the King's side rather than risk the revolutionary measures of the extreme Whigs. Thus Penn's espousal of moderate Whig principles, such as the security of the Protestant religion, toleration for the dissenters, liberty of the subject, and the supremacy of Parliament, did not alienate the friendliness that Charles and James manifested toward him, nor did these views prejudice his securing the patent for Pennsylvania.¹³

On or just before June 1, 1680, Penn petitioned Charles II for a grant in America in lieu of debts which the King owed Admiral Penn, his father. His claim for £16,000 against the royal exchequer represented sums his father had advanced the navy, pay due Admiral Penn over a number of years, and interest upon those debts. Penn indicated that he and his mother were becoming financially embarrassed, but that the income from the sale of lands in the colony and the profits from a colonial trade would enable them to repair the family fortunes. Penn's income from estates in England and Ireland bequeathed him by his father was at this time about £1,500 a year.

Penn's standing in influential circles smoothed the way in obtaining the patent. The Earl of Sutherland, the secretary of state, was an old university friend, and other friends included Lord Hyde, the Earl of Halifax, and Chief Justice North.¹⁴ But more important, James was steadfast in his liking for Penn. This was a crucial factor, since the lands that Penn had requested impinged upon the Duke's territories.

Under the terms of Penn's charter, permission was granted to the subjects of the King to emigrate freely to Pennsylvania with their families. The chief proprietor was accorded large powers within a framework that safeguarded the prerogatives of the realm. He exer-

¹³ See also Fulmer Mood, "William Penn and English Politics, 1680-1681," *Journal of Friends Historical Society*, XXXII (1940), 1-19.

¹⁴ J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1888), 71-72.

cised complete control over the soil, the right to determine the form of government, almost unrestricted powers of appointment, and the privilege of issuing ordinances to protect his powers. He could promulgate laws with the advice and assent of the freemen in assembly. Although the restrictions in favor of the Crown were formidable, Penn rejoiced, as well he might, over the grant of his patent. "Know," he wrote Robert Turner, "that after many waitings, watchings, solicitings and disputes in council, this day [March 4, 1681] my country was confirmed to me under the Great Seal of England, with large powers and privileges. . . ."¹⁵

Before sailing for America in September, 1682, Penn completed a series of exhausting assignments. Even before framing a government and drafting laws for the province, he needed to interest prospective settlers, to draw up a body of concessions setting forth the conditions under which lands might be purchased and taken up, to sell a sufficient amount of land to reimburse him for the enormous expenses of securing the charter and organizing the colony, and to provide new funds that were required to develop the enterprise.

To arouse interest in Pennsylvania, Penn, in April, 1681, just after the charter was issued, published his first promotion tracts, *A Brief Account of the Province of Pennsylvania* and *Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania in America*. These had been preceded by *A Map of the South and East Bounds of Pennsylvania in America*, actually published at the end of March. These tracts were quickly followed by eight others, all of which were printed before the end of September, 1681. Several of them were translated into Dutch and German and published with the assistance of Penn's friend and associate, Benjamin Furly, a well-to-do and learned English merchant residing in Rotterdam. Potential purchasers were referred to Philip Ford of Cheapside, Penn's steward; Thomas Rudyard of George Yard, Lombard Street, his solicitor; and Benjamin Clark, the printer, also of Lombard Street. Robert Turner, the great Irish Friend, assisted at Dublin. There were agents also at Edinburgh, Hamilton, and Aberdeen. Penn was the most indefatigable of them all, writing tracts, interviewing prospective purchasers and settlers, aiding them to secure ships and passage, and even bidding them farewell. He undertook several tedious journeys from London to

¹⁵ Quoted in Andrews, III, 281.

Bristol visiting Friends' meetings to arouse interest in his Holy Experiment.

In *Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania in America* one gains a preliminary view of Penn's thinking about the development of the colony. He visualized three classes of settlers: owners, renters, and indentured servants. Although Pennsylvania would serve as a haven for the persecuted, the Proprietor expressed the hope that others would take part in the development of the province. He would welcome men of talent and substance who would grow up with the country and assist with the responsibility of promoting good government among "a plain and well-intending people." There was a rare opportunity, he stated, for younger sons of the gentry to purchase and cultivate virgin lands. Penn also anticipated a great demand for skilled workers and laborers.¹⁶

Because of his experience as a West Jersey Trustee, Penn at one time thought of patterning the distribution of lands in Pennsylvania on the West Jersey model of selling one hundred shares of 5,000 acres each to care for the generality of purchasers.¹⁷ Indeed, the recording of sales was in the form of fifty blocks of 10,000 acres each. However, since there was a great demand for small holdings, the Proprietor, convinced that land must be made available to rich and poor alike, offered tracts in denominations as small as one hundred twenty-five acres. As further evidence of his sincerity he refused, in September, 1681, the offer of £6,000 from a Maryland group for a tract of 30,000 acres and a monopoly of the Indian trade within the area from the Delaware to the Susquehanna. Penn was to have two and a half per cent of the profits on the trade.¹⁸ It was only after the demand for land had been satisfied among the rank and file of the Friends that, on his return to England in 1684, he endeavored to dispose of lands in large blocks.¹⁹

Confronted with the prospect of large expenditures for the development and maintenance of the province, Penn required a quitrent of one shilling per hundred acres, to begin in the year 1684. Since a number of purchasers did not wish to carry this encumbrance on

¹⁶ *Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania, 1681* is printed in A. C. Myers, ed., *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania . . .* (New York, 1912), 197-215.

