

*Bulletin of the
Archaeological Society
of Delaware*



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JOSEPHINE F. ALBRECHT

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CALEB PUSEY HOUSE -- I:

PENN'S MILL AND ITS "KEEPER"
AT LANDING FORD PLANTATION
IN UPLAND, PENNSYLVANIA

JOSEPHINE F. ALBRECHT

The year 1682, in the reign of Charles II of England, was a momentous one for William Penn's newborn Province on the river Delaware. Several small ships (of 100 to 300 tons "burthen") were loading goods for the perilous voyage to the new home of thousands of settlers, most of whom were fleeing from religious or political persecution in England. Their houses and most of their possessions sold and acreage bought from Penn, the emigrants were readying themselves for what lay ahead. Many older sons and daughters would make the crossing as indentured servants in order to conserve family funds. Numbers of the emigrants would not live to see their new homes, for the death toll on shipboard was tragic. (On Penn's ship, the "Welcome", thirty of its one hundred passengers died of smallpox.) Undeterred, widows and widowers joined forces and families, knitting even more tightly the bonds which united the settlers. Mostly craftsmen, these people held their future in their trained hands. Carpenters, joiners, weavers, seamstresses, maltsters, brickmakers, cordwainers (workers in leather), glovers, shoemakers, wheelwrights, turners, "tynnplate" workers, brewers, sawyers, coopers, masons, and husbandmen--they were accustomed to doing small-scale farming and gardening (1).

The Proprietor (William Penn), realizing that one of the first necessities of these colonists would be a water mill to grind their grain and saw their lumber, formed a partnership with several English businessmen who saw this as a likely opportunity to make a profitable investment. The framework of a mill was cut, ready to be set up on arrival (2) and a pair of the best German millstones (from Andernach near Cologne) was purchased. (The pre-cut "finer parts" of Penn's cottage in Philadelphia and manor house on the Delaware were also shipped over from England.) What are probably pieces of these same German mill stones, worn smooth, are in the quoin of the southeast corner of the Caleb Pusey Cottage in Upland, Pennsylvania.

The newly incorporated Society of Free Traders (3) detailed one of its salaried servants, Richard Townsend, a carpenter and miller, to oversee the lading and erection of this first business venture in the Province. The Partners granted him four shares of the enterprise (4) and one to Caleb Pusey, a last-maker of London (6), being "a man of good understanding and abilities in divers respects" (5), "Endowed with a good natural capacity, sound in judgement" (7), who was to oversee the mill's operation as "The Keeper of the Mill", or agent and manager of the joint concern.

Pusey, having preceded Penn and Townsend (8), who brought the "ready framed" Mill on their ship, the "Welcome" (landing at Upland 28 October, 1682), had had time to select a suitable site for the Mill near the small Swedish settlement of Opplandt on a tidal creek, a tributary of the Delaware. "The Proprietor and Partners then present" (9) having agreed on the site, Townsend made haste to erect the Mill. The season was already late (early November) and the rigors of winter were ahead, making shelter for the families urgent, especially for Ann Pusey who was eight months pregnant. It seems probable that Pusey and Townsend employed the same primitive device used by the first settlers in Philadelphia: digging a cellar "half under the ground and half above" (10). From archaeological evidence, this room had five or six steps leading down into it, a chimney of home-baked brick above the stone fireplace, one or two small windows with tiny green glass panes set in lead cames, and a planked floor. Its west wall, of native stone, became part of the later-built, above-ground, east room of the house known

historically as the "Billy Penn" or "Caleb Pusey" cottage.

After this upper room was under roof, its great fireplace defying the raw winter winds, the underground room became a workshop where "Chymical" and metallurgical experiments were undertaken, as the archaeologists discovered when they excavated this long-forgotten, filled-in cellar. An ancient copper still with one side blown out, lying flattened under the bricks of the collapsed chimney, and quite probably the cause of the fire which destroyed the east wing, may be the still (11) noted by Caleb in his inventory of the goods of his friend and neighbor, Thomas Brassey (12). This disaster apparently resulted in a decision to abandon the early wing with its workshop and raise the roof of what had perhaps been a stock pen or a "linney" (carriage shed) on the west end of the house, creating another room which included the kettle stand and well, and also the back of the oven.

Since Townsend, having completed the task for which he had been hired, left Upland within a year, turning over his acreage and shares to Pusey, it seems reasonable to assume that the actual operator of the Mill was Ellis Jones, Penn's miller, who took up land nearby. A record of the land holdings between the Chester and Ridley Creeks prior to Townsend's departure to Germantown, where he built his own mill, is shown in Figure 1.

The Mill, however, brought over with such high hopes and erected "about forty rods above the cottage" (13), fell victim to "the great land flood" of 1687 when both it and its dam were swept away. Patiently, Caleb had the Mill rebuilt immediately -- the bill for rebuilding was presented in 1689 -- and "made a Dam over the Creek a little above where the first Mill stood" (14) but a great freshet tore out that dam, and "the partners found it advisable to take the Water out of the Creek about a Mile above the said Mills" (15), (below Hattapeche or Baldwin's Run), making it necessary for Caleb to buy five acres from the estate of Thomas Brassey for a raceway and a half acre of William Woodmansey across the Creek to provide anchorage for the far side of the dam. Payment for the latter was set at five silver shillings and "one grain of Indian Corn ye 21st of 12 mo. yearly forever (if lawfully demanded)" (16).

"But the charges of making said Watercourse and necessary Repairs of said Mills did far surpass the Earnings and Proffitts thereof" and "all the Partners except the Proprietor (Penn) and Caleb Pusey refusing or neglecting to pay their Part thereof" (17), in 1692 twenty-two of the thirty-two shares were sold by the Sheriff to pay the debt. These shares were bought by Samuel Carpenter, and the three men signed an agreement of partnership celebrated in the weathervane of 1699, the original being now in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia.

"The Mills being much decayed" (18), in 1693 Carpenter persuaded Pusey to donate some five acres of his landgrant (19) on the creek below his "now (present) dwelling", on which the third mill was erected and the race extended to it. Caleb took the precaution of retaining a "Cartway" through the mill tract to his "water meadows" by the creekside and stipulated that he should be able to draw water from the race sufficient to irrigate them.

