NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

I

The History of a Letter

On March 20, 1833, the Secretary of the Council of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania included this note among the minutes for the day: "Mr. Fisher read the following interesting papers in the handwriting of the Founder, procured from John Penn, during his recent visit to England; an essay of an address designed for King James I on his accession to the throne, two letters to the Founder's father, Sir W. Penn, a letter addressed to the D. — of M. — dated 22 of 3 mo. 1709; also copies of letters from W. Penn to his father in 1670, a copy of a letter to the Zarr of Muscovy 3 mo. 2. 1698, a copy of a letter to Algernon Sydney. . . . 4"

Although John Penn and his younger brother, Granville Penn, were elected honorary members of the Society on May 18, 1825, it is doubtful whether they took much interest in it before Mr. Fisher's visit to them. At that time John Penn became sufficiently interested to give Fisher several Penn documents and allow him to copy others, including the letter to the "Zarr of Muscovy." If Fisher stimulated John Penn's interest, he fully aroused Granville's who became a great patron of the Society. The fact that early in 1833 he presented it with the famous portrait of William Penn in armor, painted in Ireland in 1666, can not be disconnected with Fisher's visit to him. 5 Throughout the remainder of his life he was constantly send-

1 J. Francis Fisher, member of Council of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
2 John Penn (1760-1834), son of Thomas Penn, grandson of William Penn. He is well known to Philadelphia for his residence at "Solitude." His principal homes were Stoke Park and Pennsylvania Castle in England.
3 This is a mistake, the 3 should be 10.
5 Granville Penn (1761-1844) was a well-known scholar and copious writer. He attained the reputation as the best informed layman of the Church of England on Church history. The H.S.P. owns a large and handsome portrait of him.
ing items of interest, including "fragments" from his own pen, to the Society.

This visit probably also started Fisher's collection of copies of the unpublished letters of William Penn. These he transcribed diligently during the next few years before he met with a misfortune—the loss of by far the greater part of his collection. In order to safeguard the remainder he turned it over to The Historical Society which published it in 1840. As a copy of the letter to the "Zarr" is not to be found in this publication, it is evident that it was among the copies lost.

In 1834 Granville succeeded to the estates of his wealthy brother. Consequently, he was now the owner of the early papers which Fisher had examined and from which he had made copies. An old man when he inherited wealth, Granville Penn never had a full opportunity to enjoy it, more especially as many of his latter years were clouded with illness.

In the late summer of 1841 his son, Granville John, at his father's request wrote the following letter to General Thomas Cadwalader, of Philadelphia:

My dear General,
The long interval which has elapsed since I had last the pleasure of communicating with you has been caused by the indisposition of my Father, who has since that time frequently intended writing to you himself, but circumstances have from time to time prevented him.

He has had three attacks of illness within the last three weeks, but notwithstanding, he is far better than we could have ventured to expect at his period of life, & after such severe visitations of illness, & he is able to enjoy in moderation the occupation of literary pursuits, tho' those are for the most part confined to subjects in unison with the feelings of his mind at his advanced age.

One severe blow he has lately sustained, as have we all, in our domestic circle, in the loss of my eldest & beloved sister, whom it pleased God to remove from amongst us on the 27th of May last, after a long & painful ill-

7 John Penn died June 21, 1834.
8 Granville John Penn (1802-1867), a studious, widely-read man, made two celebrated visits to Philadelphia, in 1851 and 1857. At his father's request he was elected an honoray member by the H.S.P. in 1833, and later proved to be a generous patron. He presented the Society with the famous Wampum Belt given William Penn by the Indians at Shackamaxon in 1682.
9 General Thomas Cadwalader (1779-1841) was the agent for the Penn family in the United States. He was the only son of the Revolutionary General, John Cadwalader.
10 Louisa.
ness of six months duration. This he has felt a great deal; especially as it succeeded a severe attack of illness; but is calmly resigned to the Divine Will.