¹⁷ Charles P. Keith, *Chronicles of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1917), I, 76.

¹⁸ Scharf, 75.

¹⁹ Keith, I, 77.

their lands in perpetuity, Penn permitted the commutation of quitrents for eighteen shillings per hundred acres. He also offered to lease lands to settlers at one penny per acre. Finally, to attract indentured servants, any master importing servants would be allowed fifty acres per servant as compensation for transporting them; and the servant himself, when his term had expired, would be granted fifty acres of land. Thus, every incentive in late seventeenth-century experience was utilized in attracting colonists.

As Penn traveled about propounding his Holy Experiment during the spring of 1681, it seemed wise for him to enter into a formal agreement with those who had become First Purchasers. Consequently, in July, 1681, the Conditions and Concessions were issued. On his part, Penn agreed to clear the Indian title on 500,000 acres of land, then to lay out a principal city wherein each purchaser would receive ten acres of land for each five hundred purchased. For those settling in groups, two hundred acres would be set apart for a village in each tract of 10,000 acres. The several towns and villages would be connected by highways, the right of way being donated by the Proprietor. Each man's land would be located with access to a navigable stream and to a village. Penn reserved 10,000 acres of every block of 100,000 acres for his own use and, later, many of these tenths became proprietary manors. Further, it was agreed that purchasers must settle their lands within three years, otherwise they would be offered to others upon payment of the cost of the original survey. Finally, the plan regarding indentured servants was modified in the Proprietor's favor, increasing the quitrent on the servant's land from one to two shillings per fifty acres, and the master's to four shillings.

The Conditions and Concessions were witnessed in behalf of all the First Purchasers by Hugh Chamberlain, Herbert Springett, Humphrey South, Thomas Barker, Samuel Jobson, Joseph and John Moore, William Powell, Richard Davis, Griffith Jones, and Hugh Lamb, and sealed in the presence of Thomas Rudyard, William Boelham, and Herbert Springett. The latter, though not a Quaker, was the brother of Penn's father-in-law and rendered valuable counsel to his young relative.²⁰

²⁰ The "Concessions and Agreements" are printed in Samuel Hazard, *Annals of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1850), 516-520.

The response to Penn's offer to sell lands to prospective colonists was amazing. By May, 1682, when the first lists of purchasers were compiled, 566,000 acres had been sold. The sales to First Purchasers continued less rapidly until 1700 when approximately 800,000 acres had been disposed of, in addition to 165,000 acres sold to a half dozen large speculators. Although the term "First Purchaser" is not generally used for those taking up lands after Penn's return in 1684, it is applied here to all who purchased from the Proprietor before 1700. By so doing, one is able to gain a comprehensive picture of the initial distribution of land in this senior Quaker colony.²¹

There were in all 716 purchases of land, possibly a dozen more if certain names appearing in the several "catalogues" could be identified as First Purchasers. Moreover, if certain purchases not appearing on any list were added to the total, the number would again increase. For example, several purchases transacted through Benjamin Furly are omitted in the lists and others have come to light. It is obvious that a definitive list cannot readily be compiled.²²

As mentioned above, Penn made a half dozen large sales to colonizing or speculative interests. Quite early the Free Society of Traders bought 20,000 acres, and the Frankfort Company, 15,000 acres, later increased to 25,000 acres. Following his return in 1684, Sir Mathias

21 The several lists of the First Purchasers and the acreage purchased are as follows: 1. List of Purchasers, May 22, 1682, with a total of 566,000 acres, published in Hazard, *Annals*, appendix, 637-642; 2. the "Reed list," representing purchasers of 709,535 acres, published in the "Map of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia, With the Catalogue of Purchasers" by John Reed in 1774; 3. Physick Manuscripts, Pennsylvania Cash Accounts (HSP), 242-250, 251, gives a total of 860,501 acres. Since among these data are found the names of the purchasers, the number of acres in each purchase, and frequently the purchaser's residence and occupation, a starting point is provided for generalizations respecting the First Purchasers. Additional information about individuals was found through the use of the invaluable *Index to The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* and in the indices of Besse. It is impracticable to provide in this article annotation upon individuals, since the number of such references would run to hundreds. In a short work upon *The Origin of the Quaker Colonies, 1674-1702*, I will publish a list of the First Purchasers of Pennsylvania and lists of the original proprietors of West Jersey and East Jersey.

22 The number of persons engaged in making purchases exceeds the number of sales by sixty-two by reason of the fact that in a number of instances two or more persons purchased jointly. Conversely, since twenty-seven individuals made more than one purchase, the number of individual names is reduced by that number. Taking into account factors such as these, one obtains a relatively accurate figure of 716 purchases and 751 purchasers. Unfortunately, some of the names have not been identified; furthermore, the Reed and Physick lists contain names of persons who were deputed "to take up the land," many of whom were not First Purchasers.

Vincent and Dr. Daniel Coxe of London purchased 20,000 acres; Joseph Pike of Ireland, 25,000 acres; and in 1699 the London Company, 60,000 acres. These purchases have not been pooled with those of the First Purchasers who were, for the most part, prospective settlers.