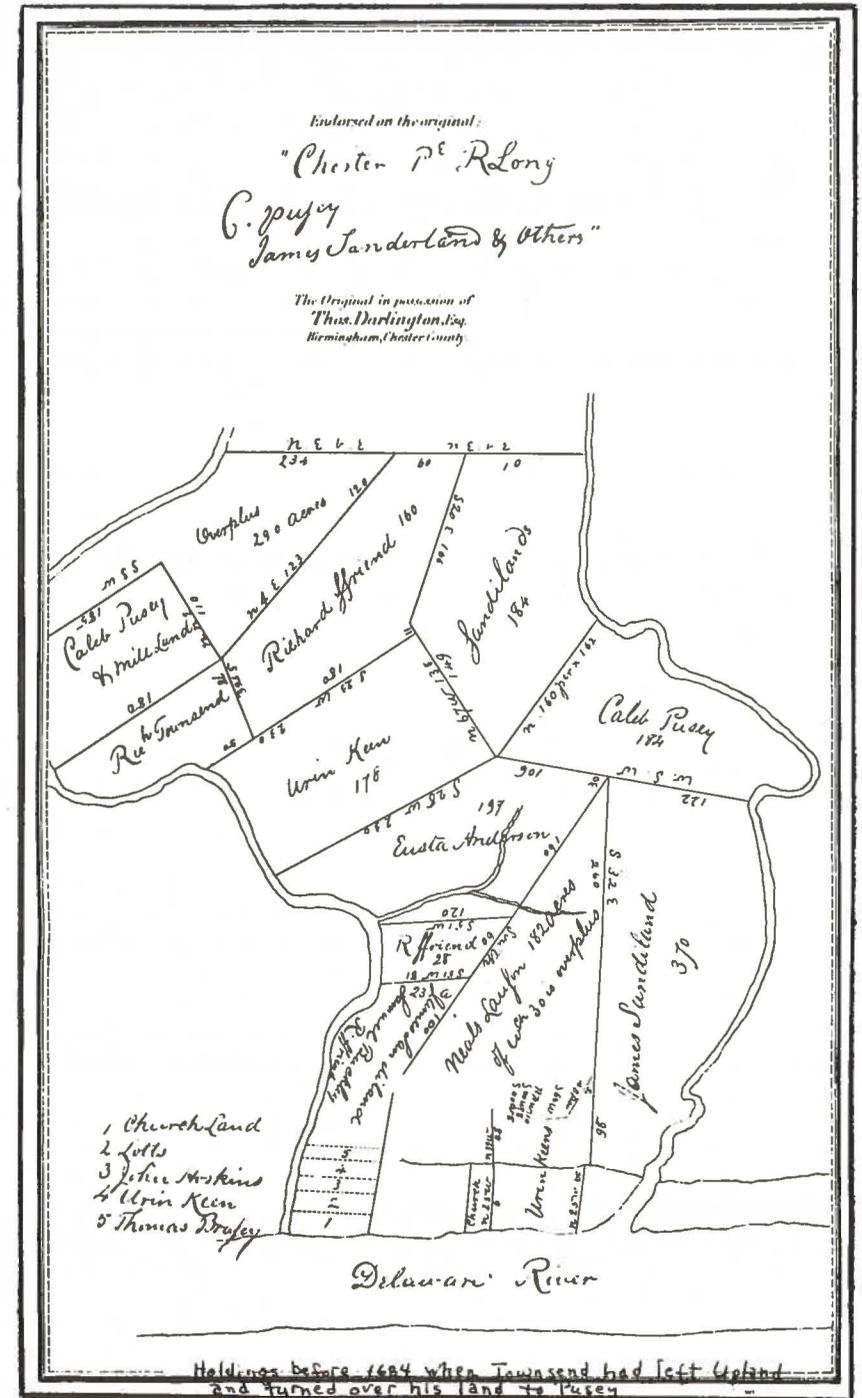


Figure 1.

Penn having returned to England, and Carpenter being busy with his extensive business interests, Caleb remained the manager of the Mill, in 1708 adding to it a fulling and dyeing mill with copper kettle and plates for the preparation of woolen fabrics. (Evidently the local settlers were raising sheep and spinning and weaving the wool.)

The Court records of Upland for 1672 tell of the necessity for a tax to pay a bounty on wolves. The increase of the settlers' herds and flocks which were pastured in open fields and woods resulted in such an increase of wolves that in 1687 it became necessary to levy a poll tax to pay another bounty. Caleb was taxed for himself and two men servants, Robert Langham and Thomas England.

The location of the mill-dam was a strategic one, being set above head-of-tide at the place previously used as a ford by the Indians and the Swedes. By building a small bridge across the race and another over Hattapeche Run on the west side, "hard by William Woodmansies," the dam breast itself completed the crossing of the King's Highway westerly into the Province. The high bluffs on the east side made necessary a short detour "straight through Caleb Pusey's land" (20) which provided travellers with good reason for stopping at the Cottage for a visit, a meal, a refreshing drink of home-made beer, or an overnight rest. Considering the small size of the house, one is amazed to read in Thomas Story's Journal (21) that he and "several others" stopped there for the night on their pilgrimages on horseback through the Colonies. One such group included Penn on the 25th of December, 1699. (One wonders if there is any connection between that visit and the unworn English penny of that date which the archaeologists found at the bottom of the well).

Apparently they were comfortably accommodated since Story made no complaints, but they were not demanding guests. The Journal tells of making-do at one inn where he had to bed-down and carry fodder for his horse and where, the beds being full, he lay down on "a narrow short bench", wrapping himself in "a coarse carpet that covered it and slept very well". On another occasion, in "the house of a poor Dutchman" when he had to sleep on the floor with a chairback for a pillow, he mentions with some asperity: "There were Fleas and Mosketoes plenty, my Companions in the Night, not very agreeable." Regrettably the Journal fails to add a word of description on the occasions when Story "dined" or "lodged" with "Friend Caleb".

Pusey, "being of good understanding and abilities", soon found both fully utilized in the service of the Proprietor, of the Friends' Meeting, and of the government, as well as in his responsibilities as Keeper of the Mill (22), in cultivation of his hundred and fifty acre Plantation, which he called "Landing Ford", and in the care of a rather large family.

His relationship to his wife's sons, Henry and Frances Wharley (or Worley), seems to have been a close one, and they were frequently partners in real estate transactions. William and Caleb Pusey, the sons of his brother, came over after the death of their father in 1691. In his will, Caleb left to "Cosen (a common term for a close relative) Caleb Pusey my largest dictionary"--no trifling bequest in those days.

The first little girl born to Ann Pusey died soon after birth (December 1682) but two later-born girls grew up at Landing Ford and were married in a double ceremony (attended by the peripatetic Thomas Story) in 1707. Ann Pusey Smith and her husband, John, preceded the rest of the family to London Grove. Lydia, who married George Painter and lived in Philadelphia, became an ancestress of Maxfield Parrish, the artist.

The Puseys had had an indentured servant, Thomas Langham ("Langum") whose time expired in 1693 when he received "the Custom of the Country" (his severance pay), partly in a portion of Caleb's land. To fill his place, Caleb bought a boy and a girl, adjudged by the court to be eleven and twelve years of age. It is known that the girl (23), Mary Rayle, had been kidnapped in Scotland, "forcibly taken, carried aboard ship with many others and brought to Pennsylvania." It is probable that the boy, Alexander Ross, being "one of the boys brought into the country by Mauris Trent" (24) had been acquired in the same way. This was a scandal of the time but "despite regulations and their enforcement, agents for servants illegally plied their trade" (25). During the years he served the Puseys before coming of age, Alexander received education and training which fitted him for his later influential and prosperous place in colonial life.

