Among its many manuscript treasures, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania possesses a collection of letters which passed between William Penn and Captain John Blackwell, his deputy governor of Pennsylvania. One letter in this collection is of particular significance, because it clears up an important problem in bibliography.

The colorful Captain Blackwell had a varied career in which religion, war, finance, commerce and land speculation were inextricably woven together. He had been one of Oliver Cromwell’s most ardent followers, having served as an army officer, a Treasurer for War and a Receiver General of Assessments during the Revolution. He had acquired substantial estates in Ireland, only to lose them upon the restoration of the Stuarts in 1660. In 1685, Captain Blackwell came to America, was welcomed rather enthusiastically by some of the leading personages in Massachusetts, and embarked on vast land speculations and other large-scale business ventures, apparently with the backing of important financial interests in England.

It is in connection with these activities that the bibliographical issue arises. In 1688 there was published in London a pamphlet entitled *A Model for Erecting a Bank of Credit; With a Discourse in Explanation Thereof. Adapted to the Use of any Trading Countrey, Where There is a Scarcity of Moneys: More Especially for His Majesties Plantations in America.* A Model happens to be the prototype of all proposals for the issue of paper money secured by land and commodities. It was the first systematic presentation of the case for inconvertible paper money in the colonies. Heretofore the authorship of *A Model* has been a matter of question. There exists in manuscript, however, a prospectus for a “land bank” which was being
promoted from 1686 to 1688 by outstanding figures in the Massachusetts colony. This prospectus contains substantially, and in more polished form, the arguments and material of A Model. Dated 1687, and entitled “A Discourse in Explanation of the Bank of Credit . . . ;” the prospectus is in the handwriting of Captain Blackwell, the leading promoter of the scheme.¹

Both A Model and Blackwell’s manuscript prospectus have long been known. Andrew McFarland Davis, the most thorough student of the currency literature of colonial Massachusetts, asserted in 1910 that while the “substantial authorship of the two pamphlets may be attributed to the same person” it was another matter “whether that person was Blackwell.” Davis continued, “It would seem more probable that he [Blackwell] had before him a copy of the manuscript from which the London pamphlet was printed, the material of which he rearranged and modified to suit his taste.”² But Davis apparently was unacquainted with the Pennsylvania continuation of the story, and with the solution to the mystery offered by Blackwell’s letter to Penn.

Shortly after the collapse of his “land bank” scheme in Boston, Blackwell had been appointed by Penn, then in London, as his deputy governor. Evidently failure in New England had not dampened Blackwell’s enthusiasm for his proposed “land bank,” for in a letter to Penn, dated January, 1689, Blackwell reminded the Proprietor, “I formerly imparted some things to you by way of Appendix to a small treatise I dedicated to your self touching a Bank of Credit proposed to have been Erected in New England.” The minutes of the Pennsylvania Council of the following month also indicate an interest in some such scheme. At a meeting of the Council on February 7, 1689, a petition from several Pennsylvania leaders was read, “setting forth their design in setting up a bank for money, etc., requesting encouragement from the Governor and Council for their proceeding therein. . . . The Governor [Blackwell] acquainted them that some things of that nature had been proposed and dedicated to the Proprietor [Penn] by himself some months since, out of

¹ This was printed for the first time in Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Second Series, LVIII, 62–81. It has been edited by Andrew McFarland Davis and reprinted in Colonial Currency Reprints (Boston, 1910), I, 122–146.
² Colonial Currency Reprints, I, 188.
New England. . . .”

Moreover, the captain's letter states that his treatise contained an appendix and *A Model* indeed is equipped with one. Even more important, this appendix presents material and arguments on the subject of the overvaluation of coins which are similar to those found in the letter itself. Apparently *A Model* was printed in London and sent to Blackwell in America for approval. When it arrived the appendix was probably added and some changes made in the text. This is thought to have been the case, since the appendix and some of the pages of *A Model* show signs of having been set up in America.4

One difficulty remains. The copies of *A Model* available for consultation contain no dedication. This lack of dedication, however, does not demonstrate necessarily that *A Model* was not the pamphlet referred to in Blackwell's letter and in the Pennsylvania Council minutes, for the omission may be explained by the circumstances of the time. When Blackwell wrote the pamphlet, Penn was in such good standing with James II that he was sometimes called the "Quaker Courtier," but by the time the revised pamphlet reached England James was in flight and Penn had been placed under surveillance by the authorities. In such circumstances it well may have been found convenient to omit the dedication. Although the fall of James II occurred before the date of Blackwell's letter and of the Council meeting referred to above, the news had not at that time reached Philadelphia.5

Wholly apart from this bibliographic issue, Blackwell's letter has an intrinsic value. It is, of course, of considerable interest to students of colonial history in general, and in particular to students of colonial monetary history and theory. It also helps to show that the struggle over paper money and other monetary devices, in the colonial period, was less a contest between "poor farmers" and "rich mer-

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3 Entry of 7th day, 12th month, 1688-1689 (Feb. 7, 1689), Minutes of the Provincial Council, Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, I, 236.


