

The Penn Collection

AS A young man, William Penn fell heir to the papers of his distinguished father, Admiral Sir William Penn. This collection, the foundation of the family archives, Penn carefully preserved. To it he added records of his own, which, with the passage of time, constituted a large accumulation.

Just before his second visit to his colony, Penn sought to put the most pertinent of his American papers in order. James Logan, his new secretary, and Mark Swanner, a clerk, assisted in the preparation of an index entitled "An Alphabetical Catalogue of Pennsylvania Letters, Papers and Affairs, 1699." Opposite a letter and a number in this index was entered the identifying endorsement docketed on the original manuscript, and, to correspond with this entry, the letter and number in the index was added to the endorsement on the original document. When completed, the index filled a volume of about one hundred pages.¹

Although this effort showed order and neatness, William Penn's papers were carelessly kept in the years that followed. The Penn family made a number of moves; Penn was incapacitated and died after a long illness; from time to time, business agents pawed through the collection. Very likely, many manuscripts were taken away for special purposes and never returned. During this period, the papers were in the custody of Penn's wife; after her death in 1726, they passed to her eldest son, John Penn, the principal proprietor of Pennsylvania.

In Philadelphia, there was another collection of Penn deeds, real estate maps, political papers, and correspondence. When Thomas Penn, John's younger brother, came over to the colony in 1732, he rented Samuel Powel's large house on Second Street and moved

¹ Thomas Penn to William Peters, Jan. 14, 1758; Penn to Richard Peters, Apr. 8, 1758, Penn Letter Book, V, 274-275, 300. "Richard How's affirmation to prove the alphabetical catalogue of the old Propr. William Penn's Papers," Chew Papers. Unless otherwise cited, all sources are in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP).

these records into his office there. In this office, which he called his "closet," he installed special furniture. From cabinetmaker George Claypoole he purchased in 1735 "a case with 48 holes of walnut for papers." These were the "pidgeon holes" to which he directed his agents in future years when they needed certain documents. Other manuscripts were kept in a press, "a case with foulding dores of walnut for papers," which Claypoole made for Penn in 1736.²

When the proprietor returned to London in 1741, temporarily as he thought but permanently as it was to prove, he left nearly all his papers in his closet, where they could be supervised by the succession of Pennsylvania governors who were to use the house as their residence. There they remained until the disastrous administration of the eccentric and unfaithful Governor William Denny, when, in 1760, Penn's trusted servants removed them for safekeeping.³ Cared for by Edmund Physick, whose work as a Penn agent covered a fifty-year span, most of these records later came to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

In London, Thomas Penn replaced his older brother in the management of Pennsylvania affairs. John did not have Thomas' drive and business ability. Moreover, he preferred a quiet life in the country, possibly because his health was failing. Before long, the family papers were in Thomas Penn's custody.

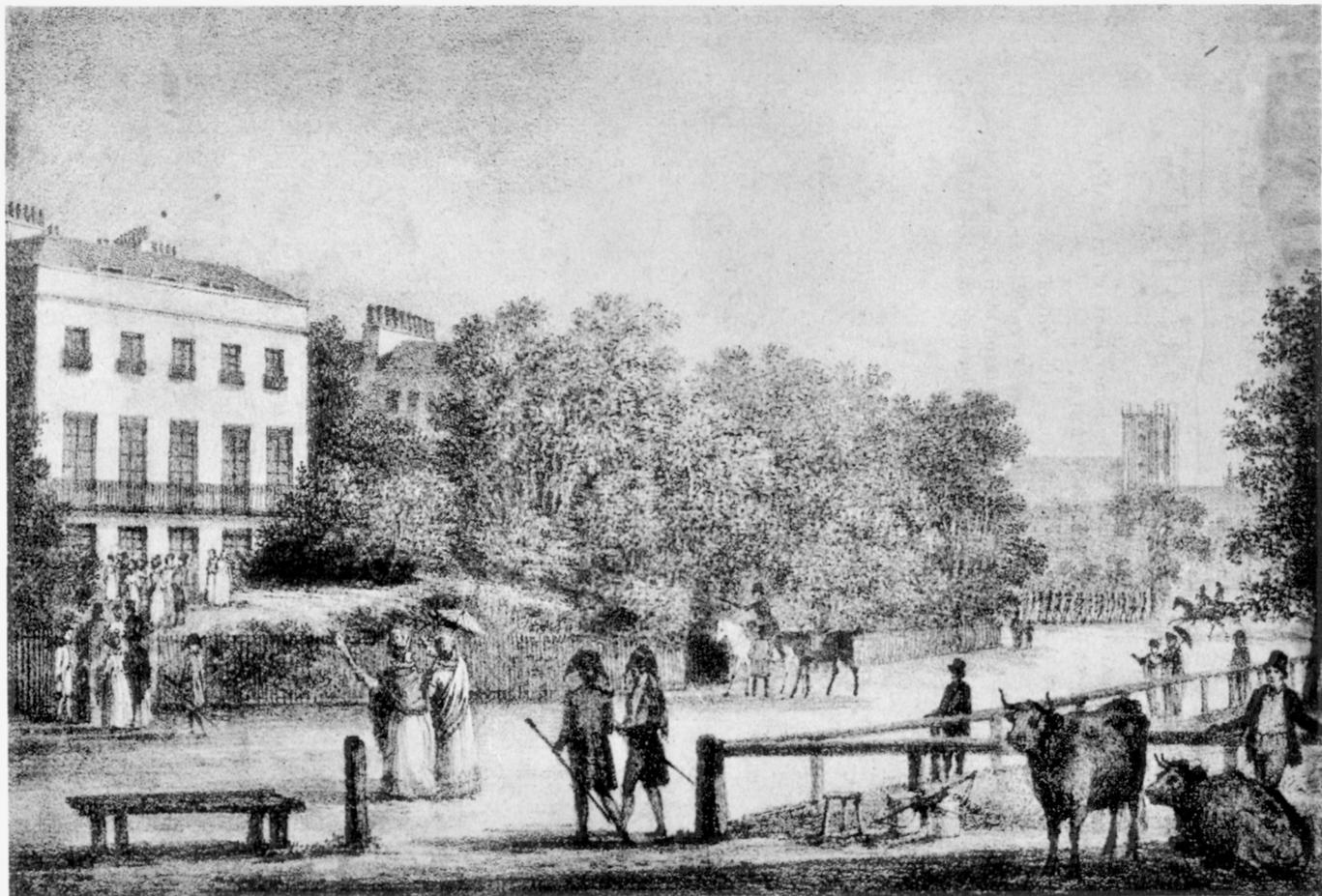
Under his management, they were meticulously arranged. An example of the importance he attached to proper archival procedure is expressed in his letter of March 1, 1744, to his Philadelphia agent Richard Peters: "A copy of Chamber's grant I left in my pidgeon holes, but I must strictly charge you when you take any paper out to leave a ticket in its place and return it when copyed that they may not be lost. If you suffer yourself to do any business in a hurry, I fear many of my papers may be mislaid, which will give mee great uneasiness, as I think it one of our greatest misfortunes to have had our papers very ill kept at first."⁴

Thomas Penn tried on many occasions to fill in gaps. Typical of such efforts is his letter of May 9, 1744, again to Richard Peters:

² Bills of George Claypoole to Thomas Penn, Penn-Physick-Justice Collection.

