A FAIR AND IMPARTIAL SEATING?

DIVISION, DISTRIBUTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF

LAND IN SOUTHEASTERN PENNSYLVANIA

1682-1741

The Application of the Land Policies and Practices of William Penn
And other Proprietary Officials to
Roxborough, Chestnut Hill, Whitemarsh and Springfield
In the Lower Wissahickon Valley.

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Introduction[i]

"The . . . Commissioners are hereby further desired and required to take the greatest care that Justice and Impartiality be observed towards all in the disposal of Land," stated William Penn in his *Proclamation Concerning Seating of Land* of 24 January 1686/7.

Despite these orders, the early history of the seating of land in Pennsylvania was not as honest and impartial as Penn desired. Not only did his appointed commissioners and officers show favoritism towards friends and associates, Penn himself was guilty of assigning land to trusted counselors, investors, associates, and family, both within the newly established city of Philadelphia and among the country lands that surrounded the capital. Even after this proclamation was sent to his Commissioners of Property to be circulated, the Commissioners felt it necessary to postpone its publication as long as possible.

The seating and initial development of Southeastern Pennsylvania depended upon many factors: the ideas and policies devised by William Penn, his appointment of close friends and family to key positions in the new proprietary government, actions taken by these officials relative to Penn's policies, and the boundaries of land grants. The shape of later growth evolved from the topography of the region and the actions of local officials regarding the placement of main and side roads.

Many of Penn's ideas and land policies were rooted in medieval feudalism. The freedoms offered by fee-simple ownership of land ran counter to the reliance upon a landed nobility that had been integral to feudal power. Penn's adherence to these old traditions sparked much dissatisfaction

in his new colony. Differences between the private nature of the Proprietary and the openness of a free land-based economy lay at the heart of the distrust and the confrontations between the proprietary government and its settlers for almost 100 years.

Virtually all areas in Pennsylvania were affected by a combination of these factors. Four townships - Roxborough, Creesam[1], Springfield and Whitemarsh - illustrate different ways in which Penn's policies were actually applied and how actions of various officials shaped the character of each locality. Many noted historians, including Hannah Benner Roach, Gary Nash, Donna Bingham Munger, Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn, have rightly focused upon the relationship between the purchase of Pennsylvania acreage and the acquisition of lots within the city of Philadelphia as an underlying cause in the political instability of the early period. Little note has been given, however, to the effect of these policies on the origins and growth of many of the contemporary outlying regions as well.

Despite the hardships encountered by William Penn's surveying teams led by Thomas Holme, the work they accomplished has defined much of the physical and political landscape of Southeastern Pennsylvania for over 300 years. Most of the townships within the original three counties of Bucks, Chester and Philadelphia share a common heritage. They owe their existence and boundaries to a combination of the original surveys and land grants, the quiltwork of ideas, policies and plans promulgated by Penn, and the work of his assigned commissioners and deputies in translating these into reality during the last twenty years of the 17th century. However, few places in Pennsylvania illustrate so dramatically the tensions among the originating principles, policies and practices during the land rush of the 1680s and 1690s as well as these four adjacent townships that bordered the lower Wissahickon Valley.

[1] Cresheim

The actions of Penn, his agents, and his surveyors, especially Thomas Fairman, dominated the original division of land within this immediate region. After his arrival in 1682, wherever possible, in marked contrast to his 1686 proclamation, Penn rewarded his initial investors and friends with favorable sites such as those along the Schuylkill River in Roxborough. In contrast, the founding of Germantown, of which Creesam is a part, required some politicking by its founders in order that a single large tract could be assigned and divided among the members of a small company. These members chose to pick their lots without any favoritism in a drawing conducted "openly and honestly."

The initial partitions of the area surrounding the lower Wissahickon Valley, most of which were surveyed by Fairman, were predicated upon geometric surveys made to satisfy quickly the demands of the earliest land purchasers. When viewing those of Roxborough and Whitemarsh, one sees that the topography of this region played only a minor role in the initial allotments. Later, it became the salient feature, however, denoting the boundaries of subdivisions and the focus of development. Specifically, land along the chief natural features of the various bodies of water became highly prized, as did land along the few roads that were opened. The latter process was one among several particular actions of provincial and county government officials that determined to a large extent the ultimate divisions and developments of this region.

The four areas studied lie astride the Wissahickon Creek from its mouth to a point approximately nine miles upstream. Three of the four townships originally possessed some frontage on the Schuylkill River as well, although the tract for Springfield was reduced initially by a mismeasurement and never adjusted. In addition, Penn intended for Germantown to have access to the Schuylkill similar to Springfield's "strip" but later ordered it removed. Both of these major

streams, as well as a host of smaller flows feeding into one or the other of these waterways, played large roles during the early history of the four townships. The Wissahickon joins the Schuylkill approximately one-half mile north of the Falls of the Schuylkill, which themselves lie about four miles north of "Fair Mount," the site of the present Museum of Art. Although mostly submerged in modern times owing to the existence of the Fairmount Dam, the falls designated the limit of any ocean-going navigation of the Schuylkill during the 17th and 18th centuries.

The Wissahickon itself is steeped in history, legend and tradition. The creek stretches about 19 miles in length, rising in the center of the current Montgomery County and flowing for thirteen miles through the Whitemarsh Valley before entering the gorge that it created between Germantown and Roxborough (within Philadelphia County). Along the lower reaches of the creek are a number of tributaries that feed the Wissahickon. The chief of these are Sandy Run, which enters the Wissahickon near Fort Washington, Cresheim Creek which forms an unofficial boundary between the neighborhoods of Chestnut Hill and Mount Airy, Gorgas Run which empties the Roxborough highlands, and Paper Mill Run (or Monoshone Creek) over which Lincoln Drive in Mount Airy has been placed. Other smaller tributaries, some with no name, bisect Roxborough, Springfield and Whitemarsh townships. In the western parts of Whitemarsh, Manor and Spring Mill creeks provide additional waters directly to the Schuylkill River. It is interesting to note, however, that whereas the Schuylkill River influenced the initial land division in Philadelphia County, the Wissahickon Creek played no role whatsoever in the original creation of the political landscape.

What is significant about these four townships of the lower Wissahickon is that each provides an example of a different land allocation policy as applied to the seating of land. Each, though, shares a common element in that Thomas Fairman conducted virtually all of the initial surveys within them. Chestnut Hill lies in the northern reaches of Germantown township, a township which has

been well-researched regarding its lower end, but not as well documented in its "back end." Despite Penn's misgivings, Germantown became a joint venture township, one in which a number of purchasers pooled their claims on Pennsylvania land into a single purchase. Germantown also enjoyed a degree of autonomy largely missing from most other townships of the early period. Creesam, an unofficial township that formed the upper part of Germantown, is the area least affected by Penn's officials because Penn granted the entire Germantown tract to Francis Daniel Pastorius as agent for the Frankfort Company. The divisions within this section were not made solely by Thomas Holme, Thomas Fairman or any of the other surveyors under the direction of the proprietary government but were agreed upon by Pastorius and fellow German immigrants.

Roxborough, composed of eleven grants that lay between Germantown and the Schuylkill River, coalesced into a separate township by the beginning of the 18th century. Almost all of the patentees of Roxborough lands overlooking the Schuylkill and Wissahickon were Original or First Purchasers, close associates of Penn in England and leaders of Pennsylvania in the early years. Their lands along the Schuylkill constituted part of the country land promised to them with their purchases.

The Manor of Springfield, meanwhile, was reserved by Penn to provide a steady source of income for himself and members of his family. Charles II's charter to William Penn allowed him to establish manors with certain privileges. Discussions about the concept and workings of the manors, as well as many of the early large grants, involves the principle of land tenancy, a concept which had been successful in England during the Middle Ages but was slowly dying out during this colonial period. Many of the original settlers on the manor lands do not receive the recognition due to them for their work in clearing the land and making it civilized. They rented the land directly from William Penn, and not all of their names and accomplishments have survived to the present day. Owing to the controls exercised by Penn and his family, the eventual transfer of land from Penn to

private owners in Springfield occurred gradually over the next century and resulted some rather unusual property boundaries.

Whitemarsh represents an example of a large grant to a single investor who was responsible for the establishing a number of tenants on the land. A gross mismeasurement of this grant resulted in a territory that encompassed acreage almost eighty percent larger than authorized in the purchase. The subsequent disposal of this mismeasured land demonstrates quite vividly the problem of "overplus" land that was caused by inaccurate surveys. Penn authorized many resurveys in order to discover similar instances in which purchasers had obtained excess property. A secondary system for granting "overplus" land became the norm for Penn's commissioners, especially in areas that the commissioners considered prime.

Despite the differences in the origins of the four areas, the residents soon discovered a common thread with the Wissahickon Creek. Land divisions in the areas surrounding the creek were often created with the creek as a boundary. Major roads, including Germantown Avenue and Ridge Avenue, were opened through the four townships by provincial action. These tied the residents together. Side roads were generally created along existing boundary lines as feeder arteries to the main thoroughfares. Bisection of a single property by a road often resulted in the division and sale of the property with the road as one boundary.

The story presented here has been taken from a variety of sources, principally the land records available at the City Archives of Philadelphia. Missing records, owing primarily to the failure to record deeds and other instruments or to mismanagement of records in the county and city government over time, has made it difficult to ascertain properly the true course of events relating to many properties.[2] The remaining record of events, however, is enough to demonstrate quite clearly

[2] A full discourse on the problem with these records will be found in the Appendix.

how land was distributed and developed during this early period of Pennsylvania history. Penn had clear ideas about the methods in which he would allocate and sell land. Surveying problems and growing disillusionments with Penn's policies began to corrupt these ideals. The history of these four townships reflect both the ideals and eventual realities concerning the division of land within Pennsylvania.

Part I: Creating Order from a Wilderness

In the latter months of 1681, William Penn received the sad news that his cousin, Silas Crispin, had died on a voyage from England to Penn's new American colony. This news was a setback to Penn's plans, for he had entrusted Crispin with the crucial responsibility of surveying the colony, locating the site of the future primary capital town, and organizing a process that could easily and quickly translate the deeds of lease and release with which Penn had provided to investors into actual real property. Crispin's death held up this process, especially on the American end, as the surviving commissioners were empowered with lesser roles in the founding of the colony. Penn assessed the talent available to him both in England and America for Crispin's replacement and decided upon the appointment of Thomas Holme as Surveyor General, which he made on 18 April 1682.

Thomas Holme (1624-1695) was a native of Lancashire and a former army captain. He served in the English army from 1642 to 1656 on the parliamentary side during the English Civil War. His engineering and surveying skills were recognized during a tour of duty in Ireland in the early 1650s. While here, he supervised the repair of Castle Gore and conducted a survey of county Kerry, the latter occurring in 1654. After his discharge, he settled upon an Irish estate, one of many awarded to army veterans. Prior to leaving the army, he had converted to the Quaker faith, which may explain why he forsook a military career at the age of only 32. Like other converts, Holme endured many hardships during the next twenty-five years. By the early 1680s, he was well-respected in the Society of Friends, and considered by many, both within and outside the faith, to be one of its leaders. Certainly Penn, who had known Holme for many years, had little hesitancy in asking Holme to accept the position of Surveyor General and assist him in the planting of the new colony, both spiritually and professionally.

Holme faced the daunting task of bringing order out of chaos in Pennsylvania. Much of the land was an untracked and unmapped wilderness, except in the areas bordering the lower Delaware river and bay where early Swedish, Dutch and English settlements dotted the landscape and produced a bevy of conflicting titles to the land. William Markham (1635-1704), another of Penn's cousins and deputy governor of Pennsylvania, engaged Thomas Fairman and Lasse Cock to assist him in surveying the land in preparation for settlement. They toured the area along the Delaware and discovered that many of the existing titles dated to the 1640s and had been granted or ratified by the Duke of York. Penn would have to clear the title to much of this land before allowing new purchasers to occupy it. Markham recognized the futility in establishing Penn's new capital city, the center of Pennsylvania government and economy, along the lower stretches or around the existing town of Upland. He decided to wait for Holme and Penn before proceeding with the identification of a proper site. He did establish the beginnings of proprietary and provincial government of the colony with the formation of the first Provincial Council.

William Penn's actual title in the land conferred upon him many privileges not enjoyed by most other colonial founders. In many ways, he conceived of the land as that of an English barony and planned the disposition of land in ways similar to those found on the English isle. In attempting to attract investors to Pennsylvania, he offered many benefits to those who settled on the land and attracted others to it. As Gary Nash has stated, "the colonization of Pennsylvania was carefully plotted from the first. . . [Penn's] basic need was not for colonists, whom he knew he would have little difficulty recruiting, but for capital to finance his visionary scheme."[3] Lawrence Lewis, in his excellent study of the original land titles in Philadelphia, stated that, under the terms of his charter, Penn and his heirs were allowed to "assign, alien, grant, demise, or enfeoff of the premises, so many,

[3] Gary B. Nash, *Quakers and Politics: Pennsylvania, 1681-1726* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993), 9-11.

and such parcels (of land) to him to them that should be willing to purchase the same as they should think fit, to have and to hold to them, the said person or persons willing to take and purchase, their heirs and assigns, in fee simple, fee tail, or for the term of life, lives, or years."[4] In his first attempts to sell Pennsylvania to prospective buyers, few of whom had ever seen any part of the American colonies, Penn lauded all of the possible attributes of the new land, without mentioning the drawbacks of settling in this particular locale. As he states, "The Place lies 600 miles nearer the Sun than England . . . I shall say little in its praise, to excite desires in any, whatever I could truly write as to the Soil, Air and Water: This shall satisfie me, that . . . it may be a good and fruitful Land."[5]

[4] Lawrence Lewis, Jr. , *An Essay on Original Land Titles in Philadelphia.*, (Philadelphia: Kay & Brother. 1880), 55.

[5] William Penn, "Some account of the province of Pennsilvania in America; Lately Granted under the Great Seal of England to William Penn, etc. Together with Privileges and Powers necessary to the well-governing thereof. Made publick for the Information of such as are or may be disposed to Transport themselves or Servants into those Parts." [1681] republished in Albert Cook Myers, *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania West New Jersey and Delaware*. (1912), 207.

The Mechanics of Land Settlement

Penn's words remind us that he had to compete with several other colonies, including the neighboring Quaker-dominated East and West Jersey, with which Penn had been involved during the 1670s and early 1680s. His experiences with these colonies, as well as his observations of the transformation of New Netherlands into New York, taught him caution regarding land titles and other disruptive baggage that threatened the stability of these efforts. Boundary disputes marred his oversight of this colony and made him determined to create a system that would eliminate this problem as much as possible. He established a three-part process that involved the use of warrants, surveys and patents. One must remember that all of his initial investors were buying undefined blocks of acreage in Pennsylvania. Therefore, a buyer in England or Europe did not acquire actual title to 1,000 or 5,000 acres but a right to possess this amount. Only when the purchaser or his agent arrived in Pennsylvania could he (or she) lay claim to a specified tract within the colony.

In his attempts to overcome some of the disputes that would arise concerning land, William Penn established several concepts and offices to guide the proper "seating of land" and ensure that the minimum of disputes would arise. Unfortunately, in trying to placate those who invested heavily in his dream, Penn often issued orders contradictory to his plans and awarded those who were closest to him with prime locations. He also faced the reality of not possessing purely virgin land: the land along the western part of the Delaware river up to the site of Philadelphia already hosted Swedes, Dutch and English, all of whom held title to their grounds under grants from preceding governments. In addition, Penn's settlers had ideas different from those of the Proprietor regarding the ways they wished to develop their lands. As Penn only visited his colony twice during his lifetime, the implementation of orders issued from England, although they may have had the effect of law, were dependent principally upon the wishes and capabilities of his appointed Commissioners. The records of the Commissioners indicate that they did not always follow Penn's instructions and wishes.

Under the system established by Penn, each purchaser, after his arrival in the colony, applied either to the Proprietor or, in the Proprietor's absence, to the Commissioners of Property (also known as the Commissioners on Proprietary) for his country lands. The commissioners would verify the deeds of lease and release produced by the purchaser. They would issue a warrant to the Surveyor General requesting that a survey be completed for the appropriate acreage. After his receipt of the warrant, the Surveyor General would assign a surveyor to locate and lay out a tract. Sometimes the purchaser would accompany the surveyor to designate a particular location that he fancied. When the surveyor finished his field work, he prepared a written description of the metes and bounds which was returned to the Secretary of the Land Office. These metes and bounds would be included in the final patent. The patent became the legal instrument by which the proprietary government transferred ownership. As Lewis states, "a patent was in form and effect a deed poll granting lands in fee simple to the patentee ..." Apparently, many of the first purchasers, since they had received a deed from Penn and his agents in London, failed to obtain a patent to complete their title but enjoyed all of the rights of ownership as if a patent had been issued.[6] This violated Penn's conception of accurate record-keeping and has caused no end of problems in determining the original titles to many of the lands in Pennsylvania. It also played no small part in the various title disputes between the Penn family and Pennsylvania settlers before the Revolution. Subsequent purchasers of land within Pennsylvania followed the same procedure.

The development of Pennsylvania during the first several decades of its existence, from 1683 to 1720, is among the most intense instances of growth in the history of American colonization. Relatively untroubled by Indian depredations, protected on the north by New York, on the south by

[6] Lewis, *Original Land Titles*, 68-69, 79. There are several instances of land within Roxborough, Springfield and Whitemarsh in which patents were either not issued or not recorded.

Maryland and on the west by the mountains, and located upon one of the major waterways that penetrate the eastern coast of North America, Pennsylvania experienced a initial surge of immigration and opening period of growth that quickly made it an important destination for Europeans. Nash related that "by the close of 1685, when the first great wave of immigration ended, almost ninety ships had delivered about eight thousand immigrants to Pennsylvania, a population buildup unmatched in the annals of English civilization."[7] The expansion of the province, with its ample land and promises of religious toleration and equitable treatment of all settlers, was so sudden that within twenty-five years it ranked among the most populous of all of the American colonies. Such opportunities, however, created substantial problems; and land was repeatedly at the center of these.

In general, an individual's right of land ownership proved as strong a lure for Europeans to migrate to the American shores as any other inducement promoted by the founders of the various colonies. "Fee-simple ownership of real property denoted the nearly absolute right of the owner to , and the exclusion of all others from, the use of that piece of property, as defined by deed and physically marked by blazes, walls, or fences." A theory slow to develop in England, the concept of fee-simple ownership quickly gained acceptance in the British American colonies and "proved a powerful stimulus for expansion."[8] Many Europeans had worked their lands as tenants to a lord and not as individual owners. However, along with the widespread ownership of land came the inevitable disputes: boundaries, locations, rights, and curbs imposed on ownership among other issues. All of these are illustrated in the early development of Philadelphia County.

Penn's initial plans imposed the following conditions: first, he would sell land in 5,000 lots only, subject to a quitrent. Second, each purchaser would receive at least a part of his land which

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[7] Nash, *Quakers and Politics*, 50.

[8] James T. Lemon, "Spatial Order: Households in Local Communities and Regions," in Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole, editors, *Colonial British America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. c. 1984), 87.

would be located upon a navigable river. Third, there would be no sale of lots within the planned capital city - these would be awarded as bonuses to the purchasers of the first 500,000 acres of country land. Penn also allowed each settler who brought over a servant to receive an additional fifty acres free for each servant. At the expiration of his service, each male servant would receive fifty acres. Finally, anyone could rent up to 200 acres of land directly from the proprietor.[9]

By mid-July 1681, Penn revised his plans and policies owing to a realization that he might be unable to find 100 investors for the 5,000-acre parcels. In his "Certaine Conditions or Concessions" to the First Purchasers, he enlarged upon his initial statements. Although an investor might acquire a 5,000-acre share, Penn refused to allow any tract to exceed 1,000 acres, unless the purchaser seated a family upon each 1,000-acre tract within three years. The free bonus land for servants (headrights) of the initial purchasers and their subsequent release from service was now subject to quitrents higher than those charged to the purchasers for their shares. Finally, Penn was more specific in the awarding of the bonus lots within the city of Philadelphia. Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn commented that "by these 'Concessions," [Penn] discouraged large-scale land engrossing and speculation, limited the amount of free land he would be forced to give to servants and master, and obligated himself to lay out a capital city of considerable size."[10]

Although the establishment of a new colony involved many people whose responsibilities covered various political and economic aspects, Thomas Holme, unquestionably, became the most important man charged with the distribution of land. As the person chiefly responsible for locating suitable land for the new purchasers, overseeing the entire surveying process, and delivering the

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[9] Richard S. Dunn & Mary Maples Dunn, editors, *The Papers of William Penn* (hereafter referred as *PWP*), 5 vols., (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981-1987), II: 96-97; Donna Bingham Munger, *Pennsylvania Land Records: A History and Guide for Research* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, Inc. c. 1991), 10; Nash, *Quakers and Politics*, 18-19.

[10] *PWP*, II: 96-97.

finished surveys to Penn's Land Office, Holme wielded a great amount of power. Penn authorized Holme to survey the bounds for each purchaser's use as part of an order to Philip Ford, dated 22 May 1682, which detailed the list of people who had purchased Pennsylvania shares in England. Holme made the final decision about how the actual land would be divided in Pennsylvania. He employed a grid pattern for laying out lots within the northwest parts of the county of Philadelphia similar to that used for the city of Philadelphia. His deputy surveyors adhered to this grid pattern whenever possible. The grid was easy for the surveyors to lay out tracts. It did not, however, make any allowances for the topography of the region. The purchasers had little choice but to enjoy and use the various "Rivers, Riveletts, Woods & Underwoods, Waters, Watercourses, Quarryes, Mines & Minerall[s] (except Mines Royall,) . . . " within the lands allotted to them.[11]

The problems faced by Penn and his surveyors included the recognition and extinguishment of existing claims by the Swedes and Dutch, the mapping of an uncharted wilderness, and the fulfillment of the demands of the original investors. With little personal knowledge of the topography of his new colony, Penn originally had directed the surveyors to lay out tracts upon large navigable streams and rivers, much as those found in the other colonies that occupied the North American coastal plain. But the topography of Pennsylvania was not that of East and West New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia. The large navigable rivers envisioned by Penn were not features of his new colony. The Delaware river forms the eastern boundary for the colony. Therefore only one side of the river was available for Penn's settlement. The Schuylkill's navigable qualities end less than ten miles from its mouth. The

[11] The grid employed by Holme and the deputies relied upon an orientation that ran at northeast and northwest angles. The straight lines were measured on northeast-southwest/northwest-southeast axes. It is obvious from modern re-plotting of these lines that Holme relied upon a magnetic compass. The plots are measured on a line approximately 8 degrees west of true north. [In the late 20th century, magnetic north is about 11 degrees west of true north.] Corrections to the surveying lines were not made until the 1750s and 1760s at the earliest. In a series of deeds relating to 170 acres in Whitemarsh, the initial deed executed in 1769 has the measurements on the northwest-southeast axis. Four years later, in 1773, the measurements have been changed "agreeable to the present direction of the magnetic needle." Montgomery County Deed Book (MCDB) 27: 744-745, Philip Miller and Anna Barbara, his wife, to John Peter Miller, 15 November 1769; MCDB 27: 745-747, John Peter Miller and Catharine, his wife, to Robert Waln, 25 December 1773. Both deeds were recorded in 1812. There are other deeds executed in the late 1750s which have already begun to recognize the difference between true north and magnetic north. "Certaine Conditions or Concessions," 11 July 1681. *PWP*, II: 99

mighty (if shallow) Susquehanna lay too far westward to affect the initial development of Pennsylvania. Laying the foundation for future tensions and controversy, Penn, Holme and the deputy surveyors chose largely to ignore the topography of Pennsylvania in surveying and issuing grants of land to the purchasers. Unlike Virginia for instance, which issued land grants that usually bordered upon some body of water[12], most of Pennsylvania's original surveys follow the geometric grid-like pattern which was based largely but remotely upon the courses of the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers.

Penn envisioned an orderly settling of the land starting at the Delaware river and gradually moving inland. As land was granted and settled, new lands to the westward would then become available for purchase and settlement. He did not want large parcels of vacant ground between the settled parts. With the importance of ocean and river traffic for commerce, many of the first purchasers insisted on frontage upon either the Delaware River or a lesser navigable stream. These men looked at the examples of New York, East and West Jersey and Virginia where in a rural economy the landowners maintained large plantations and traded directly with Amsterdam and London merchants, rather than through colonial intermediaries. But the terrain of southeastern Pennsylvania altered many of the ideals set forth in Penn's original broadsides. Very little of the Atlantic coastal plain falls within the boundaries of his grant. Without the ocean frontage and a multitude of possible harbor facilities, Penn had to strike compromises with the desires of potential purchasers. The lowlands that surround the rivers of Virginia, Maryland and New Jersey quickly dissipate into a rolling countryside in Pennsylvania. Therefore, the amount of navigable waters for ocean-going commerce pales in comparison with the opportunities in the southern colonies. As one visitor to Pennsylvania in 1748 wrote, "The ground ceased to be so even as it was before, and began

[12] See Nell Marion Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants*, 3 vols. (Richmond: Virginia State Library and Archives. 1977-1992 [Volume 1 originally published 1934]), *passim*.

to look more like the *English* ground, diversified with hills and vallies. We found neither mountains nor great stones. . . ."[13] Streams and creeks cut through the piedmont region, producing a varied landscape. This varied nature meant that Penn and his agents quickly had to rescale the entire system of land distribution, including the land reserved for the proposed primary city or town. It was upon the realization that there was not enough unoccupied coastal land to suit the purposes of all the purchasers that Penn sharply curtailed the amount that any one purchaser could hold close to the Delaware river or to the city of Philadelphia.

Penn also had to rescale the major town which he planned as the focus of his colony. In doing so, however, he may have indeed achieved what he sought: a central market location which consolidated the interests of his colony in one place. For with the establishment of Philadelphia in one of the few places in his colony convenient to both ocean-going traffic and land and inland waterway traffic, Penn created a locus for both the economic and political life, which quickly pushed his new town into a position of prime importance to the American colonies. Certainly, the nature of the spread-out plantations and developments in the Jerseys, Delaware, Maryland and the southern colonies forestalled such a central location at an equivalent early stage in their respective histories.[14]

But the practices of the Virginians and others obviously had an effect upon the thoughts and desires of those persons seeking land in Pennsylvania. Francis Daniel Pastorius, acting on behalf of the Frankfort Company, contracted with Penn's agent in Rotterdam, Benjamin Furley, for the purchase of 15,000 acres located upon a navigable stream.[15] Surely other purchasers wished the same privilege for themselves. Some of Penn's compromises regarding the allotment and placement of

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[13] Peter Kalm, *Travels into North America*, trans. John Reinhold Forster. (Barre, Massachusetts: The Imprint Society, 1972), 51-52.

[14] For a more comprehensive history of the founding of Philadelphia, see Hannah Benner Roach, "The Planting of Philadelphia," *PMHB,* XCII (January & April 1968), 3-47, 143-194.

[15] Marion Dexter Learned, *The Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius* (Philadelphia: William J. Campbell. 1908), 127.

various grants were attempts to allow as many purchasers as possible access to the available navigable waters.

Many of Penn's investors planned to escape the religious persecution in England and begin new lives on the western shores of the Atlantic Ocean. By the time both Holme and Penn arrived in Pennsylvania, in late summer and early fall of 1682 respectively, they were confronted with many of the purchasers who had arrived and were already demanding their acreage. In addition, other individuals, attracted to the idealism of the new colony, arrived without notice from Europe and other American colonies looking for land. The job which Holme had undertaken could not be orderly and unrushed. Instead, he felt the pressures of finding and surveying land throughout the colony for various individual and collective group purchasers whose agents had arrived in Pennsylvania. In addition, he had to locate and lay out the capital city which Penn insisted should serve as a beacon for the economic growth of the colony. Conflicting instructions from Penn complicated matters. Penn had to agree to many compromises to the initial plans which he had originally transmitted to Holme. Finally, Holme had to rely heavily upon deputy surveyors, such as Thomas Fairman, who owed their commissions directly to Penn and not to Holme, leaving him without the powers to discharge those with whom he found wanting in their skills and duties.[16] In addition, Fairman and several of the others had already done much of the preliminary work around Philadelphia and were thus more familiar with the terrain and topography than Holme could hope to be upon his arrival. Nevertheless, Captain Holme bravely carried out his instructions to complete surveys of "the exact quantities of every distinct and individual part and parcel of land in the said colony."[17]

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[16] There is a question as to the amount of supervisory control Holme possessed. Penn apparently appointed a number of the deputy surveyors and Holme appealed to Penn several times without success for the removal of several who flaunted the rules propounded by Penn.

[17] Probably the best account of the founding of Pennsylvania from the perspective of a real estate development and the movements of the surveyors relating to the creation of the colony is Hannah Benner Roach's "The Planting of Philadelphia: A Seventeenth-Century Real Estate Development," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography (PMHB),* XCII (January and April 1968): 3-47, 193-194.

Penn's instructions to Holme to conduct this survey emphasize one of his major goals for Pennsylvania - the identification of available disposable land from which Penn could expect an unending and steady income which would save him from financial ruin. As one historian noted, Penn had three objectives in the distribution of property in Pennsylvania: "to secure a substantial and steady income for himself, to offer land on terms that would be competitive with those advertised by the proprietors of others colonies, and to insure the rapid, yet orderly development of his new colony."[18] He hoped that the proceeds from the sales, and the feudal quitrent system which he was empowered to establish, would defray many of the expenses he incurred to attract investors and settlers, and to pay for the costs of Holme, the deputy surveyors, and other facets of his proprietorship. Eager to see his financial goals fulfilled, especially after his return to England in 1685, Penn urged Holme on several occasions to prepare a map of Pennsylvania demonstrating the growth of the colony which he could show to his creditors, potential new investors, and to the Crown. Holme could not fully complete his initial survey until 1687, which he then sent to Penn for publication. The surveys as compiled by Holme appeared as *A Map of the Improved Part of the Province of Pennsilvania in America*, published by Robert Green and John Thornton.

The massive amount of work which the orderly creation of a new colony demanded from the Surveyor General's office prevented a quick and accurate accounting of the land. As most of the early sales occurred in Penn's offices in England or with Penn's European agents, the lack of a complete set of records available to Holme in the colony's embryonic period hampered his planning work in seating all of the Purchasers. The placement of these grants strained the resources of Holme and his deputies, who had to locate and survey hundreds of tracts. With the exception of the previously-settled southeastern corner, there existed little reliable information about the topography

[18] *PWP*, II: 96.

of Pennsylvania. The production of the *Map of Some of the South and Eastbounds of Pennsylvania* in 1681 by John Thornton and John Seller for William Penn was only a promotional piece to attract investors. The inaccuracies of the map underscore the paucity of information available to Penn and the surveying teams. The surveyors would have to tramp into the wilderness in order to run lines over terrain which concealed many hidden features. Plotting these lines proved an inexact science, at best. As a result, many inaccurate and conflicting surveys were unavoidable and would require many resurveys of property throughout the 17th and 18th centuries in order to reconcile boundaries.

Although most of the deputy surveyors were permitted to work throughout the colony, many of them preferred to survey within a single county. Robert Longshore, Israel Taylor, Thomas Fairman and Charles Ashcombe were four of the principal deputy surveyors who worked during the first two decades of the colony's existence. Taylor was primarily concerned with Bucks county; Ashcombe operated in Chester county; and Fairman and Longshore divided Philadelphia county between them. No formal division of labor has been located between Fairman and Longshore. Longshore surveyed in both the city and county of Philadelphia. Surviving surveys indicate that Fairman did most of his work in the county. A list of his surveys from 1682 to 1686 contains surveys in virtually every one of the northwest Philadelphia County townships.

Walter Klinefelter, researching the history of Thomas Holme's 1687 map of Pennsylvania, states that "Holme stands out among Penn's appointees for his faithful commitment to the best interests of his employer, but it was the surveyor general's misfortune to have several deputies of questionable honesty; the most unreliable being Charles Ashcombe, who contrived to breach nearly every regulation the proprietor had laid down for field work."[19] Klinefelter continues by detailing

[19] Walter Klinefelter, "Surveyor General Thomas Holme's 'Map of the Improved Part of the Province of Pennsilvania,'" *Winterthur Portfolio,* 6 (1970): 42.

some of the abuses, which included surveying more land than called for in the warrant, unauthorized surveys, especially in areas already patented to others; and the refusal to account for his surveying fees. Since Penn refused to punish Ashcombe with little more than a reprimand, other deputy surveyors, including Fairman and Taylor, followed Ashcombe's lead. Some of the abuses, especially that of surveying more land than warranted, affected the development of the areas surrounding the lower Wissahickon Valley. These surveying practices led to many problems which Penn had tried to avoid. His ideal for an orderly seating of land starting from the Delaware River and progressing westward had become corrupted. Later colonists discovered lands closer to Philadelphia had been suddenly opened for development. Resurveys of the original grants revealed the existence of "overplus" land - land which had been surveyed to the earlier purchasers but was unauthorized in their warrants. Penn's Commissioners, principally William Markham and John Goodson, began to issue warrants for this overplus land starting in the latter years of the 1680s.[20]

> The ignorance or haste of the early surveyors of this Province, together with the great difficulties of the ground, led to the commission of many errors in the original surveys of lands. It became, therefore, the custom to issue warrants of resurvey, either at the instigation of the Land Officers who suspected that a purchaser had obtained more, or at the instigation of a purchaser who suspected that he had obtained less, than the amount of land to which he was justly entitled by the requirements of his original warrant. An act was passed in 1700 authorizing the resurvey of land in these cases,

[20] The issue of overplus land is not to be confused with two other surveying issues: the allotment of a 6% overage for roads and public use of lands which several Acts of the Pennsylvania Assembly authorized, and the Philadelphia or District Standard Scale. The Philadelphia Standard Scale, used throughout the Philadelphia region beginning in the 1680s, allots an additional 2, 2½ or 3 inches per 100 feet measured. All of Center City, North, Northeast and Northwest Philadelphia (except Manayunk) are measured according to the 3-inch overage per 100 feet. Although not confirmed, it is probable that both Springfield and Whitemarsh were also originally surveyed according to the same scale. For a more detailed discussion on the Philadelphia Scale, see Edward J. Dauner, "Report on an Investigation into the Origin and Use of the Philadelphia (District) Standard of Linear Measure for Land Surveying," 12 December 1924. (Philadelphia City Archives, Record Group 90.)

> but it was repealed in England by the King in Council. Its provisions were, however substantially carried out, new patents being frequently granted to purchasers upon return of the amended survey. The Proprietary's instructions to the Commissioners, in 1687, to resurvey no lands within five miles of the River Delaware or any navigable river, were always wholly disregarded. Upon such resurvey, if it were found that a purchaser had too little land, he might obtain a warrant for the surplus. If, on the contrary, he were found to have too much, the remainder was set off under the name of "concealed land." This concealed land was ordered by the Proprietary, in his instructions of 1687, to be reserved for his own use, but was uniformly offered first to the original owner. If he refused to purchase, such lands were not sold on common terms, but only upon special agreement with the Commissioners.[21]

The inaccuracies of the various surveys in the Whitemarsh Valley, most of which were initially done by Thomas Fairman, played a large role in the region's development. Fairman (d. 1714) was one of the original settlers in Philadelphia and quickly rose to some prominence in the colony. He was appointed to William Markham's council in 1681 and served as a justice of the peace for Philadelphia in 1683. He began the surveys of the Delaware River and Philadelphia and is credited with at least 254 surveys between 1682 and 1713, many of them in northwestern Philadelphia County, east of the Schuylkill River. In fact, most of his surveys between 1682 and 1686 involve properties in this county. Fairman's mistakes led to one of more violent episodes recorded in early Pennsylvania history, that of the conflict between William Harmer and members of Major Jasper Farmar's extended family relative to the boundary between these two owners. Fairman was also charged with the surveying of the Manor of Springfield by William Penn. His mismeasurement, whether accidental or intentional, put the northwesterly line of Springfield closer to

[21] Lewis, *Original Land Titles*, 73-74. The "concealed land" was generally known as "overplus land."

Germantown and Roxborough than Penn originally wished. When the mistake was discovered, Penn's commissioners chose not to correct the line at Springfield but to create new land within the township of Whitemarsh for disposition. This action is an early indication of the tensions between Penn and the colonists over the issue of the creation of manor lands. If the Commissioners awarded the land to Springfield, then the land would revert to Penn for his personal management whereas by retaining Fairman's line between Springfield and Whitemarsh, the disputed land was placed in an area in which anyone could acquire it. The Springfield-Cheltenham line was similarly changed in favor of Cheltenham as part of an action which directly benefited Fairman's family.[22]

The only concession that Holme made to the topography of Philadelphia County in laying out the various country lands was to draw the northwestern boundary of the liberty lands near the fall line of the Schuylkill. Otherwise, almost all of the remaining tracts laid out followed the grid pattern prevalent in Philadelphia and Bucks counties.[23] This is especially noticeable in following the line between Roxborough and Germantown, which is based upon the generally rectangular surveys for the Schuylkill River lots and not upon the course of the Wissahickon Valley. This line divided the gorge between the two townships. Although most of the mills within the valley were located in Roxborough, the Wissahickon has generally been more associated with Germantown in their respective histories.

Later economic growth of the region relied more heavily upon the topography than the initial

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[22] A surviving listing of over 160 surveys by Fairman includes Jasper Farmar's survey of Whitemarsh, the survey for German Township, eight of the tracts within Roxborough, and several tracts within Springfield. Most of the remaining surveys are also identified as being located within the Philadelphia County. *Warrants and Surveys of the Province of Pennsylvania*, (hereafter referred as *Warrants & Surveys*) I: 372-374; *PWP*, II 336-337; III, 112

[23] Similarly, Holme made no concession to the topography of the city of Philadelphia when he published the *Portraiture of Philadelphia* in 1683. Subsequently, upon Penn's urging, the uniform Roman-camp aspect of the city was altered to allow the center square to rest upon the high point between the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers, a point which measurements proved to be closer to the Schuylkill than in the exact center between the two rivers. See Roach, "The Planting of Philadelphia," *passim*.

land divisions. As Stephanie G. Wolf mentioned, "the very steepness (of the Wissahickon gorge) made it difficult to cultivate the soil, and the dense thickets and heavy deciduous forests required almost superhuman effort to clear. The ground (of Germantown) was unusually rocky for the area, hampering efforts at farming. . . While there were plentiful springs to provide a good water supply for a large population and rapid streams to turn mill wheels, there was no navigable water and therefore no ready way to transport goods to market."[24] On the other hand, the flatland surrounding the Wissahickon Creek north of Chestnut Hill proved to be better suited for farming and probably led to Penn's decision to reserve this Springfield area for one of his manors.

Not surprisingly, the Wissahickon Creek and its tributaries became the lifeblood of the growth of the entire region. At least 33 mills have been identified as having been powered by the waters of either the Wissahickon or one of its major tributaries, including Monoshone Creek (Paper Mill Run), Cresheim Creek, and Sandy Run. The divisions of land soon focused on the availability of the water supply and the creek increasingly formed one of the boundaries of property throughout the 18th century. Although mills along the Schuylkill were rare until the dawn of 19th century industrialization, many mills could be found along some of the smaller creeks like the Wissahickon which fed the Schuylkill on both sides. The existence of these streams, especially those with year-around flows, made the land surrounding them more valuable to the early landowners.

[24] Stephanie Grauman Wolf, *Urban Village: Population, Community, and Family Structure in Germantown, Pennsylvania 1683-1800. (*Princeton: Princeton University Press. c. 1976), 24-25.

"According to the Method of Townships"

Once Penn established the system of land settlement, his next item involved the political organization of the land, both at a county and township level. He was very detailed in his concepts of proposed townships in Pennsylvania - concepts which failed to take root. The true story about the creation of townships may lie somewhere between the ideals of Penn and the realities of managing a new land whose boundaries and features remained vague even to the surveyors. Interestingly, each of the areas studied here became townships at one time or another in different fashion.

For administrative reasons, Penn divided Pennsylvania into three counties to which the three counties in Delaware were added under the Act of Union passed in December 1682. The Frames of Government passed in 1682 and 1683 established the legislative and executive functions of the colony. The counties were convenient divisions in which the residents would elect representatives to the Provincial Council and the Assembly, and a form for managing the colony as a whole. The county kept the land records, operated the systems for raising taxes and assisting the poor, and provided courts, roads, bridges and other trappings of civilization. Penn appears not to have invested much time or effort in creating any specific form of county or local governance, with the exception of issuing the various charters for the borough of Germantown and the city of Philadelphia, leaving this issue to the appointed judges of the Quarter Sessions Court. As the judges owed their appointments to Penn, the Proprietary government could influence and control any local government apparatus. A local elective system did not emerge until 1712 with the establishment and development of the county commissioner system by the Assembly.

As one of the original three counties of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia extended indefinitely to the Pocono Mountains. In 1752, it ceded its western territory to form part of Berks County.

