

THE PENNS' "MANOR OF PITTSBURGH"¹

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WHEN we come to celebrate the three hundredth birthday of William Penn we think first of his public career, as the founder of that government which had the greatest measure of freedom known to his day, as a religionist and pamphleteer, and as a life-long fighter for toleration. But Penn was, as are all great men, a curious, unusual mixture of qualities.

Pennsylvania was the scene of a "holy experiment" but it was also the greatest private land speculation in history. Quakers have, generally, a sharp eye to the main chance. William Penn was no exception to this rule.

Penn and his father disagreed in everything except the purpose of establishing the Penn family in the position of a financially secure English landed "county family." Admiral Penn, the son of a merchant and seaman, had spent some thirty years in the active service of the English crown. He had a keen eye for opportunities to advance himself, and such ductility of mind and practice that he successfully hunted with both the hare and the hounds. On the side of Cromwell he applied for and received grants of Irish lands, confiscated from the King's friends, and pursued the Royalists. But later on, he was a bosom friend of the Duke of York, who became James II. When the admiral died he left his son William these Irish lands yielding fifteen hundred pounds a year and a claim against Charles II for sixteen thousand pounds, made up of bonuses, back pay and some loans.

When we take into account William Penn's career as a statesman and religionist, his training was an unusual one. After studying under a private tutor, he became a gentleman commoner at Christ Church College, Oxford. There he was noted for athletic sports, as well as for being an independent, an objector to prevailing practices. When "banished"

¹ Presented at the William Penn Tercentenary meeting of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania on October 24, 1944. The address was illustrated by slides showing William Penn as a knight in armor, a 1681 map of Pennsylvania, the restored Pennsbury Manor, a wampum belt from the Treaty of Shackamaxon, a map of the "Manor of Pittsburgh," and portraits of Thomas and John Penn.—Ed.

from college after two years he was whipped, beaten and turned out of doors by his father who, afterwards reconciled, sent him to France.

Here he engaged in the gayeties of the court of Louis XIV, became something of a fencer, attended a French Protestant university at Saumur, took the Grand Tour, and returned to England at twenty, "a very modish fellow, with a great deal, if not too much, of the vanity of the French garb and affected manner of speech and gait," as Pepys observed. But Pepys did not care for the Penns, he considered the admiral "a mean fellow." As they were both in the Admiralty there may have been a little professional jealousy, as well as his customary superciliousness, in Pepys' comment.

William Penn studied law at Lincoln's Inn, managed the family's Irish estates, visited awhile in prison, started his famous pamphleteering, preached in the streets, won a famous lawsuit, married at twenty-eight years of age. Three years later came Penn's first connection with America as one of the proprietors of the province of New Jersey and a settler of Salem. In 1677 he made a three months' missionary tour of the continent, principally in what is now Germany.

After three more years of active pamphleteering, in 1680 he applied to Charles II for a tract of land north of Maryland bounded by the Delaware River and three degrees in width. On March 14, 1681, William Penn became the greatest private owner of real estate in world history, 25,000,000 acres. Charles II was notoriously good at borrowing, poor in paying. Penn exchanged a debt, very doubtful as to payment, for good land at about one-third of a cent per acre. The Quakers have always been money makers. William Penn was a good Quaker!

Merchants have a saying: "Well-bought is half-sold." Penn proceeded to show what sort of a salesman he was. To start the ball rolling, he sold 538,500 acres in large lots at £100 for 5,000 acres, or £10,770. Penn was a big man, over six feet, with broad shoulders, and he had ideas just as big as his frame. Then he raised the price to £100 for 3,000 acres, or a total valuation of £1,450,000 for Pennsylvania.