Caleb was a member of the Provincial Assembly for eleven years, of the Governor's Council, on the Grand Inquest (Jury), Foreman and Jury member frequently, one of the two Justices of the Peace for Chester County, appraiser of estates (albeit at times unwillingly since he paid a fine for refusing to execute the commission on one occasion), "Peacemaker" (26), collector of taxes, sheriff (or local magistrate), trustee of estates, school supervisor for Penn Charter Academy, Treasurer and Overseer of Chester Monthly Meeting, Signer of Penn's Charter and Code of Laws (1701), and on Penn's departure for England, he was appointed to the Council of State which was to govern in the absence of the Proprietor. He was frequently called to serve on Committees such as that which selected a site for what became Providence Meeting (Media, Pennsylvania). He was one of the five signers as witnesses to the Indian Tribute to Penn in 1701, given to Penn as a farewell gift with the wish that "the great King of England will be good and kind to him", and he was sent to confer with the tribes when it was rumored that they were planning an uprising. When it was deemed necessary to speak to a sinner concerning "his evil practice of coining money and absenting from Meeting" (27), Caleb was assigned the task. On one occasion, he and some neighbors were "cited" in Court (28) (where at the time he was Foreman of the Jury!) for overlooking an ordinance which required purchase of a license by those selling beer (29), and twice the court rebuked him for not properly maintaining the bridge at the Mill. (Obviously there were times when even Caleb's abilities were not equal to the demands on him.) It is well to remember that most of his duties required long trips on horseback in all weathers such as his friend Thomas Story graphically describes in his Journal:

"It rained and froze at the same time, and the Fields were as cakes of Ice, and the Trees of the Woods as if Candied". "The next day we rode fifty miles." "It rained fast all the Way--and we got to a House near Cedar Point about eight in the Evening, and all thoroughly wet, and weary with our heavy Cloaths." "I arrived in the Evening almost faint for want of Water, having found none for many Miles, and extream hot." On a pleasanter occasion he records that -- "having some Bread we

brought with us, and Drums, Sugar, and Nutmeg, we made punch in a little Horn Cup -- and so had good Entertainment for the whole Company, and nothing to Pay''.

Despite this obviously full and active life, Caleb found time to write religious tracts (See Appendixes II and III), and ''by his care, part of the materials from which this history of Pennsylvania (Proud's) is composed, were preserved'' (30).

In 1705, Caleb apparently realized that his burdens were increasing with the years and so began a very gradual program of divesting himself of land and responsibilities. It was ''a time to try men's souls.'' Samuel Carpenter had been ruined by the War of 1703 (the War of the Spanish Succession) and ''from the wealthiest Man in the Province in 1701, he became much embarrassed. Money was so scarce that many good farmers scarce saw a piece-of-eight (Spanish silver coin) of their own throughout the year'' (31). Privateers and pirates harassed the shipping. Shares in the Mill were sold to Dickinson, Norris, Logan, and Henry Worley. Caleb requested release from his responsibilities to Chester Monthly Meeting. In 1712 he and his nephew conveyed a lot in Chester for the use of the Meeting.

In 1710 Penn wrote a sad farewell letter to his ''dear friends.''

''My De. friends S. Carpenter, J. Norris, C. Peusy, S. Preston, T. Story, G. Owen, Etc., at Philadelphia in Pennsylvania. I grow old and infirm yet would gladly see you once more before I die'' (32).

The long-hoped-for return of the Proprietor to his Province had been deferred from year to year. Politics and mismanagement, dissention and self-interest had defeated Penn's hopes and plans. Finally a stroke delivered the last blow, and in 1712 he was forced to admit that he was surrendering his interests to the Queen. Due to his mental incapacity this intent was not completed. His health continued to fail and he died on July 30, 1718.

In 1717 the Puseys removed to their land in East Marlborough, Pennsylvania, and became members of the New Garden Meeting. Here Caleb died in 1726/7, a year after his wife's death. In his will he left to his son-in-law, John Smith, and wife, Ann, a tract of ''200 Acres lying South of the land where they now live'' (33). The inventory and appraisal of his estate is listed in Appendix IV. He evidently lived with daughter Ann after his wife's death since the furniture was only for one room.

''Chester Mills'' changed hands several times in the next thirty-five years, in 1752 coming into ownership of Samuel and Thomas Shaw (34), formerly millers of Pennypack. The dam required rebuilding at that time, and it has been asserted (Sherman Day: ''Historical Collections'', 1843) that it was then that the roof of the east end of the Cottage was lifted from an A roof to a gambrel. This was frequently done at that period to provide more headroom.

Business was interrupted in 1777 by orders from General Washington to remove and hide the mill stones lest the British commandeer the flour. By 1788 the Mills had come into possession of H. H. Graham, an attorney, (grandfather of H. G. Ashmead, the historian) whose son William sold them to Richard Flower in 1793 for a round four thousand pounds.

(The former colonies were still using English monetary units.) He modernized the machinery by buying the patents of that early mechanical genius, Oliver Evans(35), for ''sixty Spanish milled dollars''(36), and entered the overseas trade in flour which was very profitable at first but before 1800, during the ''misunderstanding'' between France and the United States, the French captured three of his ships and confiscated the flour, which ended the venture. In 1812 during the similar ''misunderstanding'' with England, our Government impressed the flour at Chester Mills but paid full value.

A drawing of the cottage as it appeared prior to 1827 is shown in Figure II.

In 1845 the property, including the cottage, passed out of the hands of the Flower family by sale to John P. Crozer who began building textile mills and creating ''one of the neatest manufacturing villages in the United States, containing a population approximating three thousand persons''(37), giving it the old name of Upland.

Intensely concerned with education, Crozer established a trade school for his workmen and in 1849 built a grammar school beside the historic ''Billy Penn'' cottage, as it was known locally. (One account, quoted in the Chester Times, February 9, 1939, indicates that the Cottage, or part of it, was used as a school for a time.) In 1862 he added a Normal School nearby which he loaned to the Government during the Civil War for use as a military hospital. The steamer ''State of Maine'' brought for treatment two hundred thirty-three sick and wounded soldiers who had been captured at Richmond and exchanged. After the Battle of Gettysburg, it became a prison hospital for Confederate wounded left behind by Lee in his retreat.

The web of history draws threads between the Cottage and the War. One of Crozer's workmen, Samuel Saxon, had joined Capt. George Crozer's 49th Infantry Volunteers. During his service, John P. Crozer told Saxon that his family could live rent-free in the Cottage. After Saxon returned, he acted as a guard at the hospital, ''helping take care of the poor sick soldiers'', as he told his little daughter (38).

After the Saxon tenancy, the Crozers, realizing that its continued existence depended on responsible occupancy, established the ''almost legendary character'', (39) ''Mother'' Jordan, the beloved colored midwife of Upland, in the house. For some sixty years she showed it with pride and protected it jealously. But after her death and the closing of the Crozer Mills, the house came on evil days. Left as a trust to his children, Crozer failed to provide an endowment for its maintenance, and, after building an expensive and obscuring wall around the property, the Trustees left Upland and no longer kept a protective interest in the humble cottage where Penn had visited. (The Mill itself had burned in 1858. See Appendix V.) Court-appointed substitute trustees made efforts to keep the house occupied and in minimal repair but, lacking plumbing, water, heat and electricity, it became impossible to keep it tenanted by anyone interested in its preservation. Wind and weather reduced it to a tottering shell, sitting forlornly across from a rat-infested dump. Caleb's ''water-meadows'' had become the repository of the refuse of surrounding communities. This seemed to be the end. Historically-interested people shook their heads sadly and left it to its fate. After all, who would care to visit it in its derelict condition and surroundings?

First known Sketch of Caleb Pusey, House - published in 1843
 Appeared in *Stoneman Bay's Historical Collections of Pennsylvania*
 Originally labeled as "Richard Townsend's Original Dwelling".