³ Penn to Richard Hockley, Jan. 10, 1761; Penn to Richard Peters, Dec. 12, 1761, Penn Letter Book, VI, 362; VII, 86.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 112.



10 NEW STREET, SPRING GARDENS, LONDON
"The Old Proprietary House," built by Thomas Penn



THOMAS PENN AND HIS FAMILY IN FRONT OF STOKE HOUSE
Engraved after a painting by H. Pugh, *c.* 1765

"I desire you will enquire of the representatives of Thomas Holme for any letters of my father to him, and send them to me."⁵ Not only did Penn collect documents, he insisted that his agents send him all printed matter of interest, including maps and views.⁶ They complied by shipping box after box filled with broadsides, pamphlets, books, and newspapers. This material, added to similar printed works gathered by William Penn, soon constituted one of the most important libraries of Americana in England.

When John Penn died in 1746, he left his half interest in the proprietorship to Thomas Penn, who then became possessed of three quarters of the whole, the remaining quarter belonging to his younger brother, Richard Penn. With his fortune thus increased, Thomas moved from London lodgings to a house on New Street, Spring Gardens.⁷ It was to this residence that the forty-nine-year-old proprietor brought his young bride, the Lady Juliana, in 1751.

Ever conscious of the security of his records, Penn wrote Richard Peters: "I have laid out about three thousand pounds in a house I built chiefly to have a strong room to keep the papers of my family in, which much concern the Province."⁸ Presumably, this house was an enlargement to the New Street property, for it was there that Penn seems to have conducted his business, which he could not have done had the papers been elsewhere. There he wrote letters of interminable length to Pennsylvania officials, letters which James Aiskell, his secretary,⁹ carefully copied into letter books. Aiskell neatly ordered and filed Penn's voluminous incoming correspondence. Occasionally, masses of documents to do with that never-ending chancery case, *Penn v. Baltimore*, were received from the family lawyers, Ferdinando John Paris and Henry Wilmot, to be added to the archives. From time to time, others were withdrawn and sent to America. Governor James Hamilton, for example, has left an affidavit that he called on Thomas Penn in August, 1759, to receive

⁵ *Ibid.*, 91.

⁶ Penn to Richard Peters, Apr. 12, 1759, and Dec. 10, 1762, *ibid.*, VI, 75; VII, 234.

⁷ Penn Papers, Private Correspondence, III, 81, 87.

⁸ Oct. 6, 1755, Penn Letter Book, IV, 165-166.

⁹ Aiskell, a boy from Christ's Hospital, was bound to Penn for seven years in 1744 to learn bookkeeping. Penn sent him for this purpose to Richard Peters in Philadelphia. In 1750, Aiskell returned to London and entered Penn's service. Penn to Richard Peters, Feb. 9, 1743/44, and May 30, 1750, Penn Letter Book, II, 80, 315.

eight letters addressed in the 1680's to William Penn by William Markham and Thomas Holme. Hamilton brought these letters to Philadelphia, where they helped prove that a certain Indian treaty had taken place in 1686, a fact which Penn's enemies had challenged.¹⁰

When not engrossed in the affairs of his province, Penn vacationed with his family in the summer and fall of the year at attractive places in the country. At length, having grown wealthy, he purchased in 1760 a historic manor at Stoke Poges, four miles from Windsor. Its impressive baronial hall, Stoke House, had been built by the Earl of Huntingdon in 1555, and had come into the ownership of Queen Elizabeth's favorite, Sir Christopher Hatton, lord high chancellor of England. Tradition has it that Elizabeth visited Stoke, where one of the state chambers was decorated with her cipher.

Before 1600, the manor passed to the famous Sir Edward Coke, chief justice of England, who had married into Sir Christopher's family. On Sir Edward's death at Stoke House in 1634, it became the property of his son-in-law, Viscount Purbeck, Baron of Stoke. In 1647, the unfortunate Charles I spent some days there as a prisoner of war.

A century and several ownerships later, when the place was owned by Lord Cobham, the poet Thomas Gray was living about a mile away at West End House. There, in 1750, he wrote his "Elegy in a Country Churchyard," Stoke Poges churchyard, as it has been popularly supposed. Also, in 1750, Gray wrote "A Long Story," which described Stoke House with reminiscences of Sir Christopher Hatton's time.

In Britain's isle, no matter where,
An ancient pile of building stands:
The Huntingdons and Hattons there
Employ'd the pow'r of fairy hands.

To raise the ceilings' fretted height,
Each pannel in achievements clothing,
Rich windows that exclude the light,
And passages that lead to nothing.

Full oft within the spacious walls,
When he had fifty winters o'er him,
My grave Lord Keeper led the brawls:
The seals and maces danc'd before him.

¹⁰ Chew Papers, Cliveden.

His bushy beard, and shoe-strings green,
 His high-crown'd hat, and sattin doublet,
 Mov'd the stout heart of England's Queen,
 Though Pope and Spaniard could not trouble it.¹¹

Thomas Penn rejoiced in this noble place. "It is a very large old house," he wrote to Governor James Hamilton. "I thank you for your congratulations on my purchase. I found it [a] very agreeable as well as convenient place. There is a park that maintains one hundred & fifty head of deer."¹² Penn had a painting made of himself and family in the deer park, with Stoke House looming hugely in the distant background and the spire of Stoke Poges Church in the middle distance.¹³

Although the Penn papers were never kept at Stoke House, it furnished a magnificent setting for an accumulating collection of family portraits by England's best-known artists, and of busts, pastels, and miniatures of various Penns and their marital connections. Pennsylvania was well represented by portraits of James Logan and other Philadelphia notables, by engraved views and maps, and by memorabilia—beaver skins, arrows, belts of wampum, and the portraits of the Delaware chiefs Lapowinsa and Tishcohan, which Gustavus Hesselius painted for Thomas' brother John in 1735. So great was Penn's regard for Stoke that in his will he described himself as Thomas Penn of Stoke House, and when he died in 1775 he was buried at Stoke Poges Church, where the poet Gray had preceded him by four years.

To his widow, Penn left a life tenancy in the New Street house, the Stoke property going directly to his fifteen-year-old heir, John Penn. During the following years, John saw but little of Stoke. He resided on the Continent while the Revolution was in progress, and, after peace had been declared, came to Philadelphia in 1783 to salvage his shattered interests. By an act of 1779, the Pennsylvania legislature had divested the Penns of their proprietary rights, leaving them only lands that had been surveyed for them, or which were held in the manors they had laid out. John Penn calculated that this act deprived his family of more than twenty-one million

¹¹ Data on Stoke House has been taken from [John Penn], *An Historical and Descriptive Account of Stoke Park in Buckinghamshire* (London, 1813).

¹² Penn to Hamilton, Oct. 18, 1760, and May 6, 1761, Penn Letter Book, VI, 310; VII, 28.

¹³ This painting was evidently destroyed in the Tempsford Hall fire of 1898.

acres.¹⁴ By way of recompense, the Commonwealth voted £130,000, of which, in due course, John received three quarters, the other quarter going to the heir of his Uncle Richard. Returning to England in 1789, he soon found his income bolstered by three fourths of a £4,000 annual pension awarded to his family by Parliament in recognition of the Penns' American losses.