In the fall of 1682 he came to Philadelphia and, in time, set himself up in the approved English country gentleman fashion by establishing Pennsbury Manor, 6,000 acres, twenty miles up the Delaware River from Philadelphia. Except for ten acres of cleared land, it was virgin

forest with a river frontage of two miles. The manor house of brick, two stories high, sixty feet frontage, cost £5,000. Situated on a little elevation, with an avenue of poplars leading from the river, with gardens planted with flowers, shrubs and trees brought from England, a great hall the entire length of the house and four large chambers on the second floor, it was far from the simplicity we think of in connection with Quakers. Everything else was in scale. Penn had Negro slaves, a coach and sedan chair for use in Philadelphia. He had been an oarsman at Oxford, his father an admiral, and his greatest pleasure was a six-oared barge for journeys to and fro.

But Penn's main private business was selling that 45,000 square miles of virgin forest, literally, as well as nominally, "Penn's Woods." He set to work with characteristic energy. Composing pamphlets in German, Dutch, French, and English he flooded the continent and England, Scotland and Wales with them. While he set forth the excellence of Pennsylvania lands in enthusiastic terms he was realistic enough to make it plain that only sober, industrious, trained workers and farmers were sought. Penn land prices varied, depending on the financial condition of Penn and his heirs after him, from £5 per one hundred acres in outlying territory to £70 in near.

Penn's title was feudal in nature, in fee and common socage, yielding to the Crown, in lieu of the usual feudal services, "two beaver skins to be delivered at their Castle of Windsor on January 1st of every year, with reservation to the Crown of 1/5th of all gold and silver ore." In other words, Pennsylvania was a seigniorship of Windsor, held by fealty only and not *in capite*, by knight's service.

Penn established the custom of quit rents, payable yearly, in addition to the various cash-down purchase prices, for lands sold. These too, when in cash, varied in amount, as low as a half-penny and up to shillings per hundred acres. They were, also, sometimes in kind, a peppercorn, a red rose, an Indian arrow, a buck's foot, or a bushel of wheat. The collection of these quit rents was one of the greatest of the many troubles encountered in the history of Penn land sales.

It is not of record that any member of the Penn family ever came to Western Pennsylvania or even considered so doing. This was not unnatural, since Western Pennsylvania was the frontier and they had

plenty of affairs, more than they could cope with at times, to occupy them in the East. If William Penn had come to Western Pennsylvania he would have traveled by Indian trails and traders' paths through dense, virgin forest and, from the crest of the Alleghenies, the beginning of Western Pennsylvania, would have looked out upon a green sea of oaks, hemlock, sugar maples, hickory, ash, and sycamore, with some pine.

Penn was something of a sportsman and the quail, grouse, wild turkey, deer, elk, bear, and wood buffalo in these forests would have given him an unaccustomed menu. Bass and forty-pound perch would be plentiful. He might even have caught a one hundred twenty-pound sturgeon like the one whose taking was said to have brought about the drowning of a fisherman at Pittsburgh. Not many song birds would have been heard but plenty of wolves and panthers.

Inhabitants encountered would have been few in number. The Iroquois had conquered the original Indians, the Erie, and used Western Pennsylvania only as a hunting ground. Even later on, when the Delawares and Shawnee placed themselves under the protection of the Five Nations, the population was sparse, even for Indians. Indian traders from Philadelphia, with English goods, the French Peter Chartier, and George Croghan, gradually brought in trading posts. Croghan, with headquarters at Etna, finally had posts on the Youghiogheny, at Logstown, near Sewickley, at Beaver, on Lake Erie and the Miami, at Venango, with trading parties to West Virginia and Kentucky. With twenty-five men and one hundred packhorses, he was well called, "King of the Traders!"

Penn scrupulously carried out the specific provision of the Great Charter to deal with the Indians, first at the famous Treaty of Shackamaxon, with festivities such as broad-jumping, at which Penn won, aided by his Oxford athletic training. By the 1720's the frontiersmen were in the Cumberland Valley, so that the proprietors (William Penn had died in 1718) were forced to buy out the Indians. In 1736, they were again forced to soothe the Indians by purchases; by 1740, the Juniata Valley was the frontier and by 1750, Bedford was a well known post for traders.

