IN THE spring of 1763, Chief Justice William Allen sailed from Philadelphia for England, where he remained for more than a year. Five of his letters to Benjamin Chew, together with one from Chew to Allen, survive in the Chew family papers at Cliveden.* These letters record the reactions of two exceptionally well-informed and influential Pennsylvanians to the events of a stirring time, since the years 1763 and 1764 were momentous ones for Pennsylvania, for England, and for the British Empire. For Pennsylvania, they were marked by a bloody Indian war, riot, and a political crisis culminating in an attempt to place the province under royal government. For England, they were years of political instability and turmoil. For the Empire, they were marked by the first of a series of actions which would drive the American colonies to revolution.

Allen and Chew were close personal and political friends. Both were men of culture, intelligence, and wide-ranging interests. Both had investments in iron works, and were partners with Lynford Lardner and Joseph Turner in the Andover furnace. Both were members of the Provincial Council; both were experienced in Indian affairs. Allen was Chief Justice of Pennsylvania; Chew was Attorney General. Allen sat as a member of the Assembly; Chew had long served as a member of the Assembly of the Lower Counties, and as its speaker. Both were active in provincial politics; Allen was the leader of the proprietary party and Chew was one of his ablest supporters. At Allen’s invitation, Chew and his family occupied the Allen summer home, Mount Airy, while Allen was abroad. It is not surprising that letters passing between two such men should contain many penetrating comments on public affairs.

* We express our thanks to Benjamin and Samuel Chew for permission to publish these manuscripts. For purposes of clarity, a few periods and commas, omitted from the originals, have been added to the letters.
When Allen sailed, in April, 1763, Pennsylvania was enjoying an unwonted political calm. After years of struggle, an Assembly impatient of proprietary restraint had attained its major goals, among which were the issue and continuance in circulation of paper money, control over expenditure of monies appropriated by it, and taxation of the proprietors' lands. Assembly opposition to secret instructions issued by the proprietor to the governor, increasing British opposition to colonial paper money issues, and Privy Council instructions that the proprietors' uncultivated lands were to be assessed at a rate no higher than the lowest rate at which other such lands were assessed remained unresolved, but for the present all was quiet.

This quiet was shattered by the Indian war touched off by Pontiac. In September, 1763, the Assembly voted to issue £25,000 in bills of credit to support the war effort; but Governor James Hamilton refused to approve the way in which this act was drawn. Reluctantly, the October session passed an acceptable appropriation bill. In March, 1764, another bill was rejected because it provided for assessment of the proprietors' lands on a basis which did not accord with the letter of the Privy Council's decision. In the meantime, the frontier, angered at delays in providing money for defense and feeling itself underrepresented in the Assembly, had risen in the Paxton riots. Exasperated by these events, the Assembly petitioned the Crown to institute royal government in Pennsylvania.

Upon his arrival, Allen found England in the midst of a period of ministerial instability. Pitt had resigned in October, 1761; Newcastle had left the ministry the following May. Bute, Pitt's successor as first minister, unwilling or unable to face bitter attacks upon his policies and person, had resigned in April, 1763. His successor, George Grenville, had begun a period of service as first minister which would last nearly two years. But, as the letters reveal, his tenure was a stormy one, beset by the efforts of other factions to obtain control of the ministry.

Grenville had assumed power at a time of financial crisis. The national debt was a staggering one, and taxes had been raised to the limit; riots had greeted the latest revenue measure, the cider tax. Meanwhile, governing and protecting the conquests of the Seven Years' War had entailed heavy expense. The North American colonies should at least help bear the cost of maintaining the troops
necessary for their protection. Grenville quickly arrived at a program for raising revenue from America.

William Allen was perhaps the first American to learn of this program and was thus at hand to play a leading role in attempting to prevent or delay its passage. In the case of the Sugar Act he was not successful, but he did help delay the passage of the Stamp Act for a year.

Allen's part in fighting the Stamp Act has long been known. A letter from London dated March 24, 1764, and printed in the Pennsylvania Gazette on June 7, 1764, informed those at home: "Had not WILLIAM ALLEN, Esq. been here, and indefatigable in opposing it, and happily having made Acquaintance with the first Personages in the Kingdom, and the greatest Part of the House of Commons, it would inevitably have passed this Sessions."