Secure in the enjoyment of much of Thomas Penn's personal fortune, with money coming in from the sale of Pennsylvania real estate, from the Pennsylvania legislature, and from the Parliamentary pension, John Penn felt rich, and he behaved accordingly. Stoke House being much out of repair, he used its condition in 1789 as an excuse to demolish it, except for one romantic wing, and to build nearby an enormous mansion, which he called Stoke Park. Money was lavished on the grounds, and memorials were erected to his mother, who died in 1801, to the poet Gray, whose works and manuscripts he avidly collected, and to Sir Edward Coke, whose ghost was said to haunt the old house. The Stoke Park library being only eighty feet long, Penn enlarged the house in 1804, thereby increasing the length of the library by another fifty feet. He employed a librarian to care for the books which filled this vast space.

The master of Stoke was proud of his family's Pennsylvania accomplishments. He intended to memorialize them in a "Pennsylvania Hall" to be installed in his mansion, but this project was never completed.¹⁵ Even without it, the place nearly overwhelmed the few Pennsylvanians who were received there. John Jay Smith of Germantown has left the following description.

One felt assured, on passing into the great entrance-hall beneath a funereal hatchment in memory of the late proprietor, that he was not entering a house of consistent Quakers, for one of the first objects was a pair of small brass cannon, taken by Admiral Penn in his Dutch wars, elegantly mounted and polished; and near by, opening on the left, was a fine billiard-room. . . .

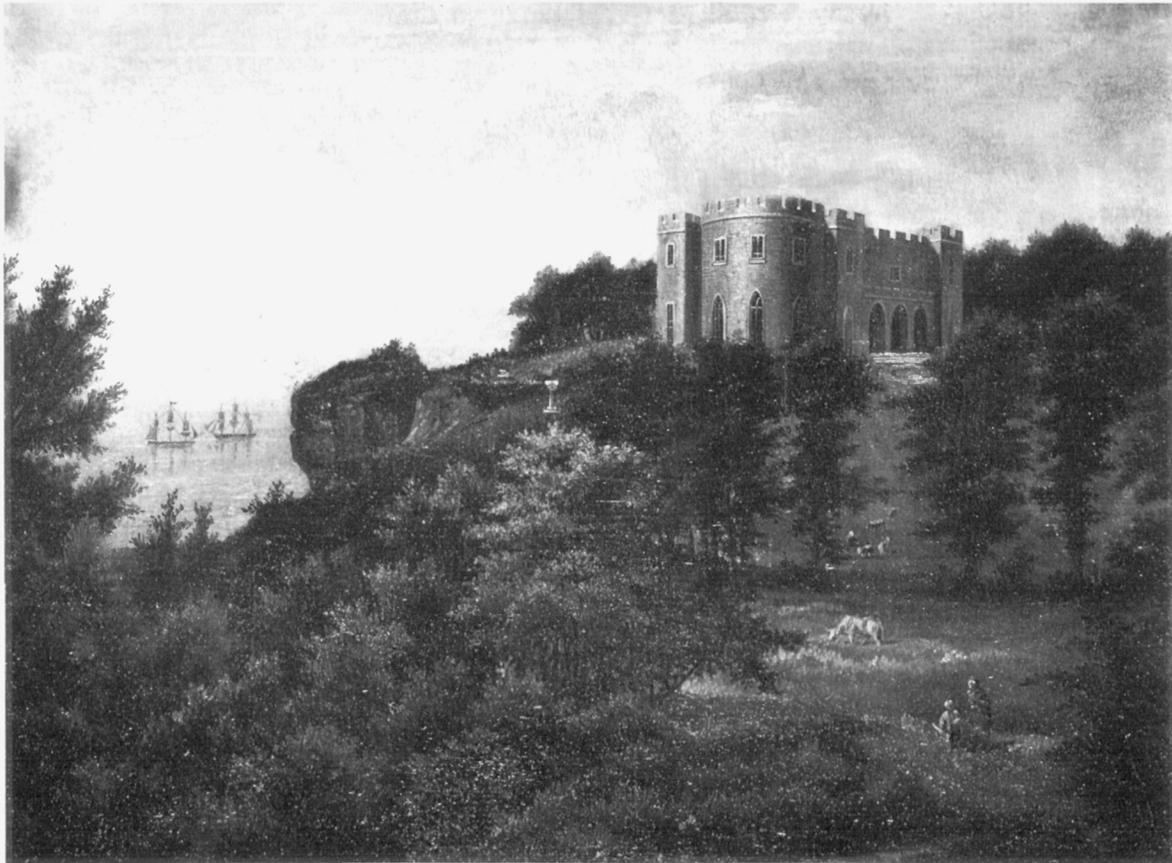
The house was not wanting in memorials of Pennsylvania, a large portion of the Treaty Tree, sent by some members of the Historical Society, with a silver label on it, ornamenting the grand drawingroom of the second story, which was reached by a superb and rather fatiguing marble staircase.

¹⁴ Howard M. Jenkins, *The Family of William Penn* (Philadelphia, 1899), 125.

¹⁵ John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1844), I, 125.



STOKE PARK
Residence of John Penn



The Historical Society of Pennsylvania

PENNSYLVANIA CASTLE, ISLE OF PORTLAND, DORSET

Built by John Penn, *c.* 1803

Oil painting by Edwin B. Bensell, 1867

The birds of Pennsylvania, too, were represented in elegant glass cases, together with Indian relics, and a finely-preserved beaver, which animal was once the annual tribute of the Penns to the Crown.¹⁶

John Penn led a pleasant literary life and conducted a salon at his New Street house. In addition to Solitude near Philadelphia and to Stoke Park, he built a picturesque castle—Pennsylvania Castle—on the Island of Portland in Dorset. He served as a member of Parliament, as governor of Portland, and as a lieutenant colonel in the Royal Bucks Yeomanry. His portrait was painted successively by Reynolds, Romney, Pine, Copley and Sir William Beechey. All in all, as a collector of books and objects of art, and as a builder of great houses, he led the life of a virtuoso, and he led it too expensively.

Penn treated the payments from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and the proceeds of sales of Pennsylvania land as income rather than capital. When the first of these sources came to an end and the other declined to purely nominal size, he was without adequate funds to maintain his extensive properties. As a consequence, he resorted to borrowing. Under John Penn the decline of the family fortunes was firmly charted.

If the family money was running out, the family papers at least were jealously guarded. Soon after Stoke Park was built, John Penn moved them there. When his Philadelphia agent, John R. Coates, came to Stoke in 1804, Coates found them "in fine preservation, all regularly filed and endorsed." Some relation had asked for the privilege of using them for historical purposes, but Penn had refused, asserting that he proposed to embark on a similar project.¹⁷ Coates took back to Philadelphia a trunkload of the most valuable Pennsylvania and Delaware title papers, including the original royal charters. He left a receipt promising their return, but never sent them back.