In 1754, the Penns purchased from the Iroquois all claims extending to the western bounds of the province but as the Delawares and Shawnee

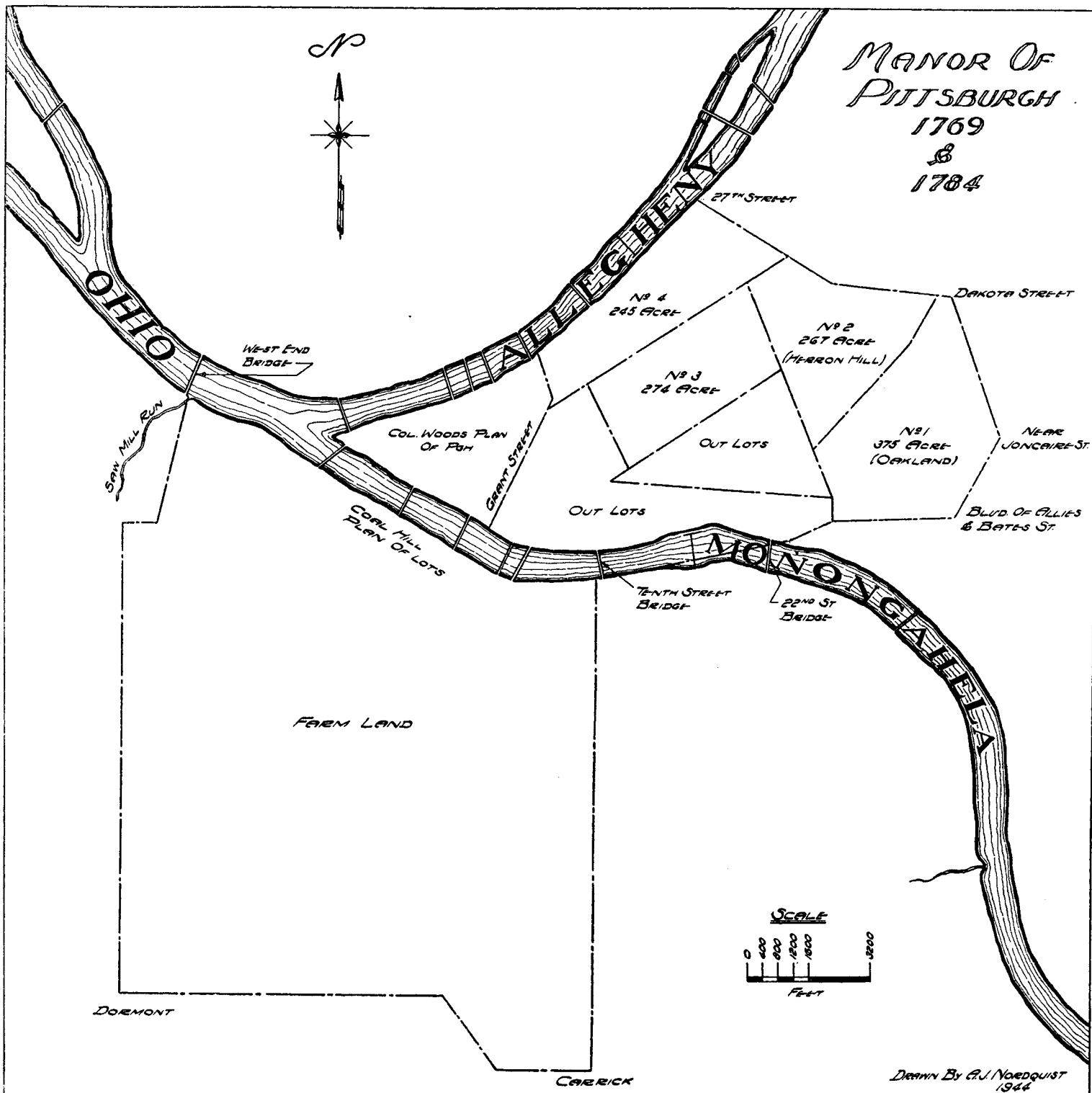
received no part of the money, it was necessary to make a final purchase at Fort Stanwix, on November 5, 1768, of all Indian claims east of the Ohio and Allegheny Rivers. The Penns always paid money, 10,000 Spanish milled dollars in 1768, but used no rum, beads or guns as payment.