He now desires me to write for him & say that he finds it inconvenient to attempt writing, but charges me to express to you, & every individual of your house, his most affectionate regard & attachment. He leaves to your kindness & judgment to dispose of the contents of the box forwarded by this present occasion, containing various fragments from his pen. The accompanying inclosed original letter of William Penn he intends for the archives of the Historical Library, & a copy or two of the Printed Memoirs is destined for the same.

My Mother, & the rest of my family are pretty well, & unite with me in kindest remembrances to yourself, & all the member of your family; & I particularly beg to be most kindly remembered to your son George, to whom I intend writing by an early opportunity, & remain

My dear General,
with sincere esteem & regard
Yours most faithfully
Granville John Penn.

This letter with its precious little inclosure crossed the Atlantic and was delivered, presumably, to General Cadwalader's house at Ninth and Arch Streets on November 25, 1841. But the General himself was not there to receive it; for the past month he had lain in old Christ Church burial ground. His son, George, Captain of the Cadwalader Greys and the family business man, opened it in his stead. Carefully cutting around the seal, a handsome half figure of a lion surmounted by a scroll reading “Pennsylvania” stamped in black wax, he removed the contents from the cover. After reading Granville John Penn’s letter he turned his attention to the inclosure.

It was folded up in a sheet of mourning paper on which was inscribed in old Mr. Granville Penn’s determined hand, “To the charge of General Cadwalader, Philadelphia. For the Historical Library from Gr. Penn. Stoke Park, 1 Aug. 1841.” Removing this cover Captain George Cadwalader came upon yet another, also of mourning paper and bearing in Granville Penn’s hand the following inscription, “Copy of William Penn’s letter to the Czarr Peter of Russia, 1698.” Upon removing this protective layer, the original cover of the ancient letter was revealed. On the outside of this was written in William Penn’s own hand, “a lettr to ye Zarr of Mos-

11 General Thomas Cadwalader died October 26, 1841.
12 General George Cadwalader (1806-1879), second son of General Thomas Cadwalader, was a distinguished military and social figure of his times. Upon his father’s death he took over the Penn family business.
covey by W. P. 1698.” When this last cover was laid aside the Cap-
tain retained in his hand the original letter of the founder of Penn-
sylvania. What his thoughts were one cannot tell, at all events he
carefully returned it to its multiple wrappings, and, laying it aside
with his client’s letter, turned his attention to affairs of more
pressing concern.

Doubtless he would have acknowledged Granville John Penn’s
letter sooner, had it not been for the necessity of attending his
father’s estate. It was not until January 1, 1842, that he was able
to answer it fully. As he took his pen in hand he realized rather rue-
fully that he had so far neglected to turn the original letter of
William Penn over to the “Historical Library.” Why offend old
Mr. Granville Penn with this confession? Certainly he could not get
rid of the relic on a holiday, but perhaps tomorrow, or anyway the
first opportunity— He wrote, “The original letter of William Penn
intended for the archives of the Historical Library and two copies
of the printed memoirs after having been shown to several citizens
who take an interest in such matters were handed over to the His-
torical Library where they will no doubt in—future ages add much
interest to the objects of the association.”

Time passed and Captain Cadwalader forgot about the little mat-
ter. The letter, still enclosed in all its original wrappings, was
placed with other letters from the Penns. It was moved from one
place to another and, finally, sometime after his death found its way
with the rest of his papers to the Cadwaladers’ office building, 263
South Fourth Street. There it remained many years until in May,
1939, it was removed along with other family papers to The His-
torical Society of Pennsylvania. Here it was rediscovered in exactly
the same condition as the day Granville John Penn mailed it, with
the exception that the paper around the seal had been neatly cut,
and thus it was that Granville Penn’s present entered the Society’s
walls, nearly ninety-eight years late.

For the benefit of those who may be curious to learn what William
Penn had to write to Peter the Great in 1698 we include his letter,
although it was published in The Friend in a modernized form on
November 16, 1833. As the explanatory remarks concerning it were

18 Letter book of General George Cadwalader. January 1, 1842, to Granville J.
Penn. Cadwalader family papers.
signed "R. V." it is evident that Roberts Vaux, a Vice-President of the Society, edited the letter. From the circumstance of the date of publication, it is also evident that Fisher's copy was used. The following original letter is evidently a first draft since it bears several corrections, and since it was the copy retained by Penn.

