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Building and Planting: The Material World, Memory, and the Making of William Penn's Pennsylvania, 1681–1726

Catharine Christie Dann Roeber
College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

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Building and Planting:
The Material World, Memory, and the Making of William Penn's Pennsylvania,
1681-1726

Catharine Christie Dann Roeber

Oxford, Pennsylvania

Bachelor of Arts, The College of William and Mary, 1998
Master of Arts, Winterthur Program in Early American Culture,
University of Delaware, 2000

A Dissertation presented to the Graduate Faculty
of the College of William and Mary in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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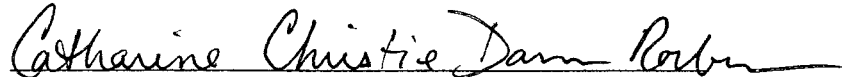
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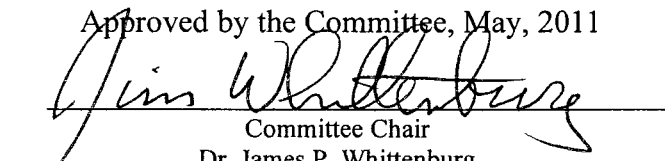
APPROVAL PAGE


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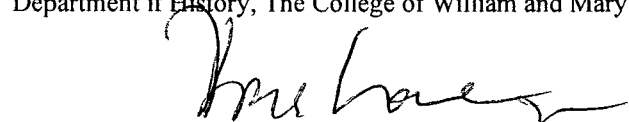
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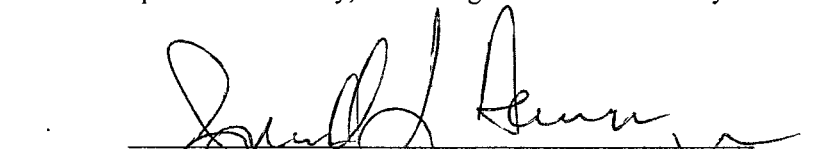

Catharine Christie Dann Roeber

Approved by the Committee, May, 2011


Committee Chair
Dr. James P. Whittenburg
Department of History, The College of William and Mary


Dr. Paul Mapp
Department of History, The College of William and Mary


Dr. Kris Lane
Department of History, The College of William and Mary


Dr. Bernard L. Herman
Department of American Studies, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

ABSTRACT PAGE

The process of creating the colony of Pennsylvania began with the granting of a charter by King Charles II to William Penn in 1681. However the formation of Pennsylvania was not limited to the words of this or other official documents. Many people formed the province through both everyday actions and extraordinary events. And importantly, people involved in the Pennsylvania project employed both material "toolkits" and language about the material world to stake a place for the new territory within the Americas, Britain, and the world in the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries.

This dissertation examines how William Penn and his contemporaries used the material world and language about it to promote the province of Pennsylvania. In particular, Penn's use of the built environment and landscapes, foods and other natural resources, and maps and natural philosophy are examined as case studies for the intersection between material life and ideology in forming a new geographic and political entity.

Previous scholarship has often examined William Penn through the lens of politics and religion, resulting in a view of the founder as removed from material interests. But examination of Penn's own words and documents relating to his life suggests that he not only held a deep interest and involvement with material concerns, he viewed management of the material world as central to his religious, political, and social goals for the province of Pennsylvania and more broadly in his life.

In part, scholarship on the material world of William Penn and early Pennsylvania has been obscured by the fact that almost immediately following the death of Penn, people created a stereotyped figure of him representing idealistic political, social, and religious goals (although this was defined in many different ways and used to promote a host of competing causes). Even later imagery depicting Penn promotes this cartoon-like image rather than the complex and often controversial figure he was in reality. In addition, emphasis on scholarship after the mid-eighteenth century with particular focus on the American Revolution obscures a critical interpretation of the earliest period of settlement in Pennsylvania.

The process of remembering William Penn and early Pennsylvania (or forgetting that history) continues today through management of historic and cultural resources, as well as physical remembrances in the form of public monuments, parks, and visual representations. Creating and remembering Pennsylvania and its founders has always been, and continues to be a series of negotiations through words, images, and the material world.

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Introduction

In this dissertation I am specifically concerned with examining how material productions both reflected and shaped the varied visions for Pennsylvania and the surrounding region held by William Penn, colonial administrators, and actual residents of the region. I believe that examination of the material “toolkits” of the various players involved in the Pennsylvania project allows a fresh view of how the city and surrounding region were forged both in reality and in reputation throughout the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century transatlantic world. Discussions of how to build, how to eat, and how to map reveal some of the ever-changing tensions that existed between the hopes for, and reality of, building a new colony. In the introduction that follows here, I want to explain how I will go about this business and why. My explanations will reference Penn and his contemporaries as well as modern scholars. At the end of the introduction, I will offer short previews of the remaining four chapters of the dissertation.

Ann Laura Stoler calls for an analysis of the gaps between “prescription and practice” as a means of understanding colonialism in its varied forms over space and time. A comparison of Peter Cooper’s painting, *The Southeast Prospect of Philadelphia*, c.1718, with Benjamin Franklin’s account of his own arrival in the city in 1723 illuminates one such gap (Figures 1 and 2). Cooper’s painting provides a rare glimpse of the city as it appeared in the early-eighteenth century. Taverns, docks, warehouses, meetinghouses, private homes, and waterborne vessels create a view of a bustling port on the Delaware River. The structures enumerated in the painting’s key underscore the rapid growth of the city and its institutions since the city’s founding

nearly fifty years earlier.¹ While somewhat stylized, the cityscape Cooper depicted provides modern viewers access to a scene similar to the one that greeted Philadelphia's legendary resident Benjamin Franklin when he arrived in the city on October 6th, 1723. According to his autobiography, Franklin "landed at the Market-street wharf," the central point in the baroque-style painting Cooper created.² In one of the most well-known accounts of life in colonial North America, Franklin recounts his first foray into the city, and provides a verbal map of early eighteenth-century Philadelphia that carries readers beyond the façade of brick and board captured in the painting.³ He cut a path along Market Street, over on Second, up to Fourth, back to the wharf, and up Market again to the Quaker Meetinghouse. As he walked up Market Street, puffy rolls tucked under each arm, the young printer encountered people and places that summarized the religious, social, and economic character of the city: Quakers and their meeting house, a busy port for new immigrants and travelers, and real estate suffering from a deflated economy, and culinary specialties of the region.

¹ The Pennsylvania charter was granted to William Penn in 1681. While referred to as city, Philadelphia may not have actually been given a charter as a city until 1701. There is some thought that there was a previous city charter in 1691 or even earlier, but the main recognized city charter granted by Penn in 1701 remained in effect until the revolution. I use term city to apply to all periods and occasionally use the term town. For additional information on the institution of a city charter and the history of the Philadelphia Municipal Corporation see Judith M. Diamondstone, "Philadelphia's Municipal Corporation, 1701-1776," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography (PMHB)* 90, no. 2 (April 1966): 183-201.

² Benjamin Franklin, *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*, (reprint, New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1962), 34.

³ A reconstruction of Franklin's walk is discussed in Billy G. Smith, "Benjamin Franklin, Civic Improver," in *Benjamin Franklin: In Search of a Better World*, ed. Page Talbott, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 91-123.

Franklin's description creates a view of a city in transition, as it had been long before he arrived (Figure 3).

Fifty years before Franklin's walk, Philadelphia and the colony of Pennsylvania did not exist. While this is an obvious statement, it is worth repeating that neither the city that became the second-largest seaport in British North America by the mid-eighteenth century, nor the province in which it resided, were new. The land and previous residents of Indian, Swedish, Dutch, and English ancestry were there, of course, but the defined geographical and political entities of Pennsylvania and Philadelphia were not. How, then, did they come to be and so suddenly? Understanding how the city and colony emerged requires examination of the connectedness of the Pennsylvania project to other projects of empire as well as the particular direction of development the city and region took in comparison to other locales within the British world. Tangible goods in the form of buildings, foods, and maps, as well as written references to the material world were essential to the establishment of Pennsylvania and allowed William Penn and others to build a reputation for the region as a viable competitor in the extended British world for housing people, producing wealth, and securing the general growth and improvement of the emerging empire.

As a well-traveled and well-read man, William Penn, the central figure of this project, drew on wide-ranging experiences and knowledge to create his lofty goals for management of property, development of trade, and establishment of general well-being for Pennsylvania residents. These goals, falling under the rubric of "improvement," were not always successful or appreciated by others. Penn made

continuous efforts to manage the reputation of his province by encouraging accessible and appealing visible signs of improvement and distributing of accounts of success to the widest audience possible. But once he set such plans in motion, he could not always control the shape these projects assumed. The constant dialogue about how best to represent and manage improvement in the material world and representations of it are not only matters of the past. The issues with which Penn grappled as a visionary promoter of an idealized outpost of the British empire still resonate today in the way the colonial era is remembered and commemorated.

Franklin's short journey only extended a few city blocks. Indeed, well into the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, Philadelphia was tightly huddled along the Delaware River and centered on the very wharf where Franklin debarked. The importance of the river to life in the Delaware valley can not be emphasized enough and Cooper's painting underscores the central role of the waterway in the colonial city and province. The river dominates the lower half of the painting and the image of waterborne vessels and water balance the built landscape above. The format of the painting conforms to period land- and cityscapes of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.⁴ The small figure of the artist at work on the opposite New Jersey shore in the lower left corner emphasizes the location of the city on a river rather than an open body of water. This location was important as a major

⁴ In her chapter in *Art and Cartography*, Svetlana Alpers writes that "interest in city views and their basic models was first presented in Braun and Hogenberg's ambitious *Civitates orbis terrarum*, published between 1572-1618." Svetlana Alpers, "The Mapping Impulse in Dutch Art" in *Art and Cartography: Six Historical Essays*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 85. Throughout the seventeenth century visual depictions of cities in landscape mode became increasingly common.

transportation artery, a safe harbor from the open seas that allowed for better trade, and a protected location from real and imagined threats such as pirates and rival imperial powers.⁵ These and other factors combined to create a magnetic pull for maintaining connections to the river even as settlement moved further west in the eighteenth century.

The perpetuation of a river-oriented settlement pattern is evidenced as late as 1790, when Benjamin Franklin's grandson, William Temple Franklin, advised Thomas Jefferson to avoid renting or building a home above Seventh Street on Chestnut Street. Franklin revised an earlier recommendation for a house further west on Chestnut Street by explaining to the new Secretary of State "our Pavement in that Street only extends to Seventh Street, and those houses are between 9th and 10th— There are so few Houses in that Part, that there is little probability of the Pavement being continued further for several Years." In the end, Franklin recommend an under-construction building between 8th and 9th streets on Market as a more suitable, respectable, and up-to-date lodging.⁶ Thus, even in 1790, the densely-populated part

⁵ In his dissertation, Mark Hanna discusses how piracy in the New World was often supported despite the vehement opposition to it from England's government. While Philadelphia was identified by contemporaries such as Edmund Randolph as a "pirates nest," piratical activity was not often persecuted, and known pirates called the city home. There was still an effort to put forth a view of Philadelphia as a "protected" city in visual materials and textual works distributed widely throughout the Atlantic World. Mark Gilles Hanna, "The Pirate Nest: The Impact of Piracy on Newport, Rhode Island and Charles Town, South Carolina, 1670--1730" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2006).

⁶ William Temple Franklin to Thomas Jefferson, 20 July 1790, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Julian Boyd, vol.17 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), 236-237. Mark R. Wenger examines Thomas Jefferson's role as a renter and the significance of the architectural spaces he rented in "Thomas Jefferson, Tenant" *Winterthur Portfolio* 26, no. 4 (winter 1991): 249-265.

of the city extended furthest west along Market and clung closer to the river as building projects extended north and south. The oft-illustrated late-eighteenth-century map dedicated to Thomas Mifflin demonstrates this crescent-shaped building pattern (Figure 4).

The image that most often accompanies discussions of early colonial Pennsylvania, though, is Thomas Holme's *Portraiture of Philadelphia*, created in 1681 and distributed widely as part of a promotional campaign for the new colony (Figure 5). Most scholars rightly acknowledge the speculative aspect of this image. Yet, lacking any other image of the seventeenth-century city, this image is printed and reprinted as an illustration accompanying academic work on early British colonial settlement. As a result, the image has become embedded in modern imagination as a plan actually put into effect immediately, rather than the hopeful projection it was. The regular gridded streets and open squares of the plan were but a dream until the nineteenth century when the city of Holme's outline took form. Instead of simply accepting the imaginative qualities of the plan, or misidentifying it as the true form of the early city, the image must be questioned and placed in context. As Elizabeth Milroy suggests in her study of the history of green space in Philadelphia, this iconic image can be reexamined in fruitful ways to uncover the context of Penn's ideal urban setting. Her work examines in detail the context surrounding the creation of Holme's *Portraiture* and strongly argues that previous scholars overlooked the importance of the Moorfields of London and seventeenth-century landscape gardening as important influences on the early plan for

Philadelphia.⁷ Following her lead, I believe that there are other familiar elements of Pennsylvania origin stories that need to be revisited.

Images and stories of the early city like Franklin's literary description, Holme's projection, and Cooper's plan are some of the most enduring representations of the early colony. Philadelphia the city is a key character in Franklin's life stories, both the tales he shaped and those told by later scholars. His accounts of the streets of Philadelphia color many of the past and current interpretations of the colonial city. Authors of the catalogue celebrating the tercentenary of his birth in 2006 suggested, "Benjamin Franklin, the oldest and one of the greatest of our founding fathers, is inextricably associated with Philadelphia." I would argue that the city, too, is inextricably associated with his legacy. There is certainly a place for the many stories of this preeminent American "self-made" man and his counterparts in the forging of an independent United States of America. However, there are other stories, equally important and interesting that go a long way to explain the region's development before Franklin ever arrived in Philadelphia.

Like any city in colonial America, Philadelphia experienced growing pains during its rise to prominence as the second-largest seaport on the east coast by the mid-eighteenth century. Having walked across New Jersey from Perth Amboy to Burlington, before rowing to Philadelphia, Franklin followed the well-worn path of

⁷ Elizabeth Milroy, "For the like uses, as the Moorfields': The Politics of Penns Squares" *PMHB* 130, no. 2 (July 2006): 257-281. Because other scholars like Milroy have created, and are continuing to produce, new and interesting interpretations of Philadelphia's city plan, this is not my primary focus. Although I refer to the city plan, I am most interested in the examining the emerging centrality of Philadelphia as the leading urban area on the Delaware River.

east-coast travelers in the colonial era. Before the formation of Pennsylvania as a colony under the direction of William Penn in 1681, travelers moving south from Burlington rowed past the few plantations occupying the future site of Philadelphia and settlements such as Chester, Upland, and Salem to New Castle, the other colonial capital on the Delaware River. It was this riverscape that William Penn himself encountered when he first arrived in America in 1683. The scene from the river would have been dominated by marshes and stands of trees and punctuated by single homesteads or a few clustered settlements belonging to earlier residents of European and Native backgrounds.⁸

Before the arrival of Penn, the region surrounding the Delaware River played host to the shifting imperial claims experienced throughout much of the New World during and after exploration. Before contact, the area was home to natives including the major groups currently referred to as Delaware, Lenape, Munsee, Nanticoke, Conoy and Susquahnnock. It is unknown who was involved in the first direct encounter between natives and Europeans in the area now known as Pennsylvania or exactly when it transpired. Both the Dutch and English placed claims on the region along the Delaware River in the first decade of the seventeenth century. The first

⁸ Susan Klepp writes that the first small populations Europeans under the Swedes did not settle in towns, rather they “established scattered farmsteads along the banks of the Delaware and its tributaries...” Susan E. Klepp, “The Promise of Revolution: 1750-1800,” in eds. Randall M. Miller and William Pencak, *Pennsylvania: A History of the Commonwealth* (State College, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 54. I use the term “riverscape” here, and throughout this dissertation, similarly to Tricia Cusack who writes “The term ‘riverscape’ may be used analogously to ‘landscape’ that is, to refer both to the river itself and its human fashioning, and to second-order representations such as painting.” in her book *Riverscapes and National Identities* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2010), 11.

colonizers of the area were the Swedes in the 1630s, although they encouraged Finns, Germanic peoples and others to also settle in New Sweden. In the 1650s the area changed hands to the Dutch, back to the Swedes, and then back to the Dutch. When the English gained control of Dutch lands in 1664 (except for a brief pause when the Dutch regained control in 1673-74), the Duke of York nominally ruled the area that would become Pennsylvania and Delaware. Sparsely inhabited in comparison to New England or the Chesapeake, the region was officially under James' governance at the time of Penn's charter. Although inhabitants considered themselves of the area, who they gave allegiance to was another matter. Some looked to Maryland, others to New York, and still others preferred to have as little contact with colonial governance as possible. It was this somewhat indistinct area and its people that Penn inherited along with the territory he received by charter in 1681.⁹

This preexisting demographic situation underscores the fact that the emergence of Philadelphia coincided with the growth of the colony of Pennsylvania. The successes of both are often viewed as self-evident and Franklin's arrival in the 1720's is often treated as a starting point for the region's colonial histories. But Philadelphia grew in relation to, and occasionally at the expense of, previous settlements in the region. Behind the story of growth are many accounts of negotiations that resulted in revision of the population and appearance of the Delaware River.

⁹ For an overview of Pennsylvania prehistory and exploration see chapters by Daniel K. Richter and Susan E. Klepp in Miller and Pencak, *Pennsylvania: A History of the Commonwealth*.

The region's growth was vigorous, yet focusing solely on the end results of the "speed and direction" of development in and around Philadelphia obscures the more complex and less linear development within the region since the seventeenth century. Examination of contemporary objects, printed materials, descriptions of the material world and the landscape reveal a more nuanced and interesting story of early settlement in the Delaware Valley and Penn's project to promote the success of his colony. Many changes shaped the Delaware River landscape between Penn's first visions of a new settlement in 1681 and Franklin's arrival in 1723. And many factors contributed to the area's transformation from a region with a relatively small, dispersed settlement of Natives, Finish, Dutch, Swedes, and English to a flourishing colony with a new and prominent urban center. A simple explanation for regional change, in colonial parlance, was often that the area was "improved." But what was meant by this term and how did "improvement" occur?

Recently, historians such as David Armitage and Michael Warner, among others, have reframed the concept of British empire-building as a process that began in the mid-sixteenth century.¹⁰ Because of "common imperial concerns over reproduction, domestic space, and identities forged in the processes of settlement" Warner suggests an approach that is "attentive to the cultural pattern by which such disparate ventures were able to elaborate."¹¹ The processes of empire-building thus

¹⁰ See David Armitage, *Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

¹¹ Michael Warner, "What's Colonial About Colonial America?" in *Possible Pasts: Becoming Colonial in Early America*, ed. Robert Blair St. George (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), 49-70, 57. Warner draws on the concept of "imagined

extended throughout the Atlantic world and beyond to corners of the globe that were much less remote than previously imagined. Although the British citizens who were present in China, the Ottoman Empire, the Iberian Peninsula, the Caribbean, Africa, and North America were geographically distant, contact between these areas bound them to the broader world. Goods and people as well as modes of communication and rumors flowed between these spaces along with the silks and porcelain, tea and spices, dried fish and furs that were traded and transported. Through these connections between people and their material worlds, the language of empire was translated in a regional context. It is the purpose of this dissertation, specifically, to examine how these material entities were employed to help promote an “identity of place” for Pennsylvania in a broader transatlantic context.

Formation of place required more than words on a charter. Instead it involved the fashioning and refashioning of identity and representations through the integrated use of words, objects, encounters, spaces, and places. Pennsylvania and Philadelphia were crafted during both everyday rituals and uncommon occurrences of the people throughout the world who were involved with the project of forging a new province. During the negotiations for land, the processes of mapping, the act of dining, and the recounting of all of these, people created various forms of representation and articulated various attempts to gain possession of a newly defined, if not new, place. Colonizers (both those who participated on-the-ground and “virtual colonizers” who acted from abroad) and colonized employed the material world and descriptions of it

communities” as defined by Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).

to, as Marcia Pointon wrote, “construct and mediate meanings within specific historical circumstances.”¹² Thus it is essential to recover, as well as it is possible through extant materials, the context in which the processes and products of colonization emerged.

Pennsylvania origin stories are inseparable from broader historical changes of the late seventeenth century. And while material productions such as a house or map or plate of food can not encompass the world, they certainly must be understood as creations that were *of the world* of their makers and users. As such, the meaning of these material and representational tools of empire were, and are not now, fixed. Scholars apply various terms to this concept of evolving meanings. Ann Laura Stoler refers to “mutating ontologies” in her recent work *Along the Archival Grain* to describe how “essences” of race and identity “were protean, not fixed, subject to reformulation again and again.”¹³ Following the lead of Edward Hirsh, other scholars apply the term “poetics” to describe how a place, artifact, or documentation of the material world “can outdistance time and surmount distance...can bridge the gulf---the chasm---between people otherwise unknown to each other. It can survive changes of language and in language, changes in social norms and customs.”¹⁴ In reference to ideological concepts, David Armitage writes “the context within which a concept

¹² Marcia Pointon, *Strategies for Showing: Women, Possession, and Representation in English Visual Culture 1665-1800* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1997), 2.

¹³ Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 4.

¹⁴ Edward Hirsh, *How to Read a Poem* ((New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1999), 6.

emerges does not determine its future usage, though the history of its usage across time will reveal a great deal about the history of the later contexts within which it was deployed.” While varying in their subject matter, the points of each of these scholars can be applied to the study of the material world. Understanding *context* of creation is essential, yet *meaning* is mutable and situational.¹⁵

Objects, places and other vestiges of the material world accumulate meaning and importance because of people. Without people to ascribe and interpret meaning, “stuff” becomes just...stuff. Material culture studies have become increasingly sophisticated, but historians are reluctant to use them for more than window dressing. The best work in material culture studies has moved beyond merely cataloguing objects or architecture to appreciating the need for placing objects, places, and spaces in historical context.¹⁶ And historians have largely accepted that understanding relations of power requires not just knowledge of official government proceedings, but also the more intimate relations between people in everyday life. Other scholars note that “‘minor histories’ should not be mistaken for trivial ones” and that these once-overlooked histories highlight “a differential political temper and a critical

¹⁵ David Armitage, *Ideological Origins*, 5. For discussions and applications of situational meanings of objects see Bernard L. Herman, *Townhouse: Architecture and Material Life in the Early American City, 1780-1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

¹⁶ Zara Anishanslin-Bernhardt, "American Portraits in Spitalfields Silk: Fashioning Eighteenth-Century Identity through Atlantic World Visual and Material Culture" (PhD Dissertation, University of Delaware, 2009). This dissertation acts as a good example of a multidisciplinary material culture/life study taking an Atlantic World view.

space.”¹⁷ Big houses, fancy dining, and elaborate maps have long been part of historical narratives of colonial North America, but traditionally they have been viewed as expressions of wealth, success, and power. But even, and maybe especially, “high-style” material culture needs to be reexamined in a more critical light.

The scattered words, images, goods that remain as evidence of early Pennsylvania settlement provide a glimpse into the power of place in the process of asserting authority in a recently founded community. In his discussion of New England Puritans, Robert Blair St. George suggests that these individuals and communities “managed memory and searched for revelation through the material world.”¹⁸ Place itself in the form of a metropolis, a meetinghouse, or some other observed entity is a human construct. Place always involves an appropriation and transformation of space and nature that is inseparable from the reproduction and transformation of society in time and space.¹⁹ What we call Pennsylvania did not appear overnight or simply through the wishful imagination of William Penn alone. Through activities and objects both mundane and extraordinary, Pennsylvania as an entity and idea was formed. By juxtaposing ideology and practice, a fresh view of first-period settlement can emerge.

¹⁷ Stoler, *Archival Grain*, 7.

¹⁸ Robert Blair St. George, *Conversing by Signs: Poetics of Implication in Colonial New England Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 8.

¹⁹ Allen R. Pred, “Space as Historically Contingent Process,” in *Place, Practice, and Structure: Social and Spatial Transformation in Southern Sweden, 1750-1850* (Totowa, N.J.: Barnes & Noble, 1986), 6.

In March of 1681, William Penn wrote that “after many waitings, watchings , solicitings & disputes in council, this day my country was confirm’d to me under the great seal of England wth large power and priviledges. by the name of Pennsilvania...”²⁰ So began Penn’s thirty-seven year struggle to establish or “plant” a model American colony that could serve as “the seed of a nation.” The proprietor viewed his project as a providential opportunity to create a prosperous and righteous society. Penn firmly believed that through Pennsylvania “an example may be Sett up to the nations.” When he wrote “there may be room there, tho not here, for such an holy experiment” he articulated his belief that a new world setting provided the space and freedom needed to achieve his goals.²¹ Ultimately, the foundations Penn lay allowed for the sustained success and rapid growth of the colony. Yet, a close look at the earliest decades of settlement in Pennsylvania and the Delaware Valley suggests that the future of the province relied on persistent efforts to regulate representations of the colony as well as the actual shape and nature of settlement and improvement there.

The concept of “improvement” lay at the core of Penn’s vision for the orderly establishment of the new colony. The term “improvement” bore many meanings in the late seventeenth century. The term appears throughout Penn’s and others’ personal correspondence and published writings associated with settlement in the Delaware Valley and colonial pursuits in the Americas. Coming into frequent use in

²⁰ *The Papers of William Penn*, eds. Mary Maples Dunn and Richard Dunn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), 2:83.

²¹ *Penn Papers*, 2:108.

the English language in the seventeenth century, the concept of improvement was specifically associated with profitable investment of money or talents such as the cultivation and occupation of land through “inclosure, cultivation, and the erection of buildings.”²² Over time, improvement was applied more broadly to include the spiritual and moral investment and enhancement of individuals or general processes of betterment. Penn’s understanding of improvement was informed by multiple sources including contemporary Lockean political and social theories, trends in natural philosophy and scientific thought, and his own non-conformist religious beliefs.²³ Fundamentally, Penn’s use of improvement was clearly linked to profit from and enhancement of both the land and the people who inhabited it. It is no coincidence then, that derivations of improvement are used on maps, promotional tracts, and other published images and printed descriptions of the colony of Pennsylvania and the surrounding region.

While improvement rested on ideological beliefs for direction, it was carried out in everyday relationships and material life in the Old and New Worlds. Penn and men like him firmly believed that property bounding, cultivation of the landscape, erection of buildings, and the accumulation and proper use of objects provided tangible evidence of financial, social, and spiritual growth. Thus, the material world and visual culture shaped and represented processes of improvement. But not

²² *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “improvement.” Adopted into the English language from the French in the sixteenth century, the words “improve” and “improvement” came into frequent use in the seventeenth century.

²³ For a discussion of the English use of “improvement” in the possession of land in the new world see Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe’s Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 24-25.

everyone agreed with the proprietor's vision of improvement, immediately producing tensions between his view of ideal settlement and the expectations of previous residents, future settlers, and prospective investors.

When discussing improvement in the context of Philadelphia, our old friend Franklin is famously remembered as one of America's first self-made men. He is renowned for his roles as a philosopher, politician, scientist, tradesman, inventor, and social butterfly in early America. His story is so well-known that it is one of the few colonial tales that garner much public attention until the era of the Revolution. Because of a long tradition of histories emphasizing the war, the central importance of Philadelphia to the unfolding of the Revolutionary and early national periods, and a more abundant pool of historical documentation, colonial historians have tended to focus the second half of the eighteenth century. This is especially true of studies of the city's material culture and built environment. In his book on memory-making and collective history, *First City: Philadelphia and the Forging of Historical Memory*, Gary Nash suggests that "In the fashioning of public memory in Philadelphia, the Revolution became a central event." Yet he is also encouraged to report that "the Philadelphia story, as it has emerged in our generation, is nonetheless inspiring for all its new messiness. Indeed, if it is now streaked with contradictions, ambiguities, and paradoxes, it is much more like life itself as a rich mixture of Philadelphians lived it over the past three hundred years."²⁴ The stories of the earliest years of the region's

²⁴ Gary Nash, *First City: The Forging of Historical Memory in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press: 2002), 327. In the response to reviewers of his now 30-year-old *Urban Crucible*, Gary Nash suggested that previous to his work, Carl Bridenbaugh's "two books were the beginning, and nearly the end" of scholarship on colonial American cities. Nash goes on to say that because of work

growth, cleared of the magnetic pull towards the narrative of Independence and Revolution, now become much more complex and infinitely more interesting.

In the past few decades, alternate stories of Philadelphia's past have been collected and written about people other than the founding fathers, including single women, indentures, the poor, members of the Society of Friends (Quakers), and Germanic immigrants.²⁵ Recently, in his study of the early Delaware valley, John Smolenski embraces this plurality and argues for application of the concept of "creolization" to examine "the creative process through which individuals and groups constructed new cultural habits and identities as they tried to make Old-World inheritances 'fit' in a New-World environment."²⁶ Each study fills in part of the larger story and the view of the early Delaware Valley is becoming more and more

since then "No longer can we say that the colonial and revolutionary American cities are understudied." Perhaps not, but I remain firm in my assessment that there is more work to be accomplished to understand the earliest period of settlement in Philadelphia on its own terms. Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625-1742* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938); Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America, 1743-1776* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955).

²⁵ A few examples of these stories include Karin Wulf, *Not All Wives: Women of Colonial Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), Aaron Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717-1775* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), Simon Newman, *Embodied History: The Lives of the Poor in Early Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), Emma Lapsansky, "Making it Home:" *The Black Presence in Pennsylvania*. (Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1990), and older classics like Billy G. Smith's *The "Lower Sort": Philadelphia's Laboring People, 1750-1800* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990).

²⁶ John Smolenski, *The Making of a Creole Culture in Colonial Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 4.

nuanced.²⁷ But more work must be done. By specifically examining the built environment and material world, this study offers the opportunity to cut across some of the boundaries of these cultural and ethnic groups to examine spheres of activity where the experiences of early Delaware Valley residents and others interested in the region's development periodically converged.

Most of what is known about Delaware Valley material culture before 1750 comes to us through scatterings of information: part of a house here, an inventory there, a collection of pot shards or a silver spoon in a museum case. Objects that make their way into museum collections are often the oddities, the rare survivals, the relics of greatness. Such artifacts easily become locked in narratives associated with particular people or events, so it is difficult to imagine how they evolved or functioned in the broader unfolding of daily life. Or, in the opposite vein, items are so devoid of a context that they become isolated curiosities with no historical meaning. These approaches to interpreting material goods provide a limited understanding of the people who made, used, and owned them. The challenge, then, is to take this hodgepodge of things and create a vivid and coherent interpretation for a current audience.²⁸

²⁷ Jack P. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Southeastern Pennsylvania* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972).

²⁸ Lynn Meskell, *Object Worlds in Ancient Egypt: Material Biographies Past and Present* (New York: Berg, 2004); *The Meaning of Things: Material Culture and Symbolic Expression*, ed. Ian Hodder (New York: Routledge, 1991).

The classic study by Frederick Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, does consider material life in the first decades of settlement.²⁹ While useful, his book is over fifty years old, produced in an earlier era of historical scholarship, and draws overwhelmingly on written records. Some inroads have been made in recent years to address Delaware Valley's early material culture and history in a more sophisticated manner. In 1998, the Philadelphia Museum of Art hosted the exhibition, *Worldly Goods: The Arts of Early Pennsylvania 1680-1758*, which focused on objects made and used in Philadelphia and the museum published a corresponding catalogue of the same name. In 2006, Benjamin Franklin's 300th birthday sparked revived interest in all things Franklin and resulted in numerous exhibits, conferences, and events commemorating his life and era.³⁰ These exhibits have illuminated previously unknown objects and anecdotes associated with Franklin and his cohort of Pennsylvanians. But the emphasis on one man provides a limited understanding of variations in household or estate life. If the exhibit scope is broader, as in *Worldly Goods*, the materials are often treated more as art objects than cultural and social artifacts. While topical essays are included in the exhibit publications, the objects tend to be marginally integrated into the overall context of early settlement and establishment of the region.

²⁹ Frederick B. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia, 1682–1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948).

³⁰ Jack L. Lindsey, *Worldly Goods: The Arts of Early Pennsylvania, 1680-1758* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1999).

Remedying the divide between traditional historical analysis and material culture connoisseurship is not easy, especially when the area of study resists well-defined historical narratives adopted in other regions. One reviewer appreciated this challenge, suggesting that the mid-Atlantic region is “obviously important and ripe for interpretation, yet one that routinely defies synthetic description, much less definitive analysis.”³¹ Throughout the historical period the region was characterized by a population of diverse religious, ethnic, and economic backgrounds. The region also saw tremendous growth, both in population and economic wealth, between 1680 and the second half of the 1700s. With such a diverse and large population, it is easy to understand why scholars who study the early Delaware Valley often reduce their scope to discuss societal sub-groups or narrow themes.

Geographically this project includes the Delaware Valley, encompassing parts of current-day Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey that border the main regional tributary of the Delaware River (Figure 6). Additionally, some parts of Maryland near the head of the Chesapeake and the Susquehanna are necessary to the narrative.

³¹ Wayne Bodle, review of *The Delaware Valley in the Early Republic*, by Gabrielle M. Lanier, *William and Mary Quarterly* 62, no. 3 (July 2005): 546-550. While this study will explore the concept of region, it does not aim to be a final note on this ongoing discussion. Gabrielle Lanier delved into these issues for the period between 1780 and 1830 in the Delaware Valley. The framework of this study is similar to Lanier’s approach to uncovering “landscape prosopography” or deep maps. She defines a deep map as “a thick description of place that breathes life into the two-dimensionality of the map and that transcends the purely cartographic or the simply descriptive to become a fusion of history, narrative, memory, and imagination.” While some of her observations may hold true for the earliest years of settlement, treatment of this period on its own terms is appropriate and necessary. In addition, this study will focus primarily on Philadelphia and surrounding communities. For more on Lanier’s framework and theoretical underpinnings see Gabrielle Lanier, *The Delaware Valley in the Early Republic: Architecture, Landscape, and Regional Identity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), xiii.

Archaeological evidence and detailed archival work increasingly suggests that everyday life for people in these areas took shape on an intensely local level.³² Yet, despite this “localism” there was an awareness of, and interest in, the region at large. The Delaware River is the geographic hinge that connected the surrounding areas and opened the region to the world. There was always an interest in expanding land claims further inland into what some might call the backcountry. For example, there were early expeditions and settlers who converged in lands between the Susquehanna and Delaware Rivers near current-day Nottingham, Lancaster, and Columbia, Pennsylvania.³³ But in the earliest period of settlement much of the activity took place along or on the Delaware River and its tributaries. In the seventeenth century, this

³² Wendy A. Cooper and Lisa Minardi, *Paint, Pattern and People: Furniture of Southeastern Pennsylvania 1725-1850* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press for Winterthur Museum, 2011). A number of archaeologists of the colonial era in the region of the Delaware River and Bay are increasingly suggesting that archaeological remains and documentary evidence supports the idea that communities developed strong local traditions in terms of culture, while simultaneously maintaining ties to broader regional interests. For example, archeologists studying 17th century Delaware suggest that the patterns of settlement and material culture practiced in the areas around current-day Philadelphia may not apply to lower in the Delaware Bay area. See Craig Lukezic and Charles Fithian, “The Elusive 17th-Century Site in the Lower Delaware Valley” (paper, February, 2008). Available from http://history.delaware.gov/pdfs/17thcentury_delaware.pdf

³³ For writing touching on the colonial Pennsylvania backcountry see Jane Merritt, *At the Crossroads: Indians and Empires on a mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700-1763* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2003), Matthew C. Ward, *Breaking the Backcountry: the Seven Years War in Virginia and Pennsylvania 1754-1763* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004), William A. Pencak and Daniel K. Richter, *Friends and Enemies in Penn’s Woods: Indians, Colonists, and the Racial Construction of Pennsylvania* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), and Steven Craig Harper, *Promised Land: Penn’s Holy Experiment, The Walking Purchase, and the Dispossession of Delawares, 1600-1763* (Cranbury, N.J.: Rosemont Publishing and Printing Company, 2006).

area was widely traversed and disputed between settlers and colonial governments who shared interests in controlling available regional resources. For these reasons, the tensions between individual, local, regional and world interests are also uncovered and explored in the project.

Chronologically the project emphasizes the years between the writing of the Pennsylvania charter in 1681 to the death of William Penn's wife Hannah in 1726. Before acquiring the charter, Penn lived a peripatetic, often unsettled, life. Born in 1644 to Admiral William Penn and Lady Margaret Jasper Penn, he spent his youth in London and Chigwell, England. Like the proper son of an Admiral, Penn attended Christ's Church College at Oxford. But soon his life took a turn. He became interested in nonconformist religion and was expelled from school in 1662. Afterwards, he was sent to France where he immersed himself in finer French life, but returned to England by 1665 to enter Lincoln's Inn to study law. Once again drawn to Quakerism, he traveled widely with George Fox. Although he did manage his father's estate in Ireland, he remained an active non conformist. It was on a mission that he went to Germany in 1677. Returning invigorated, he received the charter to Pennsylvania in 1681 as payment for debts owed his father for his service as an Admiral.³⁴

³⁴ There is a need for a good, updated modern biography on the Penn family. However some of the best sources for further information on Penn, his family, and his world see the following: Mary M. Dunn, *William Penn, Politics and Conscience* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967) and *The Worlds of William Penn*, eds. Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986).

While there is a rich history of the region that predates Penn's charter, this study focuses on the period after the 1681 charter. This marks a moment that not only created a new label on a map but restructured life in the region. I view the transfer of proprietary power to the Penn family as a turning point in the direction of the colony that coincided with new colonial leadership, rapid population growth, and an influx of immigrants. Additionally, the focus on the period before 1726 allows this project to move away from the usual quest for the roots of revolutionary spirit that diminish an understanding of changes over time within the earliest period of settlement. Instead I hope to present a study of the early development of Pennsylvania that enables comparison to and contrast with the detailed and voluminous work on early New England and the Chesapeake.

The story of Pennsylvania's origins cannot be severed from the life story of William Penn. Penn was a man who straddled New and Old World interests. As Richard S. Dunn wrote in the introduction to the *The Worlds of William Penn*, "He was truly a hybrid Anglo-American, the only major actor on the seventeenth-century colonial scene whose achievements in the Old World were approximately equivalent to his achievements in the New World."³⁵ After schooling in England and France, service managing his father's lands, and ministry to fellow Quakers, Penn became involved with New World projects in the 1670s. Although he initially became involved in New Jersey colonization, Pennsylvania was his most personal project. He visited Pennsylvania twice, from 1682-1684 and 1699-1701, but he mainly ruled from abroad. As Dunn also suggested "This means that the historian must take a

³⁵ Richard S. Dunn, ed *The Worlds of William Penn*, xix.

transatlantic view of William Penn and follow his activities on both sides of the ocean for his successes and failures in England and in America were always closely interrelated.” and that “anyone who studies this extraordinarily energetic man needs to recreate the multifaceted seventeenth-century environment in which he lived and worked.”³⁶ While other characters are mentioned in this dissertation, Penn plays the central role.

Penn came of age during a time of revolution, war, persecution and colonial expansion. These circumstances all contributed to the evolving notion of the British Empire and its role in the world. David Armitage suggests that concepts of *imperium* (sovereignty) and *dominion* (property) justified the creation of a British empire centered on the Atlantic basin.³⁷ Some readers might question how these ideological concepts manifested themselves in everyday life or the visible world. I would argue that these lofty concepts infiltrated many aspects of colonial life, whether in the placement of a fence, the creation of a map, the preparation of a meal, negotiations between neighbors for rights, and even the siting, appearance, and furnishing of a home. An examination of these material goods, or accounts of them, can help shed light on broader processes of empire-building.

Penn cast a wide net and took inspiration for his colonial project from many sources. Yet there are some that stand out. Pennsylvania came to fruition in the age of Locke. It should come as no surprise that John Locke and his ideas are important for understanding the evolving concepts of property rights, mercantile pursuits, and other

³⁶ Dunn, *ibid*, xx.

³⁷ Armitage, *Origins*, 103.

aspects of early Pennsylvania. In their survey of sources for Penn's writings, Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn suggested that Penn's political ideas were "influenced by such diverse persons as James Harrington, James, duke of York, John Locke, William Popple, and Algernon Sidney."³⁸ Yet they also suggest that "it is impossible to determine the impact of any one of them, or of others not mentioned by name." Evidence does not suggest that Penn and Locke were close, yet we do know that each man commented directly and indirectly on the other's writings and pursuits. Certain elements of the Carolina charter, written by Locke and the Earle of Shaftsbury, were referenced in drafts of Penn's charter for Pennsylvania and scholars suggest that the Maryland and Carolina charters most influenced Penn's work.

The extent of personal relations between Penn and Locke is unclear. We know Penn attempted to release Locke from his exile in France. But Locke rejected his efforts. And Locke specifically criticized Penn's Frame of Government.³⁹ The relationship was not completely filled with animosity, though. The two agreed on a general principle of support for private property rights. On Penn's second voyage to Pennsylvania he brought with him "all the major writings" of Locke including six volumes of the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* and four of *The Reasonableness of Christianity*.⁴⁰ The legal historian Alfred Brophy describes how these texts were some of the few texts available and circulating among leaders like

³⁸ *Penn Papers*, 5:31

³⁹ *Penn Papers*, 2:227-28.

⁴⁰ Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 145. Tolles discusses William Penn's reading habits and what the sources suggest he owned for books.

Penn and Francis Daniel Pastorius, a leading German immigrant to Pennsylvania, as they attempted to clarify and share an understanding of property rights to Pennsylvania's new inhabitants.⁴¹

Understanding that Penn and Locke were products of the same age is more important than establishing specific personal connections between the men. While many writers theorized and wrote about property rights, trade, and other issues Locke's eloquence and his political and personal connections allowed his ideas to be heard. As a writer of a colonial charter, acting member of the Committee on Plantations and later, the Board of Trade, Locke was particularly suited to make an impression with the powers that be. But when Penn constructed his Charter in 1680 and 81, many of Locke's noted works had yet been published. At this time Penn was still working out how best to regulate and order the distribution, ownership and modification of land, homes, and other moveable and immoveable property.

Penn's ideas on property in the context of land were certainly influenced by the enclosure movement and other colonial projects of England in Ireland and Scotland and beyond. The 1687 Pennsylvania map, discussed in Chapter 4, referenced the penchant for carving up properties and partitioning formerly common or private lands. This was not an abstract principle; enclosure and other property-bounding efforts in the New and Old Worlds dramatically altered the look of the landscape as people walked and rode through it. And volumes of paper in the form of property

⁴¹ Alfred L. Brophy, "Ingenium est Fateri per quos profeceris": Francis Daniel Pastorius' Young Country Clerk's Collection and Anglo-American Legal Literature, 1682-1716" *University of Chicago Law School Roundtable* 3, no.2 (1996): 637-742.

surveys, charts and maps, property agreements, and manuals discussing property rights and laws littered the desks and tables of Pennsylvania provincials.

The state and empire were not the only interests of, or influences on, Penn, though. He skillfully navigated between diverse groups of friends and associates as he traveled to promote the causes of his fellow non-Conformists and promotion of his plantation projects. He was able to maneuver his way with royalty and common individuals, Quakers and non-Quakers, British and non-British subjects. His travels brought him face-to face with English royalty like King Charles II, religious lay leaders such as the German Labadist and celebrated intellectual Anna Maria van Schurman, common prisoners, merchants like the leader of Philadelphia's Free Society of Traders, James Claypoole, and his correspondence with associates in Rotterdam, Ireland, England, and Germany kept his connections to distant people and lands alive, even when Penn resided elsewhere.⁴²

We should also remember that Penn was an inheritor of a family legacy, not merely a debt owed his father, but a legacy that included the idea that the Americas were a promised land for imperial pursuits. His father was involved with the seizure of Jamaica as part of Cromwell's Western Design; a plan to "consolidate England, Ireland, Scotland and all of the territories belonging thereto into a political unit with a single head" and to incorporate territories belonging to other powers, such as the

⁴² For William Penn's connections to diverse people in America, England, and Europe see the *Penn Papers*. For more on Schurman, a correspondent with Penn, who he visited on his missionary work to Germany, see Joyce Irwin, "Anna Maria van Schurman: From Feminism to Pietism" *Church History* 46, no.1 (1977): 48-62. For Claypoole, see *James Claypoole's Letter Book, London and Philadelphia 1681-1684*, ed. Marion Balderston (San Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, 1967).

Spanish Caribbean islands, into the fold.⁴³ These plans were supposedly divinely inspired as Cromwell wrote to Admiral Penn during one of his expeditions “that if it was, as they thought, God’s business, then all would see his hand in it.”⁴⁴ Penn’s concept of Pennsylvania and New World lands as the proper soil on which to rebuild a nation in God’s eyes echo these sentiments.

Religious purpose filtered through Penn’s writings and his life. But his faith did not predetermine his actions or create a template for his material surroundings. Being Quaker in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries meant many things and Penn is a particularly difficult person to pin down in terms of his specific beliefs and religious motivations. Identifying these beliefs is not my purpose. Rather, I view his Quakerism as but one of the many factors that shaped his life and surroundings. As I will illustrate in my chapters on mapping and dining, his religious beliefs were interwoven with his understanding and interest in natural philosophy and the world of science. Penn believed that experiment and observation in foreign lands was a means to achieve personal and communal improvement both at home and abroad. In his 1693 *Epistle to Friends in Pennsylvania*, the Quaker leader John Gratton illustrates this blending of religion, colonial travel and empiricism: “Let us make it our business to know these things experimentally, according to our measures, and keep in the love

⁴³ Armitage, *Origins*, p. 120.

⁴⁴ Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Providence Island, 1630-1641: The Other Puritan Colony* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 351. Oliver Cromwell to Admiral William Penn, 20 Dec. 1654 in *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, v.3, ed. William Cortez Abbott (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939), 551.

of God, and in it live and love one another; this will cause us earnestly to desire and travel for the good and welfare one of another, and of all mankind.”⁴⁵

Penn did not simply talk about these issues. He acted. Rather than merely musing about improvement or the promise of a New World, he established a colony and went there himself. He slept in prisons and fought for Friends’ rights. He lived a peripatetic existence promoting his new colony. His was not a man who frittered away his time. While he was widely-read and highly-educated, Penn specifically condemned limiting one’s education to thought exercises alone. In *Fruits of a Father’s Love* he advised “much Reading is an Oppression of the Mind, and extinguishes the natural Candle; which is the Reason of so many senseless scholars in the World.”⁴⁶ He was distrustful of limiting himself to solely intellectual activity, believing that lived experience was equally, if not more, important to living well. The proprietor was not alone. Settlers and visitors, both new and old, in the Delaware Valley, had limited time for philosophizing when the practicalities of daily life and the pressures of building a new colony filled their days. For this reason alone, the stuff of everyday life should be included in the narrative of how improvement was negotiated and performed in the earliest years of settlement.

Penn had many neighbors to convince of his project in addition to supporters in England and the Continent. To do so, he first established a local reputation in the Delaware Valley through diplomatic gestures and building projects, he secondly

⁴⁵ “Epistle from John Gratton to Friends in Pennsylvania”, written at Monyash, 7th month, 1693 in *Friends Library*, v. 9 (Philadelphia: William and Thomas Evans, 1845), 352-355.

⁴⁶ William Penn, *Fruits of a Father’s Love*, first printed in 1726. Cited in *Penn Papers*, 5:42, and Tolles, 146.

created bonds across the oceans with commodities such as foods, and thirdly, he forged a reputation in England and Europe through works like maps. As the next three chapters illustrate, Penn and his associates understood all of these material elements as essential to colony-forming. Yet, as the last chapter reveals, later Penn family members, Pennsylvanians, and historians of the colony and state have largely obscured this part of the Pennsylvania history in favor of a more idealized origin story figuring Penn as a leader motivated by purely political and spiritual interests.

Chapter II: Taking the Keys: Improvement Strategies in Pennsylvania

In 1681 Penn sailed to America to test his vision for the new colony. In this and his later visit to the province, Penn projected his understanding of colonial diplomacy and ideals for cultural, economic and social life on the people and land he encountered. This chapter examines how Penn's vision for an ideal society was expressed in improvements to the material world. Moving beyond the mythologized and much-studied image of Penn treating with the Indians, I will reconstruct and examine some of these first encounters such as Penn's participation in possession rituals at New Castle and occupation of his manor at Pennsbury. I also examine the building projects of his compatriots like Samuel Carpenter. As the proprietor quickly learned, settlement on his terms would not be direct or easy. While many associates and settlers old and new embraced Penn and his ideals, others posed challenges to smooth transition to his proprietorship. And the caretakers of his improvement projects were not always expected. Slaves, servants, and others ended up managing some of the very spaces the proprietor created for himself. This chapter examines both the contested visions for the colony as well as the contested spaces and objects

involved in these debates. Because Penn extended a vision for land management, social structure, political life onto an existing population of native and European residents, there were often varied responses to his efforts. In each of the negotiations between Penn and New World residents, objects and spaces were employed for specific symbolic and functional purposes. Close readings of some of these transactions allows a better understanding of the important uses of material goods, architecture and the landscape in forging a new colony from existing settlements.

Chapter III
“Fruits roots corne and flesh”:
Natural Resources and Improvement in Pennsylvania

Seventeenth-century natural philosophers and individuals like William Penn expected New World settlement to serve the broader interests of England and her people. Contemporary literature and personal correspondence written by people concerned with colonial settlement repeatedly focuses on how to ensure the health of the nation and its people. Health of the nation promoted the health of provinces, communities and individuals and vice versa. Development of trade in new world resources such as foodstuffs was thus viewed as essential for sustaining individual bodies and the body politic. This chapter examines how some individuals participated in supporting economic strength and physical well-being of individuals through production, consumption and trade in food. In addition it examines the spaces and goods associated with these processes. This chapter focuses primarily on one foodstuff, sturgeon, but also compares and contrasts large-scale food trading with food production and consumption within communities and private homes such as that of William Penn. The chapter examines the multiple ways individuals exercised

dominion over new world creatures and plants and harnessed local resources to fulfill goals for colonial development and “improvement”

Chapter IV

“tis of mighty moment”:

Geographic Representation in Early Pennsylvania

William Penn and others represented Pennsylvania to the world in order to gain equal footing for the province among other colonial projects. This chapter emphasizes the global perspective of collective identity formation for Pennsylvania as an emerging geographical entity and examines how improvement was expressed in visual representations. In the immediate years after Penn’s grant for Pennsylvania, he hoped to establish the province as a desirable site for settlement and growth. To do so he needed to place the province on the map, both literally and figuratively. A map demonstrating the active settlement and successful inhabitation of the region was essential for attracting investors and enticing future inhabitants to the province. In addition, he needed to define his colony against earlier regional settlements in New Jersey, New York, Maryland, Pennsylvania and the Lower Counties (Delaware). To achieve these ends, Penn used his knowledge of print culture and political patronage to secure Pennsylvania a seat in the world stage of colonial projects. His efforts met with varied success. This chapter uses Thomas Holme’s “Map of the Improved part of the Province of Pennsylvania” and later derivations to explore the role of mapping and print culture in establishing early Pennsylvania and the context of transatlantic colonial politics in which such productions were necessary. Holme’s map reached some, but not all, of the intended audiences and was used by primarily English and European audiences. While it can be argued that the Home map, while a monumental

and high-quality example of craftsmanship, achieved only partial success as a promotional tool. However, it set the bar for later printed productions and was the source for later printed reinterpretations of the space and geography of Pennsylvania created by craftspeople, politicians, and printers well into the middle of the eighteenth century. The circumstances of the map's production and later life as a reference tool in province-formation can tell us about the network of politicians, craftspeople and settlers involved in the process of creating a reputation for a growing colony such as Pennsylvania. These lines of inquiry illuminate how Penn and others staked a place for Pennsylvania in the competitive world of colonial pursuits.

**Chapter V:
Pennsylvania on a Curtain, Pennsylvania on a Map:
Contested Representations of Penn's Province**

The process of creating a communal identity for Pennsylvania did not stop after the death of William Penn. The Penn family made numerous attempts to manage the memory of the colonial era and their ancestor William Penn. I would argue that Penn's sons, in attempt to promote a particular vision of their father's efforts, did it so well that the image they sponsored of their father became the lasting picture of early settlement. This creates a rather difficult myth to muddle through in order to examine the processes of settlement. Yet, John Penn was not the first manage memory...he inherited this skill of marketing from his father. William Penn was an excellent diplomat and promoter of his projects...sometimes without even knowing it.

By the era of the 7 years war residents of Pennsylvania hearkened back to the era of Penn's government and used their interpretations of his "original vision" to justify contemporary arguments for the future direction of the province. People

viewed signs of failure and success throughout their material worlds in the form of gardens, architecture, interiors, landscapes, and even on their dining tables. This chapter asks why certain interpretations of the Delaware Valley's early history have been privileged over others in the creation of artworks, objects, and landscapes. Why is the early history of Delaware Valley material life still relatively obscure in scholarship? Perhaps the area was such a success in terms of prosperity and diversity by the mid-eighteenth century that it was too difficult to remember anything but a golden era of Penn. These and other questions will provide the direction for the last chapter and provide a way to link the seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century experiences with later cultural memory of early settlement in the Delaware Valley.

Taking the Keys: Improvement Strategies in Pennsylvania

William Penn used a porringer, a key, a lump of earth and a twig to help secure possession of his New World territories. On October 28th, 1682 the ship *Welcome*, that carried Penn on his nearly two-month journey from England, lay anchored in the Delaware River just off New Castle. From his floating office Penn sent a messenger into the town to announce his arrival and to extend an invitation to the acting Commissioners to come “aboard” his ship and review deeds from James, Duke of York, to the “County of Newe Castle with twelff mylle distance North & South thereunto belonging” and the lands “extending South unto Cape InLopen.” Secure in the authenticity of the formally scripted and officially sealed document, the Commissioners for New Castle invited the proprietor to claim stewardship of the territory. John Moll, a New Castle commissioner, described the event:

“... We did give and surrender in the Name of his Royall Highness Unto him the said W^m Penn Esq^r Actuall & peaceable Possission of the Fort at New Castle, by Givinge him the key there of, to Lock upon him selfe alone the dore, which beinge opened by Him againe, We did deliver also unto Him one turf with a twigg upon it, & *a parrenger with River Water {& soile}* In part of all what was Specefied in the *said Indenture of Deed of Infeofmt from his Royall Highness* and According unto the true Intente & meaninge thereof.”¹

¹ “John Moll’s Account of the Surrender of the Three Lower Counties to William Penn” in *Penn Papers*, 2:305-308. This account of the events of October 1682 was written by John Moll sometime after 1689, when Ephriam Herrman, referred to as dead, passed away. That these events occurred as Moll wrote is strengthened by earlier directions for claiming possession of land to Penn from his lawyer, John

In this scene everyday objects become essential tools for an imperial experiment. A key of brass or iron and a porringer of silver, pewter, or ceramic joined with the very fabric of the land to consecrate the relationship between ruler and ruled, the land and its people.²

This chapter explores how previously-settled lands along the Delaware River were refashioned as the new colony of Pennsylvania through the use of goods and spaces. Improvement projects in the Delaware Valley began with various strategies to claim land, but continued with alterations to the landscape and built environment. During ceremonies of possession and codification of laws and regulations concerning landscape and property, Penn and other first-period settlers expressed both their adherence to previous cultural constructions and the innovation required by the New World setting. Knowledge of the land and its inhabitants (as well as limitations to this knowledge) shaped the appearance and use of the region's buildings, streets, fields, gardens and waterways. These personal experiences reveal where on-the ground events aligned with or deviated from representations of the landscape in promotional tracts and other prescriptive works. Once Penn gained possession through the words of the charter and the display of ownership, he began the process of improving the

Darnall. For this letter see John Darnall to William Penn 14 Sept, 1682, *Penn Papers*, 2:301.

² A porringer is a "small bowl or basin, typically with a handle, used for soup, stews, or similar dishes." *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "porringer." William Penn listed silver he brought to Pennsylvania in a longer list of plate at his home Warminghurst in England. Included on the list is "One pottinger wth eares and a cover." *Penn Papers*, 2:289. The key to the fort does not exist, yet other period keys to substantial structures of the period were often made of iron or brass.

land. The building projects and residential patterns of Penn and his associate and friend Samuel Carpenter within the Delaware River region reveal varying approaches to shaping the landscape through property investment. Carpenter and Penn began their Delaware Valley pilgrimage as allies. Hopes for their future investments and material worlds intertwined. Both experienced unexpected disappointments and challenges that lead to varied success with meeting their personal goals for constructing a mid-Atlantic city on a hill. But these men took different approaches to their improvement projects. Penn adhered to patterns of ownership and occupation that adhered to more traditional forms reminiscent of life of the English landed elite who maintained great houses and medieval moving households while Carpenter's looked to the future of more extended city living and wealth derived from sources beyond land alone.³ Diversifying his investments and creating spaces that were more effective for adaptive use, Carpenter's material legacy outshone that of Penn in later colonial and national eras, even as the memory of Carpenter the man faded and that of Penn became etched in American memory.⁴

Rather than focusing on individual building projects alone, I argue that we must look more broadly at the extended or diversified networks of improvement like Carpenter's and the transiency of Penn to understand how seventeenth and early-eighteenth-century settlers attempted to reflect ideals for the colony in the visible

³ For more information on English high-style housing and shifts over time in the style and use of homes, see Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978).

⁴ And as I will discuss later in Chapter 5, beginning in the early colonial era, people often invoked a memory of Penn as someone who was primarily motivated by and interested in lofty ideas and not particularly tethered to material concerns.

world of buildings and landscapes.⁵ Many studies of buildings in colonial Pennsylvania focus on one structure, usually out of context. However, this approach does not adequately capture the fluid way in which many people lived and worked in and between multiple structures located within the city and the surrounding region.

Additionally, the negotiations for possession, building projects and landscape alterations should be viewed as primarily aimed at a New World audience of locals and colonial neighbors. As Susan Mackiewicz suggested in her dissertation, “Philadelphia Flourishing,” Philadelphians and visitors to the region read bricks and boards as visual indicators of spiritual, social, and economic well-being.⁶ Homes, warehouses, coffeeshouses, wharfs, fences, and gardens were all signposts of improvement and were used to measure the success of the projects of “building” and “planting.”