Since lands in Pennsylvania were intended for sale to members of the Society of Friends and a few others in sympathy with their beliefs, it is not surprising that only an infinitesimal number of the First Purchasers were non-Quakers. These included a few Welshmen and Dutchmen,²³ but far fewer than formerly supposed. Moreover, after the Dutch Mennonites and Spenists reached Pennsylvania, they became, with rare exception, Quakers. Several relatives of William Penn, notably Herbert Springett and William Markham, and several personal friends, like Sir William Petty and Sir Henry Ingoldsby, were not Quakers, but Penn's numerous promotion tracts, with the exception of those addressed to the Dutch and Germans, were intended for Quakers. In the letters of the time, such as those of James Claypoole, it is clear that Pennsylvania was regarded as a colony earmarked for the Quakers. Indeed, practically all of the two hundred and twenty subscribers of the Free Society of Traders, the officially sponsored trading company of the colony, were members of the Society of Friends, and fully half of them were First Purchasers.

Penn offered for sale initially fifty blocks of land, each of which contained 10,000 acres. Parcels of land sold to individuals ran as small as one hundred twenty-five acres. The most popular denominations were for 125, 250, 500, 1,000, 1,250, 1,500, 2,500, and 5,000 acres. Thus, eleven subscribers purchased 125 acres; one hundred and one, 250 acres; two hundred and thirty-five, 500 acres; ten, 750 acres; one hundred fourteen, 1,000 acres; twenty-seven, 1,250 acres; ten, 1,500 acres; thirteen, 2,500 acres; sixty-two, 5,000 acres, and seven, 10,000 acres. In summary, the group of three hundred ninety-two who purchased holdings from 125 to 675 acres in size accounted for purchases amounting to a total of 155,000 acres; the group of one hundred fifty-three buying from 750 to 1,250 acres purchased a total

²³ The Welsh Baptists did not arrive in any numbers until the turn of the century. William I. Hull, in *William Penn and the Dutch Migration to Pennsylvania* (Swarthmore, Pa., 1935), xi, has proved beyond question that "the founding of Germantown was due not . . . to German Mennonites, but to Dutch Quakers."

of 157,000 acres; the group of forty-five buying from 1,500 to 3,000 acres purchased a total of 97,000 acres; and the group of sixty-nine buying 5,000 acres or more accounted for a total of 380,000 acres. The amounts bought by nearly one hundred others are unknown. As land sold at the rate of £100 for 5,000 acres, the large purchaser paid £100 or more; the medium-sized purchaser paid £20 for 1,000 acres; while the small purchaser paid £10 for five hundred acres or half that sum for two hundred fifty. During the founding period, then, Pennsylvania was a colony of settlers, not of land speculators. Indeed, more than fifty per cent of the First Purchasers actually came to Pennsylvania and settled there, and among them were only a dozen who had purchased 5,000 acres or more.²⁴

Just as Robert Barclay was able to interest many family connections and wealthy friends in purchasing shares in the East Jersey proprietorship, so William Penn disposed of blocks of 5,000 acres to his relatives, the Peningtons, the Lowthers, the Crispins, William Markham, and Richard Penn; to "outside" friends like Petty and Ingoldsby; and to close associates, such as Philip Ford, Thomas Rudyard, James Harrison, and Thomas Holme. There were few speculators among the larger purchasers; most of them were men in the full tide of the Quaker interest. They resided mainly in London, but others were in Bristol, Cork, Dublin, and Rotterdam. Though principally merchants, manufacturers, and shopkeepers, there were well-to-do yeomen among them, especially among the Welsh purchasers, all of whom expected to come to Pennsylvania. Many of the large purchasers, as well as a number who held lesser amounts of land, were accompanied by a half dozen or more indentured servants who would aid in developing the land or assist the master in establishing a business.²⁵

The roll of the large purchasers was representative of the best of the Quaker mercantile group. Most of them had known one another for years, both as business associates and as fellow worshippers. Among the Englishmen, many of whom came to America, were James Claypoole, Christopher Taylor, Samuel Carpenter, John Simcock, Griffith Jones, Thomas Farmborough, Hugh Chamberlain,

²⁴ Compiled from data in lists of First Purchasers.

²⁵ See, for example, "A Partial List of the Families who Arrived at Philadelphia between 1682 and 1687," *PMHB*, VIII (1884), 328-340.

Thomas Brassey (Bracy), William Shardlow, and the Growdens of Cornwall. Closely associated with the English purchasers was an influential Irish group that included Robert Turner, Samuel Claridge, Joseph Fisher, and George and Francis Rogers. Of these men, only Turner and Fisher came to Pennsylvania. Through Benjamin Furly, who was Penn's agent in Holland and the Lower Rhine, the Cre-felders and the Frankford Company were organized. Furly himself did not emigrate. The Welsh purchasers, like the Dutch, intended to emigrate in groups and to establish compact settlements on the Delaware. Unlike the Englishmen, they were landed men, not merchants or artisans. Their leaders, the men in whose names the large purchases were made, hoped themselves to lead groups of colonists to Pennsylvania. Save where illness or death prevented, all of them came to America. Thus, Dr. Thomas Wynne, Charles Lloyd, Dr. Thomas Lloyd, and Dr. Edward Jones came, but John Thomas, who was ill, died in 1683. These early Welsh settlers were Quakers, convinced as the result of George Fox's missionary work in Wales.