The letters which follow confirm Allen's leadership in this matter, and shed new light on his activity. Perhaps as important is the picture they convey of Allen as a man—a warm, humorous American deeply attached to his province, concerned for its welfare, active in defending it against unwise measures, and convinced of its unrivaled blessings as a place in which to live.

Regional Office
National Park Service
Philadelphia

London Golden Square July 2nd 1763

Dear Sir

I have hardly time to write you this as Mr. David Barclay\(^1\) has called upon me to tell me that my letters must be sent in an hour. Therefore only give me leave to say that I am got into quite a new scene, new I may call it even to me though I spent so many years here formerly.\(^2\) I have received great civilitys both in person and to

\(^1\) David Barclay (1682–1769), head of the London firm of D. Barclay and Sons, and agent for Allen and a number of other Philadelphia merchants.

\(^2\) William Allen was born in Philadelphia on Aug. 5, 1704, one of four children of merchant William Allen and his wife Margaret Budd Allen. Much of his youth and early manhood was spent in England, where he studied law at the Middle Temple and was admitted a pensioner of Clare Hall, later Clare College, Cambridge. On Feb. 16, 1733/4, he married Margaret
my Children from my friends here, particularly from both Branches of the Proprietary family, who have taken every occasion to show me marks of their good will. I have mentioned you to them and your great usefulness of which they seem to have a very thorough sense, and express great obligations to you for your services, and have a great dependance on your friendship in their Affairs, particularly in Assisting Mr. John Penn in his administration. I hear from all hands a very great character of him that he is a very worthy Honest man and from what Judgment I can make of him I think he merits that Character.

I would fain write you some Anecdotes of what is passing here but it is difficult to find out their System of Politicks, indeed the men at Helm are shifted so often that there is no permanent one nor likely to be till there is either a coalition or quite a new set comes in. The Nation will not be satisfied till a certain great man is quite removed from the Court as they would not bear his publick ministry, they are very much dissatisfied at his being behind the Curtain and having any share in publick affairs, which he would certainly have while he had an opportunity of the Kings ear. I find that there is a resolution

Hamilton, daughter of the redoubtable Andrew Hamilton and sister of Lt. Gov. James Hamilton. To this marriage were born six children: John, Andrew, James, William, Anne, and Margaret. At the time of this letter, Andrew and James were studying law at the Middle Temple. Anne and Margaret (Peggy) accompanied Allen on his London voyage. Anne later married John Penn. Ruth M. Kistler, "William Allen," Proceedings of the Lehigh County Historical Society, XXIV (1962), 7-8.

3 The two branches of the Proprietary family were headed by William Penn's surviving sons, Thomas and Richard. Each had inherited a one-fourth interest in the province upon Penn's death, and Thomas had since inherited his brother John's half interest. Eli K. Price, "The Proprietary Title of the Penns," American Law Register (August, 1871).

4 John Penn, son of Richard, had been appointed governor, although he did not arrive in Philadelphia to assume the position until October, 1763. Benjamin Chew became his life-long friend, sharing his internment at the Union Iron Works in 1777-1778 and handling the family's claims against the Commonwealth after the Revolution. Burton A. Konkle, Benjamin Chew (Philadelphia, 1932).

5 The accession of George III in the fall of 1760 ushered in a decade of political instability which ended only with the emergence of Lord North as First Lord of the Treasury and leader of the Ministry in 1770. The frequent changes in cabinet personnel and the factors which caused them are discussed in J. Steven Watson, The Reign of George III, 1760-1815 (Oxford, 1960).

6 John Stuart, third Earl of Bute. Upon the death of the Prince of Wales in 1751, Bute had become the mainstay of the family and the idol of the future George III. Soon after George's
to suppress all contraband trade for which reason men of war with deputations from the custom house are to be kept cruising on our coasts, a number of Searchers or waiters to be sent over, I had got Mr. Penn to make an application in behalf of Mr. John Yeats to be a Waiter and he had obtained a promise but it seems that the Ministry have resolved to send over strangers as they think our own people would favor the merchants therefore fear that Yeats will not obtain the place.

It is said the next session of Parliament will if matters are not settled before be a very warm one, the late Ministry having confounded in supporting themselves a great sum of money which will require a parliamentary aid to replace. But it is generally concluded that the old Folks must come into play again, which will make matters go down smooth. Yesterday there was a talk as if Mr. Pitt had been applied to to resume his station which he desired time to consider of, how true this is I am not clearly informed. I would fain go on and fill up my paper, but I am often interrupted therefore let this pass for nothing when I have more time and materials I will

accession, Bute was named Secretary of State for the Northern Department, and, when Pitt and Newcastle resigned, leader of the administration, a position he had resigned on Apr. 8, 1763. Ibid., 69. An account of the extreme unpopularity of his ministry is in William Lecky, *A History of England in the 18th Century* (New York, 1887), III, 61.