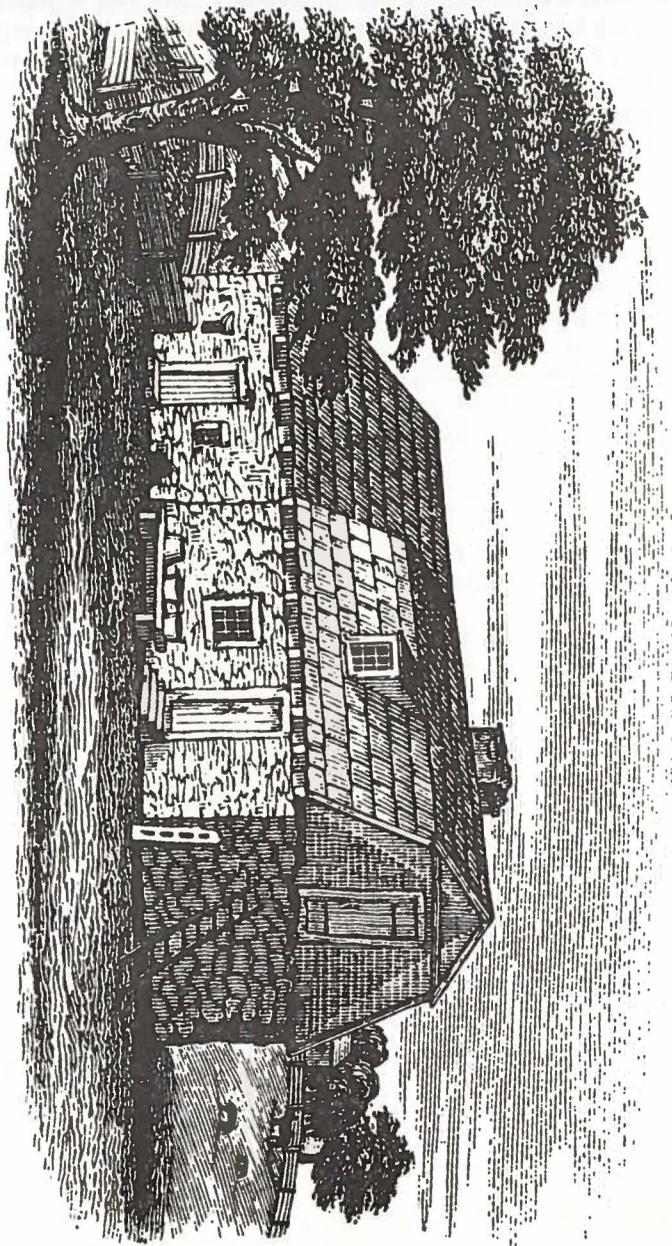


Figure II.

Some of Upland's residents, led by the Mayor, Ray Ruditys, were less resigned, and in 1960, with the aid of a borrowed bull-dozer, the ground was levelled off, filling the old Race and covering the junk. The final step was taken when, on an historical tour, Architect Edwin Brumbaugh told his visitors that if something were not done immediately to save the old house, it would be too late, and Pennsylvania's last remaining house with documented association with Penn would be nothing but a heap of rubble. Two of the visitors, Mrs. Henry Patterson and Mrs. Lynmar Brock, spurred by Quaker background and historical interest, took a mutual resolve that this should not happen.

Thus the "Friends of the Caleb Pusey House" organization came into being (40) and the tottering Cottage was shown to interested visitors. One couple pointed out that no authentic restoration could be made without a previous archaeological investigation. The Archaeological Society of Delaware (which state had once been part of Penn's Province) agreed to undertake the project under the direction of Dr. Allen G. Schiek and his capable wife, Elizabeth.

As one lost feature after another came to light, the original time estimate for the excavation stretched from three months to five years, and such a quantity of material was unearthed that Crozer's 1849 school house had to be acquired for storage and workshop. The architects followed on the heels of the archaeologists, sometimes too closely for comfort. Professionals from the University of Pennsylvania, Colonial Williamsburg, Historic Jamestown, the National Park Service and the Pennsylvania State Museum gave interested advice. The State itself contributed funds toward the restoration. And the efforts of the diggers and sifters were crowned one memorable day by the uncovering of a physical connection with the original occupants of the Cottage: parts of spoons stamped with the initials C^PA, Caleb and Ann Pusey (Figure III). They are modest tableware, molded of hard brass with a flattened, trifid-end handle and a wide, shallow bowl thinly coated with tin, but these pieces of metal bring us very close to the people who used them almost three hundred years ago, particularly to the "man of good understanding and abilities in divers respects (who) in the relation of a neighbor, husband, parent, master and friend had particularly an amiable character (41)." "He was a just man. Therefore let him be had in remembrance" (42).

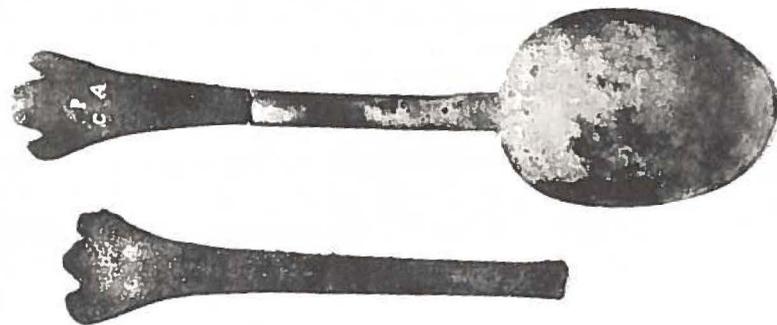


Figure III. Fragments of Tinned Brass Spoons which belonged to Caleb and Ann Pusey. Photographed by H. O. Albrecht.

FOOTNOTES

1. Balderstone, Marion: Penna. Geneological Magazine, Vols. XXIII, XXIV, 1963, 1965 "Wm. Penn's Twenty-three Ships (1682)", "Pennsylvania's 1683 Ships."
2. Proud, R.: "History of Pennsylvania, 1797": Richard Townsend's Account
3. "The Free Society of Traders in Pennsylvania, a joint stock company which had been planned and discussed in London throughout the year 1681, and of which great results were expected, received a liberal charter from Penn in March, 1682. Over two hundred persons in the British Isles, largely from among those most interested in the new colony, became subscribers to the stock which had reached £10,000 in June, 1682. A purchase of 20,000 acres of land in the province was made. The first officers were Dr. Nicholas Moore of London, president, at a salary of £150 per annum, John Simcock, of Cheshire, deputy, and James Claypoole, of London, treasurer, the latter two at £100 per annum. These officers removed to Pennsylvania, the president with about fifty servants of the society arriving at Philadelphia in the ship Geoffrey in October, 1682. The principal trading house and offices were erected on the Society tract in the infant city, on the west side of Front Street--the main street--near the south side of Dock Creek, and at the foot of Society Hill, so named from the location of the company. Thence the Society's city tract of about one hundred acres extended westerly in a tier of lots from Front Street on the Delaware to the Schuylkill, flanked by Spruce Street on the north and Pine Street on the south. This main station was the centre for the various activities of the Society. From here whalers went fishing for whales to the entrance of the Delaware Bay, preparing their oil and whalebone on the shore near Lewes. At Frankford a grist-mill and a saw-mill on Tacony Creek, a tannery, brick kilns, and a glass works were operated. Cargoes of English goods were brought in and sold at a profit, but collections being difficult, and the officers tending to look after their private affairs to the detriment of those of the Society, it suffered severe losses, and in a few years practically went out of business except as an owner of real estate. Myers, A. C.: "Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware: 1630-1707", Scribner's 1912.
4. Deed 1705, Carpenter to Pusey, West Chester (Pennsylvania) courthouse
5. Proud, R.: "History of Pennsylvania", 1797
6. Born in Upper Lamborne, Berks, England (68 mi. W. of London), in 1651. See Appendix I. "The family of Pusey is of ancient English origin, having been settled in the hundred of Ganfield, in Berkshire, England, for more than eight and half centuries. During this long period the name has undergone inevitable changes of orthography, having been spelled variously Pesie, Pesey, Pesye, Pyssey, Pusey and Pewsey. In the celebrated Domesday Book, completed in 1086, and embodying the results of the survey ordered by William the Conqueror, the name is registered "Pesie" or "Pesei" in "Gannesfeld" hundred.
 "The tradition is that about the year 1016, during the bloody contest for the English crown between the Danes under Canute, 950-1000 A.D., and the Saxons led by Edmund Ironside, -- William Pusey, an officer under Canute, entered the Saxon camp in disguise and discovered a plot -- for a midnight surprise and massacre of