John Penn was hospitable to visiting Philadelphians, although embittered by his experience with Coates. Joshua Francis Fisher, a studious young member of the Historical Society, called on him at New Street in 1831. "On my application to him," wrote Fisher, "he

¹⁶ John Jay Smith's visit was in 1845, eleven years after John Penn's death. John Jay Smith, "The Penn Family," *Lippincott's Magazine*, V (1870), 153-154. See also *Recollections of John Jay Smith* (Philadelphia, 1892), 177-184.

¹⁷ Watson, I, 125.

immediately sent for from Stoke Poges a box of manuscripts, of which the shortness of my time prevented my making the best use."¹⁸ Unlike Coates, Fisher was far from impressed with the condition of the papers: "The Penn family, I fear, have not been careful enough of their papers from the extraordinary disorder in which some of them were exhibited to me in the year 1831."¹⁹

Some family possessions passed in John Penn's time to his sister Sophia, who married William Stuart in 1796. Stuart, a son of John, Earl of Bute, prime minister in pre-Revolutionary days, became Archbishop of Armagh, and, as such, Anglican Primate of All Ireland. The Stuarts' Penn relics were inherited by their children, Mary Juliana, who married the Earl of Ranfurly, and William Stuart, Jr. (1798-1874). All the rest went on the death of bachelor John Penn to his brother Granville.

Granville Penn, a noted and prolific writer on theological subjects, took up residence at Stoke Park, and also maintained the New Street house and Pennsylvania Castle. He was the father of nine children, only one of whom married—Sophia, first wife of Field Marshal Sir William Gomm—and she died without issue. Of his three sons, one suffered from hallucinations, and another, the Reverend Thomas Gordon Penn, the final survivor of the family, died a lunatic. Only his oldest son, Granville John Penn, a highly educated, warmhearted gentleman, held forth much promise as head of the family, but poor Granville John was utterly without talent for preserving any part of the Penn fortune. With the other side of the family, the descendants of Richard Penn, either not marrying or not having children, the Penn family was bent on extinguishing itself.

Granville Penn was the last Penn to live and die amid scenes of grandeur and inherited wealth, and he was the first of the family to be a patron of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. In 1833, he presented the highly prized portrait of William Penn in armor. "I shall send you," he wrote, "a very perfect portrait of William Penn, your Founder and my Grandfather, painted when he was at the age of twenty-two years. As we have in our family duplicates of this portrait, I have long been desirous of depositing one of them in the

¹⁸ J. Francis Fisher, "Inedited Letters of William Penn, Copied in London . . .," *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1834), III, 284.

¹⁹ J. Francis Fisher to W. Hepworth Dixon, May 21, 1851 transcript in the Albert Cook Myers Collection, Chester County Historical Society.

city which owes its origin and existence to him."²⁰ A few months after his brother's death in 1834, when he became owner of Stoke, Granville Penn drew on its contents to send the Society the two Indian portraits by Hesselius, a portrait of Governor Patrick Gordon, and other Penn memorabilia. Moreover, he tried to obtain for it the blue sash which William Penn was said to have worn at the fabled Shackamaxon Indian treaty of 1682, but its owner would not give it up.²¹

Granville Penn was more generous with the family papers than his brother John had been. His literary cousin Richard Penn asked to see them, as he wanted to write a biography of William Penn. Granville was most obliging. He set aside a room at Stoke for Richard's purpose, and into it the librarian brought "huge trunks and drawers" of the Founder's manuscripts. Unfortunately, this was too much for Richard; after gazing at the monstrous quantity of the raw materials available for his study, he gave it up in despair.²²

As a historian, Granville Penn showed more determination than Cousin Richard, for Granville used the collection as the primary source for his two-volume biography of Admiral Sir William Penn, which was published in 1833.²³ His interest in the family manuscripts led him to abstract a group of the Admiral's and the Quaker's most interesting letters. These he mounted in a magnificently bound book bearing his armorial bookplate and name, "Granville Penn Esqr, Stoke Park, Bucks." Later, Penn is said to have given this collection to a cousin, together with the original manuscript of William Penn's Irish journal and miniatures of Sir William Penn and his wife.²⁴

²⁰ William Sawitzky, *Catalogue Descriptive and Critical of the Paintings and Miniatures in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1942), 126-127. In addition to Granville Penn's copy, his brother John owned one—the Pennsylvania Castle copy—and his sister Mrs. Stuart evidently owned one—the Tempsford Hall copy. These paintings were made in the latter part of the eighteenth century, presumably at the order of Thomas Penn, and were based on an original, possibly a miniature, which has vanished.

²¹ Hampton L. Carson, *A History of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1940), I, 137. In 1841, Granville Penn presented to the Society a letter written by William Penn to the "Zarr of Muscovy" in 1698. Nicholas B. Wainwright, "The History of a Letter," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (PMHB), LXVI (1942), 94-99.

²² *Lippincott's Magazine*, V, 160-161.

²³ Granville Penn, *Memorials of the Professional Life and Times of Sir William Penn* (London, 1833).

²⁴ One wonders whether this gift was not actually made by Granville John Penn rather than by Granville Penn. The identity of the cousin poses an interesting question. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, *Catalogue of Autograph Letters and Historical Documents* (London, 1901).

When Granville Penn died in 1844, his son Granville John Penn inherited an estate which he could not afford to maintain. Consequently, Stoke Park was put in thorough repair and offered for rent. The "Old Proprietary House," as the New Street mansion was called, became the home of Mrs. Granville Penn and her daughters. West End House at Stoke, the former home of Thomas Gray, had been purchased a few years earlier. This place Granville John greatly enlarged in Elizabethan style for his own residence. Because of the enclosed courtyard, which he built in front of the house, he renamed it Stoke Court.²⁵

In vacating Stoke Park, Granville John Penn moved most of the family papers as well as a great volume of other valuables to a fire-proof room at the Pantechnicon, a London storage house. The rest of Stoke Park's treasures, its paintings, books, and relics, went to Stoke Court. And now began the wringing out process that was to divest the Penns of virtually all their possessions. This sad course was heralded by the sale of their most valuable property, Stoke Park, which was purchased in 1848 by Henry Labouchere, a cabinet minister who was later created Baron Taunton.²⁶

Like his predecessors, Penn had to contend with people who wanted to study the family papers. William Hepworth Dixon, who was writing his biography of William Penn in 1850, was one of several who requested their use. Politely but firmly, Granville John Penn, who evidently considered the bulk of the manuscripts at the Pantechnicon as completely unavailable, informed Dixon that his librarian was arranging such papers as were at Stoke Court, and that if they contained William Penn material he had promised a relative their first use.²⁷ However, Penn must have helped Dixon, because in the introduction to his book the author graciously noted: "For papers and family information, I am particularly indebted to Granville Penn, Esq., of Pennsylvania Castle, Portland Island, a great grandson and lineal representative of Penn."²⁸

²⁵ Granville J. Penn to George Cadwalader, November, 1846, George Cadwalader Papers, Penn Agency.

²⁶ Stoke Park has passed through a number of hands, including those of the Colemans of English mustard fame. It is now the Stoke Poges Golf Club.

²⁷ Penn to Dixon, Apr. 13, 1850, Albert Cook Myers Collection, Chester County Historical Society.

²⁸ William Hepworth Dixon, *William Penn: An Historical Biography* (Philadelphia, 1851), xiii.