7 A “waiter” was an officer in the employ of the customs.

8 The resolution to suppress all contraband trade was embodied in “An Act for the further Improvement of his Majesty’s Revenue of Customs; and for the Encouragement of Officers making Seizures; and for the Prevention of the Clandestine Running of Goods into any Part of his Majesty’s Dominions.” It ordered customs officers to their posts and authorized the Navy to seize ships suspected of smuggling. Lawrence H. Gipson, *The Coming of the Revolution* (New York, 1954), 60. Yeats was John Yeates (1705–1765), a Philadelphia merchant fallen on hard times, for whom Allen had earlier solicited an appointment as Comptroller of Customs in Pennsylvania. Gregory B. Keen, “The Descendants of Jøran Kyn, the Founder of Upland,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (PMHB), IV (1880), 99–100.

9 An eminent British historian characterized this period as one “of intimidation and corruption compared with which the worst days of the Walpole administration appeared pure. Bribes ranging from 200£ and upwards were given almost publicly at the pay office.” Lecky, III, 61. Recent revisionist historians under the leadership of Sir Lewis Namier have challenged this interpretation as exaggerated. However, colonial leaders and the colonial press were getting information on contemporary British politics from the same Whig sources from which Lecky derived his description, and such descriptions of blatant corruption could not have made the colonists more eager to pay taxes for the support of the Ministry.

10 This talk was premature. However, a month later, George III did ask Pitt to form an administration. Lewis Namier, *Crossroads of Power* (New York, 1962), 84.
indeavor to write you fully. I beg my compliments to Mrs. Chew and excuse me to Mr. Turner\textsuperscript{11} to whom I wrote by the pacquet. I am

Dear Sir

Your Very Affectionate Friend &
Humble Servant
Will: Allen

[Philadelphia, July 5, 1763]

Dear Sir

If your Vessel kept pace with our Wishes, we may count upon your having been in London with the dear Girls for the last Five Weeks, and that now the bustle of setting your Family is a little over, it will not be disagreeable to hear from your awkward (tho' sincere Friends) on this Side the Water. Had I wrote to you some Time ago 'tis ten to one but the old Boy, as the Governor [James Hamilton] calls me, wou'd have been jacose and have indeavour'd to entertain you, for Want of Matter of more importance, with such Occurrences among us, as might have excited your Mirth. But the present Situation of our affairs in this Country is such as must banish every thing that savours of Levity from a humane Mind. Not to keep you in Suspence we are in all Probability on the Eve of a general Indian War, which unless Measures can be speedily fallen on to put a Stop to it, may prove more bloody than any that has been experienc'd since the Settlement of this Continent.\textsuperscript{12} Towards the latter end of May a Number of Indians who inhabit the Country beyond Detroit, under the Pretence of holding a Conference, had laid a design of surprising & cutting off the Garrison, but some secret Intelligence having been given of their Intentions to the Commanding officer, tho' they were admitted every thing well [sic] so well disposed for the Occassion that they did not think proper to attempt the Execution of their Plan.\textsuperscript{13} Enraged at the Disappointment they threw off

\textsuperscript{11} Joseph Turner (d. 1783), merchant, sea captain, member of the Provincial Council, and for fifty years Allen’s partner in a variety of enterprises. Kistler, 11, 13.

\textsuperscript{12} Pennsylvania was indeed on the eve of a general Indian war. The struggle touched off by Pontiac’s attack on Detroit was the most formidable Indian uprising the colonies had seen. Howard H. Peckham, Pontiac and the Indian Conspiracy (Chicago, 1961), 239–240.