the Danes. As a reward for this perilous service, which saved the Danish army from destruction, King Canute presented the daring officer with the manor lying contiguous to the camping ground, giving him as evidence of the transfer the horn of an ox bearing the inscription "Kyng Knowde geue Wyllyam Pewte thys horne to holde by thy lond". (This silver-mounted drinking horn is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.) Pusey, Pennock: "The Pusey Family".

- Caleb Pusey is one of the figures in Benjamin West's painting "Penn's Treaty with the Indians", and his is one of the five signatures on the 1701 Treaty itself. In 1681, he married Ann Stone Worley, widow of Henry Worley, merchant of London and mother of two sons, Henry and Francis. His trade was carving of wooden shoe forms (or lasts) for the shoemakers. In 1691 Caleb purchased the Middletown Township tracts of his deceased brother who had not come over. His brother's two sons, William and Caleb, came over after the death of their father and lived with the Puseys at Landing Ford, moving with them to London Grove. William later built a house and a mill, still extant, not far from Avondale and West Grove, Pennsylvania.
7. Collection of Memorials, Printed by J. Crukshank, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, before 1787.
 8. Possibly on the "Freeman" of Liverpool with Thomas Brassey and the millstones or the "Geoffrey" in October 1682.
 9. Deed 1705, Carpenter to Pusey, which includes a Brief of Title.
 10. Pastorius, founder of Germantown, in 1689 described the primitive homes of the first settlers in the new land: "I have, with one man servant, built already a small house (in other documents called a "cave" or "cellar") half under the ground and half above, which indeed is only 20 feet long and 15 feet broad, yet, when the Crefelders (German settlers from the town of Crefeld) were lodging here with me, could harbor twenty persons".
 In another instance, Jane Lownes, widow, purchaser from Penn of land in Springfield Township, lived with her three children in a "cave" on the bank of a tributary of Crum Creek while building her small stone home nearby.
 Also, the Sharples house, dated 1700, on the bank of Ridley Creek in Nether Providence Township, stands above the great rock marking the site of the "cave" where the family lived during the first months after its arrival.
 Family tradition adds another bit of strength to the theory: Mrs. Duncan Foster of Swarthmore remembers being taken by her mother to see the land which had belonged to their ancestor, Jöryn Kyn, where Crozer Seminary now stands. (Kyn was a member of the military force sent over by Sweden with Governor Prinz in 1643. He took up land and remained as an influential and respected citizen under English rule.) She was told that Caleb Pusey was a close neighbor of the Swede "and lived in a cave like Kyn's."
 11. Letter of Thomas Paschall of Pennsylvania, 1683.
 "Here are Peaches in abundance of three sorts I have seen rott on the Ground, and the Hogges eat them, they make good Spirits from them, also from Corne and Cheries, and a sort of wild Plums and Grapes, and most people have Stils of Copper for that use."
 12. Head of the Committee of Twelve of the Free Society of Traders.
 13. Deed 1705

14. Idem.
15. Idem.
16. Deed. Quoted in Chester Baker's notebooks, Delaware County Historical Society, Penn-Morton Colleges, Chester, Pennsylvania.
17. Deed 1705.
18. Idem. Also Lightfoot Map 1752 (Up. 1173)
19. Idem.
20. Road Docket "Alteration in the King's Highway", 1687. Chester Baker Notebook - Delaware County Historical Society, Penn-Morton Colleges, Chester, Pennsylvania.
21. Quaker "Travelling Friend" or missionary, 1698 -- 1714 in the Colonies.
22. From Deed, Wm. Penn to Caleb Pusey, For Landing Ford, 100 A. 1684.
 "--Yielding and Paying to me, my Heirs and Successors at or upon the First Day of the First Month in everie Yeare att the Towne of Chester--the Value of One English Silver Shilling in the Current Coyne of this Province to such Person or Persons, as shall be from Time to Time appointed for that Purpose."
23. "The Friend", Phila. 1861, Memoirs of Joshua Brown. Yearly Meeting. Vol. 34.
24. Upland Court Records, 1693.
25. Herrick: "White Servitude in Pennsylvania".
26. Penn, W.: Letter to the Society of Traders. "To prevent lawsuits, there are three Peacemakers, chosen by every county - court, in the nature of common arbiters, to hear and end Differences betwixt man and man".
27. Upland Court Records
28. Idem.
29. Idem. Also "Stuart England" by E. Burton
 "In the country districts people still brewed their own beer as they had always done." 1703. Watson, J. F.: "Annals of Philadelphia", 1830. "In the early period--it was very common for the good livers to have malt houses on their several premises for making home-made strong beer."
30. Pusey's ability as a writer, especially concerning religious and historical matters, was not unusual in England at this period. Trevelyan's: "Social History" testifies that "the learning of the time, classical as well as Christian, was very widely spread--political and religious controversy was conducted in books and pamphlets forbiddingly learned to the modern eye, yet in spite of their heavy display of erudition, they caught the eager audience to which they made appeal.--There were in fact a great many students among the upper and middle classes both of town and country. Every reader had in some sort to be a student; for, apart from poetry and the stage, there was hardly any literature that was not serious.
 "A fair proportion of the people, even in remote villages, could read and write. Accounts were made up; letters of business, gossip and affection were exchanged; diaries were kept both in long and short hand. But, though it was an age of reading and writing in the conduct of the ordinary affairs of life, very little printed matter came in the way of the less educated. This gave all the greater impetus to the sermon, which dealt as freely with political as with religious doctrines.--The ecclesiastico-political controversies of the time, in which all sides appealed to the practice of the past. set a premium on historical research, and helped to produce in England the first great age of mediaeval scholarship."
31. Logan, James: "Letter to the Proprietaries".
32. Watson, J. F.: "Annals of Philadelphia", 1820.
33. In Upper Marlborough along Street Road, Caleb, Jr., Caleb Senior's nephew, also had built a house, now the nucleus of the old manor house at New Bolton Center of the University of Pennsylvania. The senior Puseys had lived in a log house nearby which is still extant, hidden behind white plaster and with later additions, since owned for many years by the Pyotts, also a milling family. The stone home of John and Ann Smith is now known as "Scarlet Thicket".
34. The Yellow Fever which repeatedly ravaged Philadelphia (--"where every Face gathers Paleness - as such that waited every Moment to be summoned to the Bar and numbered to the Grave", as described by Story) appears in the record of the Mills in connection with the deaths of Samuel Shaw's first wife and children and the near-death of Richard Flower in 1798. The Cooper shop at Chester Mills was used as a hospital, according to Ashmead's History of Delaware County.
35. See the display at the Du Pont Hagley Museum, Wilmington, of the Evans devices for "elevating grain and meal from the lower to the upper stories and conveying the same from one part of the mill to another."
36. Spanish silver coins were legal tender in the Colonies and the United States until after 1857. Raymond, W.: "The Silver Dollar of North and South America."
37. Smith, Dr. George: "History of Delaware County".
38. Letter from Robert E. Swayne, great-grandson of Samuel Saxon, Sept. 12, 1951.
39. Obituary of Emma Jordan Strand, Chester Times, January 3, 1957.
40. By the terms of the will of John P. Crozer, some of the Trustees being dead, the Court was able to turn over the Trust to "a group with historical interest which would undertake to maintain the Cottage." Some ten acres of the meadow across the road, foresightedly acquired some years previously by the Delaware County Historical Society, was also given into the custody of the F.C.P.H.
41. Proud, R.: "History of Pennsylvania".
42. Collection of Memorials. Published by J. Cruikshank, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