⁵ I am discussing groups of related buildings, properties, other built and landscape features, or even spaces within or among these features encountered by an individual or otherwise defined co-social group. A similar idea of associational relationships is discussed and employed in Gabrielle M. Lanier and Bernard L. Herman in *Everyday Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic: Looking at Buildings and Landscapes* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997). They use the model of an archaeological assemblage to propose the concept of a “landscape ensemble.” The merits of this concept for me include the “explicit emphasis on establishing functional, aesthetic, symbolic, social, and other connections between objects and people.” The process of uncovering these ensembles is described as follows “you must begin with individual buildings and types of buildings and then move on to establishing the relationships between structures within a category as well as between categories. Thus, the ideas of archaeological assemblage and landscape ensemble underscore our obligation to understand landscape as a system of connected artifacts and human actions. The kinds of connections we seek to identify and describe include siting, setting, function, ownership, occupancy, and chronology. Together these connections describe the complex process of landscape formation.” 280.

⁶ Susan Mackiewicz, “Philadelphia Flourishing: The Material Worlds of Philadelphians, 1680-1760” (PhD Diss., University of Delaware, 1988).

The ceremony of possession enacted by Penn at New Castle was but one of many transactions and negotiations with the people and land he hoped to bring under his dominion. These first encounters often served to distance the project of Pennsylvania from previous settlers and colonial governments while simultaneously acting as expressions of a new era of control under new leadership. The porringer Penn employed in his “communion” of colonialism at New Castle may have been the silver porringer brought from his home in England to America or perhaps it was an already-present item from the fort (Figures 7 and 8). No matter where it came from, the porringer and key were most likely constructed abroad and could act as metonymic devices for the crown. The actors set in this specific place and during this ceremony momentarily elevated the meaning of the objects and dirt beyond their utilitarian functions and involved them in an age-old ceremony, a feudal holdover, where the relationship and rights agreed upon between a lord and landholder were solidified.⁷ Penn’s actions of locking and unlocking the door of the fortress of wood

⁷For a comparative discussion of the ceremonies of possession enacted by the English, Dutch, French and Portuguese see Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe’s Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). In her book Seed uses a linguistic approach to suggest that each tradition was expressed in “vernacular” languages and gestures directed at their “own countrymen and political leaders,” 11. Seed describes the English conceptions of possession as “almost anticereimonial,” 13. Her discussion of the English preoccupation with architectural objects and agricultural activity such as fencing and bounding are useful for understanding early settlement in the Delaware Valley. One critique, however, is her downplaying of the ceremonial and symbolic qualities of these English actions. Although they may have been less dramatic than the Spanish Requerimiento or French parades, events such as Penn’s ritual at the fort carried similar weight in terms of action. Seed falls into the category of historians who used only evidence from New England and Virginia (admittedly Pennsylvania was after her time period). An example of a similar, highly symbolic transfer of power is recounted in William Strachey’s account of Lord De La Warre’s arrival in Jamestown in *A True Reportory*, 1609. In this account La Warre fell on his knees and prayed,

and stone symbolically demonstrated his metamorphosis from a proprietor in word to a proprietor in practice (Figure 9). Enacted in an economic and social center for previous Swedish, Dutch, and English settlement, with onlookers nearby, Penn performed the first of many reciprocal acts involved in his consolidation of control and ownership of the greater Delaware River region.⁸ Accepting a piece of dirt, a twig, water and soil in a European or English vessel normally associated with the everyday acts of dining and cooking, Penn took hold of and contained a New World in miniature and promised to support its growth.

In its miniaturized form this little New World was contained by boundaries of the porringer walls and edges of the turf. It was easy for Penn to further a fantasy of protecting the whole world in his hands and to promise care and visualize

rose and walked between two rows of armed men and flying colors, entered the chapel to hear a sermon and then took his commission to act as governor.

⁸ Scholars have not yet figured out the exact appearance and layout of the Fort at New Castle in 1682. The fort at New Castle, called Fort Casimir under the Dutch and Fort Trinity under Swedish control, was illustrated by the Swedish Engineer Peter Lindstrom in his account *Geographia Americae* in 1655. In 1727 the Reverend George Ross, first rector of Immanuel Church in New Castle, wrote that “In the middle of the Town lies a spacious Green, in the form of a Square, in a corner whereof stood formerly a Fort, & on the Ground whereon the said Citadel was built, they agreed to erect their church...In the year 1704, Emanuel Church, at New Castle was founded...it was finished and opened 1706.” This account is recorded in *350 Years of New Castle, Delaware: Chapters in the Town's History*, ed. Constance Cooper (New Castle, DE: New Castle Historical Society, 2001) 32. For an account of New Castle at the time of English takeover from the Dutch see *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, ed. E.B. O’Callahan (Albany, 1856), 3:345-346. For colonial history of Delaware see John A. Monroe, *Colonial Delaware: A History 3* (Millwood, NY: KTO Press, 1978). That Penn had an audience for his ceremony is evidenced in the remembrances of viewers John Wood and William Peterson in their depositions regarding the Pennsylvania-Maryland boundary dispute, *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, 16:526.

management for a land that seemed so orderly and contained.⁹ In scale to the mini-Pennsylvania, Penn became a larger-than-life protector of his new territory in the eyes of those who beheld this ritual. Yet the real Pennsylvania and surrounding area that Penn encountered was already populated, and its boundaries were anything but fixed. The neat ceremony of possession was not an indicator of things to come. This can explain how William Penn's initially optimistic comments on the new territory shift to more frustrated ones in succeeding years.¹⁰

This early event in Penn's first trip to America is commemorated with a historical marker and sculpture in New Castle and is mentioned in histories of early settlement in the region (Figures 10 and 11). Yet, in the process of shaping the historical image of Penn, from the eighteenth century on, emphasis lies in commemorating the supposed treaty with the Indians. From Mason Weems to Benjamin West to Edward Hicks the image of a benevolent proprietor exchanging goods with supplicant natives is perpetuated in words and images.¹¹ Other scholars

⁹ Susan Stewart reflects on the miniature and suggests "A reduction in dimensions does not produce a corresponding reduction in significance..." The turf, twig, and porringer with soil and water can be viewed as small projections of the world in a containable form. Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993).

¹⁰ Similar to the situation in New York when the English took over control from the Dutch in 1664, previous residents of the region that became defined as Pennsylvania were largely assimilated into the social and political structures imposed by William Penn. In New York, like Pennsylvania, there was relatively little disruption or everyday life or mass violence in response to the shift in power. For more on New York see Joyce D. Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot: Society and Culture in New York City, 1664-1730* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

¹¹ For the highly romantic story of Penn's life by the same author who glorified George Washington's cherry tree cutting see Mason Locke Weems, *The Life of William Penn* (Philadelphia: Uriah Hunt & Son, 1852).

have discussed the dubiousness of this event's occurrence and the mythmaking at work in the resulting works and I, too, will further explore this image in the last chapter.¹² But the fact that Penn did not first run ashore under a great elm to offer gifts to the natives, but rather participated in a long-standing European tradition with other Englishmen and Europeans reveals more clearly his motives for settlement. By first inviting leaders onto his shipboard 'territory' then moving to an architectural space representative of the power of the crown, he reinforced and projected ties to English government, practices of English laws, as well as a commitment to establishing new era of leadership in the Delaware River region. Following this event, Penn promptly traveled to other parts of the Lower Counties (Delaware), Pennsylvania, New Jersey and surrounding territories to perform similar acts of possession and greet fellow colonial and native leaders.

As Penn navigated his way through Pennsylvania, the Lower Counties, New Jersey and beyond he relied on the information he previously accumulated from handwritten letters and deeds, published accounts of the New World, cartographic works and other images, and word-of-mouth. Armed with knowledge gathered from texts, dinner conversations, perambulations around book and mapsellers' stalls at Whitehall, and discussions with fellows of the Royal Society, Penn was by no means ignorant of what to expect when he arrived in America. Despite any reports he

¹² James O'Neil Spady "Colonialism and the Discursive Antecedents of Penn's Treaty with the Indians" *Friends and Enemies in Penn's Woods: Indians, Colonists, and the Racial Construction of Pennsylvania*, edited by William A. Pencak and Daniel K. Richter (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Penn State University Press, 2004), 18-40.

gleaned, however, his knowledge of the landscape was limited. In *Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania*, published in 1681 before he set foot in the colony, his description of the land is rather vague (Figure 12). Of woods he suggested that “there is variety for the use of man” and “for fowl, fish, and wild deer, they are reported to be plentiful.”¹³ And in designing his plan for property disbursement he seriously underestimated the amount of land available and how the topography would alter his plans.¹⁴

As Penn traversed new waterways, walked fields and forests, and dined on local foods he engaged with the land and people in more direct and tangible ways than allowable by remote observation based on letters and accounts sent to him abroad. These observations helped direct the decisions he made as he built, inhabited, and furnished buildings, planted and shaped the land, and created new laws or directed other pursuits affecting the landscape and environment in the area. By all accounts Penn liked what he saw: “I am mightily taken wth this part of the World: Here is a great deal of Nature, wch is to be preferred to base Art, & methinks Simplicity wth enough, is Gold to Lackre, compared to European cunning. I like it so well that a plentiful Estate & a great Acquaintance on th’other side have no Charmes to remove, my Family being once fixt wth me; & if no other thing occur, I am like to be an adopted American”¹⁵ Penn’s material metaphor equates Pennsylvania and

¹³“Some Account of Pennsylvania” in Jean R. Soderlund, *William Penn and the Founding of Pennsylvania, 1680-1684: A Documentary History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983), 58-66.

¹⁴ Hannah Benner Roach, “The Planting of Philadelphia,” *PMHB*, 92:178-179.

¹⁵ William Penn to Lord Culpeper 5th 12mo 1682/3, *Penn Papers* 2:350.

America to the stable, untarnishable element of gold and the old world to the false face of lacquer; a beautiful, but deceptive, covering of a rude core. Taking America as his adopted motherland, Penn envisioned his own shining colony as a respite from a corrupted homeland.

Penn posited that the alchemy of the New World could improve the population that resided in it. To seventeenth-century contemporaries, alchemy related to the processes of improvement in a few ways. It referred to the process of mixing and refining substances and often involved the use of tools and/or spells and incantations. In the New World, people, plantations, languages, and experiences were mixed and the material world provided tools with which to gain order in these processes of contact and negotiation. Rather than a value-free system of transformation, alchemy was often performed in an effort to achieve perfection, with gold being viewed as the perfect state of metal.¹⁶ These elemental analogies highlight the way in which Penn and others viewed personal, material, spiritual and economic improvement as interconnected processes. As Neil Kamil outlines in his book on early New York Huguenot craftsmen in colonial New York, *Fortress of the Soul*, certain groups of Europeans, whose culture was “fragmented by chronic warfare, exclusion, and political instability and actively in search of new modes of security” looked to “an alchemic program of natural philosophy” to harness new world materials and create a new, more secure environments in which to live, work and

¹⁶ William E. Burns, *Science and Technology in Colonial America*, (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2005), 128.

pray.¹⁷ Like the Huguenot refugee group of Kamil, Quakers were persecuted in Europe, England, and America and actively sought methods and places for respite from oppression. Some leaders, informed by German spiritualism, held a “messianic sense of visual perception in the natural and man-made worlds, based on the subtle agency of the light of the Holy Spirit in dark and occluded elemental mater.”¹⁸ How much direct reading of alchemists such as Quaker Jakob Böhme, or Frenchman Bernard Pallisy William Penn did is not known, however, it is certain that he embraced similar rhetoric and apostolic language that emphasized the need to embrace the material expressions of a return from a chaotic world filled with persecution and to “bring things back to their primitive and right order again.”¹⁹ Before he could begin his experiments, however, Penn needed to understand the materials at hand.

To acquaint himself to his new home, Penn became intimately familiar with the landscape of the region during his first visit. In later writings from England he drew on memory of the terrain when he referred specifically to features of the land such as trees.²⁰ In one letter he expressed both his detailed knowledge of the landscape as well as his disappointment in its alteration: “And for as much as I am

¹⁷ Look at Neil Kamil, *Fortress of the Soul: Violence, Metaphysics, and Material Life in the Huguenots' New World, 1517-1751* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 1.

¹⁸ Kamil, 4.

¹⁹ Kamil, 890, quoting Penn from his preface to George Fox's *Journal*.

²⁰ Trees were the most common form of boundary marker in the English tradition. Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, 19.

informed y't ye great oake on ye left hand of ye Center in my Son's Lott or no Lott and so mine in felled, That I so often and solely warned People not to fell."²¹ He also clearly expressed his understanding of how the landscape should be regulated. The oft-cited line that Penn would have the city be a "Green Country Towne" does not fully express his vision for a proper regulation of space. Like his oak, trees were to be guarded.²² They were of great monetary value and Penn directed his commissioners of the land to keep a tight fist on allowances for clearing. In 1689 he wrote "...I took great care whilst I was in the Province among the rest to prevent peoples cutting Wood, and especially Timber off other men's Lotts; and foreseeing the Scarcity that would quickly follow, I did appoint a Woodman, who was instructed to grant such trees as belonged not to any private Person, and in such number as the case deserved, and for his paines to receive 6d pr. Tree."²³ Owners could clear their personal land as they wished, but other trees were off-limits.

But people broke the rules. Colonial correspondence and official minutes of the council, Assembly and courts are filled with complaints and disputes concerning tree infractions. For example, in 1684 the Burlington, NJ court ordered that "a proclamation be issued forth from Governour and Commissioners that noe person etc.

²¹ *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, 19:6.

²² Penn participated in contemporary discussions about landscape management specifically through discussions of his concern for trees. Authors such as John Evelyn, with whom Penn was acquainted, even wrote popular and lengthy treatises on this subject. John Evelyn's *Sylva: or A Discourse of Forest Trees* was first published in 1664, but reprinted a number of times in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries.

²³ *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, 19:4-5.

fell or cutt downe any Timber Trees upon Lands untaken up, or take and carry away the same etc. under the penalty of being Fyned.”²⁴ While clearing trees threatened the increasingly important economic value of his lands, Penn also feared other consequences of a tree-free landscape: rats and strangers. Penn explained his fears as follows “And because one of the evil consequences of destroying the Timber so irregularly, has been the growth of Underwood, which does not only hinder the Towne Stock of the benefit they might else have and render the Town a mere Wilderness, but if not cleared and prevented may become a common nuisance by being a covert for Vermin, and too often for loose and evil Persons...” To Penn, a land of underbrush was a wilderness mecca for undesirables. Penn’s writings about the city and the regulation of space are filled with similar expressions of fear.²⁵ Tangles of vines and bushes were not the only threatening spaces. Buildings were also subject to scrutiny. One of the earliest features of the built environment along the Delaware were semi-in ground structures or “caves.” Oft-noted and fancifully depicted in the work of antiquarians such as John Fanning Watson, these structures were an additional source of worry for Penn because of the visibility and secrecy they threatened (Figure 13).

Initially Penn allowed caves “in regard of the infancy of things and specially out of tenderness to the poorer sort.” These shelters were most likely similar to partial

²⁴ H. Clay Reed and George J. Miller, eds. *The Burlington Court Book: A Record of Quaker Jurisprudence In West New Jersey, 1680-1709* (Washington, D.C.: The American Historical Association 1944), 34.

²⁵ Mackiewicz, “Philadelphia Flourishing.” Mackiewicz discusses connections between buildings, the landscape and assignment of moral worth.

in-ground structures found throughout early settlements in colonial America. Francis Daniel Pastorius, the “founder” of Germantown, noted early figure in Pennsylvania politics and social life, and prolific writer, described the caves as “only holes digged in the Ground, Covered with Earth, a matter of 5 or 6 ft. deep, 10 or 12 wide and about 20 long; whereof neither the Sides nor the Floor’s have been plank’d.”²⁶ Using natural depressions or crevices in the land, sometimes in combination with timber and other readily accessible building materials, these were constructed in Philadelphia, Upland, and possibly other locations along the Delaware. Regretting his early toleration, Penn objected to the continued use of what he envisioned as a temporary housing “perceiving that they are commonly disposed of from one to another as a kind of Property.”

His statement reveals that, in Penn’s mind, caves could not be property; these were simply not within the bounds of what he envisioned as a legitimate “improvement.” And further he feared “the great Detriment that is like to issue to the Street by the continuation of them, as well as the Disorders that their great Secresy hath given occasion to loose people to commit in them.”²⁷ By examining his statements the undesirable elements of “cave dwellings” are revealed.

Like the underbrush, the lack of visibility and relative remoteness was deemed dangerous and a threat to order. Rather than completely outlawing the dwellings, though, Penn modified his statement to allow buildings that could be assessed at

²⁶ Note to a poem “Epibaterium” by Francis Daniel Pastorius, quoted in Marion Dexter Learned and Samuel Whittaker Pennypacker, *The Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius, Founder of Germantown* (Philadelphia: William J. Campbell, 1908), 212.

²⁷ *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, 19:3-4.

thirty pounds. Of the residents of the fifteen caves examined by the commissioners of property four were deemed “worth the Building.”²⁸ Caves threatened order because the goings-on within could be shrouded in secrecy, yet simultaneously their position on the riverbanks was a highly visible location. Transparency was important: what could not be seen could not be managed, and what could not be managed could not be improved. The waterfront was already a dubious locale often associated by contemporaries with plague, transience, and violence.²⁹ For newcomers to first see impermanent, undesirable dwellings and a multitude of “lesser sorts” could discourage a swift erection of more positive improvements.

Penn may have had reservations about transient people or impermanent buildings, but he was highly mobile during his visits to America. After his arrival on the first visit in 1682, he resided at a number of places including the home of Friend (Quaker) Robert Wade at “Essex House,” a one-and-one-half story home in Upland (Chester) facing the creek and Peter Rambo’s house on the west bank of the Schuylkill.³⁰ While he maintained these places to conduct business, dine, and rest, he spent much time in transit.

²⁸ *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, 19:13. John Otter, Benjamin Chambers, Nathaniel Allen and Alse Guest had caves that were estimated to be worth thirty pounds.

²⁹ For more on the history of waterfront culture and contemporary views of these locales see the work of Marcus Rediker and Peter Linebaugh, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and The Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston: Beacon Press and London: Verso, 2000).

³⁰ The brief description and a title trace for the house, in disrepair by around 1800, is found in Henry Graham Ashmead, *Historical Sketch of Chester on Delaware* (Chester, PA: Republican Steam Printing House, 1883), 38-39. In the depositions taken for the boundary dispute between Pennsylvania and Maryland in the mid-

Penn's first New World lodging was actually on his mode of transportation: aboard ship. Even this home required negotiations. A 1701 letter arranging for his transportation back to England from Pennsylvania after his second visit to America illustrates his efforts to define a shipboard "territory." From Captain Jonathan Fitch "of the Ship Delmahoy" Penn negotiated "ye full & free use of ye whole great Cabin of the Ship in her voyage from Pena to London to himself & family for wch he shall pay ye sd capt at London 50 guineas."³¹ Such waterborne spaces of authority helped Penn create some comforts of life as well as establish his rule by occupying the largest and best outfitted space on a ship. This mini-domain extended further when he reached New World waters and the Delaware shores.

As he sailed up and down the Delaware Penn would have seen fields of tobacco, "Old Indian Fields" or agricultural grounds, peach orchards, and marshes.³² Early maps of the region of the Delaware Bay and River dating to the early and middle decades of the seventeenth century often marked these features, settlements and early Dutch and Swedish forts (Figure 14). For example, a circa 1682 New Jersey map produced by John Seller and William Fisher and the more detailed John Thornton and John Seller *Map of Some of the South and East Bounds of Pennsylvania*

eighteenth century John Musgrove, aged 73, reported that he "Came into the Country in 1682, and lived in Newcastle County four Years. Well remembers he first saw William Penn in the Year 1682 at Robert Wade's House in the Town now called Chester in Pensilvania, where the said William Penn then generally lodged..." *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, 16:525.

³¹ October 14, 1701, "Agreed between Govr William Penn & Capt Jno Fitch Commander of the Ship Delmahoy", Logan Papers, 3:fol. 26, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP).

³² *Penn Papers* 2:314.

in America (1681) both show European and native settlements on the west bank of the Delaware River³³ These were new sights for Penn, but he was familiar with observing distant lands and meeting the people who inhabited them. Penn had always been a man on the move who “lay at Prison” in Ireland, lost his way on roads in Germany, and received favors to secure “the best accommodation” on the “Pacquet” boat from England to Holland in his travels in Europe, England, and Ireland.³⁴ In America, he traveled on boats, rode horses and walked on foot along the Delaware on the few main routes that existed in the early colonial era.³⁵ Penn understood the importance of maintaining a suitable seat for conducting business and expressed preference for a “decent mansion” and a “country life and estate” as a home for his family. But practical considerations kept him mobile, and mandated a flexible residential circuit in both the Old World and the New. The line between mobility and transiency was a fine one and the distinction between suitable and non-suitable abodes lay more in their use and the company within than in the fabric of a structure alone.

Before Penn made efforts to construct a country house in Pennsylvania he invested more time in securing his control of land in the Lower Counties from James,

³³ For more information on these maps see catalogue numbers 541 and 549 in Philip D. Burden, *The Mapping of North America*, v. 2 (Rickmansworth: Raleigh Publications, 2007) as well as John Parr Snyder, *The Mapping of New Jersey: The Men and the Art* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1973).

³⁴ See the *Penn Papers* for the proprietor’s extensive travels.

³⁵ For a forthcoming work on transportation in early Pennsylvania see Jeff Kaja, *From Rivers to Roads: Economic Development and the Evolution of Transportation Systems in Early Pennsylvania, 1675-1800*, (PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, forthcoming).

Duke of York, creating additional treaties with Indians for land in Pennsylvania, attempting to secure boundaries with New York and Maryland, and buying the Salem tenth in New Jersey at the mouth of the Delaware. At times, he, or emissaries representing him, performed elements of the *livery of seizen*. But with the urgency of securing the claims in a timely manner the rituals were often circumscribed. With control of the mouth of the river and a site selected for the capital city Penn could then turn to personal projects. Even when Penn purchased the land and existing structures on the property that would become his main plantation of Pennsbury, though, he did not permanently reside there. Nonetheless, the selection of this particular site allowed access to, and control of, a key area in the region.

Penn had other options for building a country place. He held manors and land in Bucks, Chester, and Philadelphia counties as well as the lower counties, in addition to his city lots. For example, Penn alludes in his writings to the possibility of building on his Springettsberry Manor on the Schuylkill side near “my hill” better known as Fair Mount.³⁶ Penn did invest some resources into cultivation of this property including his arrangements for a gardener, Andrew Doz, to plant and maintain a vineyard on the land.³⁷ But for a variety of reasons, the point in Bucks County where he eventually erected his house held a particular appeal. The land was part of the first

³⁶ *Penn Papers*, 2:361 and Hannah Benner Roach, “The Planting of Philadelphia,” *PMHB*, 92:178-179.

³⁷ Elizabeth Milroy, “‘For the like uses- As the Moor-Fields’: The Politics of Penn’s Squares” *PMHB* 130:3, July 2006, 21.

purchase of property from the Indians by Penn's agents on July 15, 1682.³⁸ The treaty with Idquahon and fellow Delaware leaders included land extending above the Falls of the Delaware River to Neshaminy Creek. This was a strategic purchase of land to control access to established native and European settlements, transportation routes, and the goods and human contacts that passed through this region. The location was situated just below the northernmost navigable point on the Delaware, close, but not too close, to the major Indian settlement of Playwicki, located near the previous settlement of Burlington, New Jersey where the Quaker meeting had already been established since the 1670s and near the main road to the colonial New Jersey capitals of Perth Amboy and Elizabethtown, and access to nearby New York.³⁹ The convenience of the location "situate on the Delaware, 9 miles below the Falls, 5 miles above Bristol, and 25 miles from this city, in Bucks county." was still used as a selling point for the property in an eighteenth century advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*:⁴⁰ Penn, and his representatives who helped select the land, chose well. They pushed the limits of their rights while remaining geographically close to the Delaware river.

Eighteenth-century descriptions of Penn's land characterized it as "extraordinary good, particularly several hundred acres of rich bottoms (some of

³⁸ From an image in *Pennsbury Manor* by Larry Tise for the Pennsylvania Historic and Museum Commission, (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2002). From a map in Jean R. Soderlund, *William Penn and the Founding of Pennsylvania*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983).

³⁹ For more on Playwicki, see Michael Stewart, "The Indian Town Site of Playwicki" *Journal of Middle Atlantic Archaeology*, 15 (1999): 35-54.

⁴⁰ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 27, 1788.

which are well timbered) adjoining the river Delaware; this, with the conveniency of water carriage of fire wood, & c. from thence to the city of Philadelphia... renders it one of the most valuable tracts that is now for sale in America.”⁴¹ The location near the Delaware, or to creeks with access to the Delaware and created a highway for “white oak, black oak, and hickory” to be transported to the Philadelphia markets is repeatedly used to promote sale of properties carved from the original Pennsbury claim.⁴² The land was “good for grass and grain as any in Pennsylvania, and hath not above an acre broken land in the whole tract, is plentifully supplied with wood and water, and well situated for fishing and fowling.”⁴³ The property held appeal, then, for political, economic and social reasons and its selection for a country place was a shrewd move.

The Pennsbury site was selected not for being secluded or a place of respite and relaxation for but for being located in the heart of native and colonial political, economic and social activity.⁴⁴ It was a strategic crossroads facilitating establishment of a buffer against former territorial claims as well as a gateway to future expansion. In studies of the site, Pennsbury is often described as Penn’s country home or “retreat.” Once Philadelphia was more extensively settled during Penn’s tenure, this

⁴¹ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 30, 1767.

⁴² *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 10, 1792.

⁴³ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 27, 1788.

⁴⁴ For a discussion of “country house ideology” in early Pennsylvania see Mark Reinberger and Elizabeth McLean, “Isaac Norris’ Fairhill: Architecture, Landscape and Quaker Ideals in a Philadelphia Colonial Country Seat” *Winterthur Portfolio* 32:4 (Winter,1997): 243-274.

was indeed one of the functions of the property. Mark Reinberger and Elizabeth McLean argue that houses such as Isaac Norris Sr.'s Fairhill (c. 1712-1717) functioned "as a fulfillment of Quaker ideals of a virtuous life in the country, as a retirement away from both the riches and worries of the city." As such a country house like Fairhill was a material expression of "otium" or "serenity, seclusion, or relaxation" instead of "negotium" or "the conduct of business and public affairs." Reinberger and Mclean do discuss how this ideal was not fully realized by Norris.⁴⁵ But in 1682/3 contemporary documents and maps clearly illustrate that the same ideals are not completely applicable to the choice of location for Pennsbury.

Seen in this light, it is no surprise that during Penn's first trip in the colonies the property largely served as an administrative center. Marriages, meetings of Friends, treaties with native leaders, and court sessions took place at the property. Additionally, Pennsbury was one of the three or four (depending on the year) locations for the annual collection of quitrents (fees paid to the proprietor in return for ownership of land). The property served these and similar functions later into the eighteenth century. While no area along the river had extremely dense settlement, when Penn bought the land it was anything but free of inhabitants. The Indian town of Playwicky was nearby and a community of mostly English settlers called Crewcome also preexisted.⁴⁶ Crewcome (alternately known as Creekhorne and other alternate spellings as well as by the geographic location "at the Falls" of the Delaware River)

⁴⁵ Reinberger and McLean "Isaac Norris's Fairhill," 243-244.

⁴⁶ *Penn Papers*, 2:267; W.H. Davis, *History of Bucks County, Pennsylvania* (Doylestown: Democrat Book and Job Office, 1876).

had a court by 1680 and soon after transfer to Penn's ownership of the region, an official Quaker meeting.⁴⁷ While Penn had signed a treaty for the land with the natives, he still had to purchase the already-settled land from a man named Thomas King, who seems not to have been a fully eager participant in the transfer of ownership.

To express opposition to the proprietor's presence, King unleashed abuses on his former property that cut to the heart of seventeenth-century property rights. In a February 1683/84 letter, Penn's steward John Harrison explained some of the "divers great & unsufferable trespe[sses] & abuses commited." The list began "first he with som to assist him pulled downe 14 pannals of railes in fence, 2dly he has pulled downe & burned, & otherwise disposed a place that was for securing of Indea[n] corn in the eare, & husk, & hath impaired the fence in divers p[laces] soe that bease & swine com in where I had s[ow]ne A[nd planted?] som thousands, wheate clover, & other seeds" and continued "Likewise he hath cut in pieces som clifte that was to be palasadas, & have Carried away divers of the palasadas." But "worst of all he is gon & keeps the kea of the dore to my preiudise."⁴⁸ When scholars discuss Thomas King, they downplay him as being merely "troublesome." But his actions were not minor

⁴⁷ For a brief account of Crewcorne see William Watts Hart Davis, Warren Smedley Ely, and John Woolf Jordan, *History of Bucks County, Pennsylvania* (New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1905), 66-67.

⁴⁸ *Penn Papers*, 2:525.

infractions. And they reveal some of the obstacles facing Penn's presence and illustrate the role of the built environment as a site for, and object of, discord.⁴⁹

King's actions damaged expressions of "improvement" in the form of fences, trees, and buildings. Having peach trees "eaten & broaken", fences robbed of boards, and agricultural stores wasted was not merely annoying; order turned to disorder and efforts at creating a model landscape were threatened. In an action preventing "Laigell possecon" the key was intentionally not bestowed on the proprietor or his steward. While King could appeal to the nearby court, his arguments may have carried little weight since the former authorities for the Duke of York were no longer in control and Penn's people were the ones actually on the ground. Residents of the area before Penn did send petitions to the Duke of York, because there was no one else to look to. But because they were, as William Davis asserted, "nowhere" in terms of jurisdiction their claims fell on deaf ears.⁵⁰ There would be no peaceable transfer of power here to replicate the scene in New Castle upon Penn's arrival. To remedy the situation Harrison made the plea to Penn "I thus trouble thee, but humbly desire thee to use thy powr for I & mine are kept at a distance from our business."⁵¹ How the matter was eventually resolved is unknown, but Penn must have exerted control or King tired of his efforts. By July of 1684 the matter seems to be rested and a new house partially constructed.

⁴⁹ Another work discussing buildings as contested objects is Bernard Herman's *The Stolen House* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992).

⁵⁰ Davis, *History of Bucks County*, 67.

⁵¹ *Penn Papers*, 2:525.

These scenes of domestic violence or violence on material symbols of possession were not unusual in the New World. In Massachusetts, the legendary the maypole at “Ma-re Mount” or Merrymount was cut down by Puritan neighbors in the 1620s as a sign of opposition to Thomas Morton and his community members.⁵² During Bacon’s rebellion, anger at the colonial government resulted in the burning of houses at Jamestown.⁵³ And there are many more instances, famous, and not-so-famous, of similar actions. Robert Blair St. George recounts numerous examples of “house attacks” and violence on property that plagued seventeenth and early eighteenth-century New Englanders. As St. George explains such invasion and destruction of private property was “a strategy to resist official but unwarranted acts of seizure.” He describes them as a reversal on the common-law concept of *vacuum domicilium* which was invoked to justify land seizures from Native Americans: “If one built a house on a piece of unimproved land, one had a legal right to that terrain.” As he states “In the house attacks, the reverse was argued: if you could tear down a house in a single night, its space and contents reverted to common possession.”⁵⁴

⁵² Karen Ordahl Kupperman, “Thomas Morton, Historian,” *New England Quarterly* 50:4 (Dec., 1977): 660-664.

⁵³ Willie Graham, Carter L. Hudgins, Carl L. Lounsbury, Frasier D. Neiman, and James P. Whittenburg, “Adaptation and Innovation: Archaeological and Architectural Perspectives on the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 64:3 (Jul., 2007) 451-522.

⁵⁴ Robert Blair St. George, *Conversing By Signs: Poetics of Implication in Colonial New England Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 282-283.; David Grayson Allen “Vacuum Domicilium: The Social and Cultural Landscape of Seventeenth Century New England.” in Jonathan Fairbanks and Robert Trent, *New England Begins: The Seventeenth Century* (Boston: The Museum of Fine Arts, 1982) 1:1-9.

Although most records indicate that fences and houses, clearing and planting constituted “improvements,” most definitions were interpreted and negotiated on a regional and community level as the following case suggests. In one instance, a group of New Jersey men including masters and servants were called to face the Burlington court under the indictment “that the aforesaid persons the second of July 1683 did in Riotous and forcible manner Enter upon the Lands of said John Lambert and then and there Cutt downe the Corne of the said John Lambert.” All were found guilty and fined except Michael Newbold “being but a youth.”⁵⁵

In this case, two men, John Newbold and John Lambert, fought over claims to land and the improvements they made to the property. The conflict suggests that improvement did not have to meet specific criteria. There was no checklist to deem a property improved or not. To settle the case a panel was set to view the improvements so they could be “viewed and valued by four persons indifferently to be nominated for that purpose.”⁵⁶

Improvement was not necessarily tied to ownership, either. In 1683 Daniel Linzey came before the court to “sayeth hee hath had the Land whereon he Cutt Timber seaven yeares in quiet possession and hee desires to purchase it: ordered that the land be measured alsoe.” The quiet possession is an interesting concept and a definite reference to the principles of *vacuum domicilium*.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ H. Clay Reed and George J. Miller, eds. *The Burlington Court Book: A Record of Quaker Jurisprudence In West New Jersey, 1680-1709*. (Washington, D.C.: The American Historical Association, 1944), 17-20.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 17.

⁵⁷ Grayson Allen “Vacuum Domicilium.”

Quiet possession is particularly applicable to the area where Penn chose to site his manor. The area of Crewcorne was a space that is often interpreted as a region with little authority or lacking leadership. Many residents occupied land that was not necessarily recognized by official claims. The area alternately fell under the dominion of Dutch and English rule and was sold by the native residents to both the Duke of York and to Penn. Despite so many so-called owners, there was not a direct area of targeted on-the-ground leadership or ruling presence until Penn arrived. Perhaps this was one appeal to the residents of the area who enjoyed proximity to trading towns to benefit from trade ties, but just enough freedom to reside away from any watchful eye of governors or other politicians in New Jersey or Delaware.

Occasionally, fringe living took its toll on some residents who complained of Indians breaking into homes to get rum. And there were other similar incidences. At first glance this seems like these cases speak to the dangers of living on the “frontier”. Yet at second read, the very people complaining of troubles were also participants in the trade of alcohol to native neighbors. For example, William Biles, a member of the Crewcorne court and a leading resident, who complained about being “agrieved when the Indians are drunk” and asked that “ye selling of brandy and other strong liquors to ye Indians may be wholly suppressed” was himself accused of providing alcohol to the native people in the area.⁵⁸

Building a new structure in this “no man’s land” or rather “every man’s land” not only served to provide a formal administrative center in the northwest region of Penn’s possessions, it also demonstrated the permanence of his rule. While the house

⁵⁸ Davis, *History of Bucks County*, p. 66

itself may not have reached the design expectations or level of finish desired by Penn, it's presence on the landscape, and on representations of the landscape such as maps, served the proprietor's needs. The edifice physically embodied Penn and his interests in the colony both in his presence and in his absence.

What did visitors see when they passed by the property on the river or came by land for treaties, state affairs, or personal business? The account of King's actions provides some clues as to the layout of the existing estate Penn purchased. It had at least one dwelling house, probably constructed of wood, within a setting of fields, orchards, and pastures enclosed with wood fencing. As Mark Reinberger suggests in his recent analysis of the property, the new dwelling was probably a modest structure that was added onto or replaced by an updated building that is not well-represented by the current reconstruction (begun in 1938) (Figure 15). Period records and archaeological excavations suggest the house Penn invested in was part frame and part brick, had at least two stories, and was possibly a T-plan (Figures 16 and 17).⁵⁹ This structure was different enough from waterfront caves, small houses, or post-in-ground Lenape homes to create an impression of permanence and Penn deemed the structure suitable enough to share with his family.

Despite Penn's efforts, the house was not complete when Penn left it. After returning to England in 1684, Penn's writings express his initial high hopes of a swift return and a desperate longing to reside in Pennsylvania "I aime at Americanizeing

⁵⁹ Mark Reinberger and Elizabeth P. Mclean, "Pennsbury Manor: Reconstruction and Reality." *PMHB*, 131: 3 (July, 2007).

my family, & come prepared accordingly...”⁶⁰ However, permanent residence in the New World was not to be for the proprietor or his family. Even of the time spent in the colony from 1682-1684 and from 1699-1701, very little was spent at the manor in Bucks County. Only during the Penns’ second stay did the house take on some level of finish. And this quickly eroded with their departure. The leaky roof, rotting wood and crumbling walls mirrored the eroding influence of the proprietor and his interests at the dawn of the eighteenth-century. And its physical distance from the bulk of settlement also represented the distance between Penn and his people. Initially, this separation suited Penn’s vision of open spaces, proprietary manors, and traditional methods of dividing and inhabiting the land.⁶¹ In England, upper sorts had long maintained multiple residences including urban rental properties and townhouses to complement their (often multiple) country estates and landholdings. But this did not translate into the developing culture where people clustered into the city along the waterfront or in “country” homes closer to the urban core. Pennsbury, while initially important as a symbolic monument to Penn’s rule in the region, became more of a decomposing physical reminder of the proprietor’s absenteeism.

⁶⁰ *Penn Papers*, 3:117

⁶¹ Seed suggests “In English law, neither a ceremony nor a document but the ordinary action of constructing a dwelling place created the right of possession.” Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, 19. In his discussion of the River Gods of the Connecticut River Valley in the mid-eighteenth century, Sweeney also discusses how the visual impact of the shell of the house was more important to expressing power than the interior arrangement or furnishing. Kevin Sweeney, “Mansion People: Kinship, Class, and Architecture in Western Massachusetts in the Mid Eighteenth Century” *Winterthur Portfolio*, 19:4.

When Penn was absent from Pennsbury, it was his stewards, servants, and slaves who actually inhabited and maintained the property. When Thomas Penn, William's son, visited the property in 1736, he lamented, "The kitchen house was very open, so that servants who look after the plantation could not live warm and dry, which made me think it absolutely necessary to be at some small charge to mend their house. No person had lived in the big house for near twenty years..."⁶² Rather than mere service and work areas, the kitchen, and probably other outbuildings, functioned as primary domestic spaces for the permanent residents of the estate. Interestingly, Thomas Penn does not consider living at the property, merely fixing it up as a habitable residence for the caretakers. His interests lay further west in expanding the province's territory by methods honest and, according to many interpretations, dishonest. He spent significant energy in establishing new towns such as Reading and was the Penn family representative involved with the notorious "Walking Purchase" or "Walking Treaty" of 1737. Thomas himself chose to reside at the "Governor's House" on Second Street. While Penn himself may not have found the service spaces at Pennsbury suitable living quarters, they were seemingly the most regularly inhabited quarters on the property. The manor home itself functioned as a symbol of proprietary interests more than as a home during Penn's lifetime.

It was the servants like James Harrison or John and Mary Sotcher and slaves like Peter and Parthenia, who became the effectual inheritors of the proprietary

⁶² Thomas Penn to William Penn, Jr. Nov. 25, 1736, reel 5, Thomas Penn Papers, HSP, (microfilm, University of Delaware Library).

holdings at Pennsbury.⁶³ These servants were more representative of typical Pennsylvanians than the Penn sons and grandsons. For example the Sotchers, who married after meeting as servants at Pennsbury, left the property to live on their own land.⁶⁴ Just because Penn was not a longstanding resident of his manor, did not mean that he cared little for the importance of his residences. He should be considered a product of his social standing and era, in his occupation of multiple residences, and also typical in his role as a renter.

In addition to being an absentee landowner, it is essential to understand that William Penn was a renter. While he was a large landowner and constructed or altered various estates in America and England, much of his time was spent in temporary quarters like the rooms and suites he occupied during missionary and diplomatic work, rooms in friends' homes, and large rental properties such as the "Slate Roof House" in Philadelphia. In this he was not alone. Many people of all economic backgrounds rented living quarters in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. A modern analogy exists in the form of the presidents and other government officials who temporarily reside in the White House, Naval Observatory, or other rented homes, while simultaneously owning houses in their home states and spending many nights in hotel rooms in their travels. The centrality of renting is evidenced by the high percentage of renters, the fact that house values were based on rental price, not sale value of a property, and the fact that not only non-owners rented,

⁶³ Reinberger and McLean, 18-22.

⁶⁴ Larry Tise, *Pennsbury Manor (Pennsylvania Trail of History Guide)* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2002), 22-23.

but so, too, did many individuals who owned one or more properties. Home ownership was viewed more a negotiable commodity rather than an end in itself.⁶⁵ This may seem at odds with the desire to build and plant, yet this was not the case. For it seems that Penn and other early leaders held a quite fluid understanding of economic investments in lands and properties.

One of the properties Penn rented was the Slate Roof House (a name first applied to the structure in the nineteenth century) (Figure 18). Samuel Carpenter, a merchant and close associate of Penn, built the two-story, brick, forecourt building sometime before 1699. The design, form, materials, and arrangement of space within the house referenced other prominent dwellings and public buildings throughout the Atlantic world during the later seventeenth-century such as the Bristol Exchange and personal “great houses.” The building’s architectural stature no doubt prompted James Logan’s opinion that this structure was “the only suitable place to be thought of in town” for the location for meetings of the Council, Commissioners of Property, and reception of the Governor.⁶⁶ Carpenter’s accounts with Penn record that the proprietor paid 80 pounds “To 2 years Rent my house Ending the 22th 10 month 1701” (Figure 19).⁶⁷ This sum provided Penn with spaces for entertaining, working

⁶⁵ Sharon V. Salinger and Charles Wetherell, “Wealth and Renting in Prerevolutionary Philadelphia” *The Journal of American History*, 71:4 (Mar., 1985): 826-840. In fact, the majority of urban American dwellings were not occupied by their owners until 1945. Some scholars have suggested that homeownership, in and of itself, was not the sole component in obtaining a “decent competency.”

⁶⁶ *Penn Papers*, 4:192.

⁶⁷ Accounts 1699-1701, Governor William Penn to Samuel Carpenter, Penn-Physick Papers, Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society, Buffalo, New York.

and living (Figure 20). Inventories created at the time of Penn's departure from Pennsylvania in 1701 reveal some of the ways in which the buildings were used by the proprietor. Beds, "quiltks" (quilts), close stools, and curtains for privacy in the best chamber and nursery created spaces for sleeping and grooming. Clocks, tables, chairs, maps, knives, forks and cruet stands in the parlors and hall provided equipage for entertaining and official business. And the pots and pans candle sticks, and linens in the kitchen acted as tools for a service staff to maintain the functions of the house.⁶⁸ This as a multifunctional building employed to serve personal and provincial needs.

Pennsbury was the location of Indian meetings, marriages, and other ceremonial events. The city house acted as home for the land office and surveying projects. Ultimately these were satellite locations serving complementary purposes that were equally essential to the Proprietor's business and personal affairs. In his book on colonial plantation society in South Carolina, S. Max Edelson illustrates the same pattern of complementary, multi-faceted building projects among low-country South Carolina planters. He illustrates how the spaces of agricultural labor provided the wealth for the "public" presence in an urban setting and how the status achieved through this more urbane front doubled back to support the agricultural pursuits. Planters used plantation houses and townhouses as mutually reinforcing spheres of

⁶⁸ *Penn Papers*, 4:135. These items are listed under the section heading "Goods left at Philadelphia/The 20\th of the 9\th Month 1701" in comparison to those left at Pennsbury.

supporting elite culture within a slave system.⁶⁹ While the specifics are different in the Delaware Valley, this complimentary use and role of build environments was shared throughout the English colonial world.

From Jamestown to Boston, there are examples of designating a structure for multifunctional official purposes. In Jamestown, recent excavations and architectural research suggest that Structure 144 is indeed the building long-thought to contain the Virginia Statehouse from 1665 until 1698. While one section of the building most likely contained the chambers for burgesses, courts, the colonial secretary and other official business, other sections of the long range of connected spaces were “country” houses.⁷⁰ In Boston, the Town House was used to hold court, town meetings, to hold a library and offices or chambers for officials, and below, served as a space for an exchange or market. And in both Jamestown and Boston, these structures were funded with and driven by the strong support of prominent individuals. In Virginia Philip Ludwell oversaw construction and reconstruction of the Statehouse; the Town House of Boston was made possible by the benevolence of Robert Keyne after his death (his will provided the direction and funding for the building).⁷¹

Although Carpenter owned and constructed the “Slate Roof House” he probably never lived there. Why, then, did Carpenter build this? Perhaps he intended

⁶⁹ See S. Max Edelson, *Plantation Enterprise in Colonial South Carolina* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).

⁷⁰ Cary Carson, Willie Graham, Carl Lounsbury, and Martha McCartney, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Research Division, *Description and Analysis of Structure 144, Jamestown, Virginia*, Report to APVA Jamestown Discovery, 20 August, 2002.

⁷¹ On the Boston Town House see Josiah Henry Benton, *The Story of the Old Boston Town House 1658-1711* (Boston: Privately Printed by the Merrymount Press, 1908).

to make it a residence, but decided the proprietor's interests were of greater importance. It helps to understand who Carpenter was to ground his projects in context. A native of Horsham, Sussex County, England, Samuel Carpenter arrived in the burgeoning town of Philadelphia with a certificate from Bridgetown Meeting in Barbados dated 6mo. 23, 1683.⁷² Having earned capital from trade in the Caribbean commercial metropolis, Carpenter entered Pennsylvania a wealthy merchant eager for success. Why he decided to emigrate to Barbados, and later to Philadelphia, is unknown.⁷³ But if he was akin to contemporaries, he saw potential for financial success in the sugar-rich island and then later in expanding his reach to mainland North America. Records suggest he was not altogether at ease in Barbados, having been fined for refusing to furnish men in arms in 1673 and shortly before his departure in 1683.⁷⁴ Many of Philadelphia's first purchasers of land were English or Irish Quakers, and a significant number came from Caribbean islands, notably Barbados and Jamaica, where they had pursued commercial prosperity as merchants or planters.⁷⁵ Any combination of religious, economic, and personal motives may have been involved in Carpenter's decision to move. It is thought that William Penn

⁷² Albert Cook Myers, *Quaker Arrivals at Philadelphia 1682-1750* (Baltimore: Southern Book Company, 1957), 9.

⁷³ Samuel Carpenter is an intriguing, if elusive, character. While some correspondence exists, relatively few details of his life are known, especially for the years before he arrived in Philadelphia.

⁷⁴ Edward Carpenter and General Louis Henry Carpenter, *Samuel Carpenter and his Decendents* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1912), 5.

⁷⁵ Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1972), 336.

was directly involved in promoting his lands to the merchant.⁷⁶ Their homes in England (Penn at Warminghurst, and Carpenter at Horsham) were in close proximity in Sussex County, and their commercial and religious interests could have easily brought them into contact. Whatever the reason, Carpenter arrived in Philadelphia, purchased property, and established himself as an influential and well-respected member of the community. Records indicate that he quickly became involved in community affairs and he first appears in provincial council records on “ye 21th of ye 12th Mo., 1683,” six months after his debarkation, as a selected individual to administer the will of Jno. Vanborson.⁷⁷ Carpenter later held a number of public offices such as a member of the provincial assembly, a council of state, a commissioner to Penn, a Deputy Governor, treasurer of the province, and a trustee of the public school.⁷⁸

In turn Carpenter was a strong supporter of the proprietor’s interests. So perhaps he was doing his friend a favor. On the other hand, the experience with Thomas King on the Pennsbury property suggests Penn was entirely willing to wield his power to acquire access to handpicked properties. Yet another explanation for Carpenter building the house is his business savvy and aspirations. Carpenter can be framed as yet another early speculative builder similar to those at Jamestown or

⁷⁶ Peter Thompson, *Rum Punch and Revolution: Taverngoing and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 28.

⁷⁷ *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, (Philadelphia: Jo. Steveens & Co., 1852), 1:94.

⁷⁸ John W. Jordan, *Colonial and Revolutionary Families of Pennsylvania* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1978), 1:469-479.

Boston. He certainly understood the power of building and the importance of deliberate positioning on the landscape. Carpenter's city lot was centrally-located between Front and Second Streets near the banks of the Delaware River. He received this plot, part of which was shared with his brother Joshua, because of his role as a first purchaser of 5000 acres in the province.⁷⁹ Each first purchaser received a city lot. Carpenter received his in 1684 (24th day, 5th month).⁸⁰ Soon after receiving this coveted land the brothers began an extensive building project. Investment in land and improvements demonstrated the brothers' shrewd business sense. By all accounts the Carpenters selected prime real estate for his personal and investment building projects. In the winter of 1683/84 one neighbor, the newly-arrived merchant James Claypoole, shivered in his self-titled "carcass of a house" in Philadelphia and described his new surroundings. In his assessment he wrote "My lot in this place proves to be especially [good] for trade, one of the [best] in the city..."⁸¹ As an illustration of this prime location he described how "Samuel Carpenter is next but one to me and is likely to get a great estate quickly."⁸² Located close to the north/south center of the planned city, near navigable waterways for trade, and surrounded by lots

⁷⁹ *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, 1:94. According to the "Plan of Philadelphia," a document created in the 1740's by the surveyor general, William Parsons, Samuel Carpenter owned six city lots. The "Plan" documented the distribution of lots among original purchasers. Nicholas B. Wainwright, "Plan of Philadelphia," *PMHB* 92 (April, 1956): 164-226.

⁸⁰ Patent from William Penn to Samuel Carpenter, 4th month, 24th day 1684, #27., Penn Papers, Manuscript Division, HSP.

⁸¹ Mary Balderston, ed., *James Claypoole's Letter Book* (San Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, 1967), 223.

⁸² *Claypoole's Letter Book*, 224

owned by the Free Society of Traders and other ambitious first-purchasers, Carpenter's land was both visible and accessible to city residents and visitors alike. Here, ships arriving from distant ports in Europe and the West Indies brought merchandise and human cargo into the town and carried off valuable provincial stores such as "tobacco, skins, silver, pipe staves, and timber."⁸³ This was the center of the growing city and the place to see and be seen.

One glance at the often-reproduced painting, Peter Cooper's *The South East Prospect of the City of Philadelphia* (c.1718), reveals the prominent location of Carpenter's holdings (Figure 21). Thought to be one of the earliest landscape paintings of a North American city, the painting depicts the advancement of building and growth of commerce. While the architectural elements are at least somewhat fanciful, the painting underscores the variation in style and form. It also demonstrates the arrangement of property holdings, including twenty-four structures enumerated in a key. Situated near the center of the scene, on or near the waterfront, are "Saml Carpenter's Store" and "Sm Carpenters Dwelling Hs." Nearby is his brother "Io. Carpenters Stores" as well as the Quaker Meeting House and Court House that Carpenter frequented and supported through service and money. Carpenter's is the only name mentioned twice on the list of properties in the painting's key. This plum location was secured first by the selection of his city lot. And later, a large grant of waterfront rights given to Carpenter from Penn effectively gave him control over the heart of the commercial part of the city. The resulting business complex included the first wharf and dock, warehouses with cellars and vaults, cranes for unloading ships,

⁸³ *Claypoole's Letter Book*, 233.

and stairs “for the Comodious passing & repassing of all persons to & from the water free forever.”⁸⁴ Through these efforts, Carpenter effectively controlled a large portion of the city’s commerce for a number of years. His regulated spaces on the river would have provided contrast to the disorder of the caves and boosted Penn’s ideas of proper management of waterfront space.

Control of commerce was not solely a matter of moving, storing, and selling goods. The personal connections between investors, merchants, consumers, captains, and sailors were equally essential. And the face-to-face negotiations of these individuals often took place in private homes, government buildings, on the docks, and in the centers of seventeenth and eighteenth-century commercial and social life, the coffee house and tavern. Carpenter, in partnership with his brother Joshua, established the Tun tavern, and a brewery in the building on the wharf. Additionally, Samuel Carpenter built the Globe tavern and Carpenter’s Coffeehouse on the east side of Front Street.⁸⁵ Similar to the Slate Roof House, these were investments funded by the Carpenters, but rented and operated by tenants.

Carpenter’s influence on commercial and social life was not limited to the city alone. His other investments and holdings included lands on the east and west sides of the Delaware River in Philadelphia, Bucks, and Chester Counties of Pennsylvania and in West Jersey. These ranged from personal holdings, such as his island with

⁸⁴ *Penn Papers*, 2:542.

⁸⁵ Peter Thompson, *Rum, Punch, and Revolution: Taverngoing & Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 91-92.; *Minutes of Council* 5 5mo, 1686. Joshua Carpenter is licensed for 3 mos. To keep an ordinary in his brother Saml. Carpenter’s house on the wharf.

improvements including a home, orchards, and a “mulberry walk,” to business partnerships like the mill he owned with William Penn and Caleb Pusey, to land he bought and sold for profit (Figure 22). Carpenter seems to be the epitome of a merchant with diversified interests. While his example is perhaps an extreme one, the Dickinsons, Norris, and other prominent early settlers also invested widely and poured money into building projects for personal and public use.

Carpenter’s reputation was not untarnished. Although at his death he was lauded as being “universally loved and esteemed,” during his lifetime contemporaries seemed to tire of his complaining and his repeated pleas for reimbursement for charitable donations and other allotments of money that he made for the improvement of society. One gets the impression that he was outmoded by the time of his death and considered a cranky old man from the old regime. Despite critiques, in hindsight, his diversified investment strategy on the waterfront seems quite ambitious and forward-thinking.

In contrast, Penn held an older vision of building estates and moving between them. It was tradition for the court and elites to move whole households between different properties in the medieval era. Even in the early modern time period in England, landed elites often made a circuit between their properties. Penn himself had been sent as an emissary for his father’s interests in Ireland. Although Carpenter was also a mover, having stopped in the Caribbean before his migration to Pennsylvania, he was more of a builder than Penn. He envisioned himself as a charitable benefactor, but problems arose when he expected returns for his “gifts” and “Investments”. What

he created, though, was a more commercial enterprise of diversified holdings....similar to later “developers” and real estate speculators in the city.⁸⁶

The examples of Penn and Carpenter underscore two strategies used by early leaders to pursue projects of improvement: mobility and diversity of investments. By investing widely, Carpenter was able to assert control over commerce and government. And these investments also shaped the landscape of the city and surrounding country as well as directed the experiences of the people in the area. Mobility (Penn’s travels) or at least a worldly outlook (Carpenter’s connections to and knowledge of world affairs) were important to maintaining business and personal relationships and essential for securing building rights and expressing relations of power. A focus on single building projects (such as a study of Pennsbury) does not allow a full understanding of these networks of buildings, spaces and relationships. Penn and Carpenter’s improvement projects did not come to fruition through peaceful transfers of power and friendly favors alone. Opponents such as Thomas King were quieted, plantation homes such as Pennsbury erected, and control of strategic lands in the city and country achieved, but not without some assertion of political might, business savvy, and a detailed knowledge of diplomacy.

As Pennsbury sat empty with rain falling through the roof, the Slate Roof house held firm (Figures 23 and 24). It became a business center for the proprietary

⁸⁶ An example of another zealous investor and promoter of building projects in early Philadelphia is John Dorsey, who designed, assisted in building or funding, and promoted a number of projects including the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts (1805), portions of the Pennsylvania Hospital, a part of a bridge over the Schuylkill, and city and country residences. James F. O’ Gorman, et. al. *Drawing towards Building: Philadelphia Architectural Graphics 1732-1986* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press for the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, 1986), 39-40

interests. Logan mostly stayed in town, too busy to attend to matters at the eroding edifice with an absentee owner. By Logan's accounts, the Pennsbury servants were lonely and felt abandoned. In a letter dating from 1702, in the year following the proprietor's departure James Logan wrote to Penn about the rather dismal state of the servants at the proprietary manor: "At Pennsbury they are now In indifferent health peter I Informed before is Dead & both Hugh and Barras ye only 2 white servants have been ill of e Distemper but are recovered, Hugh is going to be Married and Leaves us soon as his place can be supplied, Mary is so Lonesome that she is resolved in Winter, if her husband come not before to come Live in Town."⁸⁷ The draw of the city reached these servants as well as the elites.

Jacob Taylor managed land matters at the Slate Roof House. As the successor to position of Surveyor General, formerly held by Thomas Holme and Edward Pennington, Taylor inherited the weighty task of handing out warrants and collecting surveys from deputy surveyors and certified the accuracy of the work.⁸⁸ While Taylor was certainly out in the field at times, it seems he spent more time at a wring desk than the surveyors table. In addition to the official work of organizing and recording surveys, Taylor produced almanacs and poetry. He produced an almanac from 1699 until 1746 and a guide to solar and lunar eclipses and mathematical guide that contain

⁸⁷ James Logan Letterbook 1:51, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁸⁸ Donna B. Munger, *Pennsylvania Land Records: A History and Guide for Research* (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources, 1991), 32.

the oldest known metal plate prints produced in America (Figures 25 and 26).⁸⁹ Thus he was not only shaping land management but also the reflecting on the timing of planting and schedule of courts as well as contributing to growth of the arts and letters in Pennsylvania.⁹⁰ The space transformed from diplomatic reception rooms into a center of land management. Pennsbury became fossilized while the Slate Roof House adapted. Even if Carpenter himself faded from the scene his projects endured as a visible legacy. The Slate Roof house remained the home of wealthy regional leaders like William Trent (founder of Trenton, NJ) and Isaac Norris (a prominent gentleman and businessmen). And it remained a residence for notable inhabitants into the 19th century.

In the end, buildings associated with economic growth, change, and diversification won out. For a time, settlement retracted back towards the emerging center of Philadelphia. After Pennsbury, many large elite country homes were built closer to the city like those of the Norris', Logans, Harrisons and residences like Bachelor's Hall, Solitude, and Lansdowne.

The ceremonies of possession at New Castle, troublesome transfer of land at Pennsbury, and construction of a civic center on the waterfront all point to the importance of buildings, goods, and landscapes to the forging of a new province in the late seventeenth century. The historical narrative of early Pennsylvania is not one

⁸⁹ On the mathematical treatise of Taylor see Keith Arbour "Notes and Documents: The First North American Mathematical Book and Its Metalcut Illustrations: Jacob Taylor's *Tenebrae*, 1697" *PMHB* 123:1/2 (Jan.-Apr., 1999).

⁹⁰ Munger, *ibid*; David S. Shields, "The Wits and Poets of Pennsylvania: New Light on the Rise of Belles Lettres in Provincial Pennsylvania, 1720-1740" in *PMHB* 109:2 (April, 1985): 99-143. Shields writes about Jacob Taylor's poetic pursuits.

of unchecked growth and success. Rather Penn, Carpenter, and others met with varied levels of success in their endeavors to shape the built environment and establish their dominion within the province. Ultimately, many of the building projects and material legacies of early settlers like Penn and Carpenter faded away or became obscured by the early to mid eighteenth century. Penn's absence from the colony prevented maintenance of his building projects and political relationships. Carpenter's urban empire eroded with overspeculation and increasingly obsolete alliances with proprietary interests. Yet improvement continued, often at the hands of people with less wealth or political might than Carpenter and Penn.