Immediately following the American Revolution, the majority of its remaining territory broke off to form a new Montgomery County. This central area of Philadelphia County demonstrates the early problems encountered by Penn in distributing his land better than any other locale. His own shifting and sometimes contradictory land policies, faulty and devious surveying practices, joint ventures, attempts to form manors, conflict among land owners and renters, and frauds all contributed to the development of Philadelphia. In addition, unlike either Chester or Bucks Counties, the seating of a major city within Philadelphia meant that the politics often concerned urban rather than rural issues, or reflected the conflict between the two.[25]

Although the primary urban feature of Penn's development was Philadelphia, he planned for subsidiary communities throughout the various counties of Pennsylvania, which he called townships. His plantation system proposed in the initial draft of his "Account of Pennsilvania" was modified in part to create agricultural villages. Farmers, craftsmen, skilled and unskilled laborers, and others would reside in these villages, which would form the social, economic and religious center for the community. Eventually, a checkerboard pattern of towns and townships would emerge, not unlike those found in New England. One of his descriptions of his developing territory included this mention of his ideal township:

> Our Townships lie square; generally the Village in the Center; the Houses either opposit, or else opposit to the middle, betwixt two houses over the way, for near neighborhood. We have another Method, that tho the Village be in the Center, yet after a different manner: Five hundred Acres are allotted for the Village, which, among

[25] Interestingly, there appears little or no documentation or research into the causes of the split in Philadelphia County immediately following the Revolution. Philadelphia lost over 70% of its land. I have not seen the answer to the question - why were the boundaries drawn in the way they were? The urban vs. rural issues may have played a large role. Of the three original counties, Philadelphia fared the worse. Chester county and Bucks county were both subdivided several times but the remaining land within those counties is still substantial. Philadelphia is now one of the two smallest counties in Pennsylvania in terms of land area.

> ten families, comes to fifty Acres each: This lies square, and on the outside of the square stand the Houses, with their Fifty Acres running back, where ends meeting make the Center of the 500 Acres as they are to the whole. Before the Doors of the Houses lies the high way, and cross it, every man's 450 Acres of Land that makes up his Complement of 500, so that the Conveniency of Neighbourhood is made agreeable with that of the Land.[26]

On the other hand, Penn mentions that a township would consist of at least five thousand acres seated by ten families in order to ensure that an orderly settling of the land would occur and that large tracts of less desirable wilderness would not separate smaller clusters of settlements.

> Since there was no other thing I had in my Eye in the Settlement of this Province next to the advancement of Virtue, than the comfortable Situation of the Inhabitants therein and for that end, with the advice and consent of the most eminent of the first Purchasers, ordained that every Township consisting of five thousand Acres should have tenn familys at the least, to the end that the Province might not be like a Wilderness as some others yet do by vast vacant tracts of land, but be regularly improved for the benefit of Society in help, trade, education, Government, also Roads, travill, Entertainment, Etc., and finding that this single constitution is that which eminently prefers the Province in the esteem and choice of Persons of great Judgment, Ability and Quality to embarque with us and second our beginnings.[27]

What Penn attempted was not the township system as we understand it today but a series of agricultural villages which would uniformly mark the landscape. This vision may have influenced

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[26] William Penn, *A Further Account of the Province of Pennsylvania and its Improvements.* 1685, as transcribed in Albert Cook Myers, ed., *Narratives,* 263.

[27] William Penn, *A Proclamation concerning the Seating of Land,* 24th 11th Month, 1686. Pennsylvania Board of Property, Minute Book "C", Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, XIX: 5

Holme and the other surveyors in their adoption of the grid pattern. Each village would have some self-sufficiency but all would be dependent upon the capital city of Philadelphia. As both James T. Lemon and Stephanie Grauman Wolf have recognized, the settlers did not embrace the idea of the agricultural village but instead created dispersed farms and open-country neighborhoods with the lands granted to them. Indeed, Lemon continued by stating that "by the turn of the eighteenth century the agricultural village had become, in social terms, an anachronism."[28]

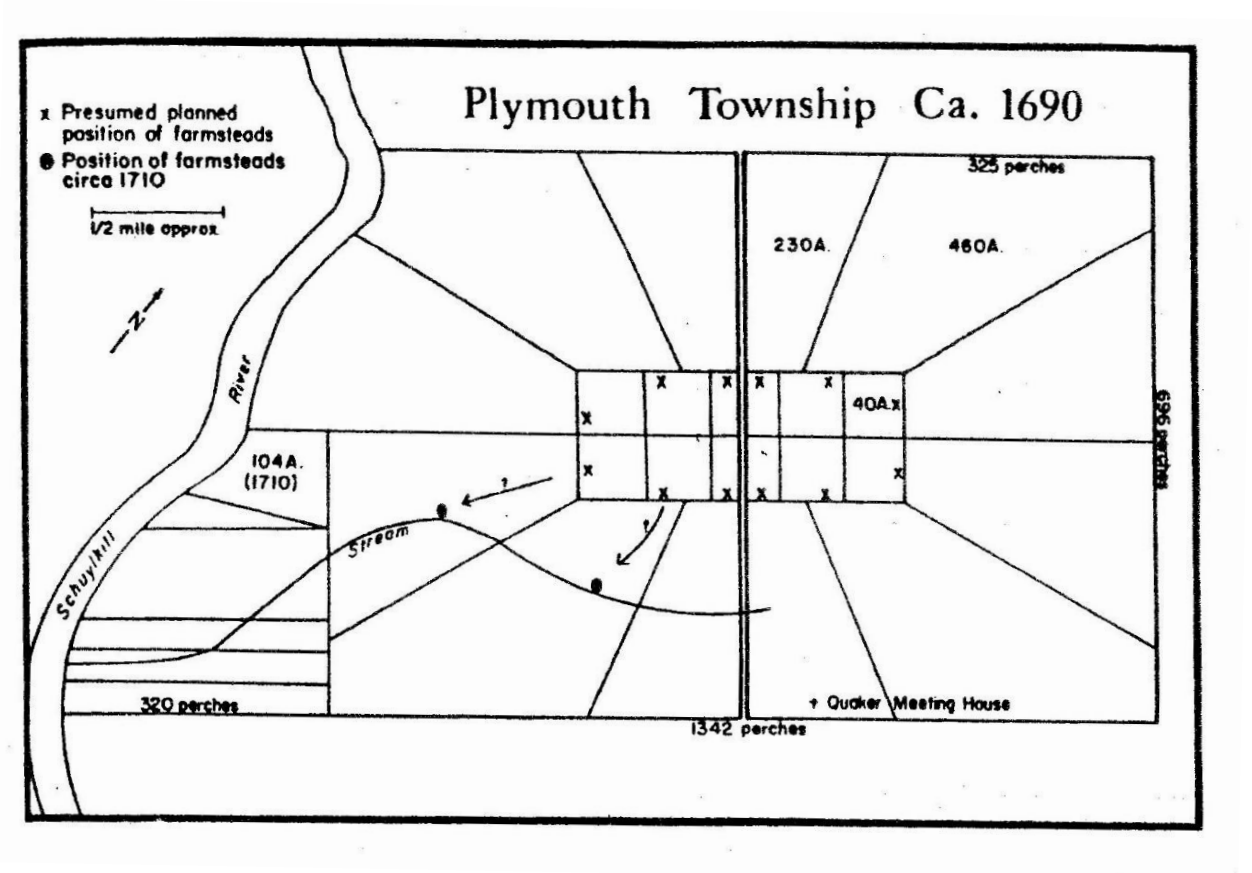
The rectangular surveys employed by Penn and his surveyors envisioned a series of townships based upon the principle that each 5,000 acres would have at least ten families seated upon it. A draft of tentative settlement in Plymouth Township [Map 1] illustrates one of Penn's concepts for the settlement of townships. In a 5,000 acre tract, each of ten families would hold a 50-acre tract in the center of the township bordering a

[28] James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company. c. 1972), xiii, 108; Wolf, *Urban Village,* 59.

Map 1: Plymouth Township, Philadelphia (Montgomery) County. 1690

From. James T. Lemon, The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania. (1972), p. 101.

This map of Plymouth Township as proposed, illustrates one type of township pattern advocated by Penn. Town lots around a central village street are backed by larger adjacent lots for farming and other agricultural pursuits. A central road bisecting the township provided access to the village from the outside.



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common road or green. Stretching from this "town" lot would be the balance of their 500 acres. Another concept, illustrated by Lemon [Map 2], called for farms of 100 acres to border a central road that divided the township into halves. Side lots (those located away from the central road) might be reserved for the children of the original purchasers or as additional land for those who purchased more than 100 acres.[29] Wolf inadvertently links Penn's formation of townships to a classical idea propounded by Plato in which he emphasized that each citizen should have two lots - one within the city and one outside the city.[30] Both designs, as illustrated, emphasize Penn's and Holme's decisions to divide land upon arbitrary geometric patterns rather than letting the topography of the region dictate their choices.

Only a few townships were actually laid out in a configuration similar to that proposed by Penn. One author has noted that "Penn's insistence on placing tracts next to each other had some impact" when comparing the orderliness of the early townships with those laid out further inland at a later time.[31] On the other hand, while the rigidity of laying everything out in accordance to straight lines worked well in an urban setting, it failed to take into account the vagaries of rural conditions. The growth of townships would often rest largely upon the accidents of the natural features contained within them.

Lucy Simler explains the concept of the township as a way in which Penn controlled the assignment of land. Penn wanted his surveyors to lay out land in a series of regular contiguous townships, beginning at the Delaware River and continuing westward into the country, so as not to

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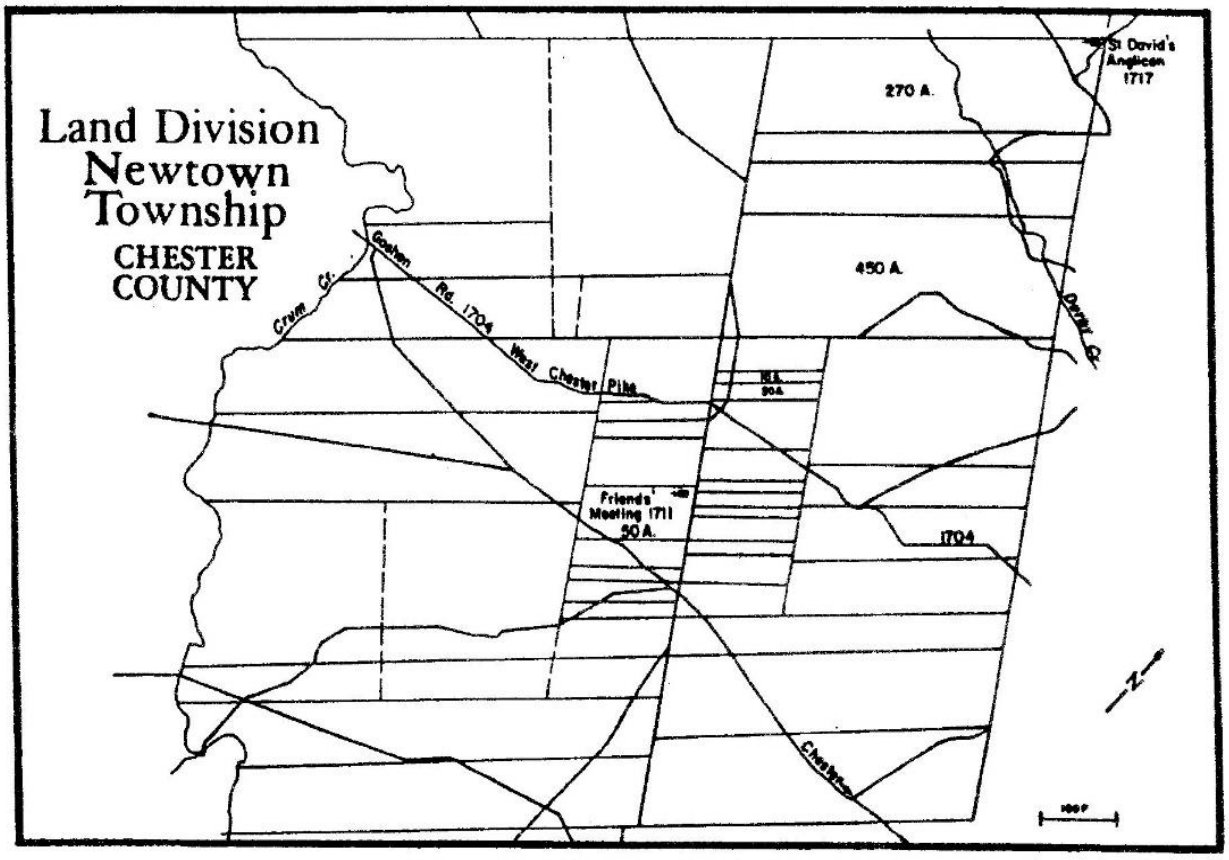
[29] Lemon, *Best Poor Man's Country*, 99-101. As Lucy Simler pointed out, Newtown, Chester county, the township illustrated by Lemon, was not a success following Penn's plan. Most of the farmers decided to settle on their plantations and sold off the village lots to latecomers.

[30] Wolf, *Urban Village*, p. 60. She was actually referring to Pastorius' division of Germantown at the time. However, the concepts between Penn and Pastorius obviously had the same roots.

[31] Munger, *Pennsylvania Land Records,* 18.

Map 2: Newtown Township, Chester County

From. James T. Lemon, The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania. (1972), p. 100 This map illustrates the other scheme proposed by William Penn as a layout for a typical township in Pennsylvania. Note the center line over which a road might be laid out. The scheme called for each settler to receive two lots: one in the central urban village and a farming lot in the outlying districts. There are some common elements between this scheme and the layout that Pastorius and other German settlers used for the village of Germantown.



Free site for access to an online version of the map or its source document, but you may need to register to 'borrow' and view page 100: [The best poor man's country; a geographical study of early southeastern Pennsylvania : Lemon, James T : Free Download, Borrow, and Streaming : Internet Archive]

leave large areas of vacant ground. In his view, without such an orderly system, "settlers left to themselves would tend to scatter over the province, take up land wherever they pleased, and leave large irregularly shaped parcels of less choice acreage for later sale."[32] For many reasons, economic, social, and as a means of controlling development in Pennsylvania, Penn's insistence that land be taken up in this series of townships made sense.

Although the idea of regularly drawn townships drove Penn's conception of the settlement of Pennsylvania during the period of its infancy, Penn seems to have abandoned the practice by 1700. The phrase "according to the method of townships" continued to appear in almost every survey but as one surveyor remarked a third of a century later, "I also observe the Lands are to be laid out according to the method of townships, to which method I am . . . [a] Stranger."[33] Especially after the establishment of the county commissioner system, the county, rather than the township, became the principal political subdivision in Pennsylvania.

The role of the township itself is very obscure in the early history of Pennsylvania. When the exception of Germantown, none of the areas which became townships in Philadelphia county were organized initially by Penn and his surveyors as such. Indeed, the power to erect townships is not one addressed by Penn in his initial writings about Pennsylvania. The Provincial Council could establish boundary lines between the various counties, but the power to subdivide the counties was left to the individual county courts. Indeed, among the first actions recorded by the Provincial Council was the confirmation of the boundaries between the various counties. On 1 April 1685, the Council moved to confirm the line between Chester and Philadelphia counties and to have the line drawn between Philadelphia and Bucks counties. The latter line was confirmed at a meeting one week later.[34]

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[32] Lucy Simler, "The Township: The Community of the Rural Pennsylvanian," *PMHB*, CVI, (January 1982), 48.
[33] Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country*, 111.
[34] Minutes of the Provincial Council. *Colonial Records*, I: 73-74, 77-78.

Once the counties were established, the housekeeping chores of administration were relegated to various county offices. There were two political entities which oversaw the development of the political and physical landscape of the region. The first was the Court of Quarter Sessions, which, according to English law and practice, effectively governed the county. It appointed road juries, established townships and commissioned tax collectors. The second was the County Commissioners, whose primary task initially was overseeing the collection of taxes. As the 18th century progressed, the County Commissioners assumed more duties. They felt that as part of their responsibilities for assuring that the tax monies were well spent, the oversight of capital projects within the county fell within their purview. As Keller has related, this led to a number of tensions between the Quarter Sessions Court judges and the Commissioners, especially as the commissioners began to usurp some of the traditional powers of the judges in the building of bridges and other public works.[35]

For the most part, townships in Pennsylvania had no political life of their own during the colonial period, although Germantown enjoyed a measure of self-government for about 20 years. Instead, most townships appear to have been created for the purpose of dividing the county into manageable units for taxation purposes. Unfortunately, early records of the Quarter Sessions Court relating to the creation of all of the townships within the earliest settled portions of Philadelphia County have been lost. However, it would seem that some townships were not formally established by the court but created just for the ease of the tax collector. Many of these "townships" enjoyed no legal independent existence and eventually passed from the records. Thus, townships, whether formally or informally constructed, served principally as a convenient way to subdivide counties for

[35] Clair W. Keller, "The Pennsylvania County Commission System, 1712 to 1740," *PMHB*, XCIII, (July 1969), 372-382. The assumption of these powers, apparently because the Commissioners felt that they could do a better job than the Court in producing quality public works at a lower cost, had consequences in Roxborough as one of the Commissioners' first projects involved a bridge over the Wissahickon.

taxation purposes but did not enjoy any political power or prestige.[36] Lemon asserts that the weakness of the township resulted from both the English government which insisted that the provincial government be kept as simple as possible and from the Quaker-dominated political apparatus of Pennsylvania itself.

> Fundamentally, wide township powers were impossible because counties were made very strong. If Penn really had been interested in political townships as the basic communities, he would have provided in the constitution for strong officials with sufficient powers to govern them. But for reasons yet unclear he did not. The Quakers were not interested in politically strong townships and possibly felt that they could control the province and its style of life best through counties. . . Political townships continued to exist but merely as convenient units of assessment for the counties, with weak justices of the peace. Although the people sometimes petitioned for new townships and suggested names for them, indicating a feeling of identification with them, townships were not powerful political or social units as in seventeenth-century Massachusetts or in the Delaware Valley before 1680[37]

The concept and *raison d'etre* of the established Pennsylvania township now differed from the visions of William Penn. Penn's intentions and visions had to compromise with the necessity of dividing the counties into smaller administrative units. Nevertheless, the township in Pennsylvania provides a setting for any study of community growth and development. "The provincial laws of the eighteenth century shaped the development of the colony and were implemented within the counties and, ultimately, at the township level."[38] To study adequately the effects of Penn's widely differing

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36 Keller, "County Commission System," 372-382.
37 Lemon, *Best Poor Man's Country*, 111.
38 Simler, "The Township," 41.

policies upon the shaping of his new colony, one must look at specific townships and assess their maturation as the result of them.

The change in status of the area from individual land grants and proprietary manors along the lower Wissahickon Creek into townships occurred gradually. Record of any formal designation of townships of these areas has been lost with the destruction of the early records of the Quarter Sessions Court of Philadelphia. There is certainly mention of the existence of Whitemarsh, formerly Farmarstown, and of Roxborough as place names by 1706.

Germantown, Springfield and Whitemarsh all failed to equal the standard 5,000 acres of a "regulation" township. Germantown and Whitemarsh, both surveyed for private interests, exceeded that figure; Springfield, a proprietary property, fell almost 20% short. On the other hand, Roxborough, a collection of eleven individual grants, measured 4972 acres. There survives no record of the designation or erection of any of these areas as formal townships.

Exactly when the various counties began to establish townships is mostly unknown. If Bucks County serves as a guide to actions in Philadelphia, then the courts addressed the problem of erecting townships within ten years of the establishment of the county. There exists part of an order from the Quarter Sessions Court of Bucks County dated 14 September 1692 which calls for the division of the county into townships. Apparently an earlier order from this court was not followed and this second order became the basis for a meeting on 27 September 1692 which established or acknowledged the boundaries of Makefield, Buckingham, Middletown, Newtown, Wrightstown, Salem, Southampton and Warminster townships.[39] Meanwhile, both Thomas Holme's 1687 map and Chester County

[39] "Bucks County, Court Order for Division of Bucks County into Townships. 14 September 1692," Pennsylvania Land Papers. James Clark Moore & W. Calver Moore Collection. Historical Society of Pennsylvania (AM 2988).

court records reveal the existence of townships in that more southern county by the early 1680s.[40] Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that some of the initial townships in Philadelphia were established around the same time.

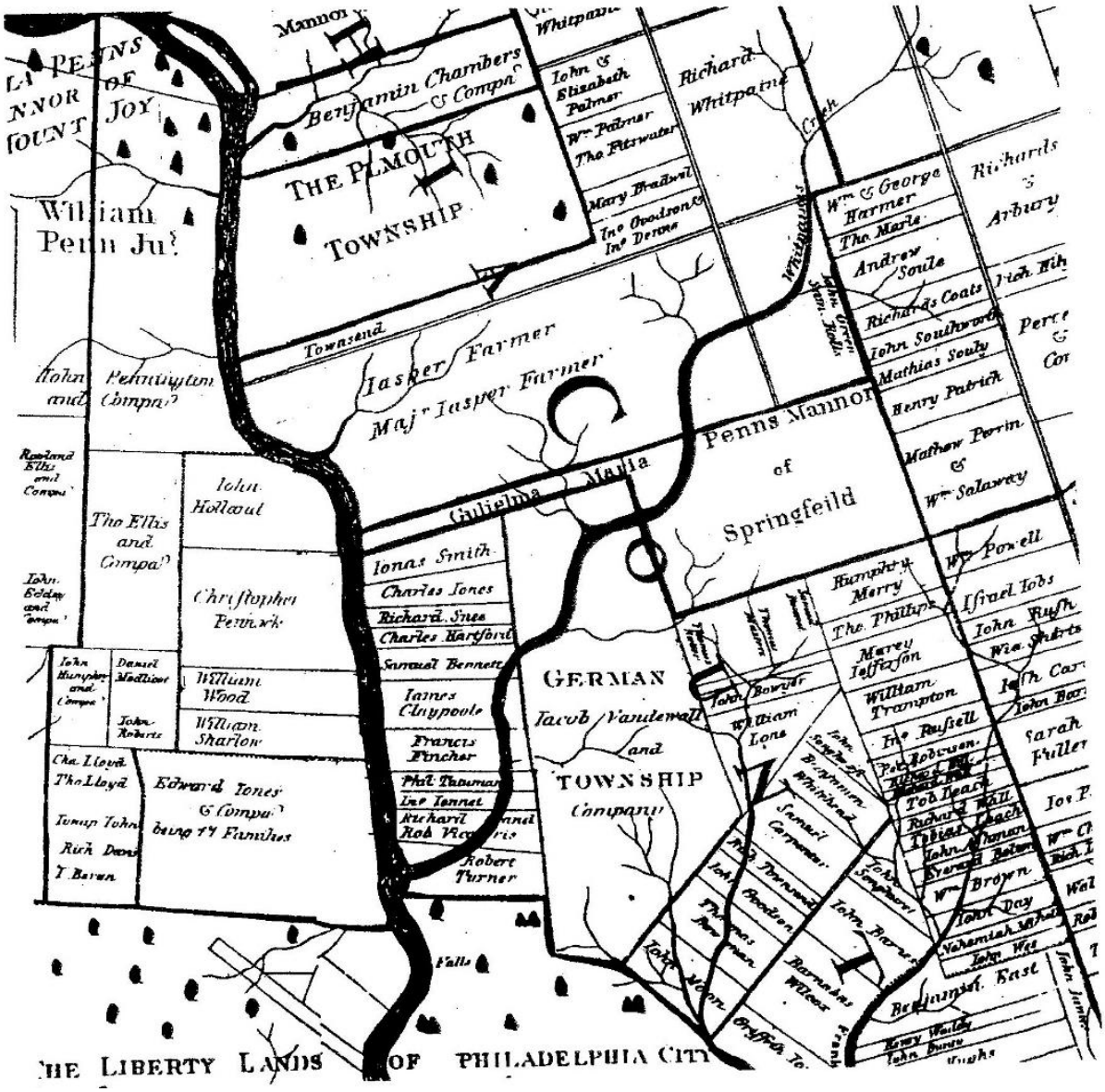
The first extant record of the Philadelphia Quarter Sessions Court which established a township occurs in 1728 with the erection of Towamencin Township, now in Montgomery County. However, Germantown Township appears on Holme's *A Map of the Improved Part of the Province of Pennsilvania in America* [Map 3], as does the Manor of Springfield. Whitemarsh does not appear as Whitemarsh but as the property of Jasper Farmar and Major Jasper Farmar. Initially this area was designated as Farmarstown or Farmar's Township but by 1702 the name of Whitemarsh became associated with this area. By 1728, Whitemarsh had officially replaced Farmarstown. Holme's map shows the eleven parcels which eventually became Roxborough. But the name of Roxborough does not appear in any records as a township until the June Sessions of 1706 of the Quarter Sessions Court.

Chestnut Hill formed the nucleus of an unofficial township between 1734 and 1768: that of the township of "Creesam," which had its start in the original divisions of Germantown Township. Creesam is an example of the looseness of exact political subdivisions during the 17th and 18th centuries. Charles R. Barker researched many of the early records looking for traces of "lost townships" during the 1930s. He stated that "while Penn's new government was getting under way, it is probable that many makeshifts had to be adopted. Settlement had outrun organization, and many situations had to be accepted as accomplished facts which, perhaps, were not exactly according to program. Penn's vision was wide, and his very general ideas were left to be worked out in detail by

[40] Munger, *Pennsylvania Land Records*, 18; Lemon, *Best Poor Man's Country.,* 101-102.

Map 3: Thomas Holme. "Map of the Improved Part of the Province of Pennsylvania." 1687

This excerpt from Thomas Holme's map of 1687 shows the divisions created for Roxborough. Germantown, Springfield, and Whitemarsh. Holme's map is based not only upon the surveys and patents that have already taken place but upon a scheme of land assignment agreed upon by Penn and himself. Eight of the eleven plots comprising Roxborough had been surveyed or patented by 1687. The Vickris plot had been assigned by Holme by 1687, but no survey occurred until 1689, the same year that a patent is assumed to have been made. Note the boundary between Springfield and Cheltenham (Humphrey Morry) was located along the same line as that between Springfield and Bristol (Samuel Bennett, Thomas Masters, and Thomas Rutter). Whitemarsh Township is comprised of two grants: to Majr. Jasper Farmar to John Green and Samuel Rolls. The river outlet for Springfield is matched by another outlet located between Whitemarsh and Plymouth.



Link and zoom: https://www.loc.gov/item/2006625100/

his lieutenants who perhaps did as well as could be expected of men dealing in a country of which there was little precise knowledge."[41] Barker details the existence, in the records at least, of many "townships" which appear in Philadelphia. Although his study concentrated upon the area now encompassed by Montgomery County, at least two unofficial townships in the present bounds of Philadelphia County may be found in official records: Tacony and Creesam.

Part II: From Theory to Reality

Penn's arrival in Pennsylvania set many events into motion as he attempted to wield control over the various phases of his colony. In addition to the time that he devoted in the creation of the bureaucratic details necessary for the implementation of his policies and in his endeavor to seek a permanent solution to the Maryland-Pennsylvania boundary dispute, Penn visited various parts of his colony to ascertain personally the "lay of the land." In many cases, Penn assisted in designating certain areas for particular purchasers. Certainly, records indicate that it was Penn himself who marked the tree which set the starting point for a survey of the Farmar tract. In October 1683, Penn instructed both Holme and Fairman to lay out the bounds for Springfield and Germantown, which he wished to be adjoining one another along the east side of the Schuylkill River below the tract for Farmar. Holme turned to Fairman for the actual surveying of the German tract along the Schuylkill. When the German immigrants refused this site and requested the level land to the east, Penn and Holme apparently left a corridor from Germantown Township to the Schuylkill, possibly along the Wissahickon creek. This would satisfy their demands that the German tract possess an outlet to a navigable river. However, within a short time, this corridor was removed and Penn was issuing warrants for the first tracts in Roxborough to some of his closest friends and associates.

Fairman's role in the overall layout of the four areas was crucial. It has been determined that

[41] Charles R. Barker, "Lost Townships in Montgomery County," *Bulletin of the Historical Society of Montgomery County*, vol. I, no. 5, (October 1938), 196.

he personally drew most of the initial surveys in the lower Wissahickon Valley and along the Schuylkill above the Falls. He marked the lines which bounded the four townships. And he had a hand, in other ways, of reconfiguring some of the areas either for his personal benefit or for friends and family. In many ways, it was Fairman who had the job of translating Penn's various policies into reality.

Each of the four areas under consideration illustrates different aspects of the plans and policies which governed land division in early Pennsylvania. Three of these areas, Springfield, Whitemarsh and Germantown, were designed to be under the control of one person or group. Such focused control over these areas was lost as the land gradually was partitioned into smaller landholdings. Eventually, however, the individual landholders were placed into township settings for purposes of taxation, petitioning for roads and other activities associated with county governance. Germantown was the only area specifically constituted as a township in any sense of Penn's envisioned system. A look at the pattern of land assignments in Roxborough and Whitemarsh reveal that Penn, Holme and Fairman tried to placate those large purchasers who were either influential in the Quaker faith in England or had established themselves as colonial leaders. Although the Schuylkill River was not accessible by ocean-borne shipping, the Roxborough lots all possessed some river frontage, despite the fact that the steep slopes on the east side of the Schuylkill Valley made travel difficult from the highlands to the river. Meanwhile, Whitemarsh represents an area which Penn initially reserved for one family. When a resurvey revealed a vast amount of surplus land, Holme released of it initially to several influential Pennsylvanians but kept other acres vacant in order to have some acreage relatively close to the city of Philadelphia available for later purchasers.

The granting of lots within these areas also illustrates another facet of land division. Despite Penn's desire that the allocation of land should be made on an orderly system in which lands would

gradually be released adjoining existing granted territory in order to prohibit the existence of large unpatented acreage from dividing the various settlements, one can see that his officials did not always follow this dictate. Therefore, some lands remained vacant and unwarranted despite the existence of patented land surrounding them. Eight of the eleven Roxborough lots have known patents issued between 1684 and 1701. The initial grant for Whitemarsh occurred in 1685. After the resurvey of 1689/1690, six grants were made between 1690 and 1694 but most of the remainder of the land was not patented until 1700-1702. The last section of land, 310 acres in total, was conveniently disposed in 1724, although no previous survey or patent existed between the Penn family and the owners of 1724.

Springfield represents quite a different case. It exhibits the fate of lands held back in reserve for Penn's family. Penn initially did not wish for any of this manor land to be turned over to private ownership, preferring it to remain in his family so that they could control it and collect the rents arising from it. But his control over the land was threatened almost from the start as Thomas Fairman drew the Whitemarsh-Springfield boundary generously for Whitemarsh but at the cost of prime acreage to the Manor of Springfield. In addition, Fairman played another role in carving out the eastern corner of Springfield which eventually became part of Cheltenham Township. Bit by bit though, small sections were granted to purchasers, either with or without the Proprietor's blessings, with the result that the initial division of this township is unlike any found in the neighboring areas.

Each one of the four areas is highlighted showing the original land grants and how the surveyors and commissioners of Pennsylvania divided and assigned these grants. By understanding the jigsaw puzzle of interlocking grants in locales like these four townships, one can see how the principles and policies which Penn set down guided his deputies in their various decisions relating to these lands and affected their actual allocation of the grounds.

Roxborough: The Schuylkill Lands

The history of Roxborough begins before any grants were made to various First Purchasers. Of the four areas, Roxborough's origin most closely adhered to Penn's "ideal" method of granting land, being composed of eleven individual parcels. The lack of any cohesiveness or coordination among these Purchasers underscores the weakness of Penn's policies in terms of developing communities. Penn had worked on his ideas of townships in order that small communities would emerge amongst the large grants. But Roxborough demonstrates forcefully why Penn's dreams could not achieve reality. His plan for townships called for a central business/housing area and side farming lots. Roxborough was laid out with no central area and with little regard to the realities of the topography of the region. Instead, wealthy investors received what they thought they wanted - large pieces with river frontage. There is no evidence that any of the patentees, although several of them apparently were acquainted with each other in England, ever worked together to develop this land systematically. Indeed, it is probable that none of them ever used this land personally. Patents for the Roxborough land did not occur simultaneously but over an eighteen-year period. By the time the later buyers, such as Richard Snead or Richard Vickris, received title to their lots, several of the initial grants, i.e. Philip Theodore Lehnmann's and Samuel Bennett's, had already been sold to later purchasers. Secondly, the population and development of this area was retarded by the various surveys, both in failing to create a central area and in failing to consider its topographical features in the initial division. Few grants in Southeastern Pennsylvania would possess the anomalies found in many of the Roxborough parcels. In short, the early history of Roxborough exposes the weakness of a policy in which land and not community formed the basis for organizing an area. A look at the early ownership histories of these eleven tracts shows that most of the original patentees disposed of the land shortly after acquisition. Of those initial owners who held title for more than ten years, none ever came to the colony to oversee the working of their holdings.

Gary B. Nash explained how Penn altered the system for granting lots within the city of Philadelphia upon his arrival. His deputies had agreed to a lottery for the allocation of these lots. Penn decided against the lottery and personally assigned lots "according to the size of their purchase and the strength of their commitment to him." Penn's decisions regarding the city lots were also evident in the pairing of country lands with their initial owners. "It was not surprising," Nash continues, "that Penn should favor immigrating purchasers over those who remained in England and therefore had a purely speculative interest in the colony. Not was it unnatural that older acquaintances should receive preferential treatment."[42] As an area relatively close to Philadelphia, the Roxborough grants tend to confirm Nash's statements.

Thomas Holme's map shows the eleven tracts that eventually became Roxborough township [Map 3]. It has become clear that all of the tracts were allocated to various Original or First Purchasers between 1684 and 1686, although several owners did not receive patents for the land until later, if ever.[43] These eleven purchases comprised 4062 acres, ranging in size from 200 to 500 acres, according to the patents and surveys. Actually, the amount of land encompassed by these eleven Roxborough lots is 4972 acres, close to the ideal 5000 acres of Penn's envisioned township.[44] Its location between the Northern Liberties, Springfield and Germantown led eventually to the eleven tracts being considered as one township for administrative purposes. The first recorded mention of the name of Roxborough (or Rocksburrow, as it sometimes appears) occurred in the June 1706 Sessions of the Quarter Sessions Court in the matter of a petition for the opening of a road through

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[42] Nash, *Quakers and Politics*, 78-79

[43] The patent to Richard and Robert Vickris was not recorded. Later deeds indicate that this patent was granted on or about the 15th of April 1689. The survey, made by Robert Longshore, was not done until 5 April 1689. However, Thomas Holme's map of Pennsylvania clearly has the lot in the Vickris name as early as the 1687 edition of the map. Therefore, it is evident that Holme already was placing certain purchasers in definite areas prior to actual surveying and patenting of the land.

[44] Only 4572 acres were assessed in 1779, according to the tax assessment of that year.

the area.[45]

As Penn insisted that the First Purchasers receive their lands in relatively small tracts, only one of the eleven Roxborough parcels equaled the approximate total amount of land purchased by the patentee. This was the tract allotted to Samuel Bennet or Bennett, who bought 250 acres and was given a lot of 246 acres. His acquisition was the smallest of the purchases made by the eleven in England.[46] The other ten had contracted for land in Pennsylvania measuring between 500 and 6000 acres.[47]

When one looks at Holme's map, this land fronting the Schuylkill River located just above the Liberty Lands could probably be considered as some of the most prized territory not situated on the Delaware River owing to its proximity to the city of Philadelphia. Little regard seems to have been given to the fact that the Wissahickon Gorge divides most of the southern parcels and that access to the Schuylkill from the majority of the grants can only be accomplished by scaling the steep slopes of present-day Manayunk. Three of the lots were assigned to some of Penn's most trusted agents and friends in England: Richard Vickris, Philip Theodore Lehnmann and Charles Jones, Jr.[48] Others were given to men who played large roles in the development of Pennsylvania: Robert Turner, James Claypoole and Francis Fincher. Almost all of the individuals involved in the acquisition of the Roxborough lots had personal ties to William Penn and had worked with him in setting up the new colony. Seven of the eleven primary purchasers were connected to Bristol, England, where several

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[45] On 19 October 1706, Wiggert (Wickert) Levering sells a lot in Chestnut Hill to John Am Wegg which is bounded on the southwest by "Roxbury" Township. Pennsylvania Lease & Release Book B-3: 208-210, Wiggert Levering to John Am Wegg, 19 October 1706 (also transcribed in Philadelphia Exemplification Book 8:312-313).

[46] He also enjoyed the shortest ownership of his land. Although he purchased the property on 28th, 8th month, 1684, the patent was not issued until 31st, 3rd month, 1686. On the following day, Robert Longshore bought the ground from Bennett. Philadelphia Deed Book (PDB) E-1, vol. 5: 527, Samuel Bennett to Robert Longshore, 1 June 1686.

[47] *PWP*, II: 630-664.

[48] These three were among the five witnesses to Penn's initial plans for the city of Philadelphia as expressed by Penn on 30 September 1681. The others were Thomas Callowhill and Ralph Withers. *PWP* II: 118-122.

may have already been acquainted. Of the other four, two were from London, one from Worcester, and the last from Dublin, Ireland.

Map 4 shows the division of Roxborough, superimposed on an early 20th century street map. From south to north, these purchasers, the amount of land patented to them, the patent date and their place of origin, were:

Lot	Name	Acres	Warrant Date	Patent Date	City of Origin
1	Robert Turner	500	3/20/1684	6/24/1684	(Dublin, Ire.)
2	Richard Vickris	446	3/25/1689	4/15/1689 (?)	(Bristol)
3	John Jennett	200	8/20/1684	3/14/1685	(Bristol)
4	Philip Th' Lehnman	200	6/19/1683	11/2/1685	(Bristol)
5	Francis Fincher	500	4/25/1684	3/12/1686	(Worcester)
6	James Claypoole	500	4/25/1684	11/9/1685	(London)
7	Samuel Bennett	246	10/8/1684	5/15/1686	(London)
8	Charles Harford	236	9/12/1685	No record	(Bristol)
9	Richard Snead	334	3/1/1684	12/22/1708	(Bristol)
10	Charles Jones, Sr. & Jr.	400	10/11/1683	No record	(Bristol)
11	Charles Marshall & Co.*	500	9/30/1684	2/10/1684	(Bristol)

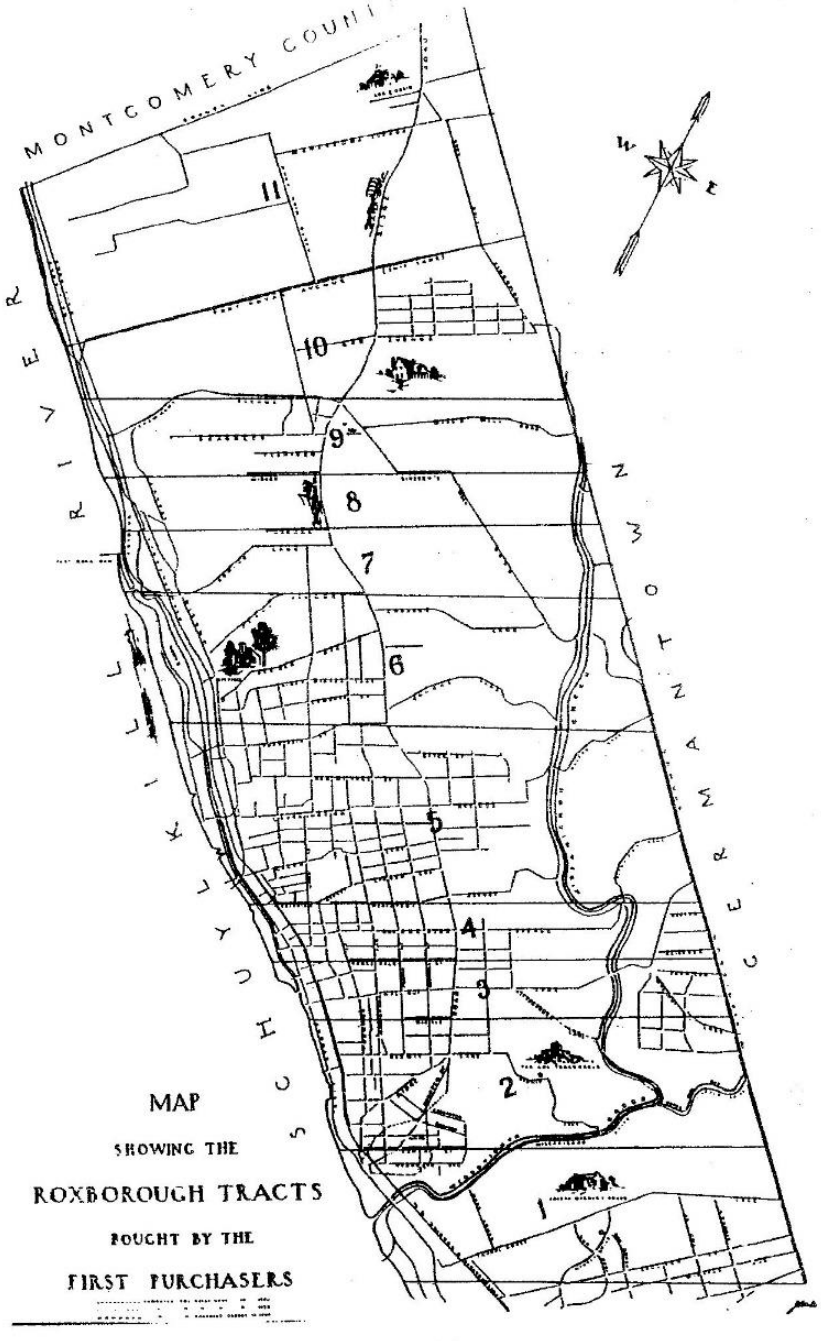
(* The other partners in this venture were Richard Whitpaine, Thomas Coxe, John Beesly, Jonas Smith and Mary Davy, all of London)

Of the three properties for which no patent exists in the records, two are repatented or have patents of confirmation granted to later owners. These are Harford's and Jones' grants, repatented in 1714 and

Map 4: Roxborough Township: Original Divisions

From: Joseph S. Miles and William H. Cooper, An Historical Account of Roxborough, Manayunk, Wissahickon. (1940)

This map superimposes the eleven land grants composing Roxborough onto a road map of the mid-20th century, making allowances for the boundaries as they affected Roxborough and not as they were originally drawn. Most of the lots in Roxborough encompassed more land than was called for in the patents.