\textsuperscript{13} Actually, the design had been laid as early as April, and its execution was attempted on May 7. Ibid., 112–137. The classic account of Pontiac’s conspiracy is Francis Parkman, The Conspiracy of Pontiac and the Indian War after the Conquest of Canada (Boston, 1898).
the mask as soon as they got out of the Fort, kill'd Mr. Davers (a Gentleman of Fortune from England whose curiosity led him into that Quarter of ye Country) & some others on the lake and made a fruitless attempt to take our arm'd Vessel. On the 28 of May they intercepted near the Mouth of the River Detroit, Lieut. Cuyler of the Queens Rangers with a Number of Battoes & 97 of Soldiers escorting 150 Bl. of Provision to the Fort, attack'd & kill'd 60 of the Party & took most of the Stores. This was soon succeeded by the taking and burning our Post at Sandusky, where we fear the small Garrison & those unhappy Creatures who hap'n'd to be there at the Time were all put to the Sword. In a few Days after this Col. Clapham & all his Family were cut off at his Plantation on the Monongahela, two Soldiers were kill'd at a Saw Mill a mile from Pittsburgh, and a Serjeant in Sight of the Fort. Ligonier has been [illegible] attack'd but without Effect. You may judge Sir our Astonishment on receiving these sev'l Accounts in a few days on the back of one another, when we were pleasing ourselves with the hopes of reaping the happy Fruits of the late Peace & amused ourselves [sic] with the Prospect that now the French were remov'd from our Neighborhood we & our Posterity might enjoy the small fruits of our Labour & Industry & spend our Days in a calm Tranquility. We were not more surprized at this unexpected Blow, than at a Loss to judge the Cause of it. While the Indians confin'd their Hostilities to the Westward of the Allegany's we conjectured that their Dissatisfaction took its rise from our taking Posts & keeping up our Forts in their Country, and that they wou'd not disturb our People who were settled on Lands which had been purchas'd of them. But a little Time prov'd the Folly of this Conjecture. We have

14 A party of twelve, including Sir Robert Davers, was attacked by Chippewas on May 7, the day on which Pontiac's surprise of Detroit failed. The attack on the Davers party was not, therefore, a product of Pontiac's rage and disappointment. Peckham, 136. The schooner had been sent from Detroit to hasten a supply convoy, and was unsuccessfully attacked while becalmed. Parkman, II, 21.

15 Peckham, 156-157. This account, based on a transcript of Cuyler's report, gives the party one less man and eleven less barrels of provisions than does Chew's.

16 Sandusky had fallen on May 16. Its commander, Ensign Christopher Pauli, was captured and later escaped to Detroit. The rest of the garrison and the traders were killed. Ibid., 154-155.

17 Col. William Clapham's settlement (now West Newton, Pa.) was attacked on May 27, and the sawmill near Pittsburgh on the 29th. Ibid., 166-167.

18 Fort Ligonier was unsuccessfully attacked on June 2. Ibid., 167.
certain Intelligence that they have perfidiously murder'd all our Traders, above 100 in Number from this Province and that they have kill'd 6 or 8 people near Denning's Creek in Cumberland County. The Chipewas, Tawas [Ottawas] & Delawares, have been principally concern'd in these Mischerfs.\textsuperscript{19} From all the Accounts we have yet been able to procure 'tis not possible to know how many Tribes have join'd in the Confederacy, but we have great reason to fear that the Combination is general. Our Communication with pitsburg has been entirely cut off for some Time. Bodies of Indians appear daily within View of that Fort which is sufficiently strong to withstand attacks of the whole Savage Race as long as their Provisions last, of which they have a pretty good Stock. Col. Boquet is at Carlisle in his way up to that Place, and wants only to be reinforced by the several Companies detach'd by Genl. Amherst, who will join him in a Day or Two; Their Numbers amount to upwards of 550, mostly Highlanders, sufficient we hope to open & secure the Communication for the present.\textsuperscript{20} Tis more easy for you to conceive than for me to describe the Pannick that seis'd our Frontier Inhabitants on the first Intelligence of the Indian Depradations. They have to a Man fled from their Dwellings Leaving their Fields of Grain just fit for the Sickle and indeed their all behind them & are come into the interior Parts in the greatest Misery & Distress. Our Governor conven'd the Assembly yesterday & laid before them all the Intelligence he has receiv'd & by a spirited Message has requested that they would make Provision for the Protection of our Frontiers & the publick Security. It is not doubted but they will vote Money on the Occasion, but I am not without my Apprehensions that they will raise a Bill for levying it on the Plan of the last which you know the Governor rejected as being contrary to the Decree of his Late Majesty in Council respecting the Supply Bill in the Year 1759.\textsuperscript{21}

\textsuperscript{19} The Hurons, Mingoes, Senecas, and Shawnees were also involved. \textit{Ibid.}, 106.