Building and manipulating of the built environment formed part of the material toolkit employed by William Penn and his cohorts, but they also drew on less well known resources derived from the natural world to promote their colonial cause. The acts of taking possession and substantial building projects were aimed primarily at local audiences of both old and new inhabitants. The next chapter turns from the houses and fields to the forests and rivers to explore how colonial leaders looked to the natural world and products originating from these sources to appeal to audiences of elites, scholars and merchants abroad who also hungered for a piece of the provincial pie.

**“Fruits roots corne and flesh:”
Natural Resources and Improvement in Pennsylvania**

In a 1683 letter to friends, William Penn rhapsodized about the abundance within the colony of Pennsylvania by stating “The sorts of fish in these parts are excellent and numerous Sturgeon leap day and night that we can hear them a bow shot from the Rivers in our beds.” In describing this lullaby of leaping fish, Penn exposed his dreams for a fecund and profitable province. Yet this vision of a land teeming with natural wealth masked the exchange and extraction of knowledge, labor, and supplies required to transform his dreams into reality. Like any promoter of new world lands, Penn was intent on emphasizing the charms of his colony, and he wrote letters to friends and business associates replete with references to the animal, vegetable and mineral resources in the newly-formed province. His promotional literature and personal correspondence contain numerous accounts of “fruits roots corne and flesh” and minerals in “great store.” Accounts of fish, peaches, oysters, wine and other foodstuffs were not simply throwaway comments, but helped further connections between people and the land in America while simultaneously providing an impression or “reputation” for Pennsylvania to audiences abroad. Such comments reveal that improvement was not merely expressed through previously-discussed processes such as alterations to the landscape or the building of homes. Improvement also took form in the way these landscapes were managed and used, bodies were nourished and maintained, and investments in the commodities of the land and sea were made to support the growth of individuals, families, Pennsylvania, and the British empire.

This chapter uses the discussion of one foodstuff—sturgeon—as an entrance point to illustrate the strategies of Penn and other Delaware Valley residents for expressing dominion through use and management of natural resources such as plants, animals and minerals. These resources and related objects and spaces formed an important part of the everyday material worlds of early settlers in America.¹ Whether they were managing fruit orchards, stirring pots of porridge, sipping imported chocolate, or building improved corn mills, the residents of the Delaware Valley, like other colonials, used foodstuffs to help frame their sense of place.² When people in the region surveyed resources and tasted the region’s edible offerings they formed an intimate knowledge of how this particular “foodscape” compared to those they had previously encountered.³ Sharing information about their findings satiated the hunger of potential settlers and investors, or the merely curious, for information

¹In studying foodways I am taking an anthropological approach to history. As Amy B. Trubek says in *The Taste of Place: A Cultural Journey into Terroir*, “Anthropologists are researchers of the everyday, trying to recapture the meaning of quotidian choices and seeking to understand what they tell us about culture, the shared values, meanings, and practices that shape us all.” (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 263, n.1.

² David Bell and Gill Valentine, *We Are Where We Eat*. (London: Routledge, 1997) This book examines geographies of food consumption and suggests that “The daily pick and mix of our eating habits is one way in which we experience spatial scale. From the relationship of our food intake to our body-shape to the impact of our tastes upon global food-production regimes, we all read food consumption as a practice which impacts on our sense of place.”

³ Gisèle Yasmeen uses foodscape to “emphasize the spatialization of foodways and the interconnections between people, food, and places. ‘Foodscape,’ drawn from ‘landscape,’ is a term used to describe a process of viewing place in which food is used as a lens to bring into focus certain human relations.” “‘Plastic-bag Housewives’ and Postmodern Restaurants?: Public and Private in Bangkok’s Foodscape” in *Food and Culture: A Reader*, Carole Counihan and Penny Van Estrick, eds. (New York: Routledge, 2007), 525.

about America. Foods, and the representations of them, formed tools for shaping and strengthening personal and economic ties to the broader colonial world. And edible resources featured prominently in efforts to create order in the often chaotic imperial systems into which Pennsylvania entered as an entity in the late seventeenth century. In praising the “superabundance” of the region, Francis Daniel Pastorius outlined how the growth of agriculture, fishing, and husbandry reflected the positive growth of Pennsylvania: “although this far-distant portion of the world consisted of nothing but wildernesses, and it only within a short time has begun to be made ready for the use of Christian men, it is truly a matter for amazement how quickly, by the blessings of God, it advances, and from day to day grows perceptibly. For although in the beginning we were obliged to have our victuals brought from New Jersey, and to pay somewhat dearly for them with money, yet we are now able, praise to God! To serve other neighboring communities.”⁴

When Penn arrived in the Delaware Valley he tasted new foods and New World variations on familiar tastes. In initial comments about foods such as sturgeon, Penn argued to friends abroad that the New World offered fertile ground for replicating and maintaining a style of living equal to, or surpassing, that of the Old. Many of the foods he tasted formed part of Delaware River life and foodways long before European contact, when native peoples living in the region of the Delaware River intensely managed resources such as sturgeon and other fish. Penn’s comments

⁴ Francis Daniel Pastorius, “Circumstantial Geographical Description of Pennsylvania” excerpts in Albert Cook Myers, *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, 1630-1707* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1912), 383.

reveal an interest in integrating these riverine resources into traditionally English and European cultural and economic practices. His comments reveal his understanding of fish, including sturgeon, as both indicators of economic and social health.

Additionally, he clearly viewed new world resources as vehicles for fueling the economic growth of Pennsylvania and the strength of the British Empire.

Discussions of dining and foodways among historians of material culture often circle around the lives of the upper sorts. However, gaining access to food resources to set a “proper” table required the establishment of relationships with servants, slaves, friends, and business associates and often cut across social borders. Focusing on elite behavior alone does not give a full picture of how foodways can trace social relations. When Penn wrote about the merits of sturgeon, fruits, and wine, he seemingly understood that these were goods to be consumed (to be eaten) and consumer goods (sources of profit), for the middling to upper sorts. Over time, sturgeon and other products Penn associated with supporting the good life through fine living and money-making became a tool in extracting labor and economic encouragement for the colony. His positive vision for managing these resources glossed over the more complex relations and negotiations that first supported, and were later supported by, their procurement, processing, and exchange. Eventually, sturgeon and other fish, while featured on some tables in the Delaware Valley, became a common feature of barrels loaded for the provisions trade of slave rations in the Caribbean sugar islands. Sturgeon and other fish, then, provide one lens through which to view the powerful tie to the river flowing through the center of the region

and the varied ways in which these bonds both literally and figuratively liberated and chained the people involved with activities on the Delaware.

Foods themselves are predominantly ephemeral by nature. Yet, creative crossmending of archaeological evidence, historical accounts, and extant objects, spaces, and landscapes can shed light on varied foodways in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Pennsylvania and the surrounding region.⁵ Studying foods, foodways, and culinary history holds much promise. In the past, as today, food touches the lives of all individuals. Examining the variation of habits associated with food and dining between people and places can illuminate broader cultural themes. Among historians of colonial America, discussions of food and history are often linked to claims of increasing refinement, emulation of elites, or processes of production.⁶ But these approaches tend to underappreciate the complex web of associations bound up in foodways. Previous scholarship has also often focused on the extraction of recipes from historic sources or identifying historic cookbooks in

⁵ In *Near a Thousand Tables: A History of Food* (New York: The Free Press, 2002), xi-xii. Felipe Fernández-Armesto provides a good, brief overview of the promises and pitfalls of doing food history. He suggests that “the *Annales* school of French historical geography began to teach historians to take food seriously” but that “the diversity of approaches has multiplied the scholarly output and made it harder to synthesize.” He adopts an approach that treats “food history as a theme of world history, inseparable from all the other interactions of human beings with one another and with the rest of nature; to treat evenhandedly the ecological, cultural and culinary concepts of the subject; to combine a broad conspectus with selectively detailed excursions into particular cases; to trace connections, at every stage, between the food of the past and the way we eat today; and to do this all briefly.” While on a smaller scale, I use these goals as a model for this chapter.

⁶ Richard Bushman, *The Refinement of North America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992).

manuscript or printed form.⁷ Based on limited use of sources some writers like Inge Saffron have even suggested that American colonists rarely ate fish.⁸ But this is immediately refuted with a more intensive reading of letters, newspapers, shipping records, and evaluation of material culture. By taking a broad look at resources and examining the contexts and associations of food in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, discussion of culinary aspects of material life can move beyond the descriptive. Examining foodways in context underscores the fact that eating, dining, cooking, gardening, and discussions about these activities, were not marginal to people in Penn's world. Rather, they considered many of these activities as integral to their economic, cultural and social pursuits.

Discussions of fish in colonial America often center on early seasonal fisherman in the North Atlantic and the coast of North America or the north Pacific coast of North America. As Daniel Vickers and others have illustrated, the trade in dried cod and other fish was a central economic activity in these areas. This trade produced both great wealth for financial backers of the trade and economic competency for many more fishermen, boatbuilders and supporters of fishing activities.⁹ Historians certainly acknowledge that fishing occurred in other areas, but

⁷ A good example of work focused on recipes and cookbooks is Janet Theophano, *Eat My Words: Reading Women's Lives Through the Cookbooks They Wrote* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan: 2003). Other books focused on recipes make for fun reading but take a rather broad sweep over history and tend to contextualize the recipe very little or not at all.

⁸ Inge Saffron, *Caviar: The Strange History and Uncertain Future of the World's Most Coveted Delicacy* (New York: Broadway, 2002), 89.

⁹ Daniel Vickers, *Farmers and Fishermen: Two Centuries of Work in Essex County Massachusetts, 1630-1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994).

emphasis on trade commodities such as tobacco in the Chesapeake and wheat in the mid-Atlantic predominate. For the mid-Atlantic, James Lemon's classic *The Best Poor Man's Country* emphasizes the piedmont region of Pennsylvania and solidified an image of the region as a fertile farmland supporting individual families and their economic well-being.¹⁰ While trade in wheat came to dominate the mid-Atlantic, trade in other foodstuffs and cash crops were explored for their potential profits. In Pennsylvania there were experiments in growing tobacco such as those at Harriton plantation in Bryn Mawr and there were high hopes for fishing and whaling in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the Lower Counties (Delaware). Exploring the nature of these "lesser," or ultimately unsuccessful, trade activities provides a clearer view of what options colonists explored in the early years of settlement.

One way to identify options for trading considered by early residents of the Delaware Valley is through the extant records and correspondence left by regional leaders such as Penn. In his letter to fellows of the Royal Society that mention sturgeon, Penn also listed foods including "Strawberry's ripe in the woods in April, and in the Last Month, Peas, beans, Cherrys & mulberrys." Other examples of Penn's writings contain lists of many creatures that resided in regional forests, fields and waterways. And images incorporated into the promotional works he sponsored, such as the cartouche to the 1687 *Map of the Province of Pennsylvania in America*, gave

Vickers argues that fishermen in seventeenth century Essex County were engaged in "unequal relations of dependence" to merchants who extended credit for their ventures and later purchased their catch. Over time, fishermen lost some of their power to access credit and this increasingly entered the workplace as paid employees.

¹⁰ James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972).

visual life to these claims of plenty. Fisherman heave overflowing nets into a boat, stags leap from the cartouche on to the body of the map and floral and foliate motifs provide a lush frame for the scene (Figure 27). Such maps and images served as tools for potential settlers and investors to consume New World landscapes. While many of these written musings and geographic representations put forth a prescriptive view for the shape of trade and management of natural resources, Penn and other settlers relied on actual observation and consumption of foods to make sense of the New World territories where they resided and as one means to form an understanding of the land and waters and the products they might yield. Tasting a Chesapeake oyster, dining on sturgeon, exploring Indian peach orchards, planting experimental crops of vegetables and fruits, reading European treatises on gardening, and talking to current Delaware Valley residents helped Penn and others create resource maps or cultural atlases of the region. And references to these practices in the writings of Penn and others reveal a blend of past traditions, current observations, and future visions for resource management that could contribute to a larger project of improvement.

Penn's letter to friends in England includes more than a passing mention of sturgeon. Although Penn deemed them worthy of consideration, sturgeon have largely been written out of the history of the region's colonial foodways. We are left to ask "why?" One explanation is that the story of Delaware River sturgeon is an age-old tale of extirpation. These fish were part of pre-contact native foodways and entered the diet of European colonists following their arrival. Colonists determined the fish could be used to feed slaves in the sugar islands and to satiate European palates. By the nineteenth century the Delaware River sturgeon fisheries formed one of the major

regional industries, providing caviar to hungry diners (many more than typically eat caviar today). But by the mid-twentieth century, the fish were all but gone.¹¹ Twenty-first century residents, excepting the biologists attempting to prevent the fishes' extinction, have little idea they still lurk in regional waterways.¹²

Historians of the Middle Atlantic have devoted more words to examining the frisky shad, abundant herring, or omni-devoured oyster than the bulky sturgeon.¹³ This may have something to do with the connection of shad to the American Revolution; when a particularly abundant run of shad supposedly "saved" the starving soldiers at Valley Forge. Heralded as a "founding fish," authors have had little trouble repeating this undocumented tale of survival and have lofted the shad to its legendary

¹¹ Inge Saffron, *Caviar*, notes that there was a crash in the sturgeon stock throughout rivers of the east coast, 100. John T. Cumbler tells a similar tale of a decline in fish populations on the Connecticut River. He argues that an "environmental consciousness" emerged in the colonial era rather than later in the Progressive Era and was particularly tied to changes in the fishing industry. John T. Cumbler, "The Early Making of an Environmental Consciousness: Fish, Fisheries Commissions and the Connecticut River" *Environmental History Review*, 15:4 (Winter, 1991) 73-91. An additional work aimed at a popular audience that considers sturgeon and recounts the species' demise is Richard Adams Cary, *The Philosopher Fish: Sturgeon, Caviar, and the Geography of Desire* (New York: Counterpoint, 2005).

¹² The Departments of Natural Resources in Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania all post information about the current status of the sturgeon on their websites. Other marine biologists and interest groups also distribute information on the history and gloomy fate of the fish. Groups like the Littoral Society in New Jersey sponsor sturgeon coloring contests for local schoolchildren and fund a tagging project to help track the remaining sturgeon population in the Delaware River and related tributaries.

¹³ Richard Gerstall, *American Shad in the Susquehanna River Basin: A Three-Hundred-Year History* (Harrisburg: Penn State University Press, 1999); Mark Kurlansky, *The Big Oyster: History on the Half Shell* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2006).

status.¹⁴ As recent books have also noted, oysters, cod, and shad were particularly successful industries and were gobbled by many a resident of the New World, including Penn. Then too, oysters have an association with sex that historians and gourmards are keen to perpetuate.¹⁵ The claim that oysters can be employed as an aphrodisiac is well-known lore. All the while, sturgeon remained in the murky depths of the nearly-forgotten past. Those that do consider the sturgeon as having any historical significance argue that religious principles, laziness, disinterest and cultural biases prevented colonists from fully appreciating the fishy bounty that literally leaped onto their boats, if not their plates. Although some of these claims hold partly true, revisiting the role of sturgeon the Delaware Valley as well as in European and English culture reveals a different story. Indeed, sturgeon were an unwieldy commodity and an ambiguous foodsource. But evidence suggests that colonists had no great aversion to eating sturgeon. Rather, they expressed frustration with difficulties in transforming the fish into the lucrative commodity they knew it could be, all the while dining on it in modest quantities. Eventually, they determined that

¹⁴ Joseph Lee Boyle traces the beginning of the Valley Forge shad myth to a 1938 book by Harry Emerson Wildes. Since then it has been reprinted as fact on numerous occasions. Boyle suggests that there is no evidence for this feast after famine and that a dam may have even prevented the shad from running near Valley Forge at all in 1778. A book published in 2002 clears up this myth but still claims the shad as our nations “founding fish.” Harry Emerson Wildes, *Valley Forge* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938), 174-75.; Joseph Lee Boyle, “The Valley Forge Fish Story” *Shad Journal*, 14:2, (1999) (online journal of the Shad Foundation); John McPhee, *The Founding Fish* (New York :Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2002).

¹⁵ Mark Kurlansky has created a cottage industry of writing books on single resources such as *The Big Oyster* (see full reference in note 13), *Cod: A Biography of the Fish that Changed the World* (New York: Penguin, 1997), and *Salt: A World History* (New York: Penguin, 2003).

the fish was less suited to the tables of elite Philadelphians and more appropriate as a ration for the enslaved peoples on whose labor many residents' material wealth depended. As the fashion for eating sturgeon waned before again exploding the nineteenth century, sturgeon and other fish were viewed as an abundant resource to add to the provisions supporting a large enslaved labor force. Thus the finery of many a Philadelphia table was indirectly financed by trading an ugly fish. When Penn wrote about the sturgeon, then, he tapped into the interests of his fellow colonists and Royal Society fellows for good food, good health, philosophical inquiry, and economic stimulation.

The fish Penn heard from his bedstead were none other than the large American Atlantic Sturgeon, *Acipenser oxyrinchus*, and the Shortnose Sturgeon, *Acipenser brevirostrum*, once present in immense numbers in the Delaware River and other locales along the Eastern seaboard (Figure 28).¹⁶ These fish can reach fourteen feet in length and are known for their habit of leaping out of the water like dolphins, so it is no wonder their exercises were audible to the proprietor. Early Pennsylvania resident Thomas Paschall recounted in 1683 “when we came into Delawarebay we saw an infinite number of small fish in shoals, also large fish leaping in the Water;” some of which were no doubt sturgeon.¹⁷ While the European Sturgeon, *Acipenser sturio*, and other varieties swam in English and European waters, the prolific

¹⁶ Alan Davidson, *North Atlantic Seafood: A Comprehensive Guide with Recipes* (Berkeley, Ca: Ten Speed Press, 1979), 179.; John N. Cobb, “Report on the Sturgeon Fishery of the Delaware River and Bay” *Report for 1899* (1900), 369-380.; “Culture Manual for the Atlantic Sturgeon: 'Acipenser oxyrinchus oxyrinchus'” (Hadley, MA: Fish and Wildlife Service, 2006).

¹⁷ Letter of Thomas Paschall, 1683 in Myers, *Narratives*, 251.

American version of this large, meaty fish fascinated visitors to the New World and often sent authors and letter-writers into reveries of good eating and large profits. Earlier in the seventeenth century, at Jamestown, John Smith suggested that there were “more Sturgeon, then could be deuoured by Dog and Man.”¹⁸ While tobacco surpassed sturgeon as a Chesapeake export product, the giant fish only grew in importance as a part of the Delaware River economy and foodways into the nineteenth century. Indeed, modern scientists believe that the Delaware River hosted the largest sturgeon population on the Eastern seaboard before the twentieth century.¹⁹

People throughout England and Europe were well-versed in the language of large fish. Commemorated in a 1569 broadside, Londoners were amazed by the capture of a huge “marueilous straunge fishe” which was displayed for the public. Later the skin was preserved and the flesh sold for meat (Figure 29).²⁰ And in 1680, a small pamphlet recorded the capture of “Two Miraculous and Monstrous Fishes” from Gravesend and Greenwich viewed by “many Thousands of Eye-Witnesses (Figure 30).”²¹ These large creatures, probably whales, were used to illustrate the

¹⁸ John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles* (London: Printed by I.D. and I.H. for Michael Sparkes) 1624 electronic version, 86.

¹⁹ <http://www.nmfs.noaa.gov/pr/pdfs/statusreviews/atlanticsturgeon2007.pdf>

²⁰ C. R. (fl. 1569), “The true discription of this marueilous straunge fishe” Imprinted at London : In Fleetstreate, beneath the conduit, at the signe of Saint Iohn Euangelist, by Thomas Colwell, 1596. Early English Books Online.

²¹ Anon. *Strange news from Gravesend and Greenwich*, [London] : Printed for J. Clarke at the Bible and Harp in Smithfield, [1680?] Early English Books Online. In Germany fish, and sturgeon in particular, were long associated with the divine rite of the diet of the wealthy classes .Wine, white bread, game and fish were used in

power of man over beast and the ability to censure un-comforming bodies. In each of these cases, the fish were partly viewed as curiosities, but also served to uphold class distinctions or serve as morality tales. These large fish were often viewed as “monstrous” creatures and metaphors for deformed political or social systems.²²

There is a sense in much of the literature on large creatures of all sorts that they were doomed to be gawked at, prodded, and destroyed.²³ The author of the 1680 pamphlet also warned that such beasts were “signs” of political and religious upheaval to come “as there happened a like accident with this coming up of a great Whale into the *Thames* not long before the death of that great Monster, the Usurper *Cromwell*.”²⁴

The frontispiece to the 1680 pamphlet, depicting Jonah and the whale, certainly

medieval German literature to signify the divine rights of the wealthy against the diet of the poor. The peasants in Hugo Von Trimberg’s epic poem *Renner* “became mouldy gray who never ate blanc-mange, figs, sturgeon, almond nuts” yet were content on their diet of turnips and beer. George Fenwick Jones, “The Function of Food in Medieval German Literature” *Speculum*, 35:1 (Jan. 1960) 78-86, 83.

²² Robert Blair St. George discusses the symbolic nature of monstrous bodies in *Conversing by Signs: Poetics of Implication in Colonial New England Culture*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 163-173.

²³ Susan Stewart muses on the gigantic and the miniature in “On Longing.” She suggests that “whereas the miniature represents closure, interiority, the domestic, and the overly cultural, the gigantic represents infinity, exteriority, the public, and the overly natural.” As such, “the giant, from Leviathan to the sideshow freak, is a mixed category; a violator of boundary and rule; an overabundance of the natural and hence an affront to cultural systems.” Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), 70, 73.

²⁴ The author goes on to say, “And though we with this present Accident may foreshow the downfall of all that are of the same Traitorous and Rebellious spirit: yet the wiser sort of men account such observations no better than Superstitious; for that such accidents, and greater than this, do frequently happen, proceeding from Natural causes.” Anon. *Strange News from Gravesend*, [London] : Printed for J. Clarke at the Bible and Harp in Smithfield, [1680?] , Early English Books Online.

alludes to the strong biblical overtones that big fish stories also carried. By turning these freaks of nature into regulated commodities, by literally cutting them up in to small portions and offering them for sale and ingestion, a sense of order was reclaimed.

While sturgeon were not as gargantuan as the Gravesend and Greenwich beasts, they were still large fish and carried additional symbolic weight due to their association with prominent individuals. The *Boston News-letter* of Thursday, September 17, 1724 reported from “Rome (the capital of Italy)” that the “Cardinal Orfini presented yesterday Cardinal Ottoboni with a Sturgeon of 100 pound Weight, which his Eminence sent immediately to the Venetian Ambassador.” In England, sturgeon were particularly associated with the crown and political elite. In the seventeenth century, as today, they were considered “royal fish” along with whales and, as such, were deemed the property of the sovereign or the Lord Mayor of London when “either thrown ashore or caught near the coast.”²⁵ Philadelphia’s *American Weekly Mercury* reported in November 1726 “Last Week a Sturgeon, eight Foot long, was taken in the Thames near Battersea, which the Lord Mayor sent as a Present to his Majesty.”²⁶ These were bodies that were to be conquered and displayed. One was even “kept alive in Saint James Park.”²⁷ Even non-royals appreciated the value of sturgeon and gifted the fish to peers. As a relative rarity, the

²⁵ *Yale Law Journal*, v.4 (October, 1894-June 1895), 8.

²⁶ *American Weekly Mercury*, Thursday November 3rd to Thursday, November 10th, 1726.

²⁷ Thomas Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society of London, for the Improving of Natural Knowledge* (London: printed for J. Knapton, 1722), 198.

result of overfishing in the North Atlantic long before the seventeenth century, the fish was not particularly cheap. Elites like John Myddleton, owner of Chirk Castle in Wales, bought firkins (small barrels) of the pickled fish for household use.²⁸

Sometimes the fish were even used as bribes; a whole barrel of sturgeon was given by a defendant to the Chief Justice of Common Pleas during a 16th century English court case.²⁹

In England the sturgeon held intellectual as well as economic value. While they may not be monsters, sturgeon are strange fish indeed. Scientists became intent on classifying the beasts of the world in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But their methods and results did not always agree. The natural philosopher John Ray wrote a work, *Joannis Raii Synopsis methodica avium & piscium*, posthumously published in 1713, and assisted in the production of *Historiae Piscium Libri Quattuor* (1686) with his friend Francis Willughby. In both, sturgeon are classified as fish using morphology or “characteristic marks.”³⁰ Ray was a promoter of a physico-theology in which every creature “was made with manifest Design.”³¹ While the

²⁸ Sara Paston-Williams, *The Art of Dining* (London: The National Trust, 1993), 149.

²⁹ Wilfrid Prest, “Judicial Corruption in Early Modern England” *Past and Present*, No. 133 (Nov. 1991), 67-95, 73.

³⁰ Sachiko Kusakawa, “The *Historia Piscium* (1686)” *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 54:2 (2000), 179-197; Susan Scott Parrish, *American Curiosity: Cultures of Natural History in the Colonial British Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2006), 48.

³¹ Ray listed sturgeon first in his “Catalogue of Freshwater Fish Found in England,” a work appended to *A Collection of English Words not Generally Used...* (London: Printed by H Bruges for Thos Barrell, 1674), 108 in Early English Books Online. For

sturgeon is always referred to as a fish in seventeenth-century literature, none other than Carl Linnaeus himself, classified sturgeon in the class *Amphibia* and the order *Nantes* in the mid-eighteenth century.³² The homely exterior of the fish was not the main concern of Linnaeus. Rather, the interior workings and reproductive processes of the sturgeon became the focus of study. The flesh was fairly fishy in appearance, texture, and taste, so on that count alone the sturgeon would be classified as such. Their “organs of generation” primarily pushed the creatures into a different category. Although previously classed as cartilaginous fishes, Linnaeus “considering that in their skin, lungs, organs of generation, and that in their being viviparous, &c. they approached to the *Amphibia*.” It was the female of the species, then, that set the classificatory fate of the *Acipenser*. And lady sturgeon of the past were good at reproducing. They were often noted for their fecundity, and the eggs themselves became a prized food commodity by the nineteenth century. The sturgeon, then, became a fish defined by the fairer sex. Later scientists still seemed on the fence with how to classify sturgeon. One noted “With respect to their qualities as food, they are little different from the fishes, though indeed I should suppose they approached to the other *Amphibia*. They afford a more gelatinous food than any of the Quadrupeds, or *Amphibia*, and probably are more nutritious.”³³

discussion of how Ray fit in the world of natural philosophy in the seventeenth century see Susan Scott Parrish, *American Curiosity*, p.48

³² Lancelot Hogben, *The Principles of Animal Biology*, 1930. reprint (London: Read Books, 2007), 261.

³³ William Cullen, *Lectures on the Materia Medica* (Philadelphia: printed for the subscribers, by Robert Bell, next door to St. Paul’s Church, Third-Street, 1775).

Although Linneaus post-dated William Penn, the challenges to classifying, categorizing, and understanding exactly how the sturgeon fit in the natural world was a problem that pestered natural philosophers continuously in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. While they have returned the sturgeon to their designation as fish, even scientists today consider them “living fossils.”³⁴ Originating in the Cretaceous period, the sturgeon has five rows of bony plates, called scutes, along their body rather than scales, snouts for rooting in the mud, toothless mouths for bottom feeding, and sensory barbells to help locate food (Figure 31).³⁵ They are not your everyday creatures of the deep.

Although the Linnean style of typology had yet to take hold in the late seventeenth century, sturgeon can still be considered a “gendered” creature. As Kathleen Brown explains, in the seventeenth-century British Atlantic world, the feminine gender was associated with being both “primitive” and “omnipotent” or “a force beyond control.”³⁶ As Brown explains, gender oppositions are often apparent in seventeenth-century representations such as written works where “manhood, reason, Christianity, and civilization stood in opposition to women, sensuality, heathenism, and nature.” The hyperinflation of these categories in some colonial settings amplified the awareness of the need to control creatures both human and non-human. As a creature, the sturgeon fits quite well into Brown’s explanation of the multiple

³⁴ Saffron, p.30.

³⁵ *Atlantic Sturgeon* entry on <http://www.chesapeakebay.net>

³⁶ Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, & Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American Culture, 1996), 18.

and competing meanings of nature. Because they were large, strong, and abundant, sturgeon could represent the power of nature. But their ugly exteriors and fishy taste simultaneously marked them as primitive beasts. It should come as no surprise, then, that sturgeon were particularly targeted as subjects for being managed or tamed. Like other creatures, as “subjects” for control and observation, these beasts provided bodies for experiments in imperial and mercantile pursuits by the English elite.³⁷ Although it seems that Penn regarded the sturgeon similarly to Ray, as having a proper place in God’s plan for the natural world, and not as some hideous monster, Penn was still the proprietor and needed to maintain dominion over the new lands he governed.

Penn’s writings generally give a sense that he viewed them similarly to minerals, timber, and other resources. He was supportive of natural philosophy, but even so, he held simultaneous practical concerns for the well-being of Pennsylvania. America was a ground for experiments in governance, social order, mercantilism, and spiritual well-being. And inter-colonial competition was fierce. Penn was not just seeking territorial control for its own end but sought to situate Pennsylvania as the best place in America for Quakers and non-Quakers to live an improved life. And this meant paying attention to every detail from setting up an assembly to planting gardens and catching fish. Penn was not alone in these concerns. As David Armitage illustrates, John Locke not only drafted the Carolina charter but also wrote manuscripts concerning “Observations on Wine, Olives, Fruit, and Silk” (1680). Armitage argues that musings were not “disinterested inquiries.” Instead they should

³⁷ Brown, 18-19.

be “read as a sketch for a practical economic future for Carolina.”³⁸ When Penn received rights to govern Pennsylvania, sturgeon became a “proprietary fish” and one of the many resources available for him to control.

The similarities between the Carolinas and Pennsylvania did not end here. Competition between the two colonies emerged in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Maryland, and New Jersey, too were potential thorns in Penn’s side. Despite any rivalries, Penn and others involved with creating Pennsylvania’s charter certainly looked at those of Carolina and Maryland for inspiration. Had Penn been granted all the rights of the so-called “Durham clause” as planned by at least one draftsman of the Pennsylvania charter, Penn would have enjoyed ultimate control or dominion over the “waters {riv^{rs}} ponds pools. wat^rcourses fishing streams All mann^r of royall {&oth^r} fish whatsoever” and “to have exercise use & enjoy as large & ample Royaltys prorogatives Jurisdictions priviledges lib^rtys & franchises as well upon the water as the land...”³⁹ This clause was removed, though, at some point in the editing process, probably to limit Penn’s authority over natural resources and, in turn, his autonomy from the crown and parliament. Thus, these resources and the royalties derived from them, were not solely under the finger of Penn. Despite this exclusion, Penn wrote and acted as if the authority to monitor these resources were his, until challenged. Writing to others about the natural abundance of the province, then,

³⁸ David Armitage, “John Locke, Carolina, and the Two Treatises of Government” *Political Theory* 32:5 (October, 2004) 611.

³⁹ *Penn Papers*, 2: 40-41. The Bishop of Durham clause would have granted the proprietor ‘nearly regal power in the province.’ John Locke and the earl of Shaftsbury ensured that the rights conferred by the clause were included in their *Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina* (1669).

helped Penn assert and maintain his rights over the natural “property” in Pennsylvania. He often reminded residents that they ‘have the Liberty of the river but not the Propriety.’”⁴⁰ Although Penn clung to as much power over natural resources as possible, he needed to share knowledge about the potential wealth of the rivers, forest, and fields in order to gain support for improvement projects in Pennsylvania.

Penn’s choice of fellow Royal Society members (as discussed later, Penn was elected a member in 1681) for his comments bragging about sturgeon reveal that he was interested in more than simply economic concerns. The Royal Society’s natural philosophy encouraged exploration abroad and inquiry into the uses of natural resources. Their meetings were filled with experiments, discussions, and presentations all centering on understanding how the world worked. Inquiries ranged from understanding the inner mechanisms of the human body, the variations in animals, the workings of machines, to mapping new lands and learning about the people and resources from distant locales. Sets of questions prepared for travelers to foreign lands inquired about the flora, fauna, soils, and minerals of any area. Additionally, many of their meetings devoted time to exploring the medicinal, dietary and economic potential of resources. Since exaggerated claims did nothing to further their interests in natural philosophy and commodity-making, Royal Society members aimed for an element of scientific accuracy and reality to the claims of riches contained in respondents’ reports.

Officials like William Petty (a Royal Society member himself) encouraged such reports, suggesting to Penn in 1682 that a “perfect Survey may bee made of yor

⁴⁰ William Penn to Christopher Taylor and others, 11 June 1683, *Penn Papers*, 2: 393

whole Territory, wth Divisions of the same according to the Bounds of Nature, with Description of the Animalls, Vegit[ables and Minerals appearing upon] them; for such a Survey [would give] great Light to your Plantation & forraign Commerce.”⁴¹ This continued the long tradition of reporting on the conditions and circumstances of using natural resources outside England. The early natural philosopher Samuel Hartlib devoted time to discovering the secrets of husbandry from foreign lands in order to improve the English productivity, and sturgeon was one of his interests. He inquired “how they make *Caviare* out of *Sturgeons Rowes*? In *Moscovia*, how they boile and pickle their *Sturgeon*, (which we *English* in *New-England* cannot as yet do handsomely)?”⁴² In Barbados, Richard Ligon found the sturgeon, imported from New England, “so ill Cookt, as ‘tis hardly to be eaten; for they want the skill both of boyling & seasoning it; they first overboyle it, & next over salt it, & so the fish be over tender by boyling, the salt frets and eats upon it all the way.”⁴³ Additional seventeenth-century reports from Germany, Tobago, Venice, Prussia, “Hamburgh,” and the Baltic outlined the state of sturgeon fishing and processing.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Sir William Petty to Wm. Penn 14th August 1682, *Penn Papers*, 2: 281.

⁴² Samuel Hartlib, *Samuel Hartlib his Legacie: or An Enlargement of the Discourse of Husbandry Used in Brabant and Flaunders*, (London: printed by H. Hills, for Richard Wodenothe, 1651).

⁴³ Ligon continued to explain the trouble with the sturgeon “for when we came to open it, being carried farre from the Bridge, & shaken in the carriage: there is scarce a whole peece, but the sturgeon and piclel all in a mash, & so vehemently salt, as I could never eate any of it, but at Colonel *Wallronds* plantation it is lesse broken.” Richard Ligon, *A True & Exact History of the Island of Barbados*, (London: Printed for Humphrey Moseley, 1657), 37.

⁴⁴ Edward Brown, *An Account of Several Travels Through A Great Part of Germany, In Four Journeys* (London: Printed for Benj. Tooke, 1677), 110; John Poyntz, *The*

As these reports poured in from cultural ambassadors, travelers, and explorers to the board of trade, Royal Society members and merchants could fill in pieces of their survey of the world's resources. They collected not only knowledge of the presence or absence of fish, trees, or minerals but also their qualitative values. Grading and classifying are central to commodity-making. For example they assigned quality levels to products from around the globe: Sturgeon from Prussia: good. New England sturgeon: not-so-good. Contemporary documents suggest that these designations were based on the ability of suppliers to create products that were uniform in taste and texture, and were able to resist the spoilage frequently sustained because of the often harsh and unpredictable conditions created during global shipping and storage. As the Royal Society members collected information they created atlases of resources to assist in the development of trade. While they may not have actually put pins on geographic maps, the indexed meeting minutes and catalogued specimens created a reference guide identifying the nature of people, places, and geography around the world. If the businessmen who participated in the Society could get a handle on why a trade succeeded or why a product was superior or inferior, the information could be used to improve future products or at least gain access to the best goods on the market.

These processes required guides to locate and assess resources. Leaders in Pennsylvania like Penn and the Free Society of Traders (a group chartered by Penn in

Present Prospect of the Famous and Fertile Island of Tobago (London: printed by George Larkin for the author, and are to be sold by Thomas Malthus, 1683), 20.; John Houghton, *A Collection for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, (London: printed for Woodman and Lyon, 1727), 281-296.

1681 to promote trade in the new colony) were constantly seeking ways to keep Pennsylvania economically solvent and competitive as a commercial center and destination for immigration. Benefitting from knowledge gained during exploration, eighty years of permanent English settlement in North America and about one half-century of European settlements in the Delaware Valley, Penn could identify resources that had fallen under his predecessors proto-capitalistic gaze.⁴⁵ Penn and his cohorts would have known about the reputed poor quality of sturgeon processed in the Americas and the desire to capture “fishy” business from Baltic traders from reports they read in newspapers and through word-of-mouth in the Exchange, docks, and taverns businessmen frequented. To keep a competitive edge, early Pennsylvanians continued the processes of watching and learning. And knowledge of regional resources increased as encounters occurred between previous native and non-native residents, new settlers and their servants and slaves, and a host of transients and traders.

Some surveys of potential trade goods Penn knew before coming to America came in the form of published treatises by authors who traveled to foreign lands themselves. Cultural emissaries also returned reports in the form of letters or actual goods. In many cases, native populations participated in these processes. And this

⁴⁵ The classic study of natural resources and commodity-making in colonial North America is William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), 20-23. Cronon includes fish as a commodity of great interest in New England. He argues that the term commodity underwent a change in the seventeenth century from defining goods that were “commodious” or useful to people to those that “became valued not for their immediate utility they brought their possessors but for the price they would bring when exchanged on the market,” 76.

was certainly the case in America. Delaware Indians in the Delaware Valley had long known the value of sturgeon, “kapāhēw,” or “wisa’hosid” as a food.⁴⁶ Michael Stewart, Bill Schindler, and others have suggested that native peoples of the Delaware Valley organized settlement patterns around seasonal fishing grounds, most intensely in the Middle Woodland period between A.D. 200 and A.D. 800 and slightly decreasing with the incorporation of agriculture in the Late Woodland period. Stewart believes that while fishing was an activity always carried on by native populations inhabiting the region, the nature of fishing (when, how, and group size) seems to have been reorganized before contact in the Late Woodland (c. 800 -1600 A.D.) and this organization persisted in the early contact period in the Delaware Valley. Despite later characterizations of Native behaviors as timeless and unchanging, fishing, like other aspect of Delaware lifeways, was a dynamic and vital part of a vibrant community. This is underscored by scholars such as Amy Schutt who characterizes the native residents of the Delaware River region as adaptable and flexible. They maintained tradition by altering practices and alliances as they faced new circumstances.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ The word for sturgeon, “copotone” or “coposone” was included in John Smith’s Indian vocabulary of forty-six words attached to the 1612 *A Map of Virginia, with a Description of the Country, the Commodities, People, Government and Religion*. Philip L. Barbour identified the Delaware word for sturgeon as “kapāhēw” in “The Earliest Reconnaissance of the Chesapeake Bay Area: Captain John Smith’s Map and Indian Vocabulary” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 80:1 (Jan., 1972) 21-51, 35. Harrington identified the Delaware word for sturgeon as “wisa’hosid” in his book *Indians of New Jersey: Dickon Among the Delaware* 1938 reprint (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1994) 343-352.

⁴⁷ Amy C. Shutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys: The Odyssey of the Delaware Indians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007) 30.

From seasonal fishing camps and more permanent settlements located on the shores of the river, fish were collected with nets, baskets, stone dams, spears, and poisons.⁴⁸ Archaeological evidence suggests there were fishing piers for nets in the Delaware River and its tributaries in the prehistoric era, and scutes have been located in prehistoric native contexts throughout the Atlantic seaboard.⁴⁹ Because of intense modern activity on the Delaware such as dredging and industrial development, it is no surprise that some features such as weirs rarely exist. However, an extant weir (dated by archaeologists as “most likely” of “pre-historic origin”) in New Jersey illustrates what they would have looked like (Figure 32).⁵⁰ Additional evidence of fishing as a fairly regular activity is demonstrated in the extant remains of the material world of the Delaware. Impressed pottery carries a record of hemp nets, and objects identified

⁴⁸ Marshall Becker, “Anadromous Fish and the Lenape”, *Pennsylvania Archaeologist*, 76:1 (Spring 2006) 28-40, 31, 34; Jay Custer, *Delaware Prehistoric Archaeology: An Ecological Approach* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1984), 97; Bill Schindler, “Poisoned Water Latent Piscicide Use in the Prehistoric Delaware Valley” in *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of New Jersey*, 59 (2004), 4-7. Schindler examined archaeological evidence and used experimental archaeology to test whether poisoning fish with black walnuts and other plant materials actually worked. His very limited experiments did not work. But there is strong archaeological and ethnographic support of this practice occurring in the Delaware River.; Michael Stewart, “Native American Fishing in the Delaware Valley” *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of New Jersey*, 54 (1999), 1-7.

⁴⁹ Jay Custer documents the presence of a possible fishing platform in the Delaware River. Kahnle, et. al. 1998 documented the presence of scutes at sites dating from 4000 to 1000 years ago. Kahnle, A.W., K.A. Hattala, K.A. McKowen, C.A. Shirley, M.R. Collins, T.S. Squires, Jr., D. H. Secor, J.A. Musik and T. Savoy, *Stock Status of Atlantic Sturgeon of Atlantic Coast Estuaries* (Washington D.C: Atlantic States Marine Fisheries Commission, 1998).

⁵⁰ Allen H. Lutins and Anthony P. DeCondo, “The Fair Lawn/Patterson Fish Weir” in *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of New Jersey* 54 (1999) 7-11.

as sinkers are found on archaeological sites. Fire-cracked rock and pots suggest to archaeologists sites used for the boiling, roasting, and poaching of fish.⁵¹

Fish was not just a food source for native peoples of the Delaware Valley. Marine resources featured prominently in myths and tales. Stories collected by scholars of the Delaware reflect a greater symbolic importance to fishing than just an activity with practical importance. Fish figure in Lenape mythology as sources of abundant food and “water emerged as a vital part of each origin story.”⁵² In one tale, a character called “Kup-ah-weese” or “Fortunate Hunter” “drops into the river, lands on a huge fish (thus accidentally killing the fish).” The hunter and his wife return to collect the fish, “which, as they discover when they cut it open, has swallowed a bear. Thus they have plenty of meat for the season.”⁵³ In another, fish center in a tale discussing contact between “twelve Netyogwesuk (Little Women)” who lived in caves on the Delaware river and strangers: “These women quizzed each traveler on the river: if they received a kind answer, they let him pass; if unkind, they summoned their uncle, the great serpent, who came and ate the traveler, or they themselves would scalp him. Using the hair of the unkind travelers, they made bags with which they solicited fish offerings from fisherman. Ungenerous fisherman were punished with bad fishing luck.”⁵⁴ Another tale records two figures who gained a reward for

⁵¹ Michael Stewart, “Native American Fishing in the Delaware Valley” *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of New Jersey*, 54 (1999), 1-7.

⁵² Shutt, 8.

⁵³ John Bierhorst, Story Abstract #51, published in 1905, in *Mythology of the Lenape* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995), 41.

⁵⁴ Bierhorst, Story abstract #41, probably dating from 1883, 37.

killing a large fish with wampum.⁵⁵ Delaware culture was one where fish were revered and valued for the food they offered and as sources of connection to the river and group origins.

Fishing and its technology permeated life along the Delaware in the precontact era. When European colonists began arriving on the Delaware, fishing for “perch, roach, pike, sturgeon” was one of the activities they observed.⁵⁶ Early visitors like De Rasieres wrote that “In April, May, and June, they follow the course of these [the fish], which they catch with a drag net they themselves knit very neatly, of the wild hemp, from which the women and old men spin the thread.” Others observed “seines from seventy to eighty fathoms in length, which they braid themselves, and on which, in place of lead, they hang stones, and instead of corks...they fasten small sticks of an ell in length, round and sharp the end.”⁵⁷ Such accounts document Europeans observing native practices and traditions. But observation was not the limit of European and native interactions regarding foods.

Food trade was important in new relationships between euros and natives and between natives. As Schutt suggests “The history of the food trade hints at how exchange helped create connections between Algonquians and Europeans in the seventeenth century.” As she explains further, “Trade was more than an economic

⁵⁵ Bierhorst, Story abstract #84, collected before 1907-10, 48.

⁵⁶ David Piertz. De Vries, from the “Korte historiael ende journaels Aenteyckeninge” in Albert Cook Myers, ed. *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, 1630-1707* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1940), 25.

⁵⁷ Shutt, 19 from J. Franklin Jameson, ed. *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1909), 105, 222.

activity. Like land dealings, trade in goods involved the maintenance of relationships between peoples and included expectations of gift giving.”⁵⁸ Expectations of reciprocity were brought to the negotiating tables and everyday encounters between natives and newcomers. But we must also understand that natives brought knowledge of more European notions of commodification and commercial value to these negotiations and exchanges. Some of the earliest native contact with Europeans came in the form of long-ranging fishermen and traders. Many of these voyages were unrecorded, but later contacts between natives and others provide evidence of people familiar with European goods and notions of exchange.⁵⁹ Court records from New Jersey provide evidence of Indians active in the fish trade in the Delaware Valley. In 1685 one Edward Pyner deposed that another man, Evan Davis, “had bought a fish of an Indian cally Nummy” In this case the “fish” ended up being a “whale Fish,” yet the point stands that native people were active in the procurement and sale of fish in the colonial era.⁶⁰

Evidence of this trade draws into question the assertion of some historians and popular writers who have suggested that “European settlers were repulsed by the sturgeon’s strong, oily smell, which clung to the Indians who gorged themselves on

⁵⁸ Shutt, 5-57.

⁵⁹ Daniel Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of North America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 42-53. Richter outlines the changes in trading patterns and the use and meaning of trade goods in the seventeenth century and suggests that “The forces of economic change unleashed by European colonization interacted with Native American practices to produce a new world that neither colonists nor Indians could previously have imagined,” 53.

⁶⁰ *Burlington Court Book*, 37:1685, 46-47.

its meat. Sturgeon, for these scholars and authors, was a food for more primitive people. The newcomers felt the same way about salmon and lobster, two creatures that Indians equally beloved. As these Europeans struggled to make their way in the wild land, it seemed that eating such grotesque bottom-feeding fish as the sturgeon would be the equivalent of sinking into barbarism.”⁶¹ One author suggests that in the early seventeenth century Connecticut “shad were looked on as Indian food” and that “no one of competence would publickly own to eating shad.”⁶² Taste has always been partly a matter of personal opinion and conditioned behavior, and there is no doubt some people felt disgust for creatures from the watery deep. However, the claims that Europeans never or rarely ate fish like sturgeon or shad need to be questioned. If it were true that the English avoided foods eaten by native Americans then they would not have consumed corn, venison, peaches, or shad and herring. Indeed, merely scratching the documentary record reveals some diners in America and abroad held opinions of American fish as being “of very good flavor.”⁶³ Evidence suggest that these Englishmen were not so troubled by sturgeon as an unfit food...but were mainly concerned with producing a quality product, and one that could potentially benefit the larger economic good of the fisherman and traders involved with the fisheries.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Inga Saffron, *Caviar*, 87.

⁶² John T. Cumbler, “The Early Making of an Environmental Consciousness: Fish, Fisheries Commissions and the Connecticut River” *Environmental History Review*, 15:4 (Winter, 1991), 73-91.

⁶³ *Narratives of New Netherland*, 105.

⁶⁴ Sturgeon fishing could be a dangerous activity. *The New-York Gazette or Weekly Post-Boy* of August 10, 1747 reported that “We have Advice from *Albany*, that last Friday sen’night, four Men, viz. *Robert Wendell, Abreham G. Lansingh, Philip* and

Archaeological and ethnographic clues provide further evidence that the claim that “virtually no middle-class people in America ate the fish” is just not true.⁶⁵ Archaeological excavations at both native and colonial contact sites suggest this fish, along with the other “numerous and excellent” fishes such as shad, cod, and herring, formed part of the common diet for many residents of the Delaware River region. Although excavations of contact-era and early colonial sites on the Delaware River are few they do suggest that sturgeon was indeed part of the diet. As examples, Philadelphia archaeologists uncovered sturgeon scutes in the Dexter site and at the Chiller Plant site from the eighteenth century.⁶⁶ Michael Stewart identifies another historical site from the mid-eighteenth century on the Delaware near Trenton where fishing was practiced.⁶⁷

Marten Winne, were taken Prisoners by the Indians, as they were fishing for Sturgeon in the Night, about 5 Miles above the City; the Tracks of the Indians that carried them off being seen next Day.” In Boston things turned smelly when “on Tuesday Night the 22nd past, some evil minded Persons carry’d into the Presbyterian Meeting House there, a stinking Sturgeon of about 8 feet in length, and laid it upon the Pulpit Floor, where it lay undiscovered till the Sunday following; when it was so much corrupted and putrified, that it swarm’d with Vermin, and caused such a nauseous Stench, that the People could not assemble in the Meeting House, but were forced to perform their Exercise in the Orchard.” As reported in both the *American Weekly Mercury*, Thursday July 15th to Thursday July 22nd, 1725 and in the *New-England Courant* Saturday July 3- Saturday July 10, 1725.

⁶⁵ Saffron, 89.

⁶⁶ Personal correspondence with Teagan Schweitzer, author of *Philadelphia Foodways Ca. 1750-1850: An Historical Archaeology of Cuisine*, (PhD Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2010).

⁶⁷ Michael Stewart, “Native American Fishing,” *Bulletin of the Archeological Society of New Jersey*, 54 (1999) 4.

If the example of Jamestown is any indicator, there is a strong possibility that future archaeology will provide a wealth of additional evidence for a diet strong in fish. Before the re-discovery of the Jamestown fort and surrounding early town site, many historians believed the site to be washed away in the James River. Some historians like Edmund S. Morgan posited that the early “starving time” at Jamestown could partly be explained by a poor work ethic or a refusal to adopt native culinary practices. The large sturgeon were supposedly sniffed at by Englishmen even as they wasted away: “...Virginia’s rivers were filled with sturgeon in the summer and covered with geese and ducks in the winter. There are five hundred people in the colony now. And they are starving.”⁶⁸ Yet, excavations since the rediscovery have uncovered numerous fish remains, including those from sturgeon. The tens of thousands of scutes provide evidence of a sturgeon-rich diet where fish and turtle provided the main proteins.⁶⁹ Even beyond times of desperation, Jamestown residents consistently incorporated sturgeon into their diets.

Much has been made of the English reputation for being stubborn and inflexible in colonial settings. Authors like Patricia Seed argue that their ability to “go native” pales in comparison to their French and Spanish competitors in new world settlement.⁷⁰ But recent work by scholars such as Toby Ditz and others study the

⁶⁸ Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2003 edition), 73.

⁶⁹ http://www.preservationvirginia.org/rediscovery/page.php?page_id=142

⁷⁰ In *Facing East*, Richter suggests that Catholics had “considerable advantages” over Protestants in early colonizing efforts because of their finances, experience, and well-trained personnel, 86.; On early encounters between Europeans and Indians also see James Axtell, *After Columbus: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America*

international dimensions and reach of the English empire challenge the idea of the wholly inflexible English traveler. In her studies of English merchants and government officials, she found groups of international travelers well-aware of the need to “fit in”, go undercover, and adapt in settings as diverse as China, Russia and the Americas. And when they did so, they did not take things like dress or dining habits lightly. As a members of this curious, motivated, and well-traveled set of seventeenth-century Englishmen, William Penn and his pals fit in the model of Englishmen who understood the need to go native on occasion yet still adhere to “English” ways at other items. Indeed, there are numerous examples of ambassadors, merchants and others replicating English estates in the most-un-English locales.

Enamored with print culture and the written and spoken word, many travelers, some of whom were reporting back to the Royal Society, seized opportunities to share their findings, write up observations and musings on comparisons between life in England and life abroad. There is a rich body of printed and manuscript travel literature, recounting travels both real and imagined (such as Jonathan Swift’s 1726 *Gulliver’s Travels*), that first circulated in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Penn’s letter mentioning sturgeon should be placed in the context of this genre as well as that of more “official” or “scientific” correspondence. In these works they shared advice for operating in the world of commerce, but couched these lessons in personal experiences. Toby Ditz, influenced by Jean-Christophe Agnew,

(New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Axtell, *Beyond 1492: Encounters in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), and Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe’s Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

argues that as they wrote, English merchants created experiments in self-fashioning. They grappled with presenting an acceptable public appearance required of travelers in the world, while masking the “private” doubts and personal aspects of their lives. As part of these processes of self-fashioning these merchants and travelers drew on knowledge of how to manipulate the material world to assist in the presentation of self they desired.⁷¹ Penn’s efforts to share knowledge of the natural world and present it in a positive light demonstrate his efforts to craft a positive reputation not just for himself but for Pennsylvania as a whole. And his efforts appealed to audiences sensitive not only to the written word, but also to sensory appeals to their tastebuds.⁷²

We often privilege sight and textual or visual evidence as processes of transmitting information in discussions of colonialism. Certainly these are important to understanding how people observed, processed, and shared information about new lands and people. However the sense of sight did not work alone. Written and visual sources and objects can provide glimpses of other sensory experiences at work. In the past, as today, sight, touch, sound, smell and taste worked to complement and accentuate each other. This interplay of senses is referred to by modern scientists as

⁷¹ Toby Ditz, “Secret Selves, Credible Personas: The Problematics of Trust and Public Display in the Writing of Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia Merchants” in Robert Blair St. George, ed. *Possible Pasts: Becoming Colonial in Early America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), 219-242; Jean-Christophe Agnew, *Worlds Apart: The Market and Theater in Anglo-American Thought, 1550-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). Both Ditz and Agnew rely heavily on theories of “theatricality” in discussing the performative aspects of letter-writing and self-fashioning through goods.

⁷² The sub-field of sensory history is outlined in Peter Charles Hoffer’s *Sensory Worlds in Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).

synesthesia.⁷³ As a physiological process, synesthesia can be understood as “a behavior that involves the multimodal combination of all senses.”⁷⁴ For example, one reads about a hamburger, the words might lead to thoughts of McDonalds, one might crave a juicy Big Mac, or even have the sensation of tasting beef. There may also be associations with backyard barbecues or a Saturday afternoon outing to a local burger joint. Just as modern individuals make such associations, so did individuals in the seventeenth century. However, we must be extremely careful to recognize individual experiences in a historic context affected sensory relationships. To reformulate context, as historians, we are bound by the evidence that remains, often in the form of texts or objects. Yet even bounded by the overwhelming “textuality” of available resources, there are ways to recapture some of the sensory experiences of the past, or at least to extrapolate the importance of such sensory experiences. Successful histories, such as Sandra Gustafson’s *Eloquence is Power*, or Christopher Grasso’s *A Speaking Aristocracy*, that place emphasis on rhetoric and performance, both take into consideration auditory and visual experiences despite a complete lack of film or

⁷³ For further reading on synesthesia as applied to culinary studies see David Sutton, “Synesthesia, Memory, and the Taste of Home” in the *Taste and Culture Reader: Experiencing Food and Drink* (Oxford: Berg, 2005), 304.

⁷⁴ Jean-Pierre Terneaux, “Synesthesia: A Multimodal Combination of the Senses” *Leonardo* 63:4 (2003) 321-322. Terneaux contrasts this physiological definition of synesthesia against the pathological use of the term which is “described as a confusion of the senses where the excitation of one sense triggers stimulation in a completely different sensory modality.”³²² For example, in a pathological form of synesthesia, seeing the color blue could make someone taste hamburgers. A cultural historian who has successfully incorporated the concept of synesthesia into her work is Susan Stabile in *Memory’s Daughters: The Material Culture of Remembrance in Eighteenth-Century America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004).

other recordings.⁷⁵ Their work, and that of other historians like Jane Kamensky, argues that the written word can not be divorced from the spoken word and performances of speech acts.⁷⁶ They all argue that in the long eighteenth century, people often viewed speech and text as intertwined modes of communication. Just as they have placed emphasis on the importance of hearing, reading, and speaking to understanding American history, so, too, can we tease out the importance of taste to the processes of colonial pursuits.

Taste was an important part of processing information about new lands. A sense of place was formed by Penn's individual interactions with the regional environment in conjunction with his predisposed cultural background and assumptions.⁷⁷ Penn did not simply describe foods but took a comparative approach when he stated "The fruits roots come and flesh, as good as I have commonly eaten in

⁷⁵ Sandra Gustafson, *Eloquence is Power: Oratory and Performance in Early America*, (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute for Early American Culture, 2000); Chris Grasso, *A Speaking Aristocracy: Transforming Public Discourse in Eighteenth-Century Connecticut* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute for Early American Culture, 1999).

⁷⁶ Jane Kamensky, *Governing the Tongue: The Politics of Speech in Early New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

⁷⁷ David Butz and John Eyles, "Reconceptualizing Senses of Place: Social relations, Ideology and Ecology" *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography*, 79:1 (1997) 1-25. They suggest that "ecological dimensions of senses of place emerge from accumulated sets of perceived/known ecological affordances. They are the knowledges of a place's ecological characteristics that yield meanings because they are generated out of the in-terplay between the characteristics of a specific place-grounded environment and the socially constructed effectivities of the perceiver. These effectivities can be understood as life world elements which, like all aspects of life world, are shaped both by subjects' communications with others and their own instrumental interaction with the environment," 24.

Europe, I may say of most of them better.”⁷⁸ Penn was certainly attempting to paint his new territory in a positive light, but the fact that he wrote of his personal delight in the foods and environment in America in private correspondence in addition to promotional tracts should make us pause before discarding his comments as mere propaganda. What Penn acknowledged with his claims of distinctiveness is something akin to the concept of *terroir*.⁷⁹ Defined as “the earth considered from the point of view of agriculture,” the term is applied in *le gout de terroir* or “the flavor or odor of certain locales that are given to its products.” Traditionally used in classification of wines, current food scholars and producers also extend this concept from the drinkable to the edible. And increasingly scholars are taking a more holistic view of *terroir*, such as Bernard Herman who suggests that “*terroir* defines the particular attributes of place embodied in cuisine and narrated through words, actions, and objects.”⁸⁰ This interpretation allows a much more nuanced understanding of past and present foodways than many current scholars allow.

⁷⁸ William Penn to John Aubrey [13 June 1683], *Penn Papers*, 2: 394.