Financial pressures mounting on Penn, he soon realized that he could not afford such an expensive place as Stoke Court. In 1851, he sold it to a wealthy industrialist and moved to a far more modest house. This step meant that a large bulk of his possessions had to be carted off to the auction rooms. In June, 1851, Sotheby's in a six-day sale disposed of the first half of the former Stoke Park library, which had been mostly assembled by Granville's uncle John. Fifteen hundred lots of books went at that time. In July, a large collection of paintings, marble busts, and other works of art was knocked down at Christie's. Included with the paintings were many portraits of English royalty and scenes illustrative of the days of Admiral Penn. The chief pieces of family interest were West's important picture of William Penn's treaty with the Indians, painted for Thomas Penn in 1771, and Sir Joshua Reynolds' large canvas of Thomas Penn's four children.²⁹ August brought two more sales at Sotheby's—the second half of the library, and the collection of Thomas Gray rarities, which included the poet's manuscripts and many editions of his books profusely enriched by notations in his hand.

The reluctance of Granville John Penn to make these sales is seen by his holding back much that should logically have been included in them. Stern financial necessity forced another Sotheby auction on August 4, 1854, when Penn released treasured volumes and the remainder of the choicest Gray manuscripts.

Hoping to stimulate revenues from his nonproductive American estate, Penn paid two visits to Philadelphia, calling at the Historical Society on both occasions, and presenting it, on his second trip in 1857, with the handsome wampum belt, which, traditionally, had been given to William Penn by the Indians at that storied treaty of 1682, when Penn reputedly wore the blue sash. The wampum belt seems to have been the only important family possession of American interest, excepting the painting by West, with which he parted. Penn never sold any family paintings of note, save the Reynolds, of which he may have had a duplicate, nor did he commit to auction any of the Americana library accumulated by William and Thomas Penn.

²⁹ The West was purchased for £441 by Joseph Harrison of Philadelphia, and was given by his daughter-in-law in 1878 to the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. The Reynolds sold for £367. Unless the Stuart family bought the Reynolds, it is evident that Sir Joshua must have painted two copies of it. Moreover, it seems odd that Granville John Penn would sell this painting, which included the figure of his father, unless there was another in the family.

Granville's last few years were saddened by the loss of his sisters, his brother's lunacy, and the disastrous condition of his finances. Failing to sell his heavily mortgaged Pennsylvania Castle,³⁰ he moved into it in 1864, taking with him from the Pantechicon many family portraits and valuables, as well as some of William Penn's papers.³¹ By then, Penn seems to have lost the New Street house in London, which was occupied by his brother-in-law, Sir William Gomm, from whom Granville had borrowed money. Sir William is said to have purchased the "Old Proprietary House" where Thomas Penn had so painstakingly built up the family fortune. But no money that came to Granville from such sales materially stemmed his financial collapse. Even the death of his Cousin Richard in 1863, which vested in him the entire £4,000 government pension, did not seem to help. Virtually all his income was anticipated by creditors. Dragged down by worry, the last sane Penn male died on March 29, 1867. A relative diagnosed the cause of his death in one word, "trouble."³²

What was left of the proprietary estate now fell to the Reverend Thomas Gordon Penn, whose affairs were in the hands of a committee composed of his cousins, William Stuart, who was his heir at law, and Stewart Forbes. When the Reverend Mr. Penn died in 1869, the Penn estate passed to William Stuart, the principal asset being the £4,000 pension, which the Stuarts continued to enjoy until 1884, when Parliament extinguished it with the payment of £67,000.

Stuart did not care for Pennsylvania Castle. He conveyed it, chockablock as it was with family treasures, to Forbes in 1869. The latter was delighted to own it, "having always had the greatest possible interest in the place for old association sake, to say nothing of its beauty."³³ Forbes seems to have had a sentimental interest in the Penns, although not a drop of their blood ran in his veins. His father,

³⁰ Granville J. Penn, in a letter of Jan. 18, 1865, sent George Cadwalader the "particulars of sale," as set forth in 1865. George Cadwalader Papers, Penn Agency. These particulars are contained in an elaborate brochure with lithographic plates. See Cadwalader Collection, Penn Agency, Box 2.

³¹ *Lippincott's Magazine*, V, 161.

³² John Jay Smith to George Cadwalader, Apr. 16, 1867, and various letters of Granville J. Penn to Cadwalader, George Cadwalader Papers, Penn Agency.

³³ Stewart Forbes to George Cadwalader, Jan. 20, 1870, *ibid.*

Gordon Forbes, had been a brother of Mrs. Granville Penn and thus uncle to the Reverend Thomas Gordon Penn and his next of kin.

In 1870, the year of the Penn papers' great debacle, there were four men who conceivably had legitimate access to their storage room at the Pantehnicon. William Stuart and Gordon Forbes were elderly men. The record shows that in the settlement of the Penn estate both were represented by their sons, William Stuart, Jr.,³⁴ and Stewart Forbes.³⁵ It is doubtful that the older men ever visited the Pantehnicon. However, early in 1870, "Mr. X," a gentleman of distinguished appearance, possibly one of their sons, came to the Pantehnicon for the sole purpose of destroying the papers. To a degree, he was successful, for he virtually eliminated all of the correspondence of the Lady Juliana Penn, of her sons John and Granville, and of her grandchildren, including Granville John Penn. The wildly disordered room where most of these papers had been so safely preserved since 1846 was full of the scraps into which they had been torn. Nor did "Mr. X" hesitate to attack the correspondence of Admiral Penn, of William Penn, the Founder of Pennsylvania, and of proprietor Thomas Penn and those of his generation. A large fraction of their historically valuable manuscripts, many of them basic state papers, disappeared at this time.

What a wearisome chore this task proved for "Mr. X." He grew bored with tearing up papers. Moreover, there were huge manuscripts in book form or on vellum that were difficult to destroy. So, he called in a wastepaper dealer. Exacting a promise that the papers would be taken straight to the mill to be mashed into pulp, he sold him the whole lot at a few shillings a hundredweight. Away the papers went, together with "Mr. X's" snuffbox which had fallen into their forlorn disarray. Scooped up also was a hodgepodge of printed material from the presses of the Bradfords and of Franklin. These broadsides, pamphlets, and maps had been meaningful to William Penn and his son Thomas, but, as far as "Mr. X" was concerned, they were pure junk.

³⁴ Col. William Stuart, Jr., of Tempsford Hall was born in 1825 and died in 1893. His son was William Dugald Stuart, whose heir, William Esme Montague Stuart (1895-1916) was killed in World War I.

³⁵ Stewart Forbes is said to have died about 1901, aged 77.