The geographical distribution of the First Purchasers, as a sample of approximately half of them (370 of 751) reveals,²⁶ corresponds rather closely with that of the membership of the Society of Friends. London, with twenty-three per cent, and Middlesex County, with two per cent, account for a fourth of the total, while the nearby counties of Berks, Bucks, Surrey and Sussex account for ten per cent. In the southwest, Wilts alone is represented by twelve per cent, while others came from Somerset and even distant Cornwall. Bristol, a center of persecution, and neighboring villages in Gloucestershire contributed eight per cent, while other communities in the west, led by Chester and Lancashire, accounted for nine per cent. Oxford, with four per cent, provided an unusual number, although the neighboring towns, too, were represented. Yorkshire, the home of so many West Jersey proprietors and settlers, was indifferently represented among the First Purchasers. Thus, those whose underwriting was so important to the colonizing of Pennsylvania were found principally, so far as England was concerned, in London and its environs, in the

²⁶ Data compiled from First Purchasers lists and other sources noted above, supplemented by material contained in the editorial notes of Norman Penney in the *Journal of George Fox* (Cambridge, 1911) and *The Short Journal and Itinerary Journals of George Fox* (Cambridge, 1925).

broad belt extending from London to Bristol, in the southwest, and in a belt extending northward from Bristol to Preston. Few of them were found in the eastern shires north of the Thames estuary. In all, twenty-two of the forty English counties provided First Purchasers.

George Fox and other Quaker missionaries had enjoyed great success in Wales, especially in the eastern districts north of Welshpool; consequently, it is not surprising that almost ten per cent of the First Purchasers were Welshmen. Because of the reaction to the rigor with which the Welsh magistrates enforced the penal code, there was a great desire among independently minded yeomen and professional men to emigrate to America. There were few Scottish purchasers and few Scottish Friends in the initial migration. The reason lies in the fact that the great Scottish Friend, Robert Barclay, became completely absorbed in the colonization of East New Jersey. As the leader of the powerful Scottish faction among the Twenty-Four Proprietors, he became the first proprietary governor of that province.²⁷

In Ireland it was a different story. William Penn was an acknowledged leader of Quakerism in Ireland, and from the beginning Irish Quakers like Robert Turner, the wealthy Dublin linen merchant, had taken an interest in Quaker colonization. His name appears on the rolls of the Original Proprietors of West Jersey and the Twenty-Four Proprietors of East Jersey, as well as on that of the First Purchasers. Nearly ten per cent of the First Purchasers were residents of Ireland, living principally in Dublin and Cork where they were engaged in trade, and many of the first emigrants were Irish Quakers. Through the leadership exerted by Benjamin Furly, Holland and the Lower Rhine provided five per cent of the First Purchasers, and through the activities of the Crefelders, more than a hundred of the earliest settlers. These Dutch pietists felt a close religious affinity with the Quakers and many of them had become members of the Society of Friends.

No one need make apologies for the social origins of the Pennsylvania settlers. They were Quakers and, with the exception of the Dutch element, all were English, Welsh, and Irish. All economic classes were represented among the colonists, while the First Pur-

²⁷ See John E. Pomfret, "The Proprietors of the Province of East New Jersey," *PMHB*, LXXVII (1953), 251-294.

chasers, about half of whom emigrated, were persons with some means. That there were as many as 751 First Purchasers in itself argues the existence of a thrifty, if not prosperous, class among the Quakers. There was certainly no criminal group and no "prison sweepings" among them. There were two baronets on the list of First Purchasers, and, despite the handicaps under which the Quakers labored, well over a score of them were labeled "gentlemen" and half a dozen were "citizens of London." Of the "gentlemen," a third were substantial landowners, a third were wealthy merchants and businessmen, and a third were noted Quaker ministers, many of whom were authors of widely discussed religious tracts.²⁸

As indicated, the First Purchasers were an urban rather than a rural people. An occupation sampling of three hundred reveals that only forty-six were yeomen and only thirteen were husbandmen—a rural component of but twenty per cent. Among the townsmen every conceivable occupation appears.²⁹ The professional groups were represented by eleven doctors, four schoolmasters, and four printer-publishers, but, understandably, no lawyers. As many as fifty were Public Friends or ministers. Although many of the Public Friends were merchants, shopkeepers, or artisans, they devoted much time to their ministry. Outstanding were George Fox, who received his 1,250 acres as a gift from Penn, Alexander Parker, George Whitehead, John Burnyeat, Caleb Pusey, Thomas Duckett, Thomas Story, and many others.

More than eighty occupations are represented among the First Purchasers, with shopkeeping and the crafts predominating. Since the artisan retailed his own product, usually in the front room of his dwelling, he was a combination craftsman-shopkeeper. No one occupation was unique with the Quakers. Shoemakers, carpenters, tailors, serge makers, and maltsters were the most numerous, but these were the pursuits appearing most frequently in the economic pattern of the day. However, there were many bakers, brass makers, brickmakers, button makers, chairmakers, cheesemongers, coopers, felt-

²⁸ In addition to Penn and Fox, Alexander Parker, George Whitehead, Ambrose Rigge, Thomas Ellwood, James Parke, George Keith, Charles Marshall, Thomas Lawson, William Bayly, William Gibson, and a number of others published tracts.