⁷⁹ Jane Black, “The Geography of Flavor: Bringing a European Idea Down to Earth: Producers, Farmers Pin Hopes on the Concept of ‘Terroir’” *Washington Post*, Wednesday, August 22, 2007. She discusses fishermen on Lummi Island in Washington state who claim that their location and the use of reef nets, a modernized version of a Native American technique, leads to better tasting fish. William Woys Weaver described the similar concept of “connectedness” which he defined as “a direct tie to one’s natural surroundings: the woods, the pastures, the streams.” William Woys Weaver, *America Eats: Forms of Edible Folk Art* (NY: Harper and Row Publishers for Museum of American Folk Art, 1989), 5.

⁸⁰ Bernard L. Herman, “Drum Head Stew: The Power and Poetry of Terroir” *Southern Cultures* 15:4 (Winter 2009) 36-49, 37.

The concept of terroir is often used by authors interested in the locavore (local food) movement to hearken back to a supposed golden era of eating where people grew their own food out of necessity or at least knew where it was produced. In her distaste for the prevalence of commercial agriculture and fishing, Amy Trubek claims that “our Puritan heritage” dooms Americans to a reluctance to discuss food as more than a necessity.⁸¹ In this she is wrong. Penn, like other early colonists all along the Atlantic coasts connected value to processes of managing resources and dining. In fact a glance at the writings of John Winthrop, William Penn, and others engaged in colonial American pursuits reveals that they were almost hyper-aware of the food systems in which they participated. Although seventeenth-century diners had a greater knowledge of the origins of the foods they ate, this did not mean their foods had not traveled many miles before being consumed. Colonists relied as much on imported goods as those grown in kitchen gardens and hunted, raised, and fished locally. And a developing awareness of and interest in the edible and drinkable world provided colonists and others interested in colonial projects specific and intimate knowledge of the environment that could potentially ease the processes of settling and “improving” new world lands.

In the seventeenth century, there were still many unknowns about the Americas. John Ray held a curiosity for comparing what creatures might be found in the New World to those of the Old, and he wrote to Hans Sloane Black “I am now more and more convinced that there are many species both of fishes and birds, and of

⁸¹ Amy B. Trubek, *A Taste of Place: A Cultural Journey into Terroir* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 15.

these last especially aquatic, common to Europe and America.”⁸² William Penn and his contemporaries shared this interest in comparing and evaluating resources such as fruits, vegetables, and animals. Although he encountered some of these foods in the wild, Penn also took pains to direct the cultivation of both native and non-native species in order to fill his larder and manage the landscape of abundance he encountered. In a letter to prospective settlers, Penn enticed them with the claim “Here also are Peaches, and very good, and in great quantities”⁸³ Finding them different from English varieties he questioned however, whether they were native species. Penn was rightly confused by the origins of peaches. By the seventeenth-century, peaches had a long history in the New World, Britain, and Europe, but was native to none of those places. First cultivated in China, the plants were carried to Persia and the Mediterranean with the spice trade, then carried to the New World with Spanish and Portuguese explorers where the fruit was integrated into native diets, and planting and spread up the Atlantic Coast and west to the Mississippi.⁸⁴ In 1682 the proprietor suggested that there was “not an Indian settlement without them.” Penn reaped the benefits of their productivity even after purchasing the land and dispossessing the former native and European residents of his plantation “let all the

⁸² April 4, 1794 in John Ray and Edwin Lankester. *The correspondence of John Ray: consisting of selections from the philosophical letters published by Dr. Derham, and original letters of John Ray in the collection of the British Museum* (London: printed for the Ray Society, 1848), 275.

⁸³ William Penn, *Letter to the Society of Traders, 1683*. In Albert Cook Myers, *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West Jersey, and Delaware, 1630-1707*. (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1912), 227-228.

⁸⁴ Peter J. Hatch, *The Fruits and Fruit Trees of Monticello* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1998), 79-80.

peeches about the grounds in Indian fields be saved, make a barrel of wine or two, & dry the rest, save that a few be preserved when almost ripe.”⁸⁵ His comments reveal attention to observing evidence of native foodways and methods of managing plants. As his comments suggest, he did so in order to extract products for personal consumption. In consuming these fruits he could evaluate their value and enrich his knowledge of the New World. And it did not hurt that potential monetary gain offered a benefit, too.

In the late seventeenth century, Penn and others seem to have an integrated interest in food as important to understanding human nature and as an essential aspect of improvement. Along with his promotional and economic concerns, Penn wrote and thought about diet and culinary practices. The very fact that Penn and many early Pennsylvanians devoted time, money, and words to examining foodways makes these subjects important for study. As scholars of Penn have noted, “Much that he wrote reflected the intellectual ideas current among contemporaries in Restoration England.”⁸⁶ His classical education and exposure to prominent thinkers of the day lead to the conclusion that “William Penn is not regarded as an original thinker. Most of the ideas found in his published works were derived from the writings of others.”⁸⁷ Although he did not develop his own taxonomic system, formulate a radically new understanding of the physiological effects of diet, or write a recipe book, Penn

⁸⁵ Penn quote in Mrya K. Jacobsohn, “Sowing a Wealth Uncommon” in *Pennsylvania Heritage* 24:2, (Spring 2003), 17.

⁸⁶ *Penn Papers*, 5:31.

⁸⁷ *Penn Papers*, 5:29.

represents many of his counterparts who selectively employed and synthesized knowledge to suit personal interests. The primary meaning of all this comes from uncovering how Penn wrote about diet, dining, foods and other culinary information and what influences are reflected in his thoughts.

Diet and dining were the concern of many contemporary natural philosophers who Penn knew or read. One of the most noted promoters of diet was John Evelyn. In 1699 he published his *Acetaria, a Discourse of Sallets*, promoting the construction of gardens and the eating of “Herbaceous_ Plants, _Oluscula_ and smaller_Esculents_ , as are chiefly us'd in _Cold Sallets.”⁸⁸ Extracted from a manuscript of gardening he worked on and circulated widely among friends since the 1660s, the publication, at first, seems a subject of minor importance in comparison to his writings on wars, politics, or even broader subjects of managing forests and whole gardens.⁸⁹ The author prepared a response to what even he must have predicted as a critique of his subject matter:

“I expect some will wonder what my Meaning is, to usher in a *Trifle*, with so much Magnificence, and end at last in a fine *Receipt* for the *Dressing* of a *Sallet*, with an Handful of *Pot-Herbs*! But yet, *My Lord*, this *Subject*, as low and despicable as it appears, challenges a Part of *Natural History*; and the Greatest Princes have thought it no Disgrace, not only to make it their *Diversion*, but their *Care*, and to promote and

⁸⁸ John Evelyn, *Acetaria, a Discourse of Sallets* (London: printed for P. Tooke, 1699), Dedication section, unnumbered. Early English Books Online.

⁸⁹ Andrea Wulf, *The Brother Gardeners: Botany, Empire, and the Birth of an Obsession* (New York: Random House, 2009). In *Brother Gardeners*, Wulf outlines the transatlantic relationship between William Bartram and Peter Collinson, where they exchanged botanical samples and information. The relationships she outlines are similar to those established between earlier travelers to the New World and their Old World friends and associates who were curious about the nature of the Americas.

encourage it in the midst of their weightiest Affairs: he who wrote of the *Cedar of Libanus* also wrote of the *Hysop that grows on the wall*.”⁹⁰

The profusion of health manuals, receipt books, gardening guides, in addition to reprinted classical works and older health guides created a thesaurus of culinary musings available to interested parties. In many of these works, traditional “folk” approaches to understanding the workings of the body melded with newer “scientific” theories. A humeral approach to regulating the body joined with newer research seating the soul and health in the various parts of the body and in the mind. And many of these authors shared a view that diet was analogous to the health of a person and a place. Personal health could reflect and enhance community health and vice versa.

Even the structure of the correspondence, commonplace books, diaries, manuscript, and published writings of Penn and others privileged musings on food, gardening, and the like similarly to that about politics, religion, natural philosophy, reading and other topics. When he was away from America, William Penn often adopted a form of correspondence with his representatives that echoes that of manuscript newssheets of the seventeenth century, the form of circulating news before printed periodicals gained in number and popularity. In this format, enumerated sections each contain questions, directions, and advice of a related subject. In his letters, Penn often devoted equal space to direction for gardening at Pennsbury as he did for managing land distribution. Francis Daniel Pastorius, the “father of Germantown” and early Pennsylvania resident created a multitude of letters and manuscripts including a commonplace book, often referred to as the “Beehive,”

⁹⁰ John Evelyn, *Aceteria* 1699, Dedication section, unnumbered. Early English Books Online.

that recent scholars have summarized as an ever-evolving indexical system recording the various interests of a polymath. In an additional manuscript volume, titled *Alvearialia* and containing “such Phrases and Sentences, which in haste were Booked down here, before J had Time to Cary them to their respective proper Places in my English-Folio-Bee-hive,” Pastorius sandwiched sections on gardening between original poems, copied religious pamphlets, or interpretations of a classic works.⁹¹ For example, notations from “*Wm Hughes Flower Garden & Compleat Vinyard*” are leaved between those from “*Julian the Apostate*./ n. 1682” and “*Abr. Crowley’s Works* fol. 1688.”⁹² Rather than interpreting these encyclopedic works as nonsensical creations, scholars are inclined to accept that Pastorius held a true and equal interest in all the subjects upon which he wrote. As he wrote himself of the Beehive:

“An Encyclopedy of all what can be known
May very Well be made by Comon-placing down
The Better-Sort of Things out of the Best of Books;
And such Work, no doubt, the Best of men would own,
Some Bettter lay aside their Surplis & their Gown,
Yea and Good Captains beat their Spears to Pruning-hooks.
Fac Deus Providebit.”⁹³

⁹¹ Preface to *Alvearialia* transcribed in Marion Dexter Learned, *The Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius* (Philadelphia: William J. Campbell, 1908), 254.

⁹² Learned, 257. Abraham Crowley was a noted poet and proponent of natural philosophy and agriculture in the mid-seventeenth century. His *Works* were gathered after his death by Thomas Sprat and were reprinted many times. The work on Julian no doubt outlined the life of the last emperor of pre-Christian Rome. Pastorius’ selection of gardening treatise was particularly applicable to his situation in America, as William Hughes lived in Jamaica and visited Florida, and wrote on plants in the “English Plantations.” See Ray Desmond, *The Dictionary of British and Irish Botanists and Horticulturists* (London: Taylor and Francis, Ltd. and The Natural History Museum, 1994) 363.

⁹³ Learned, 254. “Fac Deus Providebit” translates approximately to “Make, God will provide.”

Perhaps more familiar to scholars of colonial America are William Byrd's notations relating to daily diet, sexual appetite, and general bodily functions in his "secret" diary. Entries such as "I neglected my prayers and ate milk for breakfast" or "I beat Billy Wilkins for telling a lie. I settled some accounts and read some Latin and then read some news until dinner and then ate some roast beef for dinner" both surprise and shock modern readers and students for being treated equally in weight.⁹⁴ But in his obsessive treatment of his diet and body, related alongside day-to-day matters and momentous events, he was not alone. Samuel Pepys, and even Robert Hooke, the natural philosopher and Penn's friend, all included such information in their diaries. For example, two entries from Hooke's memoranda record his dietary concerns such as that for March 22, 1672: "cleer in the afternoon but ouercast in ye morning. W[ind] W[est] N[orth] W[est]. [mercury] 170/ I sweat this morning with warm posset drink.- Lent Mr. Haux. Ye Virginian Grammer" or that for march 30 of the same year: "I dind at Dr. wrens. Cald at Sir J[ohn] Cutlers. Dr. Pope. Bought lower de catarrhis lady Coghills limewater. {Recipe] limewater 2 gallons. Liquorice aniseeds and sassifras or Sazaper[illa] ana. [ounces]. Steep them & drink them-"⁹⁵

Penn did not keep such obsessive notes as Byrd, at least in the papers of his that survive. But, we know that Penn referred to authors such as Lazarus Riverius for

⁹⁴ Diary of William Byrd II, June 16, 1709 and March 3, 1712. Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinlin, eds., *The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709-1712* (Richmond, Va.: Dietz Press, 1941).

⁹⁵ Felicity Henderson, "Unpublished Material From the Memorandum Book of Robert Hooke, Guildhall Library Ms. 1758" *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* (2007) 61, 136-137.

advice on matters relating to “Physick.”⁹⁶ He was certainly concerned with the health of friends and did not hesitate to dole out advice. To his friend John Gratton he wrote “I rejoyce thou art better. If thou canst Drink Garlick boyled in milk, or of Ivory shaveings-boyled in clear whit wine posset, drink it, and, then drink the posset drink (a pint). I Jaundice will be cleared.”⁹⁷ In a better-known letter to his wife and children written on the eve of his first departure to America in 1682, Penn wrote “Next, my Children be temperate in all things, in your diet, for that is Physick by prevention: it keeps, nay it makes people healthy, and their generation sound. This is exclusive of the Spiritual advantage it brings.” Although Penn additionally warned his offspring that “life is more than food,” he certainly did not spare any compliments for the high points in his own diet such as the sturgeon.⁹⁸

Penn’s own diet seemed to follow the fashion of a well-to-do seventeenth-century gentleman. Like the diets of many other newcomers to America, Penn’s diet became a variation on a theme. Penn and other transplants to the new world worked within established traditions of food choices and methods of preparation. However, the circumstances in foreign lands required substitutions, experiments, and innovations with ingredients and tools. The proprietor seemed pleased with the new culinary landscape he found in America. Perhaps Penn discovered that the “Strawberry’s ripe in the woods in Aprill, and in the Last Month, Peas, beans,

⁹⁶ Mrs. Godfrey Locker Lampson, ed., *A Quaker Post-Bag: Letters to Sir John Rodes of Barlbrough Hall, In the County Derby, Baronet, and to John Gratton, of Monyash 1693-1742* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1910) 4.

⁹⁷ *A Quaker Post-Bag*, 10.

⁹⁸ William Penn to Gulielma Penn, 4 August 1682, *Penn Papers*, 2:270.

Cherrys & mulberrys” really did taste better.⁹⁹ Or maybe the surroundings amplified his tastebuds. Rather than mere promotion, he seems to genuinely like what he ate. Penn believed in improving an existing framework and applied this attitude to religious freedom, civil liberties, family growth and even to planting better vines and making better beer, so it comes as no surprise that he took an optimistic view of yet another aspect of New World living.

Penn held a similarly positive impression of the American dining scene. Relying on the hospitality of others during his first months in the Delaware Valley he remarked: “[I] like the Land aire & food very well, I never eat better in England at lambs or Locketts.” Suggesting that the food was as good as that prepared by Patrick Lamb, a master cook for Charles II, James II, William and Mary, and Queen Anne, or that served at Locketts, one of the most fashionable eating houses in Charing Cross, was quite a compliment.¹⁰⁰ These establishments were not just good places to eat, but centers for sociability and networking. Lamb’s was the selected meeting place for the Royal Society annual dinners and was thus a familiar locale for the recipients of Penn’s letter. Lockett’s was well-known enough to be repeatedly mentioned in drama, fiction, and other contemporary writings as a meeting-place for the higher sorts.

“At Locket’s, Brown’s, and at Pontack’s enquire
What modish kickshaws the nice beaux desire,
What fam’d ragouts, what new invented sallat,
Has best pretensions to regale the palate.”¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ William Penn to John Aubrey [13 June 1683], *Penn Papers*, 2:394.

¹⁰⁰ William Penn to William Blathwayt and Francis Gwyn, *Penn Papers*, 2:311.

¹⁰¹ Susanna Centlivre, *Love’s Contrivance, or, Le medecin malgre lui, A comedy, as it is acted at the Theater in Drury Lane* (London: B. Lintott, 1703) Dedication. Centlivre’s play was influenced greatly by the works of Moliere.

The style of cooking promoted by these early chefs and restaurateurs was a blend of traditional English foods served in fashions influenced by the French.¹⁰² Sturgeon was recommended by Robert May and other chefs as parts of the second course.

Illustrations of prescribed arrangements or those actually used in Royal banquets show sturgeon placed near the center of the table, occasionally on risers to elevate the food and make it more visible on the sightline. But these practices were in Europe and not exactly what Penn encountered in America.

Penn wrote of preparing the sturgeon in traditional European manner: “we have Roasted and pickeled them, and they [sturgeon] eat like Veal one way, and Sturgeon the other way.” Robert May’s classic treatise, *The Accomplisht cook, or, The Art and Mystery of Cookery*, first published in 1660 and easily the most popular cookbook in Penn’s lifetime, contained thirty-four recipes or variations for preparing sturgeon.¹⁰³ One method was similar to that contained in modern editions of *Larousse Gastronomique* that suggests ‘In France, sturgeon is cut into steaks or thick slices and braised like veal (fricandeau of sturgeon), grilled (broiled), sautéed, or roasted.’¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Robert May was the “first British cook to include illustrations in his book,” Kate Colquhoun, *Taste: The Story of Britain Through Its Cooking* (NY: Bloomsbury, 2007), 160. “In 1710, the erstwhile royal cook, Patrick Lamb added fold-out paper diagrams to his recipe collection to show the ideal placement of over fifty large, middling and small dishes at the table,” 173. “hedging his bets like Robert May before him, the royal chef Patrick Lamb proclaimed the virtues of unfussy ‘English’ cooking while compiling plenty of recipes for tricky French dishes,” 192.

¹⁰³ Robert May, *The Accomplisht Cook, or, The Art and Mystery of Cookery*. (London: Printed for R.W. for Nath. Brooke, 1660), 353-366.

¹⁰⁴ “Sturgeon” in *Larousse Gastronomique*, Jenifer Harvey Lang, ed. (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc. 1984) 1028.

The receipt book of Gulielma Maria Springett Penn (1644-1694), William Penn's first wife who never came to Pennsylvania herself, did not include any recipes specifically for sturgeon. But she did include directions for preparing other fish and seafood such as carp, eel, and oysters and for preparing veal "fancy," "fried," and "roast." As Penn suggested that one way of eating sturgeon was a similar preparation to veal, his first wife's recipes may give a hint at the type of dish he consumed:

Too Tost Veal

Take the Legg or neck
Cutt it into thin pieces, the neck into Joynts
Then Chop it a Litell
Hang it to tost before the fire,
All the while kepe it floured with
Peper
Salt
Very small shred parsly
Grated bred
A Littell nutmeg
When it it hard toasted sarve it up with gravey sauce-¹⁰⁵

This recipe, like others in Gulielma's book, reflect a method of preparation influenced by "nouvelle" French cuisine that was increasingly popular in England. Because it was largely imported to England, pickled sturgeon was considered a relatively expensive delicacy. Roasting a fish in the style of veal emphasized the inherent flavor of the main ingredient. According to the French style, only a sauce or gravy aided the taste rather than a heavy spicing and elaborate treatment of ingredients often found in medieval cuisine. The mix of imported luxuries like chocolate and spices joined domestic vegetables, fruits, and meats to form a substantial spread on the Penn family

¹⁰⁵ Evelyn Abraham Benson, *Penn Family Recipes: Cooking Recipes of William Penn's Wife Gulielma* (York, Pennsylvania: George Schumway, 1966).

table that followed current culinary fashion, while taking advantage of local resources. Evidence from accounts and correspondence with associates such as Samuel Carpenter, his secretary James Logan, and his gardener Ralph Smyth, reflect some of Penn's specific dietary desires. He directed Smyth to "plant sweet herbs, Sparragrass [asparagus], carrets, parsnups, hartechokes, Saltin, & all flowers & kitchen herbs."¹⁰⁶ Through Logan he and his second wife Hannah (who did join Penn on his second visit to America) ordered numerous foodstuffs and supplies as in the following order: "fail not to send a flitch of our Bacon, & chocolat {by all means if to be had} if to be had, & a cask of middling flowr from S.C.^s or Is. Nor^s: & some coffe berrys ¼ lb..."¹⁰⁷ They not only ordered foods for themselves, but ordered "whit bread," beef, and liquors for treating Indians and "Madera wine" and other "victuals" for entertaining council members.¹⁰⁸

Not only was the food fairly diverse and catered to the occasion, it was presented in a variety of settings as needed by the proprietor, his family, friends and associates. The equipage kept by the Penn's included fine Dutch and "Ireish" linens like the "12 Napkins marked W^PH in Oylet holes," "Puter" plates, silver cutlery and serving pieces, imported ceramics like "2 dozen of the London plates & 4 doz: & ½ of the common ones", specialty items like "Pye plates" and "cheese Plates," candlesticks, and furniture including "One Long Table & 2 Formes" and

¹⁰⁶ Gardening directions to Ralph Smyth, August, 1684, *Penn Papers*, 2:584.

¹⁰⁷ William Penn to James Logan, 7th 6mo {August} 1700, *Penn Papers*, 3:614.

¹⁰⁸ Accounts with Samuel Carpenter, Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society; William Penn to James Logan, July 23, 1700, *Penn Papers*, 3:609; Hannah Penn to James Logan, 23rd July, 1700, *Penn Papers*, 3:610.

Sideboards.¹⁰⁹ Such equipment prepared Penn to act as host in the great hall or a smaller closet at Pennsbury, the hall or parlor at his urban residence, or even out-of-doors.¹¹⁰ These spaces provided architectural settings designed for personal and public entertainments. The architectural and exterior spaces the proprietor owned, rented, and managed became laboratories where the material surroundings, including foods on the plate, served to reinforce his experiments in improvement. But these laboratories required assistants and suppliers.

Food for dining with the Penn's did not simply appear falling from cornucopias like so many of the prints and images of the New World suggest. Networks of people, often a chain of multiple providers, preparers and servers were involved in supplying the proprietor and his cohorts with their culinary treats. We know Penn relied on such networks and while he definitely walked in the gardens there is no evidence the author has found that Penn actively tilled the earth or fished for sturgeon himself.¹¹¹ These tools for processing and preparing food fell largely

¹⁰⁹ Catalogue of Goods left at Pennsbury and Philadelphia, 1701, *Penn Papers*, 4:132-136.

¹¹⁰ Treaties with Indians were frequently held at Pennsbury. Fish may have been part of the foods served, but accounts seem to list alcohol both straight and for mixed punches and drinks and preserved beef. For a brief overview of life at Pennsbury see Larry Tise, *Pennsbury Manor (Pennsylvania Trail of History Guide)* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2002), 22-23 and Mark Reinberger and Elizabeth McLean, "Pennsbury Manor: Reconstruction and Reality" *PMHB* 131:3 (July, 2007).

¹¹¹ There is no evidence that Penn fished himself. Contemporaries enjoyed fishing as a pastime and fishing was a notable enough gentlemanly pursuit in the Delaware Valley that one of the early elite clubs, the Colony of Schuylkill, founded in 1732, was devoted to the sport. Penn's secretary Logan was a fisherman and a book of flies belonging to him still exists in the collections at Stenton (his home and now a house museum). John Bartram's plat of his Delaware River estate depicts a happy fisherman on the bank. Local merchants and craftspeople sold fishing equipment throughout the

under the purview of household residents such as Sue, an enslaved cook and other servants and slaves. In one letter of 1685, addressed to his steward James Harrison, Penn specifically refers to owning at least one slave at Pennsbury whose primary occupation was fishing: “If the Black, that is the fisher, be there still, let os. Cart have him at full price.”¹¹² The service areas where these slaves and servants worked and lived such as the kitchens, brew house, larders and gardens on the Penn properties in Pennsylvania provided the spaces for the actual preparation of the delicacies diners enjoyed. In one kitchen alone there were pewter dishes and a pie plate, stands, three spits, andirons, a frying pan, pot hangers and hooks, and a powdering tub used to pickle and preserve foods.¹¹³ The presence of this diversity of tools for processing, preparing, and preserving foods suggests that while the main manor house on Penn’s Pennsylvania plantation, Pennsbury, was an ignored or abandoned residence during most of the time the Penn family owned it, there were moments when the manor bustled. And it seemed realistic that Penn’s vision for creating a working estate could succeed. Smyth busied himself with planting gardens and rooting trees, workmen added strong brick additions to the main structure, service staff made house-made

eighteenth century. Fishing was a leisurely pursuit recommended by many, including the author of *The Compleat Angler*, Izaak Walton. His book, written in 1653 was reprinted numerous times and added to by the author into the late seventeenth century. In it he promoted fishing as a noble pastime that allowed time for contemplation. And there were other fishing manuals, too, such as Robert Venables, *The Experience’d Angler, or Angling Improv’d* (1662). Others did not agree. John Evelyn called the sport “lazy.” John Evelyn, *Acetaria: A Discourse of Sallets* (1699).

¹¹² *Penn Papers*, 3: 67n.

¹¹³ Catalogue of Goods left at Pennsbury and Philadelphia, 1701, *Penn Papers*, 4:132-136.

cidars and beers to supplement imported beverages, and a host of other activities created a lively, growing scene at Penn's new world property. Yet, it was never fully self-sufficient. Many of the foods consumed at Pennsbury and Penn's city home originated beyond the garden gates.

A note to Penn from William Clarke in 1683 suggests the chain of people involved in procuring Penn one of his favorite foods, pickled oysters: "I did Intend According to thy order tha my wife should A pickled sume oysters to A sent thee and in order to it I sent my servants to get sume; And it being at the are force to Leave the Connoa and Com a way with out it after they had got them; but as sone as the weather is fitt for it; I doe Intend to take Care about it." The division of labor was clear: Clarke took the order and performed the business relationship, servants were sent by canoe in frigid weather to gather the oysters, and Clarke's wife, Honor, would do the pickling.¹¹⁴ Outside in the kitchen gardens at Pennsbury, Hugh Sharpe, an indentured servant, tended many of the vegetables and herbs that made their way into a cook like Sue's hands. Hugh managed the peaches but Penn entrusted the grapes to two imported viticulturists, "a French man of Languedock, and another of Poicteu, near Santonge" to establish a vineyard to complement the production of beer on his

¹¹⁴ William Clarke to William Penn, Lewis the 15th 11mo [January]; 1683 [/4]. *Penn Papers*. 2:516. William Clarke was a businessman from Dublin, Ireland who immigrated to West Jersey in the 1670s and soon after settled in Whorekill, Sussex County, Delaware. After Penn's arrival Clarke served as a King's justice, a Pennsylvania Council member and a judge for the Lower Counties. He married Honor Hullings in 1679. No information is known about his servants, yet. Herbert Standing "Quakers in Delaware in the Time of William Penn" *Delaware History*, 20: 2, 123-147.

property.¹¹⁵ French wine experts, enslaved workers, servants, family members such as his wife and an extended circle of tradesmen and friends contributed to Penn's larder. In these chains, relations of power were formed. Intimate, yet often distant, bonds connected Penn to the people who allowed him to enjoy a roast sturgeon or a perfect peach.

William and Hannah Penn directed the planting of gardens, management of orchards and vineyards and selection of fish and fowl for their meals. Yet, the cook Sue, the oyster gatherers in the lower counties, the gardener Hugh, and numerous other individuals involved in gathering, hunting, growing, preparing and serving foods should also be counted as participants in crafting an American regional diet and food network. In planting selected vines or fruits, or preparing traditional English dishes, contemporary theories of proper diet and methods of husbandry directly and indirectly influenced gardeners and cooks. But there was no doubt that improvisation occurred based on local and regional circumstances. Local sturgeon became a roast, "Indian meal" became daily bread, American peaches fermented into ciders. Unfortunately for Penn, he was unable to witness much of the growth of regional foodways firsthand.

By the last half of the first decade of the eighteenth century, Penn returned home to England twice, forced to deal with financial problems, and he became increasingly more dismayed with the state of affairs in his colony. The gardens and orchards at Pennsbury were now out of his direct control. Sue and her husband Sam, stewards John and Mary Sotcher, and other remaining servants and slaves remained

¹¹⁵ William Penn to John Aubrey [13 June 1683], *Penn Papers*, 2:394.

as the sole full-time inhabitants of the site. After leaving the province for the second, and last, time in 1701, Penn halted any additional improvements at Pennsbury: “Let me not be put to more Charge there, but only to keep it in repaire, & that its produce may maintaine it.”¹¹⁶ Instead of pondering new wines or preparing entertainments, Penn obsessed over the “Sneeking Presbyterian,” a “lurking snake,” an “ungrateful Hypocrite,” “false Quakers,” and other individuals who threatened his hold on Pennsylvania.¹¹⁷ While Penn’s own experiment in fulfilling a vision for the flourishing production, consumption, and trade of foodstuffs waned, other early settlers and merchants embraced opportunities to turn new world resources into profit.

While Penn or other elites may have requested certain foods and carefully selected the items on their plates, others, like the slaves of Barbados who largely ate rationed meals including preserved fish sent as cargo from Philadelphia or other locales, had less control over the contents of their diet.¹¹⁸ And preserved fish formed a

¹¹⁶ William Penn to James Logan, 11th 5mo, 1704, *Penn Papers*, 4:282.

¹¹⁷ William Penn to James Logan, 11th 12th mo 1704, *Penn Papers*, 4:330; William Penn to John Evans, 26 12th mo 1704, *Penn Papers*, 4:343; William Penn to James Logan, 30th 2mo 1705, *Penn Papers*, 4:347.

¹¹⁸ Eighteenth-century advertisements for pickled sturgeon suggest it was consumed domestically as well as shipped to distant locales. Producers often claimed that it would “be warranted to keep good in the hottest climate for two years” Advertisement for Edward Broadfield *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 25, 1754. Evidence of slave diet from other locations such as Maryland and Virginia suggests slaves supplemented rations with wild caught foods, personal gardens and those sold or traded for among slaves and free traders. However, in the intensive sugar-growing plantations of the Caribbean there may have been less opportunity for such opportunities to supplement diet. As Inge Saffron explains: “Slaves in the West Indies needed to consume large amounts of salt to endure the crushing work of chopping cane in the broiling tropical sun. Salt cod, and then salt shad, became staples of the plantation diet. Sturgeon fisherman thought there was room in the market for their product, too,” Saffron, *Caviar*, p. 88. In 1753, Edward Broadfield, a New Jersey

major part of rations provided to enslaved peoples in mainland America and the Caribbean. Sturgeon had always been viewed as a commodity by Penn. But he also clearly viewed it as a signifier of the good life, abundance and health. But, over time, the view of fishing as a means of profit took precedence. In 1685 Thomas Budd reported “Likewise, in the *Delaware* River are a great plenty of *Sturgeon*, which doubtless might be a good trade, if managed by persons as are skilled in the boyling and pickling of them, so as to preserve them good to *Barbadoes*, and other adjacent Islands.”¹¹⁹ James Claypoole, the head of the Free Society of Traders, specifically identified sturgeon as a growth market and wrote to his associate in Hamburg requesting, “If thou couldst send a fisherman that know how to catch and cure sturgeon, or had the general skill in fishing, he should have very good terms from me, such as may satisfy any reasonable man, for in the Delaware river there is a vast quantity of sturgeon, so that they leap into the boats.”¹²⁰ Over time the fish’s role as an object of trade increased. Advertisements for pickled sturgeon appeared in *The*

sturgeon fisherman began processing sturgeon for the Caribbean trade. Later in the eighteenth century, George Washington caught “a portion of the millions of shad and herring that passed Mount Vernon on their way north each year during the spring migration” allowing him to “supplement the food supply for his enslaved workers, while at the same time provide an additional source of income.” By 1772 Washington netted over a million fish which he slated to use for rations and sold to merchants for profit. Dennis J. Pogue “Shad, Wheat, and Rye (Whiskey): George Washington, Entrepreneur” presented in the session *Distilling the Past: George Washington’s 18th-century Whiskey Distillery from Excavation to Reconstruction* at the Society for Historical Archaeology Annual Meeting, St. Louis, MO January 2004.

¹¹⁹ Thomas Budd, *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey* (1685), UMI reprint 1966, 5.

¹²⁰ Marion Balderston, et al., *James Claypoole’s Letter Book, London and Philadelphia 1681-1684* (San Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, 1967), 191-192.

American Weekly Mercury Thursday, may 6th to Thursday , May 13th 1725. Andrew Bradford (who also sold the paper) offered “Very good Pickled Sturgeon to be Sold by the 5 Gallon or smaller Cask.”¹²¹ In the same year, David Lloyd made the following argument to the Assembly and Governor of Pennsylvania:

And as to the Second Thing proposed, for promoting a Fishery, and obtaining Liberty to import Salt from Europe; as there is great plenty of Shadd, Herring, and Sturgeon, yearly catch'd on this River; as well as great Quantities of Codd and other vaulable Fish, which we are creditably inform'd, are to be taken, not far from our Capes; We doubt not but by a regular Management far greater Quantities may be catch'd, then has ever yet been done; which cannot fail, very much to enlarge our Commerce, advance our navigation, and Force a new and profitable Trade abroad; But untill some more certain way can be found out to procure Salt, which very often is so scarce with us, as to render the Profit of Curing Fish, not worth the Undertakers pains; especially in the Spring Season, which is the Time the River Fish are to be Caught, Salt is sometimes not to be had, which Obliges us to send to Boston and other different Places, to supply our selves at a large Expense; Therefore we earnestly desire the Governor would be pleased to move the Neighbouring Governments, to joyn with us in an Humble Application to Great Britain, to obtain the Liberty of Importing European Salt into our Ports , as they of New-England, for some time have done; And we doubt not with their's and the Governour's Assistance, and a regular Application, this Affair which evidently tends to Enlarge the Trade of the British Empire in America, will induce the Crown to redress us.”¹²²

David Lloyd's proposal summarizes well the increasingly commercial concerns of Pennsylvania residents in regards to fish. Penn's view of fish as evidence of elegant dining and an evolving regional cuisine in Pennsylvania on par with that in France or England was a view that seemed outmoded to a man like David Lloyd a roughly a quarter century after Penn's final departure from Pennsylvania. Even

¹²¹ *American Weekly Mercury* Thursday, May 6th to Thursday , May 13 1725.

¹²² *Boston Gazette*, Monday Nov. 1- Monday, Nov. 8, 1725. Report of David Lloyd to Sir William Keith

though Penn's writings make it clear that he simultaneously viewed fish as and other resources as moneymakers as well as evidence of Pennsylvania's bounty and "goodness," Lloyd was intent on portraying the proprietor's interests selfish and aristocratic. In fact, Lloyd was the very "lurking snake" that troubled and challenged Penn in the early 1700s. Exposing Penn's monetary troubles and potential loss of his rights to Pennsylvania, Lloyd became a leader of anti-proprietary sentiment in the colony and spearheaded campaigns that promoted an ideal for Pennsylvania that did not necessarily agree with Penn's. Lloyd's writings express less concerns for replicating the culinary delicacies and elite dining environments of Lamb's or Locket's taverns and a greater interest in emphasizing the "Difficulties & hardships of this New Settlement" that early residents faced. Rather than dining on healthful "sallets" Lloyd argued that the first purchasers "had no food for Many days but Herbs and Green Corn." Where Penn used foods to promote Pennsylvania's successes, Lloyd wrote about fish and greens to expose Pennsylvania's sufferings. Both men wrote to promote idealized visions of the colony and often listed similar foods in their writings. Taken out of context, a list of items they ate, sold, planted, and wrote about, would be very similar. Yet these nearly identical "menus" served quite different personal and public interests. By the early eighteenth century Penn could no longer enjoy a fishy chorus from his American bed. He was stuck back with the big fish in England struggling to maintain a hold on his colony while David Lloyd, Penn's servants, and the people of Pennsylvania were left to begin experiments in improvement of their own.¹²³ These contested culinary notions of improvement were

¹²³ We know that scientific interest in the fishy world continued for in 1714, James

only the tip of the iceberg for Penn. As the next chapter suggests, perhaps the greatest challenge to Penn was how he managed and represented the land itself. And that story begins with a map.

Logan received a delivery from Jonathan Askew including a letter and “Rays Valuable posthumous piece of birds and fishes.” This referred to John Ray’s *Synopsis Methodica Avium et Piscium*, published in 1713 after his death. Commercial aspects of exploring the natural world seemed to overwhelm the interest from a scientific standpoint alone among many Delaware Valley residents.

**“tis of mighty moment”:
Geographic Representation in Early Pennsylvania**

On January 5, 1687/8 the latest bi-weekly edition of the *London Gazette* arrived at coffeehouses and private parlors throughout England. Additional issues were loaded on carts and ships for distribution to the countryside and beyond. As readers opened this latest copy of the nation’s leading periodical they could read an advertisement for “A New and Exact Map of the improved part of the province of Pennsylvania in America, being three Counties, viz, Bucks, Philadelphia, and Chester.” Readers of the *London Gazette* formed an ideal audience for the sale of grand maps which were sold in shops and stalls throughout England’s capital city. Many of the reading public had access to and interest in the acquisition and display of material goods, had involvement in selective intellectual circles, and held interests or investments in colonial trading and settlement projects. This chapter examines the production, distribution and use of early Pennsylvania mapping projects. Maps are considered both for their physicality (materials, size, function as an object and in relation to other objects) and as representational devices used to project political, social, cultural and intellectual goals for the newly formed province. Additionally the chapter explores early Pennsylvania mapping and places visual geographical representations in the transatlantic contexts of print culture and imperial projects of selling and representing land.

While a proprietor like William Penn no doubt hoped for successful sales of the map, he placed more import on the mere creation of the map and its distribution to key players who could help support the growth and success of Pennsylvania. By

presenting a printed map that claimed to represent an “improved” settlement he made one more step towards solidifying a reputation for his colony as a populous locale developing in an orderly and equitable manner. In doing so he secured the future of the province in the expanding commercial world of the late seventeenth century. In addition, by directing the production of maps and geographical productions Penn engaged directly and indirectly in dialogues with contemporary natural philosophers and scientists who helped form the theoretical building blocks for British colonial expansion.

Penn and his associates could partially control the content of maps and related texts and direct these cartographic productions towards selected audiences. But they could only hope that the people who saw them interpreted the information contained within in the intended manner. Examination of the words and images used to promote Pennsylvania reveals multiple meanings of, and uses for, geographic knowledge in the era of William Penn. Close analysis of maps and related texts suggests that the major cartographic works printed under the direction of William Penn provided a view of the nascent province that was more cultural than topographic. Rather than viewing early Pennsylvania maps as guidebooks for travel, they are better understood as cultural artifacts embodying late-seventeenth century and early eighteenth century artistic and philosophical/scientific trends.

The people involved in acquiring the maps, using and viewing the maps can be considered both as readers employing sight to observe and interpret their words and images and as consumers of the objects and of the geographic information represented. How the maps were received varied on who saw them and

circumstances of their exposure. Thus, rather than treat maps as isolated objects, they must be viewed in relation to the people who made, sold, and used them and the venues like parlors, meeting rooms, libraries and other seventeenth and early eighteenth-century spaces in which they appeared. Examined in this way, their multiple uses during the project to settle Pennsylvania are revealed.

It was the fall of 1686 and William Penn needed a map. In a letter to Thomas Lloyd, the head of council in Pennsylvania, Penn made the following plea: “tell tho: Holmes we want a map to that degree that I am ashamed here; bid him send wt he has by the first; he promest it two years since (& I upon his word:) all cry out, where is yr map, wt no map of the settlements! I entreat thee leave him not before this be done, tis of mighty moment.”¹ There was no time to lose. Having returned to London after a tour of the Netherlands, Germany, and the north and west of England, Penn urgently expressed his desire to acquire a printed representation of settlement in the colony, a map he could show current and prospective investors and settlers, agents, and governmental officials.

Five years since the approval of his charter by Charles II, the proprietor of Pennsylvania was striving to secure the future of his colony. The province he once envisioned as “the seed of the nation” had caused him significant troubles, including escalating boundary disputes with Lord Baltimore, heated debates with residents of the Lower Counties (Delaware), and increasing debt.² In order to combat threats to the autonomy and success of his Holy Experiment, Penn drew on knowledge of and

¹ *Penn Papers*, 3:120.

² *Penn Papers*, 2:83.

experience with tools of international diplomacy in the form of personal patronage of royalty and people in power. Equally as important, though, he drew on knowledge of the power of print culture to make his message hold more weight.

Current trends in natural philosophy inspired Penn to participate in the creation of maps and geographic literature as promotional tools soon after receiving the charter for Pennsylvania in 1681. Yet, it was not the first map of Pennsylvania, but the early images attributed to Thomas Holme, the *Portraiture of Philadelphia* (1683) and the *Map of the Improved Part of the Province of Pennsylvania* (1687), that were successful enough to remain the dominant visual representations of the region until the mid-eighteenth century (Figure 33). This partially “imagined” Pennsylvania geography contributed to Penn’s and others’ efforts to keep the province on the map and in proprietary hands, and set in motion the production and reproduction of an increasing number of wall maps, atlas entries and images in geography manuals.³

Examination of Thomas Holme’s *Map of the Improved Parts of Pennsylvania in America* (1687) and other early printed maps, printed descriptions of the landscape, and objects associated with geographic representation of Pennsylvania between 1680 and 1710 reveals much about the people who created and used them. These sources expose the theoretical underpinnings of how individuals understood their place within the natural world, contested ideas about the concepts of ownership and improvement in a colonial setting, and relationships between landscapes and printed materials that

³ While William Penn never lost his charter for Pennsylvania, his power was challenged repeatedly by his having to mortgage large parcels of land in the colony to Philip Ford, to whom he was indebted. He also lost the governorship to Benjamin Fletcher, the Governor of New York. Edward Said discusses the discursive power of imaginative geographies in *Orientalism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978).

represent these constructed spaces. The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries witnessed a tremendous flourishing of the art and business of printed cartographic renderings. This coincided with and contributed to a spike in what the scholar Martin Brückner calls “geographic literacy” among subjects of Britain and her colonies.⁴ Yet concurrent debates centered on how best to map and describe new American “plantations” and resulted in contested ideas about how to “improve” the landscape and represent those changes. These cartographic conversations occurred throughout the British and European colonial worlds, but took shape within varying regional circumstances. And this was particularly true for the mapping, cartographic and geographical projects associated with the colony of Pennsylvania and the region of the Delaware Valley.

The project of mapping began almost in tandem with the creation of the colony and production of its charter and laws. To fully comprehend Penn’s fervor for a new map in 1686, one must look back to 1681 and the circle of gentlemen involved with examining and cataloging Britain’s expansion into the world.⁵

On the afternoon of Sunday November 9th, 1681 members of the Royal Society gathered for their weekly meeting in Gresham College, Bishopsgate, London.

⁴ For a discussion of the concept of geographic literacy and the role of geographic representations in Early America see Martin Brückner, *The Geographic Revolution in Early America: Maps, Literacy, & National Identity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina for the Omohundro Institute of Early American Culture, 2006); Royal Society, *Books of Scientific Meetings, 1660-1800* (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America) microfilm.

⁵ The map created in 1681 was *A Map of Some of the South and Eastbounds of Pennsylvania in America* attributed to John Thornton and John Seller. Philip Burden suggests that this was created in the spring of 1681. Philip D. Burden, *The Mapping of North America II*. (Rickmansworth: Raleigh Publications, 2007), 190-192.

During the meeting members discussed optical experiments with a convex lens, contemplated the possibility of using the services of a traveler to the River Ganges, reported on a dissection of a young lion, and read a letter detailing Antoni van Leeuwenhoek's observations of "animals" in his excrement. In addition to these topics, members proposed a few candidates for membership and presented gifts of a "Hum bird," a book of "curious patterns for lace and needlework," and received William Penn who donated the *Map of the Province of Pennsylvania* (1681) (Figure 34). After expressing thanks for the map, the members elected Penn by ballot along with two other gentlemen.⁶ Entered into the Society's collection, the map offered members an illustration of the new colony, created a reference tool for later discussions and observations concerning the territory, and secured Penn both a connection to learned society and recognition of his colonial project. Like the other entries in the Royal Society's storehouse of treasures, the map acted as both a new and novel cabinet curiosity as well as a specimen for scholarly investigation.

The odd assemblage of goods and topics presented at the 1681 meeting was commonplace for Royal Society gatherings. Founded in 1662 to promote "experimental philosophy" the gentlemen members and correspondents with the group were broadly interested in a scientific and experiential approach to understanding the world. Building on the methods proposed by Francis Bacon (1561-1626), Galileo Galilei (1564-1642), and Rene Descartes (1596-1650), late seventeenth-century natural philosophers such as Robert Boyle (1627-1691), the

⁶ November 9, 1681. Collections of the Royal Society, *Journal Books of Scientific Meetings*, 1660-1800 (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America) microfilm.

Royal Society's first Curator of Experiments Robert Hooke (1635-1703), and eventually Sir Isaac Newton (1643-1747) the Royal Society members of Penn's day organized to jointly learn about the world through experiment and observation.⁷

Royal society meetings were often filled with presentations of scientific letters or interesting objects, scientific demonstrations, and discussions of natural philosophy. To aid in their projects, members amassed a "repository" of specimens with drawers "plated in the way of" the collections of the Physic garden at "Shelsea" and an extensive library.⁸ Experiments in the 1660s included shooting dogs with poisoned arrows to see the results and examining the properties of "unicorns horn." By the 1680s the experiments and discussions tended to have increasingly practical applications in the worlds of medicine, physics, or commerce.⁹ Less influenced by magical and mystical beliefs, many of the members in the 1680s shared Robert Hooke's view of science or natural philosophy "as a way of improving society" rather

⁷ David Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx: Galeleio, His Friends, and the Beginnings of Modern Natural History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 1-10 contains a brief overview of early natural philosophers such as Galileo and the Academy of Linceans.

⁸ The Royal Society Meeting notes discuss creating glass-covered drawers on April 13, 1681.

⁹ Inherent in the ideas of Francis Bacon is his fundamental belief that the intellectual and the practical must be combined. In his history of the society Thomas Sprat suggested that the ultimate goal of the Royal Society was to "overcome the mysteries of all the Works of Nature" and that the application of this knowledge is "for the Benefit of humane life." All studies of the society were viewed as linked "And this is the highest pitch of humane reason; to follow all the links of this chain, till all their secrets are open to our minds; and their works advanc'd, or imitated by our hands." Thomas Sprat, *History of the Royal Society*, (London: printed for T.R. for J. Martyn..., and J. Allestry, 1667), Dedicatory ode, stanza V and p. 2.

than for the sake of knowledge alone.¹⁰ Examination and analysis of things as diverse as animals, plants, landscapes, and the stars were all part of a holistic approach to peering more deeply into the natural order to “produce a substantial body of evidence, which, continually growing, would be of untold value to those who followed.”¹¹ This emphasis on experimentation and understanding of the world in its many parts was occasionally mocked by contemporaries such as the author of the *Ballad of Gresham College*:

6

By demonstrative Philosophy
They plainly prove all things are bodyes,
And those that talk of Qualitie
They count them all to be meer Noddyes.
Nature in all her works they trace
And make her as playne as nose to face.

26

The Colledge will the whole world measure,
Which most impossible conclude,
And Navigation make a pleasure
By fynding out the Longitude.
Every Tarpualin shall then with ease
Sayle any ship to the Antipodes¹²

Measuring the world, and dissecting nature’s body furthered science and supported the commerce of colonial expansion. The connection between the Royal Society and commerce was a strong one and was not limited to ideology. The very

¹⁰ Jo Kent, “The Impact of the Scientific Revolution: A Brief History of the Experimental Method in the 17th Century” *The Connexions Project*, <http://cnx.org/content/m13245>.

¹¹ Margery Purver, *The Royal Society: Concept and Creation* (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1967), 81.

¹² “Ballad of Gresham College” in “Ballad of Gresham College”, Dorothy Stimson, *Isis*, 18:1 (Jul.1932) 103-117, 109, 116.

space selected by the society as their primary meeting spot was in chambers at Gresham College located in the former home of Thomas Gresham, a prominent merchant and banker and founder of the Royal Exchange.¹³ In presenting the Pennsylvania map to the Royal Society the colony gained exposure among people who often circulated in locations most associated with colonial expansion in the late seventeenth-century. While many of the members traveled extensively, during meetings they brought the world to Gresham. Letters describing a “petrified city” in Italy, water samples from India and England, and a box of “voyded” kidney stones from Switzerland were but a few of the foreign matters discussed and observed. Leaving the doors of the college any member of the Society was a short walk or carriage ride away from the “walks” in the Exchange devoted to American colonies such as the Carolinas, Virginia, New England, Jamaica, and Barbadoes that served as a clearinghouses for New World goods and information.¹⁴ The connecting London streets offered multiple sites for members to partake in trade, share discoveries, participate in experiments, debate at coffee houses, purchase globes, maps, books and

¹³ Gresham, the college’s namesake, himself was a noted figure in the world of money and colonial expansion. His experience as a financier involved in trade at Antwerp in the 1500s led him home to London and inspired his funding of the Royal Exchange and the construction of his city home at Bishopsgate. Left by bequest, his home became a college and eventually housed the earliest meeting of the Royal Society in the late 1600s until the first few years of the 1700s, with an interruption of nearly seven years after the London Fire of 1666, during which time the Royal Exchange used Gresham as their temporary headquarters. Margery Purver, *The Royal Society: Concept and Creation* (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1967), 191.

¹⁴ The sister buildings of Gresham and the Exchange were located within a half-mile of one another.

pamphlets and participate fully in the expanding commercial world of the late seventeenth century (Figure 35).

Penn understood well the importance of the activities and rumors ringing through this network of spaces. Distraught upon learning of spurious rumors concerning his relations with Lord Baltimore, Penn complained “Of this the Chainge, Cofee houses Booksellers Shops & Countrys ringe; thereby discouraging hundreds to {ready to} purchase...& come; & provoking all others that have purchased & not paid, to fling up their Deeds.”¹⁵ So much of the early efforts to promote any project of colonial settlement relied on the circulation of positive rumors and the maintenance of a good reputation among folks who “mattered.” Coffeehouses, taverns, streets, private homes, halls at the Royal Exchange and Custom House and the extended network of spaces traversed by people involved in colonial projects were the locations for many of the conversations where such information was transmitted. These places were the heart of debate and activity concerning colonial trade and settlement. And no one knew that better than the man who nominated Penn for entrance in the Royal Society and presented then with Penn’s map, John Houghton.¹⁶

Houghton was a well-connected merchant-apothecary and author. He dealt extensively in tea, coffee, chocolate and other exotic foodstuffs to an elite clientele. One of his customers for “chocolat” was none other than Robert Hooke, who

¹⁵ To the Governor and Council of West Jersey, 11 June 1683, *Penn Papers*, 2:391.

¹⁶ Michael Hunter. *The Royal Society and its Fellows 1660-1700: The Morphology of an Early Scientific Institution* (Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks: British Society for the History of Science, 1982), 64.

nominated the merchant for membership in the Society in 1680.¹⁷ Houghton's activities beyond dealing in popular stimulants included editing a periodical on the improvement of husbandry and trade and serving on the Society's Committee for Agriculture. Penn and he may have become acquainted during their tenure at Lincoln's Inn, commencing in the same year, 1665.¹⁸ Like Penn, Houghton had a reputation for being something of a troublemaker, an independent spirit. And once he joined the Society he quickly assembled a list of friends and acquaintances to suggest for membership. He proposed eleven people for membership of which eight were accepted, including Penn.¹⁹

That Houghton proposed Penn for membership in the Society has been long accepted. Yet scholars have questioned the extent of Penn's activity with the Royal Society and have tended to mention it mostly in passing as evidence of his elite background and as a quick attempt to promote his colony.²⁰ While he was not an overly active member, partly due to his occasional absence in Pennsylvania, multiple imprisonments and missionary and promotional travels, Penn was an ardent adherent of the Society's project. Recently discovered material from Robert Hooke's

¹⁷ Hunter, *Royal Society and its Fellows*, 64. Felicity Henderson "Unpublished Material from the Memorandum Book of Robert Hooke, Guildhall Library Ms 1758" in *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* (2007) 147.

¹⁸ Royal Society, Library and Archive Catalogue.

¹⁹ Hunter, 57-58, 64.

²⁰ For example see Richard S. Dunn, "William Penn and the Selling of Pennsylvania, 1681-1685" *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 127 (1983): 322-29.

memorandum book confirms Penn's presence at a meeting in October 1681, previous to his gift of the map or his membership.

"W.26. Society mett. Italian Count Recommended by Mr Lock & Mr Justell. Mr. Pen read Laws. Sir J[ohn] Hoskins. flamstead read repetition."²¹

Whether he attended Royal Society meetings often or seldom, William Penn's colonial endeavors were informed by, and reflective of, the guiding philosophy of the organization. Penn was not a scientist in the sense that he conducted experiments with convex lenses, performed dissections, or observed animals in air pumps.²² But when Penn declared "I am a Greshamist throughout" he explained "I Love Inquiry, not for inquiry's sake, but care not to trust my Share in either world to other mens Judgements, at Least without having a finger in the Pye for my self."²³ Pennsylvania was Penn's experiment writ large. When he tasted new world food, observed the Pennsylvania landscape, or promoted the creation of a map, Penn acted as a natural philosopher in his own right. Like the members of the Royal Society he charted parts of the path for experiment on his own, but also relied on a shared community to carry out his observations, experiments and reports. Aristocratic men and women in England and the continent, the scientific community, religious leaders and community members, surveyors, merchants, servants, slaves and settlers were all necessary to enact his

²¹ Entry for Wednesday October 26, 1681. in Henderson "Hooke Memorandum Book," 61, 129-175. p.151

²² Often discussions of science and Pennsylvania begin in the early 18th century and nearly always highlight the scientific pursuits of James Logan and Benjamin Franklin. Joyce E. Chaplin, *The First Scientific American: Benjamin Franklin and the Pursuit of Genius* (New York: Basic Books, 2006).

²³ William Penn to John Aubrey [13 June 1683], *Penn Papers*, 2:394-397.

plans.²⁴ Like all experiments, founding a colony also required equipment. The textual and cartographic tools that Penn employed reflect a deep commitment to many of the ideas espoused by the Society and its members, including those of Houghton. The very structure, content, layout and imagery used in texts and images promoting early Pennsylvania suggest direct and indirect influences from the “new” natural philosophy.

John Houghton donated a wide variety of objects and books to the Society and the people he proposed for membership were a grab-bag of folks involved in trade.²⁵ But this eclecticism was typical of his overall philosophy and approach to commerce. Outlined in his periodical, *Collection of Letters for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, he promoted the advancement of trade with foreign lands as a benefit to England’s economy.²⁶ Diversification of trades and commerce in goods as well as exploitation of new world resources were essential to his vision of an improved state of agriculture and husbandry.

²⁴ Penn’s plan was defined in social and religious terms, but framed with the rhetoric of scientific language and experimental philosophy. Creation of the maps, the imagery depicted on the images, the locations of their sale and use all build a picture of Penn’s maps as tools for understanding the world. As such they are particularly telling objects and visual artifacts for understanding Penn’s involvement with his “holy experiment.”

²⁵ Thomas Sprat, *History*, 67 suggests that Houghton’s group of proposed members was in line with the principles of the Royal Society to admit “all extraordinary men, though but of ordinary Trades.”

²⁶ Houghton’s periodical was first published on September 8, 1681 and had an irregular printing schedule until 1683. He later resumed the periodical from 1692 to the late-seventeenth or early-eighteenth century (it is not known exactly when the last issue was pulled from the presses). Roger Philip McCutcheon, “John Houghton, a Seventeenth-Century Editor and Book-Reviewer,” *Modern Philology*, 20:3 (Feb. 1923), 255-260.

Produced at irregular intervals from 1681 to 1683, the *Collection* circulated widely in London and the country in hopes of reaching a broad audience of urban and rural readers. In his writings Houghton laid bare his wish “that not only the Theoretical Gentleman, but also the Practical Rustic may enjoy their benefits.”²⁷ The paper’s contents included letters concerning trade and agricultural products and editorials by Houghton himself on these and other published works. Rather than summaries or scathing attacks, Houghton tended to write general essays based on and recommending books of use to those involved in trade.²⁸ His essays strongly advocate for colonial trade and argue vehemently against naysayers who felt support for colonial agriculture and trade would “decay” the “Strength, Wealth, and Trade” of England.²⁹ His inclusive vision for open access to trade and emphasis on agricultural pursuits was in-line with that of William Penn and went hand-in-hand with the proprietor’s goals for the economy. And Houghton, like William Penn, through travels and distribution of literature, cast a wide net of paper, print, and personal persuasion over potential settlers and mercantile investors in Britain and her colonies and the continent.

The Royal Society often interacted with colonials and learned of “the remotest parts of the world” through correspondence and series of questions or “enquiries.”³⁰

²⁷ John Houghton. *A Collection of Letters For the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, Thursday, Sept.8, 1681, 3.

²⁸ McCutcheon, 256.

²⁹ Houghton, *Collection of Letters*, Thursday, March 16, 1682, 39.

³⁰ Houghton credits Henry Oldenburgh with creating a series of “Enquiries concerning Agriculture” that Houghton reprinted in his periodical on Sept, 8, 1681.

They prepared lists of queries and guidelines for travelers to carry with them into little-known or understudied areas. The information gleaned from these could be used to understand the people and geography, flora, and fauna of an area and to assess the potential for trading goods. Settlers or visitors, such as Houghton's brother on a trip to Virginia, would carry lists posing questions regarding landscape, soil, flora and fauna, manufacturing processes.³¹ Once completed, these were returned to the Society to read and discuss. The general format was applied to informational tracts produced about New World locations including promotional literature created by Penn.

Texts such as Penn's *Brief Account* (1681), *Some Account* (1681) and *Letter to the Society of Traders* (1683), all promotional tracts intended as press releases for the Pennsylvania project, often follow a format similar to "Answers and Observations" given in response to the Society's inquiries. The often enumerated lists of topics were printed and reprinted in multiple forms and languages. Historians tend to discuss these as stand-alone literary objects and texts or discuss images such as Holme's grid plan or *Portraiture* for Philadelphia as "included in" or "addended to" the main textual body of the work. Additionally, historians of cartography tend to focus heavily on the map imagery alone. In other instances a textual component of a map is acknowledged but not analyzed as part of the whole object. Yet, many maps and texts were intended as companion pieces. The relationship between maps and companion texts reveal tensions Anthony Grafton describes as "two world views in

The Royal Society Journal Book refers to creating a committee to create such questions on Feb 6, 1660, reel 1, v.1.

³¹ Journal of the Royal Society, July 27, 1680, reel 2, v.5.

collision. One is empirical, turned toward the direct study of nature, open to imaginative speculations that could go wherever the facts might lead. The other is literacy, bounded by vast authoritative texts that made speculation difficult.”³² The content of text accompanying maps was often similar or the same as stand-alone versions. But there is no doubt that many versions of the text were intended to accompany the map because the text sheets, even if printed separately, often conform to one or more dimensions of the map.