Now, the wastepaper dealer was not true to his promise. At a modest advance in price, he sold the entire mass to James Coleman, an antiquarian dealer whose "Genealogical, Topographical, and Heraldic Establishment" was located in Bloomsbury. Coleman took the papers to his home in a back slum of St. Giles, where he called in Edward G. Allen, a reputable dealer. Allen found the Penn papers "piled up & littered about in an old, otherwise empty, dirty room, its walls reeking with the gloom of ancient filth. Moreover, the papers had been mutilated & a weak attempt made to obliterate their individuality." At what Allen termed "a fabulous advance on the mash up price," he obtained perhaps two thirds of the collection, including the bulky items, such as Thomas Penn's letter books, the ledgers, and the numerous heavy volumes which chronicled the Penn-Baltimore chancery case.³⁶ Later in the year, Allen issued a catalogue briefly describing his purchase.³⁷ Coleman also brought out a catalogue.³⁸

Finding himself publicly double-crossed and smarting under the censure of his relatives, "Mr. X" tried unsuccessfully to regain the papers by legal action. Meanwhile, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania entered the lists through its London agent, B. F. Stevens, and purchased the entire contents of Allen's catalogue. There was some corner cutting in this, for Allen was not entirely candid. Several items in his catalogue never arrived at the Historical Society, having been sold to George M. Justice,³⁹ and some of the printed material went to the British Museum.⁴⁰ These, however, were minor exceptions.

Coleman had not made too much progress in selling from his catalogue before Allen bought all his remaining manuscripts and, once again en bloc, disposed of them to the Historical Society.

³⁶ Allen to John Jay Smith, July 16, 1870, and Allen to W. Brooke Rawle, July 29, 1879, Penn Papers, Catalogues and Letters.

³⁷ *The Penn Papers. Description of a large Collection of Original Letters, Ms. Documents, Charters, Grants, Printed Papers, rare Books and Pamphlets relating to the celebrated William Penn, to the early History of Pennsylvania, and incidentally to other parts of America, dating from the latter part of the 17th to the end of the 18th century, lately in the possession of a surviving descendant of William Penn, now the property of Edw. G. Allen*, American Library Agency, 12, Tavistock Row. Covent Garden, London, 1870.

³⁸ *James Coleman's Catalogue of the Great William Penn and His Family . . .*, July, 1870.

³⁹ As, for example, item 41, IV.

⁴⁰ Notably, item 165.

Among Coleman's early purchasers had been Henry C. Murphy of New York, who secured nineteen lots, chiefly letters of Governor John Blackwell to William Penn. Stewart Forbes had salvaged on behalf of the family fifty-five lots, featured by William Penn's love letters in 1695 to Hannah Callowhill, Penn's 1671 letter book, and Admiral Penn's diary of 1644-1647.⁴¹

Coleman had retained the majority of the printed matter found among the Penn papers. These items, many of them exquisite rarities, were listed as lots 343-518 in his catalogue, and were not bought by the Historical Society. Failure to obtain them was a grievous error. A bibliophile reading their titles and noting their prices is in for a tantalizing experience. Thomas Penn's copy of George Washington's journal, printed at Williamsburg in 1754, was priced at two dollars, in contrast with the most recent copy sold which fetched \$25,000.⁴² Fabulously rare Indian treaties sold for today's equivalent of a carton of cigarettes. Thomas Budd's *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania*, printed in 1685, could be had for a guinea, and William Penn's map, the very one on which the Privy Council had designated the boundaries separating Delaware from Maryland, was listed at two pounds. Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach offered this map in 1916 at \$3,750, after which, in its two subsequent sales, the price no doubt advanced. Such was the first dispersal of the Penns' Americana library, but this sale only ruffled the surface of that collection. For, evidently still at the Pantechnicon, the main body of this colonial library was still intact.

As B. F. Stevens had feared, both Coleman and Allen had held back material, a fact which they disclosed by offering supplemental catalogues in the following year.⁴³ Another dealer, J. C. West, also brought out a small and unexciting list of deeds and legal papers

⁴¹ The Historical Society paid £300 for Allen's lot, and £170 for the lot procured from Coleman.

⁴² Of the eight recorded copies of the Williamsburg edition, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania owns a superb copy in original wrappers, the gift in 1887 of Charles R. Hildeburn.

⁴³ *Americana Curiosa. A Collection of old and Curious Books, Maps, Original Letters . . . and the final Remainder of the Penn Papers, the whole arranged for sale by Edw. G. Allen, American Library Agency, and Supplement to James Coleman's Catalogue Extra of Original and Copies of Deeds and Royal Charters, Books, and numerous Old Maps and Drawings, Important Wills, Reports on the Pennsylvanian & Maryland Boundaries, etc., etc. Letters written by and to the Penn Family. . . .*

taken from the Penn archive.⁴⁴ Allen's offering, although rich in John Blackwell manuscripts, consisted largely of books from the Penn library, titles such as Benjamin Franklin's 1744 *An Account of the New Invented Pennsylvanian Fire-Places*, with the plate, price five shillings, much Quaker literature, and works of William Penn. His item 288 recalled the mysterious "Mr. X," for it was described as "W. Penn to Hannah Penn, 20 Oct. 1709, three folio sides on domestic matters, begins 'My most dear Heart,' 15 s. This letter narrowly escaped destruction but was recovered and repaired." The Historical Society purchased some of Allen's books, but its choice was uninspired.

Coleman's catalogue was chiefly of manuscripts. Of its one hundred and seventy-four lots, the Society procured one hundred and two, a fair showing, but disappointing when it is realized that the more expensive items were avoided, such as another group of Penn love letters, which were priced at three pounds apiece. Nor would the Society place a bid for the piece that Coleman considered his prize—John Moll's purchase on July 10, 1680, of most of New Castle County, Delaware, from seven Indians. This historic deed of sale, signed by the natives with their quaint marks, was executed by Moll on behalf of the Duke of York. Three years later, the purchase was transferred to Penn, a fact which the Quaker endorsed on the document. Although the Society missed its chance for the Moll deed in 1871, it finally procured the document in 1936. Another Penn paper thus returned to the fold.⁴⁵

During 1870 and 1871, while the papers were being marketed, there was much speculation about the identity of the wretched "Mr. X." Could he have been Stewart Forbes, who, having made a bad mistake, then leaped into the arena and bought the more personal letters in an effort to retrieve his blunder? Possibly, it was Forbes, although an act of destruction immediately followed by an act of preservation seems inconsistent. Could it have been William Stuart, Jr.? Probably not, because the finger of suspicion pointed elsewhere, pointed to a man who may have harbored complex personal and emotional reasons for destroying the papers. If so, the cause which motivated him had its origin in the distant past.

⁴⁴ J. C. West, 22 Noel Street, Islington, London, *A Valuable Series of Important Deeds and Papers Relating to William Penn and Pennsylvania*.

⁴⁵ *PMHB*, LX (1936), 500.

In 1785, the twenty-four-year-old bachelor Granville Penn became a father. The records of this event, to the extent that they ever existed, were destroyed at the Pantechmicon. All that can be known is that Granville protected the child, but did not give it the family name. Instead, the boy was christened William Granville, a dubious and perhaps unintended compliment to its father's maternal uncle, Lord Granville, former prime minister of England.