²⁹ The principal sources for data regarding occupations and social status are given in footnote 21.

makers, flax makers, glaziers, glovers, goldsmiths, grocers, ironmakers, linen drapers, mercers, silk weavers, soap boilers, weavers, wine makers, wire drawers, woolen drapers, vendors of china, brass, linen, pewter and shoes, and even a bodice maker. About ten per cent of the First Purchasers are listed as merchants. A number of these men maintained large establishments with numerous employees, and some of them, especially those in London, maintained business connections in Edinburgh, Cork, Dublin, Rotterdam, Bermuda, Barbados, and the several American colonies.

It is important to understand that a majority of First Purchasers were of the artisan-shopkeeper class. The extraordinary growth of Philadelphia as a business and commercial center is due to the simple fact that there were among the emigrants a large number who fully expected to initiate business activities in Penn's "great city." Indentured servants were transported by as many Quaker artisan-merchants to assist in inaugurating businesses as by substantial yeomen to assist in developing their agricultural lands. Since the Quaker urban emigrant brought with him a business knowledge, Penn, unlike other chief proprietors in America, did not need to concern himself, after a year or two, with wooing artisans and merchants to his colony. As a consequence, Philadelphia grew more rapidly than any other American city.

The list of the First Purchasers furnishes the clue to the role of the "company" in the settlement of Pennsylvania. Actually there were a round dozen of them organized prior to settlement, but they differed widely in their aims. Indeed, the only feature common to all was the ownership of land.

The Free Society of Traders was organized by Nicholas More, James Claypoole, and Philip Ford in 1682 when, with the co-operation of William Shardlow, John Simcock, Thomas Brassey, Edward Brooks, and Edward Pierce, also First Purchasers, they bought 20,000 acres of land. The Society obtained a charter from the Proprietor enabling it to buy and sell lands, to establish manufactures, to conduct trading operations, and to carry on an extensive system of agriculture. The sum of £12,475 was quickly subscribed by a group of two hundred twenty members, most of whom invested twenty-five pounds or fifty pounds in the enterprise. The members of the Proprietor's family subscribed £1,000; Robert Turner, £500;

Philip Ford, £300; Dr. Nicholas More, who became president, £300; James Claypoole, the first treasurer, £200; and several others, a like sum. Although the Society had an auspicious beginning, its later career was checkered and by 1721 it was practically bankrupt.³⁰

The London Company's purchase of 60,000 acres was made in 1699 at a time when Penn was interested in disposing of large blocks of land. Its four organizers were Henry Gouldney, the wealthy linen draper at whose home George Fox died; Daniel Quare, the famous clockmaker; Michael Russell, mercer and citizen of London; and Tobias Collet, haberdasher and citizen of London. All of these entrepreneurs were Quakers. This company eventually issued 8,800 shares to several hundred purchasers and undertook to sell and lease lands, principally in Chester County. Similarly, other later purchasers like James Pike, the Irish Quaker, who bought 25,000 acres, planned to deal in real estate. None of these men came to America.³¹

In the spring of 1683 two Dutch-inspired ventures were initiated. Seeking to enable a group of Dutch Quakers from the village of Crefeld in Orange-Nassau to move to America, six men purchased through Benjamin Furly a total of 18,000 acres. Jan Streypers, Dirck Sipman, and Jacob Telner acquired 5,000 acres each, and Lenart Arets, Govert Remke, and Jacob Isaacs Van Bibber, 1,000 acres each. All were merchants or linen weavers, and all were Quakers or Mennonites. There was no formal company organization, but the purchasers acted in concert, with the result that thirteen families consisting of thirty-three Crefelders assembled in Rotterdam in 1683 to begin the long trek that led to the founding of Germantown. In 1685 and the following year they were joined by a half dozen Dutch-Quaker families from Krisheim in the Rhenish Palatinate, a village north of Worms. Arets and later Telner and Van Bibber emigrated, but the others did not. Streypers visited his brother Willem, but did not remain.³²

The Frankford Company by contrast was well organized, although it accomplished little. Its purchase of 15,000 acres was made in 1683, but not until three years later was there any activity. At that time

³⁰ "The Articles of the Free Society . . . of Traders . . . ,"*PMHB*, V (1881), 37-52; "Subscription for the society in pennsilvania . . . ,"*ibid.*, XI (1887), 175-180.

³¹ Keith, I, 77; *PMHB*, XXXI (1907), 436.

³² Hull, 178-300 *passim*.

five of the eleven directors were residents of Frankfurt am Rhein and the remainder were from neighboring communities in the Palatinate. All were followers of the pietist Spener. Although their energetic agent, Daniel Pastorius, had gone to Philadelphia in 1683, the company failed to send any colonists. Two years later, Pastorius moved to Germantown and became a Quaker. He was one of the few Germans in this village, which was almost entirely Dutch until 1700. The Frankfort Company was deprived of its lands in 1700.³³

Two Welsh companies were also interested in colonization and planned compact settlements on the west bank of the Schuylkill. Charles Lloyd and Company was organized by eight Quakers. Charles Lloyd, Richard Davies, Margaret Davies, John Humphreys, and Edward Thomas were from Merionethshire, and Robert and Lewis Owen and Rowland Ellis were from Montgomeryshire. All but Thomas, a yeoman, and Margaret Davies bore the appellation of gentleman. Charles Lloyd, a graduate of Jesus College, Oxford, was convinced by Davies, the minister who later organized the Welsh Yearly Meeting. Lloyd had suffered persecution on numerous occasions because of his faith. Rowland Ellis was the Quaker minister who was threatened with the death penalty when a Welsh justice laid down the dictum that anyone refusing the oath of allegiance for the second time was liable to hanging and quartering. The Lloyd group took up 10,000 acres, and the settlers they led were to form the backbone of the old Merion Friends Meeting. Charles Lloyd, whose brother Thomas became Penn's trusted adviser, sailed for America in September, 1682, and was soon followed by others. Robert Owen, who arrived in 1684, brought his family and five indentured servants.³⁴