It was a profound Respect, & not a vain Curiosity, Great Czarr, wch brought me twice to wait upon yee. My Desire was & is y as God Almighty has distinguished y above so many millions of thy fellow Creatures, So thou mayst Distinguish thy self above y by an Extraordinary Zeall for Piety, & Charity, wch are two Legs Christian Religion Stands upon, & where they are wanting or defective, it must needs fall in Streets, to Scorn & triumph of ye Heathens. May thy Example Shew yee to be as Good as great, that thou mayst Bear his image, by Kings Raigne, & Princes decree Justice; wth Goodness, power itself can never do. Optimus was of old preferred to Maximus among Heathen Princes much more should it be Among Christian Emperours. If thou woulde Rule well, thou must rule for God, & to do yt. thou must be ruled by him; who has given to Kings his Grace to Command ym & yr Subjects, & to yr People, the grace to obey God & yr Kings. Know Great Czarr, & take it wth yee, as one part of ye Collection of Knowledge thou art making in yis unexampled travell, yt tis in yis Kingdom of England, yt God has visited, & touched ye hearts of a people, above 40 years ago by ye Holy Light & Grace of his son, & Our Saviour Jesus Christ. By wch yr minds have been turned, from false worship & Evill Living, to worship God who is a spirit in & by his own spirit, & to be led by it in yir Conversation, yt they may bring forth ye fruits of it among men, to his praise yt. has Called ym & they are an Inward & retired people, yt dare not Conform themselves, to vain Inventions, & Fashions of ye world, Either in Religion, or Civill Conversation: but live & act, as believing yt God seeth ym in all they do, & will Judg ym according to wt they do. They teach yt men must be holy, or they Cannot be happy, that they should be few in words, peaceable in life, suffer wrongs, love

14 The two words "was &" are written in between the lines of the letter.

15 Originally "Heathens." Subsequently, Penn struck out the "s" and added the word "Princes."

16 Originally "they are few in words."
Ennemys, deny ymselves,\textsuperscript{17} without wch faith is false worship formality, & Religion Hipocricie; Yett they are\textsuperscript{18} an industruous People in yir Generation, & tho Agst superfluity, yett lovers of Ingenuity. It was in yir name, five of us Came to salute yee,\textsuperscript{19} who wish thou mayst have an Eye to this divine Principle of light & life in yr soul; a measure of wch is Given to yee\textsuperscript{20} & all men to profitt wth. That by it Piety, wisdome, & Charity may dwell wth yee, & thou mayst be Qualified to serve ye great mighty\textsuperscript{21} God, suitable to ye Great Oportunitys he has put into thy hands. So prays a little man, but

Thy Great Frd,

& Wellwisher

10th mo: 2-98

Wm. Penn.

NICHOLAS B. WAINWRIGHT

Historical Society of Pennsylvania

II

Peter Collinson's Letter Concerning Franklin's "Vindication"

Since Benjamin Franklin ranks exceedingly high among American writers both of the eighteenth century and of later times, some detail may be pardoned in the explication of a letter which concerns one of the more personal of Franklin's works. Also, in view of the importance of Franklin's "Vindication and Offer from Congress to Parliament," it may be worth while explaining in this detail the content of the letter which heretofore has been believed, mistakenly, to refer to this particular work.

\textsuperscript{17} "For Example sake" deleted.

\textsuperscript{18} The words "they are" were added subsequently.

\textsuperscript{19} This letter was written after two visits to Peter who, a young man of twenty-six years, was engaged at the time in a course of study which had brought him to the shipyards of Deptford. One of the four Friends who accompanied Penn was Whitehead. Although Peter was impressed by the Quakers and attended their meetings at Deptford efforts to convert him were unsuccessful.

\textsuperscript{20} Penn wrote first: "Given to all men" then he made the phrase more personal by adding "yee &."