See opposite p. 75: A historical sketch of Roxborough, Manayunk, Wissahickon : Miles, Joseph Starne : Free Download, Borrow, and Streaming : Internet Archive

1735 respectively. The third is the Vickris or Vickeris tract for which no patent has ever been uncovered, although various deeds cite that Vickris received a patent for the land in 1689.

When Penn took his inspection trip in October 1683, he thought that the Roxborough frontage would be ideal for Francis Daniel Pastorius, the members of the Frankfort Company, and the immigrants from Crefeld. Pastorius had approached Penn several times, seeking a tract of land in which he could create a German community. However, when Pastorius and several of his companions viewed this tract, they felt that the topography was too severe for the proper assignment and usage of land. Therefore, they requested and received a tract further to the east. The initial survey of the new German district, which has not survived, was for a territory of 6,000 acres with an outlet on the Schuylkill River. Since the Germans wanted frontage on a navigable stream, it is possible that Fairman and Holme agreed on a corridor from the German tract to the river, which would encompass the Wissahickon Creek, thereby giving them their requested water outlet. Fairman's work on surveying the initial Germantown lots occurred in late October 1683. Pastorius claims that on 20 February 1684, Fairman surveyed the full 6,000-acre tract for Germantown Township. But shortly after this survey, Penn caused 1,000 acres along the Schuylkill to be cut from the grant. The Germans' pleas to Penn for its restoration were ignored. This cut corresponded closely with Penn's actions on behalf of several purchasers who had close ties with him. Between 1 March and 25 April 1684, Penn signed four warrants ordering surveys along the Schuylkill River. Two additional warrants for unspecified territory signed in 1683 were eventually applied to land within Roxborough.

Robert Turner (1635-1700) received a patent on 29 July 1684 for tract number 1.[49] A native

[49] The lot or tract numbers assigned in this paper are the same as those found in Joseph Starne Miles and William H. Cooper, *A Historical Sketch of Roxborough, Manayunk, Wissahickon, 1690-1940* (Philadelphia. 1940) [See Map 4].

of Ireland, he became friends with William Penn during the late 1660s. Penn's friendship probably encouraged Turner to invest in West New Jersey in 1677, acquiring one-half of a West New Jersey proprietary share. Later, Turner became Penn's colonial agent in Ireland. He bought the rights to 5,000 acres in Pennsylvania in March 1682. He arrived in October 1683 with his daughter and seventeen indentured servants (each of whom allowed him to claim an additional 50 acres of Pennsylvania land). His wealth permitted him to speculate in Pennsylvania and Jersey real estate after his arrival. It is highly likely that he was among the first to be offered a lot on the Roxborough heights after the Germans had refused any of this frontage. With a choice of lots available, he saw the industrial possibilities inherent with the fast-moving creek. Although the creek possibly had been set aside for the Germans, he was able to convince Penn and his agents to remove it from their control and assign it to him. Turner's wealth and his ties with Penn quickly catapulted him to the front ranks of Pennsylvania politics. In addition to the eight years which he sat on the Provincial Council as a Philadelphia County representative, he also served as a Provincial Court judge from 1684-1685, the Register General in 1686 and 1690, the Receiver General in 1690 and 1693, the Commissioner of State in 1687-1688, and Treasurer from 1693-1695. More importantly, he was one of Penn's Commissioners of Property, discharging the duties of this position from 1684 to 1686 and again from 1689 to 1694.[50] Turner was one of the few original Roxborough patentees who left a record that he used the land in some way, for he executed a lease on the property near the mouth of the Wissahickon Creek in 1686. In 1691, he sold the property to Andrew Robeson and Charles Sanders or Saunders, both of whom also played large roles in the early history of Pennsylvania. Robeson and Saunders disposed of 300 acres in 1696 to Joseph and Benjamin Morgan. The westernmost 200 acres remained in the possession of the Robeson and Saunders families for many decades.[51]

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[50] Craig W. Horle, "Robert Turner," in Craig W. Horle, et al , *Lawmaking and Legislators in Pennsylvania: A Biographical Dictionary*, (hereafter referred as *Lawmaking*), I: 709-716.

[51] Exemplification Book 1: 10, Patent from William Penn to Robert Turner, 24 June 1684.

But Turner's property was not the first surveyed. Richard Snead (d. 1712) purchased the rights to 1,500 acres of land in 1681, and a survey was apparently returned on 3 March 1684 for a 200-acre tract. But the completion of the purchase did not occur until 29 November 1708, when he received a patent for the 334 acres which comprised lot number 9 in addition to other lands around Philadelphia. Snead never emigrated to Pennsylvania. He was a Bristol mercer, an active member of the Bristol Monthly Meeting and a friend of the Callowhill and Penn families. Less than a year after obtaining the patent, Snead sold the Roxborough land to Thomas Story.[52] Story sold the land to John Haddon and Benjamin Kirton in 1720. The heirs of Haddon and Kirton had the land vested in the Pennsylvania Land Company by an Act of Parliament in 1750. The Company then proceeded to divide and sell the land between 1760 and 1763.[53]

Immediately after the completion of the surveys for Snead's and Turner's properties, Penn signed two warrants on 25 April 1684. The first informed Holme that "at the request of Francis Fincher Purchaser . . . I would grant him to take up five hundred acres of land on Schuylkill above Robert Turners."[54] Either Penn or Holme ordered Thomas Fairman to lay it out on the Schuylkill anywhere between Turner's and Christian Pennock's properties.[55] Francis Fincher (1626-1684) purchased 1,000 acres in Pennsylvania in 1681 and subscribed to the Free Society of Traders. He arrived in September 1683, was elected to the Assembly in 1684 from Philadelphia County and actually was chosen Speaker of the House at that sessions but declined the honor. Within nine months of his arrival, he arranged to have surveyed to him 35 acres of liberty land, the 500 acres which comprised lot number 5 in Roxborough, and a Front Street property. The survey of the

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52 *PWP*, III: 419; Miles and Cooper, *Roxborough, Manayunk, Wissahickon*, 76; Exemplification Book 1: 714-715, Patent to Richard Snead, 29 November 1708; PDB H-11: 504, Richard Snead to Thomas Story, 30 August 1709.

53 PDB F-4: 225-227, Thomas Story to John Haddon and Benjamin Kirton, 23 December 1720.

54 *Warrants & Surveys*, I:355-356.

55 Christopher Pennock's property was located on the west side of the Schuylkill River, opposite the Roxborough lands. His property was surveyed on 26 June 1684, however the return of the survey was not filed until 5 February 1688. (See Map ___).

Roxborough property, which was completed in May, lists the names of the adjoining landholders as James Claypoole and Philip Th. Lehnmann. This suggests that these lots had already been assigned to these two purchasers long before any survey or patent had been issued. Fincher's untimely death in August 1684 by drowning when crossing a ferry put a hold on the completion of his various purchases. A final patent for the Roxborough land was apparently issued in March 1686/7 but subsequently lost and not recorded. A second patent was dated on 24 November 1691. Fincher's widow, Mary, sold 200 acres to Thomas Hill in 1687 which Hill transferred to Wickert Levering in 1691. Levering acquired the remaining 300 acres from Christopher Sibthorp, Mary Fincher's new husband, in 1697.[56]

The second warrant signed on 25 April 1684 directed Holme to survey a lot of 500 acres for James Claypoole (# 6). The survey for Claypoole occurred on 3 May 1684, the day before Fincher's survey was completed. Like Turner and Fincher, James Claypoole (1634-1687) was a prominent man in early Pennsylvania affairs. He was a founder of the Free Society of Traders, in which he invested much money and energy. He arrived in Pennsylvania in October 1683 and served as one of Penn's Commissioners of Property between 1684 and 1686. He also spent time as a Provincial Court judge in 1685, Register General in 1686-1687, a Philadelphia County representative in the Assembly in 1686 and a member of the Provincial Council in 1687.[57] The land comprising lot number 6 was patented to Claypoole on 25 April 1685, signed by the Commissioners of Property, of whom Claypoole was one at the time. He died two years later and the division of his estate after his death proved so thorny that his executors were not able to sell the Roxborough land until 30 November

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[56] Craig W. Horle, "Francis Fincher", in *Lawmaking*, I: 345; Miles, p. 75; *Warrants & Surveys*, I: 355, III: 552, VI: 27; Exemplification Book 1: 256-257, Patent from Samuel Carpenter, William Markham, Robert Turner and John Goodson, commissioners, to Francis Fincher, 24 November 1691; Exemplification Book 7: 122-124, Christopher Sibthorp and Mary, his wife, to Wickert Levering, 5 July 1697; PDB E-1, vol. 5: 539-540, Mary Fincher to Thomas Hill, 7 April 1687, (recorded 8 June 1687). PDB E-2, vol. 5: 212-213 , Thomas Hill to Wickert Levering, 29 February 1691, (recorded 17 March 1695/6)..

[57] Joseph S. Foster, "James Claypoole," in *Lawmaking*, I: 278-281.

1695. The new owner was Hugh Roberts. Roberts (1644-1702) served on the Provincial Council from Philadelphia county in 1692-1693 but otherwise held few posts. He was a native of Wales and instrumental in the formation and settlement of the Welsh Tract along the border between Chester and Philadelphia counties. He apparently sold or let 100 acres of the Roxborough tract to his son Owen in 1696. This sale was confirmed in 1713. The remaining 400 acres was sold by the executors of Hugh Roberts' estate in 1705 to George Evan.[58]

The next survey completed for any of the Roxborough properties occurred on 30 September 1684, based upon a warrant of the same date. At this time, 500 acres (lot number 11) was laid out for Charles Marshall and Company as part of 6000 acres which Marshall had purchased through deeds of lease and release in 1681. He immediately sold shares in his prospective land holdings to Richard Whitpain, Jonas Smith, Thomas Coxe, John Beesly and Mary Davy. They received two major holdings: one of 5440 acres near Jasper Farmar's tract of Whitemarsh and the other of 500 acres along the Schuylkill River. A patent for the Roxborough lands was completed on 10 February 1684/5. The partners agreed to sell all of their interest in the Roxborough property to Jonas Smith on 16 May 1685, and it is his name which appears on the tract on the Holme map. After Smith's death, the property was inherited by his daughter Johannah and her husband Thomas Moore. In 1714, it became the property of Isaac Norris.[59] Deeds and papers among the Norris papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania reveal that this lot contained not 500 acres but at least 846 acres and possibly between 900-950 acres, thus accounting for much of the difference in the measured amounts in the various grants and the actual acreage of Roxborough.

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[58] Joseph S. Foster, "Hugh Roberts," in *Lawmaking*, I:.638-640; Miles, pp. 75, 78; Exemplification Book 1: 107, Patent from James Claypoole & Robert Turner, commissioners, to James Claypoole, 14 November 1685. PDB E-2, vol. 5: 304-305, Estate of James Claypoole to Hugh Roberts, 30 November 1695, (recorded 18 April 1696); Exemplification Book 7: 308-311, Hugh Roberts to Owen Roberts, 15 February 1695/6; PDB E-4, vol. 7: 79-81, Robert Roberts, Owen Roberts & Edward Roberts, executors & heirs of Hugh Roberts to George Evan, 2 January 1705/6, (recorded 3 July 1708)..

[59] Exemplification Book 1: 53-56, Patent from James Claypoole and Robert Turner, commissioners, to Charles Marshall, 29 January 1684/85; PDB F-6: 361-366, Thomas Moore and Johannah, his wife, daughter and heir of Jonas Smith, to John Falconer and Andrew Hamilton, 20 April 1714; PDB F-6: 366-371, Andrew Hamilton and Gilbert Falconer to Isaac Norris, 23 April 1715.

John Jennett acquired lot number 3 on 14 March 1685 as part of a purchase made in February 1683/4. Penn issued a warrant for a survey of the property on 20 August 1684, a little more than a month before the Marshall warrant.[60] Not much is known about Jennett except that he did obtain a certificate of removal from the Bristol Monthly Meeting in England on 3 September 1683. He is found on the side opposing George Keith during the 1690s, especially with testimony before the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1692 and support for Samuel Jennings in 1693 against false accusations made by the Keithians. He also signed a remonstrance, dated 12 March 1697, which protested the Frame of Government of 1696 and demanded a return of the 1683 Frame of Government.[61] In 1696, he pledged 10 pounds towards the Susquehanna Settlement.[62] These records indicate that Jennett moved to Pennsylvania and that he showed some interest in his Roxborough holdings, which he enlarged with the purchase of the adjoining lot number 4 in 1685. The 200 acres which comprised lot number 3 were sold to Matthew Houlgate on 16 May 1698.[63]

Penn signed a patent for the 200 acres of lot number 4 to Philip Theodore Lehnmann on 2 November 1685, based upon a warrant for the same amount of land made on 19 June 1683.[64] The warrant did not specify any particular land and Lehnmann, closely involved with Penn's affairs, used his influence to obtain this frontage. Lehnmann (d. 1687), a German whose name appears as Philip Th' Lehnmann on many early documents, became William Penn's secretary around 1673 and accompanied Penn to Pennsylvania in 1682. Penn became disenchanted with Lehnmann's work and determined to replace Lehnmann as secretary with William Markham in March 1685 primarily

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60 Exemplification Book 1: 86, Patent from William Penn to John Jennett, 14 March 1685, (recorded 27 November 1685).

61 *Lawmaking*, I: 534, 818, 820.

62 *PWP*, III: 676.

63 Exemplification Book 1: 86, Patent from William Penn to John Jennett, 14 March 1685, (recorded 27 November 1685).

64 Patent Book A-1: 105-106, Patent from Thomas Lloyd, James Claypoole & Robert Turner to Philip Th. Lehnmann. 2 November 1685.

because Lehnmann forgot to pack several important affidavits that Penn needed in his negotiations with Lord Baltimore in 1684.[65] But Penn had numerous other complaints about Lehnmann which appears in his writings throughout 1685. His most bitter remarks are found in a letter to Thomas Lloyd on 15 August 1685, scarcely two months before he signed the patent for the Roxborough land. Lehnmann's ownership of this tract lasted little more than two months for he sold it to John Jennett on 9 January 1685/6, a fact which is noted in the original patent book. Lehnmann's troubles with Penn probably played a large role in his decision to dispose of the property in order to raise some cash. Jennett divided the lot in 1692, selling 100 acres each to Henry Frey and Gerhard Levering. [66]

There is some confusion about when William Penn assigned Roxborough lands to Charles Jones, Sr. and Jr. The two Jones combined for the purchase of 2,000 acres of Pennsylvania land for which a survey was apparently conducted in 1683 or 1684. If this survey included the Roxborough lot, then the Jones were the first patentees within the township. The younger Jones, a member of the Bristol Common Council in 1685 and a board member on the Corporation of the Poor from 1696 until his death, died in 1701 but not before seeing his daughter, Mary, married William Penn's son, William Penn, Jr. in 1699.[67] Neither Charles Jones, Sr. or Jr. ever came to the American colony. They were partners in the Bristol merchant firm of Charles Jones & Company. After the younger Jones's death, the Pennsylvania lands became vested solely in the elder Jones. He sold his entire interest in the properties to Edward Shippen on 3 & 4 November 1711. In 1730, Shippen's widow devised the property to her son, William, who in turn willed it to his cousin, Samuel Powell, Jr. On 20 December 1735, Thomas Penn granted a patent of confirmation to Powell for the original Jones's

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65 *PWP*, II: 122; III: 37-38.

66 PDB E-1, vol. 5: 199-201, Philip Lehman to John Jennett. 9 January 1685/6.

67 Interestingly, one of the American agents for Jones, Andrew Robeson, was also intimately involved in the development of Roxborough, but not on Jones's property. *PWP*, II: 122; *Lawmaking*, I: 643.

tract.[68]

Thomas Holme's assignment of lot 8 to Charles Harford occurred in 1685. Harford (1631-1709) was a Quaker soapmaker and merchant of Bristol, England. He never traveled to Pennsylvania although he did send at least two indentured servants in order to prepare for his arrival and authorize John Songhurst to have a house built for him. In September and October 1681, Harford had several personal associations with Penn as he is called upon to witness the signing of six deeds of lease and release by Penn.[69] There exists a note that a warrant was issued in 1685 for 1,000 acres of property in Philadelphia county. Penn issued a warrant on 11 October for a survey of land in the Liberties "at the request of Richard Snead & Charles Harford."[70] Charles Harford sold his 1,000-acre investment to Thomas Wilson of King's county, Ireland by 1714. In that year, Wilson applied to the Commissioners on Property for a new patent for all of Harford's 1,000 acres in the county of Philadelphia, including the 236-acre tract on the Schuylkill River. Since much of the land was unsurveyed, a new survey of both the Roxborough lot and lands within the liberties was executed for Thomas Wilson.[71]

Samuel Bennett received his patent for 246 acres (lot 7) on the Schuylkill River on 31 May 1686, based upon a survey dated 3 March 1686. On the following day, he sold the entire parcel to

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[68] Exemplification Book 2: 421-424, Patent from John Penn, Thomas Penn and Richard Penn to Samuel Powell, Jr., 20 December 1735; *PWP*, II: 646. The list of First Purchasers in this work includes a notation that a survey was done on the Jones' Philadelphia county property in 1683.

[69] Interestingly, between 23 and 27 September 1681, Harford, Charles Jones, Charles Marshall, Richard Snead, Philip Theodore Lehnmann, Richard Vickris and Thomas Coxe (one of Marshall's partners) witnessed the signing of various deeds of lease and release by Penn. All of these men eventually were granted lots in Roxborough. *PWP*, III: 53; *Lawmaking*, I: 683; James M. Duffin, *Guide to the Philadelphia Exemplification Record Series, Being True Copies of Philadelphia County Land Records in the Master of Rolls Office and its Successors, 1669-1838*, (Philadelphia: City of Philadelphia. 1995), passim.

[70] *Warrants & Surveys*, I: 890.

[71] The Commissioners of Property heard Wilson's plea for a new warrant and patent at their meeting on the 12th of September 1714, during which they ordered that a patent be issued for the entire 1,000 acres, which the minutes indicate was signed on the same day. The survey was conducted in late September or early October 1714, in which it states that a warrant was issued on 25 September 1714. The actual patent was issued on 26 October 1714. *Pennsylvania Archives*, II, 19: 586; Exemplification Book 2: 106-109, Patent to Thomas Wilson, 1 January 1713/14; *PWP*, II: 644.

Robert Longshore, trading it for 200 acres in Bristol Township, Philadelphia county, part of a 500-acre tract patented to Longshore. Longshore (d. 1695) served as one of the deputy surveyors for the province of Pennsylvania. He is known to have surveyed the lot for the Vickrises in 1689 and may have surveyed some of the other lots during the mid-1680s. Longshore's involvement with this land bears some close scrutiny. Bennett plays no major role in Pennsylvania politics, nor does he have any apparent connections with Penn and other prominent Friends in England. Why did he receive a prime spot along the Schuylkill River? A look at the survey and patent for James Claypoole gives some clue. Claypoole's property was intended to sit between those of Fincher and Harford. However, Longshore must have realized that there was additional ground available along the Schuylkill next to Claypoole and worked an arrangement with Bennett by which Bennett would receive a patent and immediately deed the land to Longshore. Longshore sold the Roxborough property almost exactly a year later to Richard Townsend. Townsend owned his Roxborough property for over twenty years before selling 100 acres of the river end to Anthony Morris of Philadelphia. Along among all of the early owners of the Roxborough lots, Townsend personally contributed to the growth of the area for he was also involved in the building of the first mill on the Wissahickon Creek on Robert Turner's lot.[72]

By the time that Thomas Holme sent his notes and sketches to England for publication as part of his map of the improved part of Pennsylvania, all but one of the lots covering Roxborough had been assigned and surveyed, if not formally patented. However, there appears no formal action was taken by Holme, Fairman or any of the other surveyors regarding Lot 2. Nevertheless, the Holmes' 1687 map lists the owners of lot 2 as Richard and Robert Vickris. A look at Jennett's patent of 1685 also list Vickris as Jennett's southern boundary, whereas Turner's patent of 1684 contains no

[72] PDB E-1, vol. 5: 527-528, Assignment of Robert Longshore to Richard Townsend, 1 April 1687, (recorded 23 May 1687). Bennett and Longshore together also received adjoining city lots on Walnut street in 1686.

mention of a owner for this property. Therefore, it becomes clear that Penn and Holme agreed to reserve this land for the Vickrises during late 1684 or early 1685. Robert Vickris was the eldest son of Richard Vickris, a Quaker merchant in Bristol. The elder Vickris had been imprisoned and sentenced to death for Quaker activity in 1684. He escaped execution and remained involved both in Quakerism and Pennsylvania but never traveled to the American shores. He had been associated with William Penn as early as 1673 and would be one of the witnesses at Penn's marriage to Hannah Callowhill in 1695 in England. A warrant and survey of the Roxborough property exist but no patent was ever recorded. According to later deeds, a patent was issued "on or about 15 April 1689." This closely follows the date of the existing survey which occurred on 28 March 1689. Unfortunately, there exists a gap in the records of the Commissioners of Property for this period so that the only authority for the granting of this patent exists in the recitals of later deeds.[73]

The lack of early records regarding the Vickris property in Roxborough has left several tantalizing mysteries. Vickris's son, Robert, states that the patent for the Roxborough land was issued in 1689 but it has clearly been assigned to them by the first publication of Thomas Holme's map two years earlier. In Blackwell's Rent Roll of 1689-1690, Vickris does not appear as an owner but two others are listed as holding Vickris land: Thomas Jacques and William Harrod. Searches through the records for any transactions between these men have proven fruitless, nor, with one exception, did either man ever sell any land. In 1735, Robert Vickris sold all of the family holdings to his brother, Thomas Bishop Vickris. This deed mentions two leaseholds: one to Thomas Jacques for 1,000 years and another to Thomas Masters for 999 years. A third 999-year leasehold seems to have existed with William Harwood, according to documents involving the Rittenhouse mill on

[73] *PWP*, II: 122; PDB G-1: 183-186, Robert Vickris to Thomas Bishop Vickris, 11 February 1735, (recorded 20 September 1740). The Vickris family maintained close relations with the Penn family. On 24 April 1740, Thomas Bishop Vickris signed a letter of attorney allowing Thomas Penn to act on his behalf for the management of his Pennsylvania lands. PDB G-1: 186-189, Letter of Attorney, Thomas Bishop Vickris to Thomas Penn, 24 April 1740, (recorded 20 September 1740).

Monoshone Creek. Apparently, Robert Vickris had purchased a 500-acre tract from Roger Drew on 31 July 1683 in addition to his own 2,000-acre acquisition in the same year. Although the 1735 deed mentions a 2000-acre and a 1000-acre tract of land, most of the Vickris holdings apparently existed either here in Roxborough or in the Northern Liberties.[74]

Thomas Bishop Vickris apparently never traveled to Pennsylvania to view his holdings. On 11 June 1741, Richard Hockley, who had become Vickris' Pennsylvania agent, advertised in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*:

> To Be Sold, Several Tracts of Land in the Counties of Philadelphia and Bucks, laid out to Richard and Robert Vickeris, viz. 32 Acres of Liberty Land on the Road from Scuylkill Road to German Town. 250 Acres in Wysahecon Creek near Robison's Mill. 100 Acres near the above. 264 Acres in the Forks of the Delaware. 775 Acres in the Forks, between the Lands of Ferdinand John Paris, Esq; and Samuel Mickle. 483 Acres between Thomas Jenny's and Samuel Overton's Land near the Falls of Delaware, on which one Tunnicliff is seated. Any Persons inclined to purchase as desired to apply to Richard Hockley, in Philadelphia, who is impowered by the Heirs of said Vickeris to sell the same.[75]

The Roxborough holdings were divided amongst Mathew Houlgate, William Rittenhouse, Peter Righter and Michael Righter in 1741.[76]

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[74] *PWP*, III: 732.

[75] *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, 11 June 1741, as appears on the on-line version of Accessible Archives, Inc. (http://www.accessible.com).

[76] Peter Righter, recognizing that no patent existed in the records, requested and received a patent of confirmation in 1742 from George Thomas, Lieutenant Governor of the Province, who was acting for the Proprietors. Exemplification Book 2: 639-641, Patent from John Penn, Thomas Penn and Richard Penn to Peter Righter, 4 January 1742.

In late 1689 and early 1690, John Blackwell, recently relieved of his duties as Receiver-General of the province, began to compile rent rolls for William Penn as a method to ascertain the quitrents due to the Proprietor. By the time he left Pennsylvania in March 1690, he had assembled an excellent list of the various owners of property and the rents owned to Penn. His rent roll lists the following total Philadelphia county holdings by the original Roxborough purchasers. Blackwell's list has been supplemented by a list of the actual owners of the properties in 1690.

Lot	Owner	Total acreage owned according to Blackwell	Actual Owner 1690	Acreage
(1)	Robert Turner	5000 acres	Robert Turner	500 acres
(2)	William Harrod (from Robert Vickris)	200 acres	Richard & Robert Vickris	446 acres
(2)	Thomas Jacques (from Richard Vickris)	200 acres		
(3)	John Jennett	208 acres	John Jennett	200 acres
(4)	John Jennett (from Philip Lehnnman)	200 acres	John Jennett	200 acres
(5)	Francis Fincher	550 acres	Mary Fincher	300 acres
(5)			Thomas Hill	200 acres
(6)	James Claypoole	1580 acres	Estate of James Claypoole	500 acres
(7)	Samuel Bennett	246 acres	Richard Townsend	246 acres
(8)	Charles Harford	200 acres	Charles Harford	200 acres
(9)	Richard Snead	200 acres	Richard Snead	200 acres
(10)	Charles Jones	400 acres	Charles Jones, Sr. & Jr.	400 acres
(11)	Charles Marshall	500 acres	Jonas Smith	500 acres

This tends to agree with other information about the original patents of land to the properties in Roxborough. The problem with using the Blackwell rent roll stems from his lack of using latter data regarding land sales. The editors of the Penn papers noted that occasionally "only the first purchaser's name appears, even though he had died and his land had passed on to his heirs."[77] For instance, Charles Marshall still appears as the owner of 500 acres in Philadelphia county whereas he actually sold this property to Jonas Smith five years previously. Lehnman's property was in the

[77] *PWP*, III: 680.

hands of Jennett by 1689: Bennett had sold to Longshore, and Longshore to Townsend. Townsend, a First Purchaser himself, appears on the list with a 200-acre tract in Philadelphia, but the entry refers to not to his Roxborough property but to his lot in Bristol.

Thus the beginnings of land division in Roxborough generally followed William Penn's ideal for dispensing only relatively small tracts of land to First Purchasers close to Philadelphia. Roxborough also serves as an example of the "typical" development of a township in Pennsylvania. It was composed of a number of contiguous individual holdings held by men with little or no known ties among them. Although many of the Roxborough First Purchasers may and did know each other in England, there is no evidence that these lands were patented as part of a concerted effort by them to develop a settlement. This was not a Germantown or a Welsh Tract, where the land was purchased by one group and later subdivided among the members of the group, who worked to improve it. Instead, the majority of the grants were awarded by Penn as favors to some of his closest friends and associates. Penn's actions in relinquishing this land in such a manner clearly overrode any ideals of community in the early organization of Roxborough.

The division of Roxborough also underscores the surveying and patenting practices of the early colony. These refused to acknowledge the topographical features of the land and the difficulties of "sighting a line" through virtually impassible wilderness. With the exception of the fact that all of the tracts fronted onto the Schuylkill River, the topography of the area, both physical and man-made, played little role in the creation of these lots. Almost all of them included the steep terrain of the eastern Schuylkill Valley and the virtually impassible Wissahickon Gorge. The surveyors did not draw their lines along the natural features but in accordance to the grid pattern determined by Penn and Holme to be the most economical way of disposing of the land.

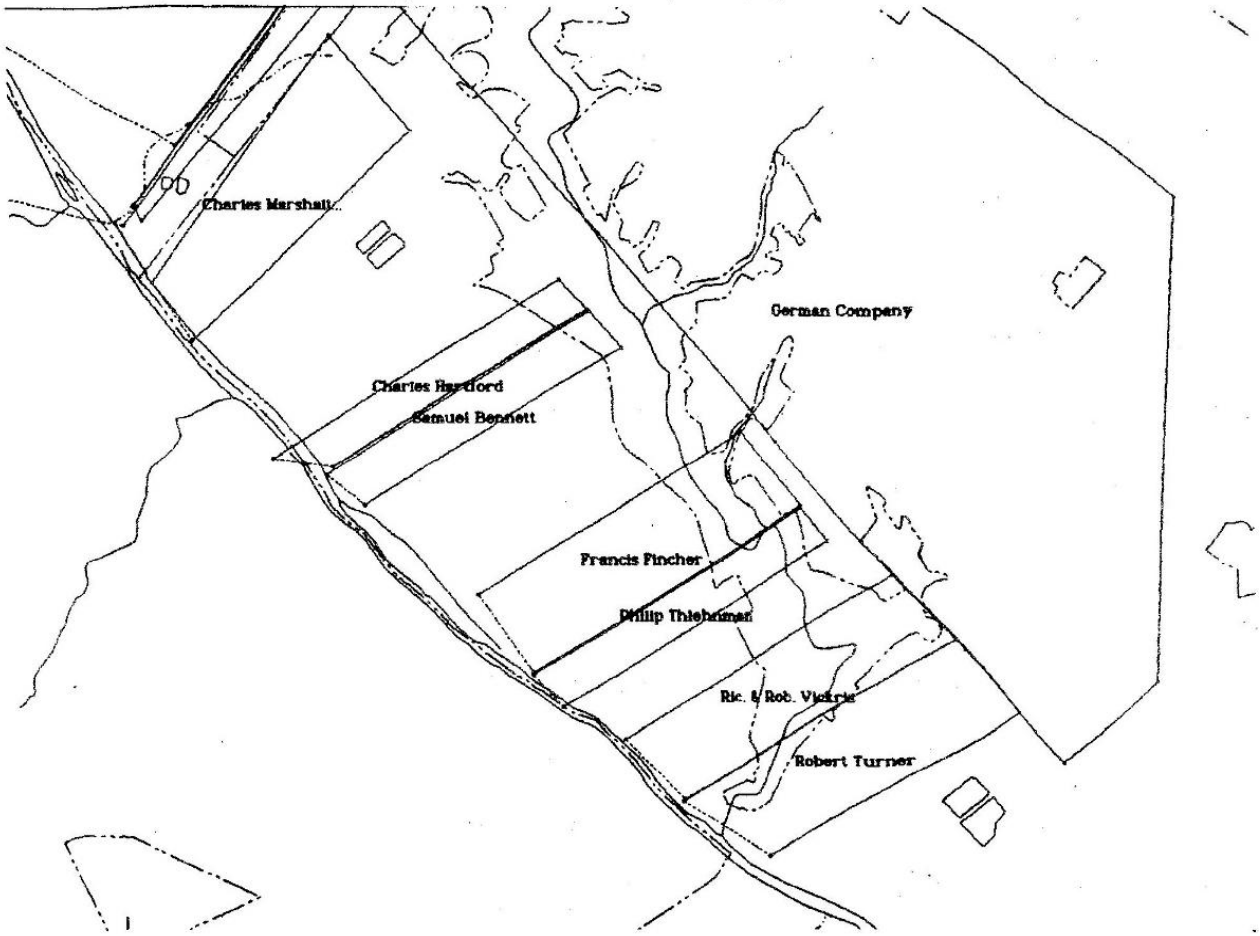
Further, there were great difficulties in surveying this land. These can be illustrated in Map 5, in which the surveys of seven of the eleven grants have been superimposed onto a modern map. Only the Turner and Vickris properties approximate the boundaries given to them, although both are slightly short on their river frontage. All of the remaining tracts were supposed to abut the Germantown township line; yet, as can be seen, all of the measurements fell short.

As mentioned before, the surveys and patents for Roxborough account for only 4062 of the actual 4972 acres presently included in this area. None of the 910 overplus acres were ever discovered by Penn's surveyors. It took later deeds and subdivisions to correct the oversights. The owners of the lots, however, all knew that they owned parcels that stretched between the Schuylkill and Germantown so title to the excess acreage within those bounds were never in dispute.

The importance of Roxborough in understanding the early land division of Pennsylvania is to demonstrate how Penn's investment plan was intended to work. What occurred here was a more or less orderly division of the land among several First Purchasers, few of whom actually appear to have used the land themselves. Both Turner and Vickris established tenancies on the properties and it is

Map 5: Surveys of Roxborough Divisions

This map illustrates the placement of the surveys of seven of the eleven grants that comprise Roxborough. Robert Turner's and the Vickrises' tracts were fairly accurate As one travels up the Schuylkill River, the angled boundary of Germantown Township was not taken into consideration by the surveyors, whose surveys created large amounts of unsurveyed land between the back end of the Roxborough lots and Germantown. As the descriptions of all of the properties indicated that their northeastern boundaries were intended to be Germantown, the landowners of the upper Roxborough parcels became vested in the excess property although the patent or grant called for only a specified amount of acreage.



Source TBD.

possible that other unrecorded tenancies occurred on other properties. By the middle of the 18th century, Isaac Norris lists a number of different tenants occupying large tracts on his land. The names of most tenants are unknown as is how the land was used. The purchase by Andrew Robeson of the Turner tract in 1691 is the first appearance of a man who eventually settled in Roxborough and whose family maintained a close association with the township. In 1692 and 1697, two members of the extensive Levering family purchased large parts of the Lehnmann and Fincher lots, thereby beginning a long intertwining between that family and Roxborough which lasted for over 200 years.

More than the other areas under consideration, furthermore, the land division of Roxborough reveals some of the weaknesses of Penn's plans for the development of community. It was not developed as a township under any of Penn's concepts. A central road did bisect the township within ten years of the founding of the colony, and eventually spurred some development of the area. But no village appears as a center of the township's activities. There is little involvement by any of the original owners in residing upon or improving the land which they bought. Instead, it is the later settlers and buyers who influenced and guided the development of Roxborough, not the eleven men who acquired original title to it.

Creesam Township: Chestnut Hill

In the long run, the community of Chestnut Hill evolved in many of the same ways as Roxborough. The mills along the Wissahickon and the farms on the higher plateau created the economy necessary for its growth. But the beginnings of Chestnut Hill differed widely from that of its western neighbor. The land was not reserved for individual owners who may have enjoyed friendships or associations with the Proprietor, or were influential in early Pennsylvania politics. Only two of the original landowners in Chestnut Hill ever served as representatives in the provincial government: Francis Daniel Pastorius and Abraham Isaacs op den Graeff. Instead, it was divided among various members of the immigrant Crefelders who arrived in Pennsylvania in 1683 and joined with Pastorius, the agent for the Frankfort Company to found Germantown. Indeed, several of the titles to the land in Chestnut Hill originate not with the Frankfort Company but with individual purchasers, such as Lenart Arets and Jan Streyper, who were not members of the Company.[78] Owing to the compromises between the Crefelders and Pastorius, tracing the early land titles of the Crefelders has proven difficult. Despite Pastorius' diligence in maintaining records, there still exists some confusion concerning the original ownership of the lots in Germantown township.

The proprietary government interfered very little in the division and development of Chestnut Hill and Germantown, in part due to Pastorius' leadership. There exist a few entries in the Board of Property's minutes relating to the lands owed to the Crefeld purchasers, but little relating to actual properties in Germantown. The German grant, like that of the Welsh tract along the border of Philadelphia and Chester counties, had many attributes not found elsewhere in Southeastern Pennsylvania. It can be considered as a land grant to a joint venture company, although the recipients

[78] The spelling of the German names varies greatly in the Pennsylvania records. Lenart Arets appears as Lenert Arrets; Jan Streypers as John Streper, Streyper, or Streeper.

differed from that of a group of businessmen subscribing to a single development or trading effort, i.e. the grant to the Free Society of Traders. In the *Certaine Conditions or Concessions* between Penn and his initial investors on 11 July 1681, Penn allowed that investors whose purchases total between 5,000 and 10,000 acres could be seated together in a single township, if they so desired.[79] Although Pastorius was not a party to this agreement, he was able to use the precedent to obtain a single tract of land for the Germans near Philadelphia. He also put Germantown on a different footing from any of the surrounding areas when he petitioned and received a charter for the establishment of borough government in 1691 which operated its own court and kept records separate from that of Philadelphia County. Germantown lost borough status in 1707 and was reduced to a township similar to others.

A look at Chestnut Hill, the northern section of Germantown Township, allows us to view subdivision patterns within Pennsylvania which were not directed or influenced by Penn, Holme or any of the Proprietor's surveying teams.[80] As Pastorius stated in a letter to Penn in 1701,

> May it please Thee to remember, that these 17 years ago this Township by thy good Advice & Convincing Reasons towards the first Beginners thereof was commenced to be laid out not in Plantations as the most part of this Province is, but in Lots and more compacted Settlements; which method being after followed by our Countrymen who from time to time arrived here.[81]

The name, Chestnut Hill, appears quite early in its history but did not become widespread

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79 *PWP,* II: 98-102.

80 Some of the original divisions in the southeastern part of Germantown were indeed surveyed by Thomas Fairman, one of the Proprietor's surveyors. There is no evidence that Fairman, Holme, Longshore or any other proprietary surveyor laid the lines in the area encompassing Chestnut Hill.

81 Francis Daniel Pastorius to William Penn, [17 February 1701], *PWP,* IV: 32

until the Revolution.[82] Much has been written about the development of Germantown. The famous thirteen families from Crefeld, honored each October upon the anniversary of their arrival in Philadelphia, played a significant part in the founding of Germantown. However, most of the writings about early Germantown focus upon the "urban village" found in the lower part of the township. These rarely mention the upper part of the township which comprised the present-day neighborhood of Chestnut Hill.

The township is the result of two compromises: the first between Penn and Pastorius, the second between Pastorius and the Crefelders. Owing in large part to Pastorius' persistence, Penn granted a tract of somewhat over 5,000 acres to the Germans, following his concept that no single township should exceed 5,000 acres in area. Pastorius' original request was for a 15,000 acre tract in one place. Penn refused this, although the Germans from the Frankfort Company had indeed purchased this much ground from Benjamin Furley, his agent in Holland. He did not want such a large tract of uninhabited land to be measured out in the midst of his settlements, for he feared that his purchasers would hold these vast tracts for speculative purposes.[83] The Crefelders had acquired the rights to even more land, some 18,000 acres in all, but ran into the same opposition from Penn about seating their ground in one place. Finally, Penn granted the 5,000 acres to Pastorius on the condition that he manage to settle families upon it within one year.[84]

Pastorius, as the agent of the Frankford Company, could not engineer the removal of the Company's members to America within the required time period, but formed a coalition with the

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[82] This early reference to Chestnut Hill occurs in a deed between Daniel Falckner of Germantown to Rudolph Bondelin of Germantown which occurred on 23 February 1703/4. Several months later, Bondelin sells the same property to Clauss Bruns "of Chestnut Hill in the Germantownship," which occurred on 7th day, 5th month (July), 1704. Both deeds refer to the property being sold as "bounding upon the lines of Sommerhousen comonly called Chestnut Hill," Exemplification Book 8: 359-361; PDB E-3, vol. 6: 94-95

[83] Munger, *Pennsylvania Land Records*, p. 11.

[84] Additional land was granted to the Germans in the areas in which New Hanover Township in upper Montgomery County is located. For over 100 years, there remained close family ties between the residents of the two townships.