A second Welsh company, Edward Jones and Company, was formed by Dr. Edward Jones, a physician, and John Thomas, a substantial farmer, both of Merionethshire. Acting as trustees they purchased 5,000 acres which they subdivided among seventeen purchasers. In 1681 Thomas was a noted minister. During the years following his convincement in 1672, heavy fines had been laid upon him and his goods were many times distrained.

³³ *Ibid.*, 160, 180, 183, 325.

³⁴ See especially James J. Levick, "The Early Welsh Quakers and Their Emigration To Pennsylvania," *PMHB*, XVII (1893), 385-413 *passim*.

From the far north of Wales came the partners Dr. Thomas Wynne of Flintshire, father-in-law of Dr. Edward Jones, and John ap John of Denbighshire. Wynne, who rose to be Speaker of the Assembly, was among the first Welsh arrivals, but ap John, the constant companion of George Fox during his missionary journeys through Wales, did not emigrate. Griffith Owen and Company was headed by Dr. Griffith Owen, "the genial Welsh surgeon," one of the quartet of Pennsylvania-Welsh doctors which included also Wynne, Edward Jones, and Thomas Lloyd. Owen, like Wynne and the other Welsh Quaker leaders, sought to aid his poorly circumstanced neighbors in finding a happier environment in America, and like Wynne and ap John, had purchased 5,000 acres for the purpose of making lands available to those unable to buy under Penn's plan. These arrangements were probably similar to those of Edward Jones and Company, whose members sold small tracts of land for from £3 2s. 6d. to £5 6s. to prospective colonists and assisted forty of them to emigrate in a group. The Welsh settlers were a closely knit people, and this relationship persisted in Pennsylvania.³⁵

Speculation was undoubtedly the dominant motive of the three merchants of Dublin who organized John Gee and Company. Through Robert Turner, three men, John Gee, John Fuller, and his brother Joseph, purchased 5,000 acres of land and soon after became shareholders in the Free Society of Traders. The partners, however, soon lost interest in the lands that they had located near Gwynedd and sold out to Turner, who was then engaged in large realty operations in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys. Thomas Hudson of London, also a land speculator, formed Thomas Hudson and Company. Hudson had his agent, Thomas Biles, take up his lands in Bucks County, but he himself did not settle in Pennsylvania and, in fact, seems not to have taken up the whole of his 5,000 acres. Hudson was the owner-master of the *Elizabeth, Ann and Catherine*, which in 1681 transported some of the earliest settlers in the colony. It is not surprising to find Ambrose Rigge, erstwhile schoolmaster and noted tractarian, at the head of a company. This gentleman of learning and substance was also one of the Twelve Proprietors of East New Jersey. Since Rigge never emigrated, one may surmise that his con-

³⁵ James J. Levick, "John ap Thomas and His Friends," *ibid.*, IV (1880), 301-328 *passim*; *ibid.*, X (1886), 237.

cern was simply to aid as many Friends as possible to escape the enormities that he himself had suffered during the persecutions. In Pennsylvania a number of land companies were launched by the First Purchasers. For example, the Penington Company handled the 10,000 acres purchased by four members of that family, the Pritchard Company dealt with Edward Pritchard's purchase of 2,500 acres, and the Swanson Company managed the affairs of the three Swanson brothers, whose original grant was made by a Dutch governor in 1664, but whose lands, within the city limits of Philadelphia, were exchanged for lands on the Schuylkill. Swan Swanson, the senior partner, served a term in the Assembly of 1683.³⁶

During this early period Penn laid out six manors—Pennsbury, Springfield, Springettsbury, Highlands, Gilbert, and Rocklands in Newcastle County. In addition, Mount Joy was surveyed for his daughter Letitia. The Holme map shows only two manors in the hands of others than the family, Nicholas More's Manor of Moreland and William Lowther's Manor of Bilton. Like Penn, More and Lowther had the privilege of holding a court-leet and court-baron, and they enjoyed, too, certain exemptions from the conditions of the taking up of lands that applied to other purchasers. The development of the manorial system in the colony was in its infancy as late as 1700.

The most ambitious of the early speculators were Sir Mathias Vincent of Middlesex, Major Robert Thompson of Middlesex, and Dr. Daniel Coxe of London, who in 1686 purchased 30,000 acres. These men contemplated establishing a refuge for French Huguenots, but after an abortive beginning, these lands in Chester County, under Coxe's initiative, were sold in 1691 to the West New Jersey Society. Dr. Coxe, who figures prominently in the affairs of West and East Jersey, had by this time become enamored of schemes that reached from the Carolinas to the Gulf of Mexico.³⁷

The First Purchasers who emigrated to Pennsylvania made an extraordinary contribution to the history of the colony from 1681 to 1701. William Markham's services as deputy governor and as Penn's secretary are well known. Though not a Quaker, he succeeded in retaining the confidence of the Proprietor and the resident leaders

³⁶ *Ibid.*, VIII (1884), 102, 175-176; IX (1885), 231-232.