\textsuperscript{20} This force, when assembled, consisted of the 42nd and 77th Regiments, a detachment of the Royal Americans, and some Rangers, about 460 men in all. It proved to be just sufficient at Bushy Run. \textit{Ibid.}, 210-211.

\textsuperscript{21} With the outbreak of war in 1754, the Assembly was called upon to appropriate large sums for the support of military operations. In the time-honored tradition of colonial legislatures, the Assembly used the need for money as a lever to obtain their ends; an expanded paper currency, control of the expenditure of the funds appropriated, and taxation of the proprietary estates. For a discussion of the Supply Bill of 1759, see Theodore Thayer, \textit{Pennsylvania Politics
Fort Augusta has been reinforc'd & is now in respectable Condition. I am this Moment inform'd that Venango is burnt & the Garrison consisting of 14 Men butcher'd. This is the present Situation of our Affairs, and a gloomy one it is

[Benjamin Chew]

Copy to W. Allen, Londo.
July 5, 1763

Dear Sir

Your very kind letter reached me at York ingaged in the Amusements and diversions of that place, at the time of the Races: whereby is one of the grandest meetings of the Nobility and Gentry in the kingdom. The dismal account you gave of the situation of the province plunged me into a great deal of Grief and concern: I then much regretted that I had left my country, and friends, and could not with any satisfaction mingle with the men of pleasure when joy was far from my heart.

I immediately wrote up to Mr. [Thomas] Penn requesting that he would bestir himself, and Solicit the ministry to fall up on the most vigorous and speedy measures for our releif; to which he was pleased to answer that he had already done what I desired, and would continue to press them without ceasing.

When I first came to England I told Mr. Penn that I thought an Indian war unavoidable if Sir Jeffery Amherst did not change his measures, that he had neglected and despized the Indians so much, and I might say ill treated them, that they were much disgusted and in so ill a frame, particularly the Senecas, that I dreaded the consequences. I pressed the same things warmly on Mr. Jackson, and Mr. Charles Agent for New York, who Joined in warm representa-

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22 Amherst held Indians in contempt and distrusted them. He had cut down the amount of powder and lead supplied them and reduced the number of presents given out. Nicholas B. Wainwright, *George Croghan, Wilderness Diplomat* (Chapel Hill, 1959), 180.
tions to the Ministry: Mr. Penn was indefatigable and at length My Ld. Halifax and the rest of the Ministry were much Alarmed, and his Majesty, as My Ld. Shelborn (who sent for me) told me, was very angry that his old Allies were so used, and gave directions that Sir Jeffery should change his System and do all in his power to regain the Affections of the Indians, and conciliate the good will of such of them as had formerly been in the French interest: I told my Ld. Shelborn, who was then at the head of the board of trade, that Sir Jeffery did not understand Indian affairs and that he disregarded the opinion of those that did, particularly Sir Wm. Johnson, whose province he invaded, and would not suffer him to lay out any money, or fall upon Salutary measures with the Indians & rather thwarted every proposal of his of this kind. My Ld. was pleased to tell me that a proper letter would be wrote to Sir Jeffery, that Sir Wms. hands should be strengthened and that I might depend on it that such measures had been agreed on by the ministry as would prevent all complaints for the future. I understand from Mr. Penn that by this Pacquet of July very peremptory orders were sent to Sir Jeffery, and full directions to Sir Wm. Johnson: But unfortunately all this came too late.

I received a few days since a letter from Mr. Peters of the 11th of August together with a Newspaper that has filled me with hopes that the ravages of the Savages will cease, and as he says blow over. God grant it may be so. Though I can scarce think that so violent and general a conspiracy of these miscreants can subside very soon.

23 Richard Jackson and Robert Charles were agents for Pennsylvania and New York respectively.
24 George Montagu Dunk, second Earl of Halifax, was Secretary of State for the Northern Department at the time Allen arrived in England.
25 Sir William Petty, second Earl of Shelburne, was President of the Board of Trade from Apr. 20, 1763, until September, 1763.
26 The standard biographies of Amherst and Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northern Department, do not mention either the peremptory orders or the full instructions. Neither are recorded in Amherst’s journal. It is doubtful that either the orders or the instructions were sent. In August, 1763, the Lords of Trade asked Johnson for his ideas on a proper Indian program, which is a far cry from sending full instructions. Lords of Trade to Sir William Johnson, Aug. 5, 1763, Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York, VII, 535-536.
27 Richard Peters (1704-1776), former secretary of the provincial Land Office, provincial Secretary, member of the Council, and a political ally of Allen. Dictionary of American Biography (DAB).
the six Nations could be brought to friendly measures much may be done, but I fear the Senecas, who beyond all doubt were the authors and contrivers of the plot, are too much imbittered and exasperated to become our good friends very soon.28