The first trickle of agricultural settlers was from the South, up the Shenandoah Valley, with smaller contingents from the East. In 1760, Pittsburgh had 149 inhabitants, nine months later only 332. George Croghan, purchasing 200,000 acres from the Indians at the forks of the three rivers, even though the English government forbade purchases from the Indians by others than the Penns, attempted some agricultural improvements. The English government intended that Western Pennsylvania should be kept as a hunting ground for the Indians and tried to suppress agricultural settlement.

With the final Indian settlement at Fort Stanwix in 1768, the interest of the Penns in land sales in Western Pennsylvania became an active one. True, the contest between Pennsylvania and Virginia as to which was the owner of Western Pennsylvania was bitter, almost to the point of war. Nevertheless, in 1769 the Penns set aside the "Manor of Pittsburgh," 5,766 acres, extending from the south bank of the Monongahela River near the Tenth Street bridge, to the Buck Tavern in Carrick on the Brownsville Road to the South Hills beyond the Monongahela River, thence down-river to the glass house of James O'Hara and Isaac Craig on Saw Mill Run; then crossing the Ohio River and up the east bank of the Allegheny River to about Twenty-seventh Street in Pittsburgh, and thence to the Monongahela River at Two Mile Run, near the Twenty-second Street bridge.

William Penn had originated the policy of setting aside and reserving from public sale in manors, one-tenth of the land in the province. In all, ninety-three such manors were so reserved by the Penns. Before his death, William Penn was so disheartened by his struggles with the Crown, with settlers in Pennsylvania and his financial difficulties that he was willing to yield his rights to the Crown for £12,000, but his widow, Hannah Penn, and his heirs, John (one-half interest) and Thomas and Richard (one-quarter each), struggled on with greater success.

In the Revolution, only Richard Penn was loyal to the Colonists,



MANOR OF
PITTSBURGH
1769
&
1784



27TH STREET

NO 4
245 ACRE

NO 3
274 ACRE

NO 2
267 ACRE
(HEARON HILL)

NO 1
375 ACRE
(OAKLAND)

DAKOTA STREET

NEAR
CONCAIRE ST.

BLVD. OF ALLIES
& BATES ST.

OUT LOTS

OUT LOTS

COL. WOODS PLAN
OF PGM

GRANT STREET

CORAL HILL
PLAN OF LOTS

WEST END
BRIDGE

SAW MILL RUN

TENTH STREET
BRIDGE

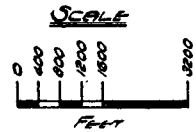
22ND ST
BRIDGE

MONONGAHELA

FARM LAND

DORMONT

CARRICK



DRAWN BY G.J. NOEDQUIST
1944



nevertheless, on November 27, 1779, Pennsylvania, by its Divesting Act (1 Sm. Laws, 479) confirmed to the Penns all the manors and other lands privately purchased by them, 421,015 acres, the rest of the province not yet sold by the Penns to be, from that time on, the property of the State of Pennsylvania. By 1784, conditions were so settled that William Penn's successors were ready to dispose of their "Manor of Pittsburgh," so they employed George Woods, a surveyor living in Bedford, to lay out a town of four hundred and ninety lots, with outlots and farm lands surrounding it.

By that time, through a hundred years of trial-and-error experiments, they had learned what seemed easy at first, but which proved to be very difficult, the business of turning land into hard cash. Benjamin Franklin is supposed to have estimated the worth of the Penns' land at £10,000,000, with income, in the shape of quit rents, of £100,000 per year. But William Penn had such poor results that he was forced to mortgage his province for £7,000, was at one time deprived of it by the Crown, and had agreed to sell his rights to the Crown for £12,000.