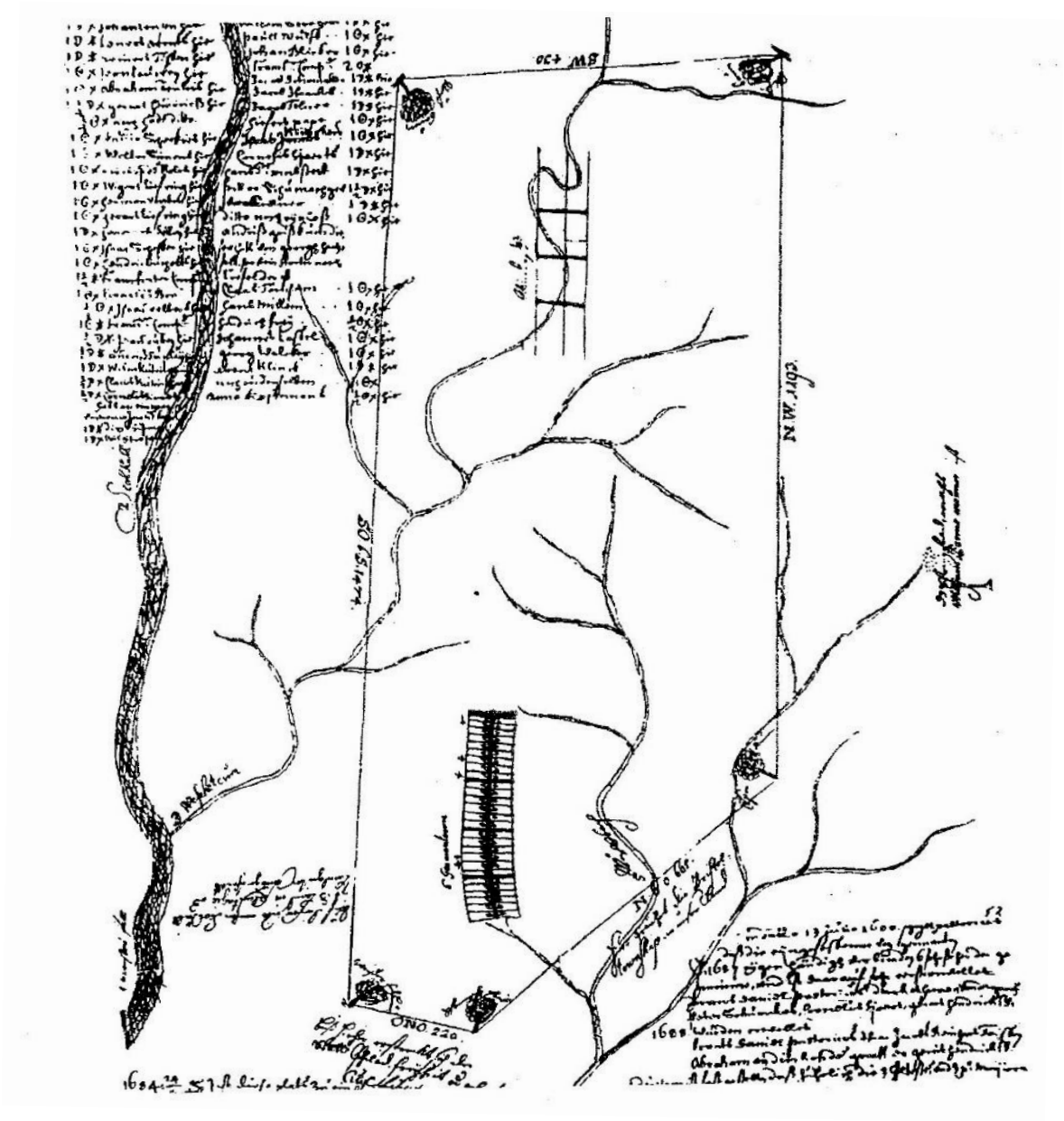
members of the Crefeld Company to cast their lots with Pastorius in the settlement of a "German Township." Pastorius relates how he approached Penn in early October 1683 with his request that all of the Germans be seated together in a tract on a navigable stream. Penn offered "a township" along the Schuylkill above the Falls. After viewing it, Pastorius and his fellow Germans rejected this location and Penn agreed that the Germans could occupy the level, wooded region immediately to the east of the offered tract. Fairman surveyed 14 parcels on 24 October 1683, for which the thirteen families and Pastorius drew lots. **The original boundaries of the township, which encompassed over 6000 acres, included an outlet to the Schuylkill River, probably similar to those found in the Manor of Springfield and between the Farmar tract and Plymouth Township [Map 3]. This outlet was removed at Penn's directive sometime in early 1684, and the German colony lost 1,000 acres of ground "regardless of what we could say against it."[85]** Pastorius then had Fairman divide the township into four divisions or "villages:" Germantown, Cresheim, Sommerhausen, and Crefeld. The urban center of the township was to reside in Germantown, its southeastern section.

Pastorius actually planned for the development of two urban areas in Germantown. The second, known as "new Village", would have been located at or near the top of Chestnut Hill. An early map [Map 6] showing the new German Township, drawn in late 1686 or early 1687, indicates the original Germantown subdivision around the lower end and a scheme for another development in the upper part of the township. There were obviously some surveying problems, both in the location of the township boundaries and in the general topography. For example, more of the Wissahickon

[85] *Grund-und Lager-Buch* (Ground and Lot Book), preface; Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker, *The Settlement of Germantown, Pennsylvania and the Beginning of German Emigration to North America.* (Philadelphia: William J. Campbell. 1899), 123-124. It was after the Germans' occupation of the Germantown township site and refusal of the Schuylkill frontage that the Roxborough lands opened for Holme and Fairman to survey for new grants.

Map 6: Draft of Germantown Township. 1686 or 1687

From: Samuel Pennypacker, The Settlement of Germantown. (1899) This map prepared by Francis Daniel Pastorius shows the proposed urban village slated for the upper part of Germantown Township. His draft shows that the Roxborough and Bristol/Springfield lines are parallel, which they are not. This caused the map to show more of the Wissahickon Creek within Germantown than actually occurs. The placement of the Roxborough line may be accurate as the location of the surveyed back lines of the Roxborough lots. The movement of this line into its later angled configuration probably played a large role in the additional acreage assumed by the upper Roxborough plots.



Good Source for viewing on two pages: #344 - The settlement of Germantown, Pennsylvania, and the beginning ... - Full View | HathiTrust Digital Library See here for other sources: Catalog Record: The settlement of Germantown, Pennsylvania,... | HathiTrust Digital Library

Creek appears in the township than actually occurs.[86] Pastorius's draft for the new village would have located it right in the Valley Green gorge, rather than to the eastward upon heights of Chestnut Hill. Not until recently has a precise study been done on this map, which has appeared in publication several times. Comparing the information on the maps with the deeds and other transactions, it has been proven that this map dates to the period between August 1686 and March 1687.[87]

Once the surveys of Germantown township had been completed, the responsibility for its subdivision and development fell to the citizens of Germantown, principally Pastorius. Rarely does the name of Germantown appear in the minute books of Penn's Board of Property who were responsible for the assignment of lands in Pennsylvania. Pastorius laid out the lower portion of the township upon the German village model with which he was familiar. Very similar in nature to the second of Penn's descriptions of a township [Map 2], all of the grants in this lower division of 2750 acres comprised a town or village lot located upon the Germantown main road and additional acreage in one of the side lands located to the rear of the town lots. The lack of any involvement by the Board of Property, the Surveyor-General's office, or the Land Office, however, contributes to a difficulty in ascertaining the bounds of the various subdivisions within Germantown and Chestnut Hill.

In addition to Pastorius, the men who received the first fourteen lots included Lenert Arets, Abraham op den Graeff, Dirck op den Graeff, Hermann op den Graeff, Willem Streyper (Streper, Streeper), Thones (Tunes) Kunders, Reynier Tison (Tyson), Jan Siemens, Jan Lensen, Peter Keurlie,

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[86] This western line may have been more accurate than it at first appears. As most of the Roxborough sites, especially the northwestern grants, were measured with shortages in the perpendicular lines from the Schuylkill River, the unknown draftsman of the map may well have measured this line accurately in accordance with these measurements. The difference between the lines for the Marshall property, for example, and the actual line can be made clear on a modern map of Andorra. The eastern limit of the Marshall grant, according to measurement, would be the location of Old Line Road. The actual western boundary of Germantown is Wissahickon Avenue, two blocks to the east. The real line between Roxborough and Germantown crossed the Wissahickon Creek just upstream from Valley Green Road. A line based upon the upper Roxborough grants would cross at the Livesey mill dam.

[87] James M. Duffin, "The First Map of Germantown: A Neglected Source," *Germantown Crier*, 44: 2 (Fall, 1992): 4-17; Pennypacker, *Settlement of Germantown*, 124. Robert Longshore conducted yet another survey in 1688. The calculation of his measurements indicate that the German tract encompasses over 6300 acres.

Johannes Bleikers, Jan Lucken and Abraham Tunes (Tunis). They began work on their individual parcels in 1684, although Penn still had not granted a patent to them. The arrival of more settlers from Germany, the unfilled interests of the Frankfort Company purchasers, and the individual purchases by Jacob Telner, Govert Remkes, Lenert Arets, Jacob Isaacs Van Bebber (also known as Jacob Isaacs), Dirck Sipman and Jan Streyper strained the resources of Pastorius, who requested a resurvey of the township, which Fairman did in 1687. Pastorius finally received a patent for Germantown. After receiving it, Pastorius began a new division. He developed a system that included town and side lots in order to create a central village. Just as Penn awarded city lots in Philadelphia to purchasers of country lands, Pastorius assigned a town lot along the main street and a "side lot" in the areas along the Roxborough and Bristol township lines for farming and other agriculture. Additional acreage was made available to the settlers in the northern reaches of the township. In the village of Germantown proper, 44 lots were laid out bordering the main street (Germantown Avenue) and additional 44 "side-lots" behind.[88]

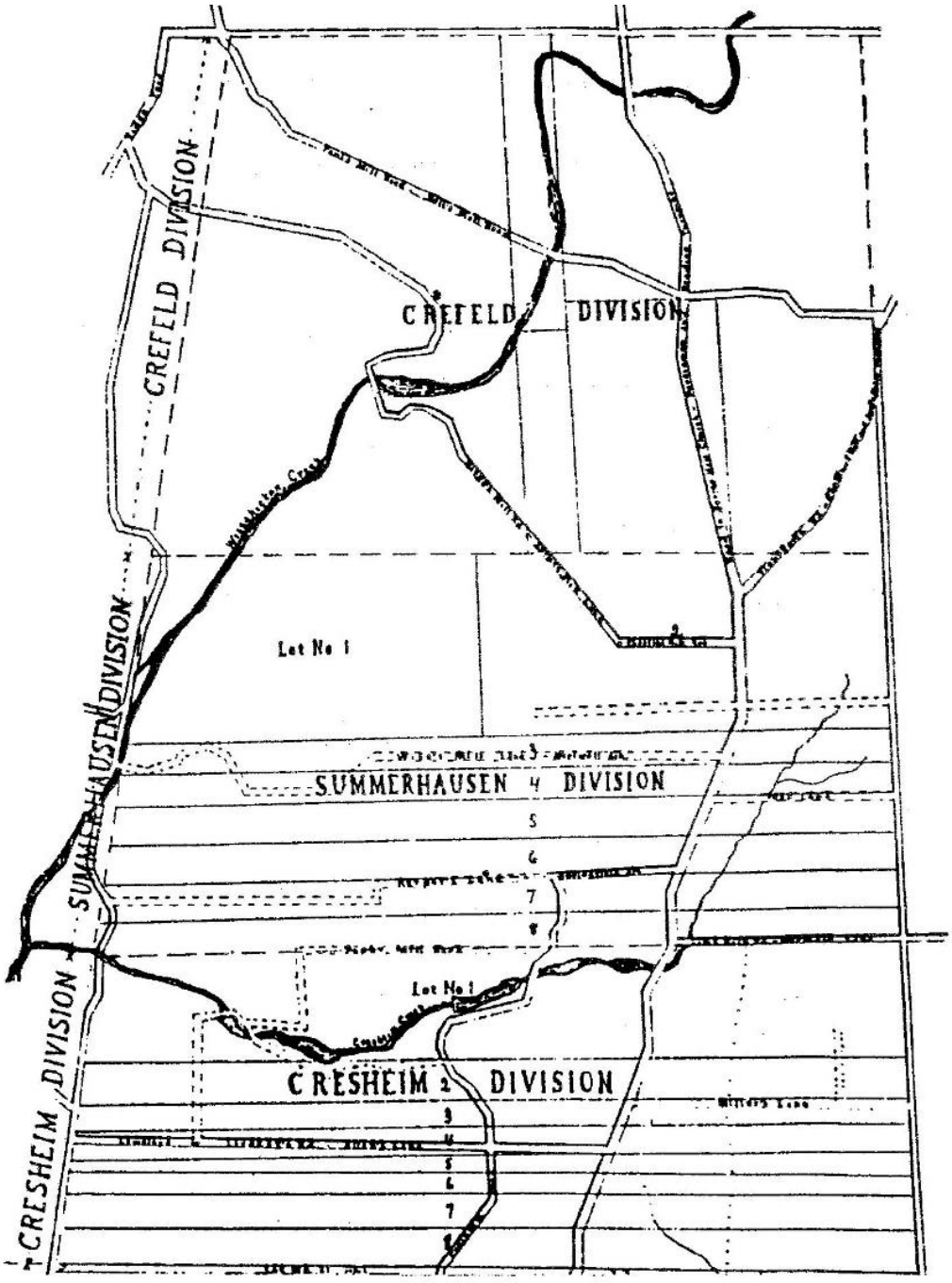
The upper portions of Germantown were divided into three villages: Cresheim with 884 acres, Sommerhausen with 900 acres and Crefeld with 1166 acres. According to Matthias Zimmerman and Christian Lehman, who attempted to piece together the original story of Germantown and Creesam in 1746 and 1766, respectively, eight lots were laid out in Cresheim and Sommerhausen each, and five lots in Crefeld. [Map 7] The source of their information is unknown, for the Germantown *Grund-und Lager-Buch* clearly indicates that at least fourteen full or partial shares were made for the Cresheim lots and an additional fourteen full or partial shares for the Crefeld division. As the Frankfort Company controlled most of Sommerhausen, the original eight divisions remained inviolate until the

[88] James M. Duffin, "Germantown Landowners, 1683-1714." 5 installments, *Germantown Crier*, vol. 39, no. 2 (Spring 1986/87): 37-41; vol. 39, no. 3 (Summer 1987): 62-67; vol. 42, no. 2 (Spring 1990): 37-39; vol. 42, no. 3 (Fall 1990)): 63-65, 85-89.

Map 7: Map of Cresheim, Sommerhausen and Crefeld Divisions.

From: Naaman Keyser, et al., History of Old Germantown. (1907)

This map is a composite drawn from the surveys of Mathias Zimmerman and Christian Lehman between 1746 and 1764. The sources that Zimmerman & Lehman used were incomplete. This map does show the original eight divisions in both Cresheim and Sommerhausen and five in Crefeld, as some of the early accounts state. Only the Sommerhausen divisions were created in accordance with the scheme depicted here. There were at least fourteen plots each in Cresheim and Crefeld.



Links being researched. Sources: "Copies of the Original General Plan of the Lands and Lots of Germantown and Cresheim Townships, Copied from Mathla Zimmerman's original, 1746," Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP) and Lehman, Joseph. "An Explanation of the Original Location and General Plan or Draught of the Lands and Lots of Germantown and Creesam Townships Copied from Matthias Zimmerman's Original... and Several Districts and Divisions thereof Part Extracted from the Original of Former... by Christian Lehman." 1824. HSP. Also researching the "one-off volume for Robeson Lea Perot in 1907" in the collection of the Germantown Historical Society (Microsoft Word - QueenLan-REP-WP)

beginning of the eighteenth century. According to the *Grund-und Lager-Buch*,

> Today, the 4th day of the second month, anno 1689, those who still have land to take up in the Germantownship have drawn lots for the remaining 2950 acres and Peter Keurlis, Jan Lucken for his half, Abraham Tunnes, Gerhard Heinrichs, Peter Schumacher, Hanns Peter Umstatt, Heinrich Sellen, Willjam Strepers for 100 acres, Johannes Bleickers, Jacob Schumacher for 50 acres, Jacob Tellner, Kornelis Sjoert, Andrew Griskum, and Abraham op de Graeff for 25 acres, have received the first next portion to Germantown as their lots and respective shares. Secondly, the Frankfurt Company has obtained by lot in addition to what it received in the furthest division, together with Frantz Daniel Pastorius for his own 200 acres the middle portion. Thirdly, Tunes Kunders, Govert Remkins, Lenert Arets, Reinert Tisen, Jan Lucken for his second half, Cornelius Bom, Jan Strepers, Dirk op de Graeff, Herman op de Graeff, Abraham op de Graeff for his remainder, Jacob Isaacs, the Frankfurt Company for 287½ acres, Jacob Schumacher for 25 acres and Willjam Strepers for 50 acres received by lot the last or furthest portion.[89]

The original allotment of lands in the upper portion of Germantown was done by a drawing of lots "openly and honestly, without deception or fraud" in the words of several of the original witnesses. The passage in this book concludes by stating that a map of the boundaries was included. Unfortunately, this map has disappeared. It might be the source of the Zimmerman-Lehman work but it still doesn't reconcile the information in the above passage with their sketches on the Cresheim and

[89] Larned, *Pastorius*, 138; Matthias Zimmerman, "An Explanation of the Original Location and General Plan or Draught of the Lands and Lots of Germantown and Creesam Townships. June 26th, A. D. 1746, . . . Drawn by Christian Lehman July 28th, 1766." *passim*. Photostat located at the Free Library of Philadelphia. Location of original unknown.

Crefeld divisions.[90] Since the lottery for the division of lands did not occur until 4 April 1689, there was no settlement upon Chestnut Hill prior to that date. This did not prevent several of the original shareholders of Germantown from selling part or all of their interests prior to that date. Therefore, several of the newcomers to Germantown participated in the 1689 lottery. This lottery is important as a contrast between the assignment of the Germantown lots as compared to those assigned within the city of Philadelphia. Penn's deputies conducted a similar lottery but Penn voided it for political reasons. It is evident that the Germans wished to eliminate any sense of impropriety in their land assignments.

Sommerhausen and Crefeld comprise the current neighborhood of Chestnut Hill and actually incorporated some of the area known today as Andorra on the west side of the Wissahickon. Initially, references found in various records were made to one of Pastorius's subdivisions. By 1734, however, the upper three villages were combined into an unofficial township known as "Creesam." The name of this township comes from a corruption of the name of Cresheim, or Krissheim. Indeed, a split of Germantown occurred that was unlike that found in any other township in Pennsylvania. First of all, the village system envisioned by Francis Daniel Pastorius failed to take hold, although deeds throughout the late 17th and early 18th century referred to the transferred property as having lain in Crefeld, Sommerhausen or Cresheim, rather than Germantown. According to the records of the Quarter Sessions Court, Creesam participated fully in county government by having constables, overseers of the highway and other officers associated with township government. Although no reason has emerged in the surviving public records, Creesam's short life was terminated abruptly in the late 1760s. The only clue to its demise appears in a document copied by Christian Lehman relative to the early divisions of Germantown with an annotation that in 1766 Germantown contained 2750 acres and maintained over 14 ½ miles of highways whereas Creesam contained 2950 acres and

[90] Larned, *Pastorius*, 138

maintained only 12 miles of highways "So that Germantown has 200 acres less of land than Creesam Township, and Germantown maintain 2 ½ miles & 72 perches more of the public roads than Creesam. So that Germantown hath above 3 miles more than its proportion of roads to maintain in the proportion that Creesam now bears. . . ."[91] As the cost of roads were to be borne equally by all residents of a township, Lehman's observations were investigated by others who discovered that Creesam had no legal status. Germantown reclaimed Creesam in 1768 and all traces of its independent existence disappeared.

The growth of the area is reflected in the various tax lists for Creesam. Twenty-eight landholders appear in the 1734 list of Philadelphia county landholders for Creesam: approximately 135 persons appear in the 1768 tax list, the last to segregate Creesam from Germantown. Beginning in 1769, in both the tax lists and in the Quarter Sessions Court records, the two townships were merged back into one and the name Creesam disappears.[92]

The village of Sommerhausen, which stretched from the present Mermaid Lane to just north of Rex Avenue, was divided into long horizontal strips that ran from township line to township line, with two exceptions. [Maps 8 & 9] All but 200 acres within this township were initially assigned to the Frankfort Company. Pastorius assigned this 200 acre-tract (Lot 7) at the top of Chestnut Hill to himself.[93] The layout of the long strips was a result of Pastorius' agricultural experiences in his native Germany. It was also similar in many respects to the second of Penn's township ideas.

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91 Zimmerman, "An Explanation": 29.

92 In 1750, the Quarter Sessions Court accepted a petition to divide the entire township into two halves along Germantown avenue. The eastern half was to be known as Upper Germantown and the western half, Lower Germantown. The court ordered such an administrative division but common practice, as reflected in the court records, appears to have limited it to the area below the present Carpenter lane (which also formed the unofficial southern boundary of Creesam.)

93 Lot number 4 is actually a double lot. The two parts were sold at different times and combined.

As most of the village of Sommerhausen was dedicated to the use of the members of the Frankfort Company, it became the one of the prime lands wrested away from the Company by a series of unsavory and possibly fraudulent deals initially by Daniel Falckner and later among Falckner, John Henry Sprogell (or Sproegel) and David Lloyd. Pastorius had acted as the agent for the Company until 1700 when he asked relief from the position, much to his later dismay. The surviving members of the Company, all of whom had remained in Germany, appointed Falckner, Johannes Kelpius, and Johannes Jawert as their new agents. The three agents proved not to have a working relationship: Kelpius resigned to pursue his religious calling; Falckner misused the Company's holdings; and Jawert, as the son of the one of the original partners in the Company, found himself forced to post a notice at the Germantown Meeting house that no one should pay any monies due the Company to Falckner.

John Henry Sprogell arrived in Pennsylvania spreading stories that either his father had some interest in the Frankfort Company or that he (John) had bought the interests of several members of the company while he resided in Germany. He claimed to have lost these papers during a French occupation. Falckner, meanwhile, did receive a communication from two members of the Company under which he stated that he had the right to act alone for it. Pastorius, who recorded this entire incident, stated that this letter was mere declaration signed only by the two youngest members of the Company and that it did not attempt to revoke the powers of agent conferred collectively upon Falckner, Kelpius & Jawert.

Falckner and Sprogell teamed together and enlisted David Lloyd into their scheme by promising him a thousand acres of land that belonged to Benjamin Furley, Penn's former agent in Rotterdam. Lloyd suggested an action of ejectment based upon Sprogell's claim and a recovery by arrangement with Falckner acting as attorney for the company. This ejectment would give the title to

all of the Frankfort Company-owned lands to Sprogell. Pastorius asserted that this scheme was carried out without any notice to him, Jawert, or anyone else interested in the affairs of the Company. Despite Pastorius's objections, the court issued a writ of ejectment in favor of Sprogell on 13 January 1708 and he immediately took title to the 25,000 acres still belonging to the Frankfort Company in Pennsylvania.[94] Of the seven lots in Sommerhausen allotted to the Company, Falckner had already disposed of five of them between 1702 and 1708. Sproegell sold the remaining two in 1712 and 1715 to George Mueller (lot 3) and Claus Braun (lot 4) respectively.[95]

The lower two lots (numbers 1 & 2) in Sommerhausen , each of which measured 100 acres, were among the first sold by Daniel Falckner and Johannes Jawert as attorneys for the Frankfort Company. The new owners were Herman Van Bon and Wigard (or Wickert) Levering, respectively. This is the same Wigard Levering who acquired the entire Fincher tract in Roxborough between 1691 and 1697. Van Bon purchased his lot on 23 March 1702/3 and transferred it to Gerhard Tibben on 29 November 1703. Tibben then sold it to Samuel Savage and Anna Rutter on 22 March 1705 for forty-two pounds. Levering's acquisition of lot number 2 occurred on the same day as Van Bon's. On 19 October 1706, for a consideration of sixty pounds, Levering executed a deed with John Am Wegg for the 100 acres. Thus, by the end of 1706, lot number 1 was in the hands of Samuel Savage and lot number 2 in the possession of John Am Wegg. The long narrow lots did not suit either Savage or Am Wegg, especially as Germantown Avenue bisected the lots. In March 1708, the two swapped land in order that Savage owned all of the land east of the main road and Am Wegg that part west of it. Since Savage was left with a smaller parcel, Am Wegg paid an additional six pounds to Savage as part of the transfer. After this transaction, the original boundaries were obliterated and all future

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[94] Pennypacker, *Settlement of Germantown*, 42-50; Larned, *Pastorius*, 145-155.

[95] The deed from Sproegel to Braun, which occurred on 23 April 1715, was not recorded until 24 October 1761 (PDB H-12, pp. 371-375). The Sprogell-Muller transaction of 1 March 1712 was not recorded until 1 May 1810 (PDB IC-6, pp. 535-538), 98 years after the execution of the deed.

transfers were based upon the new lines.[96]

It is also in 1702 that John Revenstock and Heinrich Tibben purchased Sommerhausen lot number 6 (200 acres) from the Frankfort Company. Apparently the two divided the land between them, but no deed has been discovered relating this fact. Revenstock sold 45 acres to William Dewees, a noted mill owner and papermaker, on 7 July 1731 that included frontage on the Wissahickon Creek. However, Dewees did not make any improvements on this land.[97]

In February 1703/4, Falckner sold the lower half of lot number four to Rudolph Bondelin for thirty pounds who realized a profit of fifteen pounds when he transferred title to Claus Braun (Bruns, or Brown) on 7 July of the same year. Eleven years later, Braun spent an additional forty pounds after he approached Sprogell about the possibility of buying the upper half of lot number 4. Sprogell signed a new deed on 23 April 1715 which covered not only the upper part of lot 4 but the entire bounds of this lot. Braun then sold the eastern 13 acres of the double lot to Abraham Tunis on 15 September 1715 for six pounds and the center 160 acres to John Kepner (or Kepler) on 29 April 1721 for 110 pounds. By these last two indentures, Braun recouped his entire investment of eighty-five pounds.[98]

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[96] Neither of the deeds from the Frankfort Company attorneys to Herman Van Bon and Wigard Levering were recorded. The history of the transactions are recited in later deeds. PDB E-4, vol. 7: 38-40, Gerhard Tibben to Samuel Savage and Anna Rutter, 22 March 1705 (recorded 6 March 1707/8); Exemplification Book 8: 312-313, Wigard Levering to John Am Wegg, 19 October 1706 (recorded 28 October 1706); PDB E-4, vol. 7: 61-65, John Am Wegg to Samuel Savage, 30 March 1708 and Samuel Savage and Anna, his wife, to John Am Wegg, 30 March 1708 (recorded 1 & 3 April 1708).

[97] PDB G-3: 369-376, John Rebenstock (sic) to William Dewees and John Bryant, 7 July 1731 (recorded 14 February 1742/3).

[98] Exemplification Book 8: 359-361, Daniel Falckner to Rudolph Bondelin, 12 February 1703/4 (recorded 9 April 1706); PDB E-3, vol. 6: 94-95, Rudolph Bondelin to Claus Bruns, 7 July 1704 (recorded 2 April 1706); PDB H-12: 371-375, John Henry Sprogell & Dorothea, his wife, to Claus Brown, 23 April 1715 (recorded 24 October 1761); PDB H-12: 375-379, Claus Brown & Anne, his wife, to Abraham Tunes, 15 September 1715 (recorded 24 October 1761); PDB H-12: 380-383, Claus Brown & Anne, his wife, to John Kepner, 29 April 1721 (recorded 26 October 1761). The consideration in all of these transfers was in Pennsylvania silver currency.

Pastorius' division of Sommerhausen created a small lot number 5 of only 75 acres. This lot, which stretched roughly between present-day Hartwell Lane and Southampton Avenue, was sold to Abraham Tunis by Falckner and Jawett on 20 November 1708. Tunis sold this along with other Chestnut Hill properties to his second son, Anthony Tunis, on 21 July 1727. The younger Tunis began division of the lot during the middle of the 18th century.[99]

Pastorius' own 200 acres in Sommerhausen included the top of Chestnut Hill. On 29 December 1693, he sold it to William Streeper and Abraham Tunis. Streeper passed away in 1717 and his son, John Streeper, inherited all of the Chestnut Hill holdings. In 1724, Streeper and Tunis agreed to a division of the two hundred acres. Each received a 48-acre parcel east of Germantown avenue and two 25-acre lots west of Germantown avenue. The Pastorius lot became some of the most valuable property in Chestnut Hill for it soon housed the heart of the business and residential district which stretched along Germantown Avenue up to and including the intersection with Bethlehem Pike. Both Streeper and Tunis began to sell off lots bordering the main street during the middle of the 18th century.[100]

The existence of the Wissahickon Creek in the village of Crefeld determined to some extent the division of land in this area. Unlike all of the other divisions of Germantown, the strips of land here were laid out, not along a northeast-southwest axis, but northwest and southeast. The lack of any early surveys of this ground makes it difficult to ascertain how many lots were created. One historian has identified eleven lots: another fourteen. To complicate matters further, many of the early deeds were never recorded; many of those which survive do not contain boundary descriptions.

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[99] PDB E-4, vol. 7: 231-233, Daniel Falconer and Johannes Jawert to Abraham Tunis, 20 November 1708 (recorded 27 November 1708); PDB G-7: 367-372, Abraham Tunis to Anthony Tunis, 21 July 1727 (recorded 21 February 1746).

[100] John J. Macfarlane, *History of Early Chestnut Hill.*, (Philadelphia: City History Society of Philadelphia. 1926): 24-25; PDB F-3: 516-517, Francis Daniel Pastorius to William Streeper and Abraham Tunis, 29 December 1693 (recorded 19 July 1727); PDB G-10: 292-295, Deed of Partition: Abraham Tunis and John Streeper, 4 June 1724 (recorded 22 November 1748).

According to the *Grund-und Lager-Buch*, the following men or their representatives drew lots for lands in Crefeld: Tunes Kunders, the Frankfort Company, Jan Streepers, Jacob Isaacs, Abraham op den Graeff, Cornelius Bom, Lenert Arets, Herman op den Graeff, Jacob Schumacher, Govert Remkins (Remkes), Reinert Tisen, Jan Lucken, and William Strepers. This would indicate that at least thirteen lots were created. Seven of these participated in the initial division of Germantown in 1683: Jan Streypers, Jacob Isaacs and Govert Remkes were individual purchasers. Kunders had purchased part of Lenart Arets' share in his Pennsylvania lands in 1683. Similarly, Jacob Schumacher acquired 25 acres from Abraham op den Graeff one month prior to the drawing. Reinert Tisen's right for a share came from a purchase completed in 1684 from Herman op den Graeff for 50 acres. Govert Remkes sold all of his Pennsylvania lands to Dirck Sipman in 1686 so it remains a puzzle why Remkes' name and not Sipman's appears in the drawing. Similarly, Jan Lucken is listed as having received a share in Crefeld but no record exists of any property which he may have acquired as a result of the lottery.[101]

John J. Macfarlane lists the initial owners of the various lots in his book on early Chestnut Hill, and numbers the lots as seen on Map 10.[102] James M. Duffin has done extensive research into the early titles and has uncovered most of the true allotments. [Map 8]

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[101] According to Macfarlane, Lot M#C (D-6) of Crefeld was originally divided between Jacob Telner and Jan Lucken. Abraham op den Graeff acquired the rights to 31 acres from Telner and 61 acres from Lucken. PDB E-7, vol. 8: 9-10, Lenart Arrets to Dennis Konders, 14 June 1683; Unrecorded Deed: Abraham Isacks op den Graef, with consent of Herman op den Graeff, to Jacob Schumacher, 4 March 1689. (Original located in the papers of the Germantown Monthly Meeting, O 1.3, the Quaker Collection, Haverford College.); PDB G-10: 301-303, Reinert Tisen to William Streeper, 16 January 1699. This latter deed contains a recitation of the transaction between Herman op den Graeff and Reinert Tisen of 12 May 1684.

[102] Macfarlane, *Chestnut Hill*, 25-28.

The following table compares the information available from both Macfarlane and Duffin.

M #[103]	Purchaser	Acreage	D #	Purchaser	Acreage
A1	William Streeper	50	14	William Streper	50
			13	Reinert Tisen	50
A2	Jacob Telner[104]	116	12	Dirck op den Graeff	66
B1	Dirck Sipman	75	11	Dirck Sipman	75
			10	Jacob Schumacher	25
B2	Jacob Telner	116	9	Herman op den Graeff	116
B3	Lenert Arets	64	8	Lenert Arets	64
			7	Cornelius Bom	50
C	Abraham Op de Graeff	91	6	Abraham Op den Graff	91
D	Jacob Isaacs Van Bebber	61	5	Jacob Isaacs (Van Bebber)	61
E	John Streeper	87	4	Jan Streepers	50
F	Frankfort Company	143½	3	Frankfurt Company	143 3/4
G	Frankfort Company	143½	2	Frankfurt Company	143 3/4
H	Lenert Arets	169	1	Lenart Arets	169
Total		1116			1154½

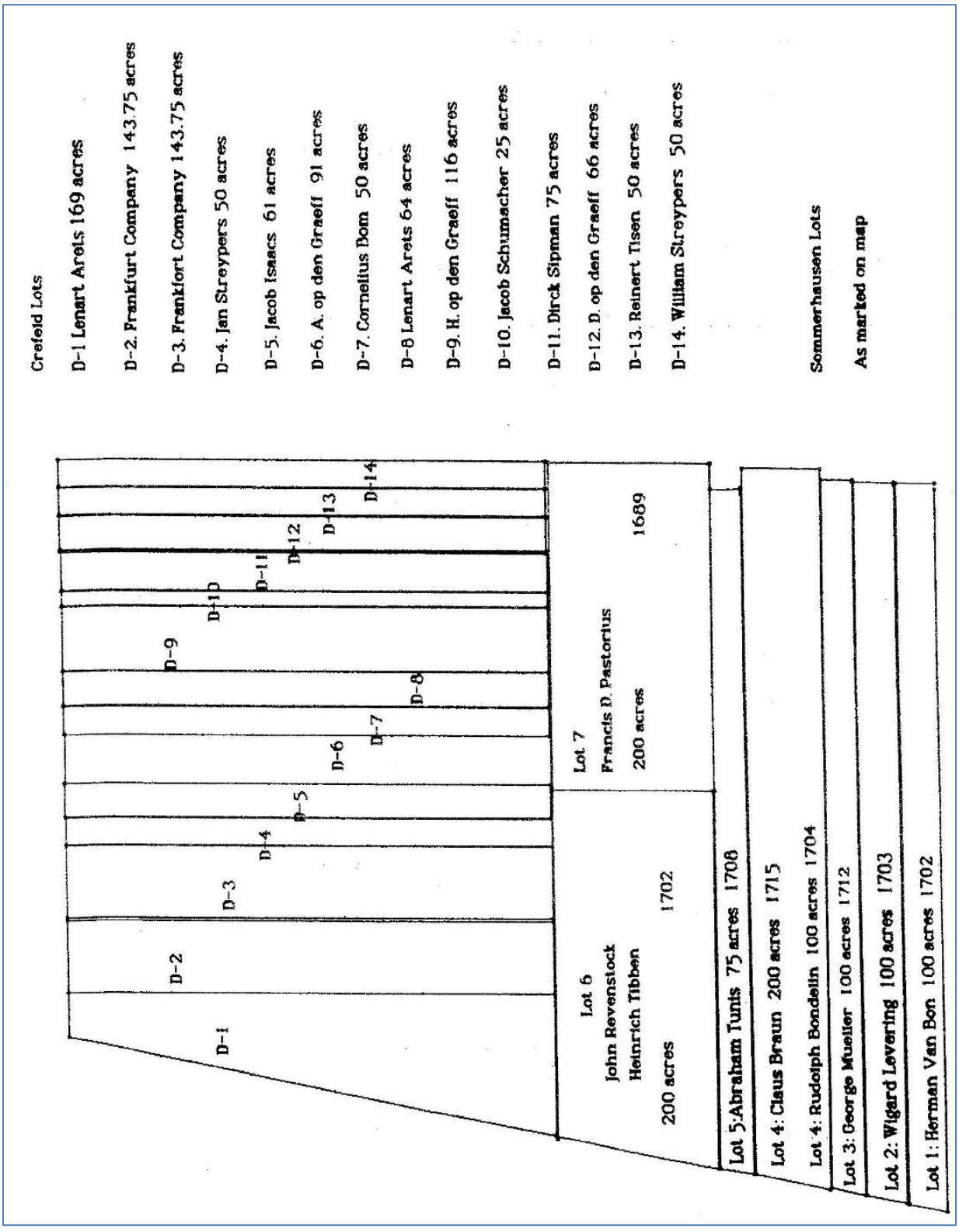
In neither case does the total amount of acreage equal the 1166 acres reputed to be in the Crefeld division. With the exception of Lot A (lots D-12 - D-14), all of the lots had frontage on the creek. It is not clear whether the Frankfort Company was initially assigned one or two lots, or that John Henry Sprogell divided the property later. He sold one lot to Thomas Tresse and the other to Richard Gabriel, both in 1712.[105]

[103] The M # is the lot number given on the Macfarlane map. The D# is the lot number assigned by James Duffin in his unpublished research on the Cresheim and Crefeld lots.

[104] Telner's name does not appear in the *Grund-und Lager-Buch* list. He was a Quaker merchant from Amsterdam who had actually visited America between 1677 and 1681. Upon his return to Europe, he lived in Krefeld, Germany and was probably influential in convincing the Crefelders to invest in Pennsylvania. In March 1683, he purchased a 5,000-acre share. Telner removed to Germantown where he stayed for almost ten years before moving again to London. In 1689, Telner received a patent for 989 acres which was supposed to be in the Crefeld division. Patent Book A-1: 245-247, William Markham, et al., to Jacob Telner, 26 August 1689. *PWP*, II:567

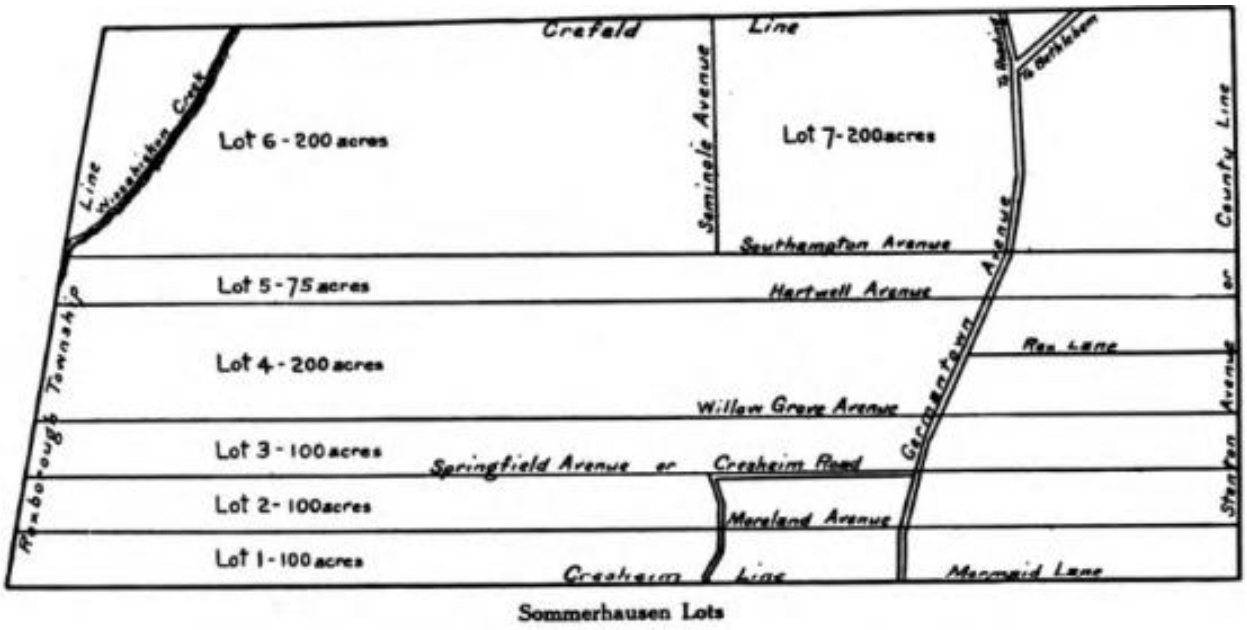
[105] Like the Sommerhausen deeds, both of the deeds from John Henry Sprogell, which occurred on 7 & 8 November 1712 for Lot G and 24 & 25 November 1712 for Lot F were not recorded until the 19th century. PDB SHF-18: 489-492 & 492-494 respectively, recorded on 26 January 1838, 125 years after execution.

Map 8: Original Divisions in Sommerhausen and Crefeld.



Map 9: Sommerhausen Lots From. John J. Macfarlane, History of Early Chestnut Hill. (1927)

This map shows the seven lots into which Sommerhausen had been divided. Actually, Sommerhausen had eight lots: part of Lot 4 was sold separately in 1703/4 and a later owner acquired the other half of Lot 4 in 1715. The latter deed included the boundaries for the entire Lot 4 as shown here.