An example of printed companion text and map is Thornton and Seller’s *Map of Some of The South and Eastbounds of Pennsylvania in America* (1681), the same map presented by Penn to the Royal Society (Figure 34). The four columns of text conformed to the width of the map and together provided an image of the province “so far as the Relations received from persons that have been upon the place, could give any light towards it” for people with an interest in the colony. Yet, the second identified motivation for the map was “*To correct the Errors of those Maps that have taken in any part of this Country, for finding each Map at difference with itself, the Scale with the Latitude, and one Map with another.*”³³ As a first attempt at depicting the territory now identified as Pennsylvania, the 1681 map performed well enough.

Included in the image are names of some current settlers and the location of a few existing settlements and plantations, water features and channel depths, and native lands including “Old Indian Fields.” The simple braided-wreath border around

³² Anthony Grafton. *Defenders of the Text, Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450-1800* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 179.

³³ John Thornton and John Seller (London, 1681) in Burden, 191, plate 541.

the title and lack of an elaborate cartouche suggest a map made quickly and without additional artistic flair. Trees act as decorative elements but also illustrate the importance of the promise of economic gain. Of the trees depicted (Cedar, Chestnut, Pine, Fir, “Oake,” “Wallnut,” Beech, Mulberry, Ash and Poplar) all were common species in the region and were listed as some of the primary trees in Peter Kalm’s mid-eighteenth century “small catalogue of those that grow wild in the woods nearest to Philadelphia.”³⁴ The trees are depicted with some abstracted effort at capturing the differences.³⁵ These elements served multiple purposes. First they provided a visual accompaniment to the written text of *Some Account*. Secondly, the trees provided a view, however stylized, of the natural world and represented the abundance, and economic value, purportedly within. Despite this tree taxonomy, the map was not deemed sufficient for the proprietor’s needs.

The map text hints at the temporary nature of the image suggesting that the Thorton and Seller map “has been performed with as much Truth, Care and Skill, as at present can be, leaving room for time, and better Experience, to correct, and compleat it.” Clearly, this was not the map for posterity. While William Penn and his sales agents could use the map temporarily, it was not functioning well for these same folks five years later. For that another map was needed.

³⁴ “Peter Kalm’s List of Woods Available Around Philadelphia,” in Jack L. Lindsey, ed. *Worldly Goods: The Arts of Early Pennsylvania 1680-1758* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1999), 255-256.

³⁵ I do not yet know if these trees were copied after another printed map or book. Often imagery used on maps copied that on other printed works like maps or prints.

Thomas Holme's *Map of the Improved Parts of the Province of Pennsylvania in America* (1687) has long been a popular illustration in works about early Pennsylvania and the Delaware Valley. Many references to the map are fairly uncritical and tend to assume the general accuracy of its content (Figure 33).³⁶ A few scholars have analyzed the map in greater depth and have added significantly to the understanding of the chronology and dating of various printings and the circumstances leading to the map's creation. Map scholar Walter Klinefelter performed a detailed analysis to determine dating and variations between various editions of the map largely based on examples in the collections of Winterthur Museum. Irma Corcoran, the biographer of Thomas Holme, created an unrivaled account of the surveyor's life and the less than smooth process of translating surveys into a monumental work of cartography.³⁷ While I am indebted to these and other scholars, it is not my goal to replicate their work. This chapter builds upon the foundations they created. It helps to first examine the map as a physical object and the information it contains before turning to its broader historical significance.

Penn's fervent plea for a map produced results. Thomas Lloyd must have carried through with Penn's request to urge Thomas Holme on with his manuscript for the map. In 1687 the first image of Pennsylvania based on actual surveys and

³⁶ For example, even John W. Reps, who emphasized the map's importance, only briefly mentioned the map in his book *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965).

³⁷ Walter Klinefelter, "Surveyor General Thomas Holme's 'Map of the Improved Part of the Province of Pennsylvania'" *Winterthur Portfolio*, 6 (1970) 41-74.; Irma Corcoran, B.V.M. *Thomas Holme: 1642-1695, Surveyor General of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1992).

detailed observations of the land came into circulation. *The Map of the Improved Part of the Province of Pennsylvania in America* (1687) was a laborious process for Thomas Holme, the surveyor responsible for the final draft. Artistically, his achievement was well-worthwhile. The product created from his manuscript was a large and visually striking map that recent scholars have called the “most detailed and impressive for any English colony yet published.”³⁸

The sizeable map depicts an area of roughly fifty-five miles long by thirty-three miles, plotted to the scale of one mile to the inch. The area comprising the original three counties of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, Bucks, and Chester) is shown as well as parts of West Jersey and New Castle County, the northernmost part of Delaware or the “Lower Counties.”³⁹ Geographic information such as rivers, creeks and marshes are included in addition to one area of high land near the Schuylkill called “Fair Mount.” Trees are depicted, but unlike the more accurately depicted vegetation of the 1681 map, they are used as standard visual devices rather than reflective of actual concentrations of ground cover. Cultural information on the map

³⁸ Margaret Beck Pritchard, *Degrees of Latitude: Mapping Colonial America* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2002), 367.

³⁹ New Castle County was the northernmost of the “Lower Counties” on the Delaware, the current state of Delaware. When Penn was given the charter to Pennsylvania, much of the land forming Delaware was disputed for between Lord Baltimore and the Duke of York. Penn did receive deeds and leases from the Duke of York for this land, despite the Duke not necessarily having the right to give them. Thus, Baltimore challenged Penn for the rights to the Lower Counties. The boundaries between Pennsylvania and Maryland continued until 1769, when division of the territory was approved by George III. The Lower Counties did win their right to form their own assembly in 1704 and thus became a colony of the crown and, in 1776, a convention of delegates formed the State of Delaware as it is known today. For more on the controversy, see C.A. Weslager, *The English on the Delaware, 1610-1682* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1967).

includes boundaries between the counties, property lines, names of owners, and a handful of place names.

The dominant wording on the map consists of the large title running in a banner on the upper edge, a dedication to the proprietor, and identification of the surveyor, printer and mapsellers. An elaborate, classically-styled cartouche in the upper left corner contains imagery representing the colony's natural plenty in the form of overflowing fish nets, leaping stags and abundant flora and fauna. The Penn family coat of arms surmounts this bounty. At the center of the map is a compass rose with north oriented at the upper right, and in the upper right corner is an inset of the projected plan for "THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA."

An example of the first printing, possibly the copy presented to William Penn, is housed at the British Library Map Room (Figure 36).⁴⁰ The map is printed on six sheets of paper. When connected the map itself measures 33 1/2" (height) by 55 1/2" (width). A seventh strip of paper, roughly nine inches high, extends the full length of the bottom of the map. This added sheet contains a "General Description" of the colony and lists the names of settlers and purchasers of land. A copy of the supposed ca. 1701-1706 printing of the large map, lacking the "Description" sheet, is owned by Winterthur Museum. This copy is brilliantly colored with original watercolor pigments and dyes.⁴¹ The paper is good-quality French or Dutch laid paper, imported

⁴⁰ This may be the only version of the first printing.

⁴¹ The pigments include copper green, vermilion, red lake, and gamboges. Examination of the map was performed with John Krill, paper conservator at Winterthur Museum on March 12, 2007. Gamboges is a pigment used to create a yellow color.

to England, appropriate for printing in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.⁴² The physical evidence suggests the map was created by well-skilled craftsmen and the biographies of the individuals listed on the map further support their reputation as some of the most active and prominent individuals associated with the London map trade in their time.

Had the map been created fifty years earlier, it would probably have been printed in the Netherlands or another dominant European printing center. Although the restrictions placed on the printing trade by the Crown were often irregularly enforced or ignored, printing as a whole was somewhat hampered throughout the century in England.⁴³ Despite regulations, by the later 1600s London experienced a flourishing of map production and trade. In 1690 there were at least sixteen map-selling establishments located within the city.⁴⁴ In 1662 there were roughly sixty printers in London and probably more by the 1680s.⁴⁵ America did have printers in the seventeenth century, but these individuals did not have the resources or support for a flourishing map trade until well into the eighteenth and early-nineteenth

⁴² Other examples of the large-format map I have seen such as that at the Library Company of Philadelphia are also on this paper.

⁴³ “Both Church and State feared the power of the printed word.” Colin Clair, *A History of Printing in Britain* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), 131.; Introduction to Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing 1683-4* Herbert Davis and Harry Carter, eds. Reprint (New York: Dover Publications, 1958), xxvii.

⁴⁴ Sarah Tyacke, *London Map-Sellers: 1660-1720: A Collection of Advertisements for Maps Placed in the London Gazette, 1668-1719, with biographical notes on the map-sellers* (Ting, England: Map Collector Publications, 1978), xi.

⁴⁵ Moxon, intro, xviii. The editors derived this statistic from: R. L’Estrange, *Considerations and Proposals in Order to the Regulation of the Press* (1663), 27.

centuries. That London and Europe were centers for map production also points to the location of markets for these time-consuming and expensive presentation maps of colonial America. It was a logical step for Thomas Holme to ship his manuscript to London for finishing and sale.

Francis Lamb engraved the map. Little is known about the personal life of the artist. He moved his shop a number of times and may have been located in Pewter Plate Alley or Newgate Street in 1687. Lamb is known to have engraved maps after Nicolas Sanson which were published by Richard Blome in *A Geographical Description of the Four Parts of the World*, 1670 and some charts in *The English Pilot. Fifth Book*.⁴⁶ He also engraved and sold a pocket edition of Sir William Petty's survey of Ireland (the "Down Survey").⁴⁷ Evidence suggest that there may have been a working relationship between Lamb, John Thornton and Philip Lea.⁴⁸ Whether or not the men had previously worked together, the works Lamb produced suggest a craftsman in demand for cartographic publications associated with colonial expansion in the New World and Ireland. The added strip on the bottom of the British Library copy is signed "Printed by J.D." The identity of this printer is unknown as yet, but there were at least seven printers and publishers with these initials working in London in the 1680's.⁴⁹ It is important to note this additional set of hands employed in the

⁴⁶ Tyacke, 120.

⁴⁷ Tyacke, xix.

⁴⁸ See Tyacke.

⁴⁹ Klinefelter, 42-43.; Henry Robert Plommer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668-1725* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Bibliographical Society, 1922), 96-110.

creation of the map, reinforcing the fact that taking a map from draft to market was a truly collaborative effort on the part of surveyors, engravers, printers and sellers.

The map-sellers listed on the map have strong links to colonial mapping and trade. The first printing of Holme's map was sold by both Robert Greene and John Thornton. Greene was a map-seller, printer and member of the Merchant Taylors' Company with his shop located at the Rose and Crown in Budge Row in 1687. Thornton was a chart-maker, chart publisher and member of the Drapers' Company with his location listed variously as "at the Great Minories," "at the sign of the England, Scotland and Ireland in the Minories," and "at the Plat in the Minories." He was associated with producing nautical charts and may have been the engraver as well as the printer for many publications.⁵⁰ Thornton was also the oft-employed printer of choice for maps associated with the committee of the Lords of Trade and Plantations.⁵¹ The relationship between Penn and the Lords of Plantations existed at least since Penn's involvement as a proprietor of West Jersey, beginning in the early 1670s, and he maintained close ties with this governing body during his tenure as proprietor of Pennsylvania. In many ways the world of colonial administration was a small one, and it would not be surprising for established relationships among William Penn, William Blathwayt, and other colonial officials to have guided the choice of printers and sellers for the map.

⁵⁰ Tyacke, 144-145.

⁵¹ Barber, 19.

The people involved with the first printing were not the only craftsmen and tradespeople associated with Holme's map. Based on examination of existing copies of the map, it is known that modifications to the map as delineated by Holme were made fairly soon after the first printing. It has been suggested that the Green-Thornton 1687 edition of the map underwent at least a dozen alterations and additions before being issued in a second edition somewhere between 1701 and 1705.⁵² This version was printed in six sheets and did not have the added seventh "Description" sheet below. In the meantime, a variation on the map had been published around 1690 by John Harris (Figure 37). This map was smaller in size than the Green-Thornton version, measuring 15 1/2 inches tall by 20 3/4 inches wide. The body of the map was similar, but the portraiture of Philadelphia was slightly enlarged and moved to the center of the map, a rectangular inset box at either top corner contained an abbreviated list of landowners, and a new cartouche appeared in the upper right.⁵³ This map was sold by Philip Lea and published by John Harris. Later states of this version of the map provide evidence that the plates changed hands multiple times, or

⁵² Assuming Klinefelter's dating of the map to c. 1701-1706 is correct, it is possible that John Thornton may have been responsible for publishing this edition, for he was alive until 1708. Francis Lamb may have been alive, but his last known engraving was done in 1701 and he was probably not publishing this, or any other, map. Robert Greene died in 1688 and his daughter carried on the business for short while before passing on the plates to Philip Lea. Lea is the individual responsible for the first version of the reduced printing which was based on the Holme map. More research should be done before the dating scheme presented by previous scholars should be wholeheartedly accepted. Bibliographical information from Tyacke.

⁵³ Cartobibliographers have overlooked additional versions of Holme's map like the gem located at the Library Company of Philadelphia. Surrounded by accompanying text sheets this example also has an elaborate baroque border of floral swags, fruit, animals, and putti with surveying chains. The baby angels of cartography are similar to elaborate engraving on some of the finest European maps of the eighteenth century.

were copied, as a ca. 1730 state was sold by George Wildey, a ca. 1750 state was published by a Thomas Jeffereys and a ca.1765 edition with the imprint *R. Marshall* appeared for sale.⁵⁴

A version of Thomas Holme's map, unique among known existing examples, housed at the Library Company of Philadelphia, illustrates a further variation and modification of the printed representation of Pennsylvania. In this example the Lea version of the map is framed on three sides (right, bottom, and left) by attached text panels (two long panels on each side and seven panels at the bottom to create the appearance of a single, wide text strip, as in the first printing of the Holme map). The map and text panels are then framed at the sides by an elaborate, baroque-style border of scrolls and flowers, punctuated by animals such as turkeys, squirrels, and possibly a monkey, and cherubs holding rules or surveying chains. An additional decorative border at the top, created from three pieces, contains the image of a lion's head holding foliate/floral swags in his mouth that each contain many fruits, vegetables, and flowers. Physical evidence suggests that this version was printed in separate pieces specifically to create a whole object, rather than a collage haphazardly made later from different pieces. Either way, the existence of the reduced version of the map with added text, possibly created for framing or as part of an atlas (to be discussed later in the chapter) suggests that there were even more variations of Holme's map in circulation than is popularly known.⁵⁵

⁵⁴Much of this printing history comes from Pritchard, 365-367.

⁵⁵ The map is housed at the Library Company of Philadelphia, Map Collection, 297 M Philadelphia-Holme-ca 1697.

All versions of the map provided a view that is primarily cultural rather than topographic. An individual seeking to forge a path through the territory would be better served by a map with more attention to accurate rendering of the waterways and geography of the region. The dominant effect of Holme's map is to place a strong human component on the landscape and to visually display ownership of the land in a fairly regular and geometric fashion. Not unlike other maps of the Americas, Holme's creation "imparted a perception of power and control over the environment."⁵⁶ No viewer of this map, today or in the past, can help but be impressed with the order and geometric regularity displayed on the area. The great size and advanced rendering placed the map in the tradition of presentation maps used by individuals and governments since the sixteenth century for diplomacy, scientific inquiry, and propaganda. The choice of engravers, printers, and sellers confirms the role of the map as a monumental printed work aimed at an audience of curious intellectuals, collectors of wealth, and politicians. Cultivation of this audience was an essential aspect of promoting the map and the province.

Many of the potential clientele for maps would hear of or read about the map before they ever laid eyes on the cartographic wonder itself. The full January 1687/8 *London Gazette* advertisement contained the following description:

5-9 Jan 1687/8

A New and Exact Map of the improved part of the Province of Pennsylvania in America, being three Counties, viz, Bucks, Philadelphia, and Chester.

⁵⁶ Pritchard, 1.

Giving the Figure of every particular Persons piece or parcels of Land taken up there, it contains 7 sheets of Paper, and is Five Foot long, and three Foot six inches deep. Surveighed by Captian Thomas Holmes, Surveyor General of the said Province. Price rouled and coloured 10s. Sold by John Thornton at the Sign of England, Scotland, and Ireland, in the Minories, and by Robert Greene at the Rose and Crown in Budge Row.

Framed by international and domestic news, the newspaper advertisement was the first presentation of the map to the world. People read about the map, and had to imagine what it looked like, before they ever laid eyes on it. Holme's map. *The London Gazette* and the *Term Catalogues* were the main advertising venues for map printers and sellers in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. *The London Gazette* had appeared twice a week since 1665 and was the dominant periodical printed in and circulated from London in the late seventeenth century. In 1693 the paper printed approximately 7-8000 copies per issue. The *Gazette* styled itself an arbiter of educated and refined information and as such did not publish sale advertisements until 1668, suggesting that these ads were "not properly the business of a Paper of Intelligence."⁵⁷ When three newspapers appeared in 1695 that were each published three times weekly, the *London Gazette* was the main London periodical in circulation. Even with this competition, the *Gazette*'s circulation and authority was not challenged until 1705, when the first daily newspaper, the *Daily Courant*,

⁵⁷ In Tyacke from R.B. Walker, "Advertising in London Newspapers, 1650-1720" in *Business History* (London) 15 (1973), 112-30.

appeared. *The Term Catalogues* were trade journals compiled by the stationers John Starkey and Robert Clavell. These appeared quarterly in conjunction with each law term and provided a list of British publications, including maps, books, playing cards and other printed works. Like advertisements in the *Gazette*, the publishers paid for these entries, so they do not necessarily reflect an exhaustive list of all British imprints, but rather selective publications of those who could afford the advertisements.⁵⁸ Some map sellers, such as Philip Lea also produced printed catalogues of their own inventory. The first printing of the Holme map was advertised at least two times in the *London Gazette*. Philip Lea also listed the reduced version of the map in his 1698 catalogue, but did not include it in those for 1685 or 1687.⁵⁹

Advertising in the *Gazette* was a wise move on the part of map publishers and sellers. The readers of the newspapers were precisely the target audience for buyers of the maps and geographic works they created. Read by a supposedly ‘superior sort’ of person either through a private subscription or in one of the London coffee houses which “took four or five copies a week,” the paper was a recognized means of advertising the creation of new maps and fueled the competition for the production and consumption of larger, increasingly accurate, and more elaborate printed works.⁶⁰ As one scholar suggests, “The gentlemen who began to meet in coffee-houses met also in bookshops where the witty, sophisticated writing that they preferred was

⁵⁸ The discussion of newspapers is mostly based on information contained in Tyacke, xvi.

⁵⁹ Tyacke, 39-40; Pritchard, 367.

⁶⁰ Tyacke, xvi.

selected amid lively discussion.”⁶¹ Gazettes were written treasuries of knowledge and information.⁶² One can imagine the papers being scattered on tables or posted on the walls, read silently or aloud, and discussed by the gentlemen who frequented such establishments. Yet, gentlemen were not the only people presented with these maps in words; anyone present in the taverns and coffeehouses could hear the discussions and this included owners and workers of the establishments, servants or other companions of the patrons, and any individual who happened to pass through the busy spaces. Although educated men, and to a lesser extent, women, were the intended audience for the information about world affairs, goods on the market, and local interest stories, these bits of news eventually reached people from all walks of life.

Wording used in the advertisement is precise language chosen to sell the map. Advertisers addressed the values of their clientele by employing adjectives used to describe the map such as “new” and “exact.” The colony itself is described as “improved.” And emphasis is also placed on the content containing information about “every particular Persons piece or parcels of Land taken up there.” Before ever viewing the map, readers of the advertisement expected an image that had never been seen before. In addition, the image would be precise and accurate regarding the division of lands and reflect these clearly to any viewer.

Given our modern sensibilities, we may imagine that the publishers claimed more novelty than they should have. Admittedly, nearly every map created in the

⁶¹ P.M. Handover. *Printing in London: From Caxton to Modern Times* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1960), 69.

⁶² P.M. Handover, *A History of the London Gazette, 1665-1965* (London: Her Majesty’s Stationary Office, 1965), 9.

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries included the descriptor “new” in the title or accompanying description. Variations on “exact” such as “compleat” or “accurate” are also commonly employed terms. Hyperinflation of the merits of printed works and cartographic productions was commonplace in period advertisements. The word “improved,” however, is more distinctive. Indeed, it is the visual display of improvement in the form of boundary lines that set this map apart from contemporary cartographic productions. In 1687, there were very few images of the British colonial world that even made the attempt to display property ownership. These included the *New Map of the Chief Rivers, Bayes, Creeks, Harbours, and Settlements, in SOUTH CAROLINA*. (1685) by John Thornton and Robert Morden (cartographers and publishers) and *A NEW MAP OF THE ISLAND OF BARBADOES* (ca.1676) by Richard Forde (cartographer).⁶³ Neither map, however, delineates property boundaries. Rather, the names of owners “float” near the locations of their settlements. The Richard Norwood survey of Bermuda (first created in 1618 and later resurveyed in 1662) formed the basis of printed maps that did delineate eight parishes or “tribes” which were each divided into fifty “shares” to be apportioned to the first Adventurers to the Somers Isles (and whose names were sometimes listed in an accompanying key) (Figure 38).⁶⁴ The Bermuda maps are perhaps the most similar to Holme’s in terms of property detail. Numerous unpublished manuscript maps exist

⁶³ Pritchard, 100-101, 372-373.

⁶⁴ Margaret Palmer, *The Mapping of Bermuda: A Bibliography of Printed Maps and Charts 1548-1970*, third edition, ed. R.V. Tooley (London: Holland Press Cartographica, 1983).

with defined boundary lines, but the particular method of outlining surveys employed by Holme was rare among contemporary printed maps.

The level of delineation and detail in the Holme map illustrated cartographic ingenuity that can be related to concurrent trends in science and philosophy that attempted to record and delineate the structure of places, people, animals, vegetables, minerals, and other systems at work in the world. The seventeenth century was an age of microscopy. Increase of microscopic research in the late seventeenth-century was not necessarily advanced by improvements in technique, but, as Klaas van Berkel writes, “a change in scientific climate: the new pervasiveness of mechanistic concepts promoted the search for microscopic structures, because it was thought that by means of this research the operations of the animate world could be fathomed. After all wasn’t Nature just a vast and complicated mechanism?”⁶⁵ David Freedberg suggests that this new form of study “by enabling investigators to penetrate into the depths of the specimens they examined, the microscope revealed relationships that could never have been derived from examination of their more or less attractive surfaces.” And increasingly geometric logic, being able to employ the numbers and spatial systems of geometry, allowed increasingly more precise knowledge of specimens both large and small.⁶⁶ Just as understanding of the complexity of an insect or human body through careful examination could both illustrate mechanics and justify the

⁶⁵ Klaas van Berkel “Academics and Aristocrats, 1620-1700” in Klaas van Berkel, Albert van Helden, and Lodewijk Palm, *A History of Science in the Netherlands: Survey, Themes and Reference* (Leiden: Brill 1999), 65.

⁶⁶ David Freedberg *The Eye of the Lynx: Galeleio, His Friends, and the Beginnings of Modern Natural History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 7-8.

“miraculous works of God,” creation of a map could illustrate a country and reveal its inherent qualities.

The microscopic diagrams of Robert Hooke and Anton van Leewenhock depicted small worlds in magnification whereas maps displayed large worlds in miniature (Figures 39 and 40). But both took what was impossible or difficult to observe or comprehend in true size to a scale that was observable and seemingly more accessible. If not in an illustrated graphic...a descriptive report was created or presented in tandem. The illustrations created with the mundane materials of paper ink and paint allowed new worlds to come alive and fostered a similar sense of excitement of discovery to the viewer.

It was this process uncovering of hidden truths and employing this new knowledge for useful ends that intrigued the new philosophers and Penn himself. As John Houghton repeatedly claimed in his periodical *Letters on Husbandry and Trade*, understanding and examining the world could benefit English projects of “improvement” associated with the expanding colonial world. Like his associate Houghton, William Penn repeatedly used the term “improvement” throughout his personal correspondence and printed works in association with his project in Pennsylvania. It is no surprise, then, that the map title also reflected his interest in this concept. By including “improvement” both in the title and physically imprinting it on the map Penn instructed people who saw or heard about the map to view the province in a proscribed manner: settled, ordered and flourishing. Although the audience was free to believe these claims or not, every effort was made in the advertisement to encourage the map’s “reputation” as an authentic, accurate, and groundbreaking

image. Having heard or read about the map, prospective buyers did not need to go far to view and inspect the image in person.

Mapsellers plied their trade in many locations in the city of London in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Individuals associated with producing and selling versions of the Holme map kept shops in strategic locations including near the Royal Exchange, St. Paul's Cathedral, and in the areas of Newgate and Cheapside, also traditional centers of the book trade. Advertisements in the *London Gazette* throughout the 1680s demonstrate the common practice of selling maps at more than one location. The shops of Thornton and Green were less than a mile apart. But they may have attracted different clientele. In shopping for maps, as in shopping for any other goods, the purchasers made choices to frequent merchants based on personal relationships, location, quality of services and goods, and a host of other factors.

Convenience was one of these factors and many of the sellers of various versions of the Holme map, including Philip Lea, were known to occasionally display their wares in market stalls in Westminster Hall "to take advantage of the crowds attendant during Parliamentary sessions."⁶⁷ Maps could transport viewers to these distant lands and confirmed the visual "reality" of the places they represented. These visual displays of foreign lands acted as conversation pieces and allowed dialogues about science and politics to flourish among the viewers. Additionally, by placing maps in Westminster Hall, the acts of viewing and purchasing them became political acts themselves. The Hall was an overtly political space, where royals were crowned,

⁶⁷ Tyake, xxi.; Plomer. "Westminster Hall and Its Booksellers," *The Library* 1:2 (1905), 380-390.

courts held, and convicts tried. Parliaments met next door and the royals lived and prayed in the complex of buildings that constituted Whitehall. Like coffeehouses and bookshops, the men and women who milled about these spaces, gazing at the maps, and perhaps discussing their content participated in larger conversations about colonial expansion, current politics, and the exchange of knowledge through print and speech. So who were the people who purchased Holme's Map?

No list of subscribers or purchasers exists to indicate specifically who bought Holme's map. Map traders targeted educated elites for sale of their map by selecting high-quality materials, employing well-respected tradespeople to create the maps, by selling them in elite venues, and by pricing the maps in a range only accessible to people with deep pockets. One example of the Holme map has a known provenance of ownership by John Custis (1678-1749) of Williamsburg and the Eastern Shore of Virginia. Custis was a prominent member of the Virginia gentry and in typical fashion spent time working and being educated in the tobacco trade in England. Before he left he purchased an *atlas factice* from Philip Lea in 1698. This form of atlas was created by selecting and binding individual sheet maps to suit the tastes of the purchaser. Custis probably had some say in the selection of his atlas' contents, or gave Lea the power to choose the "best sort" of maps for inclusion. One of the 103 maps, charts, and text sheets bound in the "English Atlas" is the reduced Harris printing of the Home map dating to ca. 1690. There are seventeen others depicting New World scenes, but the Pennsylvania map and that of Barbados are the most detailed in terms of property delineation. One other *atlas factice* created by Lea has

the same Pennsylvania map in its index, but it has since been removed.⁶⁸ Selection of the Pennsylvania map for the Lea atlases reveals an interest in a comprehensive understanding of the geography of the New World on the part of Custis and other purchasers.

As Margaret Pritchard discusses in her work on his atlas, Custis' education in England and participation in the transatlantic culture of the educated upper sorts propagated his interest in the arts, sciences, and literary pursuits.⁶⁹ Custis created and maintained one of the most substantial estates in early colonial America. Composed of architecturally sophisticated buildings and carefully constructed gardens, his homes served as centers of diplomacy, philosophy, and sociability. Ownership of these cartographic images reinforced the role of maps as tools for emerging colonial elites who participated in polite pursuits from their New World setting. The maps themselves mirrored and reinforced the grandeur of the buildings in which they were housed and lent an air of authenticity to the aristocratic claims of their owners. Such maps, then, should not be viewed as isolated objects in a catalogue of goods, but rather as embedded parts of the plantation landscapes. As the leading scholar on Custis' map, Pritchard, suggests, "Maps, charts, atlases, and globes became important symbols of the enlightened gentleman."⁷⁰

One example of six sheets of the large map, bound in a volume belonging to Isaac Norris II, possibly from the library of his grandfather Thomas Lloyd, suggests

⁶⁸ Pritchard, 314-319.

⁶⁹ Pritchard, 314-319.

⁷⁰ Pritchard, 43.

contemporaries in Pennsylvania also collected the map and altered it into atlas form.⁷¹ Initially, prospects for any sale in Pennsylvania were deemed low by Thomas Holme himself. Complaining in a letter to William Penn, the cartographer expressed dismay at the rewards for his hard work on the map and suggested that he was not being fairly repaid for his work: “As for the map, it was done as well as it could be then, thou pressed so hard for it; and I am like to have little for mee and Robert Longshore, nothing but a few mapps, which will not vend here.”⁷² One study of inventories from Chester County, Pennsylvania, suggests his concern may have been well-founded. For the period between 1684 and 1850 few maps are noted in inventories.⁷³ One should not put too much stock in this one study alone, but it does support the idea that the main consumers for the first two editions of Holme’s map were not average settlers in the Delaware Valley, but educated, curious individuals in Britain and Europe and the uppermost ranks of society in the New World.

Interestingly the Winterthur version of the Holme map has a provenance which suggests it was in a German collection by the mid-eighteenth century. All evidence on the map suggests this is a London printing dating to 1701-1705. However, a series of marks on the surface of the map suggests ownership by the Royal Prussian Academy in the eighteenth century. The history of its ownership in Prussia is also supported by the fact that it was purchased in Berlin in the twentieth

⁷¹ “Map of the Province of Pennsylvania” in *Philadelphia: Three Centuries of American Art* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1976), 2-5.

⁷² Corcoran, 275.

⁷³ Margaret Berwind Schiffer, *Chester County, Pennsylvania Inventories, 1684-1850* (Exton, Pa: Schiffer Publishing 1974).

century and later brought to the United States. Germany is not a surprising location to find materials associated with the earliest years of settlement in Pennsylvania and the Delaware Valley. Penn himself traveled to Germany on multiple occasions in the 1670s and 1680s and maintained strong relationships with individuals there for religious, personal, business, and political matters. Many of his writings had been translated and published into German and there was an established audience for the printed descriptions and images of Pennsylvania previous to the production of Holme's map. It is likely that *A Map of the Improved Part of the Province of Pennsylvania* was purchased and distributed almost immediately after 1687 in the Netherlands, Sweden, Germany, and other European centers.⁷⁴

Looking at how maps were created and used allows us a window into the ways geographic knowledge shaped and reflected the project of colonial settlement in America in the late seventeenth century. Examination of the different forms in which maps were produced and who owned them can also illuminate varied methods for sharing geographic information. As Peter Barber and others have suggested, maps served multiple purposes in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Being both "necessary and ornamental," the maps could variously be used to display education or wealth, decorate a space, further scientific and geographic knowledge, claim ownership of land and power over inhabitants, and negotiate or assert political power.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ *Penn Papers*.

⁷⁵ Barber, Peter "Necessary and Ornamental: Map Use in England under the Later Stuarts, 1660-1714" *Eighteenth-Century Life* 14 (November 1990): 1-28.

Maps were central to the administration of England's colonies in America. According to the cartographic scholar Peter Barber, The Council of Trade and Plantations (later the Committee of the Lord of Trade and Plantations in 1675) encouraged "By all ways and meanes...to procure exact Mapps, Platts or Charts of all and Every [of] our said Plantations abroad, together with the Mapps and Descriptions of their respective Ports, Forts, Bayes, Rivers with the Depth of their respective Channells coming in or going up, and the Soundings all along the said respective Coasts from place to place, and the same so had, you are carefully to register and Keepe."⁷⁶ The Council's quote reflects the interest in cataloguing and controlling the colonial accessions of the country. Maps were also of import in international diplomacy. People often distributed atlases and printed maps to promote political or personal favor with other countries and their governments. Diplomatic gifts of maps were expressly printed and distributed to elicit political favor or cement relationships between allies. People also used maps as propaganda promoting the interest of colonists, proprietors and the crown. Also frequent was the practice of some printers or draftsmen who sent unsolicited gifts of maps to curry favor with royalty and state officials.⁷⁷

Map use was primarily relegated to official business and the uppermost levels of society until the seventeenth century. However, Martin Bruckner argues that by late in the century maps began to shift from "a scarce and symbolic text that symbolized privileged lives inside an imperial culture, to a form of everyday

⁷⁶ Barber, "Necessary and Ornamental," 1.

⁷⁷ Barber, "Necessary and Ornamental," 12-16.

discourse widely used by a socially diverse population of English-speakers living in colonial British America.”⁷⁸ By the late seventeenth century a variety of cartographic or geographic representations existed in the market, including promotional tracts with written descriptions of the landscape, miniature atlases, large atlases, sheet maps of a variety of sizes, and globes. Bruckner also found maps printed on window shades, on handkerchiefs, and stitched in needlework. Officials, magistrates and important folks of all sorts also may have owned map representations in the form of medals, seals, and other ceremonial objects.⁷⁹ Both the first printing and the reduced version of the Holme map followed the tradition of large presentation maps created for people in power. Kings, queens, large landowners, governments and institutions of learning were the recipients and purchasers of such geographic wonders. They are massive, often beautiful productions meant to proclaim ownership, power and domination.

Presentation sheet maps were placed on walls or spread out on the dining tables throughout England and Europe.⁸⁰ Within the home maps could be found in spaces as intimate as a private closet or as public as a great hall. Samuel Pepys decorated his closet at the Navy Office with “some neat plats” and John Garrett, a mapseller, suggested in his catalogue that maps “were very pleasant and delightful ornaments for houses, studies or closets.”⁸¹ It seems that maps on the line of Holme’s creation were more often found in the Old World more than the New. These were

⁷⁸ Bruckner, pp. 3-4. For history of map use in England and Europe see Buissart, etc.

⁷⁹ Barber, “Necessary and Ornamental,” 2, 13, 15.

⁸⁰ Barber, “Necessary and Ornamental,” 1.

⁸¹ Barber, “Necessary and Ornamental,” 1-2.

simply too large and expensive for many residents and their relatively small houses unless they were stored rolled or bound in the form of an atlas like Custis'.⁸²

Although people did own and display forms of maps, the size of the first printing Holme wall map would prohibit it from being practical for most homes.

The proprietor and his cohorts were the exceptions. Based on Penn's references to Holme's map we can infer that he owned, studied and displayed it in England and in Pennsylvania. In an inventory created in 1701 as Penn left his province for the second and final time, he listed seven maps at his country manor, Pennsbury and ten at his house in Philadelphia (the so-called Slate Roof House). In the first floor Best Parlour at Pennsbury, Penn left "2 large Mapps."⁸³ One might imagine that the huge Holme map, or a later version, was one of these items. If there were any doubt, this inventory suggests a commitment on Penn's part to a swift return to Pennsylvania. The objects he left were some of the most expensive a person could own in the seventeenth century including maps, textiles, and walnut furniture.

Unfortunately, Penn never returned.

⁸² The map Holme delineated would have dominated most spaces in Delaware Valley buildings. The roughly 3.75 feet by 4.5 feet size of the map with the additional seventh sheet was rather large for houses that tended to be quite small.⁸² Bernard Herman determined that typical housing in the mid-Atlantic was often a one-room plan house measuring 15 by 20 feet from the seventeenth century well into the late eighteenth century. In the late seventeenth century some residents of Philadelphia were even still living in partial in-ground structures or "caves." Even William Penn's city residence, an example of the finest and largest building projects in seventeenth century Philadelphia, only measured roughly 40 by 60 feet. By modern standards these are not huge spaces. Bernard Herman, *Everyday Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic*, 12.

⁸³ *Penn Papers*, 4:132.

Before Holme's map ever became a useful aid and an attractive ornament to Penn's personal and official spaces in Pennsylvania, he first used the map in England and Europe in the late 1680's. Although spiritual concerns contributed to Penn's motivations to create Pennsylvania, this did not separate him from the worldly concerns of sustaining his new province. To do this he needed money, investment, and political support. Before Holme's map of Pennsylvania, no large-scale geographic representation delineated actual property ownership or boundary lines there. Years of settlement by Indians, Swedes, Dutch, and English created a tangled web of property claims. The problems posed by this situation were realized by those individuals involved with approving the charter for the colony in 1680. In June of 1680 Sir John Werden wrote to Sir Wiliam Blathwayte of the impending problems posed by the land in the "Delaware colony" or New Castle Colony" being "planted promiscuously by Swedes, Finlanders, Dutch, & English."⁸⁴ This previous settlement also led to questions concerning boundaries. Werden warned "...I believe the Description by Lines of Longitude (especially) & of Latitude, are very uncertaine, and soe allsoe is it, under what Meridian the head of De La Ware River lyes; which I doe believe hath never yet beene observed, by and Carefull Artist."⁸⁵ Werden was concerned primarily with defining the boundaries between New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, but the problem with slippery boundaries was not relegated to the north. Increasingly the southern boundary with Maryland was to be the thorn in Penn's side.

⁸⁴ *Penn Papers*, 2:37.

⁸⁵ *Penn Papers*, 2:48.

The root of these disputes can partially be found in the reliance upon the Nicholas Visscher map of 1656 when the original boundaries were negotiated for the mid-Atlantic colonies (Figure 41). Although it contained a greater degree of geographic information than the Blaeu map on which it was based, and was oriented to the North rather than the west, the map had inaccuracies of up to twenty-one miles in some locations.⁸⁶ The most accurate representation of the mid-Atlantic was the 1673 Augustine Hermann map commissioned by Lord Baltimore to submit to the Committee of the Lords of Trade and Plantations (Figure 42).⁸⁷ Other seventeenth-century maps, often created by copying previous printings, depict the whole east coast of America including the Delaware River and some geographic features of the area. When Penn gained control of the region, he initially relied on these maps. But they would not serve his needs forever.

The first attempts to remedy the lack of a representation of his new colony were made in a variety of printed forms including pamphlets and plans and maps. One of the first images of the region was based on the Vischer and Hermann maps. It may have been drawn by Thomas Holme, but the specific cartographer is unknown. This is the previously mentioned map printed by John Thornton and John Seller in 1681. This map provided a rough geographic overview of the area. At this time the location of the capital of Philadelphia was unspecified, property remained in the initial states of sale, and the land surveys had not yet been returned. Thus, this early map contains only a bare minimum of cultural and geographic information. By 1681

⁸⁶ Snyder, *Mapping of New Jersey*, 15.

⁸⁷ Pritchard, *Degrees of Latitude*, 10-11.

the location for the capital city was decided upon. In order to promote his colony Penn initiated a propaganda campaign that involved publication of the pamphlet *Some Account of Pennsylvania* which included a plan for the city of Philadelphia called the *Portraiture of Philadelphia* (Figure5).

Appearing in 1681, this well-known and well-circulated image represented Penn's efforts to the world for seven years. But the grid plan of the city represented an imagined space.⁸⁸ Holme may actually have staked out some streets, but the full layout of the city grid did not exist until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Of the *Portraiture* image, Philip Ford had written Holme concerning the *Portraiture* saying "it was needful that it should be printed; it will do us a kindness, as we were at a loss for want of something to shew the people," and that he " would fain know how many houses are in Philadelphia; and if the city goes on apace."⁸⁹ The inspiration for the plan has been extensively discussed by scholars.⁹⁰ It bears repeating, however, that the plan for the city of Philadelphia was just that, a plan. It formed a representation of a projected landscape. The city did not occupy the total space of the plan or completely follow the regularized grid that was outlined by Holme until the twentieth

⁸⁸ John W. Reps, *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States* (Princeton: Princeton university Press, 1965), 161-187.

⁸⁹ *Pennsylvania Archives* Third series, 3:306.

⁹⁰ Reps, *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States*, 161-167; Hannah Benner Roach, "The Planting of Philadelphia: A Seventeenth-Century Real Estate Development," *PMHB*, 92:1 and 2, 3-47, 143-194; Elizabeth Milroy, "'For the like Uses, as the Moore-fields': The Politics of Penn's Squares," *PMHB* July 2006 <<http://www.historycooperative.org/cgi-bin/justtop.cgi?act=justtop&url=http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/pmh/130.3/milroy.html>> (31 Dec. 2010).

century urban planners revived Holmes vision and “cleaned-up” the city to follow his seventeenth-century plan.

The plan served Penn’s political and business needs quite well. Having a city to act as an economic and social entrepot was essential to colonial projects in the New World. In the 1680’s Philadelphia was not yet fully serving these needs. Settlement along the Delaware before Penn’s charter was centered largely on New Jersey and New Castle was the largest populated area on the west side of the river. People did reside sporadically throughout the region. But Penn wanted a fresh start. By literally marking his territory and establishing a capital city in print, Penn could create a revised history of the region.

The Holme map itself and contemporary documents suggest the challenge Penn faced. “Bridlington” (Burlington, New Jersey) and “New Castle Towne” (New Castle, Delaware) are the other main settlements identified on the map besides Philadelphia. These locations predated the capital city and rivaled it in importance for shipping and government as well as in the number of established homes and businesses in the early years. And all evidence from contemporary sources suggests that during the earliest years of settlement there was a large degree of geographic fluidity or openness. The circular line 12 mile radius from New Castle, defined in Penn’s patent for the boundary with New Castle County was not officially authorized by the crown until 1753. The line between Pennsylvania and Maryland, was only defined in 1768 with the completion of Mason and Dixon’s survey. People moved back and forth along the Delaware River in what would later be well-defined as Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey. The location of Philadelphia was partially

selected for the very reason that Burlington, New Castle, and Chester, Pennsylvania, were already too densely settled to allow distribution of land according to Penn's plans. The central locations of these locales shaped travel and settlement within the early years of Pennsylvania's settlement. One contemporary source illustrates how in the earliest years of settlement Philadelphia was not automatically the leading urban center in the region.

In his 1685 account of the region, titled "Good Order Established in Pennsylvania & New Jersey," Thomas Budd mentions Philadelphia once and it does not appear until page 21 of his treatise.⁹¹ Burlington, on the other hand, is discussed in the second full paragraph of the body of his work as being a navigable location on the Delaware for "Ships of great burthen." Given that Budd wrote to convince potential settlers of the economic viability of a move to Pennsylvania or New Jersey, we can assume he would list the busiest commercial hub first. In the early 1680's Philadelphia could not yet win this contest. A strong rivalry for settlers and support developed between Pennsylvania and New Jersey in the late seventeenth century. Despite his previous assistance with the government of New Jersey, Penn knew that Philadelphia must flourish to secure the future of his Pennsylvania colony. Establishing the supremacy of the city over Burlington or Perth Amboy was of utmost importance in the earliest years of settlement.

To build a positive image and reputation for Philadelphia features on maps as something more. Even the rather haphazardly drawn features on a map of East and West Jersey by John Thornton, Philadelphia appears as a diminutive version of the

⁹¹ Thomas Budd, *Good Order Established*, UMI reprint 1966, 21.

Holme plan. But the little rectangle meant so much to Penn and the international community of potential purchasers, immigrant and supporters who Penn hoped would see these images. The Holme map helped Penn demonstrate that, whether true or not, settlement and land division went on apace in the colony.

Foremost in his goals for improvement and reform was the system of distributing land. Penn needed to secure solid boundaries of current surveys, establish a regular system of dividing properties, and entice additional investors and settlers. For years, Penn had struggled with settlers, commissioners of land, and surveyors over the fair distribution of and payment for land. As tension increased between Penn and his colonists, he realized an even greater need to ensure support from associates in England and Europe. Penn used the map to gain support from both the Quaker community and the royal family. Both were necessary to keep his dream of the “Holy Experiment” alive. During the late 1680s Penn worked hard to establish relationships with Charles II and James II. He knew the political game and took full advantage of his power at court. Penn worked especially hard to gain favor with James II, a Catholic and a fellow non-conformist. His interest was not only limited to securing freedom for other persecuted people. Penn also hoped to enlist the support of James II in settling the boundary disputes with the Calverts. It was for James II that Penn traveled to Germany and the Netherlands in 1687. Penn met with William of Orange on the trip, acting as a diplomat for the British crown. He also revisited business associates and fellow Quakers to garner support for his colony. Based on the Proprietor’s eagerness for a map when he returned in 1686, one can infer that an image of the colony was requested of him on more than one occasion. To finally have

a map to carry on his travels and show off at the 1687 Bristol Fair, where Penn travelled after his return to England from the Continent, must have temporarily relieved Penn's unease.⁹²

Creation of the large and detailed map was not without its problems. The processes of geographic representation that occurred in the first decade following Penn's initial inspiration to create the colony reveal not only the difficulties and he faced, but also the complex relations among proprietor, agents, surveyors, and settlers old and new. The cartographic productions associated with early Pennsylvania settlement, ranging from glorious display maps, to hand-drawn surveys, to cryptic notations of trees and numbers, reveal tensions between traditional and modern ways of constructing geographies. In making the map Holme relied on the direction and pressure from Penn. Yet, his endeavor hinged on settlers participation with the survey. If an unruly deputy surveyor manipulated boundaries to extract greater fees or refused to turn in his work, Holme again experienced a delay in finishing his map. The mapmaking thus became a participatory endeavor cutting across social levels.

The map project caused an immediate disruption between the interests of the proprietor, colonial officials, and common residents. Although Penn saw the map as essential to securing recognition and support for his utopian vision within England and the international community, residents supported the survey more for local and personal reasons. Most wanted land mapped efficiently and accurately. However,

⁹² Myers, *Narratives*, 92. This reference appears in a footnote to an excerpted letter from Thomas Holme. Myers gives no reference identifying the source of this comment. Without verification, we cannot be sure of the accuracy of this statement. However, Myers was an active and respected Penn scholar and undoubtedly had access to a letter or other document containing this information.

“accurate” is a subjective term and disputes over the process of surveying were frequent and often vicious.

Surveyors and settlers trudged through fields and forests, laying chains, marking trees, placing stakes and sketching property claims to physically mark the landscape and to enter the claims in colonial land offices. To many of these small and large landholders, the process of submitting a claim was enough to prove improvement and occupancy. As long as their rights of ownership were secured, the form of the documentation was of little matter. Thomas Holme had a stake in not only creating the map, but also in collecting and certifying the claims and integrating them into a work of art.⁹³ Thus he not only wanted the claims settled, he also wanted the map to see fruition. Penn, on the other hand wanted land to be settled, and desired non-disputed claims, but what becomes clear from his writing is that he also wants a visual image, however accurate, to help achieve his most pressing goals in England and Europe.

⁹³ Art historians and cartographic historians debate whether maps can be considered works of art. The debate hinges on the relationship of cartographers to their subject matter and the final production they created. If a cartographer had an intimate knowledge of the subject and close ties to the creative process of producing the map it is often considered acceptable to describe the map as an artistic work, versus one that is formed as a result of detached “assembly-line” work. Thomas Holme personally surveyed lands, and used his own hand to transpose his own surveys and those of others into the final draft for the map that was eventually engraved and printed in London. For now, I consider it a legitimate claim to call the 1687 map an artistic work. One major source for this discussion is David Woodward, ed. *Art and Cartography: Six Historical Essays* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

With the printing of the Holme map, Penn sponsored an image of the region that downplayed previous occupation, demonstrated a healthy and orderly distribution of land, and placed Philadelphia on par with established settlements like Burlington and New Castle. In addition, the map provided printed proof of the equality of Penn's endeavors to other colonial projects in the New World and beyond. The idea of an "improved" Pennsylvania was effectively promoted in the world of letters, print, and visual culture to a predominantly British and European audience.

The *Map of the Improved Part of Pennsylvania* created a new and striking image of the Delaware Valley in 1687. By skillfully elaborating on the orderly unfolding of settlement in Pennsylvania, the map proved to be a useful tool for Penn's efforts to gain new colonists and promote "improvement." Examination the production and use of the map suggests that improvement was not the work of Penn alone, but of the surveyors, craftsmen, tradespeople, politicians, readers, potential settlers, kings, who made and used the cartographic works. Six years after the initial charter for Pennsylvania and after Penn's own first visit to the province, the appearance and information presented on the map was informed by these years of exposure and experience with the Pennsylvania project. While the image of the map was largely prescriptive, it is important to frame it as an informed prescription, created by people who knew the province and what it would take to sell land and promote Pennsylvania's growth. This involved both hopeful imaginations of orderly land dispersal and the erasure of historical facts of previous settlement and rule. The map thus embodies a representation of a crafted memories and aspirations for the formation of Pennsylvania. Although settlement may have gone on apace without the

map, it assisted greatly in securing the reputation of Penn's colony as a flourishing colony worthy of recognition by the British and European international community concerned with furthering colonial projects in America.

Remembering William Penn and Pennsylvania

In May 1788, John Penn, Jr. sold his grandfather. At least, he sold belongings depicting a portly figure of William Penn that once graced a bedroom in one of his Pennsylvania homes. After the American Revolution, John Penn, Jr. returned to Pennsylvania in hopes of protecting his family's claim to property in the new United States.¹ While there, Penn created an urban gentleman's home filled with silver, furniture, and other household niceties at his rented townhouse at the corner of Sixth and Market Streets. The proprietary heir also constructed a country home on the western side of the Schuylkill, appropriately named Solitude (Figure 43). For a room in one of these homes he selected a set of "hair-coloured," or brown, printed cotton bed hangings and three window curtains with the "pattern William Penn's treaty with the Indians" (Figures 44 and 45). Sitting in his fabric-rich bedchamber, swathed by textile portraits of his grandfather, John Penn created a tented memory cabinet that allowed him to recall a time that never was. Eventually, Penn's fabric cocoon could no longer suffice as protection against a changing world. And when he left Philadelphia for the final time in 1789 he arranged for the curtains, along with other contents of his homes, to be sold at vendue.

This chapter explores material legacies of Penn's province. The previous chapters have explored how the land and its products that Penn and others encountered on their New World excursions shaped their understanding of the Delaware Valley region as well as their efforts to promote the success of their

¹ Howard M. Jenkins, "The Family of William Penn (continued). X. The Decendents of Thomas Penn" *PMHB* 21:4 (1897): 421-444, 427; Inventory of Household Effects of John Penn, Jr. 1788 "Notes and Queries" *PMHB* 15:3 (1891): 373-375.

provincial projects. In turn, buildings and property lines, maps, and natural products altered forever the material world in the region and the representation of it in the wider world. Shaping, representing, and consuming Pennsylvania was not a one-time event. Rather the processes of creating the place called Pennsylvania and promoting it to residents and non residents were continual adaptations. Houses were built and later torn down, lines on the map were drawn and redrawn, foods went in and out of fashion, people used commodities to create wealth and poverty. Even the legacy of William Penn changed in the first hundred years after his acquisition of the Pennsylvania charter. Much later, certain elements of the founding story and the portrayal of the founder became increasingly fossilized as people forgot or overlooked the area's early history or, in many cases, found other origin stories more compelling.

William Penn made extensive efforts to craft a "reputation" and legacy for Pennsylvania during his tenure as proprietor. His own optimism over the success of his efforts started strong in the early 1680s, but gradually eroded as he became entangled in legal issues and difficulties in managing property. His disappointment was exacerbated by his inability to become a full-time resident of America himself. This decline in optimism is easily traced in comments Penn wrote to his associates in personal correspondence. Initially, he expressed high hopes for Pennsylvania as a land ripe for religious freedoms, describing the province as "a land of springs, -- blessings flow amongst us from an ocean of them: heavenly are our assemblies & large, & the people flock in that are not Friends. Truth's authority is rising

{[raising?]} I hope an example to the nations.”² Additionally, as Penn described in a letter to the Earl of Rochester in 1683, it was a land of visible improvement “We gett us Houses apace, & shall have two of the three Blessings of Canaan, Corn & Wine” making it “an admirable place for Air & good living, though it be somewh^t farr to get.” And Penn continued to explain that “so thriving a Colony” could only help the mother country and “in the end must turn to no small Benefit to the Crown, for the Laws of navigation, so strictly observed, as they are in, this Province, must make England the Mart of all our Industry.”³ While Penn was clearly putting a polish on his new territory with his claims that all laws of England were followed to the letter, he had enough sense to admit that the ocean crossing was a lengthy trip to make for a better life. These sentiments are but a few of the glowing reports and hopeful wishes Penn expressed about Pennsylvania and its people in the early 1680s. Yet, while Penn never gave up his belief in the beauty and the promise of Pennsylvania, he increasingly expressed disappointment and concern with the achievability of his dreams for establishing a promised land.

In 1686, Penn expressed his desire to return to Pennsylvania “for my comeing over, cheer up the people, I press what I can; but the great undertakers that crowd on me & raise mony to get away, hinders me yet, but my heart is with you & my soul & love is after you.”⁴ But he was also distressed that Pennsbury was “expensive & ruinous, a lovely place & {good} beginning; {but} every one mindeing their own

² *Penn Papers*, 2:376.

³ *Penn Papers*, 2:397-398.

⁴ *Penn Papers*, 3:391.

things” and not keeping up his property.⁵ Years later, in 1710, facing the loss of control of the province to the crown, Penn summarized his great disappointments in a letter to Friends in Pennsylvania:

When it pleas'd my God to open a way for me to settle that Colony I had reason to expect a solid comfort from the Services done to so many hundreds of People. And it is no small satisfaction to me that I have not been disappointed in seeing them prosper & grow up to a flourishing Country blest with Liberty ease & Plenty beyond what many themselves cou'd expect and wanting nothing to make themselves happy but what with a right temper of mind & prudent conduct they might give themselves.

But alas! As to my part instead of reaping the like Advantages some of the greatest of my troubles have rose from thence, the many Combats I have been engaged in, the great pains & incredible expences for your welfare & ease to the decay of my former Estate, of which (however some there would represent it) I too sensibly feel the effects, wth the undeserv'd oppositions I have mett with from thence, sink me into a Sorrow, that if not Supported by a Superior hand, might have overwhelm'd me long agoe, And I cannot but think it hard measure, that while that has prov'd a Land of freedom & flourishing, it shoul'd become to me by whose means it was principally made a Countrey the cause of Grief Trouble & Poverty.”⁶

A year later he was distressed enough with his lot in life to write to the Earl of Oxford “I am heartily Sorry I am now Good for nothing.” In 1712, Penn experienced a number of apoplectic strokes which eventually left him incapacitated and no longer able to function in any business matters. This decline in spirits of the proprietor and his eventual death forms an important part of the biography of William Penn that is often glossed over by the popular image of an optimistic and benevolent leader. When Penn died, he left his wife, children by two marriages, and a network of friends and

⁵ *Penn Papers*, 3:472.

⁶ *Penn Papers*, 3:675-676

business associates to inherit not only management of his proprietorship and other business affairs, but management of his legacy.

After her “Dearests last breath” Hannah Penn made a valiant effort to manage her husband’s business in Pennsylvania and elsewhere (Figure 46). As she took stock of the challenges ahead of her, memorials were written by other friends acknowledging that Penn’s “Management of his Temporal Affairs” had “been Attended wth some deficiencies.” Nonetheless, he was remembered as “Learned without Vanity Apt without forwardness, facetious in Conversation yet weighty & serious of an extraordinary greatness of mind yet void of the Stain of Ambition as free from rigid gravity as he was Clear of unseemly levity.” He was “A MAN, A SCHOLAR, A FRIEND; A MINISTER.”⁷ But he was also a debtor, an invalid, and a father at the end of his life and Hannah had to continue managing the situation left to her with the assistance of her children, although not all of Penn’s children. When Penn died, he left control of his property to Hannah with the expectation that his children be the eventual recipients of the property. From his first marriage, the surviving children were Letitia and William Penn, Jr. Eventually, in 1731, Penn’s children by his long-deceased first wife Gulielma and grandchildren accepted a cash payment to release control to their half-siblings.⁸ Of Hannah’s children, three, John, Thomas, and Richard were left the proprietorship.⁹ It was these three and their

⁷ *Penn Papers*, 4:753-754.

⁸ William R. Shepherd, *The History of the Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1896), 202.

⁹ Of the seven siblings from the marriage of William and Hannah Penn, John, Thomas, and Richard and their sister Margaret were the only ones to survive after

descendents who managed the proprietary legacy throughout the eighteenth century.¹⁰

While the specifics of how the Penn children and grandchildren managed property, distributed land, and dined changed from the patriarch's practices, they carried on William Penn's legacy to shape and manage the Pennsylvania image within the colony, on the continent, and in the world.

Of the descendents, only a few came to America. William Penn's son John, who was born in Philadelphia in 1700, left with his parents in 1701 and returned briefly in 1734-35. Penn's daughter Letitia also accompanied the family to Pennsylvania between 1699 and 1701, but returned to England where she eventually married and lived the rest of her life. William Penn sent his son William Penn, Jr. to Pennsylvania in 1704, and his nine month stay was fairly disastrous due to loose living and the young man's difficult temperament. Thomas Penn (William's son) came to Pennsylvania in 1732 and left in 1741. By the time he left, Pennsylvanians, according to scholar Lorette Treese, had found him "cold, aloof, and greedy"¹¹ The next generation showed more interest in living in America and John Penn (son of Richard, Sr., nephew of Thomas) arrived in Pennsylvania on November 22, 1752 and left Pennsylvania somewhere around 1755. He came back in 1763 to become Governor and returned to England in 1771. In 1773 he returned to reassume

Hannah's death in 1726. Dennis died in 1722 as a young man and Hannah Margarita (b. 1703, d. 1707), and Hannah (b.1708, d.1709) died young. From "Genealogy of the Penn Family" prepared by Rob Gale, summer intern, Pennsbury Manor, 1993.

¹⁰ Lorette Treese, *The Storm Gathering: The Penn Family and The American Revolution* (State College: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 8

¹¹ Treese, *The Storm Gathering*, 12.

governorship of the province, although disrupted by the outbreak of the revolution, and left again in 1788. He returned one more time, in 1792 for three years until his death in 1795. Richard, Jr. (son of Richard, Sr., brother of John, Sr) came with his brother in 1763 and left in 1769, returned to Pennsylvania in 1771 and departed again in 1775. The other John (son of Thomas, nephew of Richard, Sr.) arrived in 1783 and left in 1788. Although other Penn descendents lived in America, these were the last family members to have any direct influence in the administration of the proprietary government.