5 See entry 24th day of the twelfth month, 1688-89 (Feb. 24, 1689), minutes of the Provincial Council, Colonial Records, I, 246.
chants,” than one within the financial groups themselves.\(^6\) The following excerpt reproduces the portion of the letter which deals with the money issue and contains the pertinent references to *A Model:*

Some things also I have Sr to observe unto you, as necessary to be considered & remedied touching trade & Comerce. I say necessary, for that otherwise I can not expect the blessing of God upon this Province in the prosperity & trade of it. One is the excessive extortion (I can call it no otherwise) wherewith the poorer sort of people are oppressed by the wealthier traders; and those againe ruined in Gods righteous judgmet & retaliation upon them, imparing their estates unavoidably by ye same meanes. The ground whereof is laysd in the altering the rates & values of coynes from the king's standard; w'ch seems to be a paradox & little understood or credited by most men in these American parts of his maties plantations & Dominions, & is all occasioned by a fundamentall error imbibed, vizt. That the raising of the values of Coynes brings & keeps in moneys amongst them. Touching this, I formerly imparted some things to you by way of Appendix to a small treatise I dedicated to your self touching a Bank of Credit proposed to have been Erected in New England. But I shall herin take leave to offer some more particular notices touching the same thing as it does more immediatly relate to your owne Province; and my observations of persons & things here since by arrivall. I shall be as brief as I can & Express mysefle with all playnesse humility deference & submission to your greater wisdome & knowledge of this people and their circumstances. Sr. All imported commodityes are here at a very Excessive rate, vizt. at least three for one of the first cost in England, and in some cases fower, to the poorer sort of people who can buy no otherwise than at the worst hand; and the reason given is, The different values from his Matys standard at which the severall species of moneys are denominated that passe here; some whereof are allowed by Law; & others passe customarily in trading as necessary to be incouraged, for that else no money at all is to be Expected. That wch passes by Law, is, all English Coyne at the advance of about one fowerth part more in denomination than in England; and all Spanish moneys after the rate of 6s a peece of Eight,—Supposed to conteyne the weight at which they are coyney. But suspecting, you finding this not to be sufficient to encourage (I might say the clipping, as well as) the bringing in such species; His Matyes Coyne which is not to be impared by clipping &c as the other, yet passes for no more than as aforesayd, wheras all the other species though they want in weight (through clipping &c.) ordinarily 18d in each peece of Eight, (\& so proportionably the halfe & quarter peeces) passe as if of full weight, so that all the Current-money of this Province (for here is little if any of his Matyes Coynes) is advanced in denomination to double it's intrinsique value. By this one step, the imediate importer of Goods from England justly rayses his challenge to double the first cost there vizt. 100£ worth of Goods, to 200£; and it's customary to advance at least 50 p cent more on each 100£ so raysed, for the charges-hazard & gains Expected by the merchant importer; which brings it to 300£. The goods thus sold to the Shop keeper or Retayler, he scruples not againe to advance them after the rate of another 100£ for his gaine: so that what costs 12d in London the poore people pay