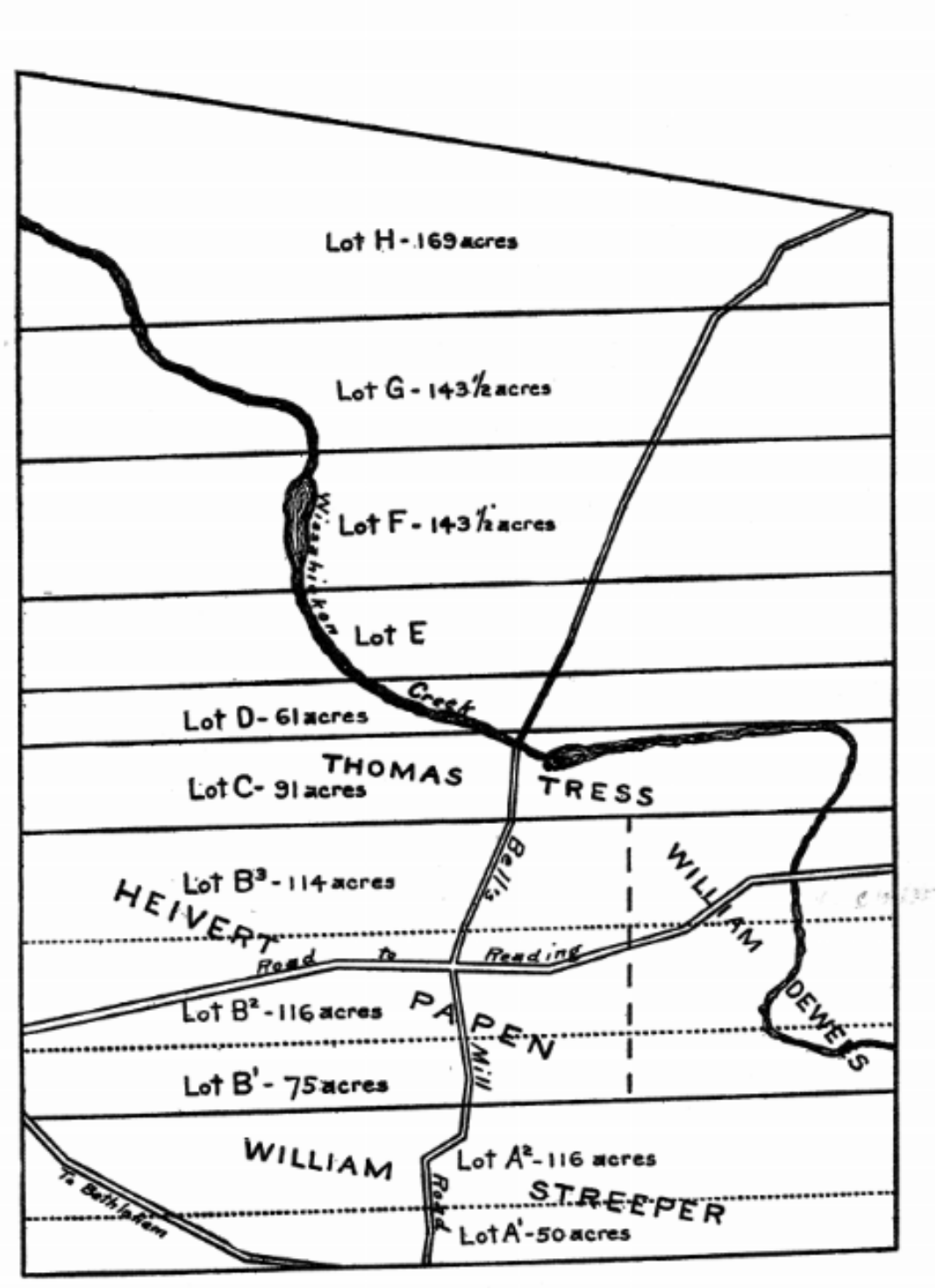
Sommerhausen Lots

The John J. Macfarlane book with map can be found here: [2006.38.1 - Book | Chestnut Hill Conservancy]

Map 10: Crefeld Lots

From John J. Macfarlane, *History of Early Chestnut Hill.* 1927

Macfarlane's map shows eleven parcels he identified as the divisions of Crefeld.



Crefeld Lots

The divisions within Crefeld proved impractical very shortly. The rocky, steep nature of the terrain precluded any intensive agriculture such as one might find on similar-sized tracts on the level ground surrounding the village of Germantown. Consolidation of many of the strips occurred before ten years had passed. By 1710, eight large parcels divided most of Crefeld. One of the first consolidation moves occurred in 1693 when Reynier (Reinert) Tyson (Tisen), who already owned lot D-13, purchased the adjoining lot D-12 from Dirck op den Graeff. Six years later, on 16 January 1699, he transferred title to the entire 116 acre-tract to William Streyper, the owner of lot D-14. William Streyper now owned the entire north corner of Crefeld to which he and his son added additional territory in the Manor of Springfield later.[106]

Another person active in the acquisition of the Crefeld lots was Heivert Papen. Papen arrived in Germantown in 1685. He filled several positions in the Germantown government during the early 1690s. His first purchase of a Crefeld tract was that of Jacob Schumacher, which occurred on 4 November 1693 (lot D-10). Six years later, on 3 December 1699, he acquired lot D-9 from Herman op den Graeff. On 9 June 1701, he expanded eastwards by picking up lot D-11 from William Henricks (who had previously bought this lot from Dirck Sipman on 3 October 1698). Papen now owned 216 acres but he still coveted the ground immediately to the west. This ground, encompassing 114 acres, comprised lots D-7 and D-8 which had been merged into one parcel by Claus Jansen in October 1698. Papen paid Jansen sixty-seven pounds for the title to both tracts on 1 March 1702/3.[107]

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106 *Grund-und Lager-Buch*: 99, Dirck Isaaks op den Graeff to Reinert Tisen, 27 November 1693; PDB G-10: 301-302, Reinert Tisen to William Streepers, 16 January 1699 (recorded 24 November 1748).

107 PDB I-4: 30-31, Claus Jansen to Heivert Papen, 8 August 1704 (recorded 19 December 1767); PDB I-4: 31-32, Lenart Arets to Claus Jansen, 4 October 1798 (recorded 21 December 1767); PDB F-5: 44-47, Gerard Brownpach, et al, heirs of Heivert Papen, to William Dewees, 25 March 1730 (recorded 1 April 1730); Unrecorded deed, Jacob Schumacher to Heifert Papen, 4 November 1693; *Grund-und Lager-Buch*: 369, Herman op den Graeff, attorney for Dirck Sipman, to Willem Hendricks, 3 October 1698.

Papen's occupation is listed only as a husbandman. But he was deeply involved in the new milling community along the Wissahickon Creek. His purchases were designed to obtain enough water rights for the erection of a mill. Papen had married Elizabeth Rittenhouse, the daughter of William Rittenhouse. Her brother, Nicholas or Claus (he used both), had married the sister of William Dewees, thus bringing Dewees into the extended Rittenhouse family. Papen and Dewees worked together to develop the second Wissahickon paper mill on this Crefeld tract (William Rittenhouse's in Roxborough was the first), although Papen's full involvement in this endeavor remains unknown. Before Papen's death around 1708, he sold Dewees the 100-acre tract surrounding the mill site.[108]

The Jan Streyper property (lot D-4) represented one of the thornier issues of German ownership of American lands. He purchased the right to 5,000 acres but, although his brother William emigrated, he stayed in Germany. He was included in the Germantown lottery. On 13 May 1698, he appointed Renier Tisen and Henry Sellen as his attorneys to settle his purchase rights. Tisen refused the appointment and Sellen, with the approval of Streypers, asked Lenart Arets to substitute. Arets approached the Board of Property for the remaining acreage for which he received a warrant. Eventually, Streyper was given a tract of 4,400 acres in Bucks County.

English law did not prohibit property ownership by aliens - it did, however, prohibit any alien from willing this property to his heirs after his death. All of the German immigrants became naturalized citizens. Provision was made for Jan Streyper but he did not comply. To bypass legal technicality, he transferred all of his Pennsylvania lands to his brother on 4 March 1715. However,

[108] PDB E-7, vol. 9: 168-170, William de Wees and Ann Christine, his wife, to Abraham Tunes, William Strepers, Claus Ruttinghuysen and John Gorgas, 15 December 1713 (recorded 4 March 1713/4); Pennypacker, *Settlement of Germantown*, 128, 163, 254, 256, 287.

this deed was considered a deed of trust and not a fee-simple deed, for it permitted William Streyper to dispose of all of the American lands for Jan Streyper's benefit. William died shortly thereafter. His son, Lenart Streper, and Reynier Tyson (probably the son of the above-mentioned Renier Tisen), assumed the trusteeship. On 3 July 1722, they sold the Crefeld lot to Hermann Doers (also known as Hermann Tyson), Reynier's brother. Hermann Doers or Tyson died intestate and the property devolved upon Reynier Tyson. Fortunately, this property had been divested from the Jan Streyper estate prior to his death for the remainder of his property, especially the 4,400 acres in Bucks County which was coveted by James Logan, became the subject of a lengthy dispute.

Despite its unsuitability for agricultural pursuits, the terrain of the Crefeld lots, which had the Wissahickon Creek running through many of them, proved perfect for the establishment of an industrial economy. Many of the mills associated with Chestnut Hill were erected in the Crefeld section. No less than six mills used the Wissahickon water within Crefeld to power their wheels during the early 18th century. Thomas Tresse, Jr. built a grist mill on lot D-3 in 1717 which was eventually acquired by Joseph Woolen, Sr., who successfully petitioned the Quarter Sessions Court in 1737 for the opening of Spruce (Thomas) Mill road.[109] Van Bebber sold lot D-5 to Thomas Rutter and Samuel Savage in 1704 who assigned it to Daniel Howell, in 1710. Howell built a grist mill on the site; his son, Benjamin, petitioned for the opening a road which has been known by many names throughout history and currently as Bell's Mill road.[110] Within the confines of lot D-6, Henry Dewees erected a paper mill on the sharp bend of the Wissahickon sometime after 1747. Finally, in addition to the paper mill erected with Heivert Papen, William Dewees built two additional mills by 1729 on his section of lots D-7 through D-11.[111]

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[109] Tresse had acquired both lots D-3 and D-6 from his father, who was one of the original partners of William Rittenhouse in the Roxborough paper mill endeavor.

[110] Although the map in Figure 6 clearly shows the intersection of Bells Mill road and the Wissahickon creek in lot D-6, the deed from Benjamin Howell to Jonathan Paul on 13 December 1738 ((PDB GWC-81: 242-244, recorded 13 February 1851) gives the chain of title from Van Bebber to Benjamin Howell rather than from Jacob Telner.

[111] Douglas Macfarlan, *The Wissahickon Mills*, (typescript, 1949), II: 57-75.

Generally, the initial land division of Creesam township followed to a large extent the patterns of Holme and the other surveyors in its disrespect for the topographical features which composed the township as a whole. Similarly, the strip pattern employed by Pastorius does not differ markedly from those found in other sections of northwest Philadelphia county. The size and narrowness of the strips, however, bear little resemblance to any other early land division in Pennsylvania. As elsewhere, the attempt to impose a rectangular pattern upon an uneven topography eventually failed when later owners chose to follow topographical features rather than the lines drawn by Pastorius. Especially in the Crefeld division, the topography plays a huge role in the later economic development of this area and the size and shapes of the parcels needed to be adjusted to take full account of the land's potential. On the other hand, the system employed by Pastorius to allocate the various lots to the various purchasers within Germantown demonstrates a fair-mindedness and even-handedness which is missing from many of the early grants throughout the colony.

Whitemarsh: Farmarstown

The third of the four townships to be studied involved a situation which Penn generally avoided: the granting of a single large tract close to the capital city. Much to Penn's chagrin, the original survey of the area had two mistakes: the southeastern line infringed upon Penn's Manor of Springfield and the entire area encompassed proved to be more than 50 percent greater than what had been purchased and warranted. The first problem had major repercussions between William Penn and his commissioners of property and other legislators in Pennsylvania regarding the subject of manor lands. The second led to a division of the property and the opening of additional lands that lay relatively close to Philadelphia, and provides an excellent example of the disposal of overplus land.. Actually, the current boundaries of Whitemarsh contain two original grants according to Holme's map: one to Major Jasper Farmar and the other to John Green and Samuel Rolls.[112] The Farmar tract included much of present-day Whitemarsh: the Green/Rolls land was located between the Farmars and the property owners whose grants encompass present-day Upper Dublin Township.

In his concessions with the initial purchasers, Penn stated his desire that no single grant of land would exceed 1,000 acres in the same location, unless the purchaser made assurances that they would place a family on each 1,000-acre piece within three years. The Farmar family managed to obtain their entire 5,000-acre allotment in one tract by promising to adhere to Penn's early conditions about attracting settlers. When they came to Philadelphia in 1685, they were accompanied by several other families, many of them relatives. The Farmars also relinquished any rights to liberty lands in order to keep their entire purchase as one single grant. However, their agreement with Penn, in which he allowed them the privilege of two fairs every year and a market once a week, required them

[112] Samuel Rolls appears in the First Purchaser lists as having bought 5,000 acres. However, there is no further record of his having taken up any of his land. *PWP*, II: 652.

to "procure 20 families to settle and dwell there" within five years. When Edward Farmar approached the Board of Property in 1734/5 to request additional land for which he had purchased the rights from some of his family's servants, he confessed that they failed to comply with these terms.[113]

Major Jasper Farmer (d. 1685), a British Army retiree, decided that he and his family should move to Pennsylvania from county Tipperary, Ireland. The continually-changing situation in Ireland, especially relating to the soundness of land titles following the period of Cromwellian rule and the Acts of Settlement and Explanation of 1662 and 1665 respectively, probably convinced Farmar that Pennsylvania promised a better future. Farmar's reasoning was probably similar to that of a fellow Irish landholder: Thomas Holme. He purchased a 5,000-acre share from Penn and sent his second son, Jasper, Jr., to Pennsylvania in order to locate a suitable tract and complete the title process. A warrant signed on the 31st of October 1683 by Penn directed Holme that:

> At the request of Jasper Farmer Junior in the behalf of his Father Major Jasper Farmer his Brother Richard and himself, that I would grant him to take up five thousand acres of Land being of the Lands by the Indians called Umbilicamence fronting at one end upon the River Schuylkill, These are to will and require thee forthwith to Survey or cause to be Surveyed until him the said five thousand acres in the aforementioned place where not already taken up, according to the method of Townships appointed by me. . . .[114]

Apparently, Jasper Farmar had accompanied Penn on a trip up the Schuylkill River and requested the land along the east side of the river. According to later documents, Penn personally blazed a tree which would be used as the starting point for the survey. The Farmars had already decided that the Major would have a fifty-percent interest in the property and that his eldest sons, Richard and Jasper, Jr., would each enjoy a twenty-five percent interest.

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113 *Pennsylvania Archives*, 3rd Series, I: 11, Minutes of the Board of Property, 12m 1734/5.

114 *Warrants & Surveys*, I: 356-357.

A quick survey of the property occurred and a patent was signed for Jasper Farmar on 31 February 1683/4.[115][Map 11] Apparently, Thomas Fairman, who was charged with the surveying of the Farmar tract, drew the boundaries incorrectly with the consequence that the Farmar territory had more than the allotted 5,000 acres; and Penn's Manor of Springfield lost approximately 1,000 acres.[116] Jasper Farmar returned to Ireland where the entire family began preparations to move to Pennsylvania. By early 1685, Richard Farmar, the eldest son, had reconsidered the move and elected to sell his 1/4th share in the property his brother-in-law, Thomas Webb.[117]

The remainder of the family embarked upon the *Bristoll Merchant* which arrived in Philadelphia on the 10th day of November 1685. However, during the voyage both Major Jasper Farmar and Jasper Farmar, Jr., had passed away, leaving their respective widows to settle upon the new land. Less than two months later, Thomas Webb, "now of Philadelphia, late of Racannon," sold his 1/4th share in the Farmar patent to Mrs. Mary Farmar, the second wife and now widow of Major Farmar, now of "Farmerstown, county Philadelphia."[118]

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115 Patent Book, A-1, p. 3; transcribed in Philadelphia Exemplification Book, I, p. 3

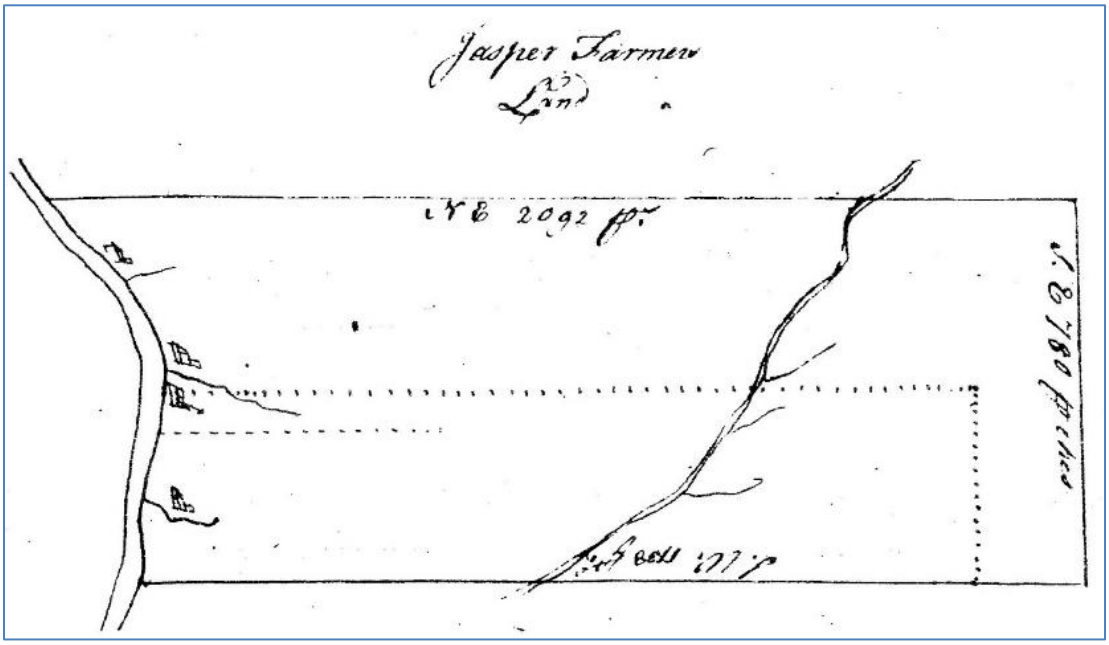
116 *Warrants & Surveys,* I: 372. According to a rough calculation based upon the measurements in the Fairman survey, the total acreage encompassed in the Farmar tract was in excess of 9300 acres.

117 PDB E-1, vol. 5: 156-158, Richard Farmer of Arderrack, co. Corke, Ireland to Thomas Webb of Racannon, co. Limerick, Ireland, 23 April 1685.

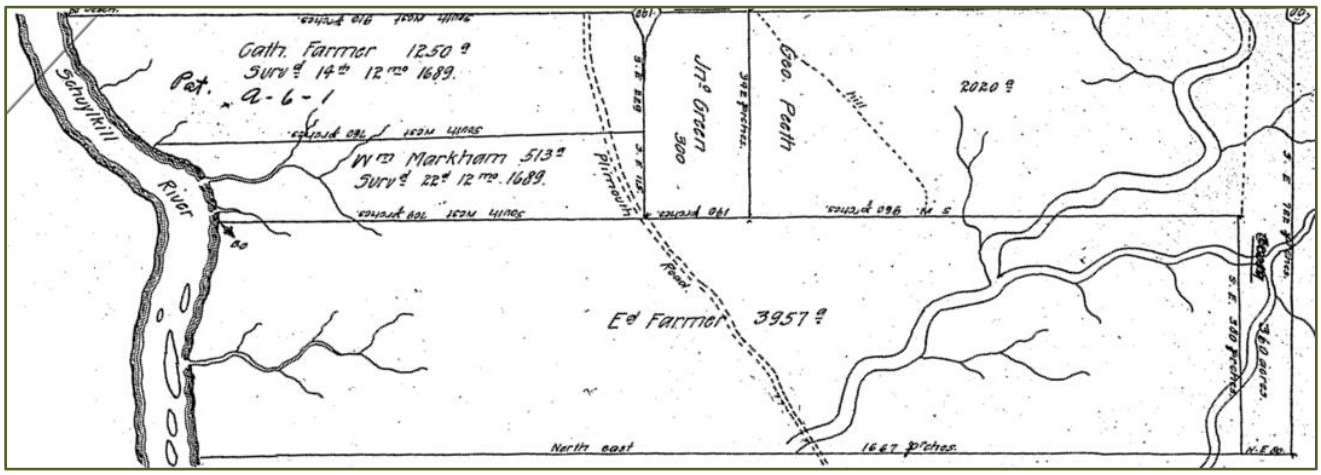
118 PDB E-1, vol. 5: 174-176, Thomas Webb to Mrs. Mary Farmer, 24 December 1685.

Map 11: Survey for Major Jaspar Farmar. ca. 1683-1684

This survey by Thomas Fairman of Major Farmar's property includes all of the land presently in Whitemarsh Township. The dotted line designates the land that Edward Farmar would receive in the breakup of the grant. The survey is undated, and it is unclear whether this survey is the original done by Fairman in 1683 or 1684 or a preliminary sketch of the resurvey performed in 1689.



Thesis Update: 1689 Survey in horizontal format to match the above map format except below now has several subdivisions that were started as dotted lines above.



The *Bristoll Merchant* carried, in addition to the two widow Farmars, 10 other members of the Farmar or Batsford families, Thomas Webb and his son Daniel, and Nicholas Scull. The servants to the Farmars listed on the manifest totaled 19; those of Thomas Webb, 17; and those of Scull, 7.[119] According to this manifest, the Farmars appear to have brought the necessary additional settlers to help occupy and cultivate their 5,000-acre grant. The steadfastness of the servants' character was cast in doubt over an incident of violence between the Farmars and William Harmer which occurred two months after the arrival of the *Bristoll Merchant.* This suggests that some of these newly-arrived servants were culpable in laying waste to Harmer's property while establishing the boundaries of Farmarstown.

Mary Farmar discovered very early that she owned a large limestone deposit which Nicholas More reported was "as good Lime-Stone, on the School-kill, as any in the World . . . ."[120] Mrs. Farmar did not long enjoy her new prosperity in Pennsylvania. She passed away in November 1686, leaving her estate to her son, Edward Farmar. As Edward was still underage, she appointed Nicholas More as his guardian. More also died shortly thereafter and Edward Farmar requested that John Goodson assume his guardianship, to which Goodson agreed.

In February 1689/90, the Farmars wished to have the land divided among the various heirs. Owing to his mother's purchase from Thomas Webb, Edward Farmar was entitled to 3/4ths of the estate, a total of 3,750 acres. Katharine Farmar, widow of Jasper Farmar, Jr., inherited the remaining 1,250 acres. She had been remarried to Captain Christopher Billopp, Royal Navy, and former deputy

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[119] Lewis D. Cook, "Farmar of Ardevalaine, County Tipperary, Ireland and of Whitemarsh, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine*, XXI, 2 (1959), pp. 90-91. Mary Batsford married Major Jasper Farmar around 1670. Her eldest child, Edward, was born in 1672. Richard and Jasper Farmar, Jr., were the sons of Major Farmar's first wife.

[120] Nicholas More to William Penn, 13 September 1686, as transcribed in Albert Cook Myers, ed., *Narratives,* 288.

governor of the English colonies on the Delaware from 1677 to 1680 under the Duke of York. On 7 February 1689/90, William Markham, Robert Turner, John Goodson and Samuel Carpenter, commissioners of property, directed Thomas Holme to conduct a survey of the Farmar lands in order to separate them into two parcels.[121]

Less than a week later, the Board of Property, trying to find land close to Philadelphia that would be suitable for seating former servants, ordered a "Resurvey be made of Maj'r and Jasper Farmer's land lying on the Schuylkill in the County of Philad'a." The members recommended that "a Convenient tract of the overpluss be sett apart . . ., and likewise to proportion or lay out unto the said Maj'r and Jasper Farmer, their Heirs, Assigns, Etc., the five thousand Acres purchased by the said Maj'r and Jasper Farmer in such manner as they shall agree upon."[122] On 12 April 1690, the Commissioners signed Katherine Farmar Billopp's patent, which had been dated two days earlier, for her allotment.[123] The discovery of this overplus acreage as indicated on the survey by Fairman led to a number of petitions and deliberations by the Commissioners during 1690. Within a month of the Board's order for a resurvey, it authorized a warrant for 513 acres of it to William Markham. In June 1690, additional warrants were prepared for George Keith for 500 acres and Thomas Coxe for 914 acres.[124] [Map 12]

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121 *Warrants & Surveys*, I: 342-343.

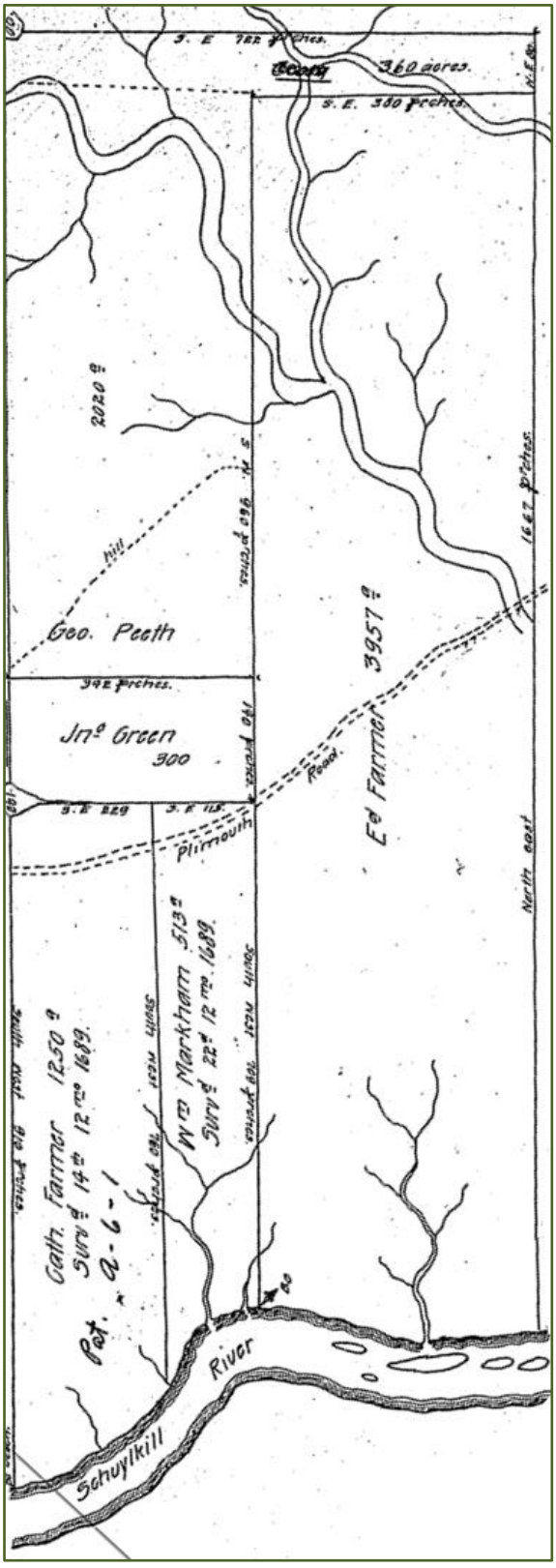
122 *Pennsylvania Archives (PA)*, 2nd Series, XIX: 25. Minutes of the Board of Property, 15, 12m., 1689/90,

123 *PA*, 2nd Series, XIX: 33, Minutes of the Board of Property, 12, 2m, 1690; *Warrants & Surveys*, III: 558.

124 *PA*, 2nd Series, XIX: 31 & 36, Minutes of the Board of Property, 22, 1m, 1689/90 and 14, 4m, 1690. No record of any warrant or patent to Thomas Coxe has been found for Whitemarsh land. There exists a survey in the Land Office records for the Whitemarsh overplus land with Coxe's name on it. In the 1702 list of landowners by David Powell, Coxe is found in Whitpain Township with over 800 acres. However, he is one of Charles Marshall's partners. As mentioned in the Roxborough discussion, all of the Marshall partners sold their interest in the Roxborough land to Jonas Smith and consolidated their interest on the larger tract that they received in Whitpain Township. Subsequently, according to Holme's map, each of the partners received an individual tract.

Map 12: Survey of Whitemarsh showing division of Farmar tract. 1689/90

This initial survey done about 1689-1690 shows the division of the Farmar tract for Edward and Katharine Farmar Billopp. It also shows the property William Markham obtained for himself between the two, with Schuylkill River frontage. John Green's property is fully delineated, A lot is designated for George Keith (misspelled Peeth) next to Green, but the bounds have not yet been set.



Link to Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission Pennsylvania State Archives 1689 Survey: Book B22 302.pdf

Were the Farmar heirs dispossessed of some of the prime territory once thought to be theirs? Despite Holme's assertion to Penn that he would redraw the lines in order to restore to Springfield the land surveyed away by Thomas Fairman, there appears to have been no effort on the part of Holme or the Commissioners to adjust the boundary between Farmar and Springfield. The Board's lack of action in ordering a relocation of this boundary had a crucial result: it denied additional prime acreage to William Penn. This underscores the differences of opinion concerning the reservation of lands for Penn and his family. All four members of the Board originally supported Penn in his efforts to establish the colony of Pennsylvania but several of them eventually found themselves opposing Penn's proprietorship owing to disputes over the administration of the colony. Historians have stated that the major conflicts between Penn and his opposition erupted during the mid-1690s. The Board's actions here on this measurement indicates that the dissatisfaction was already being nurtured. In reality, their work in the partition of the Farmars' tract worked both to the benefit of the Farmars and to that faction who were beginning their opposition to Penn and his land policies.

John Goodson may have exercised more than a little influence in the entire matter. As a commissioner, "he strove to uphold the proprietor's interest . . . yet Goodson was not unwilling to recognize the impracticalities of some of Penn's demands."[125] With Goodson acting on both sides of the fence, both as a guardian to Edward Farmar and as a member of the Board of Property, he probably acted in concert with William Markham to seize a productive tract through which Spring Mill Creek runs, and deny William Penn the additional land for his Manor of Springfield. For on the same day that the Board of Property ordered a resurvey of the Farmar's properties, the Commissioners issued the warrant for 513 acres out of the Farmar overplus to William Markham for

[125] Joseph S. Foster, "John Goodson," *Lawmaking*, I: 372.

land. No mention of this warrant appears in the minutes of the Commissioners until 1 March 1689/90 when Markham, "purchaser of 5,000 ac's Requests a Warr't to take up 500 of the same in the County of Philad'a, which was granted."[126] The speed in which the surveyors carried out this warrant surpassed most of their work. They completed the survey on the 22nd of February 1689/90, only a week after the commissioners allegedly issued a warrant for it and a week before it appears in the Board's minutes.[127] A final patent was granted to Markham on 9 April 1690.

There is a footnote to this story. Less than three years later, Edward Farmar and Goodson disagreed over a proposed marriage between Farmar and Goodson's daughter. A recent biographer of Farmar's assumes that Goodson's objection to Farmar was based "on Farmar's staunch Anglicanism rather than on economic or political considerations."[128] One wonders if the partition of the Farmar lands might also have played a role in this dispute, for Goodson had faithfully attended all meetings of the Board of Property throughout the first half of 1690.

Curiously, the Farmars and their heirs made no public complaint about this division until 1767, when they approached the Board of Property for redress. It appears that even the survey for Markham encompassed more than the 513 acres. John Morris, the owner of much of the Markham land in 1767, requested a survey that revealed an additional 153 acres of overplus within the Markham boundaries. At that time, Peter Robeson, son-in-law and heir of Edward Farmar, brought suit against John Morris for this land. The Board of Property found that:

The Farmer Family never made any objection against this patent of Markham til now

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126 *PA*, 2nd Series, XIX: 27, Minutes of the Board of Property, 1st, 1st month, 1689/90.

127 *Warrants & Surveys*, I: 348, II: 89, III: 182, VI: 69.

128 Jeffery Schieb, "Edward Farmar," *Lawmaking*, II: 355-361. This recent biography is the best work on Edward Farmar to date and the reader is directed here for more on the life and career of Edward Farmar.

> & there has been an uninterrupted Possession under it more than 70 years. Peter Robeson claims as one of the heirs of Edward Farmer and insists that this Land is within the first purchase of Jasper and Sons as above stated. And the Governor, considering that there never was any survey made of the 5000 A's, and considering the long and uninterrupted possession under Markham's patent, is of the opinion that Peter Robeson has no legal or equitable Claim to the Land in Dispute. . . .[129]

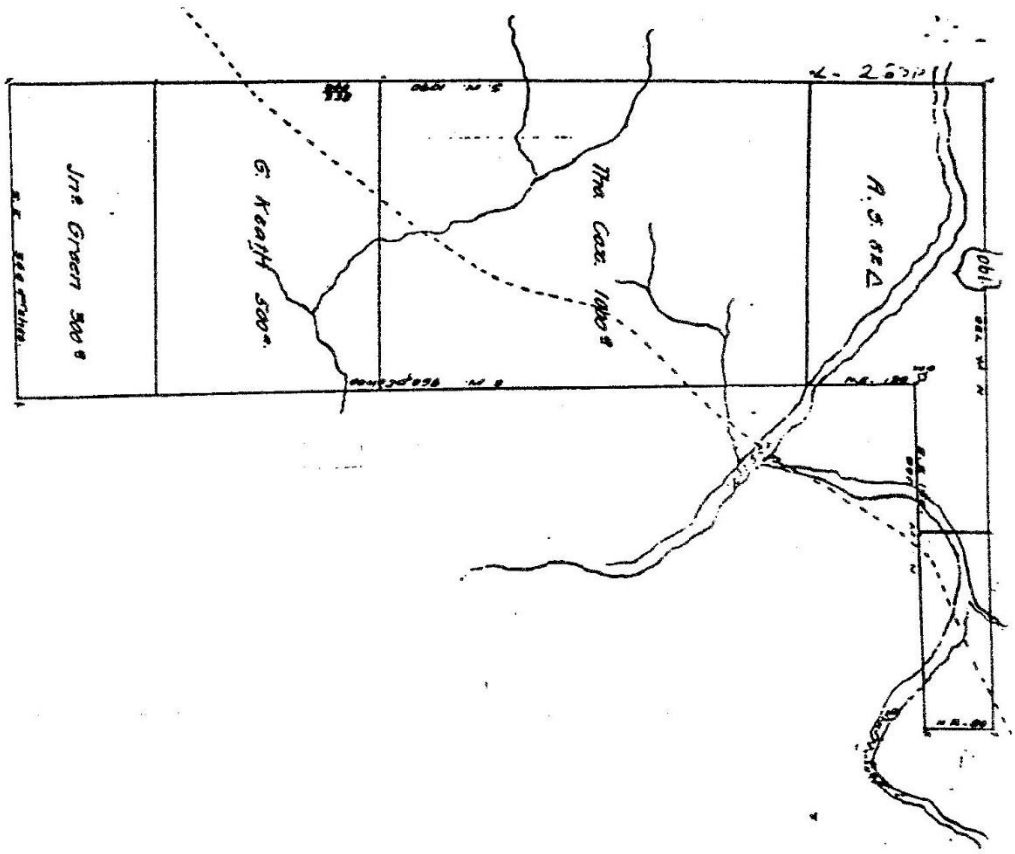
Judging from Edward Farmar's youth in 1689/90 (he was seventeen) and the desire of Katherine Farmar Billopp to separate her holdings from those of her in-laws, it does not seem impractical that Markham and Goodson were striking at an opportune time to take advantage of a fluid situation in Whitemarsh.

The breakup of the Farmar estate into three major river frontages also created a number of parcels in the northwesterly corner of Major Jasper Farmar's original grant, which Penn and his commissioners kept in reserve for later patents. The Board of Property initially divided the overplus land into three parcels: 300 acres for John Green, 500 acres for George Keith, and 914 acres for Thomas Coxe. [Map 13]

[129] *PA*, 3rd Series, I: 196-197, Minutes of the Board of Property, 19 October 1767. Markham sold the entire 513 acres to David Williams of Merion on 8 May 1697. No further tracing of this property has occurred. In 1734, William Williams is listed as owning 100 acres and Joseph Williams as having 200 acres; Exemplification Book 7: 758-759, William Markham to David Williams, 8 May 1697.

Map 13: Survey of the Farmar overplus land. ca. 1690

This survey of the overplus land in Whitemarsh shows the allotments made to John Green, George Keith and Thomas Coxe. There is also a lot in the lower part of the panhandle which will eventually be patented to Nicholas Scull. The remaining L-shaped piece has not been allocated to any purchaser at the time of this survey.



Katherine Farmar Billopp died shortly after the partition and willed her Whitemarsh property to her son, Thomas Farmar. Thomas Farmar sold the entire 1,250 acres to David Harry of Radnor township on 17 June 1700.[130] Harry began to divide the property within a short period. Not all of the sales have been identified. It is known that the eastern 400 acres was sold to William Lawrence, a city tailor, on 5 July 1701.[131] An adjoining 263-acre parcel was transferred from Harry to Thomas Colley, a yeoman from Whitemarsh, on 9 October 1714.[132] He held much of this land until his death and it was divided among his heirs. In the 1734 landholders list, Harry is still credited with 200 acres; Francis Cawly (Colley) with 50.

But Thomas Farmar and David Harry were still bedeviled by inaccurate surveying of the Whitemarsh lots. On 26 June 1704, the Board of Property determined that the lines between the Katherine Farmar and Markham lots were incorrect. Another resurvey conducted by Fairman in late 1703 or early 1704 found that the 513-acre Markham lot, now in the hands of David Williams, contained 780 acres and the 1,250-acre Farmar property had but 1,096 acres. The Commissioners noted in their minutes that "Only . . . ye Prop'ry himself marked the Place and Tree with his Own hands." Apparently, many of the original inaccuracies regarding the Farmar grant stemmed from a disagreement over which tree William Penn actually marked.[133] The boundaries were readjusted to give Thomas Farmar back his full 1,250 acres.

Edward Farmar possessed 3,750 acres of prime real estate at an early age. He began almost fifty years of investing and divesting real estate when he sold a city lot in 1694 to the merchant

130 PDB F-4: 225-227, Thomas Farmar, and Katherine, his wife, to David Harry, 17 June 1700.
131 PDB E-5, vol. 7: 358-359, David Harry to William Lawrence, 5th day, 5th month, 1701 (recorded 4 October 1709).
132 PDB G-4: 109, David Harry and Lidia, his wife, to Thomas Colly (sic), 9 October 1714.
133 *PA*, 2nd Series, XIX: 433, Minutes of the Board of Property. 26th day, 4th month, 1704.

Richard Keys for thirty pounds and a "third part of the Sloop belonging to the said Keys if ever she arrives here." As the Falls of the Schuylkill prevented any ocean-going traffic from proceeding north of the liberties, Farmar realized that he did not need the river frontage on the Schuylkill and proceeded to dispose of all of it by 1700. On 9 September 1697, he sold 200 acres to William Samuel and three months later, on the 9th of December, 400 acres to Thomas Stroud. Both of these lots were located within the western parts of his property. The Stroud deed mentions that land to the west was held by Charles Hughes. Two years later, on 20 June 1699, Lewis Thomas purchased the river frontage along the Springfield line totaling 224 acres. In this deed, the northern landholder is cited as Charles Hughes. Based upon these two transactions, it seems safe to assume that Farmar had already transferred possession of this frontage along the Markham tract to Charles Hughes by the end of 1697. Another pre-1700 transaction occurred on 10 August 1698, in which Farmer sold 1,732 acres to John Roads for property near the site which he later gave to St. Thomas' Church, Whitemarsh.[134]

Following the Farmar resurvey of 1689/90, the Board of Property and the Surveyor-General determined that Whitemarsh, instead of being composed of two tracts, as Holme's map indicates, was instead to be broken up as follows:

Patentee	Survey Date	Patent Date	Acreage
Edward Farmar	1689/90		3,750
Katharine F. Billopp	14 Feb 1689/90	10 Apr. 1690	1,250
William Markham	5 Apr. 1690	9 Apr. 1690	513
John Green	1690(?)	17 Sept. 1701	300
George Keith	1 May 1691		500
Thomas Coxe			914
Nicholas Scull	24 Dec. 1692	29 Mar. 1693	100
Total			7,328

[134] PDB G-12: 224-226; Edward Farmar to William Samuel, 9 September 1697; Exemplification Book 7: 161-163, Edward Farmar to Thomas Stroud, 9 December 1697 (recorded 8 April 1698); PDB F-3: 136-138, Edward Farmar to Lewis Thomas, 20 June 1699 (recorded 7 June 1720). No record of any purchase or sale by Charles Hughes has been discovered in the various Philadelphia deed book series. The history of the Roads transactions is recited in a deed between Jonathan Robeson, *et al*, executors of the estate of Edward Farmar, to William Dewees dated 6 April 1747. MCDB 27: 747-750 (recorded 6 July 1812).