From 1805 to 1821, William Granville lived in Ceylon, where he received a stream of letters from his father.⁴⁶ Returning to England, he married, and was soon the parent of several daughters and a son, William Turnour Granville. Throughout his life, William Granville's connection with the Penns was close and affectionate, but always that of a great friend, for family terms were not used. He was "Mr. Granville," and when he inquired about his father's health, it was to "Mr. Penn" that he referred. In particular, he was dearly loved by his half-brother, Granville John Penn.⁴⁷ William Granville and his family lived at Bath, and when he died in January, 1864, at the age of seventy-nine, his remains were brought to Stoke Poges Church to be interred with the family from which he had sprung. Among the chief mourners was the head of the house, Granville John Penn, who was deeply stirred at the passing of his "beloved friend."⁴⁸

The son, William Turnour Granville, was commissioned a lieutenant in the 8th Regiment of Foot in 1842. His army career, however, was brief, since he retired from the service in 1850 or 1851 with the rank of captain, and, once again, was free to see much of his uncle, Granville John Penn. His position in family affairs is suggested in a letter he wrote to the Penns' agent in Philadelphia, General George Cadwalader:

In writing to you, I do not feel that I am addressing a stranger, for, firstly, I had when young the pleasure of being under the same roof with you at Stoke Park. And from that time till now your name has been most familiar to my eyes & ears. I have always seen your letters & you have constantly been the theme of my conversations with Mr. Penn. I only now wish I was as well known to you. Having spent all my early days with the

⁴⁶ This fact is substantiated by a note in the Albert Cook Myers Collection, Chester County Historical Society.

⁴⁷ Granville John Penn named William Granville as his executor, but William died first.

⁴⁸ Granville John Penn to George Cadwalader, July 12, 1864, George Cadwalader Papers, Penn Agency.

Penn family, I became the constant associate, & the confidant of Mr. Granville [John] Penn afterward, & am now in consequence perfectly acquainted, more so than any person here, with his private affairs.⁴⁹

On March 22, 1867, a week before Penn's death, Captain Granville again wrote to General Cadwalader from Pennsylvania Castle: "Mr. Penn is very ill, & in a very precarious state. I enclose a letter I have just rec'd from his solicitor, by which you will see that a little money is much needed & which may have the effect of saving my dear Mr. Penn's life. Can you do anything by sending even a small remittance on account. . . . This is a matter of life & death." No other member of the family took as much interest in Pennsylvania Castle's dying owner as Captain Granville. John Jay Smith, who had visited the Castle in 1865, called him Penn's "confidential nephew."⁵⁰ Although much in attendance, the Captain was not present on March 29, 1867, when Penn suddenly expired, an unsigned will in his hand. "The entire proceeds of Mr. Penn's very respectable means," wrote Smith, "were intended for a young gentleman, a relative, whom he treated almost as a son. Castle, life insurance, and all his property are thus alienated from one who fully expected them."⁵¹

Was Captain Granville "Mr. X"? Disappointed in his inheritance, barred by his father's illegitimacy, a mere observer at the passing of the family fortune to the Stuarts, who were, perhaps, unhelpful in the final days of poor Granville John Penn's tragic life, did these considerations lead him to blot out the family records? Whatever his reasons, there were those who held him responsible. W. Brooke Rawle of Philadelphia wrote to the dealer Edward G. Allen on this point. In reply, Allen, who most likely knew the truth but who did not want to be quoted, cautiously observed: "Probably your conjecture as to a Granville having been the possessor of the papers is correct, as a Granville snuff box (!) was found amongst the lots."⁵² Years later, Rawle was to tell a fellow member of the Historical Society that "a Mr. Granville, an illegitimate son of either Granville

⁴⁹ W. Turnour Granville to Cadwalader, Pennsylvania Castle, Oct. 5, 1866, *ibid.*

⁵⁰ John Jay Smith to Cadwalader, Mar. 8, 1867, *ibid.*

⁵¹ *Lippincott's Magazine*, V, 156.

⁵² Allen to Rawle, Aug. 14, 1879, Penn Papers, Catalogues and Letters.

John or Granville Penn, lived with G. J. P. at Penna Castle etc, and was the relative who threatened to destroy the Penn Ms."⁵³

However it was that the papers were partially destroyed and then bumblingly freed for sale, it was a bastardly act which seemed to hasten the dispersal of the Penn relics through more legitimate channels. In 1872, during a five-day sale by the London auctioneers Puttick & Simpson, the Penns' Americana and personal family library was scattered to the four winds, a library of superb wealth, particularly in early Pennsylvaniana. A great many of the volumes were association pieces of more than common interest, bearing signatures of the Penns, their bookplates and annotations. The armorial bookplate of "William Penn, Esq., founder of Pennsylvania, 1703" was to be found in book after book. Sold at modest prices were such items as Thomas Penn's own copy of a work he considered libelous, *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians*, with Penn's notes in the margins—scandalized comments, one feels sure. Admiral Penn's copy of James, Duke of York's *Instructions for the better Ordering his Majesties Fleet in Sailing*, with more than three pages of manuscript additions, was listed as number 511. Among the books containing William Penn's bookplate was Jean de Laet's *Novus Orbis*, 1633, a copy bearing endorsements that it had been entered as evidence in the Penn-Baltimore chancery cause,⁵⁴ and *The Frame of the Government of the Province of Pennsylvania in America*, 1682. To continue the list is painful from the present-day point of view of the Historical Society, so limited in scope were its purchases. Fortunately, some of the Penn books it should have purchased in 1872 have since been acquired in subsequent sales of the identical copies.⁵⁵

After the shakeout of 1870-1872, the main holder of Penn papers and relics was Stewart Forbes of Pennsylvania Castle. From him, in 1882, the Historical Society bought for \$1,250 the manuscripts he

⁵³ Note taken by Albert Cook Myers on May 1, 1914, Albert Cook Myers Collection, Chester County Historical Society. Rawle may have obtained this information from John Jay Smith who had maintained a correspondence with Capt. Granville.

⁵⁴ Thomas Penn first learned of de Laet in 1743, when he purchased three or four editions of it. This fact argues that he had not inherited a copy with his father's bookplate in it, and that the bookplate must have been inserted after 1743, presumably long after. Doubt is thus cast on the provenance of the other volumes with the William Penn bookplate.

⁵⁵ *PMHB*, VI (1882), 86.

had purchased from Coleman. About two hundred and nineteen in number, this collection, now known as the Penn-Forbes Papers, was a highly important acquisition, containing, as it does, an extraordinary group of letters from Admiral Penn and the Founder.⁵⁶ In 1887, Forbes relinquished all his remaining Penn relics by selling Pennsylvania Castle, complete with contents, to J. Merrick Head.

Five years later, George M. Justice, who had gathered a respectable quantity of Penn papers from various sources, sold them for £100 to the London Meeting for Sufferings.⁵⁷ By then, few major Penn manuscript holdings remained in private hands. Major William Dugald Stuart of Tempsford Hall, however, was known to have a large group of relics. He owned Sir Joshua Reynolds' painting of Thomas Penn's children, the picture of Thomas Penn and his family in the deer park, and a portrait of proprietor Thomas Penn himself. Portraits of Admiral Penn by Lely, William Penn in armor, John Penn by Copley, and Granville Penn hung on his walls. Among his heirlooms was Admiral Penn's punch bowl and other treasures from Stoke Park, such as the large limb from the Treaty Tree, and the walking stick that Charles I carried to the scaffold.⁵⁸ No doubt, there were also many lesser Penn mementoes at Tempsford Hall when fire leveled the place on November 11, 1898. All that was saved were the portraits of Penn in armor and the children by Reynolds.⁵⁹

In County Tyrone, Ireland, Lord Ranfurly kept some Penn relics at Dungannon Park. In his library were several of William Penn's tracts, one of them a presentation copy inscribed to Hannah Callowhill in 1695, with a 1703 letter of Hannah to Penn laid in. In addition, he owned a number of portraits and miniatures. By far the most important of these were a companion pair of small standing figures painted in 1750 by Peter Van Dyck, the subjects being Thomas Penn and Lady Juliana in her wedding gown.⁶⁰ In 1904, Lord Ranfurly visited the Historical Society, and during World War I made a

⁵⁶ For a list of the collection, see *ibid.*, XXIV (1904), 155-168.