\textsuperscript{21} "Mighty" has been inserted.
If one turns to the indexes to the major collections of Benjamin Franklin papers (in the Library of Congress, in the American Philosophical Society, and in the University of Pennsylvania) for information concerning Franklin's so-called "Vindication and Offer from Congress to Parliament," he finds but one reference (in the Calendar of the Papers of Benjamin Franklin in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania):

From P[eter] Collinson. [circa 1775]
Enjoyed his "Vindication [and offer, from Congress to Parliament]" very much; it must mortify [Chief Justice William] Allen, for it cuts him to the quick; wishes a copy sent to David Barclay, Jr.

A. L. S. 1 p.¹

Collinson's complete letter, undated, and addressed "To Ben Franklin Esqr. at Mrs. Stephenson's in Craven Street Strand," is as follows:

My Dear Friend I think you[r] Vindication is admirably well drawn up you make Mee Smile now & then with a keen back Stroke & then with a Home Thrust— It must Mortifie Allen for it cutts Him to the Quick— He has poisoned the Barclay Family— I wish you had One to Spare to send by penny post Directed to Mr. David Barclay Junior in Cheapside—
If you have them not to spare I think they Should be reprinted Here you'l find them of great Service to remove prejudices
I am [illegible word] yrs
Fryday

P Collinson ²

In assigning the date of 1775 to this Collinson letter, Mr. Boggess, and later Mrs. Witmer, inadvertently overlooked an important historical fact: that Peter Collinson died on August 11, 1768.³ Furthermore, there is nothing in the "Vindication and Offer from Congress to Parliament" which can be said to "mortifie Allen" or

¹ Calendar of the Papers of Benjamin Franklin in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania, prepared by A. C. Boggess, revised by Mrs. Lightner Witmer (Philadelphia, 1908), 402.
² From a photostat copy supplied by the Library of the University of Pennsylvania. I am deeply indebted to the University of Pennsylvania and to its Librarian, Mr. C. Seymour Thompson, for permission to print this letter.
which “cutts Him to the Quick.” The problem then arises: to what series of facts in Franklin’s life does this Collinson letter refer? If we can find in the Franklin canon a work which (a) is a vindication of some one or some thing; (b) attacks William Allen; (c) is of interest to David Barclay, Jr.; (d) was printed in America but not in England; and (e) would be of service if reprinted in England, we shall be able both to explain the content of the letter and also to date it fairly definitely.

A work of Franklin’s which fulfills all these conditions is his Remarks on a Late Protest against the Appointment of Mr. Franklin an Agent for this Province, an octavo work in seven pages, printed at Philadelphia in 1764 by B. Franklin and D. Hall. The circumstances leading to its publication were, briefly, these.

The conflict between the two parties in Pennsylvania, one in favor of retention of the proprietary form of government, the other in favor of a change to a royal province, reached a crisis in the spring of 1764, when the Assembly passed a series of resolutions, “censuring the Proprietary and petitioning the king to resume the government of the province.” William Allen (1704-1780), Chief Justice of the Province from 1750 to 1774, favored the proprietary form of colonial government, Franklin the royal. Allen and Franklin had once been friendly, having been associated on projects dealing with the defense of the western frontier, with The American Philosophical Society, and with the College of Philadelphia; Allen had also been active in furthering Franklin’s appointment as Deputy Postmaster General for America, in 1751, and had even gone so far as to volunteer posting Franklin’s bond, if any were required. But

4 Charles Evans, American Bibliography (Chicago, 1905), III. 385. That the work was not reprinted in England was probably due to Franklin’s becoming actively engaged in the Stamp Act disputes.

5 Albert Henry Smyth, “Life of Franklin,” in The Writings of Benjamin Franklin (New York, 1907), X. 216. For Franklin’s public and private utterances on the proprietary disputes, see, in addition to his “Remarks on a Late Protest,” Cool Thoughts on the Present Situation of our Public Affairs, Philadelphia, 1764, also in Smyth, IV. 226-241; Preface to the Speech of Joseph Galloway, Esq., Philadelphia, 1764, also in Smyth, IV. 315-358; and Franklin’s letters to Peter Collinson from Philadelphia, April 30, 1764 (Smyth, IV. 242-245) and September 24, 1764 (Smyth, IV. 260-261) and to William Strahan from Philadelphia, September 24, 1764 (Smyth, IV. 257-260).