Some additional land was left vacant behind the Coxe tract. When Thomas Coxe failed to request a patent for the land, then the Commissioners opened it again for later purchasers and the following allotments were made:

Patentee	Survey Date	Patent Date	Acreage
Edward Farmar	1689/90		3,750
Katharine F. Billopp	14 Feb. 1689/90	10 Apr. 1690	1,250
William Markham	5 Apr. 1690	9 Apr. 1690	513
John Green	1690?	17 Sept. 1701	300
George Keith	1 May 1691	4 Jan. 1691?	500
Robert Reading	5 Dec. 1700	20 Dec. 1700	500
Robert Assheton	29 Apr. 1702	20 Jun. 1702	314
Edward Hopton	12 Dec. 1700	4 Mar. 1701/2	250
John Knight	5 Jun. 1701		250
Daniel Quare			250
Nicholas Scull	24 Dec. 1692	29 Mar. 1693	100
Total			7,977

But even this was not the final allotment of original land grants to the property in Whitemarsh. For although Daniel Quare was assigned the land southeast of John Knight, he received land in Upper Dublin township instead. In 1724, when the Free Society of Traders dissolved, the designated Quare property was added to the Free Society's holdings throughout the province. A survey of the property revealed that it contained 310 acres. So the final disposition of land within the Whitemarsh boundaries was this: [Map 14]

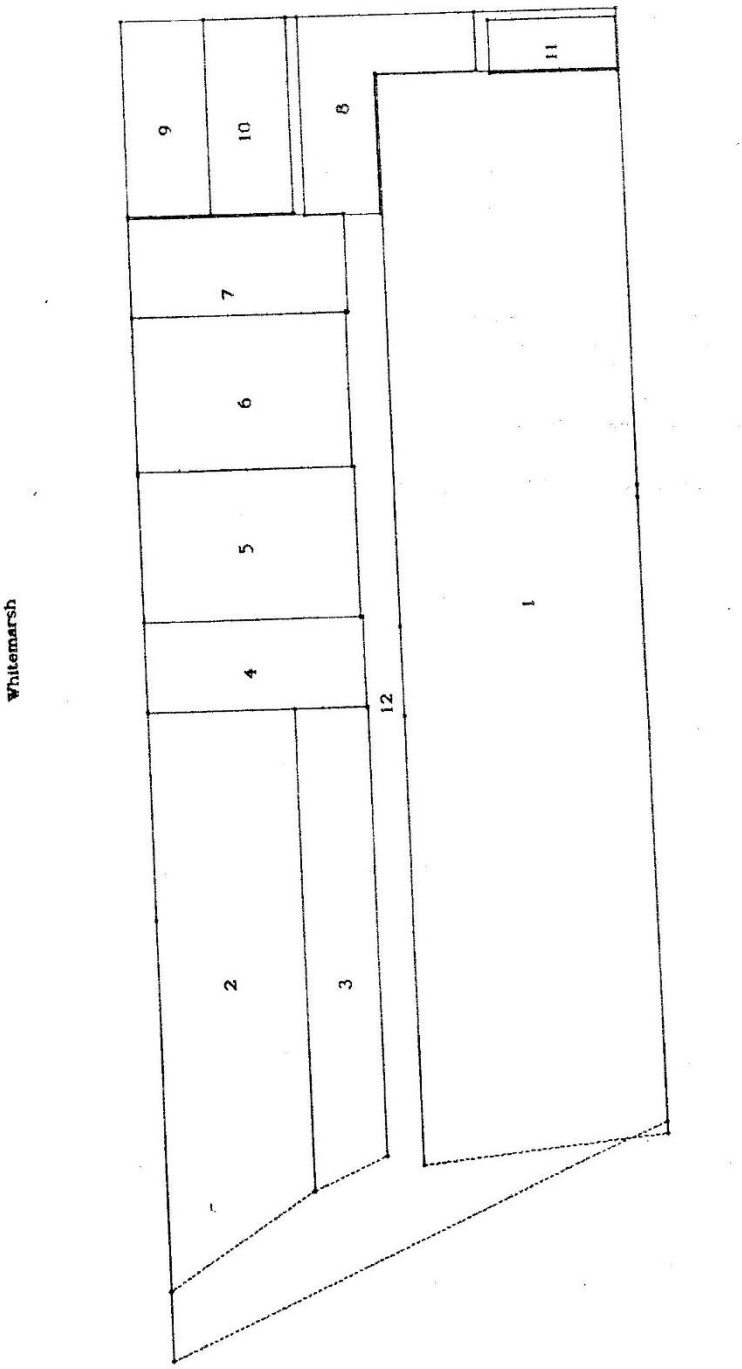
Patentee	Survey Date	Patent Date	Acreage
Edward Farmar	1689/90	NA	3,750
Katharine F. Billopp	14 Feb. 1689/90	10 Apr. 1690	1,250
William Markham	5 Apr. 1690	9 Apr. 1690	513
John Green	1690?	17 Sept. 1701	300
George Keith	1 May 1691	4 Jan. 1691?	500
Robert Reading	5 Dec. 1700	20 Dec. 1700	500
Robert Assheton	29 Apr. 1702	20 Jun. 1702	314
Free Society	6 Jun. 1724	NA	310
Edward Hopton	12 Dec. 1700	4 Mar. 1701/2	250
John Knight	5 Jun. 1701	NA	250
Nicholas Scull	24 Dec. 1692	29 Mar. 1693	100
Total			8,037

Map 14a: Original Land Grants and Patents, Whitemarsh Township Index

The following map indicates where the various land grants were located, in accordance with the records of surveys, patents, and later deeds. Despite the earlier allocations of land by Penn and his deputies, this configuration is the final assignments of each of the properties. The outside boundaries are those of Thomas Fairman's survey for Major Jasper Farmar in 1685, which exactly matches the current boundaries of Whitemarsh Township. Each of the tracts within these boundaries are the grants as measured by existing records. The uneven bottom line for the tracts from Markham to Assheton are the differences in the dimensions given in the various grants. The large open strip in the center of the map was intended to be part of all of the tracts. As with the Roxborough tracts (see Map 5), this land was apportioned amongst the adjoining landowners. Joshua Road runs down the center of this tract: it separated Edward Farmar's land from the northern tier of properties. Similarly, the several vacant spaces around John Jones' and Nicholas Scull's properties were considered to belong to them.

Number	Patentee	Survey; Patent Dates	Acreage
1	Edward Farmar	1689/90; NA	3,750
2	Katharine F. Billopp	1689/90; 1690	1,250
3	William Markham	1690 ; 1690	513
4	John Green	1690? ; 1701	300
5	George Keith	1691 ; 1691/1692?	500
6	Robert Reading	1700 ; 1700	500
7	Robert Assheton	1702 ; 1702	314
8	Free Society	1724 ; NA	310
9	Edward Hopton	1700 ; 1701/2	250
10	John Knight	1701 ; NA	250
11	Nicholas Scull	1692 ; 1693	100
12	Vacant land after grants are measured on a current map of Whitemarsh. The land was incorporated into all of the adjoining plots. It is part of this land which is discovered in the Morris resurvey of the Markham tract in 1767.		

Map 14b: Original Land Grants and Patents, Whitemarsh Township Map.



If one adds the acreage which John Morris requested from the Commissioners of Property in 1767, then the total acreage for Whitemarsh approximates 8,200 acres according to the surveys and patents. In reality, most of the grants resulted more acreage than the surveys and patents gave to the new owners. The total amount of property within the initial boundaries of Whitemarsh probably totaled close to 9,300 acres, which is the acreage contained within the Fairman draft for Major Jasper Farmar

in 1685.

Therefore, the remainder of Whitemarsh was composed of smaller parcels similar to those found in Roxborough. One major difference between Roxborough and Whitemarsh concerns the relationship of the patentees to Penn and to local politics. Whereas there remains no question regarding Markham's or George Keith's closeness to Penn and the Quaker movement, most of the remaining patentees are latecomers to the colony. Few of them even participate in the various political bodies of the period. Edward Farmar is still a minor when he inherits his property, although he soon embarked upon an extensive political career. Christopher Billopp's influence plays little role in the original assignment of the Farmar tract - this was handled by Jasper Farmar, Jr. and William Penn years before Billopp's marriage to Jasper Farmar's widow.

The Farmar resurvey of 1689/90 also involved the placement of two additional grants within the overplus lands: those of John Green and George Keith. Green's property was located immediately to the east of Katherine Farmar Billopp's and William Markham's two tracts. He had initially received a warrant from Penn on 29 March 1684 for 300 acres "in or near the German Town."[135] Holme charged Thomas Fairman to make a survey of the land. If Fairman made a survey, it has not survived and Holme had another survey made on 18 May 1688, which placed the property between Farmar and Upper Dublin Township. When the Board of Property decided upon the reconfiguration of the Whitemarsh lots, it moved Green's land to its eventual location next to Billopp and Markham. Green's grant illustrates the fluidity of land location in areas which were not intensively settled. Despite the number of completed surveys for John Green finished during the 1680s and 1690s, he did not acquire a patent to the property until 17 September 1701. Shortly thereafter he sold the entire 300 acres to Thomas Shute.[136] Shute divided the property into one tract

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[135] *Warrants & Surveys*, I: 398; Several years later, the date of this warrant was cited as 29th, 12th Month, 1683. *Warrants & Surveys*, I: 391.

[136] PDB E-4, vol 7: 243-244, John Green to Thomas Shute, 24 February 1701/2 (recorded 26 March 1709).

of 100 acres and another of 200 acres. He sold the 100-acre parcel to Philip Wallis by January 1703/4 but failed to sign any conveyance papers. Therefore both Shute and Wallis, a resident of Burlington county, New Jersey, executed a tripartite deed on 4 August 1721 transferring title of the 100 acres to Samuel Story, a mariner of "Kitchin, county Hartford (sic), Great Britain."[137] William Dickinson, a resident of Plymouth township, purchased the northwesterly 200 acres adjoining Plymouth township on 6 January 1703/4.[138]

During 1691, George Keith had a survey prepared for 500 acres located adjoining John Green's eastern boundary.[139] Later deed records recite that Keith received a patent for the land on 4 January 1691 but it does not appear in the records. This is most likely the same George Keith who was at the heart of the religious and political controversies of the 1690s. His controversies with the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting began in 1690 and by 1692 he was meeting separately with his followers. The Yearly Meeting disowned him in September 1692. One month later, the dominant Quaker faction in Pennsylvania politics indicted and tried him on charges of civil transgression. Keith left Philadelphia in 1693 to return to England to defend himself. According to later deeds, he sold the Whitemarsh tract to Isaac Dilbeck on 8 February 1700, but this transaction was not recorded. Dilbeck kept it for almost three years before selling 324 acres to David Morris on 15 November 1703. The subsequent history of this tract has not been traced. Morris may have purchased the remaining acreage after 1703. Deeds for some of the bordering properties indicate that Morris or his son owned the entire tract.[140]

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137 PDB F-2: 194-195, Thomas Shute and Elizabeth, his wife, and Philip Wallis to Samuel Story. 4 August 1721.

138 PDB E-4, vol. 7: 306-307, Thomas Shute to William Dickinson, 6 January 1703/4 (recorded 28 March 1709). This deed cited the property as being located in Plymouth rather than Whitemarsh but the dimensions as given fall within Whitemarsh. It also mentions the southeasterly boundary as land of Philip Wallis which confirms that Shute and Wallis had an understanding about the ownership of this parcel by the time of this sale. Dickinson later mortgages both the Whitemarsh and Plymouth properties in 1709 to Samuel Cart. PDB E-4 vol. 7:321-323, Mortgage: William Dickinson to Samuel Cart and Job Goodson, 1 April 1709 (recorded 2 April 1709).

139 *Warrants & Surveys*, III: 193; VI: 56.

140 *PWP*, III: 357; PDB G-10: 83-85, Isaac Delbeak (sic) to David Morris, 15 November 1703 (recorded 30 May 1748).

The only other divestment of Whitemarsh property from Penn or his commissioners prior to Penn's return to the colony in 1699 occurred in 1693. A portion of the ground originally reserved for John Green became the property of Nicholas Scull as part of a three-hundred acre tract in Springfield and Whitemarsh.[141] Two hundred acres of this tract lay in Springfield, the remaining one hundred in Whitemarsh. After Scull's death, his sons, led by Nicholas Scull the younger, sold part of the Whitemarsh tract to their new stepfather, Allen Forster, in 1714. The remainder of the Whitemarsh acreage was sold to Benjamin Charlesworth in 1721.[142] The younger Nicholas Scull's knowledge of Springfield and Whitemarsh proved useful later when he embarked upon a surveying career and obtained a position in the Surveyor-General's office.

By 1700, it was clear to Penn that Thomas Coxe did not want the Whitemarsh tract reserved for him and he ordered the sale of the remaining overplus lands. In a list of surveys and resurveys conducted by David Powell, which was compiled around 1702, he lists the following surveys on "Land's on the back part of Edward Fairman's [Farmar's] Land": Daniel Quir (250 acres), John Knight (250), Edward Hopton (250), Robert Ashton (400), Robert Reding (500) and Isaac Delbick & Company (500)[143]. Isaac Delbrick (Delbick) held the old Keith grant. Robert Reading (Reding) and Robert Assheton (Ashton) were situated to the east of Delbrick. Hopton's property occupied the extreme northern corner of the township. The Knight and Quare (Quir) properties were located along

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Neither the patent to George Keith or the deed from Keith to Dilbeck appears in the records. The Powell survey of 1702 does indicate the Dilbeck is an owner in this neighborhood of 500 acres. Dilbeck arrived in Philadelphia in August 1683 as one of Francis Daniel Pastorius' employees and was one of the Germans naturalized in 1709.

141 Patent Book A-5: 31, William Penn to Nicholas Scull, 29 March 1693. (Also recorded in Exemplification Book 2: 82-83.) The patent was not recorded until 24 May 1714.

142 PDB E-7, vol. 9: 212-214, Nicholas Scull and Abigail, his wife, Edward Scull and Ann, his wife, Jasper Scull, John Scull, James Scull and Joseph Scull to Allen Forster, 4 May 1714 (recorded 8 May 1714); PDB H-9: 157-159, Nicholas Scull, *et al.*, to Benjamin Charlesworth, 25 December 1721(recorded 14 August 1758). Nicholas Scull, the younger, is listed as a cordwainer in the 1714 deed and a surveyor in 1721. He eventually became Surveyor General of the Province of Pennsylvania.

143 *Warrants & Surveys*, VI: 84-85.

the Assheton grant, between Hopton's in the northwest corner and Farmar's main land and Scull's property in the southeast corner.[144]

The property immediately to the east of the Keith tract was patented first. William Penn had granted 500 acres to Robert Reading, vintner, and his wife Sussannah on 20 December 1700, based upon the right of Sussannah's father, Bernard Osmond, who had purchased the right to own 500 acres in Pennsylvania. Penn issued the warrant to Edward Penington, Surveyor General, to survey land to the Readings. David Powell conducted the survey on 15 November 1700 and returned a draft to the Secretary's office on the 5th of December. Eight days after receiving the patent, the Readings sold the entire parcel to Edward Farmar. By this time, Farmar had already sold large parts of his inheritance and using some of the proceeds to invest in additional real estate. In 1713, Farmar sold the northeasternmost 300 acres to John Hank or Hauk: part of the southwestern part was already in the hands of Thomas Marle. Farmer purchased the entire 500 acres from the Readings for ninety-five pounds. He almost recouped his entire investment when he sold the 300 acres to Hank for eighty-two pounds and ten shillings.[145]

The survey for Robert Assheton dated 1 April 1702 mentions for the first time the name of Whitemarsh in association with this area: it was located adjoining the Reading/Farmar grant to the northeast. Assheton (1669-1727) is one of the few men who acquired property in Whitemarsh from the proprietary government who had connections both with the government and with the Penn family directly. He was the grandson of Admiral William Penn's sister, Rachel Penn Bradshaw, and had

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144 *Warrants & Surveys*, I: 796, 875; IV: 8, 150.

145 *Warrants & Surveys*, I: 813; IV: 7; VI: 96; Exemplification Book 7:568-569, Robert & Susannah Reading to Edward Farmar, 28 December 1700 (recorded 25 February 1700/1); PDB F-7: 235-238, Edward Farmar and Rachel, his wife, to John Hauk, 15 December 1713 (recorded 10 May 1736). This latter deed recites the history of the sales from William Penn to the Readings to Edward Farmar. The original description of the 500-acre tract gives the southwestern boundary as "land known by the name of George Keith's land." No mention of the sale from Farmar to Marle has been located, nor has any sale of Marle of any part of this property.

come to Pennsylvania about 1699. He served as town clerk from 1701 to 1709 and was appointed prothonotary of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in 1701. He also filled a seat on the Provincial Council in 1711.[146] Assheton retained the property intact until 1726 when, in a series of deeds, he divided the property into three parcels, selling the southeast section to Edward Robeson, the central tract to David Davids, and the northwestern part to Abraham Dawes.[147]

The history of Edward Hopton's 250 acres clearly shows some of the difficulties in tracing the early title to many Pennsylvania properties and, as a side note, some of the influence wielded by Thomas Fairman on the entire process. On 10 and 11 October 1681, William Penn sold, by indentures of lease and release, 250 unspecified acres of land to Richard Joyrdain (Jordan, Jordain), a London shoemaker. On 25 and 26 October 1684, Joyrdain transferred his interest in the 250 Pennsylvania acres to Edward Hopton "of James Clerkenwell in the County of Middx. Sowceman otherwise Tripeman." Edward Penington surveyed this 250 acres to Hopton on 12 December 1700 and Penn issued a patent on 4 March 1700/1. Hopton, who still resided in England, sold the full 250 acres to his son, Jeremiah Hopton, on 7 and 8 July 1709, again by indentures of lease and release. Edward Hopton is listed as "Citizen and Brewer of London" on this deed. Jeremiah Hopton traveled to Pennsylvania to claim his land but on 26 December 1713, he and his wife Abigail transferred title to Abraham Dawes, an existing resident of Whitemarsh. Of all of these deeds and transfers, only the patent between William Penn and Edward Hopton and the deed between Jeremiah Hopton and Abraham Dawes were recorded in Pennsylvania. The remainder of the transfers were all cited in the Hopton-Dawes deed.[148]

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146 *PWP*, III: 624

147 PDB F-9: 120-123, Robert Assheton and Elizabeth, his wife, to Edward Robeson, 29 December 1726; PDB F-5: 475-477, Robert Assheton and Elizabeth, his wife, to David Davids, 7 December 1726. Abraham Dawes is mentioned as the neighboring owner in the Davids deed indicating that Assheton had sold this land prior to 7 December 1726. Dawes also owned the Hopton grant adjoining the Assheton land to the north.

148 PDB E-7, vol. 8: 126-129, Jeremiah Hopton and Abigail, his wife, to Abraham Dawes, 27 November 1713 (recorded 26 December 1713). The survey by Penington appears in *Warrants & Surveys*, IV: 8; the patent in Patent Book A-2: 18.

Thomas Fairman's involvement with the Hopton property is more personal here than with other properties with which he had become associated during his career. Abigail Hopton, Jeremiah's wife, was his daughter. Fairman helped the younger Hopton obtain an additional 250 acres in northeast Philadelphia county in 1717 at the Poquessing Creek and the Delaware River, based upon the same 250-acre right that Edward Hopton had exercised in obtaining the Whitemarsh property. The minutes of the Board of Property indicate that the title of this property may have already been held by another person but decided to patent the property to Jeremiah Hopton, probably owing to Fairman's influence with the Board.[149]

John Knight's property is another interesting case study of unrecorded and late-recorded instruments. The history of the property is cited in a deed dated 15 January 1782 between Joseph McClean and Henry Scheetz. On 17 August 1699, Penn gave a warrant to Knight to direct Thomas Fairman to lay out 250 acres in Philadelphia county. Fairman apparently laid out a tract of 246 acres in a survey which was returned to the Surveyor General's office on 5 June 1701. However, no action was ever taken by Knight to obtain a patent on the property. On 23 January 1729, John Knight sold all of his Pennsylvania land interests to John Petty, a Philadelphia merchant. Petty sold the city lots associated with the Knight grant to Michael Biddle in 1748. Previously, on 22 February 1742/3, he had sold the Whitemarsh property to Archibald McClean. McClean left about 235 acres to his son Joseph in a will dated 12 May 1773. The Scheetz purchase only accounted for four acres of the land: the remainder was sold by Joseph McClean in the late 1790s.[150]

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[149] *PA*, 2nd Series, XIX: 613-614, 648, 676-677, Minutes of the Board of Property, 8th day, 2nd month, 1717, 18th day, 1st month, 1717/18.

[150] This survey by Fairman has not been located. PDB D-4: 285-286, Joseph McClean and Rachel, his wife, to Henry Scheitz (sic), 15 January 1782 (recorded 2 May 1782); PDB G-10: 149-152, John Knight to John Petty, 23 January 1729 (recorded 22 June 1748). MCDB 7: 741-742, John Petty & Mary, his wife, to Archibald McClean, 22 February 1742/3 (recorded 3 March 1794); PDB G-10: 152-153, John Petty to Michael Biddle, 14 June 1748 (recorded 22 June 1748). Petty also owned one of the lots in Upper Dublin adjoining Whitemarsh. The magnificent Highlands estate on Sheaff Lane and Skippack Pike is part of the Knight/Petty/McClean property.

After the flurry of activity in the allocation of the lots in the northeastern corner of Whitemarsh, one lot still remained. This lot was marked by the Surveyor-General at least three times for assignment to various potential patentees. Initially, according to Holme's 1687 map, it was to be a part of the land patented to John Green and Samuel Rolls. With the relocation of the lots in 1690, Green's land was moved to the Plymouth line and Thomas Coxe was assigned most of the "overplus" in Whitemarsh. Although Coxe would not have actually owned this parcel, when he declined to acquire the overplus, the land office reserved this parcel for Daniel Quare, whose name appears as an adjoining property owner on Robert Assheton's grant as well as a landholder in the Powell list of 1702. However, Quare actually received one of the Upper Dublin lots adjoining Whitemarsh or Springfield in place of this tract. By 1723, the land still had not been formally acquired from the Penn family. On 2 March 1722/1723, the Assembly passed "An Act for vesting the lands and lots commonly called the lands of the Free Society of Traders in Pennsylvania, in trustees, to be sold for the payment of such sums of money as were paid into the public stock of the said Society for purchasing the said lands and lots, and carrying on the trade designed by the said Society." This act permitted the dissolution of the Free Society of Traders and the conversion of the lands held or reputed to be held by the Society into cash in order to carry on a final payment to the subscribers. Charles Read, Job Goodson, Evan Owen, George Fitzwater and Joseph Pidgeon were designated by the Assembly as the trustees of the Free Society. The Free Society had purchased 20,000 acres from William Penn in 1681 which were scattered throughout the province. Part of the act accused the former trustees of selling "the most convenient and valuable lands . . ., and only more remote lands remain unsurveyed." On 25 March 1724, the trustees sold 1,000 acres of unspecified land in the county of Philadelphia to John Jones, a Philadelphia boulter.[151] Less than two weeks later, on 4 April

[151] This is probably the same John Jones (1688-1774) who was active in Philadelphia county politics during most of the 18th century. Jones served one term as the Philadelphia county representative in the Assembly in 1735. He began his

1724, they petitioned Jacob Taylor, Surveyor-General of Pennsylvania, to have a survey of 400 acres made to Jones. Taylor assigned this work to Nicholas Scull who was early in his career as a surveyor. Scull knew of this unpatented land in Whitemarsh since it was located adjacent to land which had once belonged to his family and included it into the Free Society's holdings. He quickly made a survey of all of the unassigned Whitemarsh land, which totaled 569 acres. Upon learning that part of that acreage was reserved for John Knight, he reduced the land to be given to Jones to 310 acres.[152]

More than any of the other three townships, the early story of Whitemarsh illustrates the problems that Holme and Penn encountered in relying upon the various deputy surveyors who were charged with surveying the territory. Fairman's erroneous measurement of the southern boundary of the Farmar tract, which still remains as the boundary between Whitemarsh and Springfield, created the opportunity for a reaction to William Penn's attempt to keep much of the best land in Pennsylvania for his own purposes. There can be no doubt that the Provincial Council and the Board of Property made no attempt to rectify Fairman's mistake for Penn's advantage. Instead, the Board of Property, in following Penn's instructions to conduct resurveys of land where it was apparent that the landowner was holding more land than patented, chose to complete an agreement with the Farmars by which much of their excess land would appear in the middle of the surveyed tract rather than along one of the borders. In addition, the two Farmar tracts were not placed adjacent to one another but separate in such a way that the overplus land created by the resurvey was situated where the land was open to all potential purchasers. The roles of Penn's appointed members of the Board

career as a tax assessor in 1720, a position he held for fifteen of the next twenty-eight years. He was elected as a county commissioner in 1747 and filled only one three-year term. Finally, he was a justice of the peace from 1752 to 1761. Laurie M. Wolfe, "John Jones", in *Lawmaking*, II: 539-541.

[152] PDB H-4: 108-111, Charles Read, Job Goodson, Evan Owen, George Fitzwater and Joseph Pidgeon to John Jones, 25 March 1724 (recorded 1 June 1753); *Warrants & Surveys* III: 635, 641-642; VI: 285; *The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania*. (Harrisburg: Clarence M. Busch, 1896), II: 345-357. It is intriguing that no mention of the identification of the Free Society's lands appears in the minutes of the Board of Property between 1720 and 1725. Job Goodson was the son of John Goodson who was the guardian of Edward Farmar. George Fitzwater was the son of Thomas Fitzwater, who obtained several properties in Springfield.

of Property in the partition of the Farmar estate and subsequent assignment of the overplus land is indicative that Penn's reserve of lands for his manors did not have the full approval of his supporters in Pennsylvania. The sometimes curious ways in which the overplus land was disposed illustrates the free hand that the surveyors and commissioners exercised in assigning land within the province. As a result, the founding of Whitemarsh involved more people than just members of the Farmar family and, in some respects, mirrored the founding of Roxborough. On the other hand, Edward Farmar, as an original owner and settler, guided much of the earliest history of the area far beyond any of the original owners and/or settlers in any of the other three townships.

Springfield: Guilielma Penn's Manor

"My Conditions will relate to three sorts of People: 1st. Those that will buy: 2ndly. Those that take up Land upon Rent: 3dly. Servants."[153] Few places in Pennsylvania illustrate these early conditions of Penn as well as his own Manor of Springfield. Attempting to piece together the early history of Springfield Township involves the identification of both purchasers and renters. In addition, despite Penn's intent to control those lands designated as manor lands, Springfield provides an early example of the encroachments made upon Penn's private property and insights into the ways in which one of the manor lands actually developed as opposed to Penn's theory. The actions of the Board of Property during the early 1690s regarding the Manor of Springfield unveil early antagonism by members of the provincial government towards the entire concept of reserved land. This, they thought, violated many of Penn's other land policies. In addition, a major discrepancy appeared between the boundaries of the Manor on Holme's map and the reality of its present bounds, in which the east corner of about 750 acres was removed from the Manor and patented to individual purchasers. The result of the continued encroachment and eventual surrender of much of the land within the Manor by Penn and his sons is a pattern of land division unlike that found in any other northwest Philadelphia townships. A quiltwork of patents decorate the map with about 31 different grants during the 101-year period of 1685 to 1786. This pattern of grants is not geometric and orderly, such as those found in Roxborough or Whitemarsh, but is a hodgepodge of rectangular- and irregular-shaped parcels. Again, as with the grants located in the other areas, the topography plays no role in the shape and size of the Springfield sales. But, during to the development of the area during the 18th century, many newly-granted parcels border upon one of the major roads that transverse the manor. As early as 1716, the commissioners had made a grant with Bethlehem pike as one of the

[153] William Penn, "Some account of the province of Pennsilvania in America; Lately Granted under the Great Seal of England to William Penn, etc. Together with Privileges and Powers necessary to the well-governing thereof. Made publick for the Information of such as are or may be disposed to Transport themselves or Servants into those Parts." republished in Myers, *Narratives*, 208.

boundaries. Starting in 1737, most of the grants which divided up the central part of the manor were bordered by either Bethlehem Pike or Church Road. Because the actual tax lists and many early court records have not survived, it becomes difficult to establish exactly what families settled and developed Springfield Township. However, a detailed search of such extant records as warrants, surveys, patents, deeds, mortgages, and road petitions reveals many of the names of these early settlers. Certainly, the Manor of Springfield owes its early prosperity to a combination of landowners and renters who took advantage of its natural endowments. These settlers sometimes benefitted from Penn's designs and sometimes were crucial in thwarting them.

In accordance with Charles II's Charter to William Penn, Penn possessed the right to create manors with certain feudal rights of courts baron and view of frank pledge. He never instituted these rights in Pennsylvania. But his reluctance to create manors with the full privileges accorded to them has led to a misunderstanding of the entire concept of the manor system in Pennsylvania. In essence, most of the manors actually existed solely to hold land for the benefit of Penn and members of his family. As Penn's expenses mounted, he saw these manors as means by which he and his family would realize a permanent income by leasing the land within the manors in 150-acre tracts.[154]

As one of his proprietary rights, Penn reserved a portion of the land in Pennsylvania for his own use. He allowed himself and his family ten percent of the territory. Penn's agents apparently made every effort to locate the best ten percent. The reservation of the this land for the Penns and ways in which they used it, however, created major frictions between the Proprietor and his colonists. The agreements between Penn and the initial purchasers stated that any grant had to be settled within three years. Penn's desire for this concession was to eliminate any potential for land to be held fallow for speculative purposes. The Proprietor and his family, on the other hand, could hold their land

[154] Munger, *Pennsylvania Land Records,* 25.

vacant indefinitely. Simply put, although the purchasers were not encouraged to speculate, the Proprietor was free to do so. Renters could acquire 150-acre parcels of land within the manors for a period of eleven years. In some cases, ground within them could be sold with Penn family permission.[155]

Before Penn's death in 1717, eleven manors were created within Pennsylvania. These ranged in size from 1,840 to 30,000 acres. Not all of the manors were reserved specifically for Penn and his family. Penn had created several for close associates and other business partners. In order of creation, they were:

Name of Manor	Date	Acreage	For Whom Created	County
Mount Joy	1683	5,000 acres	Letitia Penn	Philadelphia
Pennsbury	1683	8,431 acres	William Penn	Bucks
Moreland	1684	9,815 acres	Nicholas More	Philadelphia
Vincent	1686	30,000 acres	Vincent, Cox & Thompson	Chester
Springfield	1687	4,010 acres	Guilielma Maria Penn	Philadelphia
Bilton	1701	9,840 acres	John Penn	Chester
Manatawney	1701	12,000 acres	John Penn	Philadelphia
Springton	1701	10,000 acres	William Penn	Chester
Callowhill	1702	5,000 acres	Thomas Callowhill	Chester
Springettsbury	1703	1,840 acres	William Penn	Philadelphia
Conestoga	1717	16,000 acres	William Penn	Lancaster[156]

Although Springfield was not officially created until 1687, Penn instructed Thomas Holme on 18 October 1683 to survey 5,000 acres of land for a manor called Springfield "according to Directions I gave to Thos. Fairman." Seventeen years later, Fairman provided an abstract of the order in which he stated that Penn ordered him to survey "5000 Acres If it may be on the Spring where we eate oure *[sic]* diners on a Tree the Indians Chopt a Bough in by Germantowne Towneship."[157]

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155 Munger, *Pennsylvania Land Records*, 23-26.

156 This list is taken from *Pennsylvania Archives*, 3rd Series, vol. 4.

157 Thomas Fairman, "Abstract of the Prop[rs] Ord[rs] to him to lay out Land for his Children," Sep 8th 1683, "The Papers of William Penn" (*PWP)*, Volume II: pages 483-485. The Papers of William Penn, Volume 2: 168-1684 9781512821420 - DOKUMEN.PUB

Holme had accompanied Penn on a journey to visit the lands of Springfield and Whitemarsh during 1683. Penn apparently chose this area as prime land for a manor, which he gave to his first wife, Guilielma Maria. The shape of the manor draws one's attention for, unlike most other townships, it does not compose a simple rectangle. Tucked between Cheltenham, Bristol, Germantown and Whitemarsh townships, the main body of Springfield has eight sides, with a long arm, roughly 1/3rd of a mile wide, stretching from the floor of the Wissahickon Valley to the Schuylkill River. According to lore, Penn, in accordance with his wife's wishes, created this long arm to allow access from the Schuylkill to the farms that might comprise this tract in accordance with his wife's wishes. A more prosaic answer has risen to explain this rather strange configuration. Thomas Fairman originally kept accurate records of his surveys but eventually soured on the entire colony and the relatively minor role that he held, letting his resentments affect his surveying practices. He may have originally surveyed a 5,000 acre tract for Penn's Manor of Springfield. But he followed this with surveys of the Farmar tract which exceeded Farmar's grant. The entire problem of the surveys in this area is summed up by Thomas Holme in a letter to Penn in early 1688:

> Thou art pleased to write, that thou hast no lands on the East side of Skulkill, which is a mistake, for besides the manour of Springfield which reaches (part of it as thou ordered to the river) and though Thomas Fairman hath dealt falsely with thee therein and Major Farmer placed contrary to thy order by too much breadth on that river, and so left thy Manour but about 3000 acres instead of 5000 acres, yet I purpose to remedy that, and leave thy due, and yet Farmers have theirs also. Had that been right done by T. F. there would have been a good space behind that and by Plymouth Township. . . .[158]

[158] Thomas Holme to William Penn, 24th, 1st month, 1688, as republished in Gary B. Nash, "The First Decade in Pennsylvania: Letters of William Markham and Thomas Holme to William Penn," *PMHB,* XC, No. 4 (Oct. 1966), 502-

Holme's review of the Fairman survey of Springfield soon became intertwined with the desire of the Farmars to divide their property. The decision was made to maintain the original Fairman line and to open the additional area of the Farmar tract for new grants. A look at Holme's map reveals that Springfield's strip to the Schuylkill River is matched by a similar tract between Whitemarsh and Plymouth townships reserved for Richard Townsend.

Fairman was also involved with another boundary encroachment upon Springfield. Holme's map of 1687 indicates that the Manor is a rectangle with a long arm extending to the Schuylkill. In actuality, it is shaped like a long-barreled pistol. The map indicates that the property immediately to the southeast of the east corner of Springfield belonged to Humphrey Morrey. But according to the surveys and patents for William Harmer, Morrey's property in what became Cheltenham Township was located within a cutout portion of Springfield. Morrey (d. 1716) had arrived from New York around 1684 and quickly became involved in Pennsylvania politics. He served as a justice for Philadelphia county in 1685-1686, a representative from Philadelphia county in 1687 and 1690, mayor of Philadelphia from 1691-1701, and was appointed to the Provincial Council in 1700 and 1701. The commissioners of property had issued a warrant for 250 acres on 23 July 1683 and the property was laid out seven days later. However, Morrey did not get his patent until 30 July 1687. Another piece of land was laid out to Robert Fairman, who was represented in this action by Thomas Fairman. The commissioners signed two warrants on 2 February 1685/6 authorizing surveys of a 300-acre and a 200-acre parcel for Robert Fairman, "in right of William Puryor purchaser of one thousand acres of Land." Upon one of the warrants appeared a note by Thomas Holme that "R.L. to

503; *PWP*, III: 178; For additional information, see Klinefelter, "Surveyor General Thomas Holme", *Winterthur Portfolio* (1970). 6: 57-59; Fairman's practices were chided by the Commissioners on 19th, 6th mo, 1687 when Joseph Asheton stated in a petition to the Commissioners that Fairman "had resurveyd his Land without order, Either from the Commissioners or from the Surveyor General. Upon w'ch the Commissioners did declare that those practices are very pernicious, both to ye Proprietary and people. . . ." *PA*, 2nd Series, XIX: 19, Minutes of the Board of Property, 19th, 6 mo., 1687.

execute this." Obviously, Holme did not want Thomas Fairman to have any hand in the surveying of property to his kinsman and designated Robert Longshore to handle this. A survey was returned for the 200 acres on 23 February 1685/6 indicating that the southeast boundary of the land bordered Humphrey Morrey. However, a patent wasn't executed until 30 July 1687, the same day as Morrey's patent. Despite this, Thomas Fairman, acting as Robert's attorney, sold the 200 acres to Humphrey Morrey on 12 July 1686. Morrey eventually owned the entire 750+ acres comprising this corner, along with some land in Abington township as an estate which he called "Edge Hill."[159]

Establishing the order of settlement within the Manor of Springfield proves difficult for the Penn family used this land to seat many of its tenants who paid yearly rents to the Penns and whose agreements of rent were rarely recorded. However, some of the history of its early development becomes clear as one works with the various available land records.

The Blackwell Rent Roll of 1689-1690 lists the Manor of Springfield as a separate tract of land comprising 3000 acres. It does not note who may have settled upon it. However, separate entries for some of the first purchasers within the Manor do appear. George Harmer is listed as having bought 50 acres. He had started his life in the new colony as either a renter or a servant. His brother, William Harmer, is listed with 546 acres in Philadelphia county. Two surveys survive for the Harmers' original grant: one in 1684 and another in 1688, along with two patents in 1686 and 1688. The story of the Harmers' land problems demonstrates that the early history of Pennsylvania was not

[159] Of the 750-acre parcel, I was able to account for only 450 acres. Although the acreage within the Morrey and Fairman patents is correct, the long lines running northeast/southwest are actually about 50 perches short. It is possible and indeed probable that Morrey eventually laid claim to more land than was covered in the patents and that much of the parcel was never covered by any patent; Craig W. Horle, "Humphrey Morrey," in *Lawmaking*, I: 553-554; Exemplification Book 8: 115-116, William Markham and John Goodson to Humphrey Morrey, 30 July 1687; Exemplification Book 8: 116-117, William Markham and John Goodson to Robert Fairman, 30 July 1687; PDB E-1, vol. 5: 418-420, Thomas Fairman, attorney for Robert Fairman, to Humphrey Morrey, 12 July 1686; PDB H-10: 297-300, Leonard Morrey to Robert Greenway, 10 February 1757; *Warrants & Surveys*, I: 352-353.

a quiet one among the new immigrants from the British Isles and the European continent.[160]

William Harmer arrived in Philadelphia by 1684 and together with his brother were the beneficiaries of a survey authorized by Thomas Holme for 250 acres of land in the current Upper Dublin Township of Philadelphia County, stretching between the present Welsh Road (marked on the survey as a street or road) and the eastern edge of Whitemarsh Township, marked in that document as the eastern edge of the property belonging the Major Farmar's family.[161] However, the Harmers' claim conflicted with that of the Farmars and, considering the state of law enforcement of the day, William Harmer petitioned for some relief. With so much open space, and survey marks easy to eradicate or move, one finds with surprise that the following occurrence did not happen more often throughout the colony.

> Pennsilvania the 15th of ye 11th Mo. 1685 Wm. Harmer of Philadelphia having 500 Acres of Land Layed out to him in the township of pemapecka Adjoyning to the Land of Robt. Turner on the one Side & to the land of the Widdow farmers on the other Side and whereas the sd farmer's servants have fraudently Admeasured their Lands So that their N:East bounds doth Interfare with the sd Townships of pemapeckon and the said Wm. Harmer appointing his Brother to Cause a house to be built upon the Sd Land In Order to receive his Mamily (sic) which Accordingly was done & the sd Widdow Farmer having Notice thereof did Cause her servants to goe and pull down the sd house and to burn Every Stick thereof and to beate of whosoever should oppose them which accordingly was done in a hostiall Manner being armed with Guns Clubs & Axes to

160 *PWP*, III: 705.
161 *Warrants & Surveys*, VI: 41-42.

the terror of those that were in the house hereupon the said William Harmer being desturbed of this possession and lying In Philadelphia with his Wife & Family at great Expence did request Fifty Acres of Land in the Governer's Manner at his tearms & having had Instruction from the Governor of placeing some familys thereon I have thereupon Surveyed Unto him the s^{d}. W^{m}. Harmer fifty acres of land In the Manner of Springfield . . .

Thomas Fairman[162]

Harmer had discovered that the peaceful province of Pennsylvania still possessed a number of rough edges. Indeed, the servants of the widow Farmar had been cited in other incidents during the early years, especially in their abuse of the native American peoples still residing in the Schuylkill and Wissahickon valleys. Three separate surveys appear for Harmer's land in Springfield during the period 1685-1688. Fairman's was the first. The wording of this survey indicates that Harmer probably leased the fifty acres initially before applying to Penn and his commissioners for a patent for 100 acres which included this fifty acres.

The initial survey and grant by Fairman, however, apparently came without formal authorization from the Penn family or commissioners. Harmer appears to have been victimized twice by Fairman: once owing to Fairman's survey of the Farmar tract which probably led to the attack upon him, and the second time by this unauthorized survey of manor land within Springfield. Upon application by Harmer, the Commissioners, William Markham and John Goodson, issued a warrant dated 16 February 1687/8 which was addressed to Holme in the following manner:

By the Proprietary Deputies

[162] *Warrants & Surveys*, VI: 44-45. The township of Pemapeckon is now that of Upper Dublin.

> Whereas Wm. Harmer had formerly Fifty Acres of Land Survey[d] to him by Thomas Fairman within the proprietary's manor the which Fifty Acres was Clandestinly Laid out, without order from propriet[r] of his Commiss[rs] but since the said William Harmer had made his application to us and given sufficient satisfaction wherupon These are in the proprietary's name to will and require thee forthwith to Survey or cause to be Surveyed unto him a Sufficient quantity of Acres contiguous to the aforesaid Fifty Acres surveyed by Thomas Fairman to Compleat the Same one hundred Acres and make return hereof to the Secretary's Office. [163]

A note appended to the warrant indicated that Holme ordered Robert Longshore, rather than Fairman, to lay out the property. Holme's instructions authorized the survey of 100 acres "including what he hath already surveyed to him where not taken up in the said Manor so that the said one hundred Acres may ly as square as conveniently may be. . . ."[164] Interestingly, Harmer's property in Springfield bordered Longshore's own property in the future Bristol township. Two surveys were entered into the Surveyor-General's office: the first one (undated) was made by Robert Longshore; the second signed by Thomas Holme on 10th, 3mo., 1688.[165]

Two other renters petitioned for and received ground in the Manor of Springfield in 1690. Some confusion exists about one of these purchases. Thomas Fitzwater's initial request for 150 acres plus an additional fifty acres that was received by the Board of Property on 1 March 1689/90 indicated that his rented land lay in the Manor of Springettsbury rather than in Springfield. However, in the following months, the Board of Property granted two warrants each for fifty acres of land in

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163 *Warrants & Surveys*, I: 431.