⁵⁷ *The Friend*, XXXII (London, Apr. 8, 1892), 232-233. A complete set of photostats of this collection is at the HSP.

⁵⁸ *PMHB*, VIII (1884), 362.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, XXIII (1899), 116. When the author visited the rebuilt Tempsford Hall in 1949, which was then a nursing home, these paintings were there.

⁶⁰ W. M. Conway, "Portraits of some of the Descendants of William Penn and Memorials of him in the Possession of the Earl of Ranfurly," *ibid.*, VIII (1884), 353-362.

tentative effort to sell it the Van Dycks.⁶¹ This failing, the portraits were disposed of in another manner, and found their way to a London antique store, where they were purchased by a Pennsylvanian.⁶²

Meanwhile, other important Penn material had come up for sale. Through Sotheby's in 1901, Lady Sudeley offered the collection of letters and documents of Admiral Penn and his son, which Granville Penn, as previously mentioned, had mounted in a volume years before. With these manuscripts went William Penn's Irish journal and the miniatures of Sir William Penn and his wife.⁶³ Lady Sudeley, who said she had inherited the lot from her uncle, to whom they were bequeathed by her cousin Granville Penn—a most incomplete and unsatisfactory provenance—expected the sale to bring £1,000. This figure was far too high, and the Historical Society's bid of £300, while more realistic, was a bit too low. The collection went to the dealer Frank T. Sabin for £355.

Shortly afterward, Sabin sold these items to Charles Roberts, a member of the Historical Society's Council from 1884 until his death in 1902. His widow retained them until 1914, when, together with William Penn's journals in Germany and Holland, she sold them to the Historical Society for \$5,750.⁶⁴ This was, of course, a most important addition to its Penn Papers. So important, in fact, that the Society borrowed the money to achieve it.

By contrast, the Society had shown no interest in 1908 when a New York dealer offered Penn heirlooms. It was said that this group had belonged to Richard Penn (1783–1863), who had left them to his deceased sister's companion Marianna Rutland. Marianna had married one William Herbert, on whose death in 1901 the heirlooms passed to his adopted daughter, Mary Butlin, the then owner.⁶⁵ The sale included a silver plate engraved with William Penn's arms; the original declaration signed by Charles II on April 6, 1681, commanding the inhabitants of Pennsylvania to yield obedience to Penn as proprietor; the original letters patent of August 20, 1694, reinstating

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, XXVIII (1904), 510; Minutes of the Historical Society, Jan. 24, 1916.

⁶² The identity of the purchaser is withheld as requested.

⁶³ Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, *Catalogue of Autograph Letters and Historical Documents* (London, 1901).

⁶⁴ Carson, II, 238.

⁶⁵ *The Penn Heirlooms on Exhibition at the Galleries of Charles of London*, 718 Fifth Ave., New York.

Penn as governor of Pennsylvania; the receipt for payment from the Six Nations in 1769 for the last great Indian purchase made by the Penns; portraits of the junior branch of the family; and Penn's own copy of the map used in 1685 to designate the Delaware-Maryland boundaries. That this sale was in part made up by dealers is manifest, because the map had never belonged to Richard Penn. As already related, it had been sold by Coleman in 1870. In passing, it is worth noting that the Indian receipt with its curious Indian "signatures" has since been acquired by the Historical Society.

For some years, the Society had been well aware that J. Merrick Head wanted to sell the contents of Pennsylvania Castle. Unfortunately, Head's notions of values were fantastic. In 1913, he offered his Penn collection to an officer of the Society for \$350,000, and then for \$250,000. Head died in 1915 without having found a purchaser, and the next year his widow released the Penn relics to Christie's.⁶⁶

In this sale were copies of virtually all William Penn's writings, association copies, many with the bookplate. There were also fifty letters to William Penn, of which at least thirty-nine were purchased by his would-be biographer, Albert Cook Myers of Philadelphia. Among the relics were locks of hair, two wampum belts, prints and drawings, paintings of Stoke Park, and twenty family portraits, including one of William Penn in armor, which sold for eighty guineas.

Because of the debt the Historical Society had recently incurred in its purchase of the Granville Penn collection and allied papers from Mrs. Roberts, it could not afford to venture deeply into this great Penn opportunity. At a cost of \$763, the Society did purchase a life-size portrait of its early patron Granville Penn, and a small portrait of William Penn's second wife by John Hesselius. In 1933, three paintings from the Head sale—the large portraits of proprietors John and Richard Penn, painted by Joseph Highmore in 1744, and a John Hesselius of about 1742 of Mrs. Thomas Freame,

⁶⁶ *Catalogue of Family Portraits, Books, Autographs, Manuscripts, etc. Relating to William Penn and His Descendants*. . . Sold at auction by Messrs. Christie, Manson & Woods, July 10, 1916. See also Am. 224, Manuscript Department, HSP, and notes on Pennsylvania Castle in Albert Cook Myers Collection, Chester County Historical Society. Pennsylvania Castle is now used as a hotel and restaurant.

daughter of the Founder—were presented to the Society by Mrs. John Frederick Lewis.

Thus, over the years, Penn materials have come to the Historical Society, which is, of course, by far the greatest repository of such things. Quite a number of relics have been gathered, not least of which is Miss Marcelena Fassitt's gift in 1919 of the celebrated blue sash Penn sported at the Indian treaty.⁶⁷ Also interesting are two colored chalk drawings of William Penn and his second wife, Hannah Callowhill, by Francis Place, which the Society purchased at Sotheby's in 1957.⁶⁸

The last consequential group of Penn papers arrived in 1939 as part of the Cadwalader Collection. General Thomas Cadwalader had succeeded John R. Coates as the Penns' American agent in 1817, and had received from Coates all his Penn papers. In the course of time, Cadwalader was followed by his son General George Cadwalader, who continued in charge of Penn affairs until about 1870. Consequently, in the Cadwalader Collection are several thousand Penn letters and other valuable family papers. Most important of all are the documents which Coates took from Stoke Park in 1804. About half of them were found in the Cadwalader bonanza.

The Penn Collection constitutes the Historical Society's most basic and valuable holding. It is a collection which has been in process of accumulation for nearly a century and a half. Year by year, new acquisitions are added to it, so that it now comprises as nearly as possible that great mass of material which the junk man bought from "Mr. X," but did not take to the mill.

Philadelphia

NICHOLAS B. WAINWRIGHT

⁶⁷ For its pedigree, see *PMHB*, LVII (1933), 112-115.

⁶⁸ R. N. Williams, 2d, "The New Penn Portraits," *ibid.*, LXXXI (1957), 347-350.