6 Article on “William Allen,” Dictionary of American Biography; Allen’s letter to
from 1757 on, a bitter enmity had grown up between the two men. In the election of October, 1764, Franklin, after fourteen years' service in the Assembly, was defeated for another term by a majority of twenty-five votes in a total of 4,000. However, on October 26, 1764, by an Assembly vote of 19 to 11, Franklin was appointed an agent of the Province, to assist Richard Jackson in London in "representing, soliciting and transacting the Affairs of this Province for the ensuing Year." Of the minority opposed, ten immediately drew up and signed a protest which, when they were unable to have it entered upon the minutes, they published in the *Pennsylvania Journal* of November 1, 1764, as "A Protest presented to the House of Assembly, by the Subscribers, at the Close of the late Debate there, concerning the sending Mr. Franklin as an Assistant to our Agent, at the Court of Great Britain." The signers were: John Dickinson, David McCanaughy, John Montgomery, Isaac Saunders, George Taylor, William Allen, Thomas Willing, George Bryan, Amos Strettell, and Henry Keppele. Their protest contained seven objections to Franklin's appointment: (1) that he was the chief author of the measures in the late Assembly, which caused such uneasiness and distraction in the province; (2) that his fixed enmity to the Proprietors will prevent all settlement of the disputes with them; (3) that he was unfavorably thought of by several of his Majesty's ministers; (4) that his appointment is disagreeable to a great number of the most serious and reputable inhabitants of the province, that he was rejected at the last election after having been in the Assembly for fourteen years, that his appointment will inflame the resentments and embitter the divisions of the people in the province; (5) that the House acted far too hastily in his appointment, not allowing the members time to consult their constituents; (6) that Franklin had placed the public money of the province in stocks and caused the province to lose

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7 Franklin, in his "Remarks on a Late Protest" (Smyth, IV. 283) refers to "You, honourable Sir, (my Enemy of seven Years standing)"—who must be Allen, as his name is the only one that occurs both on the Committee there listed for auditing Franklin's accounts in 1763 and among the signers of the "Protest" to Franklin's appointment as Pennsylvania agent in London.

8 Extract from the *Journals of the House of Representatives for the Province of Pennsylvania*, October 26, 1764, quoted in Smyth, op. cit., X. 218n.

9 Paul Leicester Ford, *Franklin Bibliography* (Brooklyn, N. Y., 1889), 123.
£6,000, which, with the £5,000 granted him for his expenses on his former voyage, had cost the province £11,000, and had made his an expensive kind of agency not to be imitated; (7) that the mischiefs apprehended by his appointment can be obviated by some other assistant to Mr. Jackson, and if some gentleman of integrity, abilities and knowledge (such as Dr. Fothergill) is appointed, the signers will pay him at their own expense. The “Protest” is dated October 26, 1764.10

Franklin immediately wrote and published his Remarks on a Late Protest against the Appointment of Mr. Franklin an Agent for this Province, which was dated November 5, 1764, two days before he sailed for London. Various bits of evidence show that Franklin believed Allen was the author of the “Protest.” In his refutation in the “Remarks,” after ridiculing the minority’s pretensions to have their protest entered upon the Assembly’s minutes, Franklin answers or justifies in detail all the charges made against him.11 In particular, he indirectly charges Allen with misinforming the people about the King’s ministers’ opinion of Franklin and with speaking and writing traitorously against the King’s government in favor of the Proprietaries (and getting his writings translated into other languages, i.e., Dutch);12 he also directly charges Allen with having suppressed, after the latter’s return to Philadelphia in August, 1764, orders from the Proprietaries that might have aided in bringing about an accommodation. In addition to mentioning the Barclays, as “Friends to both Proprietaries and People,” in the text, Franklin quoted in a footnote their letter concerning Allen written from London, August 6, 1764, to Messrs. James and Drinker. Further, Franklin defends himself from the charge of stock speculation by saying that a Committee of the House, on February 19, 1763, of which Allen was one, approved his accounts, and that Allen himself [curiously enough, despite his enmity] was