In 1757, John Penn estimated the value of the Penns' lands at £3,806,012, but only one-seventh of the stated quit rents were collectable. The State of Pennsylvania received, from the sale of Penn lands, between the divestiture in 1779, and payment to the Penn heirs of £130,000, and the year 1781, £824,000. The poor results of the Penns did not flow from a failure to set up an elaborate organization. William Penn had a secretary of the land office, a surveyor general, an auditor general, and a receiver general. As generally happens, the more elaborate the organization the more meager the results.

Perhaps, if Penn himself had been in charge, the troubles might have been less but his actual stay in Pennsylvania, out of thirty-seven years of ownership, was only four years, 1682-1684 and 1699-1701. In his absence his affairs in Pennsylvania were managed by James Logan, born in the north of Ireland, a business man who eventually became secretary of the province, commissioner of property, president of the council and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Self-educated, a student of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Spanish and Italian, his library, the best in the province, bequeathed to the city of Philadelphia, became, on his death in 1751, the foundation of a notable public library.

From William Penn's death in 1718 until his son, Thomas, took charge in 1732, sales of land were limited in amount. In 1732, Thomas Penn, second son of William, came to Philadelphia and took charge. Lotteries were very popular then and a lottery, with tickets at forty shillings each, was tried. Many tickets were sold but it was not a success. In 1738, an attempt was made to introduce order into the confusion in the land offices and greater severity into collections for lands sold on time, and of quit rents. Thomas Penn, while gruff in manner, was energetic and tenacious and managed the family business with greater success until he returned to England in 1741.

Thomas Penn speeded up sales, which continued briskly under John Penn, son of Richard Penn, called the governor, who was in Pennsylvania in the periods, 1752 to 1755, 1763 to 1771, 1773 to 1776, and Richard Penn, son of Richard and grandson of William Penn, who was here in the periods 1763 to 1769 and 1771 to 1775. John Penn, called junior, who came here in 1783, was a true son of Thomas Penn, and he and John, the governor, were the active Penns who signed the deeds as proprietaries in the sales from their "Manor of Pittsburgh."

The stage was set for this sale when Tench Francis, a Philadelphia lawyer-agent for the Penns, employed George Woods, a surveyor living in Bedford, to survey the manor in 1784. The result of his survey was four hundred and ninety lots in the triangle made by the Ohio, Monongahela, and Allegheny Rivers, bounded by Grant Street on the south and Washington Street on the east. Adjoining the "Woods' Plan of Pittsburgh" they plotted forty outlots, containing about six hundred acres, and farms from the remainder of the eastern part of the manor, extending to about Twenty-seventh Street, the Herron Hill and Soho districts of Pittsburgh. On the south side of the Monongahela they laid out lots on Coal Hill and farms from the larger western part of the manor.

The prices the Penns set varied somewhat but in general were £10 per lot, £2 per acre for outlots, and £1 per acre for farm lands. As nearly as can be estimated, the Penns received from the Manor of Pittsburgh about £11,200. In the period 1784-1788, they sold one hundred and forty-seven lots and some farms and outlots. The first sale of a lot was to Conrad Winebiddle and the first sale of acreage was to Isaac

Craig and Stephen Bayard of twenty-five acres between the ditch surrounding Fort Pitt and the Allegheny River at the Point.

The big year of Penn sales was 1789, with eighty lots sold, dropping then to twenty and thirty per year until 1796, when only ninety lots remained for sale. The year 1809 brought sales of thirteen, and 1822, sales of twelve; but later years, until the last sale in 1869, brought little to Penn coffers. Pittsburgh had begun to grow in 1784, but parts of the triangle were still swampy and one could still bag himself a duck dinner, shooting from the streets in the town. In 1786, there were six stores and about a hundred houses. In 1790, the inhabitants of Western Pennsylvania were thirty-seven per cent English, nineteen per cent Irish, seventeen per cent Scotch, seven per cent Welsh, two per cent German, and the rest from every corner of Europe. The tide of emigration through Pittsburgh to the Northwest Territory, Kentucky, the West and Southwest was rising to a flood. By 1790, six lines of conestoga wagons were making regular trips carrying freight between Pittsburgh and Philadelphia.