Opinions of Pennsylvania varied among the family members who set foot on the American turf. Penn's son William seemed impressed at first with the territory, but clearly had a greater interest in the new world as a land ripe for leisure pursuits than for his father's idealized interests. Soon after his arrival in 1704, he requested his stallion and "some more hounds sent over for they will do mightily well here." He found Pennsbury promising and claimed that "if thee wouldst allow me a Good Gardiner I could make it one of the pleasantest places in the world." But he resided there only briefly, spending most of his time in various lodgings in Philadelphia.¹² Discouraged by a certain lack of acceptance by Pennsylvania residents and having difficulty finding permanent accommodations that he found acceptable, he decided that England was a better home.¹³

Although Thomas Penn complained that Philadelphia lacked paved streets upon his arrival in 1732, he quickly set up house at the 2nd street home of Samuel

¹² *Penn Papers*, 4:261.

¹³ *Penn Papers*, 4:261-262, 289.

Powell II and built a retreat at current-day 20th and Hamilton Streets on the proprietary manor of Springettsbury.¹⁴ Records suggest he lived well while he was there. An account with George and Mary Gray for the years 1733 and 34 records him paying for copious amounts of alcohol and “Eating” including wine, brandy, punch, beer, “cyder,” syllabub, “madera,” and sangaree.¹⁵ Although he left in 1741, Thomas remained heavily involved in Pennsylvania affairs until his death in 1775. He was especially preoccupied with turmoil with native Pennsylvanians, land affairs, and territorial disputes with Maryland and Connecticut.

Although Thomas is most often remembered as being involved in the infamous Walking Treaty of 1737 which disenfranchised Indians of land to the north and west of Philadelphia, settling the Maryland-Pennsylvania boundary dispute with Mason and Dixon’s survey in the 1760s, and numerous other colonial and Indian affairs, he should also be remembered as one of the foremost promoters of a visual legacy for Pennsylvania and William Penn himself. It is under Thomas Penn that one of the largest and most reproduced images of Philadelphia since Thomas Holme’s plan was created. Desiring a perspective view of the city of Philadelphia to rival those produced of other European and American cities such as New York and Boston, Thomas Penn put a call out for an artist to create the image. A number of artists failed in their attempts, either not meeting the standard’s of Penn’s representatives in America, or quitting before they finished, deeming it too difficult a task. Eventually,

¹⁴ Nicholas B. Wainwright, “The Penn Collection” *PMHB* 87:4 (Oct. 1963): 393.

¹⁵ Receipt, George Gray to Thomas Penn, Philadelphia, 1733-34, Miscellaneous Manuscripts, Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society, Buffalo, New York.

George Heap created an artistic work accepted by the proprietor. He partnered with Nicholas Scull to take subscriptions for the work and Scull took over ownership of the print after Heap died en route to London for the first printing. Heap first prepared the extremely large drawing first in 1752 and it was printed in 1754 (Figure 47).

While the view achieved some of Thomas' goals, he was sorely disappointed in its size and the lack of incorporation of the New Jersey shore, which would reaffirm the city's location on a river, not on the open ocean. As a result, a modified, reduced version was created with a view of the Jersey shore in the foreground (Figure 48).¹⁶

This view, a 1752 map created by Scull and Heap, and combined versions with elevations of the statehouse and battery became the predominant representations of the city and colony in the mid century. There were other important maps of Pennsylvania created in the second half of the eighteenth century including Lewis Evans' maps, the most famous of which appeared in print in 1755 and depicted the Pennsylvania backcountry in greater detail than ever before. However, the Scull and Heap map, in particular, became the most reproduced image of the city.¹⁷

Perhaps the most lasting visual legacy of William Penn and early colonial Pennsylvania, though, is the painting commissioned by Thomas Penn near the end of his life in 1770 or 1771. Anyone who has opened an American history book or kept their eyes open while visiting the state of Pennsylvania or city of Philadelphia has

¹⁶ For a detailed account of the view see Martin P. Snyder, *City of Independence: Views of Philadelphia Before 1800* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), 42-47; Nicholas Wainwright, "Scull and Heap's East Prospect of Philadelphia" *PMHB* 73 (1949): 16-17.

¹⁷ Snyder, 37; Nicholas Wainwright, "Scull and Heap's Map of Philadelphia" *PMHB* 81 (1957): 69.

seen some version of the indelible image first painted by the artist Benjamin West, or some derivation of it. Originally titled *William Penn's Treaty with the Indians When He Founded the Province of Pennsylvania in America* when it was first displayed to the public at the Royal Academy in London in 1772, the work was well-received (Figure 49).¹⁸ Although he considered sending over a statue of his father to commemorate the preservation of peace in the colony the plan never came to fruition. Thomas eventually determined that a painting would achieve the ends he desired. Three years after its initial display, engravings were made based on the image, the first of many reproductions (Figure 50).¹⁹ Ann Uhry Abams recounts how West based the plump Penn image on a likeness of Penn created for an ivory medal carved by the English apothecary Sylvanus Bevan in 1720, two years after Penn's death (Figure 51). This medal was the inspiration for sculptures and some early engravings, however, the West painting solidified the image, and because it was created in an era with greater printing technology, more reproductions were possible.²⁰

¹⁸ Joseph Harrison, Jr. and his wife Sara acquired the painting in the nineteenth century and donated it to the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia in the early twentieth century, where it is housed today.

¹⁹ Ann Uhry Abrams, "Benjamin West's Documentation of Colonial History: William Penn's Treaty with the Indians" *The Art Bulletin*, 64:1 (Mar. 1982): 69, 75.

²⁰ Abrams, 69, 75. Benjamin Franklin also wrote about the Bevan medal in a 1760 letter to Lord Kames where he recounted an anecdote about the ivory carving: "That when old Lord Cobham was adorning his Gardens at Stowe with the Busts of famous Men, he made Enquiry of the Family for a Picture of Wm. Penn, in order to get a Bust form'd from it, but could find none. That Sylvanus Bevan, an old Quaker Apothecary, remarkable for the Notice he takes of Countenances, and a Knack he has of cutting in Ivory strong Likenesses of Persons he has once seen, hearing of Lord Cobham's Desire, set himself to recollect Penn's Face, with which he had been well acquainted; and cut a little Bust of him in Ivory which he sent to Lord Cobham, without any Letter of Notice that it was Penn's. But my Lord who had personally known Penn, on

The image of Penn, often standing full-length, one arm extended and the other holding a document (typically representing the treaty with the Indians or the Charter of Privileges) or another object, and always wearing a coat and hat (unlike the more accurate Bevan image where Penn dons no anachronistic headgear) dominates the iconography of Pennsylvania's founder. The Bevan image, and particularly the West image, are evident as models for three-dimensional representations of Penn from the eighteenth-century sculpture presented in 1804 by John Penn (owner of the curtains) to the Pennsylvania Hospital to a carved wood folk sculpture made in Berks County, Pennsylvania to the monumental Alexander Calder sculpture of Penn resting atop Philadelphia's City Hall (Figures 52, 53, 54, and 55).²¹ And even more two-dimensional images exist on everything from official documents, to book covers, to advertisements for ready-made clothing, whiskey, cigars, and even promotions for cardboard boxes (Figures 56, 57, and 58).

These images persist for a few reasons. First, in the eighteenth century it was widely believed that there was no existing portrait of William Penn created from life. In a widely re-published letter from Benjamin Franklin to Lord Kames, in response to an offer of a Penn portrait, Franklin asserts that he knew of no image of Penn and

seeing it, immediately cry'd out, Whence came this? It is William Penn himself! And from this little Bust, they say, the large one in the Gardens was formed." The subject of William Penn's physical appearance came up in the letter because Lord Kames offered a portrait of Penn to Franklin and Franklin was skeptical of the portrait's authenticity, knowing only of the supposed accuracy of the Bevan medal. See Benjamin Franklin to Lord Kames, January 3, 1760 in *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, digital edition, v.9, <http://www.franklinpapers.org>, managed by Packard Humanities Institute.

²¹ An image of the wood carving by an anonymous artist in Berks County, Pennsylvania, (1770-1800) is included in Irwin Richman, *Pennsylvania German Arts: More than Hearts, Parrots, and Tulips* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Publishing, 2001), 82.

explained his uncertainty of the authenticity “I have at present some Doubts about it; first, because the primitive Quakers us’d to declare against Pictures as a vain Expence; a Man’s suffering his Portrait to be taken was condemn’d as Pride; and I think to this day it is very little practis’d among them. Then it is on a Board, and I imagine the Practice of painting Portraits on Boards did not come down so low as Penn’s Time; but of this I am not certain. My other Reason is an Anecdote I have heard, viz. That when old Lord Cobham was adorning his Gardens at Stowe with the Busts of famous Men, he made Enquiry of the Family for a Picture of Wm. Penn, in order to get a Bust form’d from it, but could find none.”²² Since Franklin wrote his letter, two images have come to light that are purportedly William Penn, an eighteenth-century copy of a 1666 portrait of him at a young age in armor and a chalk portrait by Francis Place (Figures 59 and 60). However, as Daniel Richter explained in his article for *Pennsylvania Legacies*, scholars do not uniformly accept that Penn is the true subject of either image. The Place portrait only came into the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society in 1957 and the earlier portrait in 1833.²³ Until they came into the society’s possession and became more accessible for reproduction in histories of Pennsylvania, then, images based on the Bevan and West images were all people had as a visual reference to Penn’s likeness.

The West image survived also because it fit the growing mythology of Penn as a founder and the legacy his family and Pennsylvanians in general perpetuated. To

²² Benjamin Franklin to Lord Kames, January 3, 1760 in *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, digital edition, v.9, <http://www.franklinpapers.org>.

²³ Daniel K. Richer, “Three Relics of Pennsylvania’s Founding” *Pennsylvania Legacies*, 4:2 (November 2004): 6-9.

return to the story of the Penn family's experiences in America, after Thomas left the country to guide Pennsylvania affairs from afar his nephews John Sr. and Richard came to manage the province firsthand. However they had radically different opinions and experiences while in Pennsylvania. John Penn the elder loved the province and during one of his sojourns back in the mother country in 1772, he claimed that he was "determined not to remain in England, as it neither agrees with my interest or inclination."²⁴ Even after the Penn family lost control of the province and any property rights following the Revolution, John Sr. returned and eventually died in Pennsylvania. In contrast, his brother Richard viewed Pennsylvania as a means to an end and was delighted when he could write in 1775 "God be praised!...the Happy and advantageous Marriage I have contracted in this country enables me to live like a gentleman in England for which place I intend to embark this Summer."²⁵

No matter what their opinion of the country, over time the Penn family present in Pennsylvania became more and more removed from the everyday life of the majority of Pennsylvanians. Whereas William Penn had a great level of intimacy with the land and people when he was in the colony, his sons and grandsons increasingly associated with an emerging gentry class that lived lives quite separate from the people they often governed. As Steven Brobeck outlined, John Sr. and Richard Penn (William's grandsons) formed part of what he termed the "proprietary party" who lived in houses with high party walls, rode through town on carriages and chaises removed from the multitude of lower sorts on the streets, and who participated in elite

²⁴ Treese,120.

²⁵ Treese,145.

social groups such as the American Philosophical Society, Mt. Regale Fishing Club, the Jockey Club, and the Society of the Sons of St. Tammany.²⁶ All members of the Penn family were aware that certain parties in Pennsylvania held an extremely low opinion of the family and their interests in the colony.²⁷

While the Penns were more than aware of the financial and political difficulties they inherited and that multiplied during their proprietorship, it was appealing to promote and participate in veneration of the founder, their grandfather. A glowing view of Penn not only helped them promote a positive reputation for the proprietary interests, but also helped justify to themselves their efforts to continue selling land, making deals with Indians, and promoting political stability and trade in the region.

Fashion is another reason for John Penn acquisition of curtains with the image based on West's painting and print. John Penn, the younger, lived in notably fashionable surroundings in both America and England and was described in the nineteenth century as "a virtuoso, a builder and ornament of fine residences---a man of fashion."²⁸ Although the townhouse he occupied in the city was rented, Solitude, his country estate, was an original creation by Penn and a team of builders, gardeners and other staff and servants. Deeply interested in the arts and learning, Penn designed

²⁶ Stephen Brobeck, "Revolutionary Change in Colonial Philadelphia: The Brief Life of the Proprietary Gentry" *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third series, 33:3 (July, 1976): 416, 426.

²⁷ See Treese for more information on the low opinion of the Penn family and factions who aimed to whittle away any power of profit they had from the proprietorship.

²⁸ John Jay Smith "The Penn Family," *Lippincott's Magazine*, 5 (1870): 151.

the house and surrounding gardens to reflect the latest designs in the neoclassical taste promoted in England and America. At the time, prints of the West image and fabrics inspired by it were in vogue and it is no surprise that Penn incorporated them into his living quarters for both their personal associations and for their fashionable appearance. Although he sold the curtains on his departure from Pennsylvania, his veneration of William Penn the founder did not abate. A visitor to his home, Stoke Park, in England noted “the house was not wanting in memorials of Pennsylvania, a large portion of the Treaty Tree, sent by some members of the Historical Society, with a silver label on it, ornamenting the drawingroom of the second story....The birds of Pennsylvania, too, were represented in elegant cases, together with Indian relics, and a finely-preserved beaver, which animal was once the annual tribute of the Penns to the Crown.”²⁹ Additionally he planned, although did not execute, a Pennsylvania hall at his house, and did build another residence on Portland Island in the English Channel called Pennsylvania Castle (Figure 61). At John Penn’s death, his brother Granville inherited these properties and their contents followed by his son, Granville John. Granville donated many of the relics that eventually returned to Philadelphia and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (founded in 1824). After the return of John Penn Jr, to England, and the death of John Penn Sr. in America in 1795, few Penns visited Pennsylvania. On the subject of their absence the antiquarian John Jay Smith wistfully noted “It may almost be said that they were to us somewhat of a myth.”³⁰

²⁹ John Jay Smith, 153-154.

³⁰ John Jay Smith, 151.

As the true facts and material remains of the Penn family faded from memory in America, and the visual image of Penn initialized by Bevan and West grew more imbedded in popular culture, written accounts of the founder also perpetuated an idealized vision of the founder. Although better-known for his account of George Washington and the cherry tree, Parson Weems also wrote a moralistic account of William Penn's life, first published in 1822. Penn had previous biographers, who began memorializing the man in print soon after his death including Joseph Besse (1726), Robert Proud (1797) and Thomas Clarkson (1813),³¹ But Weems' account took the biography to a different level, embellished and aimed at a more popular audience. Weem's memorial was heavy on the sentimental and light on accuracy. Similar to his treatment of Benjamin Franklin, Weems spun a yarn about a moralistic, honest, clean Penn who strived to be pious in all his doings.³² While the overall effect is a heavy-handed moralism to modern readers, contemporary readers found the book "entertaining and interesting in a high degree."³³ Jill Acree suggests that Weems

³¹ William Penn, Joseph Beese, *A Collection of the Works of William Penn* (London: Printed and sold by the assigns of J. Sowle, 1726); Thomas Clarkson, *Memoirs of the Public and Private Life of William Penn* (London: Richard Taylor and Co. for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1813); Robert Proud *The History of Pennsylvania in North America* (Philadelphia: Zachariah Poulson, 1797). For a good discussion of early Pennsylvania historiography and the uses of Penn's character in representing varied interests in the colony and new state see Kyle P. Farley, "A Holy Experiment: History and Memory in Pennsylvania, 1682-1800" (PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2006).

³² Carla Mulford, "Figuring Benjamin Franklin in American Cultural Memory," *New England Quarterly*, 72:3 (Sep., 1999): 415-443.

³³ Dr. James Abercrombie, *Charleston Courier*, 11 April 1822, 81 (XX): 6919, 2 quoted in Jill Acree, "The Sorrows of Parson Weems: His Life and Legacy," (PhD dissertation, The Claremont Graduate University, 2007), 198.

had “no discernable effect on Penn’s legacy” arguing that by the time of Weems’ biography, Penn’s “popular image had become fixed.”³⁴ While the earlier biographers lauded Penn and images like that by West certainly set a trajectory for treating the founder in glowing terms, Weems’ work solidly sets Penn’s life in the context of sentimental antebellum literature with strong didactic overtones.

Scholars have interpreted this fourth of Weems’ biographies as “the author’s final testimony on the place and importance of religion.”³⁵ Weems attempted to paint a picture of an ideal figure of democratized Christianity. In Weems’ characterization of Penn the founder had “a dove-like spirit of meekness” and the author idealizes Penn as a devout and divine light that required none of trapping and trimmings and hierarchy of an aristocratic church. Weems even has Penn’s mother counseling young Penn that being a great man did not mean being “only a great scholar; a great physician; a great lawyer; making a great deal of money; building great houses and so on...” It is key in his transformation from the “fine, plump, fleshy body of five or six” to a dissipated young man to a redeemed Christian leader that Penn be depicted as having once embraced, then shunned, unneeded material trimmings. Weems biography is understood as largely fictional, yet the images that he reinforced and created, lived on in popular culture. It is Weems’ characterization of the founder as “honest broad-brim’d William Penn” that flourishes in paintings, written accounts, and modern cartoons (Figure 62). Penn is often depicted as a serene, peaceful, Quaker

³⁴ Acre, 211.

³⁵ Lewis Leary, *The Book-Peddling Parson* (Chapel Hill: Algonquin Books, 1984), 113.

who lived his life on lofty ideals and without concern for material goods. While Penn was a devout and religious man, other aspects of this interpretation simply do not hold true when one examines his life in close detail.

Instead, Weems distills the figure of Penn to little more than the series of myths and legends perpetuated by the reprinting of his ‘sayings’ or aphorisms. Weems attached these to the end of the Penn biography. As a prolific writer, Penn provided numerous quotes as fodder. These, and the titles of his writings, such as *No Cross, No Crown*, also appeared on objects such as a small enameled snuff box and other goods created both before and after Weems’ biography (Figure 63).

Later biographies such as those by Samuel M. Janney (1852) and William Hepworth Dixon (1851) attempted to remedy some of the lore of Penn.³⁶ Dixon criticized earlier biographers for creating a mythical Penn that was “fanciful and inaccurate.” He went on to suggest “William Penn has been called a mythical rather than a historical personage. The accounts given of him by his professed biographers—Beese, Clarkson, Weems, and Lewis---are sufficiently vague, lifeless, and transcendental to merit such a censure.”³⁷ Both Janney and Dixon worked from previously unavailable family papers, but each clearly had an agenda in depicting Penn to the world. One of Dixon’s further critiques of Weems’ biography was “it is an American publication” and he scorned the interpretation of Penn as just another

³⁶ Samuel M. Janney, *The Life of William Penn: With Selections from his Correspondence and Autobiography* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia : Lippincott, Grambo & co., 1852); William Hepworth Dixon, *William Penn: An Historical Biography* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1851).

³⁷ Dixon, ix.

story of “Quaker-lives.” Instead, though he envisioned Penn as “a great English historical Character.” It seems Dixon had no trouble in singing the praises of Penn, but tended to emphasize his role as a political leader. Janney felt that Dixon’s work brought “prominently forward the political character of Penn...keeping in the background his religious services, and not duly appreciating the merits of his co-laborers, the primitive Friends.” Instead, Janney, a Quaker minister in Virginia, “endeavored to give due weight to his enlightened policy as a legislator, but I trace that policy to his religious principles.”³⁸ Again, Penn emerges either as a masterful religious leader or political visionary and little more.

These written accounts, merged with the visual images of Penn, created a standard view and interpretation of the man that suited the interests of most nineteenth and twentieth century audiences. The anachronistically-garbed Penn (wearing clothing more typical of late eighteenth-century Quakers) depicted as a religious and political prophet worked for admirers and critics alike. It was lauded by proponents of the Quaker message and mocked by opponents of the increasingly solidified Quaker stances promoting anti-slavery, pacifism, and outwardly plain living. The fact that most images of Penn depict him out of doors served to naturalize this image of Penn the “philanthropist.” The few interior scenes that do exist, mostly created in the late nineteenth or twentieth century, only depict lofty occasions such as his marriage or the ceremony to receive his charter (Figure 64).

While idealized depictions of William Penn grew in number and in importance to the origin story of early Pennsylvania in the eighteenth and nineteenth

³⁸ Janney, 6.

centuries, some people craved a physical connection to the founder. One material reminder of Penn's presence on American turf was the so-called Treaty Tree or Treaty Elm. This is the great tree depicted in West's painting and commemorated in other images such as one of William Birch's views of Philadelphia (1800) and other prints based on his work (Figure 65). The tree, which stood on the Delaware River in Shackamaxon or the current-day Kensington section of the city, north of the downtown core, fell down during a storm in March, 1810. Afterwards Penn-o-philes crafted commemorative objects from the wood. These varied from a carved wooden urn displayed at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Art in 1813, chairs, lap desks, and a small chest belonging to the antiquarian John Fanning Watson (Figures 66-72). The "Watson box" also claims to have walnut from the "last forest tree" in Philadelphia and mahogany from "the House in St. Domingo where Columbus dwelt." Robert Vaux presented an additional box to John Marshall in 1831. Marshall replied:

"The box is to me an inestimable relique. I know no inanimate object more entitled to our reverence than the tree of which it was a part, because I think few events in history have stronger claims on our serious reflection, on our humanity, our sense of rights, and on our judgment, than the treaty which was made under it, and the consequences which followed that treaty. The plainly marked difference of intercourse between the colonists of Pennsylvania and the aborigines, and that which other colonists maintained with them, furnishes a practical lesson on the influence which intelligence, real friendship, and justice may acquire and preserves over their untutored minds which ought not even yet to be forgotten."³⁹

³⁹ Quoted in Ken Milano, *The History of Penn Treaty Park* (Charleston, S.C.: the History Press, 2009).

Marshall's comments suggest that Penn and a chunk of wood associated with him could even speak to American law and Indian policy-making of the early nineteenth century.

With the growth of an antiquarian movement in Philadelphia and the founding of the Historical Society in 1824, there was increased interest in collecting and repatriating to Pennsylvania objects associated with Penn. However, there were few to be had. As mentioned previously, many of the objects that are now icons of early Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, such as the Wampum belt or portrait of William Penn, only came to Philadelphia in the mid-nineteenth century as gifts of Granville Penn and other descendents. Private individuals, interested in local and American history and hungry for relics were occasionally successful in acquiring objects with a Penn connection.

In the mid-nineteenth century one of the most visible remains of Penn's presence in the city was the so-called Slate Roof House discussed earlier in Chapter one (Figures 73 and 74). Built in the seventeenth century by Samuel Carpenter, probably as a speculative project to act as an official residence and place of business for Penn and his cohorts, the house went through a number of owners and inhabitants. Notable Philadelphia figures such as William Trent, Isaac Norris II, and later renters such as John Adams occupied the house in the 1700s. By the mid-1800s the house hosted a number of businesses including a plaster figure manufacturer and a jeweler. It was no longer located in a part of town considered fashionable. Originally conceived as a location that was both a high-end area for living and for business, increasingly in the 18th and early 19th centuries these areas became divorced from one

another. Pleasant living was no longer associated with being near the hustle and bustle of business. Surrounding the Slate Roof House were other businesses. The fashionable area to live had moved to further west in the city and to country retreats in the surrounding area. So, when the city businesspeople decided to find a new home for the Commercial Exchange, they set their sights on the Slate Roof House.

But their plans were not without opposition. Growing in tandem with a desire for progress and commerce in the city were people looking to preserve and protect relics of an earlier era. As one of the few seventeenth-century buildings remaining on the Philadelphia landscape, the Slate Roof House became the focus of early preservation and antiquarian efforts. There was extensive debate about the merits of preserving or razing the house in local newspapers. Additionally, the uber-popular camera clubs of the day recorded the building, artists created renderings of it, and people generally lauded it. As it stood empty, one newspaperman and early architectural historian of the vernacular variety, William J. Clark, entered the house and sketched the rooms for posterity (Figures 75-84). Some others were not content to merely sketch the house, but removed actual fragments of the structure as relics. A number of these exist in current-day museum and library collections and illustrate well how the Slate Roof House figured in nineteenth century trends in relic collecting and worship.

Housed in a collections of papers and ephemera once owned by the Morris sisters (Margaretta Hare Morris, Elizabeth Carrington Morris and Susan Sophia

Morris) of Germantown, Pennsylvania are two such fragments (Figures 85 and 86).⁴⁰ Both bear labels in nineteenth-century script identifying the wood scraps as wainscoting from Penn's House near 2nd and Norris Alley. The probable owner of the relics was Susan Sophia Morris, but any of the three sisters may have been the original owners. They all collected relics and other curious odds and ends. Whether they removed the woodwork from the house themselves, were given the objects as gifts, or purchased them is unknown. Other items in their collections, like a lock of hair from Milton, were purchased at the Great Sanitary Fair held in Philadelphia in 1864, demonstrating a lively relic trade in the city at the time. The date of the fair coincided with the time when the house was being prepared for demolition, so this is completely plausible. Stored with other items such as a piece of Washington's coffin and marble from Pompeii, these items were valued by their owners as important bits of the past.

Both objects are labeled in nineteenth-century script. One label reads "a piece of the/ original/wainscoting of/Penn's House/Phila" and the other has a similar inscription: " piece of the wainscot of wm Penn's House corner/Norris' alley and Second above Walnut Philada/ Su ?2 184 the house was built in [blank]. Part of the same inscription is also written again on the paper "Piece of wainscote of Wm Penn's/house Norris' alley & 2d above Walnut/ St., Philadelphia" The sisters were scientists and collectors and these fragments may have formed part of a cabinet of curiosities or some other display along with their other relics. The Morris sisters

⁴⁰ Little Collection, Mss group 449, University of Delaware, Special Collections, Box 19, items 8 and 21.

were not alone in preserving a piece of the Slate Roof House. A lock and key, more wainscoting, and other items are preserved in various institutions in Philadelphia (Figure 87).

These objects and the extensive documentation of the Slate Roof House provide modern scholars a rare view into the material life of William Penn and his family in the colonial era. By the mid nineteenth century little remained to act as a physical reminder of the Penn family's presence in the province. Pennsbury decayed or was torn down possibly by the revolution and definitely by 1820, when another house was constructed over the remains of William Penn's manor home.⁴¹ The Slate Roof House torn down in 1867 (Figures 88 and 89). Lansdowne burned in 1854.⁴² Solitude survives as offices located in the heart of the Philadelphia Zoo property. Some of the townhouses inhabited by the Penns in the late eighteenth century may survive, but in an altered form. In England, both Warminghurst and Ruscombe, William Penn's main country homes are gone. Some of the rental properties inhabited by Penn may exist. John Penn's Pennsylvania Castle exists and went on the market in May, 2010 for 4 million British pounds.⁴³ But the Penn relics once housed there have long been gone since an earlier sale of the property in the early twentieth century.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Mark Reinberger and Elizabeth P. Mclean, "Pennsbury Manor: Reconstruction and Reality." *PMHB*, 131:3 (July, 2007), 305-6.

⁴² Thompson Wescott, *The Historic Mansions and Buildings of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Barr, 1895), 350.

⁴³ <http://www.countrylife.co.uk/property/details/property/478858/for-sale/Portland-Dorset-DT.html>

⁴⁴ "Pennsylvania Castle Sold; Relics of Founder to Come up at Auction Soon" *New York Times*, June 22, 1916, 22.

Today, no original building associated with the founder exists in Pennsylvania and the built environment of Penn's era is nearly obliterated or obscured in the city proper.

Over the years, Philadelphia's commitment to promoting and protecting any extant remains of Penn's material memory has waxed and waned. In 1961 the often controversial architect and planner Edmund Bacon (father of actor Kevin Bacon) lauded the Holme plan in his outline for redevelopment in the city: "The power of a design idea to influence the subsequent growth of a city is brilliantly demonstrated in the center of Philadelphia by the Penn plan of 1683...Not only did it result, 200 years after its formation, in the construction of a City Hall at the intersection of two main axes, just as Penn planned it, but architecturally the design idea extended vertically in the 547 ft City Hall tower, now dominant in the city's skyline, and always to be dominant because of an unwritten rule that no other building shall be as high."⁴⁵ Bacon's faith in unwritten rules was not enough and this height "restriction" was passed in 1987 with the construction of the office building One Liberty Place.

Although Bacon showed admiration for the fulfillment of the Holme plan, he was well-aware of what he saw as problems in the city including the condition of the riverfronts which had "changed over the years from aesthetic assets to eyesores."⁴⁶ The Redevelopment Authority of Philadelphia held a similar belief that numerous Philadelphia neighborhoods suffered from "blight" and lamented the "widespread

⁴⁵ Edmund Bacon, A.I.A., "Downtown Philadelphia: A Lesson in Design for Urban Growth" preprint from *Architectural Record* (May 1961), 131.

⁴⁶ Bacon, 136.

existence of slums” (Figure 90). In their 1960 annual report they outlined the progress of their plans to use eminent domain “to serve the general welfare” and “acquire private property in blighted areas, compensating the owners by payment of fair market value, and redevelop the areas with modern homes, stores, parks or factory buildings.” To justify their actions, the authority invoked William Penn (depicted in his typical stance) and his quote “O that thou mayest be kept from the evil that would overwhelm thee, that faithful to the God of thy mercies, in the Life of righteousness, thou mayest be preserved to the end” (Figure 91). The Authority thus figured themselves as inheritors of Penn’s god-driven plan to create a clean, improved city free of undesirables.⁴⁷ Bacon went further to embrace modernity in his outline of future development, stating “the decision was made not to try and fight the automobile, a losing battle at best, but to treat it as an honored guest and cater to its needs.”⁴⁸ His plans, and those of the federal government, catered so much to the “honored guests” that the most historic section of Philadelphia was forever gutted with the creation of the I-95 corridor in the city (Figure 93).

While poverty and unsafe conditions were a real problem in Philadelphia and most urban centers in the mid-twentieth century, approaches to redevelopment have often been criticized in hindsight. In effect, the earliest colonial material culture and history of the city was largely razed during redevelopment and highway-building (Figure 93). And the Delaware waterfront was physically separated from the city by

⁴⁷ 15th Annual Report, Redevelopment Authority of The City of Philadelphia, 1960: 6, 7.

⁴⁸ Bacon, 140.

the lanes of I-95. Archaeologist Dan Roberts refers to the I-95 projects as having cut a “great gash through three hundred years of Philadelphia history.”⁴⁹ Unable to reach the lowest strata from the seventeenth and eighteenth century before the I-95 project received final approval and construction began, much of the colonial past was again capped (probably forever). The considerable irony of the situation is that Penn’s own words and image were used to promote these projects of mid-century improvement. It seems as if Bacon, the Redevelopment Authority and others embraced a cleaner version the past in conjunction with their cleaner vision of the future. And their vision involved preservation of some colonial buildings and the icon of Independence Hall, but showed little interest in preserving or searching out any links to the earliest colonial era except in the form of the towering William Penn on City Hall.

In the decades since the I-95 project and the fulfillment of many of the Redevelopment Authority’s plans (which are evident throughout the city today) debates and dialogue about the early colonial era occasionally arise. One such dialogue again concerned the Slate Roof House. In the 1970s and 80s proponents of reconstructing the site performed extensive documentary research to provide fodder for creating reconstruction plans. However, despite the house being extensively documented, the committee in charge of managing the site decided that “in the interpretation of this site to the public we need to emphasize the spiritual legacy of William Penn more than the architecture of the house in which he physically

⁴⁹ John L. Cotter, Daniel G. Roberts, Michael Parrington, *The Buried Past: An Archaeological History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 219.

resided.”⁵⁰ A short-lived archaeological excavation occurred on the site in 1980 before the construction of the current park on the site. Designed by Venturi and Rauch, Welcome Park includes a concrete floor impressed with Holme’s grid plan for the city, with boxed trees marking the location of the city squares and a miniaturized model of the Slate Roof House on a pedestal (Figures 94 and 95). In effect, the park caps a complex colonial past with an idealized shell. It is easier to have a doll-like Penn sailing above the city and a little house on a big map than to grapple with a site that challenges our notions of the peaceful, chubby man under a spreading Elm tree. Remembering the material life of William Penn and the details of his everyday life and extraordinary occasions is a much-needed addition to the origin myths perpetuated by authors, artists, city planners, and public historians.

While the histories of a Welcome Park and I-95, the City Hall statue and Benjamin West’s painting may seem quite distant from the narratives of seventeenth-century building projects, the sturgeon trade and mapmaking processes outlined in earlier chapters of this dissertation, they are inextricably intertwined. How we understand the distant past is linked inseparably to later efforts at presenting and interpreting history through written words and through physical public memorials in the form of relics, monuments and visual representations. Identifying change over time is central to the project of doing history and any study of the past must examine historical evidence, whether written or material, in terms of its original context.

⁵⁰ Elizabeth Stanhope Brown to Carl Gatter, September 14, 1981, Gatter Notebooks, Independence National Historic Park Library.

Without slipping into presentism, though, it is imperative to also chart how historical events have been continually interpreted and reinterpreted by later scholars and the public. In the case of illuminating the formative years of the province of Pennsylvania, the city of Philadelphia, and the founder, William Penn, Chapter 5 illustrates that current representations of early Pennsylvania are the result of both remembering AND forgetting elements of Pennsylvania's early history.

In a recent online essay, the geography professor and author of the volume *The Past is a Foreign Country*, David Lowenthal, outlined the continued practice on the part of many public figures to elide the difference between the past and present:

“Over the past quarter-century, historians have stressed the manifold differences of humanity's complex past, so unlike our own circumstances they seem bizarrely incomprehensible. But the public at large increasingly domesticates that past, refashioning it in modern terms, and then praising it for echoing with their own precepts or damning it for failing to conform to them. The foreign past gets reduced to exotic sites of tourism or filmic period fantasy; the past cherished at home becomes a haunt of chauvinist heritage, nostalgic tribalism, and retro remakes.”⁵¹

Lowenthal's observations, and those of many other scholars of preservation, cultural heritage and historical memory are particularly important to the study of early Philadelphia and American colonial history at large. One motivating factor for this dissertation project was a perceived sparseness of scholarship on the earliest period of settlement and material life in Pennsylvania under colonial rule by William Penn and a predominance of mythologized images, memorials, and written depictions of the founding era. The aims of this project have been threefold: first, to begin to illustrate in a more targeted manner the seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century formation of the province and its urban center, second, to examine why this first-period of

⁵¹ David Lowenthal, "The Past WAS a Foreign Country" History News Network, July 5, 2010. <http://www.hnn.us/articles/128768.html>

settlement is so often overlooked, and third, to place material life at the center of the analysis. Explaining some of the ways later Penn family members and the public at large have crafted their own histories of William Penn and Pennsylvania demonstrates the need for more careful case studies illuminating early improvement projects like those in the previous chapters.

While the circumstances of managing the physical look and reputation of Philadelphia and the surrounding region differ greatly over time, many of the projects of shaping and reshaping the land and built environment, managing resources, and representing the greater Delaware Valley to the world are linked by goals of “improvement.” Whether it is William Penn calling for a map in 1687, or Edmund Bacon calling for eradication of blight in 1961, individuals have repeatedly made attempts to fashion and refashion Pennsylvania and Philadelphia to be a better place. Language and methods, however, differentiate their attempts to create these idealized locales.

The introduction outlined a goal of comparing “prescription and practice” and identifying the gaps between in order to locate historical meaning and illuminate historical change. The case studies presented here, considering building and planting, dining and commodity management, and mapmaking, each serve to illustrate some of the varied ways in which early individuals associated with the Pennsylvania project attempted to achieve improvement in the British Atlantic and beyond in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. As demonstrated, the material world, or language about it, was central to the processes of creating and identity of place for Philadelphia and Pennsylvania at large. Examination of familiar sources such as the

Holme map or less familiar ones like an account of a sturgeon dinner help demonstrate how William Penn and others attempted to create order out of various perceived disorders ranging from foreign rivals and native inhabitants to torn-down fences and untamed underbrush.

While founders like Penn envisioned New World locales as excellent potential sites for spiritual, cultural, political and social growth and improvement, they recognized that these lands required refining and hard work on the part of many to achieve their full glory. These improvement projects required multi-faceted approaches and Penn and others targeted specific audiences for their projects. Building projects like Penn's manor at Pennsbury or Samuel Carpenter's commercial hub in Philadelphia acted as visual reminders and inspiration for an on-the-ground New World audience, whether the observers were permanent settlers or temporary visitors. Sharing accounts of new world dining and sending actual goods across the ocean linked American innovation with Old World desires for wealth and luxury. And the grand map productions like that of Thomas Holme served as informed prescriptions used to promote Pennsylvania to a predominantly foreign audience abroad in England and Europe. Unfolding from the local, to regional, to imperial and world stages, each of the improvement projects of Penn and others incorporated strategies of representation in the form of material goods and written accounts. Foods, maps, buildings and words created a vision, both tangible and imaginary, of the Pennsylvania William Penn and others hoped it could be.

Representation and improvement with a goal of creating a reputation for Pennsylvania in the imperial world, then, links the seemingly disparate material

productions of houses, fish and maps. While connections between these things are relatively obscure to modern readers, at the moment of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the intellectual ties between these elements of the material world were commonly recognized by individuals like William Penn, Francis Daniel Pastorius and their contemporaries discussed in this project. Influenced by contemporary philosophers and religious figures such as Jacob Boehme and many others, Penn and other nonconformists often sought to recapture and recreate a more pure order or state of grace in the world. While this goal had spiritual ramifications for true believers, the efforts to achieve this perfection was executed through performance of daily actions, regulation of the material world, and careful crafting of words and speech.

Penn and others articulated many ideals for living well and achieving a good life in New and Old World settings. But even a leader like Penn struggled to meet these goals while remaining a part of the world. Due to the practical concerns of colonialism and the host of actors involved in imperial experiments, Penn, like every other ideologically-inspired colonial American leader, was never able to live solely according to the lofty goals he created. Central to the case studies outlined in this dissertation, then, is the interplay between idealized vision and executed reality. Maps, foods, buildings did not simply appear without numerous negotiations between elites like Penn, businessmen, settlers, servants and slaves. The tensions set up between the goals of improvement and the processes of improvement help explain the complex reality of forming the new colony called Pennsylvania.

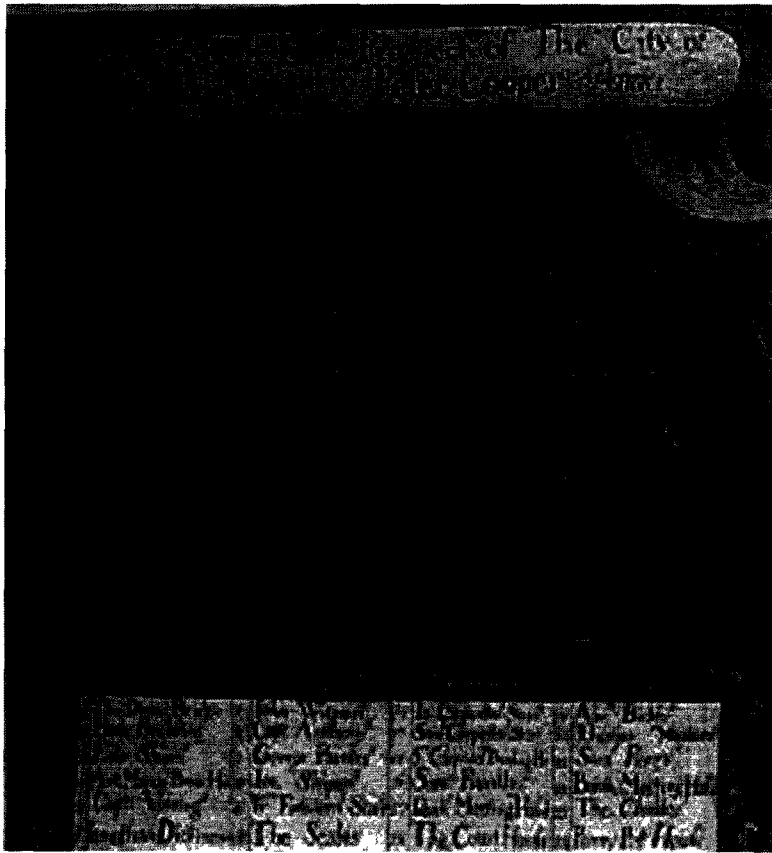
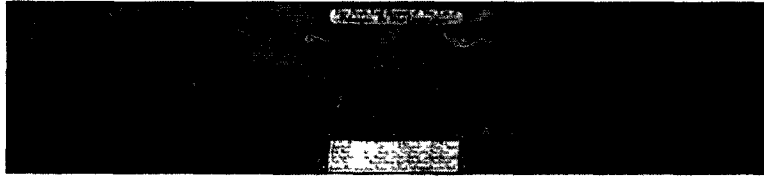
Penn himself identified the tension between how he initially envisioned the process of creating Pennsylvania with the actual unfolding of this process when he wrote of his personal “Grief Trouble & Poverty” in the face of a population “blest with Liberty ease & Plenty.”⁵² He could recognize that the Pennsylvania of the early decades of the eighteenth century was a place that did encourage relative freedom and success for its inhabitants...yet he felt isolated, unappreciated and unrecognized personally for his role in setting this “best poor man’s country” in the right direction. The proprietor realized that Pennsylvania succeeded in spite of his efforts as much as it did because of them.

Uncovering the details of the changes occurring between initial settlement in 1681 and the death of Penn’s first wife in 1726 is in its formative stages and this dissertation is but a beginning, not an end, in the quest to uncover details of the first period history of the colony. The accounts outlined here demonstrate clearly that Penn did not simply have a great idea for religious tolerance and political liberty, make nice with natives, and set in place an unchallenged plan for creating a land that would later become a cradle of liberty. Rather the tales of broken fences, oyster gatherers and natural philosophers point to a more nuanced and complex unfolding of Pennsylvania history. With the benefit of new analysis of materials both familiar and unknown, Penn himself becomes a three-dimensional character and not a stock figure on an oats box. And the many friends, business, political and religious associates, settlers, servants, and slaves he interacted with rightly become essential players in the Pennsylvania project. The stories of early Pennsylvania do not end with outlining the

⁵² *Penn Papers*, 3:675-676

religious and political elements of colonial life, but should incorporate the world of things that Penn and others dearly hoped to manage in the best way to achieve specific visions of personal and communal success. Following the lead of good seventeenth century natural philosophers, modern scholars should examine and ask questions about the “foreign land” that is Pennsylvania’s colonial past, not blindly assume that the tales we know and cherish are the only ones worth telling.

FIGURES



Figures 1 and 2. Peter Cooper. South East Prospect of The City of Philadelphia.
Library Company of Philadelphia.

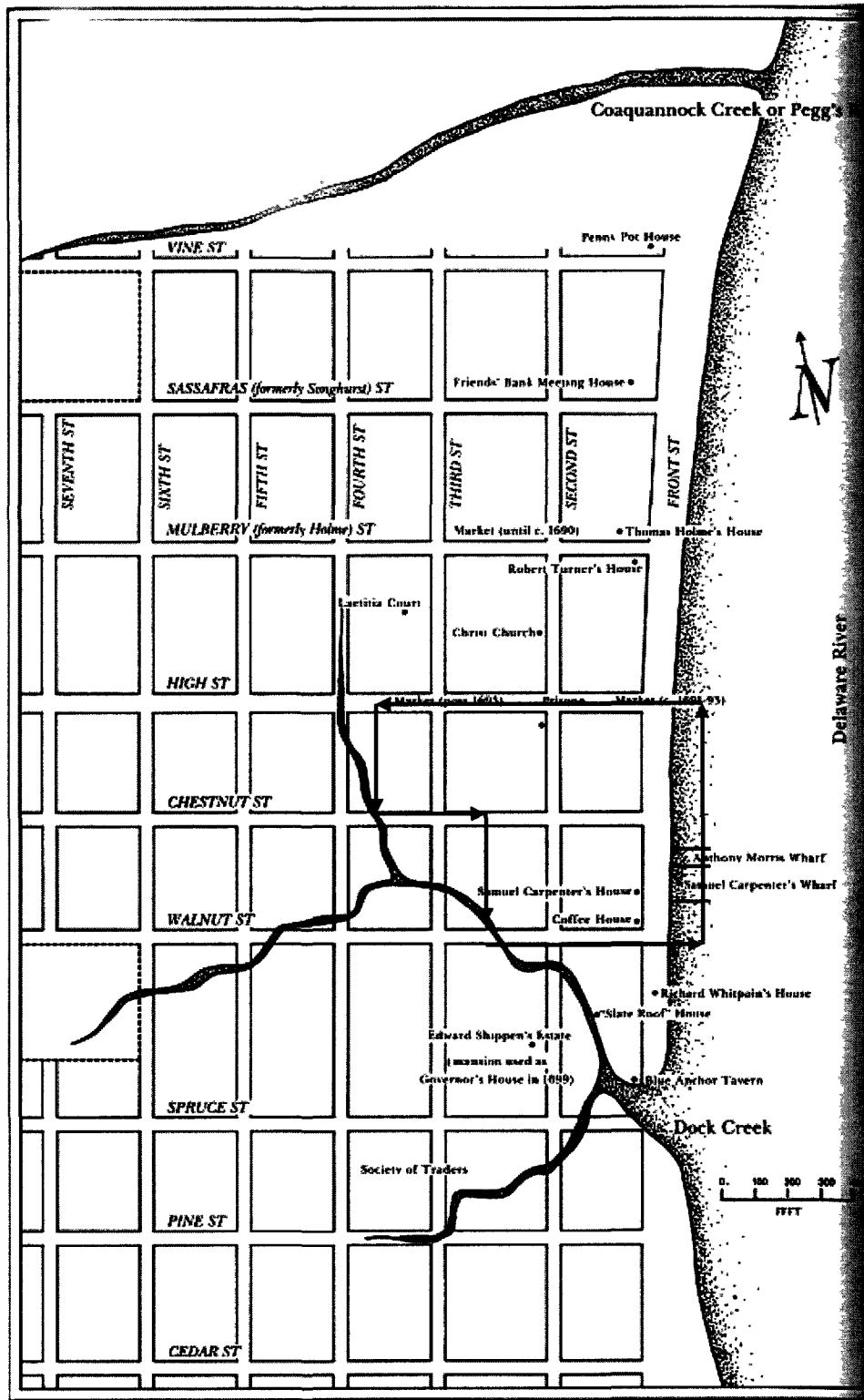


Figure 3. Map outlining the approximate route of Benjamin Franklin's first Philadelphia walk in 1723. Map from Dunn, Richard S. and Mary Maples Dunn, editors. *The Papers of William Penn.*

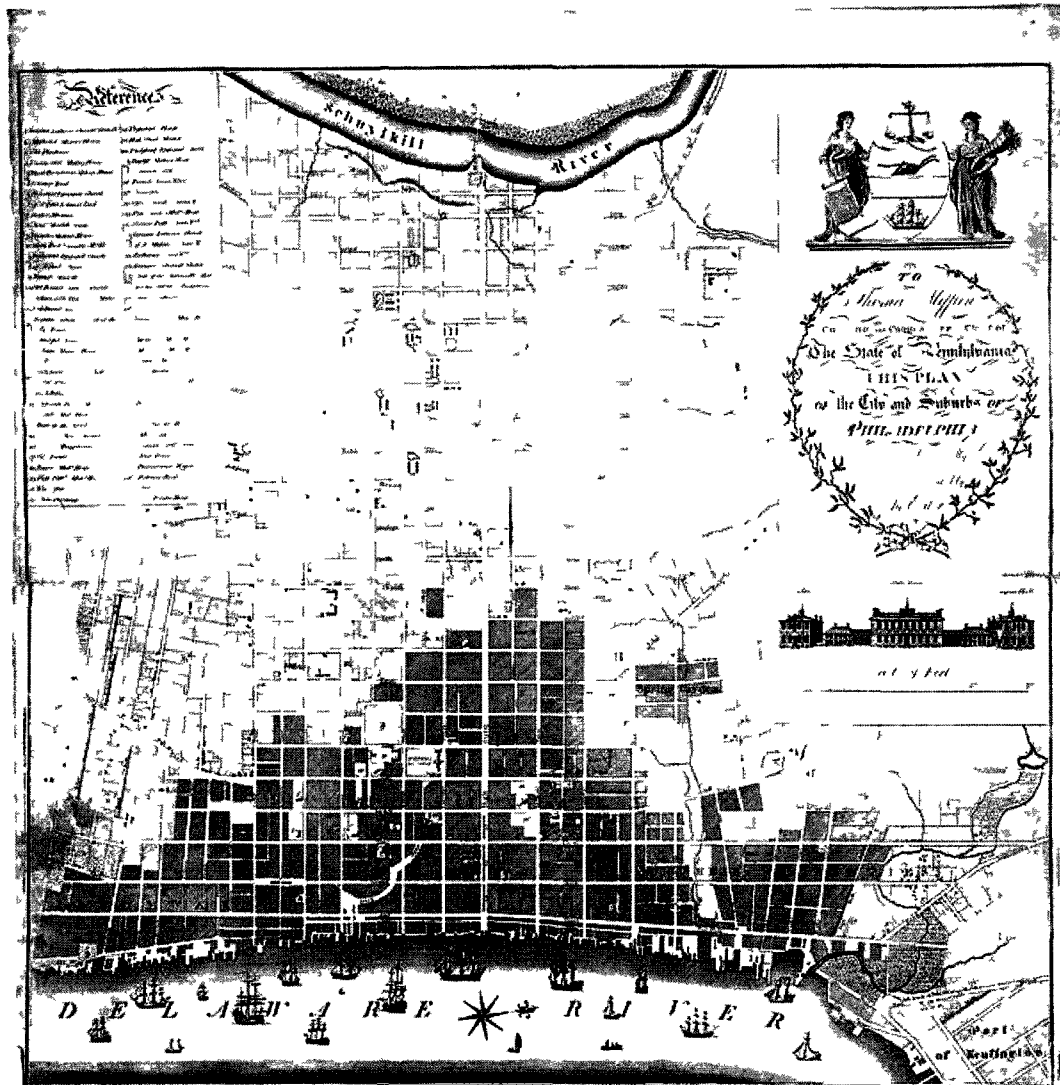


Figure 4. A.P. Folie del. R. Scot and S. Allardice sculpit.
To Thomas Mifflin, Governor.

In Benjamin Davies, editor, *Some Account of the City of Philadelphia* 1794.
 New York Public Library Digital Galleries.

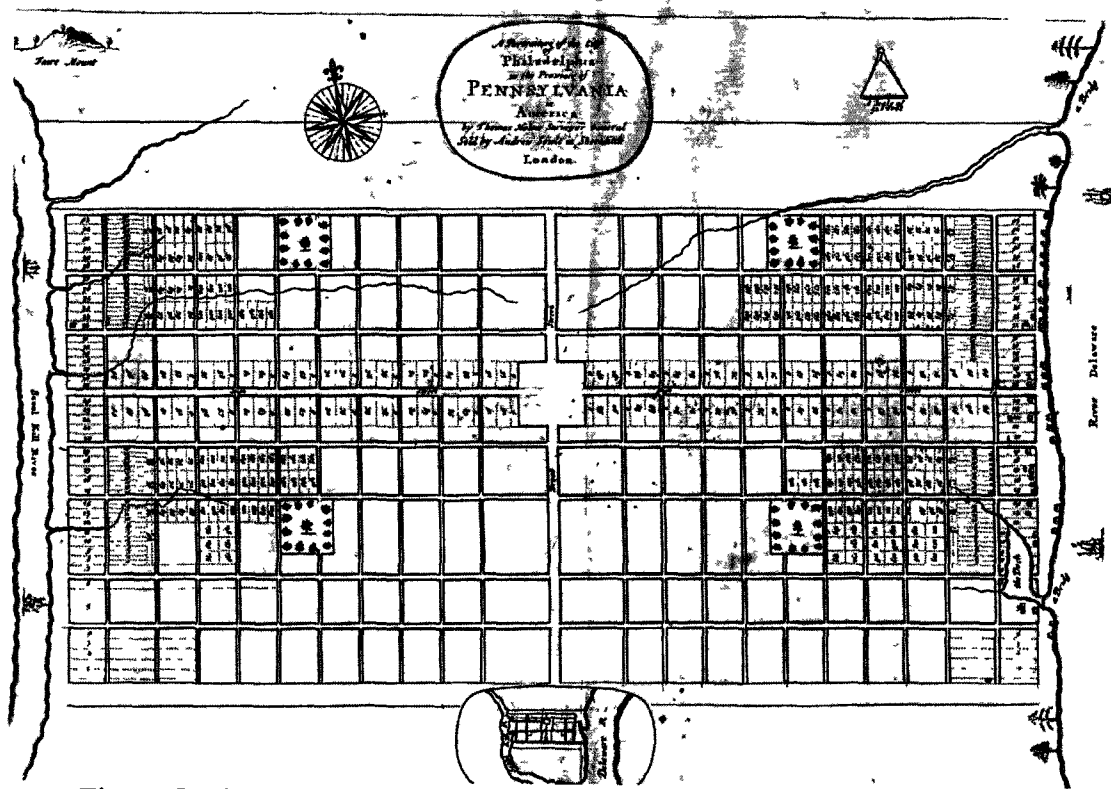


Figure 5. Thomas Holme, Portraiture of the City of Philadelphia. 1681.
Haverford College Library, Special Collections.



Figure 6. Map of Delaware Valley Region.
From Dunn, Richard S. and Mary Maples Dunn, editors.
The Papers of William Penn.



Figure 7. Porringer, hard-paste porcelain. China, 1700-1730.
Winterthur Museum. 1961.0064.

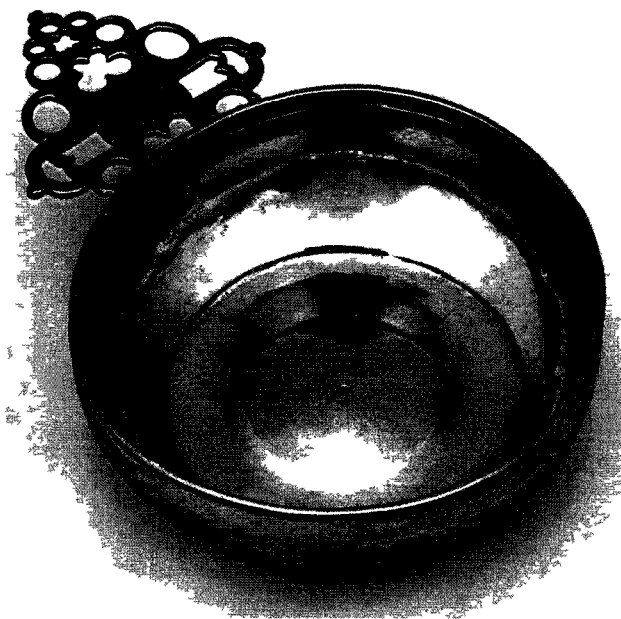
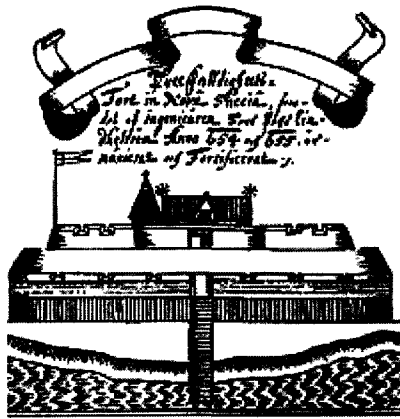
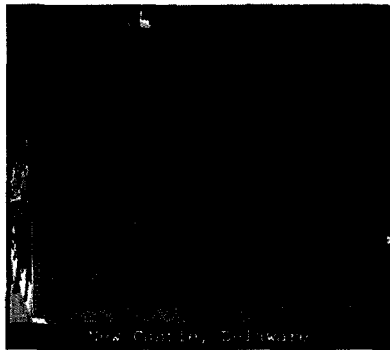


Figure 8. Porringer, silver. Philadelphia, 1695-1725.
Winterthur Museum. 1959.2303.



Scala. Rhgaleica. p. 12. folio. R. 10. d. 1.

Figure 9. Fort Casimer from Lindeström, Peter.
Geographia Americae: with an account of the Delaware Indians, 1654-56.



Figures 10 and 11. Statue and historical marker commemorating William Penn's arrival at New Castle, Delaware.

SOME
ACCOUNT
OF THE
PROVINCE
OF
PENNSYLVANIA
IN
AMERICA;
Lately Granted under the Great Seal
OF
ENGLAND
TO
William Penn, &c.

Together with Priviledges and Powers necessary to the well-governing thereof.

Made publick for the Information of such as see or may be disposed to Transpire themselves or Servants into those Parts.

LONDON: Printed, and Sold by Benjamin Clark
Bookseller in Great-Street London-Church, 1681.

Figure 12. Title page of William Penn,
Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania in America, 1681.
Early English Books Online.



Figure 13. Imagined image of Caves from John Fanning Watson,
Annals of Philadelphia, 1830. Collection of Author.