CALEB PUSEY HOUSE -- II:

CHEMICAL ANALYSIS OF SOME COPPER COINS
FROM HOUSE EXCAVATIONS

DR. ALLEN G. SCHIEK

The Caleb Pusey House in Upland, Chester County, Pennsylvania, which was allegedly built in 1683, is an important historic and historic-archaeological site, not only because of its associations but also as a unique American colonial house. This house is the only dwelling left in the United States having a direct connection with William Penn. The remaining structure and the small amount of ground left surrounding it have been the subject of intensive archaeological excavation and research during the years from 1961 to the present by the Archaeological Society of Delaware. Unfortunately, there is only limited historical background material available concerning Caleb Pusey, his house, or his mills. This lack of historical information makes the archaeological evidence as important at this historic site as it is at any prehistoric archaeological site.

The Pusey House was continuously occupied, or owned, from 1683 until 1961 by many different families. This resulted in many architectural changes from a one-family dwelling to, at the most, a four-family housing unit. This extended and concentrated occupation is one of the reasons for the heavy concentration of artifacts in the relatively small area inside and surrounding the house.

In the cultural debris from these many families were found 198 coins. These are, principally, of British, British Colonial, late American, Spanish, Spanish Colonial and French mintage. The dates of these coins span a period of over 300 years - from circa 1610 to 1956. It is not surprising that coinages from many foreign countries have been found because there was a scarcity of minted money during the American Colonial era. Thus, in spite of the fact that a coin was minted in Spain, it still had value as a means of trade until the middle of the nineteenth century (1).

A brief historical background of the minting of money in America during the post-Revolutionary period will help explain the many similarities found in the copper coins of this era. All state-minted copper coins have a similarity in diameter and thickness. This condition was brought about by the Articles of Confederation of 1778. The terms of this Confederation permitted the states to coin their own money, but the value of the coins was to be determined by Congress. Coin production by a state was not started until 1785. Connecticut had a source of native copper so it was the first state to establish a mint, which issued coins from 1785 until 1789. Strangely enough, the coins from the Connecticut mint were the most frequently counterfeited of all the coins used in the states. In 1786, Massachusetts and New Jersey started coining money. The New Jersey mints were located in Elizabethtown and Morristown. These towns may have been chosen because they were near sources of copper. The New Jersey, or Nova Caesarea, mint continued in operation until 1788.

Previous to the Articles of Confederation, the Virginia Colony had coins minted in England in 1773. These coins were half-pennies made especially for use in the American colony. However, they were not released for circulation until March 1775.

The recognition of the origin of a coin, the date of minting, its present condition and value, add little to the knowledge of the technology of the colonial period. However, analyses of the coins of the period can offer some insight into the general technology.

During the preliminary review of the remarkable collection of coins found during the Pusey House excavations it came to the author's attention that Dr. Giles F. Carter (then of Wilmington, Delaware and currently teaching at Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, Michigan) had carried out considerable research involving the metal contents of Roman coinage (2). Dr. Carter expressed interest in analyzing some of the copper coins from the Pusey collection in order to compare the copper contents and trace impurities of these specimens with the comparable values of the ancient coinage.

The Pusey coins chosen for analysis were selected after a review of the entire collection by members of the Delaware County (Pennsylvania) Coin Club. Messrs. Richard Short, John Brown and William Neeley studied all the coins and gave numismatic critiques on identification, dates of issue, condition, history and approximate valuation. Their advice was followed in selecting coins for analytical study. The coins selected are shown in Table I.

TABLE I
COPPER COINS FROM THE PUSEY COLLECTION
SELECTED FOR CHEMICAL ANALYSIS

Coin No.	Origin	Name	Value	Date	Condition
16	American	Connec	1 cent	1787	fine
55	British	unknown	farthing	unknown	very poor
63	New Jersey (American)	Nova Caesarea	1 cent	1787	good
98	American	Connec	1 cent	1788	poor
103	British	Virginia Colony	½ penny	1773	fine
112	French	Liard	unknown	pre-1610	poor

The technique used by Carter to analyze for the metallic components of the coins is termed x-ray fluorescence analysis (3). The method involves directing x-rays onto the uncontaminated surface of the object undergoing analysis. Each element in the object absorbs x-rays and then emits (fluoresces) new rays which have wave length and energy values characteristic of the element. The fluorescing rays are directed onto an analyzing crystal, such as lithium fluoride or sodium chloride, where they are reflected at angles which are specific for each element. A detector, similar to a Geiger counter, counts the rays at specific angles. For example, the emitted rays for iron are detected at 28.8° from a lithium fluoride crystal. The concentration of an element in the sample is directly proportional to the counts per second measured at the angle specific for that element.

The surface of the object to be analyzed must be free of contamination and chemical degradation products or the analytical results will not accurately indicate the true metallic composition of the object. Thus, accumulated soil, as well as metal oxides, carbonates, etc., which will not reflect the composition of the uncorroded metal, are removed. The surface was cleaned by abrading it with aluminum oxide powder suspended in a fine jet of air from an 80psi source. The use of aluminum oxide powder and an aluminum nozzle to direct the abrading stream did not contaminate the surfaces of the coins because aluminum cannot be determined in the small amount of that element which is normally found in copper coins. After the abrasive cleaning the object was washed with distilled water and any remaining abrasive particles were removed by a soft rubber eraser. The cleanliness of the surface was insured by analyzing for lead or silver after successive cleanings until constant values for these elements were obtained.

The analytical data for the iron, nickel, copper, zinc, silver, tin, antimony and lead contents of the Pusey coins are shown in Table II. Data for Roman copper coins are shown in Table III. These latter coins were selected for comparison because they had the highest copper contents of 24 copper Roman coins studied by Carter. In this group of coins, dating from 205 B.C. to 383 A.D., the copper level varied from 72.8 to 99.4%. Fifteen of these coins had copper contents of greater than 90%, six had an assay of between 80 and 90% and the remaining three had contents between 72 and 80%.

A critical review of the analytical data in Tables II and III leads to the following conclusions:

(1) The average copper content of the Pusey coins is somewhat higher than the average for Roman coins. These six Roman specimens were chosen from a group of 24 coins which range from 72.8 to 99.4% copper. Thus, it is quite probable that copper refining metallurgy had improved considerably in the some 1700 years between the manufacture of the two types of coins. The possibility cannot be ruled out, however, that the eighteenth century coins benefited from the use of purer ores.