There are many interesting stories hidden in the prosaic records of the lands which composed the Manor of Pittsburgh. There is the story of the long dispute between Pennsylvania and Virginia over the western boundary of Pennsylvania, double courts and double officials, arrests, indictment, near war, ending, at last, in retaining Pittsburgh in Pennsylvania instead of Virginia.

Then, too, there is the story of the final clearing of all Pittsburgh titles which, strangely enough, did not occur until 1870. The first step in this story was the contest over the will of William Penn in which, after nine years of litigation, before His Majesty's High Court of Exchequer, Penn's widow established the rights of herself and their children over those by Penn's first wife. Then, in 1820, the heirs of Thomas and Richard Penn undertook, through Thomas Cadwallader as attorney-in-fact, to bar an estate of male tail created by Hannah Penn in 1732, this entail extending to eight persons and their descendants. But this was not the end because, in 1870, some Philadelphia lawyer, as meticulous as Philadelphia lawyers proverbially are, raised a question as to whether the power of attorney under which the first deed to bar entail was executed

included the power to bar entail. A second deed finally settled the Penn title on November 11, 1870.

The fact most familiar to all in connection with Colonel Wood's plan of Pittsburgh is the grant by the Penns to the First Presbyterian, Trinity Episcopal, and Smithfield Evangelical Protestant churches. The lots in the center of the block between Smithfield and Wood Streets, extending from Sixth to Oliver Avenues, which had been in use as an Indian burying ground, were granted to the First Presbyterian Church, on the north, and to Trinity Episcopal Church on the south.

The block front on Smithfield Street from Sixth Avenue to Strawberry Alley was granted to the Smithfield Evangelical Protestant Church. All grants were for "church purposes," with reversion to the Penns, which permitted the subsequent leasing of part of the ground granted for business uses and has provided all three churches with a welcome back-log for their church budgets.

But there are less dry stories in those old deed books. Naturally enough, there were a number of persons who were large buyers in the manor sale. Isaac Craig and Stephen Bayard, early buyers, becoming partners in the firm of Turnbull, Marmie and Company, Philadelphia wholesalers who did a big business in selling English-made goods in Western Pennsylvania, established a distillery and saw mill on their land. William Turnbull, of the firm, was a large buyer, seventeen lots in one purchase, as was Isaac Craig. Craig also became a partner of James O'Hara in his glass house on Saw Mill Run.

Another large buyer was John Marie, who had come from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh in 1786 to establish a popular tavern and restaurant. Marie made at least fourteen separate purchases, one of them of Outlot No. 6, consisting of 6½ acres on Grant's Hill, which gave rise to an early interesting episode.

At the age of fifty-one Marie had entered into a December and May marriage with Jeanne Donnelly, a Frenchwoman of twenty. On this Outlot No. 6, John Marie created a fine French-style country home with extensive planting, walks, gardens, and latticed vine-covered gazebo, with a view of the rivers in the distance, in which tea and wine were served in the summer afternoons. Jeanne Marie had set her heart on the "little paradise, admiration of the Western country and travellers," as

she called it, which she had helped, during seventeen years of residence in Pittsburgh, to create on Grant's Hill. In 1803, John Marie left Pittsburgh for a visit to France, as he said to Jeanne. He was accompanied to Peebles' tavern, twenty miles from Pittsburgh, by the celebrated Senator James Ross, the leader of the Pittsburgh bar, rich from law and business.

In a pamphlet published in 1808, Jeanne Marie unfolds a tale quite equal to any detective story of today. Circumstantial as it is, one cannot credit her story. So anxious was she to retain her "paradise" that she had required John Marie to execute an agreement, in consideration of her signing a deed to other property of his, that he would not sell their home. In spite of that agreement John did sell it to James Ross that night at the tavern.