\(^6\) This theme is developed in the author's *The Economic Mind in American Civilization,* to be published in the fall by the Viking Press.
4s for here (if they can get money to buy it with all) Even for their Linnef, Woollen, hatts, or what other commodities are necessary for them. Wch for Explanation I shall Expresse by one Instance, known to me, and that is in paper. That which I buy in England for 4s, 6d or 5s at most p Reame, costs here 20s wch also I will buy at Boston, for 10s. It may be sayd, then surely the shop keepers & merchants (who are the great improvers of the Lands) must thrive. Not so. For ye labourer artificer &c consumes them by 4 fold wages at least to what's payd in England; yea, in some cases, of whats payd in New England: concerning which, please to take one instance, vizt. The sawers of the timber brought to their pitt: whereas the price of such boards in Boston, bought thither by shipping from the Eastern parts of New England, is frequently no more that 25s p thousand, & some times 20s. And this concerns all builders and dreyms away their species; (for, some part must be payd in money; else imported goods can not be had. But this, Sr, does not only affect the poore, the merchant Importers, & Improvers, but your self as Proprietor, highly; for, either yor Rents are payd in money or provisions: and Either way you must Expect to lose one halfe (according to the English value or standard; for so the provisions are sould & rated according to the moneys Current here) whereas, I suppose the Contracts you made in England for your quitrents (and I see no reason for varying upon those made here) were proposed to be according to the sterling money of the King; which you will find steales in upon you, and will rise or fall according to the Currency of Coyne passing here. And when you make your residence here, and have occasion to use quantityes of any sort of imported goods, to be payd for by such species so enhansed, Your noble (according to the proverb) will soon become reduced to nine pence: and so 'twill be with your whole Province, till it come not to be worth a groat, pardon the Expression. Sr. This is not righteous: This is not encouraging to planters to improve the Contrey, no nor to others to come hither. This encourages vile persons to clip all those species of money, before they come hither, and others to do it here, (if there be any who have skill therin) upon this erronious apprehension, that, whilst they embase it, not below it's currency, they wrong no body! Poore Pensilvania! But besides Sr. this is a great dishonor to the King, vizt. That the Coyns of other Princes are preferrd in price & Estimation to his Matyes. It impoverishes his Subjects in America to the Enriching that Princes subjects who practice thus upon his Matyess, and is an abominable invention, if it can be fastend on any who professe to walk by principles of justice; Especially to be more just and circumspect than other men, as the Planters of all his Matyess Territoryes from the East of N. England to the West of this Province, have been famed. 'Tis so, take it at the best. O what's become Sr of the spirit of the old puritanes of England, who made it a case of conscience in London (within my memory) whether they might lawfully and with a good conscience receive above one penny in the shilling proffit in their tradings. I hope I do not offend: I have sayd as much in New England amongst the traders there, where 'tis not altogether so bad, though tis highly covetous (even to Extortion) for which God charged his people of old and tould us in the New testament, tis Idolatry. As to the cure of this evill, I suggested that which I conceive sufficient, in my fore-mentioned Appendix: So I will not enlarge herin to your further trouble. . . .

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II

Some Recent Accessions

Upon the opening of Parliament on Tuesday, December 5, 1782, the Lord Chancellor, reading the speech from the throne which customarily inaugurated each new session, informed the Lords and Commons assembled that provisional articles of peace agreeing to independence for the American colonies had been drawn up. These would become effective upon the conclusion of peace terms with France.

George III’s address, while reporting the facts, adopted a curiously detached attitude to the whole affair, and evinced considerable pessimism about the results both for Great Britain and for the United States of America. The king stated:

In thus admitting their separation from the Crown of these Kingdoms, I have sacrificed every Consideration of My own, to the Wishes and Opinion of My People. I make My humble and earnest Prayer to Almighty God, that Great Britain may not feel the Evils which might result from so great a Dismemberment of the Empire; and that America may be free from those Calamities, which have formerly proved in the Mother Country how essential Monarchy is to the Enjoyment of Constitutional Liberty.—Religion—Language—Interest—Affections may, and I hope will yet prove a Bond of permanent Union between the Two Countries.

Clearly neither George nor his ministers expected anything but the worst.

That all those attending Parliament were not wholly in accord with the ministerial position as set forth in the king’s speech is abundantly demonstrated by the reports of the debates in Lords and Commons. Once the fanfare incident upon the formal opening of a parliamentary session was over, both Houses applied themselves to a discussion of the speech, and to a consideration of the reply each House would make thereto. The ending of the American war and the granting of independence to the American colonies were not, of course, the only items debated, but they were responsible for most of the verbal pyrotechnics. Opinion varied from that of the ultra-

1 Parliament was originally summoned for November 25, but “on account of the critical state of the pending negociations for peace,” the commencement of this session was postponed for ten days.
This speech of George III presents the first official British recognition of American independence.
conservative Lord Stormont—who opposed independence, if granted "without possibility of retraction," since such action was without historical precedent—to the liberal sentiments expressed by Fox and Burke, both of whom took exception to the grudging manner of the announcement of that independence—an accomplished fact which it was not possible "to check or overturn." In the end, of course, all parties in both Houses settled down to vote *nemine contradicente* their approval of the ministerial actions as reported in the speech from the throne.

George III's speech was printed for public consumption by Charles Eyre and William Strahan, Printers to the King, and issued in 1782. Curiously enough, this four-page leaflet which embodies the first official recognition of independence for the United States seems to have survived in only one copy. Perhaps the fact that the text was readily available in the *Annual Register*, or in the *Journal of the House of Lords* made the official edition appear less noteworthy. In any event it seems to have been neglected by contemporary collectors and antiquarians alike. No copy of the Eyre and Strahan issue is recorded in Sabin or Church, and it is altogether possible that the one recently purchased by the Gilpin Library of The Historical Society is unique.