(2) The average of the total minor constituents for the Pusey coins is lower (1.06% vs. 1.28%), indicating again the higher purity of the Pusey coins.

(3) Comparisons of the average contents of the minor metals show that the Roman coins have higher contents of iron, zinc, silver, tin and antimony while the Pusey coins predominate in their nickel and lead contents. (See Table IV.) The lead contents of the Pusey coins represent the greatest difference, 0.47%, between the two sets. There are

TABLE III

METAL CONTENTS OF ROMAN COINS

No.	Mint Date	Iron %	Nickel %	Copper %	Zinc %	Silver %	Tin %	Antimony %	Lead %	Total Trace %
91	86 BC	.02	.05	97.0	nd	.28	1.00	.38	.91	2.64
94	10-6	.15	.15	98.0	nd	.27	.17	.79	.12	1.65
60	22-23 AD	.13	.31	99.3	nd	nd	.01	nd	nd	0.45
17	41	.11	.02	99.4	nd	.05	.01	nd	nd	0.19
14	87	.12	.03	98.4	.09	.03	.42	.11	.11	0.91
120	180-192	.05	.02	97.9	.05	.05	.48	.19	1.00	1.84
Average		.10	.10	98.3	.02	.11	.35	.49	.36	1.28

nd - none detected

COPPER COINS FROM THE PUSEY COLLECTION:METAL CONTENTS

No.	Identity	Density gms/cc	Iron %	Nickel %	Copper %	Zinc %	Silver %	Tin %	Antimony %	Lead %	Total Trace %
16	Connecticut 1787	8.88	.04	.10	100	0	tr	.04	.08	.8	1.06
55	British	8.88	.01	.10	100	0	0	.02	.02	.03	.18
63	Nova Caesarea 1787	8.92	.04	.10	98	tr	0	.07	.07	1.5	1.78
98	Connecticut 1788	8.93	.01	.10	99	0	0	.01	.01	1.2	1.33
103	Virginia Colony 1773	8.86	.01	.10	98	0	0	.02	.02	1.4	1.55
112*	French Liard	8.95	.01	.15	99	tr	0	.14	.14	.04	.48
Average		--	.02	.11	99.0	0	0	.05	.05	.83	1.06

* Trace of titanium
tr - trace

TABLE IV
DIFFERENCES IN METAL CONTENTS
OF ROMAN AND PUSEY
COPPER COINS

Element	Roman Coins	Pusey Coins	Difference
Zinc	.02%	.00%	.02% Greater in Roman
Iron	.10	.02	.08 " "
Silver	.11	.00	.11 " "
Antimony	.49	.05	.44 " "
Tin	.35	.05	.30 " "
Nickel	.10	.11	.01 Greater in Pusey
Lead	.36	.83	.47 " "

striking differences within the Pusey group where the British farthing (#55) and the French copper (#112) have significantly lower lead contents, compared to the other four Pusey specimens. These two coins also have significantly lower minor metal contents. These differences within the seventeenth/eighteenth century set of coins demonstrate that relatively wide variations in impurities were common. This variation is probably related to refining techniques as well as the type and amount of impurities in the raw copper ore.

(4) There are no significant differences among the densities of the Pusey coins (range, 8.86-8.95 gms per cc). This is not unexpected because of the similar copper contents of the coins. It does indicate, however, that these coins are sound and free of voids--the void content being less than about 0.5%.

The author wishes to express his deep appreciation to Dr. Giles F. Carter for his careful and painstaking analytical determinations and for making the data available and to Richard Short, John Brown and William Neeley of the Delaware County (Pennsylvania) Coin Club for patiently examining all of the coins in the Pusey Collection and explaining their finer points.

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 "Ancient Coins as Records of the Past" Chemistry Vol. 39: November 1966; Page 14
 - (3) Willard, H. H., Merritt, L. L. and Dean, J. A.: Instrumental Methods of Analysis D. van Nostrand, 1965
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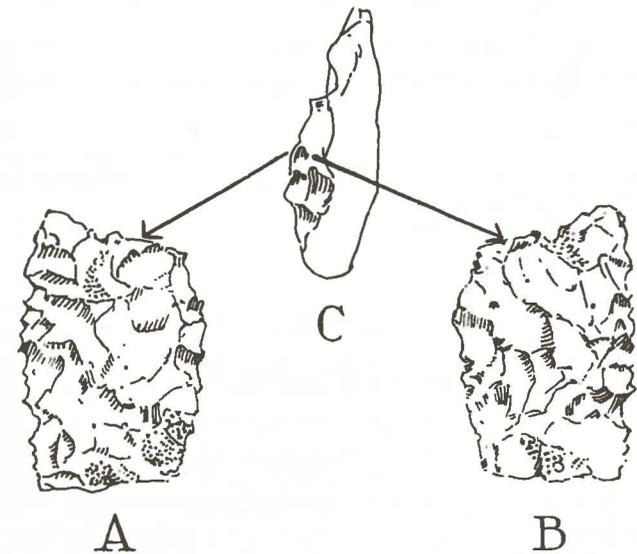
AN UNFINISHED FLUTED POINT FROM
NEW CASTLE COUNTY, DELAWARE
(7NC-D-27)

E. S. WILKINS, 3rd

A broken unfinished Clovis Point of Onondaga Chert, a mottled gray chert from Western New York (1), was found by Dr. Mark B. Weed on a slight rise of ground on the north side of the West Branch of the Christina River, and near to the Maryland-Delaware Boundary. The elevation is at approximately 115-120 feet.

This artifact has the general outline of the blades of the Enterline Chert Industry as typified at the Shoop Site in Dauphin County, Pennsylvania (2). The material of choice at the Shoop Site was almost exclusively Onondaga Chert, which has rarely been found in Delaware.

The particular flake chosen for this blade was unfortunately of a poor grade having many weathered areas of a coarse texture, which are represented by the stippling in the drawing. It is most probable that the blade was broken during fluting attempts as the break occurs at a large area of this weathered material.



A+B = side views of blade.

C = view of base showing striking platform.

DRAWINGS TO SCALE BY IDA G. TOLLENGER

An unusual feature is the presence of a prepared striking platform from which to strike off the fluting flakes. Two short fluting scars represent unsuccessful attempts that hinged after running for only 9-11 mm. The obverse side shows no evidence of any fluting attempts.

The blade has one ear missing and its former location has been retouched. Both edges of the blade show fine retouching with the exception of the remaining ear. It is evident that the blade has been utilized as a knife after breaking. There is heavy wear on the edges and on the sides, and the ridges formed between the retouch flakes have also been worn down. This heavy wear also extends over the broken end on the side with the ear still attached. The opposite end of the broken area has been ground smooth but does not show wear.

The writer would like to thank Dr. Weed for calling the blade to his attention and for his generous gift of this unusual piece.

(1) Munsell Color Values - body 10YR 5/1 gray
mottling
5Y 5/1 gray
7.5YR 8/0 white

(2) Witthoft, J.: A Paleo Indian Site in Eastern Pennsylvania: An Early Hunting Culture. Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 96, No. 4, August, 1952, p. 464.

APPENDIX I

EXTRACTS FROM WILLS OF CALEB PUSEY'S FOREBEARS

John Bartholomew the Elder, alias Pusey, a joiner, wife Elizabeth. Will dated June 11, 1620, at Chipping Lamborne, Berks.

Sons: John, William, Thomas
Daughter: Christian

Will of William Bartholomew, alias Pisse, wife Margaret. Dated March 13, 1665. probated July 26, 1666, at Newberry.