Jeanne Marie, in her pamphlet, then relates a horrent tale of a hot August day and of "Convict ruffians" breaking down her bedroom door, dragging her down her own stairs by the hair of her head and by the leg, beating her and throwing her, "clad only in my shift and a single [*sic*] petticoat," into the gutter. One of the interesting parts of her story is of a power of attorney purporting to have been executed by John Marie before two notaries after reaching Bordeaux, revoking one he had given Jeanne before leaving home and ratifying his sale to Ross. Jeanne was a fighter for her rights, as she saw them, and gives in detail denials subsequently made by these notaries that they had ever acknowledged this power of attorney.

Jeanne goes on to tell of John's return to her in 1806, of spending ten weeks with her in Philadelphia, during which time he denied writing the Bordeaux power of attorney, and of his departure for Pittsburgh breathing fire and slaughter and swearing his intention to sue Senator Ross. Alas, in Pittsburgh, the suit became, instead, one for divorce from Jeanne, and Senator Ross received a deed for the 6½ acre slice of "paradise, with garden rakes, spades, shovels, and a young cow," all as agreed to five years before. What the true inwardness of the lurid story may be is anyone's guess. To me, it seems the tale of a hysterical woman plus, perhaps, the guile of a seventy-five-year-old husband seeking to get out of trouble with the least personal strife. It is not conceivable that such well-known men as General Wilkins, Henry Baldwin, and Felix Brunot should side with Senator Ross, as even Jeanne relates, unless he was

guiltless. Also in evidence is the fact that James Ross saved James O'Hara and Jacob Negley from bankruptcy. The "paradise" embraced the site, now, of the Courthouse, the City-County and County Office buildings, and the Grant and other large buildings.

Another extensive buyer of lots in the manor was Hugh Ross, who made at least nine separate purchases. Hugh Ross, claimed by some to be a descendant of the Earldom of Ross established in 1300, had come from northern Ireland about 1723 and was a rope-maker and the owner of a ferry crossing the Monongahela River. His grandson, James Ross, was persuaded to give up his plans to enter the ministry by Hugh Henry Brackenridge, one of the two lawyers of early-day Pittsburgh. In 1795, James Ross started practice in Pittsburgh, became a specialist in land cases, attorney for President Washington's estates in Western Pennsylvania and for many prominent and wealthy men. A staunch Federalist, he early became active politically and took Albert Gallatin's place as United States Senator, serving nine years.

Turning then to law, land speculations, and business, Ross became very rich. Senator Ross lived on his purchase on Grant's Hill until he sold it to the county as a site for its new courthouse. Ross Street and Ross Township were both named for him, and his country place, near Aspinwall, was situated on his large land holdings there.

Lawyers were common buyers, among them, Alexander Addison and Hugh Henry Brackenridge. Addison, born in Moray, Scotland, B.A. and M.A. of Aberdeen University, was admitted to the bar in 1785, became, in 1787, president judge of the Fifth District of Western Pennsylvania. In a celebrated case, arising from bitter factionalism, he was impeached and removed in 1803. Brackenridge, also a Scotchman, came to America when five, graduated from Princeton in 1771. Dissuaded from his intention to enter the ministry, he became, with John Woods, one of Pittsburgh's only two lawyers in 1781.

Adamson Tannehill was a large buyer, a vintner then, afterwards listed as "gentleman," and a major general of the Pennsylvania Militia. But the greatest buyer of lots and outlots was James O'Hara, the first Pittsburgh "tycoon." Well educated in Paris, a ship-broker's clerk in Liverpool in order to learn business methods, Indian trader, government agent among the Indians, a member of George Rogers Clark's famous

expedition, Quartermaster General of the United States, General O'Hara had a wonderful training for frontier business life. He erected, with Isaac Craig, the first glass works in Pittsburgh, the first of its kind to use coal as fuel. He built boats instead of wagons, to bring salt from New York state and for pioneer trade in cotton with Liverpool. A banker and iron maker, he was saved by James Ross from bankruptcy, only to leave a large estate, principally real estate, at his death, at sixty-seven, in 1819.