"Altho' a large standing Army in time of Peace hath ever been considered dangerous to the liberties of a Country, yet a few Troops, under certain circumstances are not only safe, but indescribably necessary," so wrote Washington in the spring of 1783. The Americans having raised an army, fought and won a war, were then considering the problems of returning the majority of their citizen-soldiers to civilian life as rapidly and as painlessly as possible, and of deciding how much and what sort of permanent military establishment should be retained. In making their plans it was natural that the authorities should follow English precedent. This in turn led them to accept British prejudice against a standing army of any size. As a result the Continental Army was promptly disbanded, except for a small group of soldiers retained for guard duty at West Point and Fort Pitt.

The impracticality of this arrangement soon became evident. Troops responsible to a central authority were necessary if frontiers were to be defended, and public lands surveyed and protected from unauthorized intrusion. To further these ends, Congress passed resolves permitting the recruiting of additional regiments October 20, 1784, and October 3, 1787. Two years later, when the Articles of Confederation had given place to the Constitution, Washington asked the Senate to legalize this infant army; and in accordance with his request an Act was passed September 28, 1789, to regulate the military establishment of the United States.

Imperfections in the original plan appeared as time went on, and new acts were promulgated to correct the defects which the tumultuous experiences of the Indian Wars and the Whiskey Rebellion brought to public notice. One of these general revisions of the regulations governing the Army took place in 1796. The Society has recently purchased a copy of the resultant Act, entitled an Act to Ascertaining and Fix the Military Establishment of the United States. This Act was approved by Washington, May 30, 1796, and printed by Francis Childs in the same year. According to the terms of the Act the Army of the United States was to consist of a corps of artillerists and engineers, two companies of light dragoons, and four regiments of infantry of eight companies each. Regulations for recruiting the Army, the bounty to be offered for enlisting, and the penalties for desertion were set up; the amounts of clothing, rations, and pay to be issued the men of each grade were specified; and pensions provided for the disabled. The Army was to be governed by the Articles of War and to swear "true allegiance" to the United States. To the twentieth-century reader, accustomed to thinking in terms of a global war, the provisions of this Act will wear a Lilliputian look. Yet the thoughtful reader will quickly see that if the scale is different, the fundamental problems of raising, equipping, and training an army have varied little.

Purchases at the Gribbel sale added four items to the Penn materials in the Society's possession. The most interesting of the three manuscript items is a two-page letter written by William Penn to
Sir David Fleming on November 6, 1686. Penn, always concerned over the persecution of the Quakers, wrote requesting Fleming, an ardent supporter of the Church of England and an inflexible opponent of all dissenters, to stop proceedings under the Conventicle Acts against Westmoreland Friends, pending instructions from London. The Lord Treasurer had promised relief to the sufferers of Salisbury and the restoration of their confiscated goods, and Penn instancing this official support remarked, "I dare venture to say, that the King is avers to such troublesome work, and that those Justices that discourage it are more gratefull to him than those that forment it."

A three-page letter, dated 27th 10th 1703, from Hannah Penn at Worminghurst to William Penn in Hyde Park lodgings contains a wifely budget of domestic news and a rehearsal of money difficulties. The third document, a warrant signed by Richard Penn, July 23, 1773, authorized the survey of three hundred acres of land in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, to John Holiday.

A copy of the broadside issued by Queen Mary, July 14, 1690, for the arrest of William Penn and of eighteen others suspected of treasonable activity in connection with the rebellion in Ireland was also acquired. This broadside marked Penn's third arrest by William and Mary on similar charges. As on the earlier occasions, however, Penn's plea of innocence was heard and accepted. His acquittal followed in November of the same year.

In 1700 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts sent Evan Evans to Philadelphia as the second rector of Christ Church. Evans was a capable man and a very persuasive preacher. Within three years he not only was caring for the Philadelphia church, but looking after the welfare of the faithful in Chester, Chichester, Maidenhead, Concord, and Radnor as well. As he himself remarked with considerable justice, even with the assistance subsequently granted, he "was obliged to an Uncomon Application & Labour in the supply of my Cure in all its Branches." Evans proselytized successfully among the Welsh, whom he considered "not irrecoverable" to the Church of England, and among the Quakers
generally. He was responsible in large measure for the building of the churches at Oxford, Newcastle, and Chester. In view of this record, one may assume that his report on "The State of the Church in Pennsylvania, most humbly Offered to the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" received the careful attention of the directing officers of that organization. This report, covering nine closely-written pages, and dated from London, September 18, 1707, was evidently prepared during the rector's visit to England in that year.

Evans' manuscript, recently purchased by The Historical Society, is but one of many similar reports regularly sent by the SPG missionaries to the Society in London. Reciting the work done and to be done, recommending new avenues of endeavor, complaining of opposition encountered, and relating triumphs scored, these reports are full of information for the social historian. The state of the Church and the religious climate generally receive the fullest treatment, of course, but many more subjects are covered as well—manners and morals, education, and by implication at least, immigration, settlement, race relations, and trade.

M. L. B.