³⁷ For the location of these early manors, see *A Map of the Province of Pennsylvania, 1687*, by Thomas Holme; Keith, I, 74-76, 131-133.

throughout most of the period. Thomas Lloyd, the Welsh owner of 5,000 acres, served Penn in many capacities. He was a physician who had attended Jesus College, Oxford, and was a Quaker minister. For more years than any other incumbent, he was president of the Provincial Council and, after Blackwell left, was deputy governor, the only Quaker to hold that office. In 1687 the absent Penn appointed Lloyd, Nicholas More and James Claypoole, former London merchants, Robert Turner, and John Eckley to be commissioners of state and to act as deputy governors. All were First Purchasers and only Dr. More was not a Quaker. In 1688 Arthur Cooke and John Simcock, judges of the provincial court, Quakers, and both purchasers of 5,000 acres, replaced Claypoole and Turner. Following Governor Blackwell's retirement in January, 1690, Penn gave the Council, with Lloyd as its president, full executive power. Again in October, 1701, Penn created a Council of State with identical powers. Of its nine members, John Blunston, Samuel Carpenter, John Guest, Thomas Story, and Caleb Pusey were First Purchasers. William Clarke and Samuel Finney represented the Lower Counties (Delaware), and although Edward Shippen and Phineas Pemberton were not First Purchasers, they were leading Quakers. In fact, Shippen, Pemberton, and David Lloyd were the only non-First Purchasers who exerted noteworthy leadership during the first twenty years of Pennsylvania's history.

The chairmanship or presidency of the Council during this period was held principally by Thomas Lloyd, except when the Proprietor himself or his deputy governors, Markham, Fletcher, Blackwell, or Hamilton, were in office. Thomas Holme presided briefly in 1685, and two men of the Lower Counties, William Clayton in 1683 and William Clarke in 1687. The latter men, of course, were not First Purchasers. In the Assembly, the Speakers were Thomas Wynne, Nicholas More, John White, Arthur Cooke, Joseph Growden, William Clarke, David Lloyd, Edward Shippen, John Simcock, and John Blunston. All but David Lloyd, Edward Shippen, John White, and William Clarke were First Purchasers; the latter two were from the Lower Counties.

The importance of the First Purchasers in the development of the province is more strikingly exhibited when the membership of the Council and Assembly is examined. Of a total of eighty Council

members from 1681 to 1701, thirty-seven, or nearly half, were First Purchasers.³⁸ Most of those who were not, represented the Lower Counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex where few First Purchasers were found.

During the same period of twenty years, a total of 653 members served in the twenty-two sessions of the Assembly. Half of them (329) were from Philadelphia, Bucks, and Chester. Of these Pennsylvania members, more than half (179) were First Purchasers. In addition, six First Purchasers were elected from the Lower Counties.³⁹ One should keep in mind that few First Purchasers came after 1685 and that, despite political unrest, the colony had grown in population from five hundred persons in 1681 to 20,000 in 1701.⁴⁰ Still, in practically every legislature the majority of the Pennsylvania representatives were First Purchasers. Regardless of differences with the Proprietor and the eternal squabbling that went on inside the Assembly and out, these men succeeded in building a commonwealth.

The plan of financing the settlement of Pennsylvania was well conceived but badly executed. Even the records were poorly kept. The Proprietor had many obligations, both recurring and nonrecurring. They were not to diminish through the years. The outlay in obtaining the grant was considerable, the cost of the initial promotion ran to large sums, and Penn from the beginning was responsible for the salary of the provincial officers and other administrative expenses. The income for the initial nonrecurring expenditures could come only from the sale of lands, while the charges of maintenance had to be borne by the quitrent revenues or by grants from the provincial legislature.

The quitrent system, which by agreement with the First Purchasers was to begin in 1684, met with opposition from the start. The rate on purchased land was one shilling per hundred acres, on rented land, one penny per acre. Haphazard methods of collection and enforcement were the order of the day and no regular accounts were kept until 1701. Collections in kind, principally wheat, added to the

³⁸ *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania in Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, I and II* (Philadelphia, 1852).

³⁹ *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania in Pennsylvania Archives, Eighth Series, I* (Harrisburg, 1931).

⁴⁰ E. B. Greene and V. D. Harrington, *American Population before the Federal Census of 1790* (New York, 1937), 114.

awkwardness of the system. In 1686 Penn complained bitterly to Thomas Lloyd that the sum of £500 was then due, "though he could not get one penny."⁴¹ A belated attempt by the legislature in 1705 to regulate the system accomplished no good.

Nor was the provincial legislature of much assistance to the Proprietor. Markham, the deputy governor, had been voted only a few hundred pounds. A law passed in 1683, granting the Proprietor two pence per gallon on rum, brandy, and wine, one penny on cider, and twenty shillings on every £100 of merchandise except molasses, failed to yield any income and was repealed in 1690. In 1701 the Assembly voted Penn £2,000, not, however, to alleviate the Proprietor's financial burdens, but to gain royal assent to provincial laws. Characteristically, even this sum was not paid until 1716.