Closely following O'Hara's successful career was that of John Ormsby, an Irishman educated at Dublin University, who came to Pittsburgh with General Forbes in 1758, in charge of the army commissary. Here he kept a store and operated a ferry from Pittsburgh across the Monongahela to his lands, some 2400 acres, which he called "Homestead Farms." Part of this was land warranted to him as a Revolutionary soldier, to which he added many of the outlots in the "Manor of Pittsburgh" on Coal Hill.

John Ormsby was one of Pittsburgh's most active early citizens, operating a chain of Indian trading posts from Bedford, Pennsylvania, to Detroit and the Northwest. His descendants and their husbands laid out plans of lots and established boroughs above the Smithfield Street bridge, called, in succession, South Pittsburgh, Birmingham (from the home town of one of them), East Birmingham or Sidneyville, and Ormsby. Here descendants of John Ormsby built fine houses with beautiful well-kept gardens extending down to the river's edge, named "The Yard," "The Dingle," "The Orchard," "The White House," and "Ormsby Manor" on the hillside, with woods, meadows, and a private race track.

But not all the dealers in Western Pennsylvania lots and lands were as successful as those we have cited. Among the deeds may be found many for Donation Lands, on the north side of the Allegheny, set aside for Revolutionary soldiers. Among these is one from Preserved Willcox, a sergeant, witnessed by George Standly, sergeant, and David Bates, corporal. For the measly sum of twelve dollars, Sergeant Willcox, in 1787, deeded away his right to two hundred acres.

There are many other interesting stories to be found among these old deeds which we must pass over for lack of space. What, you may ask, was the net result of William Penn's lucky acquisition, for a doubtful

£16,000, with the purpose, among other things, of making the Penns financially secure? In 1779, when the state of Pennsylvania divested the Penns of the lands then remaining to them, Edmund Physick, receiver general for thirty-three years, determined that the Penns had sold 6,363,072 acres for the sum of £688,486 in purchase money, plus £63,679, received in quit rents. Pennsylvania paid the Penns £130,000 in 1779 and the British government granted them an annuity of £4,000 per year in settlement of their claim for £944,000. This was paid them from 1790 until 1884, or £366,000 plus commutation then at £67,000, a grand total of £1,315,165 sterling. In addition, they retained 421,000 acres of land. So far as I can learn, no one has essayed the interesting study of what the sale of those retained lands brought to the Penns.

William Penn's purpose, however, was accomplished. Thomas Penn, son of William, married into an old titled family and, in 1760, bought Stoke Pogis, originally owned by Lord Coke, celebrated in connection with Gray's *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*. His portrait, showing him clad in a grayish lilac silk coat and breeches, with a long white satin waistcoat, adorns its 180-foot long library.

His son, John Penn, called Junior, succeeded Thomas. Educated at Cambridge and by the Grand Tour, he was a poet, a gentle-paced reformer. Interested in architecture he built the Pennsylvania Castle on the Isle of Portland. One of his peculiarities was the enforcing of rigid solitude in his study there, for many hours. A servant, curious as to what his master did during these retirements, peeped in the keyhole and found him stretched on a lounge, eagerly rereading one of the two volumes of his poems! Another son, Granville, took over Stoke Pogis, and his son, Reverend Thomas Gordon Penn, dying in 1869, ended the male line of Penns.

Richard Penn, son of Richard and grandson of William Penn, was the only Penn, aside from William, who was popular in Pennsylvania. He was a *bon vivant*, a member of Parliament four times, the only Penn descendant who sided with and stood up for the Americans.

By 1815, the Penns had sold out most of the Manor of Pittsburgh, which was the eighth city in size in this country with a population of 9,431. Pittsburgh has never stopped growing since the manor was laid out in 1784.