Son: Thomas (aged, 18) to whom he bequeathed land in Upper Lamborne and in Chipping Lamborne, also his shop and working tools.

Sons: Joshua, William, Caleb, (born 1651), John
Daughters: Elizabeth, Margaret, Willabe, Jane

To his wife: all lands, houses, personal estate during her life or widowhood.

Overseers: Thomas Seymer, Jr. of Lamborne Woodlands, Gent.
John Walrond, Jr.
Roger Pusie and John Masling of Up. Lamborne, Yeomen
John Walrond of Upper Lamborne

A Modest Account
FROM
PENSYLVANIA,
OF
The Principal Differences
in Point of Doctrine,
BETWEEN
George Keith,
And those of the People
CALLED
QUAKERS,
From whom he Separated :
SHEWING
His great Declension, and Inconsistency with
Himself Therein.

Recommended to the Serious Consideration of
Those who are Turned Aude, and Joyned in
his SCHISM.

If any man draw back, my Soul shall have no pleasure in him.

LONDON, Printed and Sold by T. Smeal, in
White-Hall Court in Grace-Church-Street. 1596.

(67)

matter of weight in Truth, nor Matter
sufficient in it self, to draw you thus aside :
Therefore do but return in the way of
truth, and then it may please the Lord we
may yet meet together, and sit down in deep
familiarity before him, every one being upon
a Watch Tower, guarding strongly in the
Strength of the Lord, against our common
Enemies, the World, the Flesh and the
Devil ; and so may yet be a People of one
Judgment, one Heart, and one Mind, Wor-
shipping and Serving the Lord our God
with one Consent.

Now my Friends, if what is here writ-
ten may prevail upon any of you for your
good, I shall be glad ; if not, we must leave
our Cause with God, who judgeth righte-
ously.

Thus truly desiring Truth, Peace and
Concord may be restored, kept and remain
in the Churches of Christ, I remain one that
heartily Wishes for all your welfares, and
am your true Friend

Cal. b Pul. y.

Printed 1714;
Revised, 1695.

Rom.

SERIOUS & REASONABLE
WARNING
UNTO
All People:

Occasioned by two most Dangerous Epistles
to a late BOOK of

JOHN FALLDOE'S,

Subscribed by

RICHARD BAXTER,
Tho. Manton, A. Palmer, Geor. Griffith, Rich. Mayo,
Tho. Jacomb, Tho. Cole, Matth. Barker, Tho. Gouge
John Yates, Tho. Dolittel, John Singleton, Will. Jenkir
John Sheffield, Will. Cooper. Andr. Parsons, Tho. Watso
Ben. Needler, Will. Carlake, Steeph. Ford, Sam. Smith
Rob. Bragg, Th. Wadsworth, Fran. Warham, Will. Tutty
Brethren all ----- in Iniquity.

Whose Bow is always ready bent

With Quivers of Malice against the Innocent.

For loe the wicked bend their Bow, they make ready their Arrows
upon the string, that they may privily shoot at the upright
heart, Psalm. 11. 2.

Whose Slanders and Lyes against the Holy People called Quakers
are hereby Reproved.

Cal. b Pul. y.

By C. P.

These things have I written to you concerning those that seduce
1 John 2. 26.

They are impudent Children and stiff hearted ; but surely they will not be so,
they indeed will they cease ; for they are a rebellious house ; yet shall they
that there hath been a Prophet amongst them. Ezek. 2. 4, 5.

London. Printed in the Year 1675.

APPENDIX IV

INVENTORY OF THE ESTATE OF
CALEB PUSEY, SENIOR

An Inventory and Appraisement of the Real and Personal Estate goods and Chattels Rights and Credits etc. of Caleb Pusey Senior of ye Township of Marelbrough in ye County of Chester in ye Province of Pensilvania yeoman Deceased

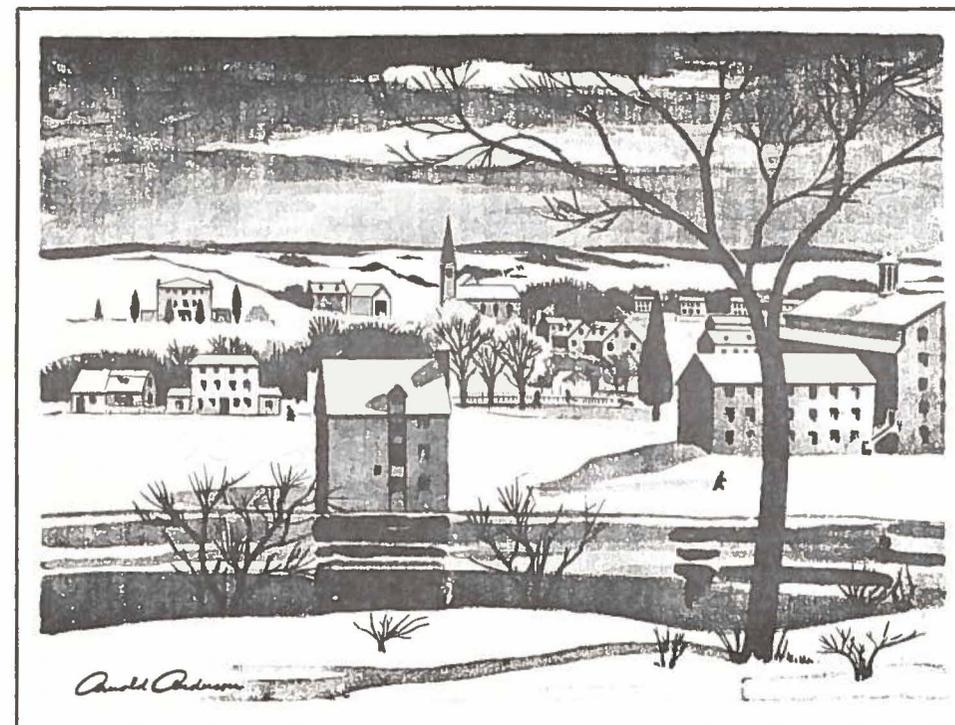
the thirteenth day of ye first month in ye year one thousand seven hundred and twenty Six/Seven and Appraised by us whose names are hereunder written as followeth (Viz)

In purse and wearing Apparell	L 17-00-5
two beds and furniture	19-00-0
And Irons and Candlesticks	2-00-0
a paire of Stillards	1-00-0
ten yards of linen	1-5-0
Chairs and Chest of Drawers	3-00-0
Surveying Instruments	2-10-0
Trunks and Spice Box	00-15-0
Table bench and Cubbert	(blurred)
Horse, Sadle, and bridel	4-00-0
Books	1-00-0
a book Called ye dixonary	00-15-0
Bonds and one Bill	291-04-8
two hundred Acres of Land	70-00-0
	<hr/>
	421-00-1

Joseph Pennock
Benjamin ffred

Author's Note: After the death of his wife, Caleb evidently lived with his daughter so that this Inventory includes only the contents of one room.

APPENDIX V



In 1860, the Bank of Delaware County (now The Delaware County National Bank) issued twenty dollar bills. The picture which appeared on this money is reproduced on this card and is of the town of Upland, as viewed from what is now Crozer Park. Shown are the grist mill along the edge of Chester Creek, John P. Crozer's cotton mills, the Upland Baptist Church, the Crozer mansion and, at the far left, the Caleb Pusey House built in 1682.