164 *Warrants & Surveys*, I: 456.

165 *Warrants & Surveys*, III: 583; VI: 45-46; Exemplification Book 1: 178-179, William Markham and John Goodson, commissioners, to William Harmer, 29 January 1688/1689.

Springfield. The survey by Robert Longshore indicates that he undertook it in response to three warrants from the Commissioners, dated 20 September 1687, 7 June 1690 and 15 November 1690. The latter two warrants are confirmed by the minutes of the Board of Property. The first mysteriously was not served to the Surveyor-General for three years. Fitzwater received the patents on the two properties in 1691.[166]

The Commissioners' warrant issued on 15 September 1690 indicated that Fitzwater used the land not for farming but for quarrying limestone. "Whereas Thomas Fitzwater at two Several times hath purchased of us one hundred Acres of Land to be laid out . . . for the Conveniency of limestone. . . ."[167] The presence of this material in Springfield led to the opening of the first roads through the Manor in 1703 which utilized the beds of the present Mermaid Lane, Eastern Avenue, and Willow Grove Avenue. Actually, the residents of the township petitioned for the opening of such a road in 1699 but resistance from the "Germantown Corporation" stalled their efforts.[168]

Fitzwater (d. 1699) arrived in 1682 from Hanworth, Middlesex county, England, and initially settled in Bucks county, where he served as one of their representatives in 1683 to the Assembly and as a justice of the peace the following year. When he remarried in 1684, he moved to Philadelphia, where he began to amass a landed estate of over 1200 acres in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. In 1688 and 1690, he served as Philadelphia county's representative on the Assembly and was coroner for Philadelphia in 1688. He spent more of his time involved with the activities of the Quaker community than in politics during his life in Pennsylvania.[169] It is obvious that he, along with Thomas Duckett below, used some of their connections with Penn's commissioners to obtain land

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166 *Warrants & Surveys,* I: 342, VI: 32; *PA*, 2nd Series, vol. XIX: 27, 32, 34-35, 49; Exemplification Book 1: 443-444, William Markham and John Goodson to Thomas Fitzwater, 11 May 1691.

167 *Warrants & Surveys,* I: 342.

168 Philadelphia Quarter Sessions Court, Road Docket, March Sessions, 1703, 8-9; Road Petitions, Folio 4, # 6.

169 Joseph S. Foster, "Thomas Fitzwater," in *Lawmaking,* I: 352-353.

within the Manor of Springfield.

No survey survives in the City's records for the second 1690 purchaser of Springfield territory. Thomas Duckett's name first appeared in the Board of Property's minutes on 5 April 1690 when Fitzwater requested a warrant for fifty acres of laid on the northwest side of his and Thomas Duckett's land. Five days later, the Board of Property sold 100 acres to Duckett, "the which Land was formerly taken up upon Rent by a Warr't bearing date ye 10 of 12 Month 1687-8."[170] Duckett petitioned for an additional 100 acres on 8 November 1690, which he stated lay between his land and that of Fitzwater. Scull's 1732 survey of Springfield Manor [Map 15] mentions the two 100-acre grants in the table, although only one is drawn on the map. Duckett (d. 1699) served as a representative from Philadelphia county to the Assembly in 1686 and 1689 and on the Provincial Council in 1690-1691. It was during his service to the colony than Duckett approached the Board of Property for land within the Manor. Duckett never intended to reside in Springfield: most of his land lay on the west bank of the Schuylkill and he was involved with the Haverford and Radnor Monthly Meeting. Duckett never completed the purchase of the land from the Proprietor by obtaining a patent, nor did he ever pay for the warrant. By the time of his death, Duckett had apparently disposed of this property, for he does not mention it in his will, which details only a house and lot in the city and 116½ acres near the Schuylkill.[171] John Silens (or Silence) had acquired the Springfield land and mentions the property in his will, which is dated in 1726. No deed survives between Duckett and Silens but the transfer probably occurred about 1695.[172] A series of transfers occurred until the 1780s, when Christopher Ottinger, Jr., then owner, discovered that no patent had ever been issued on the property and petitioned the John Penn for a deed of confirmation, which was granted on 15 March

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170 *PA*, 2nd Series, XIX: 32-33.

171 Craig W. Horle, "Thomas Duckett," *Lawmaking*, I: 325-327.

172 On 26 September 1695, John and Mary Silens sold their Germantown property to Peter Cleaver (*Grund-und Lager-Buch*, p. 263). As Duckett failed to mention the Springfield holdings at the time of his death in 1699, it would seem safe to assume that the Silenses purchased the Springfield property around the same time that they sold their Germantown acreage.

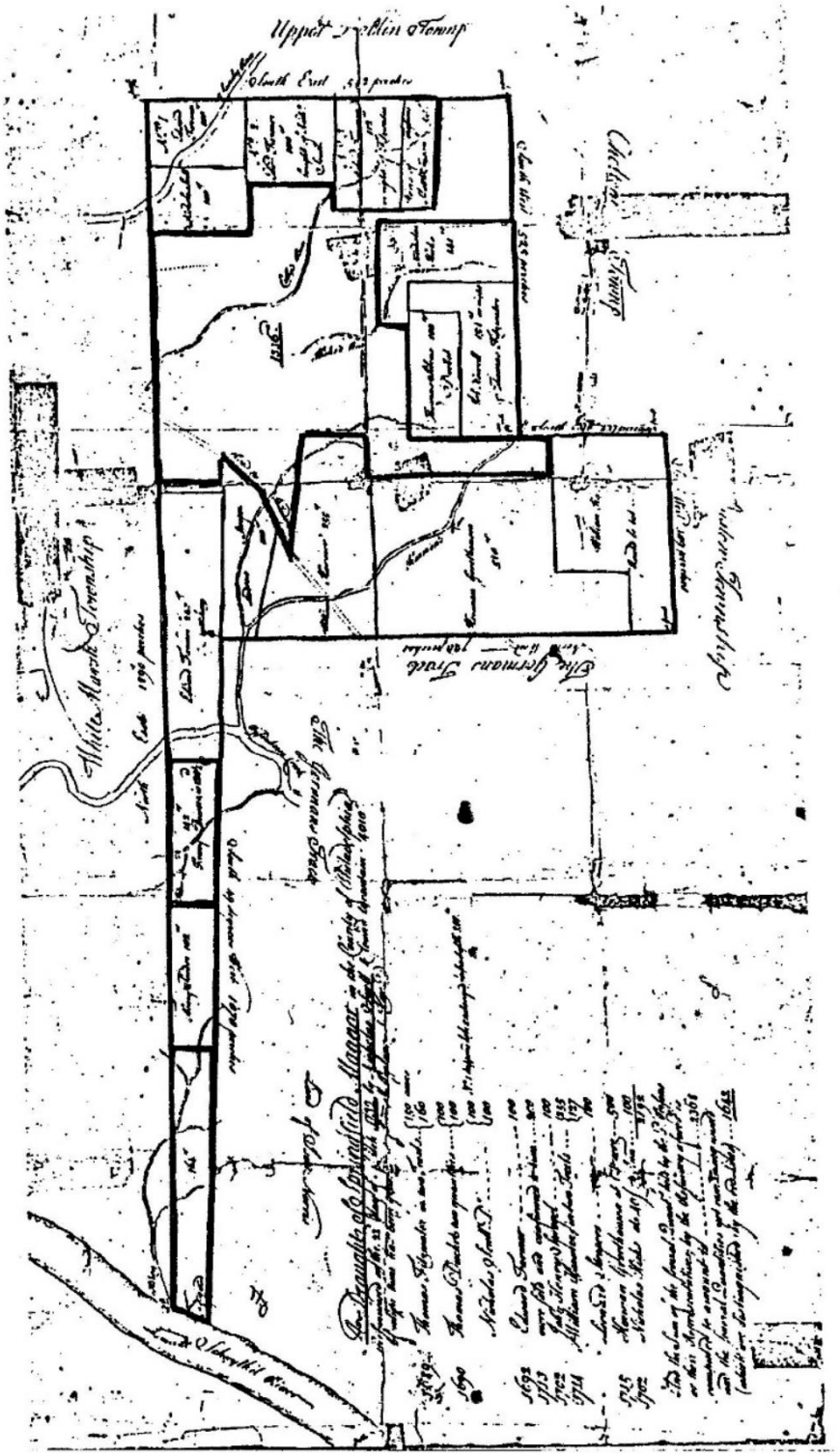
1786.[173]

[173] MCDB 4: 149, Honorable John Penn, Jr. to Christopher Ottinger. The entire history of the property is given in this deed.

Map 15: Nicholas Scull's Survey of the Manor of Springfield.

1732 Nicholas Scull's survey of Springfield was done in 1732 at the request of Thomas Penn who was trying to ascertain exactly how much land he still owned in this manor.

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Between 1690 and 1692, the Commissioners received three more petitions for property within the Manor of Springfield from Nicholas Scull, Edward Farmar and John Roads.[174] They acted favorably upon all of these requests, although only two can be located. These two came from existing occupants of Whitemarsh township: Scull and Farmar. Nicholas Scull (father of the surveyor) had arrived in America without a family but was accompanied by several servants. The Scull and Farmar families had intermarried, for Major Jasper Farmar's sister, Alice, had married John Scull. When Jasper Farmar, the younger, who arrived in Pennsylvania in 1683, received a patent from William Penn and returned to Ireland to prepare for the move to America, he left behind his "kinsman" John Scull to act as overseer of the servants whom Jasper Farmar had brought.[175] The exact relationship between John and Nicholas Scull is uncertain - whether they were brothers, or father and son, or some other relationship. John Scull appears in the records throughout 1685 before disappearing. John Scull's control over Farmar's servants was less than complete. In July 1685, the minutes of the Provincial Council contained numerous references to troubles that the Indians had with the servants of Jasper Farmar. The report of these troubles appeared within six months of the confrontations that William Harmer experienced with these same servants.[176]

Within a year of Nicholas Scull's arrival in Pennsylvania, he applied for and received a warrant for 100 acres of land to be taken up upon rent. The warrant is not specific as to the location of the 100 acres except that it lay in the county of Philadelphia. It is probable that this land was in Springfield. Four years later, Scull returned to the Commissioners and applied for the outright purchase of up to 300 acres of land, 200 of which was located in Springfield and the remaining 100 in Whitemarsh. The Commissioners granted a patent on the land in 1692 after receiving a survey from

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[174] John Roads requested fifty acres in Springfield which was approved by the Board but no further action was taken. He eventually purchased a large tract from Edward Farmar in Whitemarsh.

[175] Pennsylvania Letter of Attorney Book, D-2, vol. 4: 59.

[176] *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, From the Organization to the Termination of the Proprietary Government.* (Philadelphia: 1852), I: 147-149.

Robert Longshore.[177]

No additional purchases were made in Springfield for the next ten years. After Penn's departure from Pennsylvania in 1701, however, a small land rush occurred in 1702 on the Manor of Springfield. The minutes of the Board of Property are filled with citations of petitions for grants of land. John Henry Sproegell, of the Frankfort Company fraud, received one hundred acres based upon a survey by Thomas Fairman in 12th month, 1701. Sproegell's land was among the first to be sold within the panhandle of Springfield.[178]

Less than a month after the Commissioners granted a patent to Sproegell, the Commissioners accepted a petition from Nicholas Hicks who,

> born and bred a Gentleman in England but through Misfortune come to Poverty, made application to the Prop'ry before his Departure for Relief, which he was willing to grant by taking him into his Service, but upon his Departure is now willing to seat himself on Some Small Tract of Land, and therefore requests a grant of one hundred acres in Springfield Manor. . . .[179]

Hicks did not buy this property. Indeed the wording in the minutes of the Board of Property and the warrant itself, indicates that the Commissioners granted the land subject to a yearly rent charge of 40 shillings per year. Because the grant was never entered as a patent, the Hicks family continued to

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[177] *PA*, 2nd Series, XIX: 53, 63; *Warrants & Surveys*, I: 875-876, 888; VI: 104.
Patent: William Penn to Nicholas Scull, 29 March 1693. Patent Book A-5, p. 31, also recorded in Philadelphia Exemplification Book 2, pp. 82-83.

[178] *Warrants & Surveys*, I: 898, 923; IV: 144; *PA*, 2nd Series, XIX: 286, Minutes of the Board of Property, 30, 1st month, 1702. After a number of transactions, it was discovered that the original survey was mismeasured and impinged on other tracts in Roxborough and Springfield. A new survey was taken and a patent executed to the then owner, Arndt Hassert, in 1734. *Warrants & Surveys*, V: 25.

[179] *PA*, 2nd Series, XIX: 301, Minutes of the Board of Property, 27, 2nd month, 1702.

possess the property without a clear title. William Hicks, grandson of Nicholas, finally approached John Penn, Jr., for a deed of confirmation after the close of the Revolution. This Penn granted on 15 March 1786, the same day that Penn gave a similar deed to Christopher Ottinger, Jr., as mentioned above.[180]

On the same date as the Hicks grant, the Commissioners ordered a patent for additional property for Nicholas Scull, and one week later Edward Farmar put in a second request for land in Springfield. Despite owning 3750 acres in his own right, he initially petitioned the Commissioners on 6 July 1692 for the purchase of 100 acres which adjoined his own land. The Commissioners ordered a survey, which was completed by Robert Longshore, "but that before he could obtain a Patent the Prop'ry had sent Orders from England that the said Manor Should not be disposed of. . . ." Consequently, Farmar was refused a patent on the land, although he probably continued to use it. Farmar's second request was taken under consideration by Commissioners after he stated "that the Prop'ry promised to be kind to him . . . and that nothing but his Sudden departure prevented the same being confirmed by the Proprietary himself." Despite having granted land to Hicks only the previous week without any authorization, the Commissioners felt obligated to seek direction from Penn himself before proceeding with patenting any land within Springfield to Farmar.[181]

In his response to James Logan, dated 28 July 1702, Penn requested Logan to "pray quiet ed. Farmer . . . till my son comes. . . ." In the postscript of the same missive, Penn discusses further land problems and clashes relating to his cousin Ashton and mentions that "in case it ever was a part of the Mannor of Springfield, I can part with such a quantity, but more of this per my son; only tell ed. Farmer no body else, if not he, shall have a foot of the land he requests of me."[182]

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180 MCDB 5: 306.

181 *PA*, 2nd Series, XIX: 304, Minutes of the Board of Property, 4, 3rd month, 1702.

182 *PWP*, IV: 178-182, William Penn to James Logan, 28th, 5th month, 1702.

A later warrant of 1713 mentions that the initial grant had never been confirmed and the Commissioners authorized Jacob Taylor, Surveyor-General, to "survey . . . Two hundred acres of Land in the place aforesd. One hundred thereof to be laid out in the Manner (sic) herein before mentioned, and the other hundred to be added thereunto in such manner as may be the least Injurious to the rest of the Tract or Mannor of Springfield. . . ."[183] After twenty-one years, Farmar finally obtained legal title to the land which he had sought.

A final petition in 1702 belonged to John ap Hugh who stated that he had been settled on the Manor of Springfield for approximately four years and wanted to know on what terms he held the ground. The Commissioners allowed a grant of 100 acres to ap Hugh. However no evidence as to further action regarding the issuance of a warrant, survey or patent has been discovered.[184]

The number of grants occurring in 1702 in and around Springfield led to some protests, especially by William Harmer, who held ground both in Springfield and the yet-unnamed Bristol township. Apparently new patents were being prepared for land originally held by First Purchasers. Because some of the land had already been transferred to new owners, boundary lines were unclear, and the new land rush, as evidenced in the minutes of the Board of Property, made it imperative that clear lines be drawn and noted. Therefore the Commissioners issued a series of warrants, which ordered David Powell to resurvey all of the land within Whitpain's township, the lands above Gwynedd, the lands between Germantown and the Schuylkill (Roxborough), and the Manor of

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183 *Warrants & Surveys*, I: 345.

184 *PA*, 2nd Series, XIX: 314, Minutes of the Board of Property, ½, 4mo., 1702. The Commissioners also signed a warrant to David Potts for 100 acres in Springfield in January 1714/5 but no additional action has been discovered. Was this a warrant for rent and not for purchase? Potts owned 100 acres in Bristol township, part of a 150-acre tract which he had bought in 1695. He was a prominent member of the Germantown Meeting and the Abington Monthly Meeting between 1713 and 1720. He eventually served as a tax assessor from 1726 to 1728 and a representative to the Assembly from 1728 until his death in 1730. *PA*, 2nd Series, XIX: 600, Minutes of the Board of Property, 12, 1 mo., 1714/5; Craig W. Horle, "David Potts," *Lawmaking*, II: 860-861.

Springfield.[185]

A problem occurred with a number of the warrants issued by Penn and his commissioners during the early years of the province. Although many of them specified whether the warrantee was to receive land for purchase or rent, others failed to differentiate the terms under which the land was held. In two separate instances, the warrantees, Thomas Duckett and Nicholas Hicks , occupied the land as though they enjoyed full fee-simple ownership. A search of the records proves that neither man had ever patented the ground from the Proprietor. The owners of each of the tracts in 1786, when ascertaining their legal rights to the ground in the wake of the American Revolution, discovered this oversight and approached John Penn, Jr., for a patent of confirmation. Penn granted this, although Penn's right to grant such a patent could have been questioned in the courts, since all of the Penns' proprietary privileges had been revoked by the Supreme Executive Council. On the other hand, as the Manor of Springfield had been specifically granted to a member of the Penn family, the land probably was not considered part of the proprietary lands, but privately held.[186]

One other instance of unauthorized settlement ought to be mentioned in order to illustrate the lack of oversight that the Commissioners sometimes exhibited regarding the settlement of land in Pennsylvania. In 1712, the Commissioners discovered the presence of Herman Groethausen on Springfield Manor and required that he appear before them and explain his authority for being in the Proprietary's land. Groethausen explained that he purchased 9,000 acres of land in 1709 from a Colonel Rhedegelt and had gone to London to prepare for transportation to Pennsylvania. He met with Penn in London and came to an agreement in which he exchanged the right to the 9,000 acres

185 *PA*, 2nd Series, XIX: 338, Minutes of the Board of Property, 30, 9br, 1702.

186 MCDB 4: 149, Honorable John Penn, Jr. to Christopher Ottinger, 15 March 1786; MCDB 5: 306, Honorable John Penn, Jr. to William Hicks, 15 March 1786. The former transfer refers to the Duckett tract; the latter to the Hicks property.

for a 500 acre plot that would be laid out in the settled part of Pennsylvania. He arrived in Pennsylvania and discovered 500 acres in Springfield which was lying vacant at the time. He seated himself and made improvements to the ground. At his appearance before the Commissioners, Groethausen showed the lease and release signed by Penn which allowed him this unspecified 500 acres of land. The Board, with regret, ordered him off the ground in Springfield, but "because the said Herman appears a stranger to our Constitution," the Board was willing to rent the Manor land to him as long as he settled another 500 acres elsewhere.[187]

Groethausen did not agree with the Board's decision and so returned to England to plead his case directly before Penn. Unable to see the ill proprietor, he discussed his situation with Penn's wife, Hannah, who wrote to the Commissioners directing them "to make the said Herman Easie in his Setlement." Upon these instructions, the Board relented and issued a warrant for this land on the 21st of December 1715. Not until 2 May 1726 was a survey done, and incredibly this wasn't returned to the Secretary's office until 17 January 1733. Groethausen finally received his patent on this property on 28 February 1733, twenty-one years after the Board of Property's initial actions.[188]

The 1732 survey of Springfield Manor drawn by Nicholas Scull [Map 16] shows the patchwork nature of development within the manor. Unlike Roxborough, Germantown or other areas in Philadelphia county, there existed no plan of development or list of patentees for Springfield. The various sets of Commissioners working for William Penn between 1687 and 1725, when faced with a request for land within the manor, generally either granted or denied it according to instructions from Penn. There were grants which they authorized which were in violation of Penn's instructions. The timing of Scull's survey coincides with the ascension of Penn's sons, John,

187 *PA*, 2nd Series, XIX: 538-539, Minutes of the Board of Property, 19 Novr., 1712.

188 *PA*, 2nd Series, XIX: 595-596, Minutes of the Board of Property, 21st, 10mo, 1715; *Warrants & Surveys*, I: 385, 398, 407; Patent Book A-10: 94, John Penn, Thomas Penn & Richard Penn to Herman Groethausen, 28 February 1733.

Thomas, and Richard Penn as the new Proprietors of Pennsylvania, which occurred in 1732. Thomas Penn (1702-1775) arrived in the colony to exercise direct proprietary control in 1732 and stayed until 1741. The Penns requested this survey to ascertain how much land remained in the manor. As Donna Munger mentions, "one of the overriding desires of John, Thomas, and Richard Penn's proprietary administration was that squatters obtain titles to their land."[189] Maps such as Nicholas Scull's for Springfield illustrated what land had actually left the Penn's control and what land remained for rental or purchase. Thomas Penn ordered John Georges, the proprietary secretary from 1733-1737, to prepare a list of all of the old proprietary warrants. Georges worked on the Philadelphia county titles but discovered numerous irregularities in the old books. As late as 1749, Penn continued to press for lists and surveys of the manors showing the subdivisions held by purchasers and renters.[190]

One of the results of Thomas Penn's desire to tighten controls over the entire land office operations and to properly ascertain the rents due to the proprietary was the taking of a census of landholders in 1734. Only the list for Philadelphia County survives. Sixteen landholders were listed for Springfield Manor.[191]

Harman Greathouse	260 acres	Christopher Ottinger	85 acres
John Greathouse	100	George Gantz	40
Samuel Adams	50	Alin Forster	100
Joshua Harmer	100	Henry Snyder	50
William Nice	75	Adam Read	50
Thomas Silance	90	Hugh Boyd	30
Job Howel	75	Michael Clime	12
Thomas Hicks	100	George Donot	80

189 Munger, *Pennsylvania Land Records*: 59.

190 Munger, *Pennsylvania Land Records*: 86.

191 "Landholders of Philadelphia County, 1734," *Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*, I, No. 4: 183

Map 16: Original Land Grants and Patents in the Manor of Springfield

Like Maps 5 and 14, the boundaries of the original surveys and patents are shown as given on the documents. There exist some overlapping boundaries, especially lots 16 and 17 over the Germantown line. And some parts of the township appear not to have ever been patented. See the vacant space between lots 4 and 16 and a small area bordered by 6,7,8,11,12 & 13. According to Scull's map. lot 8 wraps around lot 6 and no lot 7 exists. The measurements of the records on lots 6 and 8 reveals this configuration. Scull's map may be accurate and the boundaries on the existing documents may be in error. There has been no work in researching the deeds to the property which be included in lot 7 to ascertain its original owner. Key to Map 16.

Number	Original Owner	Date of Patent	Acreage
1.	William Harmer	9 Jan. 1688	50
2.	William Harmer	9 Jan. 1688	100+
3.	William Harmer	9 Jan. 1714/5	127
4.	Herman Groethausen	17 Jan. 1733	500
5.	William Nice	17 Nov. 1736	121
6.	Thomas Fitzwater	11 May 1691	150
7.	[Job Howell ends up with this tract. According to the Scull map, there is no parcel here. Parcel 8 is supposed to wrap around Parcel 6. However, the dimensions of the Lots 6 & 8 indicate that there is a piece here which was not patented or was added to the Lot 6 through usage.]		
8.	Nicholas Hicks	15 Mar. 1786	100
9.	Rynier Tyson, Jr.	9 Feb. 1736	158
10.	Thomas Fitzwater	11 May 1691	160
11.	Joseph Farmar	1753?	70
12.	Nicholas Hicks	4 Feb. 1786	22.5
13.	Thomas Duckett	15 Mar. 1786	100
14.	Christopher Ottinger	20 Jun 1737	148
15.	William Nice	10 Aug. 1757	25
16.	William Harmer	10 May 1715	255
17.	Leonard Streper	16 Jul 1716	100
18.	Rynier Tyson, Jr.	2 Mar. 1741	110
19.	Christopher Ottinger	2 Apr 1744	71
20.	William Nice	10 Aug. 1757	112
21.	George Dunnet	14 Feb. 1744	99
22.	George Dunnet	19 Mar. 1736	130
23.	Nicholas Scull	29 Mar. 1693	200
24.	Jacob Colliday (Ed. Farmar)	16 May 1743	100
25.	Lynford Lardner	27 Jan. 1780	99.75
26.	Peter Robeson	10 Jun. 1741	109
27.	Rynier Tyson, Jr.	2 Mar. 1741	75
28.	Edward Farmar	24 Jun 1714	200
29.	Henry Dewees	30 Dec 1738	120.25
30.	Henry Snyder	10 Jul. 1737	20.5
31.	Arndt Hassert	20 Jun. 1734	100
32.	Isaac Norris	15 Apr. 1762	179

+ Includes Lot Number 1.

Upper Dublin Township
White Marsh Township
The Germans Track
Schuylkill River

What is interesting about this census is that it lists the landholders, who are not necessarily the land owners. A number of the names in the list can be directly traced to purchases, although the acreage given in the list is not always accurate in terms of the land that the land owner actually possessed. Several people, Samuel Adams, Hugh Boyd and Michael Clime, never owned land in Springfield according to deed records and one can only presume that they are doing little more than renting the land from the Penn family or from others. Several others, William Nice, George Gantz, Henry Snyder, Adam Read and George Donot, eventually become landowners: Snyder and Read purchasing 50 acres each from Arndt Hassert in the panhandle; the remainder received land from the proprietors or from other landowners between 1736 and 1746.

According to the *Journal of the County Commissioners of Philadelphia*, Joshua Harmer, on 31 March 1735, asked relief for six people adjudged to live in Springfield. He states that Leonard Cooper, Michael Clime, Michael Waggoner and Thomas Grees are "non-est." meaning that they do not have taxable property within the county. Charles Hicks lives in Bucks county and Hugh Boyd has "gone away." Thus, two of the three people appearing in the 1734 list who never owned land are accounted for within two years of the appearance of the landholders list. Similarly, the *Journal of the County Commissioners* mentions two additional non-land owners in 1728. On 14 June, Hance Mikell Shavingstock, the collector for Springfield, asks relief for John Read. Neither Shavingstock or Read ever owned land, according to the deed records.

After Thomas Penn received both the survey and the landholders list, he seemingly made the decision to open much of the remaining land in Springfield for purchase. Scull's map apparently was annotated later, for both Henry Snyder and Henry Dewees appear on the map, neither of whom

acquired title to their respective properties until 1734 and 1738, respectively.[192]

The list of the grants in Springfield reveals much activity in the 1730s and 1740s. This list is arranged by the year of the warrant (or survey, if no warrant date can be found).

Name of Patentee	Year(s) of Warrant(s)	Date of Patent	Acreage
William Harmer	1687-1688	9 Jan. 1688	100
Thomas Fitzwater	1687-1690	11 May 1691	150
Thomas Fitzwater	1687-1690	11 May 1691	160
Thomas Duckett	1687/8	15 Mar. 1786	100
Nicholas Scull	1690-1692	29 Mar. 1693	200
Nicholas Hicks	1702	15 Mar. 1786	100
Edward Farmar	1713	24 Jun 1714	200
Leonard Streper	1713	16 Jul 1716	100
William Harmer	1714	10 May 1715	255
William Harmer	1714/5	9 Jan. 1714/5	127
Herman Groethausen	1715	17 Jan. 1733	500
Arndt Hassert	1726*	20 Jun. 1734	100
Nicholas Hicks	1732 (survey)	4 Feb. 1786	22.5
George Dunnet	1735	19 Mar. 1736	130
Rynier Tyson, Jr.	1735/6	9 Feb. 1736	158
William Nice	1736	17 Nov. 1736	121
George Dunnet	1736	14 Feb. 1744	99
Christopher Ottinger	1737	20 Jun 1737	148
Henry Snyder	1738	10 Jul. 1737	20.5
Henry Dewees	1738	30 Dec 1738	120.25
Jacob Colliday (Ed. Farmar)	1738+	16 May 1743	100
William Nice	1738	10 Aug. 1757	25
Rynier Tyson, Jr.	1740	2 Mar. 1741	110
Rynier Tyson, Jr.	1740	2 Mar. 1741	75
Christopher Ottinger	1741/1744	2 Apr 1744	71
Peter Robeson	1741	10 Jun. 1741	109
William Nice	1741	10 Aug. 1757	112
Joseph Farmar	1753 (survey)	1753?	70
Lynford Lardner	1758	27 Jan. 1780	99.75
Isaac Norris	1762	15 Apr. 1762	179

* This is same property that John Henry Sproegell patented in 1702 but was mismeasured.
+ Edward Farmar received the warrant for the property but sold it to Jacob Colliday before obtaining a patent. Colliday was thus the patentee for this land. This may also be the 100 acres that Farmar is listed as having received in 1692 according to the Scull map.

[192] The map is mistaken in assigning the entire tract to Snyder. Snyder and Adam Read each purchased half of Arent Hassert's property a month after Hassert received the new patent in 1734. Snyder then acquired an additional 20½ acres from the Penns in 1737.

Although Springfield was computed to have 4010 acres, only 3862 acres are accounted for in the various surveys and patents that survive in the records. Some 2092 acres had been granted to various purchasers by 1732, when Thomas Penn arrived. During the nine years in which he oversaw the proprietary operations, he caused warrants to be drawn for an additional 1421.25 acres. The remaining 348.75 acres were gradually passed out of the Proprietors' hands by 1762. Isaac Norris, who owned the Marshall tract in Roxborough next to the only Schuylkill River frontage available in Springfield, added this frontage to his extensive holdings in that year.

This last strip of land extending to the river was the subject of a number of applications between 1752 and 1762, when Norris finally received a patent for it. One order by Richard Peters and Lynford Lardner in 1752 reveals how the various commissioners continued to maintain the Proprietor's ownership of the river frontage:

> 8th ffebry 1752 George Ryder of Roxboro Township applied for the purchase of 100 Acres in the Propy Manor of Springfield. We offered it to him on a Lease for Three Lives on y^{e} price fixed that y^{e} Terms and agreeable to the Instructions of the Proprietary, and as he is satisfied with them we are willing that it should be surveyd and y^{e} price fixes that y^{e} Lease may be drawn. Therefore this is to require and authorize you to Survey or cause to be surveyd One hundred Acres in the Place desired not to extend to the River but have a proper Space between the Tract & the River, And you are hereby further ordered to examine the Quality of y^{e} Land and to put a just and reasonable price upon it as if it was to be granted in ffee, And for so doing this shall be your authority by virtue of a Power of Attorney to us given by the Proprietary. This is to give no Right to George Ryder till the Lease and Counterpart be executed; Nor to

interfere with Isaac Norris's application.

To Nicholas Scull Survey^{r}. Gen^{l}. Rich^{d} Peters

Lyndford Lardner[193]

Isaac Norris apparently applied for the purchase of the remaining land in the Springfield Manor strip as early as 1752 but did not receive a patent until ten years later. However, he continued to monitor the activities within the strip as indicated by the following list of applications between 1756 and 1761 for the "Manor Strip":

1756 June 8th Leonard Streeper to take a part of y^{e} Manor Land which joins upon his Land when I obtain a grant from the Prop^{r}s. he says the Piece will be about 25 acres

1757 ffeb^{ry} 21 L Streeper again - he would take 40 acres if I would let him but the Line if run across at the Head of Henrique Koyle's would make no more than Twenty ffive acres as formerly proposed .

1760 Jan^{ry} 12 Jacob Hague with me to take a part of the Manor Strip upon which John Edge formerly built a Small Log House

1761 Apr^{l} 28 John Stannalan again about the Piece of the Manor Strip next to Schuylkill which he has possessed for some Time. N.B. I give Direction to Patrick Menan to survey and return to me the particulars of that Part of the Manor Strip. [Map 17]

1761 Apr^{l} 30 George Righter brought me Patrick Menan's Draft [Map 17] of y^{e} Pieces of Land laid out to him Containing 36 Acres and at the same Time he Signed a Resignation of any former Right under the order to Nicholas Scull from Richd. Peters & Lynfd. Lardner dated the 8th of ffebruary 1751.

N.B. Geo. Righter now informs me that Leonard Streeper has taken in 46 Acres great part of which is watered meadow and that his piece takes in all the Water, except what runs from the Spring in Casper Sell's Spring House.[194]

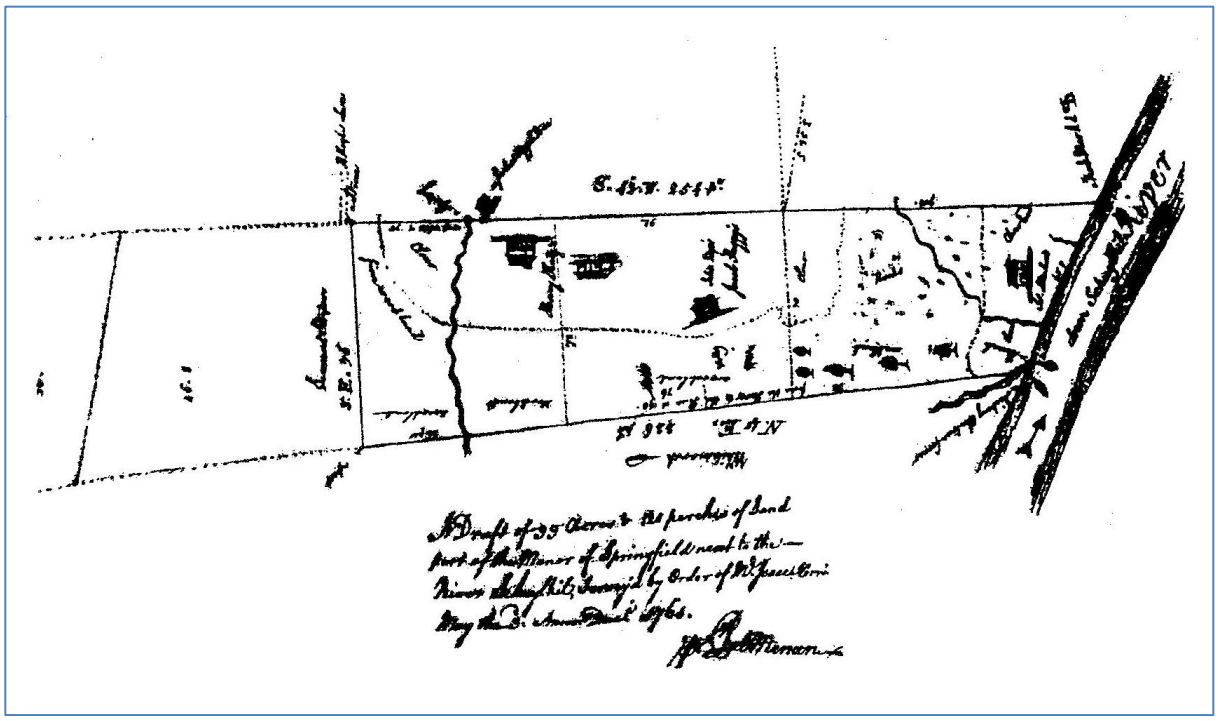
193 Norris Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

194 Norris Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Map 17: Patrick Menan's Survey of the Manor of Springfield strip. 1760

From: Norris Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Patrick Menan's survey of the last section of Springfield to be patented by the Proprietors reveals that much of the land is already occupied by various renters, several of whom have already made improvements to the land.

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Post-Thesis addition added for perspective form here: Leonard Streeper - Mapping West Philadelphia 1777



On 15 April 1762, Isaac Norris accepted a patent for the strip, thus bringing to an end all involvement by members of the Penn family and the proprietary government in the management and division of Springfield.

The early development of Springfield contrasted sharply with the relatively orderly and quick settlement of the other three townships. Since the entire area was granted to William Penn, the subdivisions of the ground did not occur in the geometric pattern found throughout the remainder of northwest Philadelphia county but in ways which were dictated largely by the wishes of individual applicants for land, the consent of the proprietor and his agents, and later by the presence of roads in the Manor, especially Bethlehem Pike and Church Road. Harmer's lots were granted on the southeasterly side of the Manor on the highlands of Wyndmoor. Fitzwater's and Duckett's lands were situated within the southeasterly corner of the Manor. Nor were the grants made with any preconceived plan or allotment in mind. The initial incursion onto the Manor followed an incident of violence. The Commissioners of Property attempted to placate these purchasers by relocating them to an area that would not be further from Philadelphia than their original grant. Once a precedent was set, then several men used their influence to wrest additional acreage from the Manor during the 1690s. The second wave of activity regarding the Manor occurred between 1713-1715 during which existing landholders in the area obtained property to supplement their holdings. The third and last period of activity coincided with the arrival of Thomas Penn directly into colonial affairs. Personal relationships and political problems led the Proprietor to part with some pieces of land in Springfield in an early period, but the core of the most valuable property was still held in reserve for the Penn family in order to collect rents from it, regardless of the opinions of the colonists.

Part III: Later Growth in the Areas

In all four areas, the original grants have been shown to have been made upon generally a geometric pattern, with little or no regard to the topographical features of the landscape. Coinciding with the granting of much of this land, especially in Springfield and Whitemarsh, were the divisions of these earlier grants by the original patentees. What were some of the forces that drove this subdivision, other than an obvious desire to profit from an increase in real estate prices? And how much and in what ways were the various communities marked by these subdivisions? Topography played virtually no role in the original divisions of Roxborough, Cressam or Whitemarsh, and only a minor role in Springfield. However, it was precisely the topographical features of the region which begin to dictate the course of the subdivisions and drive the forces of development. Similarly, boundaries established by either the original division or the initial subdivisions become fixed features of the landscape owing to the penchant of road viewers to lay out roads, whenever possible, along these lines.

The political forces and actors underlying this development changed. Whereas the initial creation of the plots and of major roads was done principally by the Proprietor and his agents, within ten years of the founding of Pennsylvania, they had no role in decisions concerning the side roads or even to the erection of townships within the bounds of any county. Germantown is the only township of the four known to have been erected by Penn's actions. The other three areas all achieved township status only at later times. A look at the political structures that were being created in the early years of Philadelphia County will help to understand how this affected the development of each township.

Political Bodies Affecting Development: Roads and Bridges

The officials who determined the course of the initial development of the northwestern reaches of Philadelphia County included William Penn, his Surveyor-General and his deputies, and the Commissioners of Property. As the colony grew, however, other political bodies assumed more of the housekeeping duties of running the county government, leaving the provincial bodies with the responsibility of maintaining colony-wide affairs. Unfortunately Philadelphia, as the capital of the new colony, often suffered more than its neighboring counties from excessive meddling in its affairs from the provincial government. This interference lasted until the permanent removal of the state government from Philadelphia in 1799. Often, the same people filled similar positions within the county and provincial governments such as Charles Brockden, who was simultaneously appointed to the provincial post of Master of the Rolls and county position of Recorder of Deeds in 1715. His successors filled both positions until the end of the American Revolution.

In the absence of any formal local government, the Provincial Council assumed the task of ordering some improvements to the various counties. The first order of business of the Council was to establish the boundaries of the three counties of Pennsylvania. This occurred in 1685 when the Council voted to accept the lines between Philadelphia and Bucks and Philadelphia and Chester counties.[195]

Under the 1683 Frame of Government, Penn reserved unto the Provincial Council the right to "appoint all necessary roads and highways in the Province."[196] In the early years of organization, the Council engaged in the approval of various routes throughout the colony. For example, in November

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[195] *Colonial Records*, I: 73-74, 77-78, Minutes of the Provincial Council, 1 & 8 April 1685.

[196] Staughton George, Benjamin M. Nead and Thomas McCamant, ed., *Charter to William Penn and Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania Passed Between the Years 1682 and 1700*. (Harrisburg: Lane S. Hart, 1879), 95, 157.

1686, Robert Turner was appointed to a committee of four to lay out a new road from Philadelphia to the falls of the Delaware, a committee to which William Markham was later named. When the committee failed to produce any results, Turner argued that professional surveyors should assist in the creation of this road. The Council appointed a second committee in 1688, which included a surveyor, to view the course of a new road which eventually became the Bristol pike (Frankford avenue).[197]

In 1687, James Fox and other residents of Plymouth Township petitioned the Council for a cart road from Philadelphia to Plymouth. The road was confirmed by the Council in 1688. (This road follows the general path of Germantown Avenue from Plymouth Meeting to Philadelphia.) Similarly, in 1698, Nicholas Scull and other residents requested a road from their limekilns to the Plymouth Road near Creesam. Again, the Council ordered that a road be laid out, which now includes portions of the modern Mermaid Lane in Philadelphia and Springfield Township, and Eastern Avenue and Willow Grove Avenue in Springfield.[198] But the status of this latter road was remanded to a lower authority during the next several years as a more stable county government was formed.