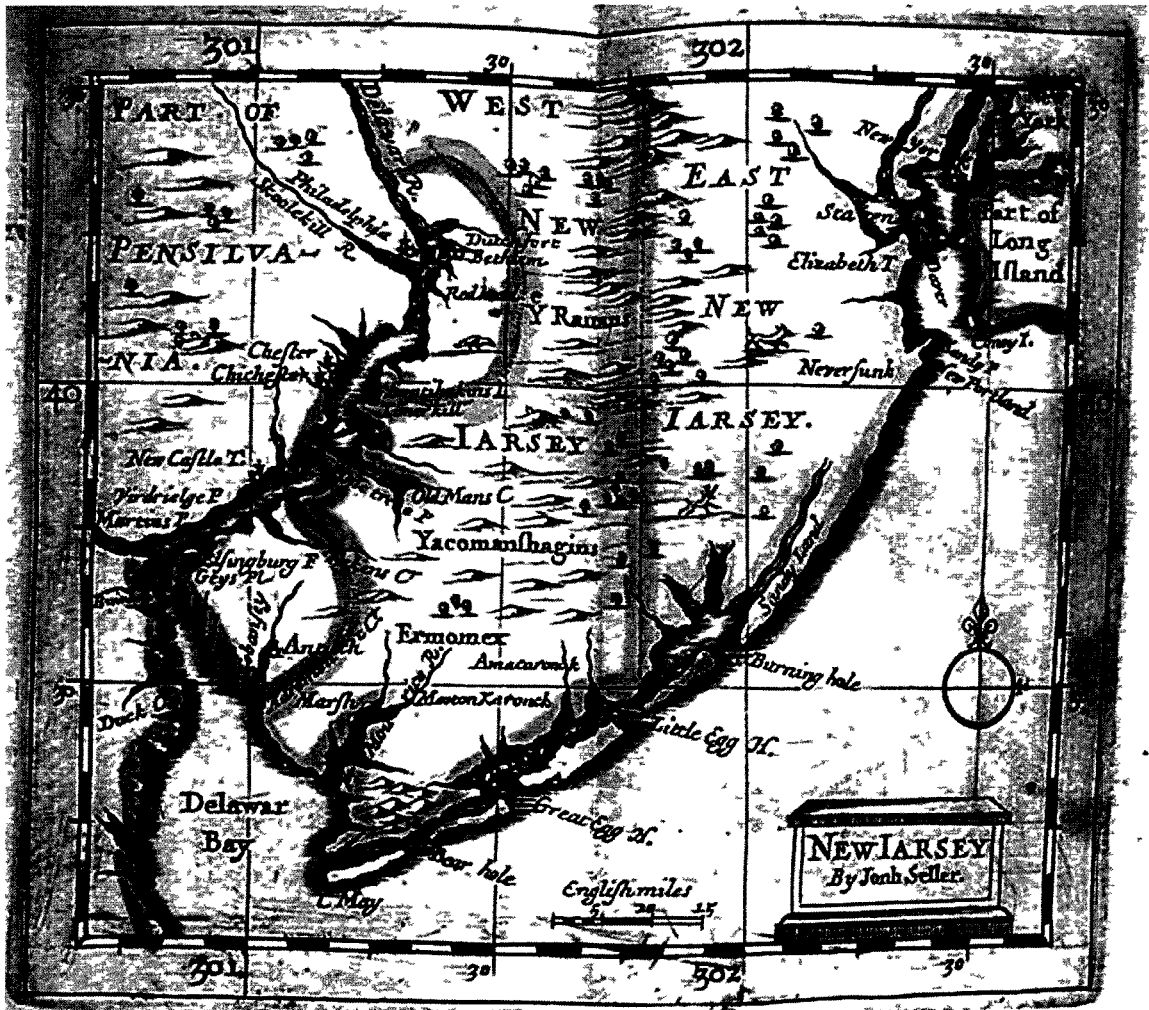


Figure 14. John Seller, "New Jersey," from *A New System of Geography*, 1690, Darlington Memorial Library, Pittsburgh

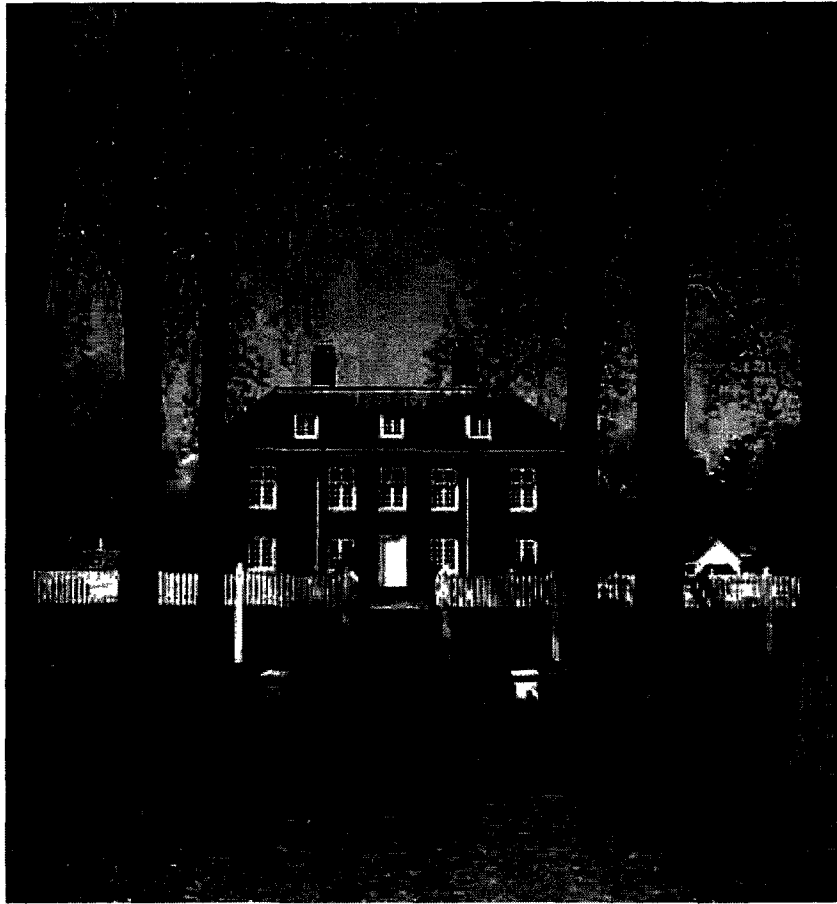


Figure 15. Pennsbury Manor reconstruction. 1939. Morrisville, Pennsylvania.
Photograph by David J. Healy

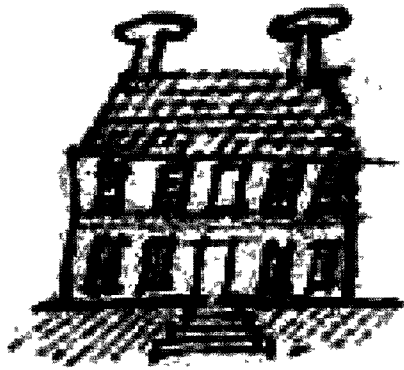


Figure 16. Pennsbury manor.
Detail from "Draught of the Mannor of Pennsbury in the County of Bucks" 1736,
Streper Papers Bucks County, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

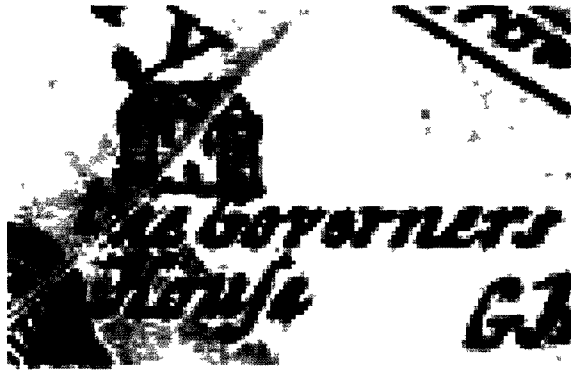


Figure 17. Pennsbury manor. Detail from
Thomas Holme,
A Map of the Improved Part of the Province of Pennsylvania in America, 1690
(reduced version).
Lower Merion Historical Society



Figure 18. Frederick Gutekunst. Slate Roof House. 1867.
Gatter Notebooks, Independence National Historic Park.

16	2 Bush Beans	3	
17	1 Bush Beans	1	6
18	3 Bush Peas and 10 bush the Beans	1:4	17-97
24	2 quart Huckleberry	6	7
Do 2 Years Rent my House		4-12	10/10
Landing the 22 nd 10 mo 1797		80	
Do A. B. Co. Leds		6	
Do Pickering and Stamp and 10 Charcoal			
Do Goods of Capt. Cooper and 10 Charcoal		2	
Do Goods from Capt. Cooper			
Do Thomas Perry off 100		17	

Figure 19. Samuel Carpenter account book, Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society.

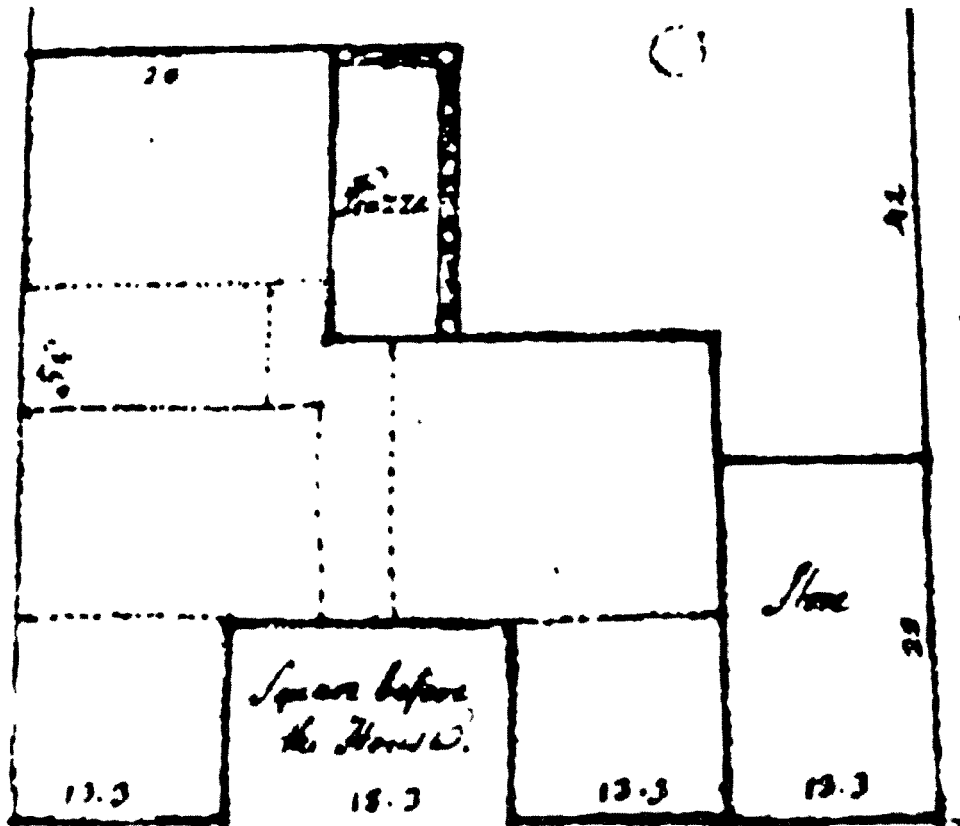


Figure 20. Detail from Lot survey, c.1751. Logan papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

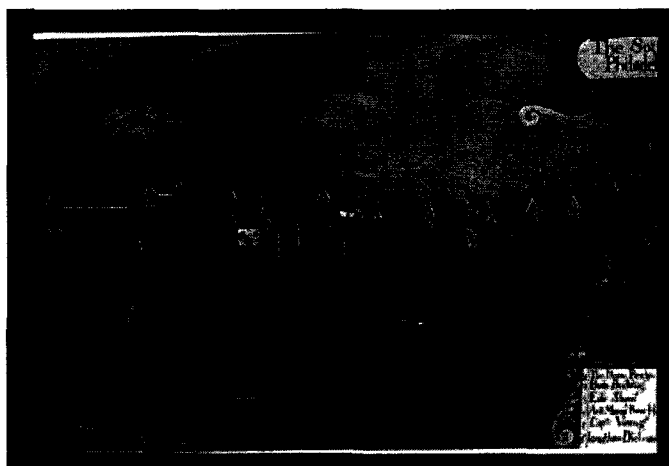


Figure 21. Peter Cooper.
Detail from South East Prospect of The City of Philadelphia.
Library Company of Philadelphia.

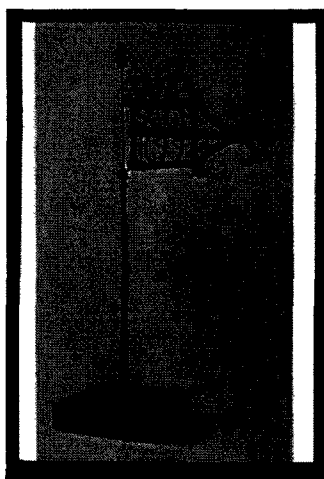


Figure 22. Weathervane with initials of
William Penn, Samuel Carpenter and Caleb Pusey, possibly late 17th c.
Atwater Kent Museum

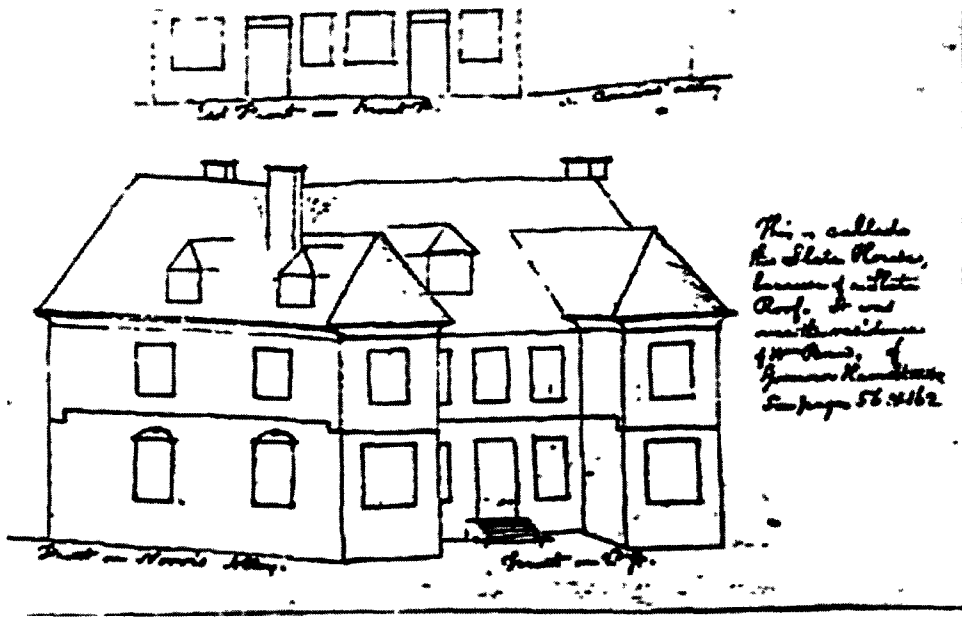


Figure 23. Earliest known image of Slate Roof House, John Fanning Watson, c.1823.
 Manuscript for *Annals of Philadelphia*.
 Library Company of Philadelphia.



Figure 24. William L. Breton, "The Slate Roof House in Second Street", c.1830.
 Athenaeum of Philadelphia.

X Month, 1 ebeth, Leaf less December.

Thy care and wanted Prudence fill observe.
 My Genius, from thy late Paths do not swerve;
 See CERONUS when he doth oppose the Sun,
 Conceals what's doing, hides what's to be done.
 Even so do thou and know assuredly.
 Silence sometimes's the greatest Policy.

1		V	4	12	Sun rises at 7 23
2	D with ♄	V	5	00	Sets at 4 37
3	7 stars South at 10	≡	5	28	First Quar. 7 day
4	D with ♄	≡	6	36	Full Moon 14 day
5	D with ♃	X	7	24	8 night.
6	6	X	8	12	Last Quar. 21 day
7	7	X	9	00	New Moon 29
8	0	V	9	48	day at 1 morn
9	2 Look out sharp.	V	10	36	Shortest day 9 ho.
10	3 Vinte. Qu begin	♃	11	24	8 min.
11	4 * ♄ ♃ for fall of	♃	12	12	
12	5 near Auctoran.	II	1	00	Sun rise at 7 26
13	6 of the Bulls eye	II	1	48	Sets at 4 34
14	7 (flow,	II	2	36	This Winter time
15	0	♄	3	24	is Noon in old Eng
16	2	♄	4	15	land: before the
17	3	♄	5	02	Sun rises here with
18	4	♄	5	51	us. But in summer
19	5 * ☉ ♃ fear it	♄	6	40	is not here
20	6 not bad.	♄	7	25	Sun as low high
21	7 St. Thomas.	♄	8	18	here.
22	8 * ♃ ♃ Rain or	♄	9	07	Sun rise at 7 22
23	2 snow & then snow	♄	9	06	Sets at 4 38
24	3 * ♄ ♃ or rain.	♄	10	45	
25	4 Christ Born.	♄	11	34	
26	5 St. Stephen.	♄	12	23	
27	6 St. John.	V	1	12	Time flies as Wind,
28	7 Her. for Innocents	V	2	02	as Waters run,
29	8 7 stars South & 20	V	2	00	All things are vain
30	2 Chargeable wea-	≡	3	38	below the Sun.
31	3 ther.	≡	4	26	

Figure 25. Page from Jacob Taylor, [An almanack for the year of our Lord 1700
 [Philadelphia : Printed by Reinier Jansen, 1699].
 Early American Imprints, Series I, Evans Digital.

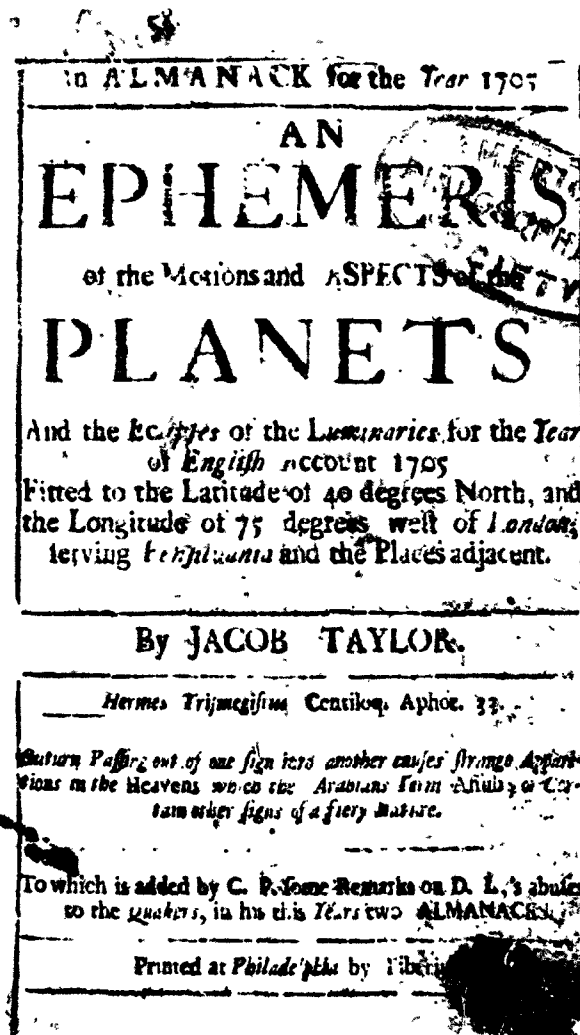


Figure 26. Page from Jacob Taylor, An almanack for the year of our Lord 1705. Printed at Philadelphia by Tiberius Johnson, [1704]. Early American Imprints, Series I, Evans Digital.



Figure 27. Cartouche detail.

Thomas Holme,

A Map of the Improved Part of the Province of Pennsylvania in America, c.1705.

Winterthur Museum.

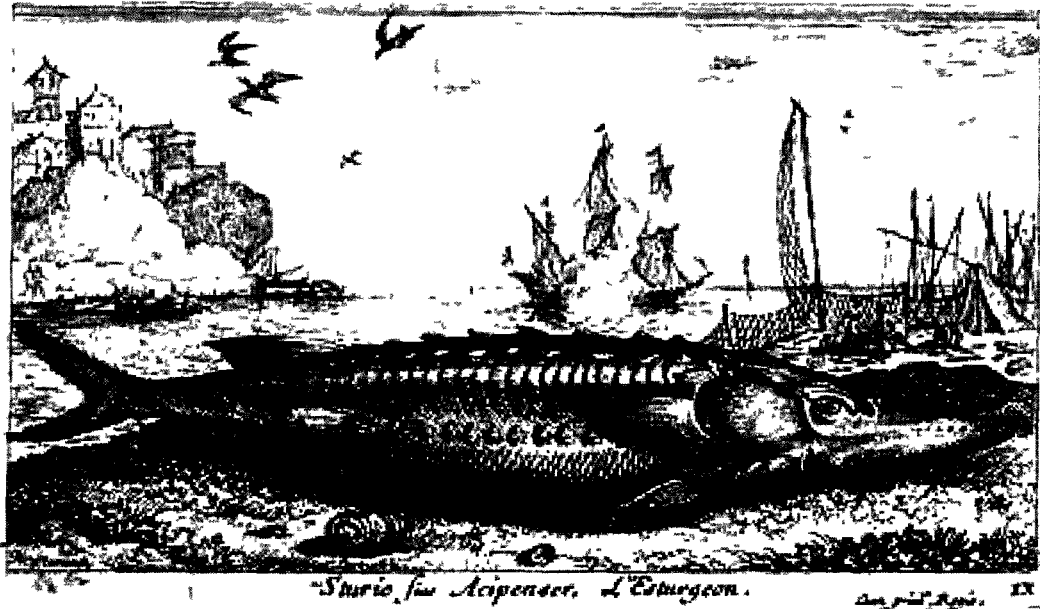


Figure 28. Albert Flamen (Flamand), Flemish, 1620–1674
(The Sturgeon, from Sea Fish-3rd Set), 17th century.
de Young Museum.

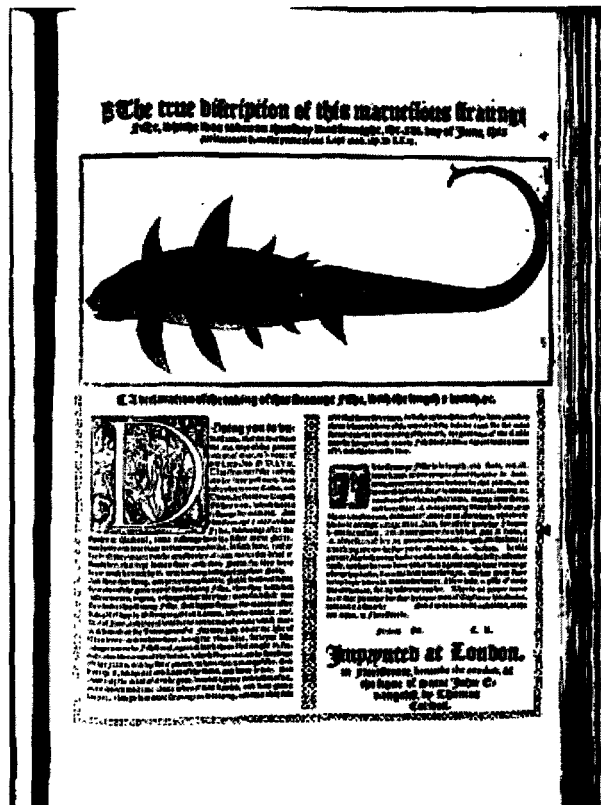


Figure 29. C. R. (fl. 1569), “The true discription of this marueilous strange fishe.” Imprynted at London : In Fleetstreate, beneathe the conduit, at the signe of Saint Iohn Euangelist, by Thomas Colwell, 1596. Early English Books Online.



Figure 30. Anon. *Strange news from Gravesend and Greenwich*, [London] :
Printed for J. Clarke at the Bible and Harp in Smithfield, [1680?].
Early English Books Online.

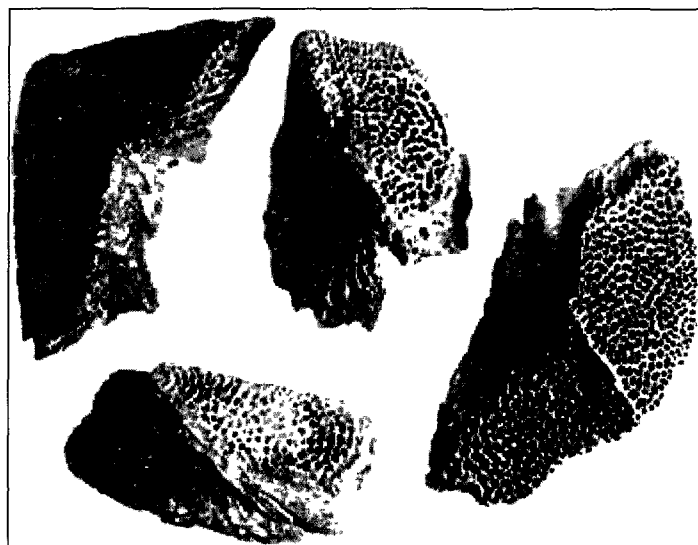


Figure 31. Sturgeon scutes recovered at Jamestown Rediscovery excavations.
Preservation Virginia, Jamestown Rediscovery Project.

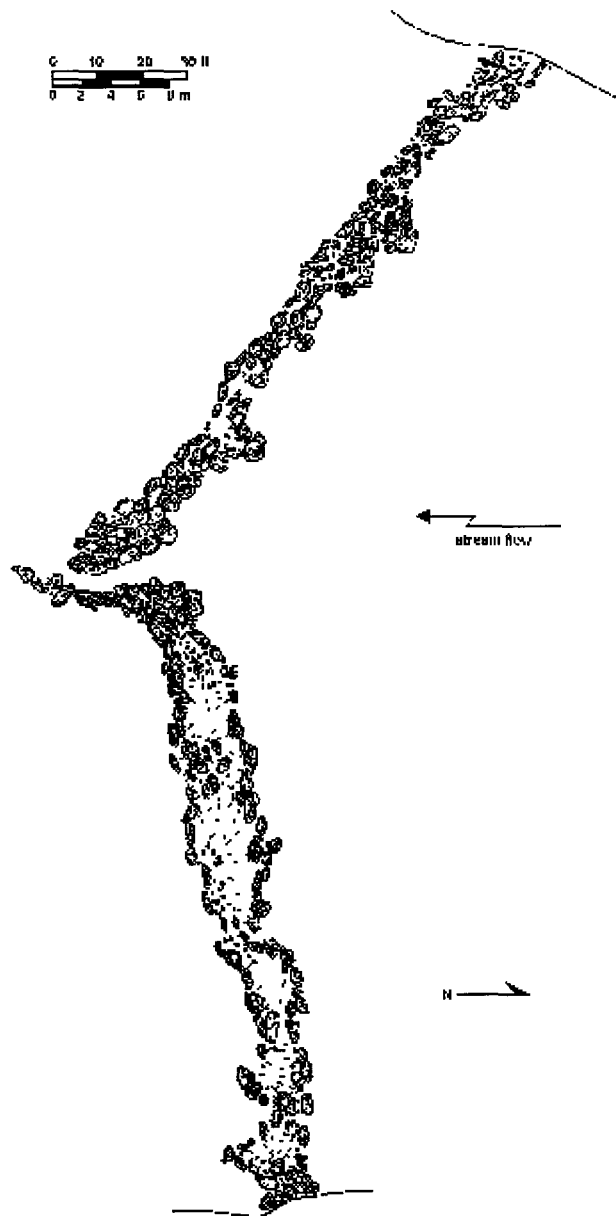


Figure 2. Survey of weir.

Figure 32. Survey of Fair Lawn/Paterson fish weir, Patterson, New Jersey.
Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of New Jersey, Vol. 54, 1999.



Figure 33. Thomas Holme,
A Map of the Improved Part of the Province of Pennsylvania in America, c.1705.
Winterthur Museum.

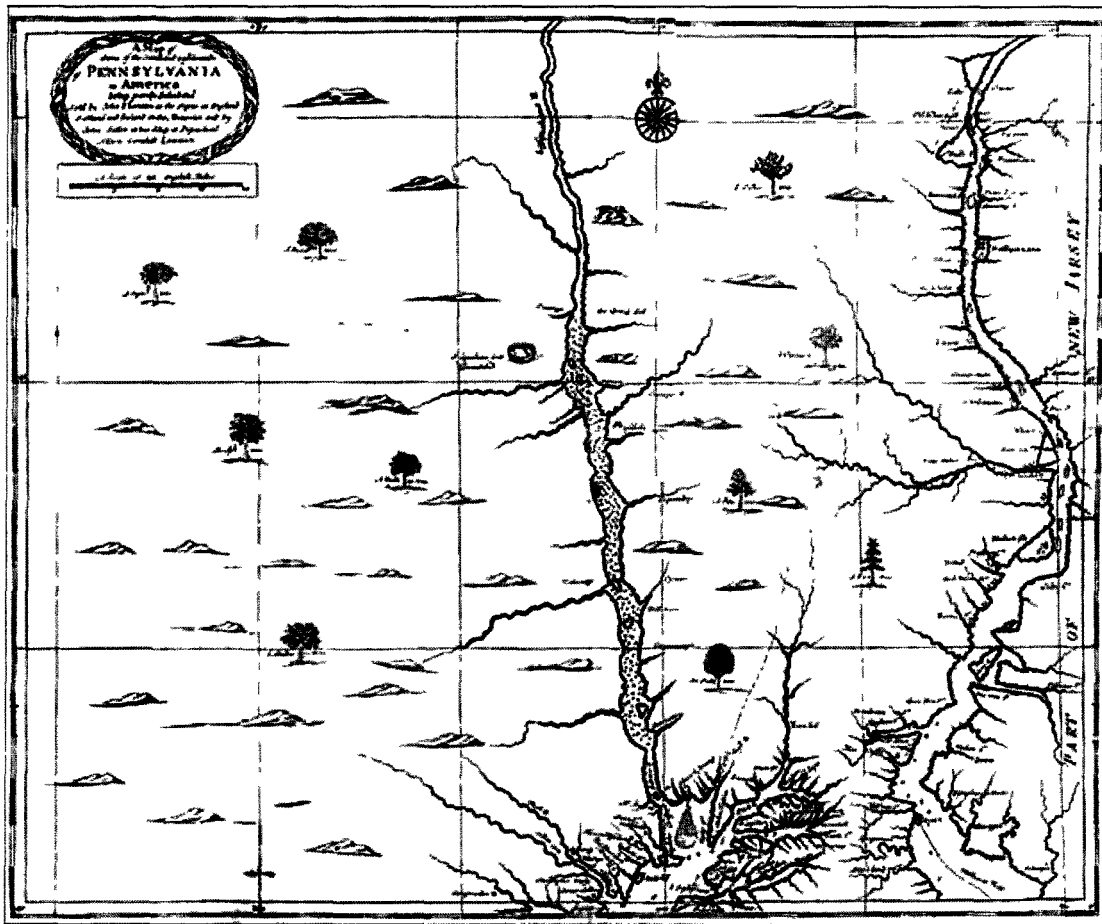


Figure 34. John Thornton and John Seller,
A Map of Some of the South and East Bounds of Pennsylvania in America. 1681.
Lower Merion Historical Society.

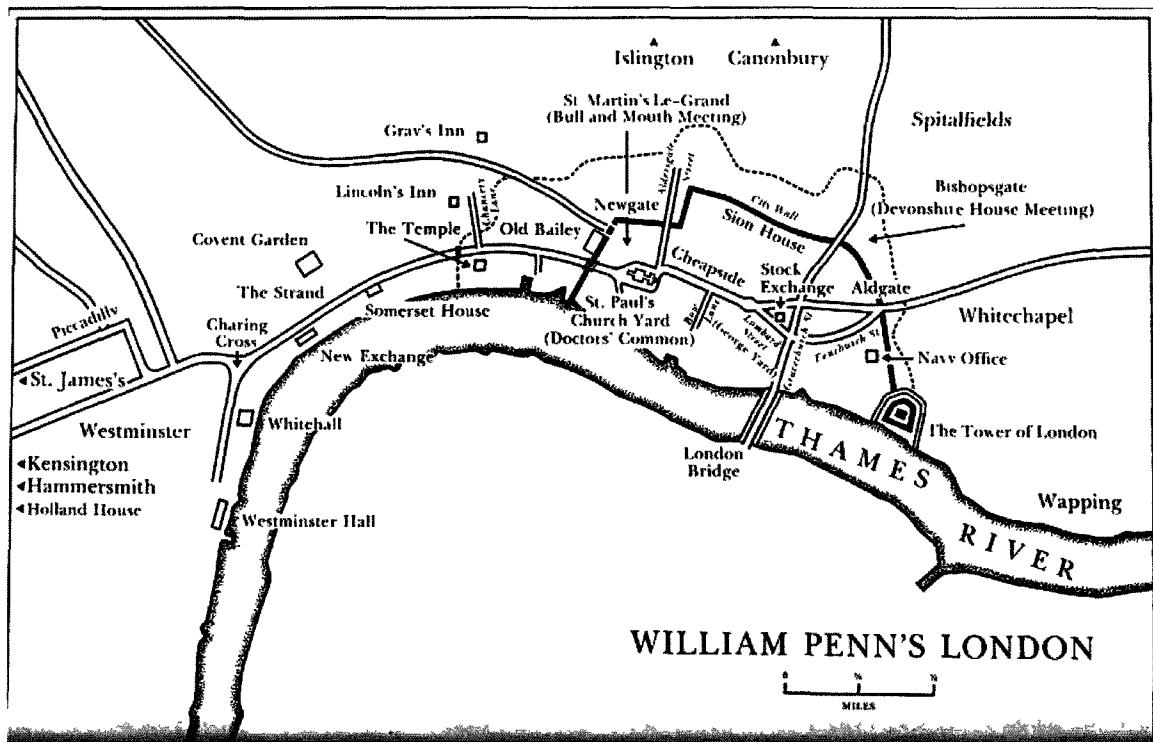


Figure 35. William Penn's London from
 Dunn, Richard S. and Mary Maples Dunn, editors. *The Papers of William Penn*.



FIG. 1. F. Lamb, *A Map of the Improved Part of the Province of Pennsylvania in America*. London, 1687. Engraving; H. 33½", W. 55½" (to border, without "General Description"). 1st ed., from drafts by Thomas Holme; published by Robert Green and John Thornton. (British Museum: photostatic copy, Library of Congress.)

Figure 36.

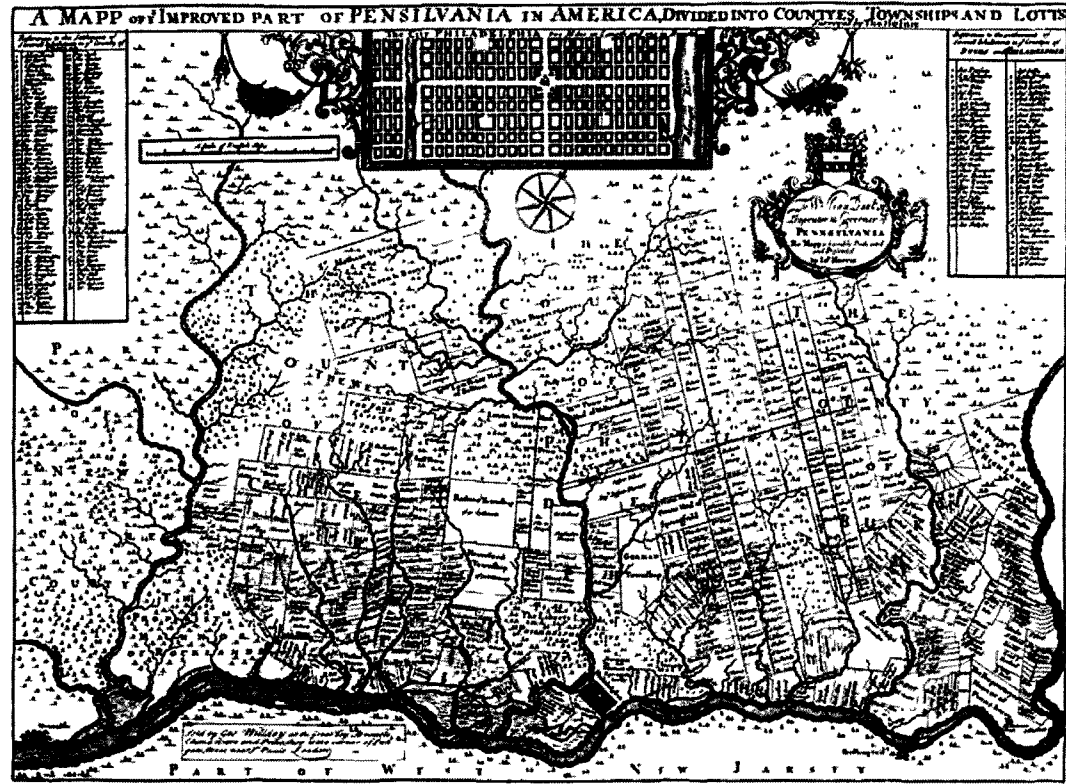


Figure 37. Thomas Holme,
A Map of the Improved Part of the Province of Pennsylvania in America,
reduced version, c. 1690.
Lower Merion Historical Society.

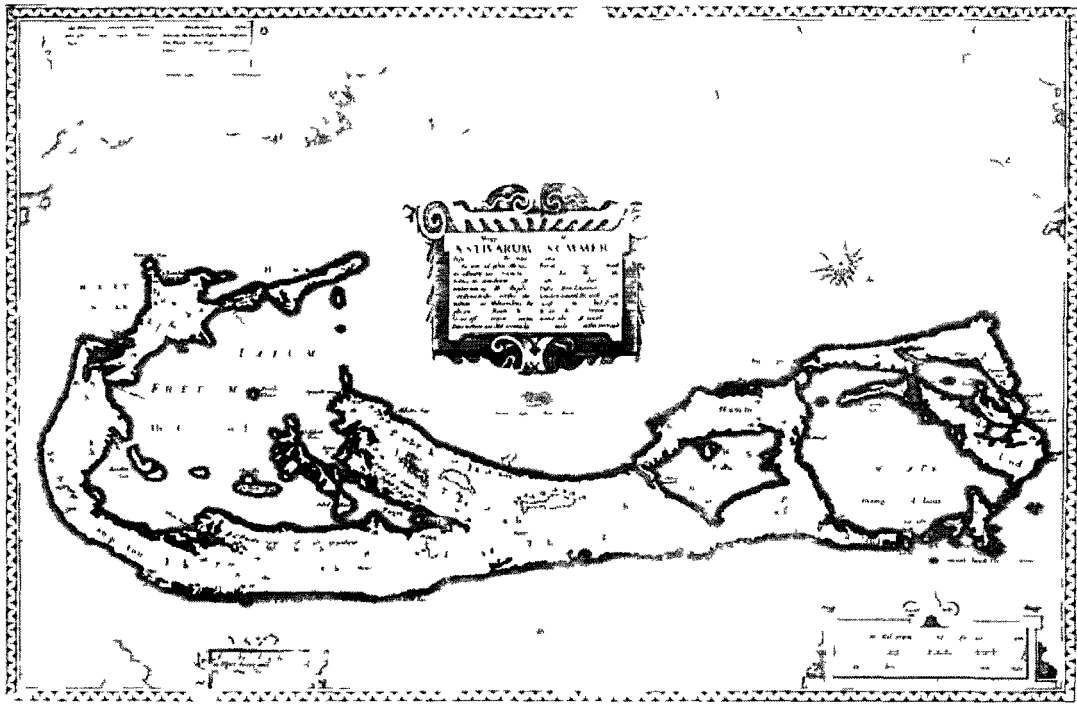


Figure 38. John Speed, A 1676 map of the Somers Isles.
Based on surveys by Richard Norwood.
bermuda-history.blogspot.org

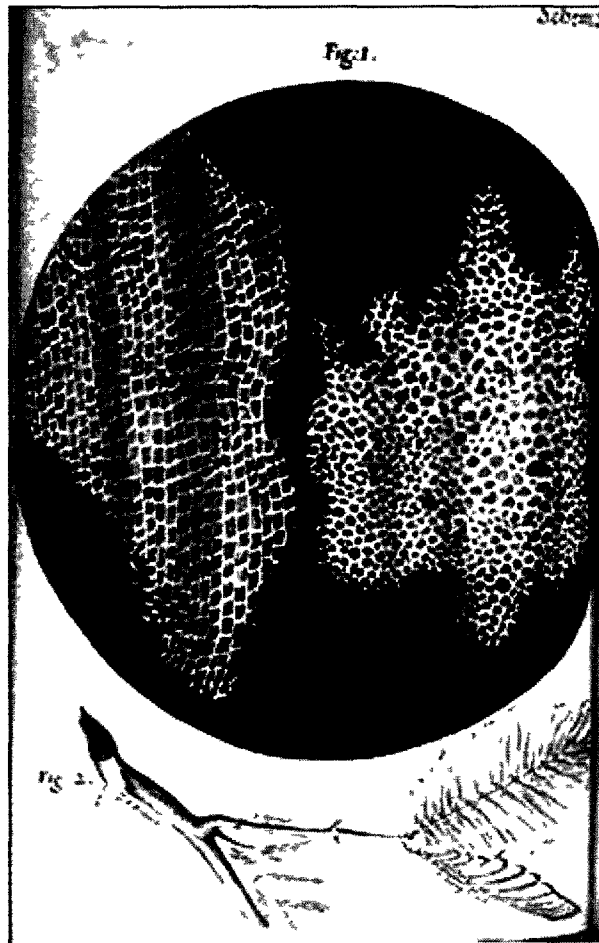


Figure 39. Robert Hooke, *Micrographia*.
Early English Books Online.

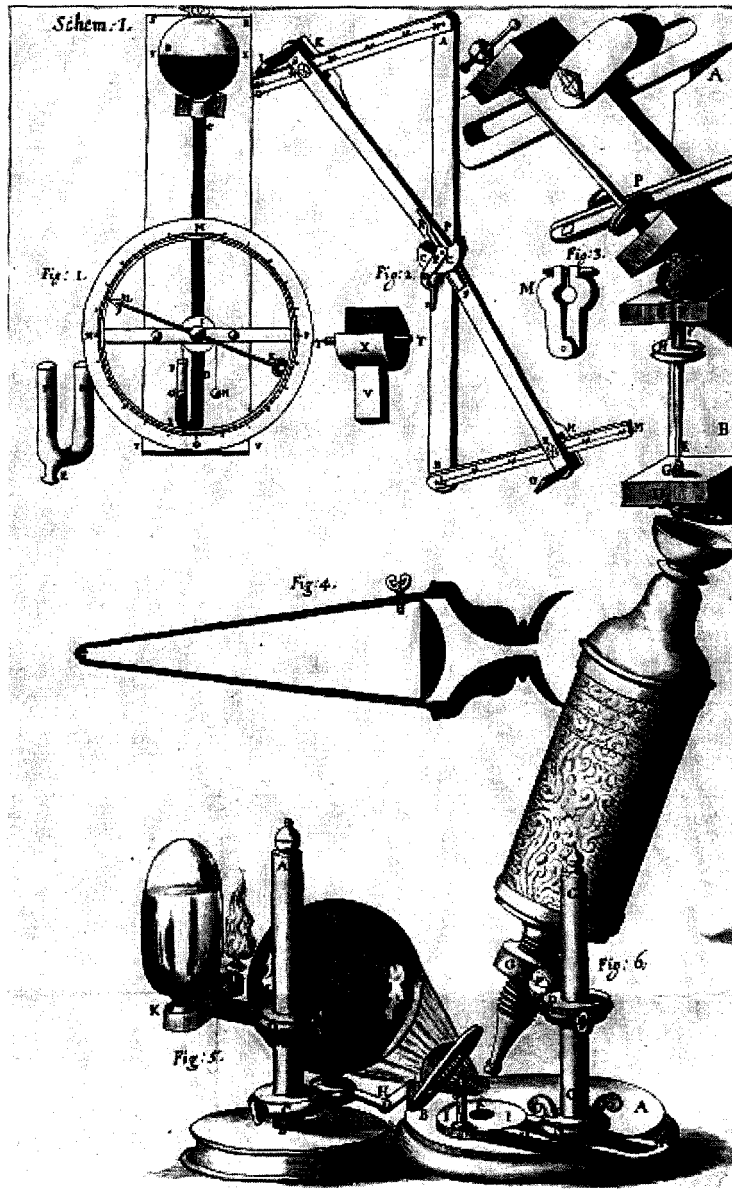


Figure 40. Robert Hooke, *Micrographia*.
U.S. National Library of Medicine

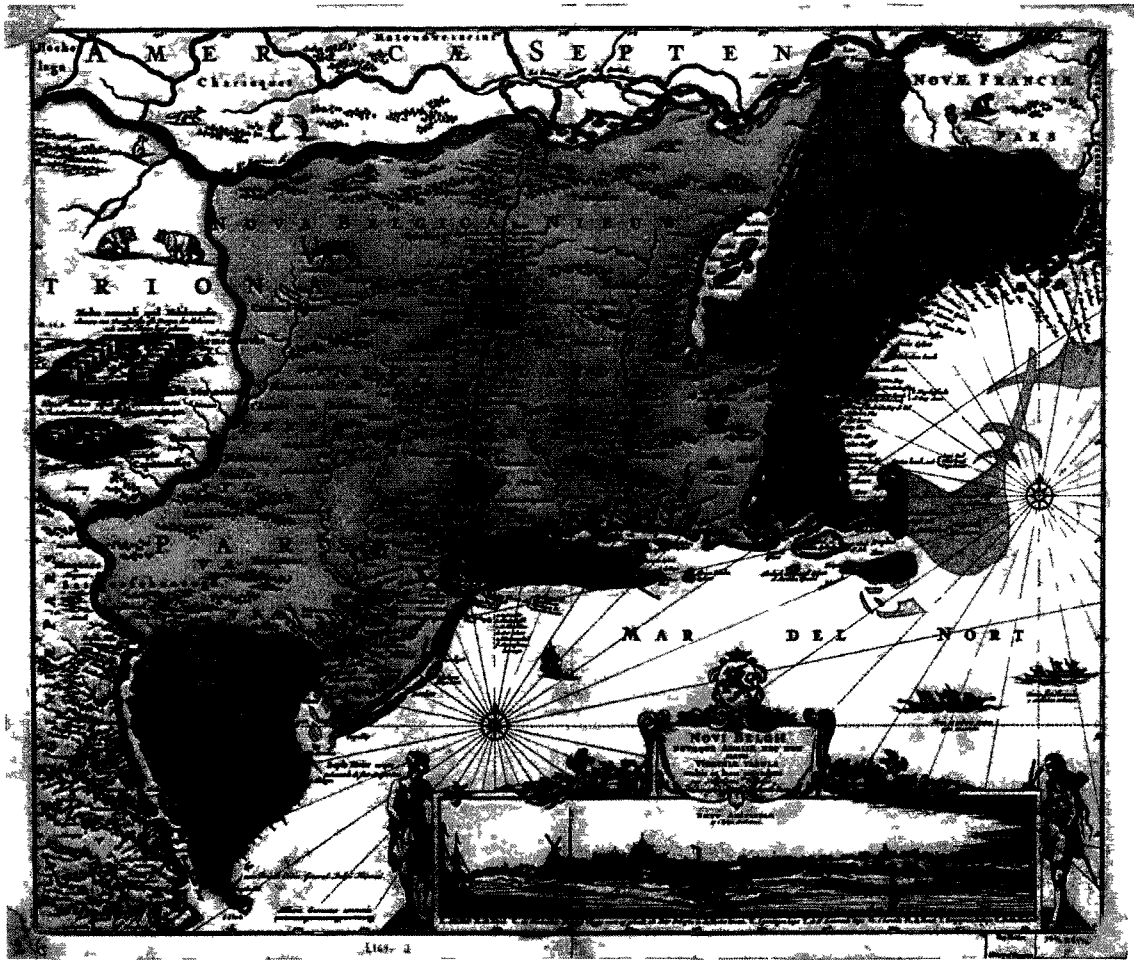


Figure 41. Nicholaes Visscher. *Novi Belgii*. 1685 (after earlier map).
Library of Congress.

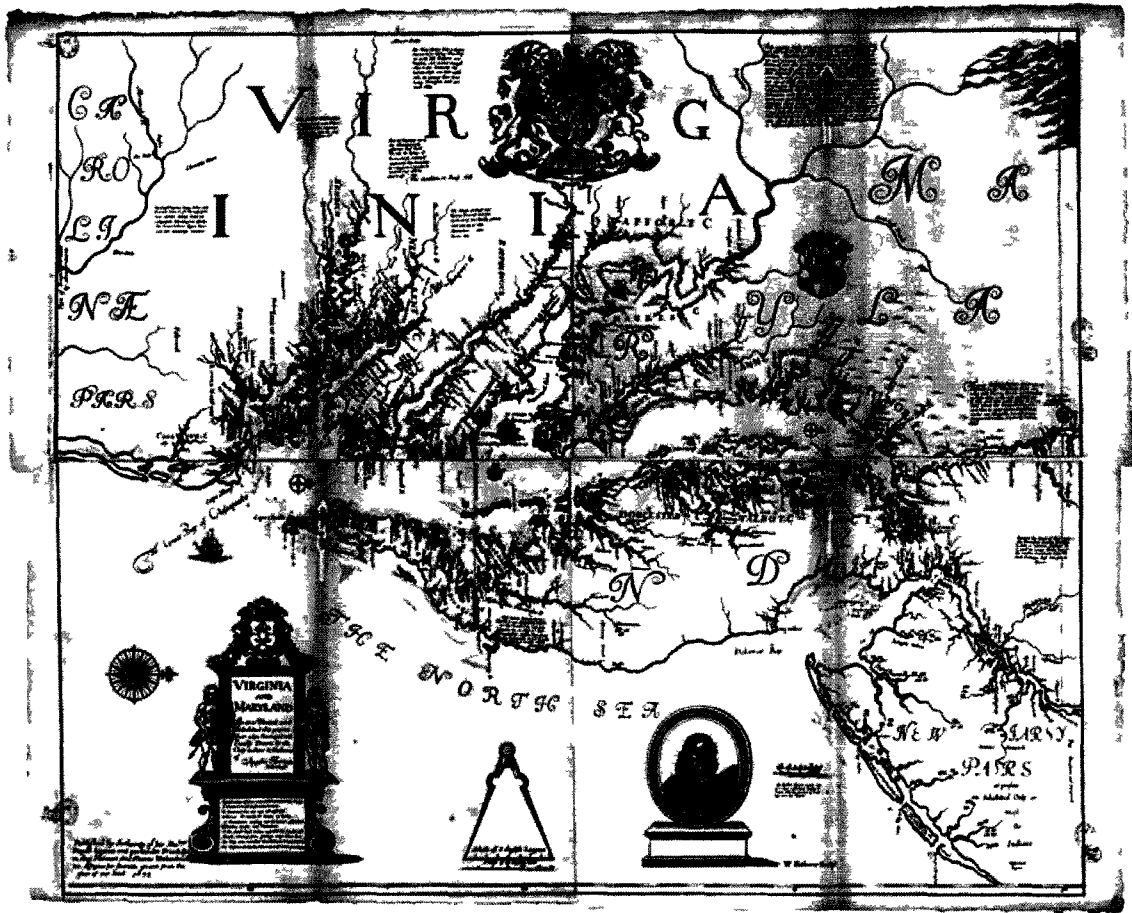


Figure 42. Augustine Hermann. *Virginia and Maryland*. 1670 [1673].
Library of Congress, MSA SC 5339-1-172

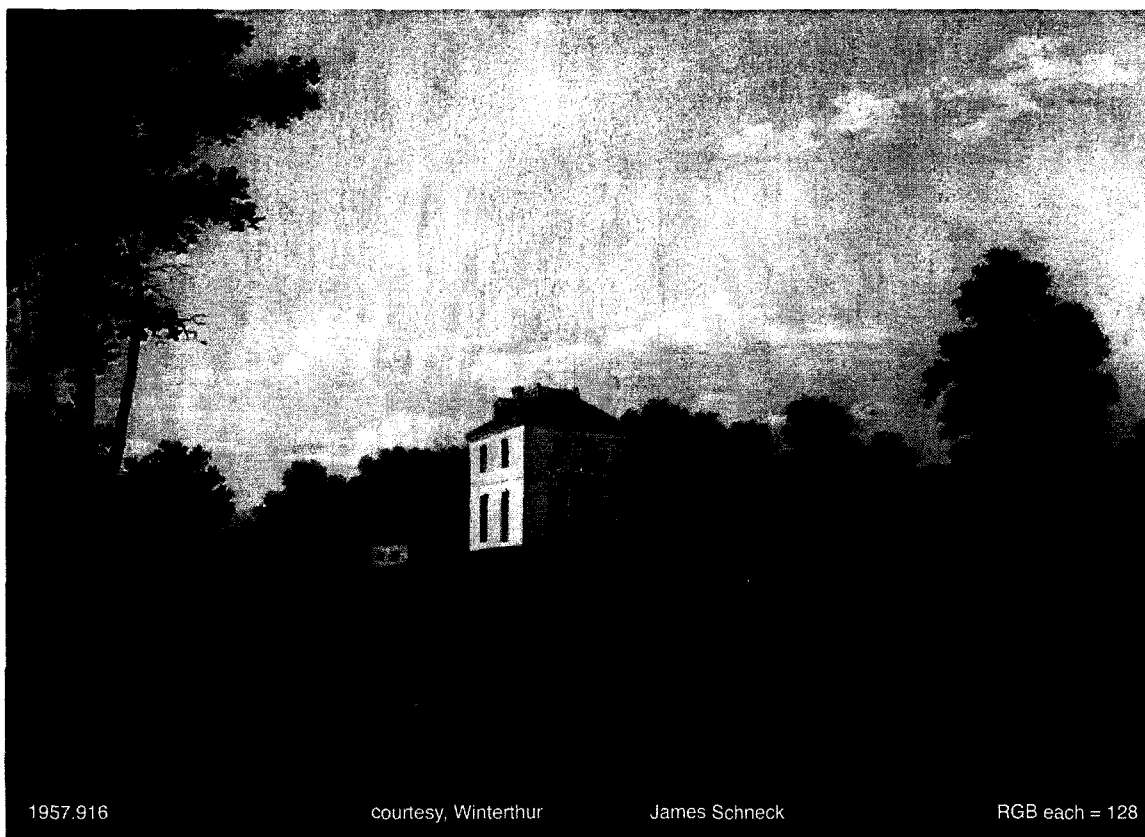


Figure 43. William Russell Birch, *The Solitude*, c.1796-1808.
Winterthur Museum. 1957.0916.

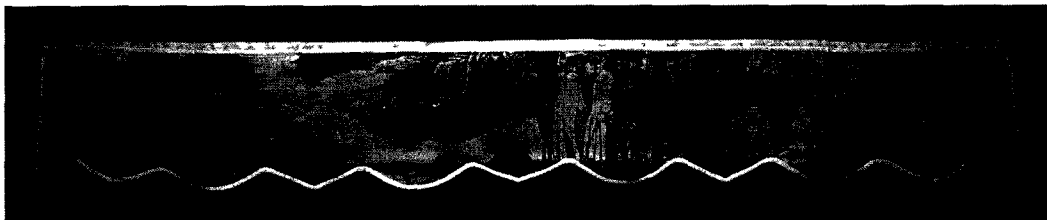


Figure 44. Bed hanging. Fabric, England c. 1784-88.
Winterthur Museum. 1983.0190c.



Figure 45. Textile panel. England, c.1785-1790.
Winterthur Museum. 1969.3841

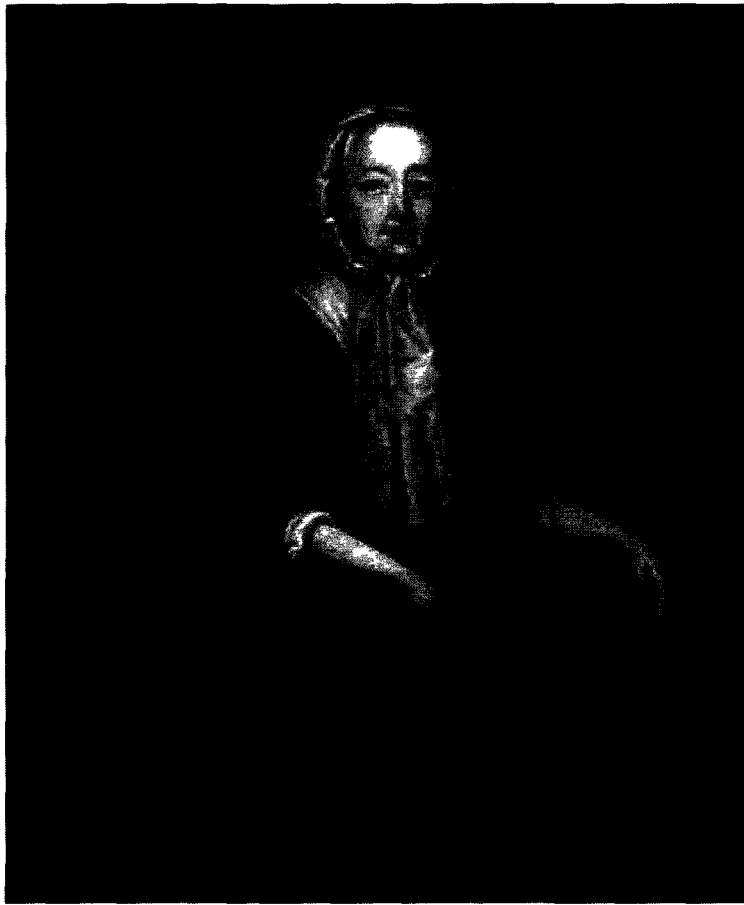


Figure 46. Hannah Penn. John Hesselius.
Atwater Kent Museum.

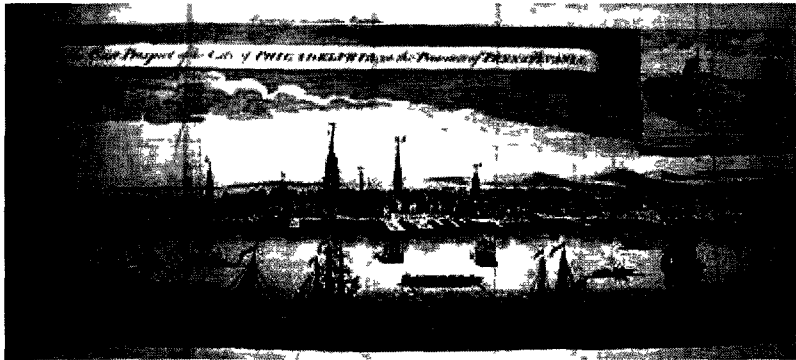


Figure 47. George Heap, The East Prospect of the City of Philadelphia. 1754.
Engraving, issued October 1761 by *London Magazine* GA2008.00188
Princeton University Library



Figure 48. Thomas Jeffreys after George Heap,
An East Prospect of the City of Philadelphia. 1769.
Library of Congress.