Penn estimated in 1686 that he had lost £5,000 on the province and by 1688, £13,000.⁴² In 1701 he alleged that he was "twenty thousand pounds sterling out of purse upon Pennsylvania," and two years later he wrote James Logan, his secretary, that he was "never so low or reduced."⁴³ He had settled part of his Irish estates upon his son, thus reducing his revenues, the balance against Irish currency was twenty to twenty-six per cent, taxes were running from three to four per cent higher in England, while the Navigation Acts, according to Penn, had so circumscribed Irish trade that "we must go and eat out half our rents or we cannot enjoy them." Finally, he was compelled to pay from six to eight per cent upon moneys that he had been forced to borrow.

In spite of considerable revenues from the sale of lands, Penn's personal finances were rapidly deteriorating. He had mortgaged part of his wife's inheritance to aid in developing the colony. Much money, too, was spent in dealing with the vexatious boundary dispute with Maryland, and in refuting charges that the province was conniving at illegal trade.

Above all, Penn was being relentlessly mulcted of his substance by his estate steward, Philip Ford. As early as 1669, Ford, a London tradesman, had become Penn's trusted agent in charge of his lands in Ireland at a salary of forty pounds per annum. By 1681 he was

⁴¹ Robert Proud, *History of Pennsylvania . . .* (Philadelphia, 1797-1798), I, 303.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 303-304.

⁴³ Samuel M. Janney, *Life of William Penn* (Philadelphia, 1852), 461.

receiver of moneys paid by the First Purchasers for their lands and was entrusted with making the arrangements for settling colonists in Pennsylvania. At Deal, in August, 1682, just as Penn was about to sail, Ford appeared with an account showing that the Proprietor was in debt to him by about £2,850 despite the fact that he had already collected £5,650 from First Purchasers for lands. Penn, to secure Ford against this alleged overdraft, gave him a lease and release to 300,000 acres of land in Pennsylvania. Obviously, Penn had only the wish to assure his agent against loss in the event of his death. But in so carelessly signing the lease and release, Penn laid himself open to further exploitation. Unfortunately, because the initial demand had been satisfied, the land sales fell off rapidly while the Proprietor was in Pennsylvania, so that on his return he was unable to reimburse his agent. During his absence, Ford's villainies had so multiplied that he was charging not only interest on the draft compounded at three and four per cent, but was adding to all receipts and disbursements a commission of two and a half per cent. By 1685 the additional income of nearly £2,400 from land sales was completely dwarfed by Ford's demand for £4,293 that he claimed Penn now owed him. As a result, Penn was constrained to sign a new agreement that gave Ford, again as collateral security, 300,000 acres additional, including the manors of Pennsbury, Springfield, Springton, and certain other tracts and all the provincial quitrents, unless Penn, by March, 1687, paid him £5,000. Ford and his avaricious wife Bridget now had Penn firmly in their grasp, a fact that tragically he did not comprehend until 1693.⁴⁴

However, the considerable capital provided by the First Purchasers from 1681 to 1685 gave Pennsylvania a rapid start. The Proprietor, unaware of the trap that was being laid by Ford, had spared no expense to give the colony the impetus that it needed. From Penn's point of view, the response of the First Purchasers was highly gratifying. Even the meager records reveal that at least £8,000 was received from the sale of lands in the short space of four years. Although some portion of the 800,000 acres disposed of was given away, and although some subscribers never paid in full, the

⁴⁴ William R. Shepherd, *History of the Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania* (New York, 1896), 184-198.

income was probably much higher than the figure of £8,000, since, theoretically, that amount of land was priced at £16,000.

It was with satisfaction that Penn, in 1685, wrote: "We have had about ninety sayl of Ships with passengers since the beginning of '82 and not one vessel designed to the Province, through God's mercy, hitherto miscarried. The estimate of the People may thus be made: eighty to each ship, which comes to seven thousand two hundred persons. At least a thousand there before⁴⁵ with such as from other places in our neighborhood are since come to settle among us; and I presume the Births are at least equal to the Burials." And, with considerable pride he could report: "The people are a Collection of divers Nations in Europe as French, Dutch, Germans, Swedes, Danes, Finns, Scotch, Irish and English; and of the last equal to the rest . . . but as they are of one kind and in one Place and under one Allegiance, so they live like People in One Country, which Civil Union has had a considerable influence towards the prosperity of that Place."⁴⁶

Penn, too, ever took pride in the great freedoms that Pennsylvania afforded and in the fact that they were wrought by the Quakers. "King Charles, King James and King William knew that we are a Quaker colony," he wrote his son William in 1701. And, apprehensive that the colony might fall into the hands of the Crown, he admonished his son: "Let us not be persecuted in our country when our consciences are tender, [we] that came so far and have endured and spent so much that we might enjoy them with more ease than at home. . . . The [right of] Government was our greatest inducement, and upon the publick faith we have buried our blood and bones, as well as estates, to make it what it is; for, being Dissenters, we therefore came that we might enjoy that so farr of which would not be allowed us any share at home, and which we so much needed to our own security and happiness [a]broad."⁴⁷ Such, then, was William Penn's vindication of his Holy Experiment—if, indeed, it needed any.

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JOHN E. POMFRET

⁴⁵ The residual population which consisted of the Swedes, a few Dutch, and a few English settlers who had drifted over from West Jersey.

⁴⁶ *A Further Account of the Province of Pennsylvania, 1685*, reprinted in Myers, 260.

⁴⁷ *Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series*, VII, 12-13.