The spread of the colony over the large area of Southeastern Pennsylvania in only a short time soon forced the Council to realize that it had to delegate some its powers to the individual counties. One of the powers to be so delegated was that of road-opening and maintenance. First, in 1693, under Governor Fletcher's laws, the county courts were directed to appoint Overseers of the Highways, who were charged with summoning county residents for building and repairing bridges and highways.[199] Even this law, however, did not fully determine the division of the responsibilities of the Council and the County Courts in the creation of roads.

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197 Craig W. Horle, "Robert Turner," in *Lawmaking*, I: 711.

198 *Colonial Records*, I: 153, 173, 504, Minutes of the Provincial Council, 5th, 2nd Month, 1687, 7th, 2nd Month, 1688, 19th May 1698,

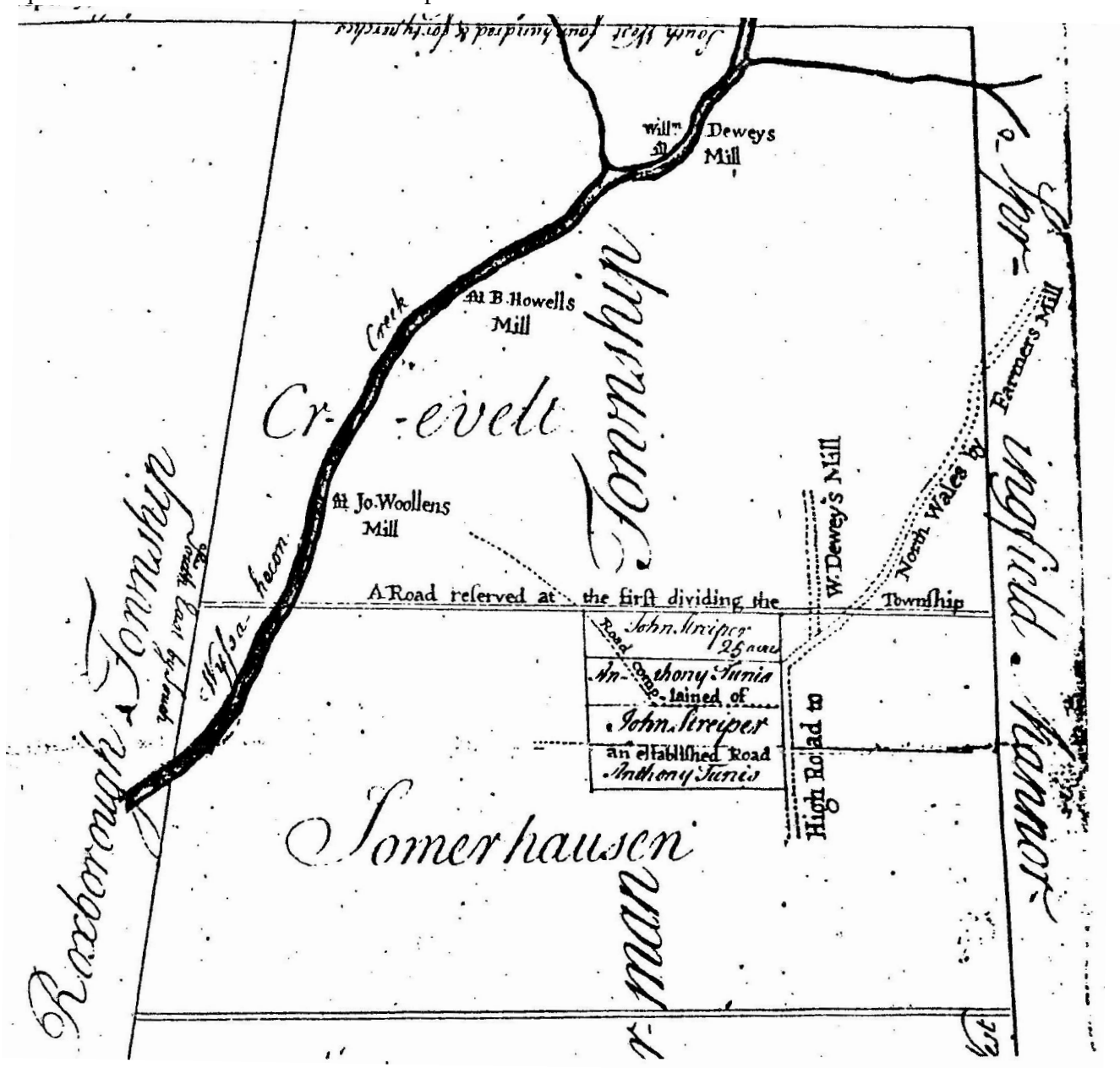
199 *Colonial Records*, I, 232-233.

Therefore, subsequent to the restoration of Proprietary government in Pennsylvania, a law appeared on the books in 1699 which stated that all of the King's highways and public roads would be laid out by order of the governor and council, and all roads or cartways leading into the public highroads would be viewed by a road jury appointed by the county court. The jury would determine the proper course of the road and file its recommendations with the court. This law further stated that the road jury would be composed of "housekeepers of the neighborhood" of the proposed road. The road jury, if satisfied that a road was necessary, would lay out a proposed course for the road and make a return to the county court, which would then rule upon the return. If the justices of the county court approved the proposed road, it was then deemed confirmed and opened for passage. The Provincial Council made it mandatory for the county court to keep a record of all road openings within its territory, not only of those roads opened by the court but also those created by the Council.[200] [Map 18]

[200] *Colonial Records*, I: 285-286.

Map 18: Survey of Thomas Mill Road. 1737

From: Quarter Sessions Court, Road Petitions, Folio 7, Number 92. (Philadelphia City Archives, Record Group 21) This survey of Thomas Mill Road entered among the records of the Quarter Sessions Court is an important example of the placement of roads along existing property lines during the early 18th century. Thomas Mill Road to "Jo. Woollens Mill" begins at Germantown Avenue (High Road to W. Dewey's Mill) along the boundary between John Streiper and Anthony Tunis. (This part of the road is presently Highland Avenue.) The map indicates that another road on the south side of John Streiper's property already exists (presently Graver's Lane). In Germantown Township, space for roads were reserved between each of the divisions, although the one between Sommerhausen and Crefeld was not opened. The location of the road to "W. Dewey's Mill" above the North Wales Road (Bethlehem Pike) is the original course of Germantown Avenue which ran between two of the early Crefeld lots. A later owner of part of the Papen property, Samuel Ashmead, requested that the road be moved to its present course in 1763.



On 27 November 1700, the Pennsylvania Assembly reconsidered the 1699 law and enlarged upon its provisions. In addition to confirming the right of the county court to open roads, provision was made that no road should run through an improved property, unless there was need for such a course. If the road was to traverse an improved property, then a separate road jury, composed of "six indifferent men" would view and appraise the property so converted to the public use and make certain that recompense was paid to the property owner for the taking of the land.[201]

The matter of the Limekiln Road requested by Nicholas Scull and others in 1698 came before the Quarter Sessions Court during the March sessions of 1703. In a petition dated 30 March 1703, the residents stated that they had obtained an order for a road from the Court of Quarter Sessions in 1699 but that the Germantown Corporation had obstructed the opening of this road, "but that the said Corporation is now willing that the said Inhabitants should have a Convenient Road unto them." The Court ordered that the road be confirmed at the next sessions unless "reasonable cause should be shown to the Contrary."[202]

In reality, the Quarter Sessions Court became the county housekeeper during the 18th century. It was charged with the establishment and placement of roads, location of public bridges, issuance of licenses for taverns and peddlers, and other actions generally considered to be municipal and not court business in the 20th century. It was the Quarter Sessions Court that appointed Overseers of the Highways, constables, road juries, and tax assessors. In this manner, the Quarter Sessions Court operated like courts elsewhere in the British North America, especially the county

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201 *Statutes at Large*, Chapter LV. II: 68-70.

202 Quarter Sessions Court, Road Petitions, Folio 4, # 6; Road Docket I: 8-9. This case provides additional interest for during the June Sessions 1799, the residents of the area again requested that the road be opened. The petition filed states "that untill a few Weeks past your Petitioners have always supposed that the said road was laid out by lawful Authority and duly recorded. When one of the owners of the Soil having announced his Intention of enclosing his Ground and shutting up said road, an Examination was made in the proper Office for such record, and none appeared." (Quarter Sessions Road Docket V: 69) Although the road was reconfirmed in 1803, the search for the original papers must have prompted the legislation mentioned below in Appendix I requiring the compilation of the road dockets in the Quarter Sessions court.

courts of Virginia.

Beginning in 1712, a new county office began to assume some of the duties formerly assigned to the Court of Quarter Sessions. In that year, the Assembly removed the tax collection functions from the Quarter Sessions Court and placed them in the hands of provincial tax collectors, called commissioners. From 1712 to 1722, the Assembly appointed these commissioners for the sole purpose of raising and collecting taxes. But the Commissioners received real powers in 1718 when the Assembly charged them with determining the tax rate and ordering payments from the county treasurer for the salaries of assemblymen, defraying the cost of building and repairing county structures including courthouses and bridges, and other uses which might benefit the public good. Once given such broader power, the County Commissioners became elected officers beginning in 1722. As Clair W. Keller states, "by 1725 the structure of county government had been established and its transition from a government of appointive officials to a government of elected officials completed." A continuing battle over the administration of various county functions occurred, however, between the County Commissioners and the Quarter Sessions Court and was not easily resolved. The activities over which the two groups collided included building bridges, maintaining the poor, and paying for miscellaneous services. [203]

The court and the county commissioners did not dispute that the court had the power to lay out and open roads throughout the county under the supervision of a Overseer of the Highways appointed by the court. Many of the early, rudimentary structures used for crossing streams were constructed , and paid for, by the neighbors who benefited from the road. But because the cost of permanent bridges required the use of county funds, the county commissioners gradually assumed the responsibility for planning and overseeing construction of the various county bridges, much to the

[203] Keller, "Pennsylvania County Commission System," 372-382.

dismay of the justices of the court. Seeking assistance from the Assembly, the court had to be satisfied with an Act which stated "that the grand juries, commissioners and assessors, with the concurrence of the justices of the general quarter sessions of the peace, shall be the sole judges of the place where any bridge shall be built and maintained over any creek or rivulet within the respective counties to which they belong." The commissioners and assessors were also directed to oversee the construction of bridges, but only with the concurrence of the justices of the Quarter Sessions Court.[204] The justices could not have been pleased in later years to find that the commissioners largely ignored the court regarding the selection of bridge sites and oversight of bridge construction, relegating the court to a minor role in the overall proceedings. The court records, however, continue to indicate that many bridges throughout the county continued to be authorized by the court and remanded to the commissioners for construction.

Over the course of the first seventy-five years of Pennsylvania, the colony saw the powers that controlled the development of Pennsylvania expanded and shift from a tightly-controlled Proprietary and Provincial Council first to an appointive judiciary and then to an elective commissioner system. Other than the decisions that were made by the provincial officers in the initial allotment of lands, it cannot be said that any of these officials directly affected the development of the four areas examined here. The power to open roads however, exposed interior spaces for more intense development and did much to increase the worth and desirability of land. The actions in laying out these roads and approving their courses benefited those landowners whose lands lay along the roads because the value of their land increased. The placement of bridges and other public improvements likewise improved the value of those roads equipped with bridges since they were not made impassable by high waters on the creeks. Thus, as most control over the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges shifted from provincial officers to appointed county courts and then to elected county

[204] *Statutes at Large*, IV: 235; Keller, "Pennsylvania County Commission System," 377.

commissioners, control over land development passed out of the hands of the Proprietary into the hands of Pennsylvania's settlers.

Economic Factors in the Later Development of the Areas: 1700-1750

In general, the later division of all four areas departed from that of the early period. Many people wanted holdings smaller than the original 200 - 5,000 acre grants and chose their parcels in places that would give them the greatest benefit economically. For the more valuable land was that upon which commerce and industry would flourish, or which promised rich farming prospects. The topography of the region, principally the Wissahickon Creek through its heart and Spring Mill and Manor creeks in the western sides of Whitemarsh, had a marked effect upon its early economic growth. The resulting economy, which depended upon the mills of the creeks, lasted for almost two hundred years before most of these old mills were closed by the creation of Fairmount Park. Meanwhile, the fertile soil in the Whitemarsh valley, which Penn desired as part of his Manor of Springfield, attracted many farmers. And the limestone deposits found in Springfield and Whitemarsh helped another industry to survive for three hundred years.

No matter how abstractly they were laid out, the original land divisions often formed the basis for many early side roads in the area. But once these were opened, they in turn defined new land subdivisions, rather than the original lines drawn by the Penn and Pastorius surveyors. Major roads, such as Ridge and Germantown avenues, ran through the various parcels without much heed of the old individual boundaries. But as the original parcels were divided by these roads, the remaining acreage was often sold based upon the existence of the road. The course of many of these early thoroughfares, both major and side roads, continued to influence much of the development of the region even into the latter stages of the 20th century. The early geographical decisions acquired a

momentum of their own.

Topography also affected the placement of many roads, especially those which linked the mills to the marketplace or to major thoroughfares. Most of the roads in the Wissahickon Gorge, for example, followed one of the cuts made by streams or creeks through the bluffs. Given the presence of the Wissahickon Creek through this region with its steady flow of water, some of the first stirring of the industrial revolution in Pennsylvania occurred along its banks and tributaries. In 1933, James F. Magee, Jr. did a study of the Wissahickon mills in which he identified 54 separate sites that had been established along the Wissahickon or its feeder creeks between 1686 and 1854. Fourteen were located in Roxborough, twelve in Chestnut Hill, five in Springfield and four in Whitemarsh for a total of 35 of the 54 mills. Fourteen years later, Douglas Macfarlan, who collaborated with Magee on the initial survey, undertook a revision of this study to incorporate information found subsequent to Magee's work. To the greatest extent possible, Magee and Macfarlan provide detailed chronologies of the ownership of the properties upon which the mills stood.

The earliest of the mills were erected in Roxborough at the mouth of the Wissahickon Creek on the Schuylkill River. Magee designated these as Mills Numbers 1, 2 & 3. All appeared within the initial grant of Robert Turner. Turner leased 50½ acres to Joshua Tittery and Richard Townsend in 1686 for a period of 101 years with the agreement that the latter would erect mills and improve the land. By 1689, Tittery and Townsend had built a grist mill and a saw mill along the banks of the Wissahickon. In 1691, ownership of the mills and the entire Turner tract had passed to Andrew Robeson, Sr. and Charles Saunders (or Sanders). Whereas the senior Robeson never lived on this land, the Robeson family became closely connected with the immediate property until shortly before its acquisition for the Wissahickon extension of Fairmount Park.

Andrew Robeson's heirs and Charles Saunders subdivided the 500 acres in 1696 by selling

the eastern 300 acres to Joseph and Benjamin Morgan. This section of the Turner tract incorporated the highlands along School House Lane and only one corner bordered the Wissahickon Creek. The western 200 acres were retained by the Robeson and Saunders families. Owing to court decisions, the eight acres surrounding the mills became indivisible, although the widow of Charles Saunders wished to sell her half-interest to the Robesons. There remain a number of questions relating to the early ownership of this land as the material presented by Magee and Macfarlan do not completely agree with that of Joseph S. Miles who penned a history of Roxborough in 1940.

When one looks at the maps prepared by Joseph S. Miles, [Maps 4 & 19] one sees how many of the initial subdivisions of all of the lower Roxborough properties used the Wissahickon creek as the border of the properties. Similarly, many of the subdivisions by Edward Farmar in the Whitemarsh section of the Wissahickon valley were bounded on one side by the creek. The names of these secondary property owners largely identify millowners who played a large role in the history of the Wissahickon creek and the overall region. Chief among these was William Rittenhouse or Rittenhausen, who purchased at least three sections of the Vickeris tract by 1741. Rittenhouse initially leased a piece of land along Paper Mill Run (Monoshone Creek) and erected a paper mill on this site in 1690-1691. This was the first paper mill found in the American colonies. By 1751, the Rittenhouse family had erected no less than four separate mills along either Paper Mill Run or the Wissahickon Creek.

The history of the property upon which the Rittenhouse mill first appeared is clouded. It is clear that the Vickrises were awarded this land in 1689. A written survey exists for the property dated March 1689, but no patent appears in the patent books. Later deeds and surveys, however, refer to a patent being executed on or about 15 April 1689 to Richard Vickris. The Vickris family retained ownership of the tract until 1741 when Thomas Bishop Vickris, in a number of transactions, sold

most of the property to members of the Rittenhouse and Righter families. In the deed in which Vickris sold two tracts to William Rittenhouse, it mentions that these properties lie on either side of "other land of William Rittenhouse."[205]

Where did William Rittenhouse obtain title to the principal land along Monoshone Creek? It is a complicated story which has yet to be fully unraveled. Apparently, William Harwood applied for a patent for 300 acres in Philadelphia county. A warrant for a survey exists authorizing the making of such a survey but no survey survives. As the Vickris tract had not yet been patented by 1685, Harwood may have assumed that he would be awarded the tract and began to subdivide it.[206] He sold 100 acres to Samuel Carpenter, who proceeded to subdivide it even further. In 1690, Carpenter leased 20 acres of the land to Robert Turner, William Bradford, Thomas Tresse and Rittenhouse for the construction of a paper mill. The lease was to run for a period of 999 years. A written lease survives from Carpenter to Rittenhouse dated 9 February 1705/6 which describes the property as being bounded by the Wissahickon Creek, German Town Land, and land of Thomas Jacques and Thomas Masters. Rittenhouse's son, Claus, apparently bought out the lease from the Carpenter estate for he says in his will that he had bought the property from Samuel Carpenter, sometime between 1723 and 1734. It was Claus's son, William, who purchased the land from Thomas Bishop Vickris seven years after Claus's death. These properties were the lands described as being owned by Jacques and Masters. But whereas the potential titles for these tracts from Samuel Carpenter were not honored or carried forward, the 999 year leasehold of the initial Rittenhouse tract still appears on a title insurance document dated 6 July 1917. If the City of Philadelphia had not acquired this land for

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[205] PDB H-17: 405-408, Thomas Bishop Vickris to William Rittenhousen, 4 August 1741.

[206] Thomas Holme's map of Pennsylvania does have a parcel with William Harwood's name upon it located in the northwestern reaches of Philadelphia county but no patent for this land has yet been located. Holme's map appears to have a number of suppositions in which he allocated land to various purchasers before any patent had been delivered. Richard Vickris and his son, Robert, have the Roxborough land allocated to them in the 1687 map but no survey or patent occurred for another two years. Therefore, in the confusion of setting out land, Harwood may have attempted to have the Roxborough tract surveyed and patented to him even though Holme had reserved it for the Vickerises.

Fairmount Park purposes, one wonders if the title to the land could legally be voided.[207]

Another of the early mills of Pennsylvania appears on the Jennett tract. John Jennett sold the entire 200 acre tract to Matthew Houlgate in 1698. Houlgate erected a mill on the creek just above the current location of the Walnut Lane Bridge within two years. Like the Rittenhouse paper mill, the original Houlgate mill also carried historic implications as it is alleged to be the first fulling mill in the colonies, a mill that removed the oil and grease from raw wool. When Houlgate divided the property into three sections, he used the creek to divide the center and eastern properties. (The mill sat on the west side of the creek within the center section.)

As one continues up the creek through Roxborough, the observer can see how it begins to play a substantial role in the development of the region. The division of the original parcels into smaller pieces often either use the water as a boundary or surround the creek for its water rights. Throughout the remainder of the 18th and 19th centuries until the establishment of Fairmount Park, the creek continued its influence upon the physical development of the area and the parceling of the land. The creek also played a large role in the creation of roads in order to service the industrial economy.

The creek had little effect on the development of the Sommerhausen section of Chestnut Hill but a number of mills appeared on the Cresheim Creek just below Sommerhausen in the Cresheim division of Germantown township. Small parcels centered upon the creek surrounded the four or five mills constructed here.[208] All of these parcels were originally the northernmost subdivision of Cresheim division, allotted originally to Julian Hartzfelder and Cornelius Sjoert and by 1719 had

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[207] James Green, *The Rittenhouse Mill and the Beginnings of Papermaking in America*. (Philadelphia: The Library Company of Philadelphia and Friends of Historic Rittenhousetown. 1990), 6-14; Land Title and Trust Company, Policy Number 192196 (6 July 1917), found in Fairmount Park Title Papers (Philadelphia City Archives Record Series 149.6, "Providence General Hospital").

[208] Macfarlan mentions the existence of a powder mill along the Cresheim creek in 1774 but does not include it as one of the mills of the Wissahickon valley. There still existed a powder mill along Cresheim creek in 1787.

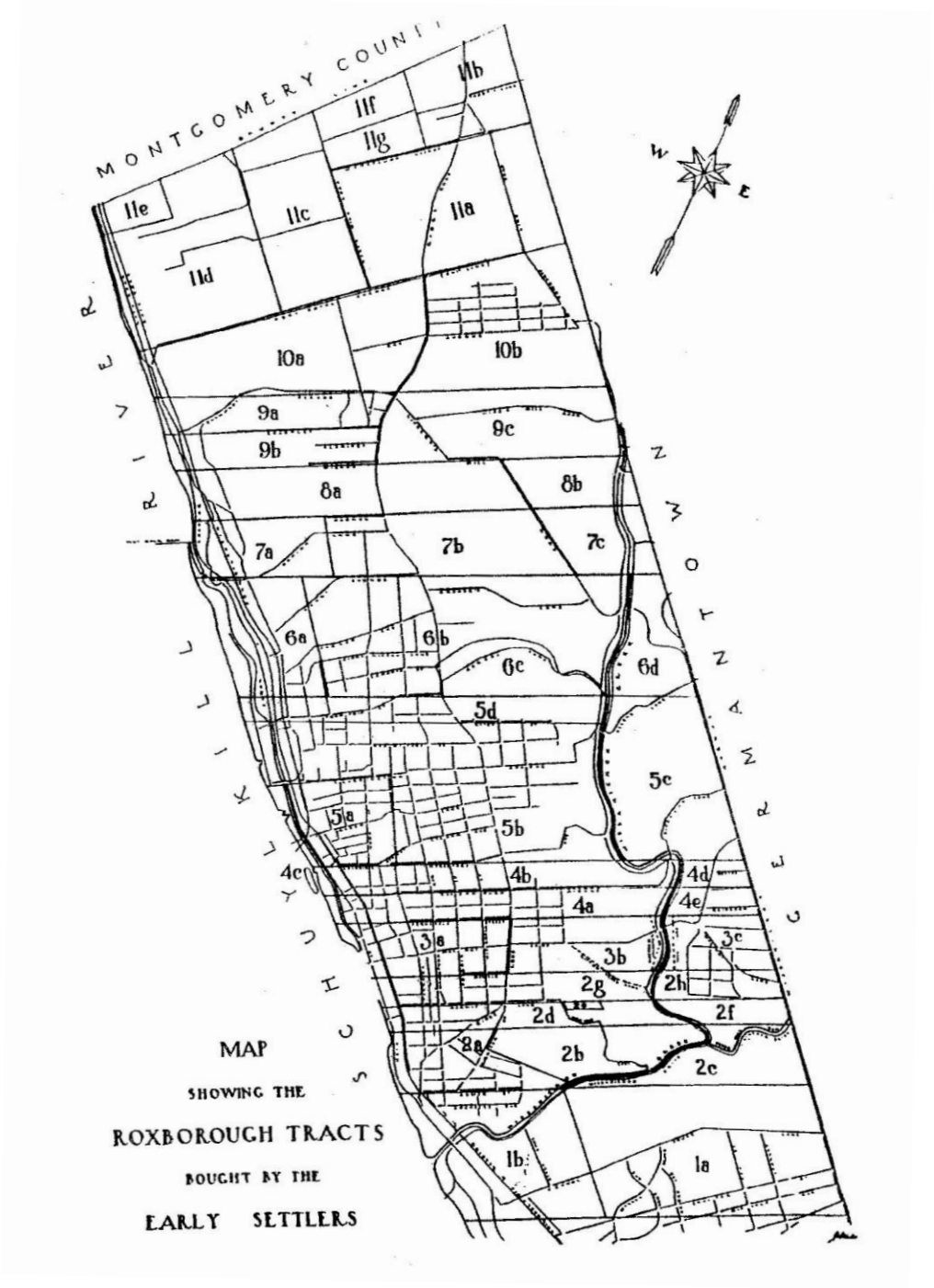
come into the hands of Garrett Rittenhouse and John Cunrads. Rittenhouse, another son of William Rittenhouse, and Cunrads were both instrumental in establishing several mills along Cresheim Creek. Six mills appeared within the confines of Crefeld division, where the owners purchased and assembled land in order to make full use of the water rights. Similarly, the mills in Springfield and Whitemarsh generally centered small parcels of land that were either bought or leased by the original mill operators. Many of these operations appeared only during the middle and latter parts of the 18th century. However, three mills were built by Edward Farmar during the early 1700s near the intersection of the Wissahickon Creek and Skippack Pike.

As can be seen, the Wissahickon provided good and ample opportunities for those wishing to enter the milling industry. Land, therefore, increasingly was apportioned in order to provide access to the Wissahickon Creek and its tributaries. Often such land division encompassed both sides of the creek in order to allow the owner to build suitable dams and waterways to power his mill. With the exception of Farmar's land, most of the mill tracts included only a relative small area, usually less than 50 acres and often less than 15 or 20.

The topography of the lower Wissahickon precluded use of the land for any purpose other than milling because the slopes of the Wissahickon gorge were too steep to allow any type of farming or grazing. The valleys surrounding several of the Wissahickon's tributaries, such as Paper Mill Run, Gorgas Run, and Cresheim Creek, included more gentle terrain that could be used by a mix of agricultural and industrial pursuits. They also provided avenues by which the Wissahickon could more easily be reached than from most of the land on either side of the gorge. On the other hand, the fertile and generally flat valleys through which the creek ran in Whitemarsh and Springfield townships allowed farming enterprises to which the land was dedicated over intense industrial development.

Map 19: Roxborough Township. Initial Subdivisions

From: Joseph S. Miles, An Historical Account of Roxborough, Manayunk, Wissahickon. [1940) Note the fact that many of the subdivisions are made either along the Wissahickon creek or along one of the roads seeding into Ridge Avenue.



Source: [A historical sketch of Roxborough, Manayunk, Wissahickon : Miles, Joseph Starne : Free Download, Borrow, and Streaming : Internet Archive]

Conclusion

The decisions of the Proprietor and the work of his agents, especially the surveying corps led by Thomas Holme, left their mark upon the virgin wilderness of Penn's grant. The initial seating of the land by the allocation and placement of grants divided the lower Wissahickon valley to create the four areas that would soon reach township status - Roxborough, Germantown, Springfield and Whitemarsh. Each of these territories owed its origins both to one of Penn's various land policies and to how surveys were completed by Holme, Thomas Fairman and others.

Penn's political sophistication is revealed in the granting of the lots along the east side of the Schuylkill River to friends, associates and those who were influential. Realizing that he would not have enough land upon navigable streams to satisfy all of the investors, he chose to limit the total number of ground in any one tract to no more than 1,000 acres. Even so, the available land along the riverbanks of the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers and various tidal creeks was soon partitioned. Though the land along the Schuylkill northwest of the Falls was not accessible to ocean-going traffic, any river frontage promised some benefits in the ease of getting products to the marketplaces in Philadelphia. Therefore, these tracts were deemed more desirable than any inland parcels. For this reason, Penn rewarded some of his close associates with the Schuylkill River frontage in Roxborough.

Although not addressed with the Roxborough lands, Penn soon realized that many of the parcels were being surveyed for more acreage than warranted. He pressed for resurveys in order to recapture the excess or overplus land for sale to new purchasers. Many of the upper Roxborough lands contained overplus which Penn never reclaimed. But one of the major cases of overplus which could not be ignored lay in Whitemarsh Township when Major Jasper Farmar and Jasper Farmar, Jr.,

had territory surveyed to them which was almost double their purchase. Penn and his Commissioners of Property wrestled with the problems of disposing of the overplus for three decades before all of the land passed into private ownership. Unlike the Roxborough lands, much of the overplus went to later purchasers who had little political pull. But a major piece with river frontage was procured by William Markham at a meeting that Markham attended as a Commissioner. By this act it appears that the commissioners were also attuned to political necessities in assuaging those in power, rather than being completely fair and honest in their apportionment of lands.

The roles played by Penn's appointed Commissioners of Property in Whitemarsh and Springfield also reveal a willingness to act contrary to Penn's specific instructions. Penn's power to reserve land specifically for his own and his family's benefit drew much fire from the early purchasers and settlers of Pennsylvania, who felt that this power violated the agreements and concessions between Penn and the First Purchasers. This drove a wedge between the proprietors and the settlers and citizens of their colony which would not abate until the American Revolution.

The land allocations within Springfield followed a different road than those in any of the neighboring townships. Allegedly under the tight control of Penn and his Commissioners, the land was slowly carved into individual parcels and removed from Penn's control. Once inroads had been made upon the Manor by Fairman's survey for William Harmer, several influential men approached the Board of Property to request and receive acreage within the Manor of Springfield. At the same time, the Board allowed the border between Whitemarsh and Springfield, which was admitted to be incorrect, to stand, thus removing additional valuable private acreage from the Penn family. The Board's land grants within Springfield and its handling of the boundary dispute showed an independence that Penn did not foresee, and led him to reorganize the Board in 1694 and 1701. Additional grants in Springfield, however, continued to be made throughout the first twenty years of

the 18th century. Finally, after inspecting the remaining family-held property within the Manor in 1732, Thomas Penn decided to release the unpatented (but not unworked) ground for purchase. By his departure from the colony in 1741, virtually the entire Manor was privately owned.

The story of the German's struggle to find a new homeland in Pennsylvania reveals the multi-cultural nature of the early colony. Differences in language, cultural background and agricultural traditions set the Germans apart from the primarily English stock which populated Penn's dream. Their resulting clannishness led to their segregation and the creation of a separate township over which they exercised full control for sixteen years. Their willingness to join their individual interests allowed Penn to relent and grant one large tract of land close to Philadelphia for their use. In this, they more than fulfilled Penn's stated desire to seat at least ten families on each 5,000 acres. The Germans' ideas in land allocation were based largely upon their European agricultural traditions. In most of the township, this enjoyed some success. But the division into long narrow strips soon proved impractical for the Crefeld division and many of them were soon consolidated.

The integral players in Penn's development of the wilderness were his appointed surveyors. Their lines as run and blazed soon created the initial divisions. Their surveying inaccuracies, however, soon became chronic and adversely affected Penn's desire for an orderly seating of the land. Charles Ashcombe's refusal to make returns hampered development in Chester County. Thomas Fairman supervised most of the surveys done in the four Wissahickon areas. His list of surveys between 1682 and 1685 indicates that he was responsible for the surveys of all but one of the parcels of Roxborough, and conducted surveys of the German Township, and for Jasper Farmar of Whitemarsh, William and George Harmer in Upper Dublin Township, along with numerous other Upper Dublin lots along the Springfield and Whitemarsh lines, Robert Fairman and Humphrey Morrey in Cheltenham Township, and Robert Longshore in Bristol Township. In addition, various

other records reveal that he surveyed the Manor of Springfield and the original 1684 lots within Germantown. Fairman's influence on the creation of these four areas was paramount. His mistakes led to the diminishment of Springfield when he ran the wrong line for the Farmars. Fairman also appropriated part of the manor for his kinsman, Robert Fairman - property which eventually came into the hands of Humphrey Morrey and was incorporated into Cheltenham Township. In addition, it was Fairman who gave William Harmer his first fifty acres within Springfield without authorization. Finally, Fairman continued to wield influence over the allocation of land well into the early 18th century when he assisted his son-in-law, Jeremiah Hopton, in the procurement of a tract in Northeast Philadelphia based upon the purchase right of Hopton's father which had already been consummated with the assignment of a tract in the overplus land of Whitemarsh seventeen years previously.

With time, control over the division and development of land passed from the hands of the Proprietary officials to those of locally appointed justices of the Quarter Sessions Court and elected County Commissioners. These bodies ruled on the placement of roads and the construction of public works, such as bridges, which assisted the economic growth of the areas. The subdivision of many of the original plots now became rooted in the economic use of the topography rather than the geometric system instituted by Holme. Many older roads in the four areas today, however, still mark the early divisions owing to the penchant of the road juries to lay out roads along boundary lines whenever possible rather than cutting through properties.

In short, the pattern of the early land divisions within Roxborough, Germantown, Springfield and Whitemarsh illustrates the workings of Penn's various land policies, the interaction between Penn and his appointees, the influence of the surveyors and the gradual loss of control of the individual growth and development of townships and counties by the Proprietary government.

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Appendix: A Note about Existing Records

A governmental decision in the early 20th century to destroy the early tax records of Philadelphia County leaves historians with a large hole in trying to understand the development of this county. Other records do exist which have clues with which to work, however. Despite the desire of Penn to manage his land affairs throughout the province with uniformity, this did not always occur. Owing to the existence of the capital city with the presence of the proprietary and provincial government within Philadelphia County, its development often followed a different road than those of its neighboring counties of Chester and Bucks.

The primary source material for researching land development in Pennsylvania, the deed and mortgage records, have a checkered history. First, for convenience, the same person in Philadelphia occupied the county position of Recorder of Deeds and the provincial position of Master of the Rolls. Therefore, all of the Pennsylvania land records, including warrants, surveys, patents and other instruments, were housed in the same office as the records maintained for the City and County of Philadelphia. Charles Brockden, the joint holder of both offices, ascended to the dual position in 1715 and, upon petition by William Parr, was deposed from the responsibilities in 1766. Brockden was 95 years old at the time. His assistant in 1766 freely admitted that he had little training in maintaining the office. He handled any instruments deposited for recording in the best way that he knew how.

With little supervision and training, this assistant made numerous errors in recording which led to many Philadelphia County instruments finding their way into state records and vice versa. As long as both offices remained in Philadelphia, no harm came from these mistakes. But when the state government moved out of Philadelphia in 1799, the removal of the records proved a hardship for the proving of titles in Philadelphia and Montgomery counties. Fortunately, in 1838, the state

government allowed the county of Philadelphia to transcribe all records in the Land Office that pertained to Philadelphia. The transcriber generally limited his work to those records pertaining to the area included in the final boundaries of Philadelphia after 1784, although a number, but not all, of the various transactions for property within the current Montgomery county do appear.[209]

A similar problem, both for pre-1752 deeds for Berks County land and pre-1784 deeds for Montgomery county, stems from the actions of deed holder and the Recorder of Deeds. Although Penn and the Pennsylvania Assembly instituted recording provisions, there existed little enforcement of these laws. In addition to an early effort by Penn to ensure the proper recording of instruments, the Pennsylvania Assembly on three separate occasions between 1705 and 1715 passed laws requiring the acknowledgment and recording of deeds. The first two Acts, Chapters 136 and 180 of the *Statutes at Large*, passed 12 January 1705/6 and 28 February 1710/11 respectively, were repealed by the Queen in Council upon advice from her Solicitor-General who felt that certain sections of these laws either were contradictory to English law or abrogated certain rights guaranteed by English law.[210] The final effort, Chapter 208, passed 20 May 1715, became law without objection. However this final Act had most of the enforcement teeth pulled from it. The Act generally is regarded as being the enabling legislation creating the office of Recorder of Deeds within the individual counties of Pennsylvania.

Therefore, especially as one moved geographically away from the Recorder of Deeds office,

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[209] At least one Philadelphia County deed book left the city in 1799. Deed Book E-3, vol. 5, has been listed in the state Land Office inventory as a Letter of Attorney book for almost 200 years, including in 1991 listing of all Land Office records. The "E" series designated Philadelphia County deed books in the original recorder's office. The letter "A" was for patent books; "B" for lease and release; "C" and "E" for Philadelphia deeds; "D" for letter of attorney books. Regardless, the numbering scheme for some of the series must have made sense to the original recorders; the large number of missing numbers in the sequences leads one to believe that not all of the early deed and instrument books survived. See Donna B. Munger, *Pennsylvania Land Records, passim.* Deed Book E-3, vol. 5, was eventually transcribed in 1841-1842 as Exemplification Book 7.

[210] *Statutes at Large,* Chapter 86, "An Act for the Acknowledgment and Recording of Deeds," Passed 12 January 1705/6; Chapter 170, "An Act for the Acknowledging and Recording of Deeds," Passed 28 February 1710/11; vol. II, pp. 206-212, 349-355

landowners often either failed to record their deeds or recorded them at a later time, often five or ten years after the transfer occurred.[211] As mentioned occasionally in the footnotes of this paper, large numbers of deeds relating to early transfers were never recorded. After the Revolution, when many sought to prove their titles, the various Recorder of Deeds' offices throughout the state experienced a boom in recording transfers which had occurred earlier in the century. With the establishment of Montgomery County in 1784, owners who brought deeds to Philadelphia for property which once lay in Philadelphia but now formed part of Montgomery found themselves required to record these deeds in Montgomery County, even though the actual transfer occurred before 1784. As a result, many pre-1784 deeds for properties within the various townships comprising present Montgomery county may be found in the deed books for that county rather than Philadelphia. A number of deeds from the 1740s were found to have been recorded in the Montgomery county deed books as late as 1886.

Another set of records important for the proper assessment of actions taken in regards to the warranting and surveying of land are the set of warrants and surveys found at the Philadelphia City Archives. These are copies of original records prepared by the Surveyor-General and other officers of the Proprietor. The original records are held currently by the Pennsylvania State Archives as part of the Land Office holdings. In this case, these records are a direct result of the problems between the citizens of Pennsylvania and the Proprietors. There were numerous charges from the days of William Penn until the rebellion of 1775 that there were irregularities in the granting of land from the Proprietors and their agents. The warrants, surveys and patents were not considered public records by the Proprietors, although they are important in the overall title to any piece of land. Instead, the Proprietors stated that these were private records and not accessible except with their approval. The Pennsylvania Assembly passed an act, signed by Governor Denny on 7 July 1759, allowing copies of these records to be made and the establishment of a public "Office for Recording Warrants and

[211] At least two of the early deeds to the Crefeld village of Chestnut Hill were recorded 125 years after their execution.

Surveys." The Proprietors opposed the Act as they claimed it impinged upon their Proprietary prerogatives and thus on the Royal authority as the Proprietors' authority was derived from that of the King. Thomas and Richard Penn argued for their rights before King George II and his Privy Council. Despite the arguments raised by Benjamin Franklin and others, who represented the Assembly before the King in this matter, King George II agreed with the position of the Penns and declared the law to be void on 2 September 1760. His decision of the matter was moot as the Pennsylvanians, under the cover of their Assembly's action, completed the transcriptions of many of the warrants, surveys and other land records found within the Surveyor General's Office.[212]

Yet another gap in Philadelphia County records occurs in the records of the Quarter Sessions Court. The Court did not keep an actual docket of the openings of roads, requests for the erection of townships, and petitions for the construction of bridges prior to the end of the 18th century. Some of these actions were recorded in the docket and minute books of the Court but not all. As a result, many of the records of the Quarter Sessions Court of Philadelphia from the period prior to the mid-18th century have been lost. This problem is not recent. An Act of the Assembly in 1798 addresses the specific problem with the road and township records of the Philadelphia court with a directive to the County Commissioners to furnish the Court with blank books to transcribe the existing records, "[which] have, from the lapse of time and unavoidable accidents, been much injured, and are in danger of becoming unintelligible," into a more lasting volume.[213] The procedures by which all of the townships in the present Philadelphia county were erected by the Court cannot be recovered. The

[212] John Hughes, a member of the Assembly, was named as Recorder of Warrants and Surveys and quickly began the process of transcribing any many records as he could find. Nine volumes of warrants and surveys are located at the Philadelphia City Archives. Numerous other volumes of transcriptions have survived with the Land Office records in the Pennsylvania State Archives. It is interesting to note that in some cases the copy of a warrant or survey found at the Philadelphia City Archives is the only copy of that particular document as the original was lost or misplaced in the papers of the Land Office. The arguments between the Pennsylvanians and the Proprietors continued until the outbreak of the Revolution: John Reed's *Map of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia* (1774) is another salvo in the interpretation of the original land titles to Philadelphia and "proof" of the Proprietor's misdeeds. Munger, *Pennsylvania Land Records,* 119-123; *Statutes at Large*, V: 448-455; Allen Weinberg and Thomas E. Slattery, *Warrants and Surveys of the Province of Pennsylvania including the Lower Three Counties, 1759*, (Philadelphia: 1965), 1-7

[213] *Statutes at Large*, Chapter MCMLXXXVIII, "An Act to Provide for Copying the Records of the Several Roads Heretofore Laid Out, and Which Hereafter may be Laid Out, in the County of Philadelphia." 70.

earliest record of any township being created by the Quarter Sessions Court is that of Towamensin in 1728.

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Endnotes

[i] Updates to the Thesis have been made to some of the maps, with links now provided to a version of the map that is now available online or to the source document that is available online.

Please contact gpaffel@comcast.net if you find that a link is broken or if you have a link to a map or Bibliography entry that can be added to help future readers.

[ii] Some links have been added to the Bibliography where documents needed to be accessed for other reasons.