10 This “Protest,” Franklin’s “Remarks” on it, and “An Answer to Mr. Franklin’s Remarks on a Late Protest,” are printed in the Appendix to Walker’s Extracts from Chief Justice Allen’s Letter Book, p. 81ff.
11 See this work in any of the standard editions of Franklin: Sparks, IV. 143-155; Bigelow, III. 336-370; Smyth, IV. 273-285.
12 That Allen is the one thus indirectly referred to is clear from Allen’s defense in a letter to David Barclay and Sons, of November 20, 1764, quoted later in this article.
the one who moved to compensate Franklin with £5,000 for his previous services in London.

That Allen felt himself attacked throughout the Remarks is clearly evident from his letter to D. Barclay and Sons, of November 20, 1764:

I took all the pains in my power to reconcile our Differences, but had not so much Success as I could wish. I have hereby drawn on me the Resentment of the contentious, particularly of the grand Incendiary, Franklin, who, the day before he left Town, published a very abusive paper, chiefly levelled against me, in which he takes Notice of a Letter of yours to Abel James, insinuating that I had been impowered by the Proprs. to settle ye Disputes between them & the People; and that I had neglected so to do; that I had wrote traiterous papers, and distributed them among the Dutch; whereas, in truth, I never wrote any paper, nor even read any of the Scurrilous Papers published on each Side, did not even go out the day of Election, nor give my Vote. The Occasion of the base fellow's Malice at this time against me, I presume, was owing to his hearing that a great many people came to consult me what part they had best act in the then ensuing Election, and that I had advised them against a Change of Government & consequently to vote against the Authors of that attempt, which he imagines was the Occasion of his losing his Election. Indeed, one of his partizans told me that if I had remained in England they would have carried their Election by 500 Votes. He has filled his papers with Sundry other infamous Falsehoods. He is so bad a man that I hope he will not receive any Countenance from honest men in England.  

In view of the foregoing facts, there can be no doubt that the letter of Peter Collinson, who since 1749 had been residing at Mill Hill in the parish of Hendon in Middlesex, concerns not Franklin's "Vindication and Offer from Congress to Parliament" but rather

13 Allen had written William Pitt, on September 25, 1764, that he had lately returned to America from England, where he had spent a twelve-month (Extracts from Chief Justice Allen's Letter Book, p. 59). Allen had returned to Philadelphia in August (Franklin's letter to Colonel Henry Bouquet of August 16, 1764, in Smyth, IV. 253).

14 Extracts, p. 63. It is interesting to note in passing that David Barclay, Jr., a London merchant and a member of the Society of Friends, and one of the sons in the firm of David Barclay & Sons (the elder David Barclay died in 1769—cf. William Allen's letter of condolence of November 7, 1769, to David and John Barclay, Extracts, p. 76) was one of those with whom Franklin worked strenuously in the winter of 1774-1775 to bring about a reconciliation between the Colonies and Great Britain. (Cf. Franklin's "An Account of Negotiations for Effecting a Reconciliation between Great Britain and the American Colonies, 1775," in Smyth, VI. 318-399).

15 William Temple Franklin, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin, III. 9n.
Franklin’s Remarks on a Late Protest against the Appointment of Mr. Franklin an Agent for this Province, and that it must have been written either late in 1764 or early in 1765, shortly after Franklin’s arrival in London on December 10, 1764.\(^\text{16}\)

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\(^{16}\text{Date of Franklin’s arrival in London is from Smyth, “Life of Franklin,” in Writings of Benjamin Franklin, X. 219. For the aftermath of the matter in Philadelphia, see William Franklin’s letter to William Strahan from Philadelphia, February 18, 1765 (Smyth, X. 219-221), in which he accuses Allen of employing “that Miscreant Parson Smith, and two or three other Prostitute Writers to asperse” his father’s character, and tells Strahan also of Hughes’ unanswered challenge to Allen to furnish proof of his charges against Franklin.}\)