Figure 49. Benjamin West. *Penn's Treaty with the Indians*. 1771-1772.
Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts

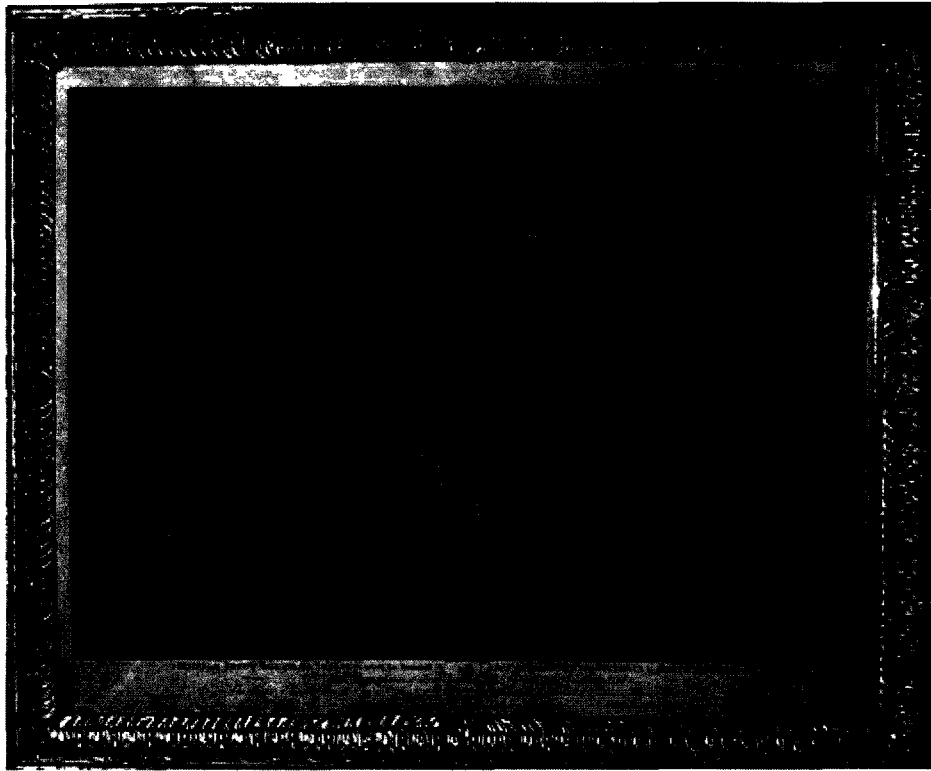


Figure 50. John Hall, *William Penn's Treaty with the Indians*, 1775.
Winterthur Museum. 1958.2878



Figure 51. *William Penn*.
John Hall, after Pierre Eugene Du Simitiere, after Sylvanus Bevan, 1773.
National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 52. William Penn statue, Gift of John Penn,
William Penn's grandson in 1804.
Philadelphia Hospital.
Photo by author.

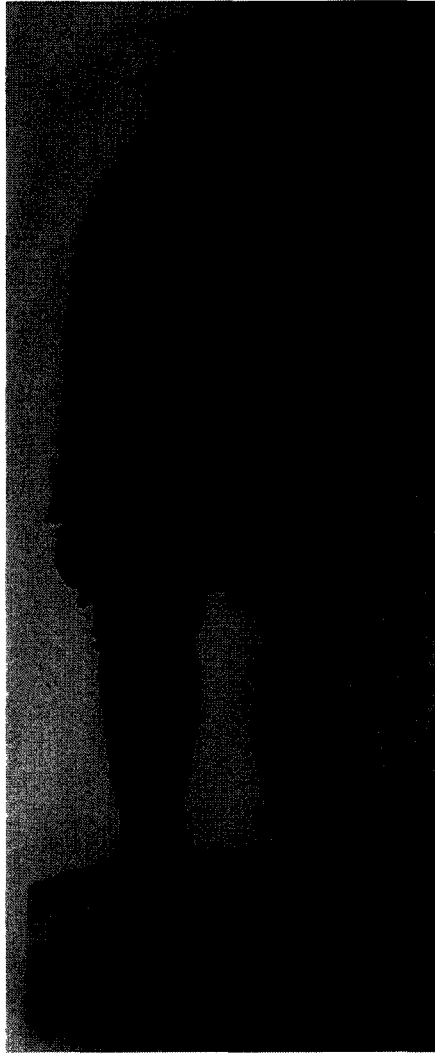
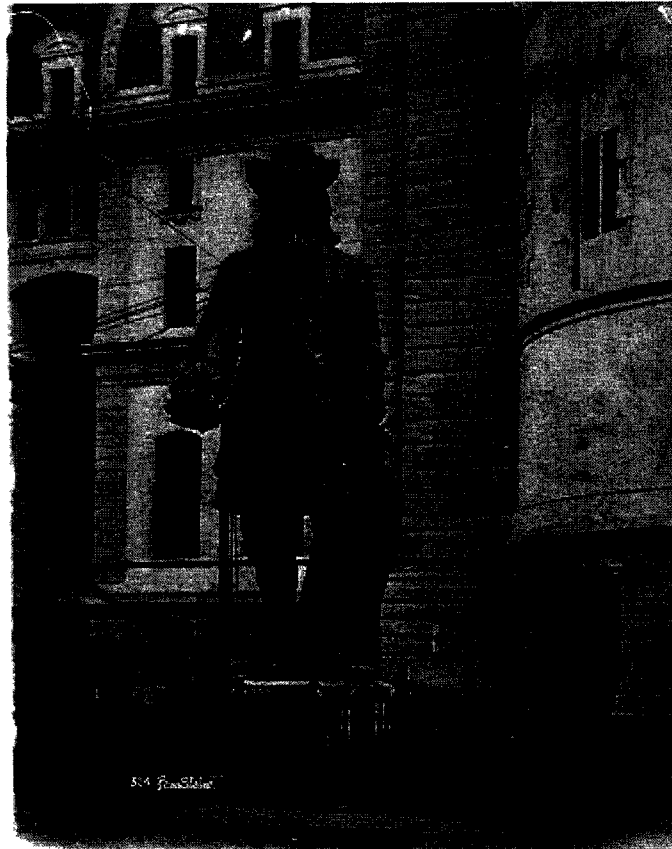


Figure 53. Artist unknown, *William Penn*, Bucks County, 1770-1800.
Philadelphia Museum of Art



Souvenir Post Card Co., N.Y.

308—WILLIAM PENN STATUE, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Aug. 27 '00
Do you ever hear from
Lizzie? I like it very much.

Figure 54. Postcard depicting Alexander Calder's Philadelphia City Hall statue of William Penn. Collection of author.

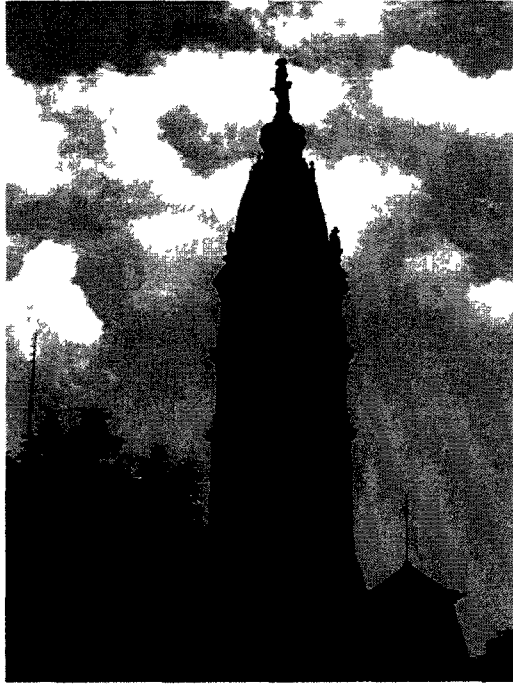


Figure 55. Philadelphia City Hall William Penn statue.
Photo by Orelia E. Dann.



Figure 56. Advertisement for William Penn Blended Whiskey, 1947.
Collection of author.

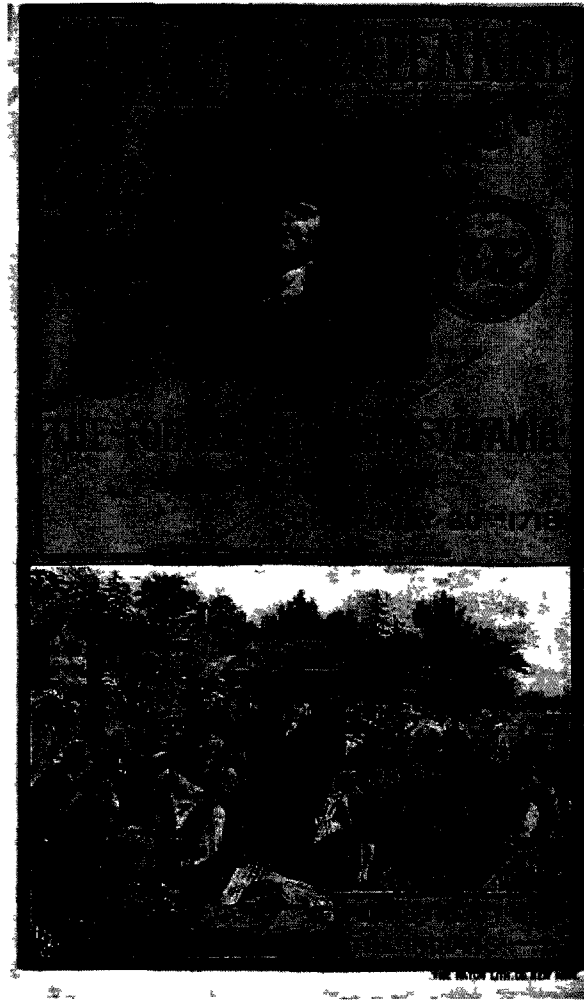


Figure 57. Front of advertising trade card for A.C. Yates & Co., 1882
Collection of author.

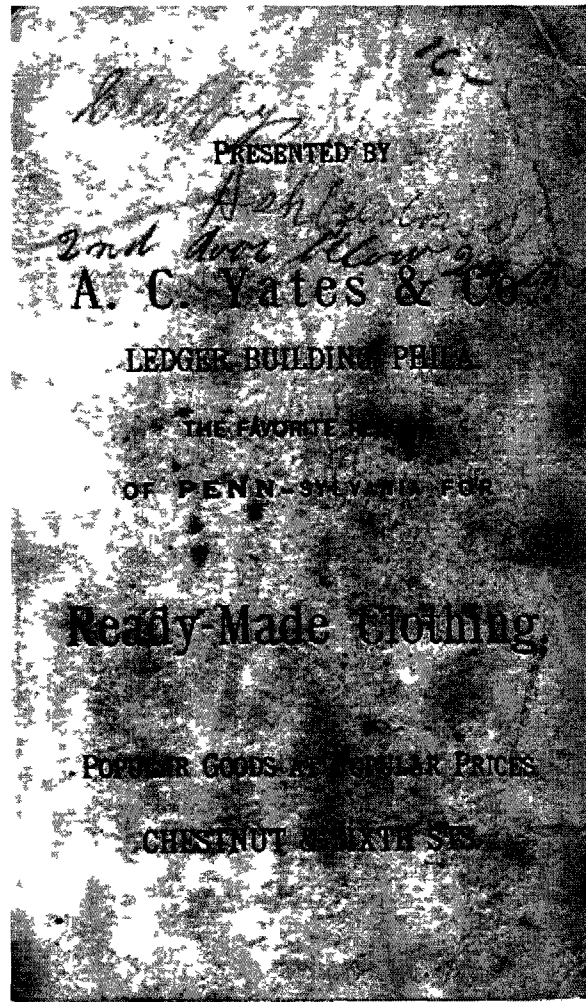


Figure 58. Back of advertising trade card for A.C. Yates & Co., 1882
Collection of author.

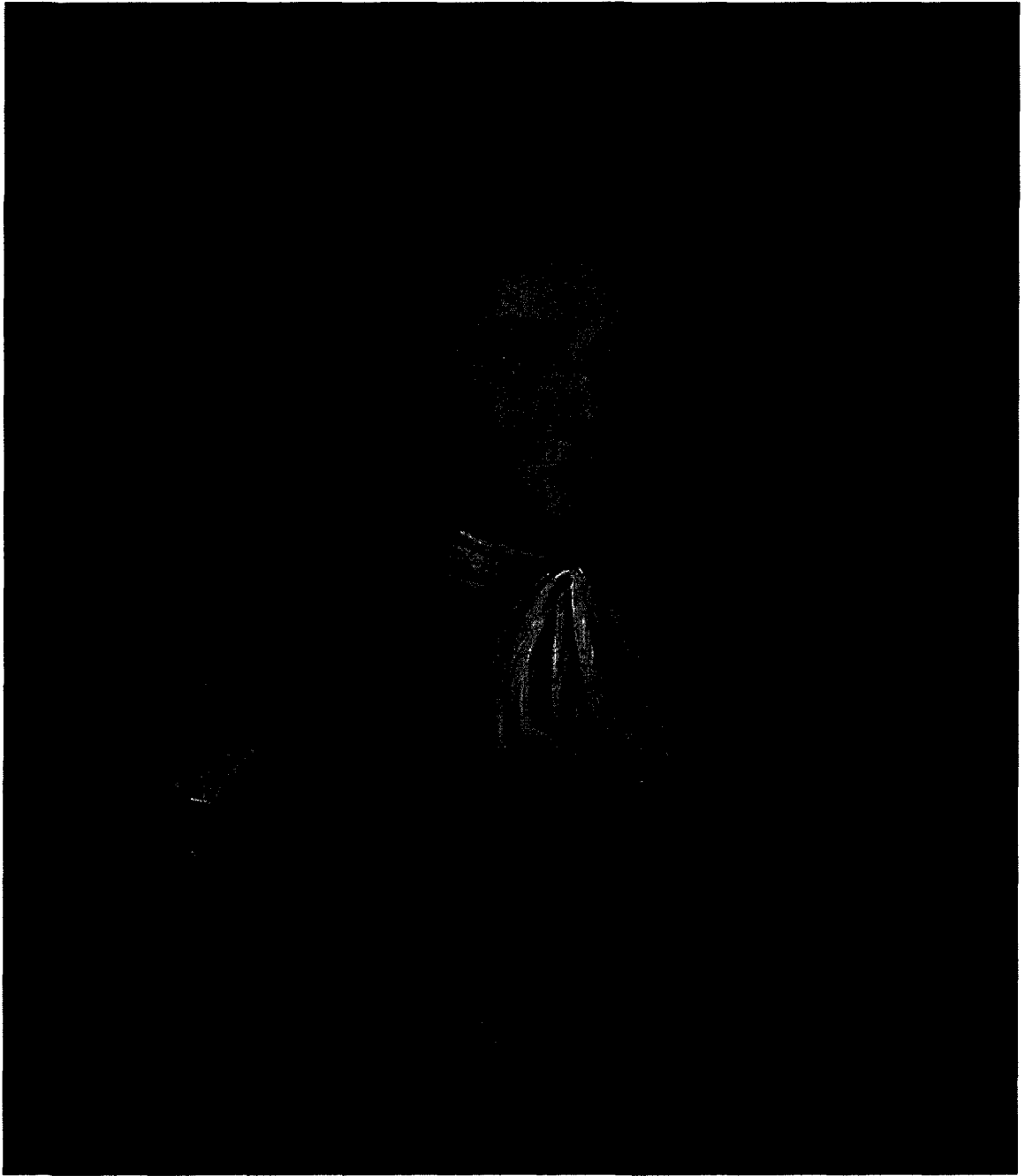


Figure 59. *William Penn*, Artist unknown. Copy of original c.1770.
Atwater Kent Museum

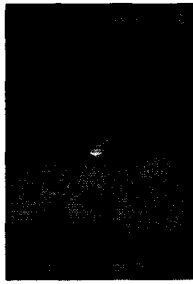


Figure 60. Francis Place, *William Penn*, pastel,
Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

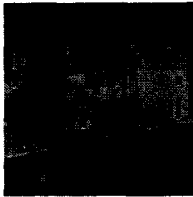


Figure 61. Pennsylvania Castle. (1800)
John Penn's home on Portland Island, Dorset, England.
<http://www.geoffkirby.co.uk>

A TREE GROWS IN PENNSYLVANIA



Figure 62. Cartoon. *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*. Tuesday, October 24, 1944.

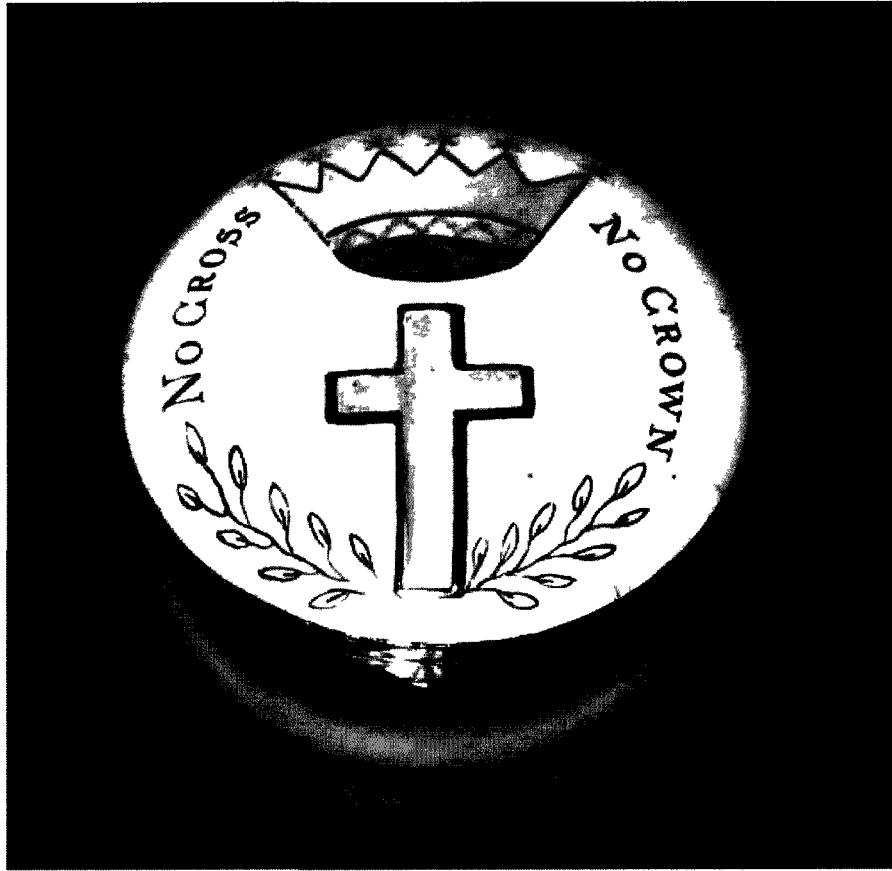


Figure 63. Snuff box. Enamel on copper. England, 1770.
Winterthur Museum. 1974.0060

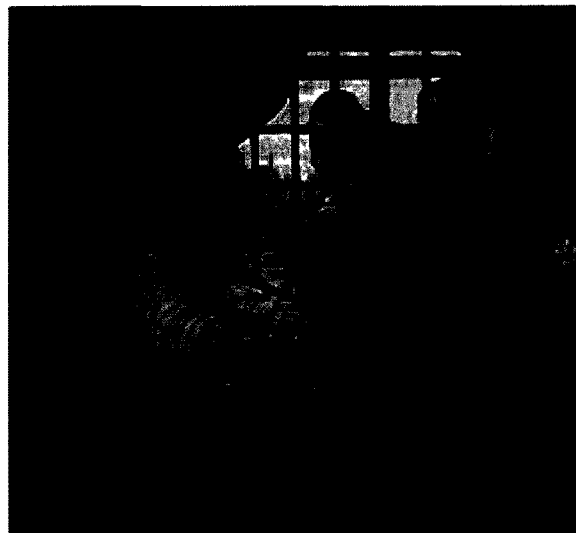


Figure 64. Violet Oakley, King Charles Signs the Charter for Pennsylvania,
c. 1906.
Pennsylvania State Capitol Building.

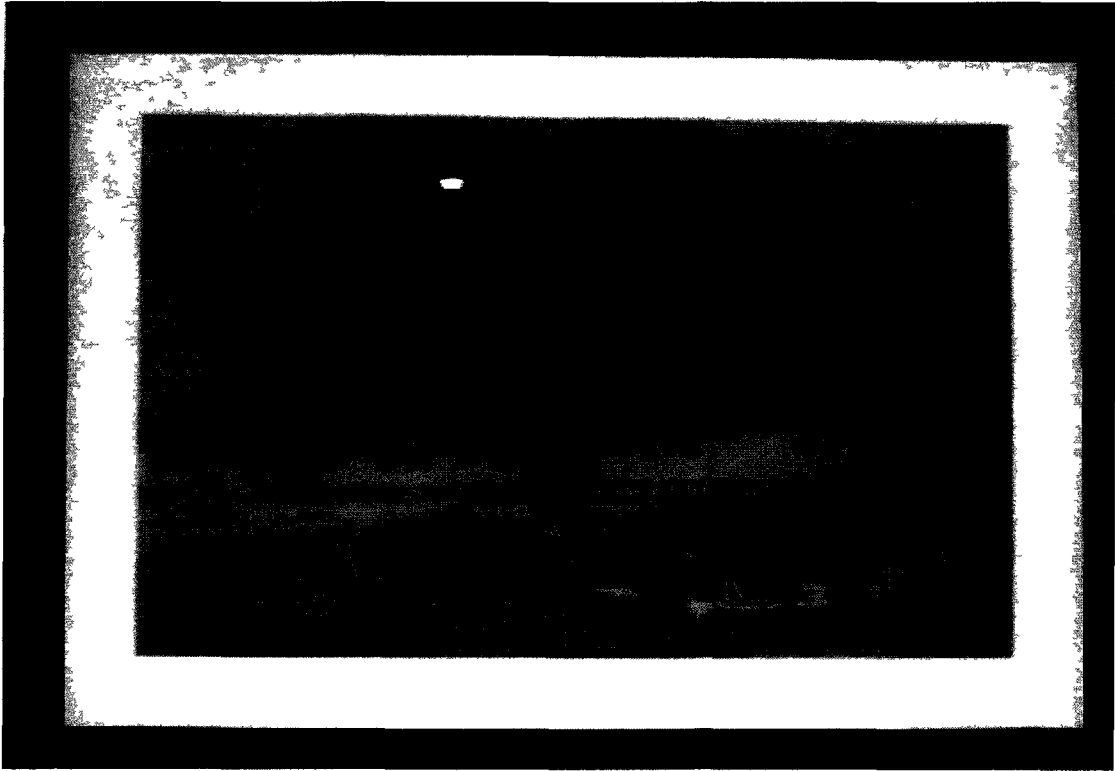


Figure 65. Lehman & Duval or Lehman & Childs,
The Great Elm Tree at Shackamaxon, 1829-1870.
Winterthur Museum. 1961.0491.



Figure 66. George Magraph, Urn. c.1813
Carved from wood from the Treaty Elm.
Exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in 1813
Winterthur Museum. 1992.0028



Figure 67. George Magraph, Urn. c.1813
This side bears a bust image of William Penn,
clearly based on the Sylvanus Bevan image
Winterthur Museum. 1992.0028



Figure 68. Lap Desk, c. 1810
Made from wood from the Treaty Elm
Winterthur Museum. 2008.0021.002

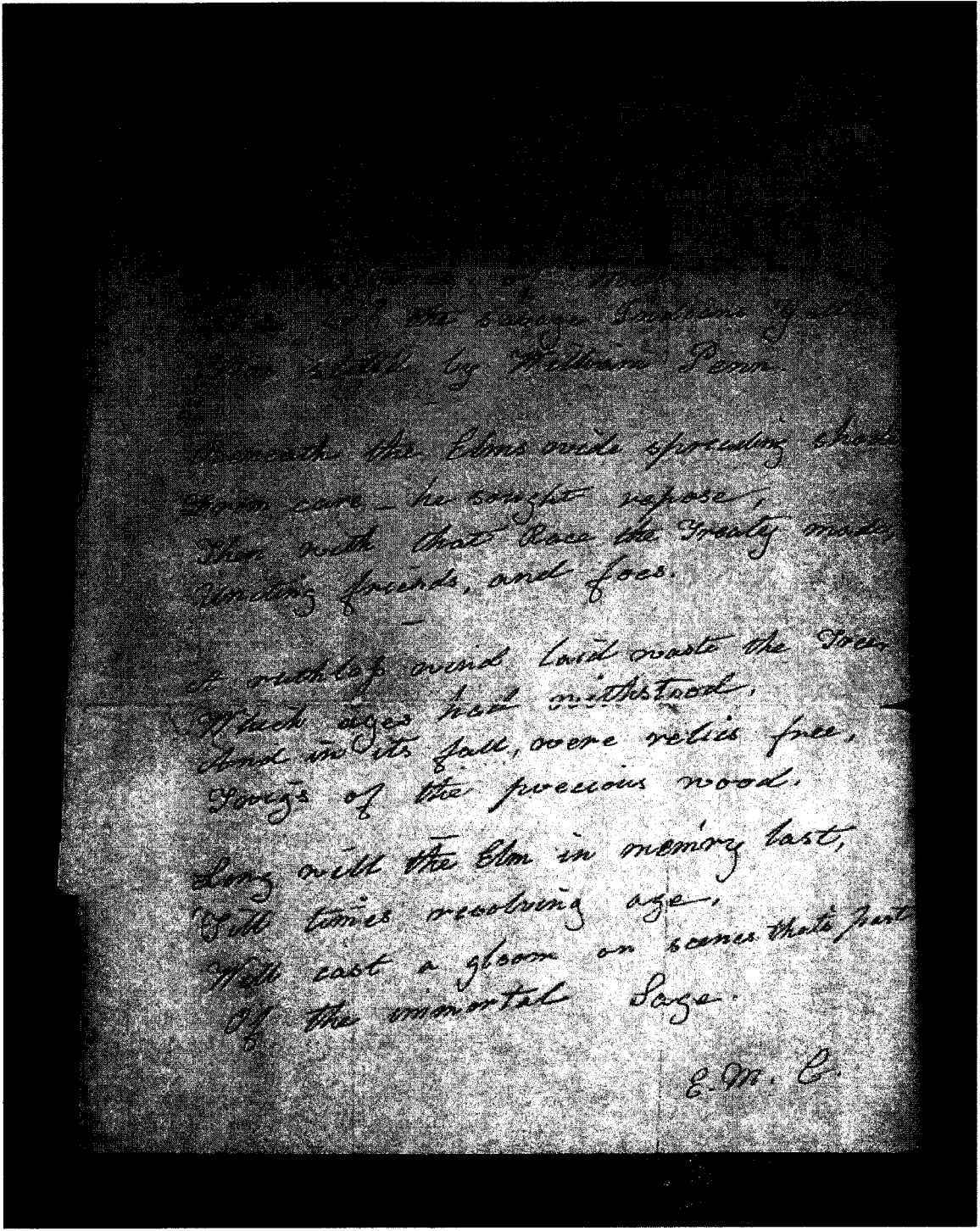


Figure 69. Poem accompanying lap desk.
Winterthur Museum. 2008.0021.002



Figure 70. Armchair, c. 1810
Made from wood from the Treaty Elm
Winterthur Museum. 2008.0021.001



Figure 71. Relic Box, owned by John Fanning Watson, c. 1810-1823.
Winterthur Museum. 1958.0102.001



Figure 72. Relic Box, owned by John Fanning Watson, c. 1810-1823.
Winterthur Museum. 1958.0102.001

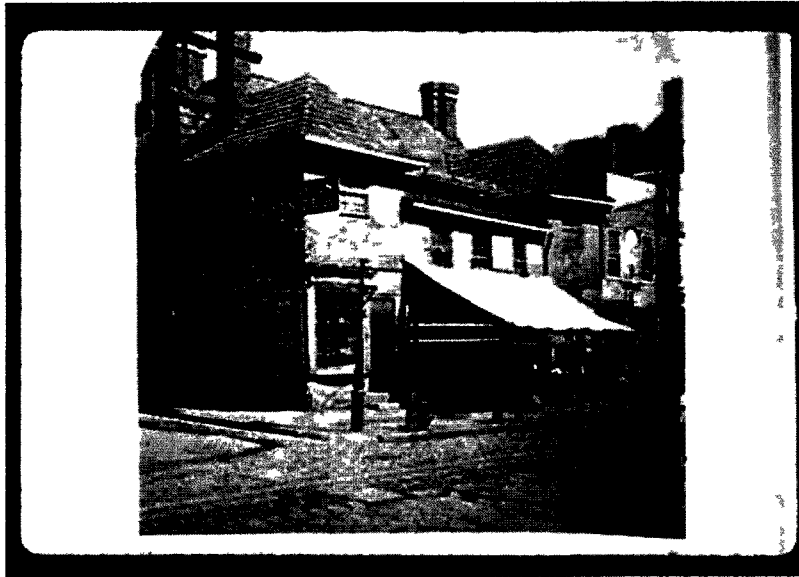


Figure 73. John Moran, Slate Roof House, n.d.
Library Company of Philadelphia



Figure 74. John Moran, Slate Roof House, n.d.
Library Company of Philadelphia



Figure 75. Southeast chamber, first floor, Slate Roof House.
William Clark, watercolor and sketches, 1867.
Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



Figure 76. Main room, first floor, looking north.
Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



Figure 77. Window detail looking west, north room, first floor.
Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

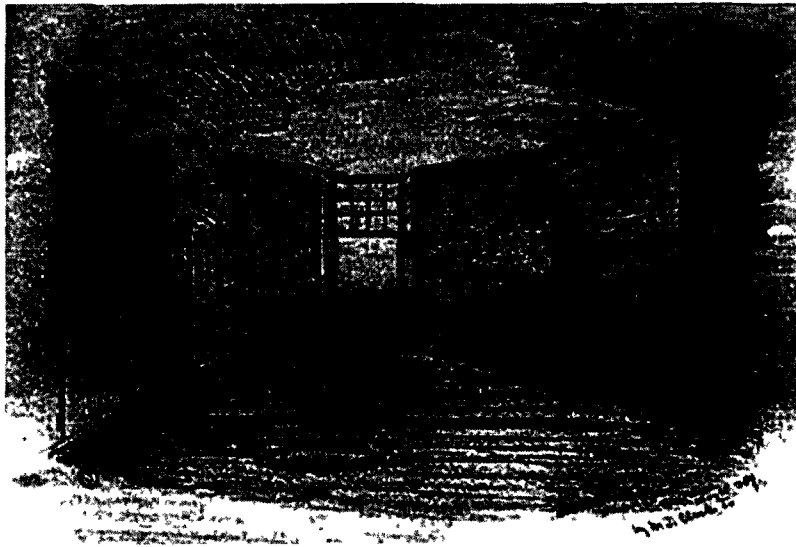


Figure 78. North room, looking west, first floor.
Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

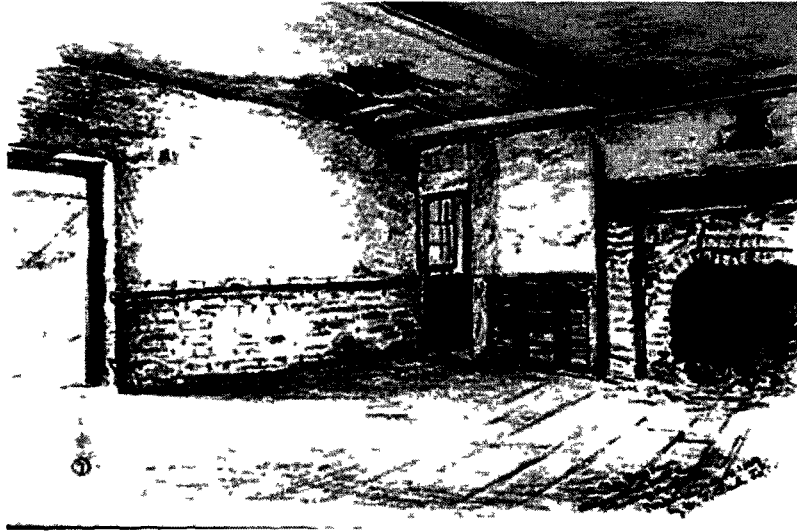


Figure 79. Kitchen, looking east, first floor.
Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

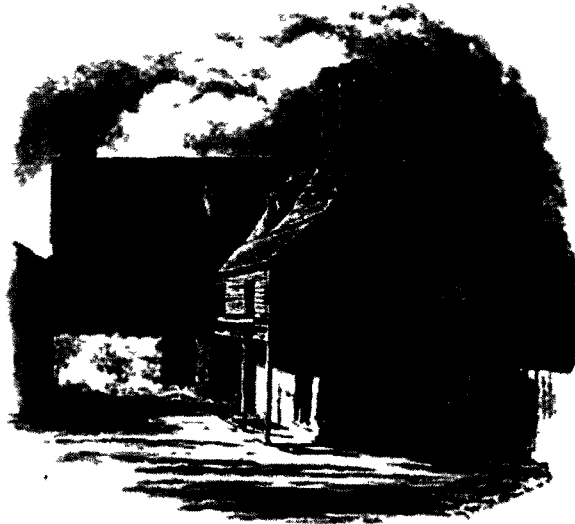


Figure 80. Rear view, looking east.
Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

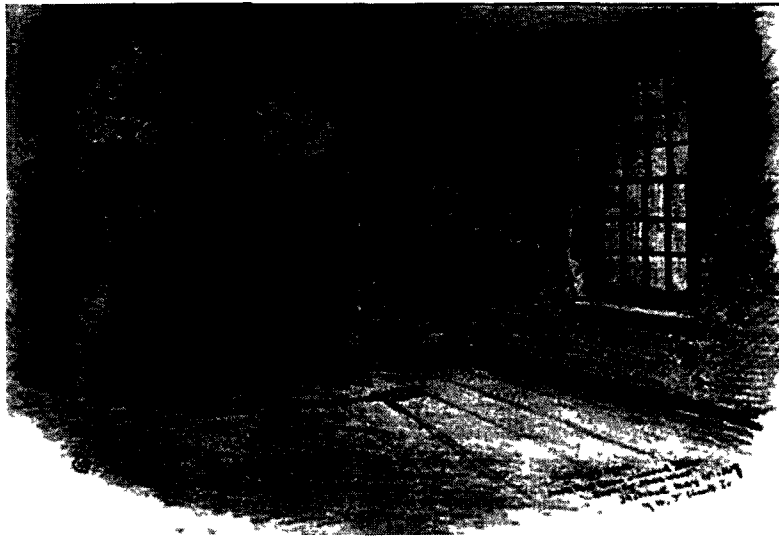


Figure 81. North east room, second floor.
Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



Figure 82. West room, second floor.
Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

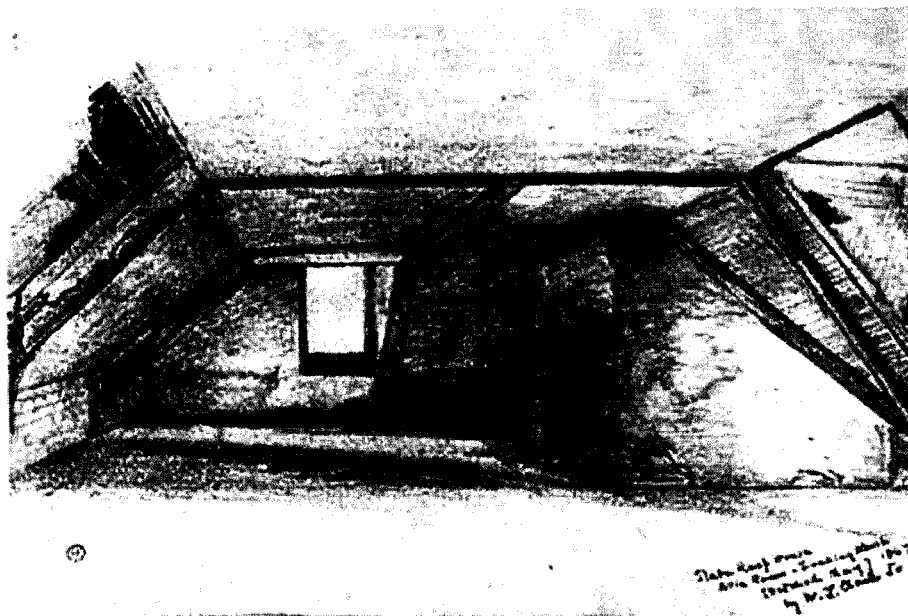


Figure 83. Attic Room, looking north, third floor.
Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

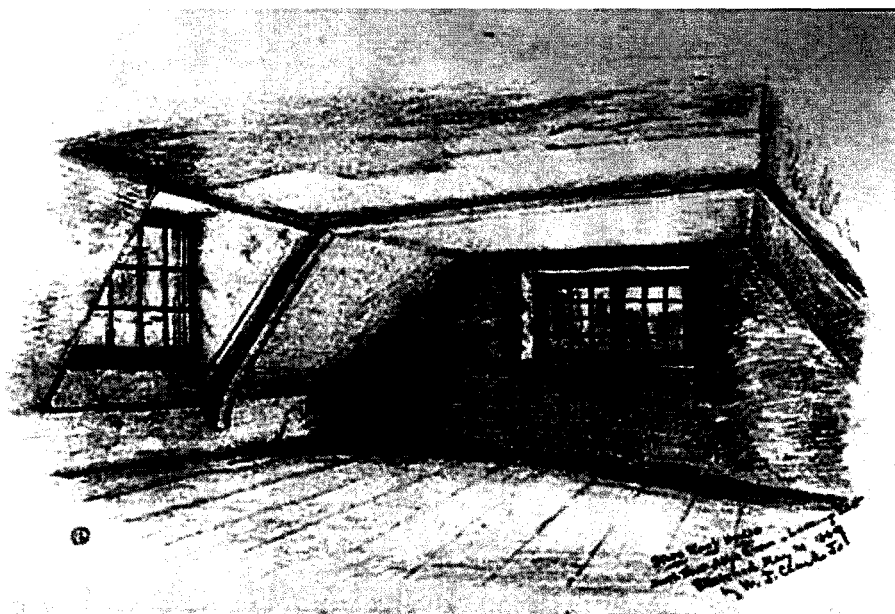


Figure 84. North East Attic Room, looking east, third floor.
Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

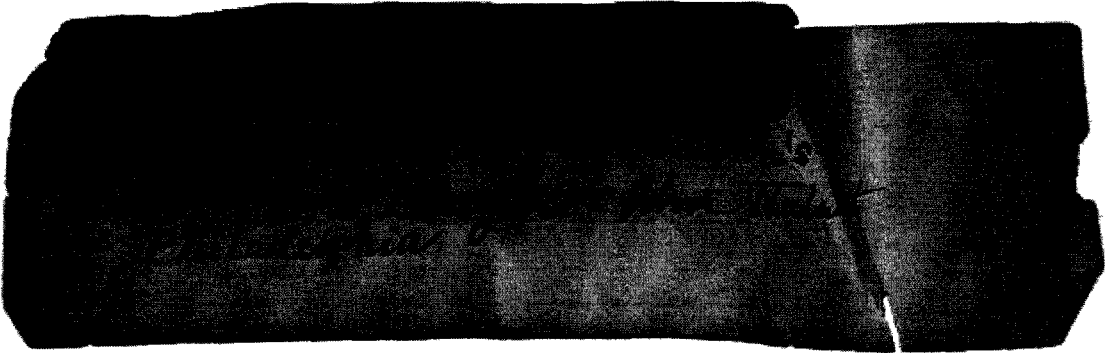


Figure 85. Slate Roof House relic, Little Collection, Mss group 449.
University of Delaware, Special Collections, Newark, Delaware.

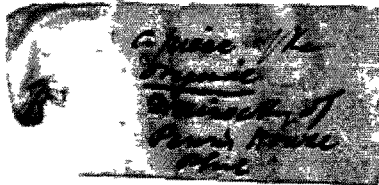


Figure 86. Slate Roof House relic, Little Collection, Mss group 449.
University of Delaware, Special Collections, Newark, Delaware.

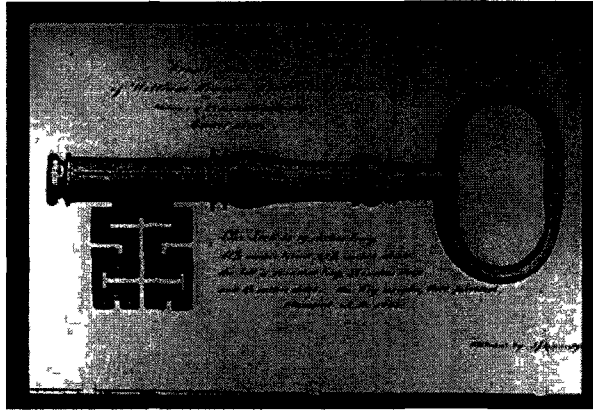


Figure 87. Drawing of key purportedly from the Slate Roof House.
Gatter Notebooks, Independence National Historical Park Archives

THE OLD "SLATE-ROOF HOUSE."

ITS SUCCESSOR.

History of the Ancient Structure

Description of the New Corn Exchange Building.

SKETCH OF THE ASSOCIATION.

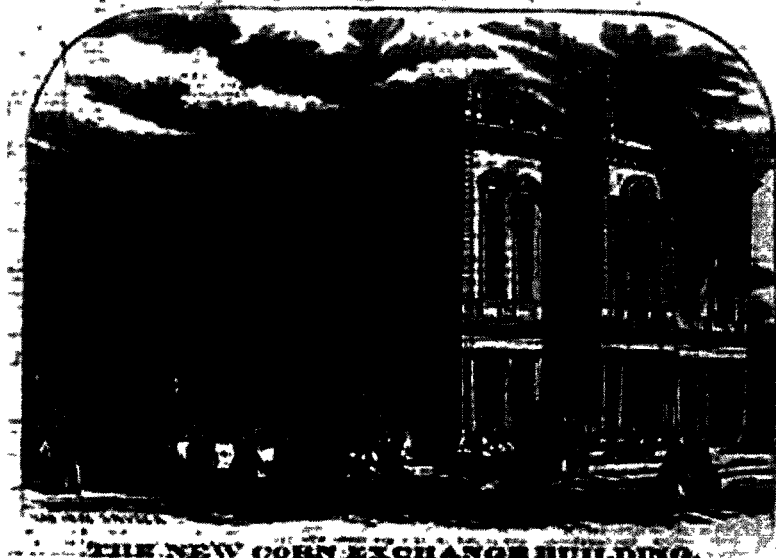
The Changes of Two Centuries.

The last few architectural relics of the days of William Penn, in Philadelphia, are gradually disappearing. We know of but three that still remain: The "Swedes' Church, in Southwark," a relic of the days when the Swedes made their settlement.

Figure 88. Philadelphia Daily Evening Bulletin, November 24, 1867.
Gatter Notebooks, Independence National Historic Park Archives.



THE OLD SLATE-ROOF HOUSE.



THE NEW CORN EXCHANGE BUILDING.

Figure 89. Philadelphia Daily Evening Bulletin, November 24, 1867.
Gatter Notebooks, Independence National Historic Park Archives.



"Paint-Up" failed to slave off blight

Yorktown, replaces former slum



Figure 90. Blight versus progress, from
Redevelopment Authority of The City of Philadelphia. *15th Annual Report*. 1960.
Collection of author.

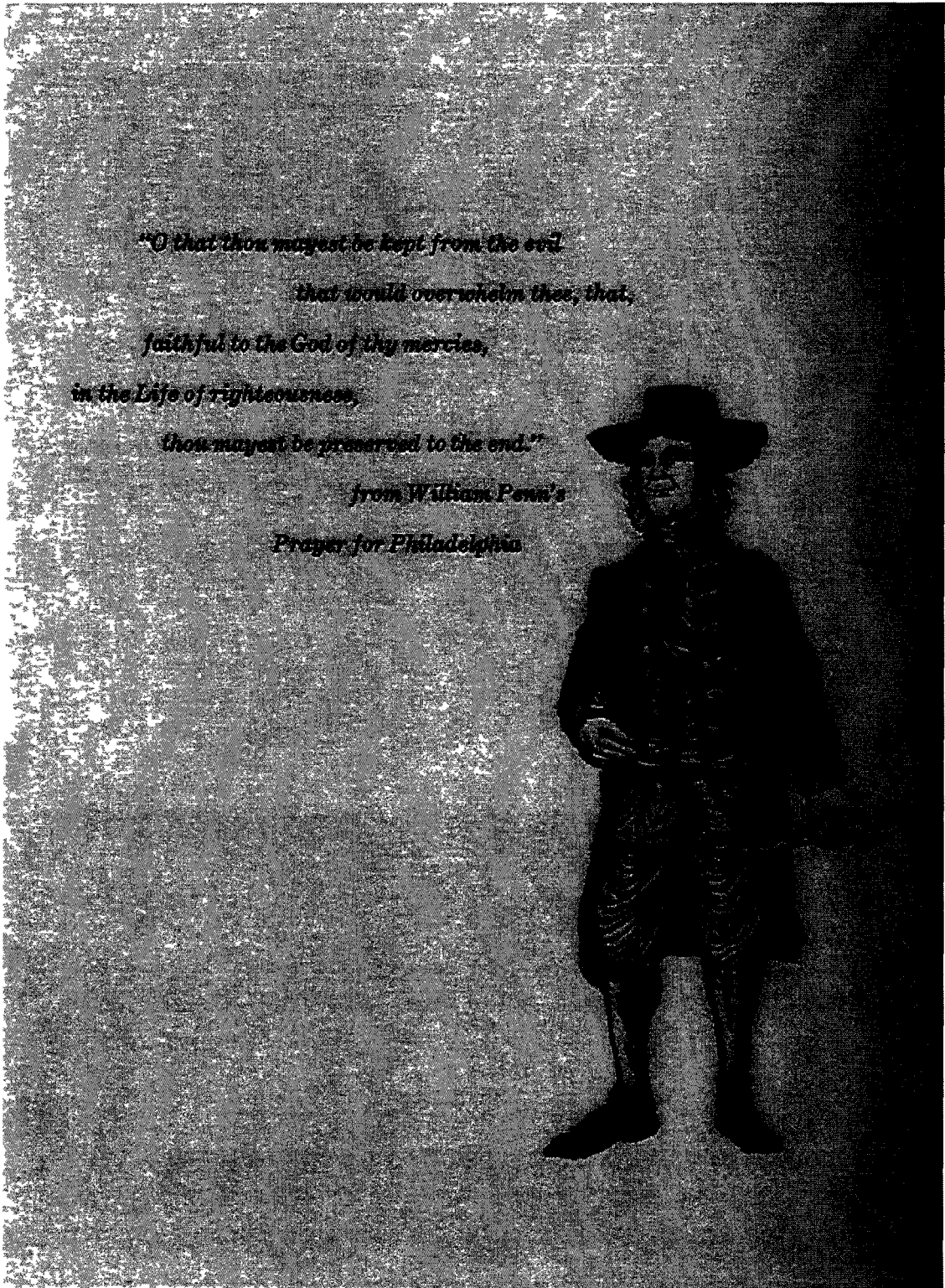


Figure 91. William Penn rationalizes redevelopment, from
Redevelopment Authority of The City of Philadelphia. *15th Annual Report*. 1960.
Collection of author.

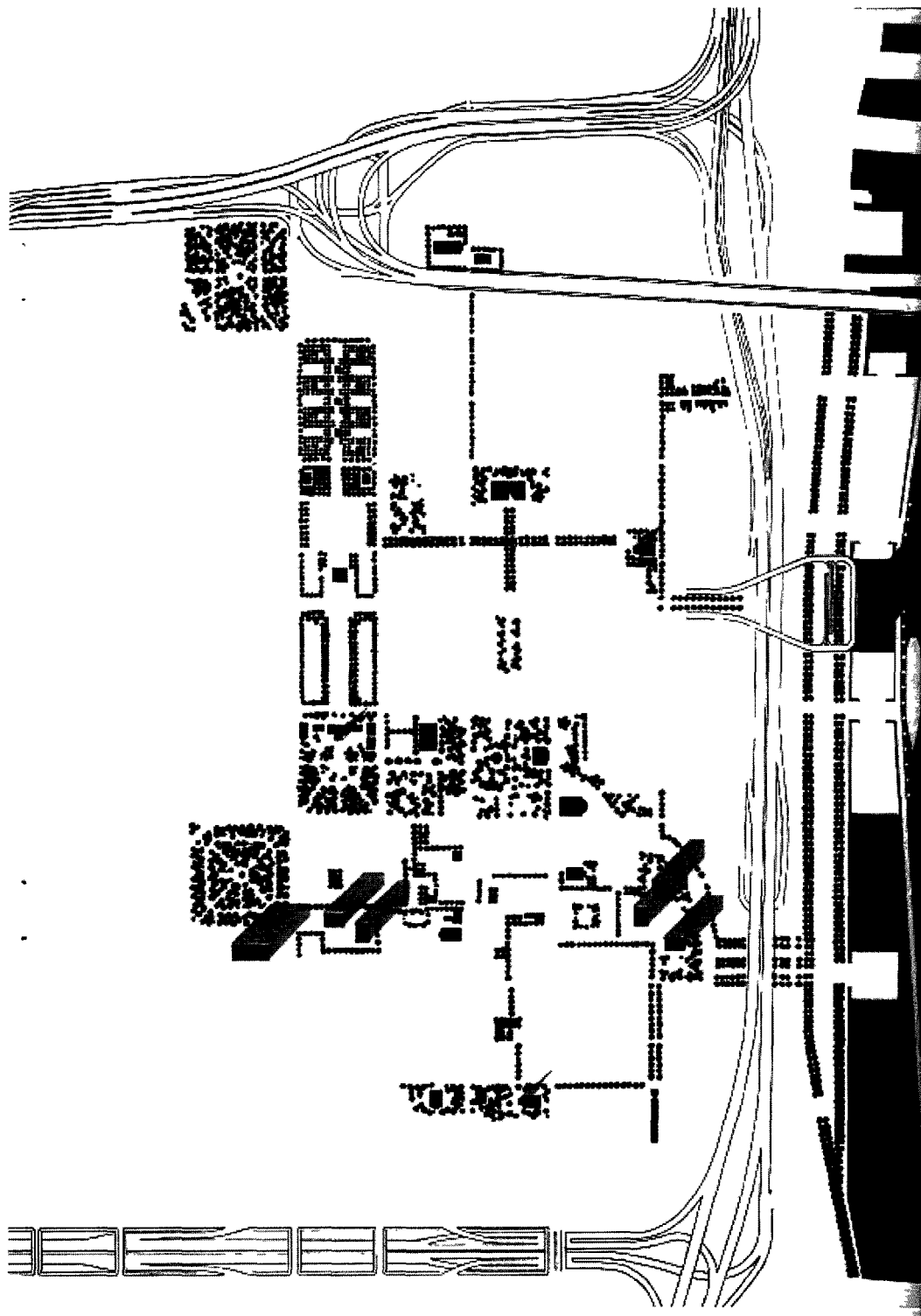
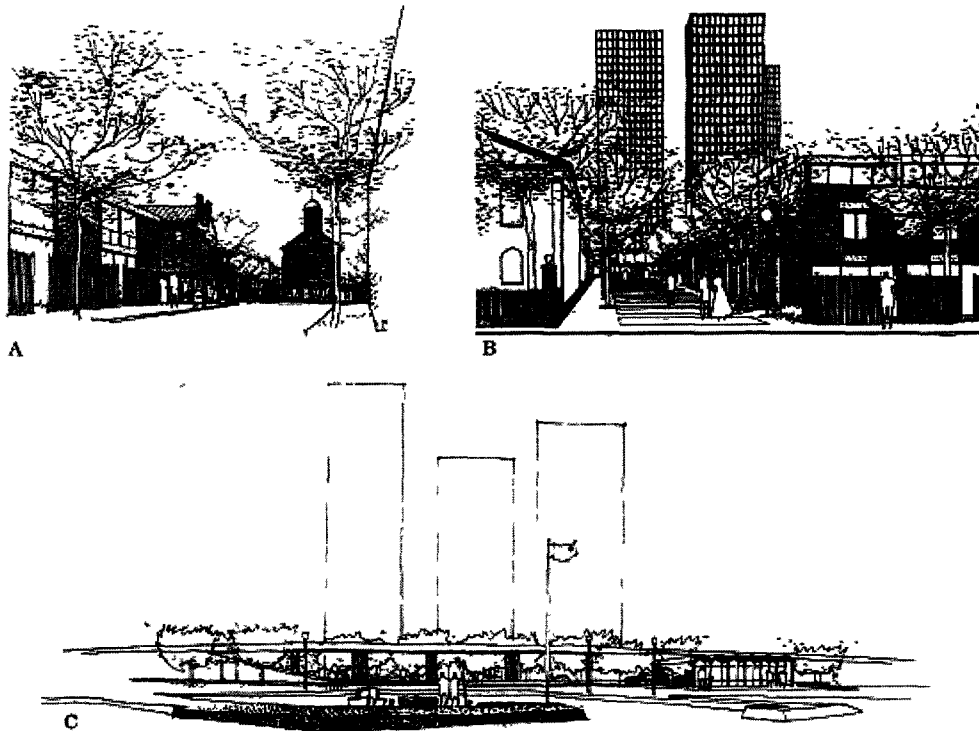


Figure 92. Delaware River waterfront redevelopment plan, from Edmund Bacon, A.I.A., "Downtown Philadelphia: A Lesson in Design for Urban Growth." preprint from *Architectural Record* (May 1961) Collection of author.



1958-THE COMPETITION

I. M. Pei's Society Hill project wins

The Society Hill redevelopment project presented a particularly complex design problem because of the need to respect the scale and character of the modest 18th century buildings which were to remain. The brilliant solution worked out by I. M. Pei for the Webb and Knapp submission, shown in diagrammatic section and elevation on the opposite page, placed three-story town houses opposite and adjacent to the historic church and houses, and concentrated all the new apartment construction in three simple towers well removed from the historic buildings. This scheme was immediately adopted as the basis for construction. Pei's sensitivity to the design structure of the larger area is shown by the perspective sketch (D) which he included in his submission. The positioning of each of his three towers is precisely determined by a series of influences impinging on this site from the outside, one centering on the greenway alongside Saint Paul's Church (B), one on the axis of the Market Head House (A), and one on the town house court which is part of his scheme. From the river they have a vigor consistent with the scale of the topography and the expressway movement (C)

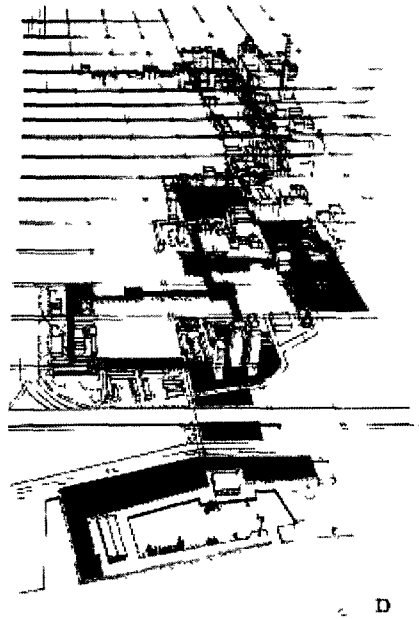


Figure 93. I.M. Pei plan for Society Hill Redevelopment, from Edmund Bacon, A.I.A., "Downtown Philadelphia: A Lesson in Design for Urban Growth." preprint from *Architectural Record* (May 1961)
Collection of author.

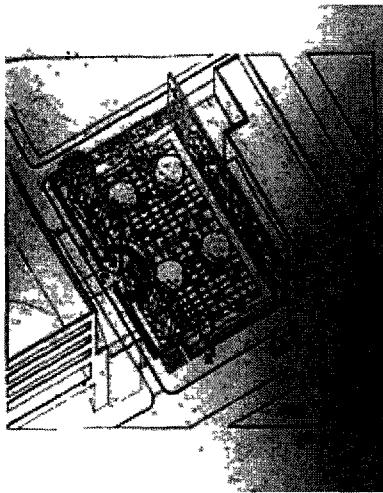


Figure 94. Venturi and Rauch plan for Welcome Park,
Second Street, Philadelphia. 1981.
Gatter Notebooks, Independence National Historic Park Archives.



Figure 95. Welcome Park, Second Street, Philadelphia.
Photo by author.

APPENDIX: TIMELINE

- 1644 William Penn born on October 14th
- 1652 George Fox founds the Society of Friends (Quakers) at Pendle Hill
- 1660 William Penn enters Oxford
Restoration of the Stuart monarchy, Charles II installed as monarch.
- 1662 Penn expelled from Oxford for religious nonconformity
- 1663 Penn studies at Protestant Academy in Saumur, France
- 1665 Penn enters Lincoln Inn, London to study law
- 1667 Penn converts to Quakerism in Ireland
- 1670 Sir Admiral William Penn dies
- 1672 William Penn marries Gulielma Maria Springett
- 1675 Penn arbitrates disputes between Quakers in West Jersey and becomes a trustee of West Jersey
- 1677 Penn travels to Germany and Holland
- 1680 Penn petitions Charles II for a colony in America
- 1681 King Charles II grants William Penn the Charter for Pennsylvania
Penn lobbies the Duke of York for rights to the Lower Counties
Penn writes *Some Account of Pennsylvania*
Thornton and Seller *Map of Pennsylvania* printed
Penn elected as a member of the Royal Society in November
- 1681-1683 John Houghton publishes the periodical *Collection of Letters for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*
- 1682 Penn publishes the first *Frame of Government*
Penn sails on *Welcome to Pennsylvania* in August, arrives in New Castle in October
Free Society of Traders founded
Penn receives deeds to Lower Counties from the Duke of York
First grant of Indian land negotiated by Penn agents in July
- 1683 William Penn begins construction of new house at Pennsbury
Penn writes Letter to the Free Society of Traders

- 1683 Penn writes about sturgeon and other resources to Royal Society members
Francis Daniel Pastorius arrives in Pennsylvania
- 1684 Penn returns to England
- 1685 Charles II dies, James II becomes King of England
- 1687 Thomas Holme's *A Map of the Improved Part of the Province of Pennsylvania in America* first published
- 1688 Glorious Revolution, William and Mary crowned King and Queen of England
- 1691-1693 Penn in hiding
- 1694 Gulielma Penn dies
- 1696 Penn marries Hannah Callowhill
- 1699 Penn returns to Pennsylvania. Hannah accompanies him
Slate Roof House constructed by this date
- 1700 John Penn born in Pennsylvania
- 1701 Penns return to England
- 1702 William III dies, Queen Anne crowned
- 1712 Penn suffers strokes
- 1714 Queen Anne dies, George I of Hanover crowned
- 1718 Penn dies
- 1726 Hannah Penn dies
- 1792 Penn heirs sell Pennsbury
- 1864 Slate Roof House, Philadelphia torn down
- 1886 Alexander Milne Calder statue of William Penn cast
- 1892 Alexander Milne Calder statue of William Penn installed on Philadelphia
City Hall Tower
- 1939 Reconstructed Pennsbury opens to the public

1982 Welcome Park constructed on 2nd Street, Philadelphia

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VITA

Catharine Dann Roeber was born in Ann Arbor, Michigan in 1976. She holds a BA in Anthropology from The College of William and Mary (1998) and a MA from the Winterthur Program in Early American History at the University of Delaware (2000). Catharine currently works at Winterthur Museum and has published reviews and articles in *Antiques and Fine Art* and the *Winterthur Portfolio*.