I wrote you a short letter in July last but was so interrupted while I was writing the day that the Mail was to be made up, that I could say little to you. I however, if my memory does not fail me, requested your friendship and kind assistance to our new Governor. I had but an indifferent opinion of him whilst he was with us formerly; he was indeed so depressed in his spirits that he then appeared to great disadvantage.29 he is very much esteemed by every body here and is thought to be a very worthy honest Gentleman and from the acquaintance I had with him here, I think he is deserving of that character. My Sons speak of him and his Brother [Richard Penn] in the highest terms. they had a very close and intimate acquaintance with them, and they assure me they are both men of the strictest honor and worth.

I am now at Bath where the season is Just a beginning. As I have already been at Harrowgate, Scarborough, York, [illegible], Matlack, and Bristol, I am almost surfeited with the amusements of these publick places, and want to snug it in a family way at my house in London. I have in order to satisfie my Girls curiosity taken this tour, and have given them an opportunity of Seeing the best company in the kingdom. I shall return to London by way of Blenheim and Oxford, my whole excursion will be between 7 and 800 miles, and have taken the principal places as well towns as Gentlemens seats in my way. After all it a little vexes me that they, I mean Nancy and Peggy, are not satisfied nor willing to return at the time I have set but I shall keep my time and hope to have the pleasure to see you and my other friends some time next summer or furthest in the fall. England is a bewitching place to Young Folk, but is not at all suitable to such as are to spend their life in America, as it teaches them things that are fit only for those who have a great deal of money to spend.

28 The Senecas were not the authors of the plot; the attack on Detroit originated with Pontiac and the general uprising which followed was ignited by his action. However, the Senecas had been promoting a conspiracy, and passing war belts among the disaffected tribes. Peckham, 106.

29 John Penn had been in Pennsylvania from 1752 to 1755. He had married the daughter of a James Cox and his uncle Thomas Penn had compelled him to repudiate the marriage. DAB.
I hope you and your good family have spent your time agreeably at Mount Airy this summer. I can truly say I have felt no heat since I have been in England, it has hardly been warm enough to be pleasant; the last three months it has rained almost every day and I begin to long for our clear reviving sunshiny days. I cannot upon the whole approve of the Climate I think it rather inferior to our own, this indeed by every body is called a disagreeable summer. I have seen no such pastures as Coultis Island nor so great burdens of grass as I have at my land on the German town road. I had a much higher opinion of the English Soil and Husbandry than I have at present, their Corn fields and meadows are twice as full of weeds as ours, and there often appear as many poppies as grass or corn in their fields; a second crop of grass is scarcely known except near London, the first crop is often mowed in September. it requires heat as well as Moisture to cause Vegetation; in the former of which this country has not enough for the fruits of the earth. You will be surprised when I tell you that near Bath I saw Barley standing the 24th of September.

It is difficult to acquaint you with the Political System as it is altering every day. My Ld. Bute at present seems to be out with both the Court and the opposition. his creatures have turned their backs upon him, I mean those that he brought into the Ministry, and they have had such an interest with his Majesty as to reject conditions agreed on between Mr. Pitt and My Ld. Bute. You may see in a Ministerial paper Mr. Pitt abused for engaging to screen my Ld. Bute from impeachment &c. In the mean time publick credit is at a very low ebb, stocks continually falling owing to the want of confidence in the nation to the present people in Power. They are however endeavoring to strengthen themselves by bringing in such as are like to support them. My Ld. Granby it is said will be appointed commander in cheif, his Father the Duke of Rutland and he being lately

30 Unidentified, but probably an island in the Schuylkill River near Middle Ferry, which for years was kept by James Coulta. Perhaps it was the “8 acres of tide meadow, well banked and fenced . . .” which in 1756 was advertised for rent together with the Middle Ferry property. Robert Robins, “Colonel James Coulta,” PMHB, XI (1887), 52n.

31 Upon Bute’s resignation, George Grenville had succeeded to the post of First Lord of the Treasury and, as the least bad of several alternatives, to the leadership of the administration. The rumors of an alliance between Bute and Pitt so disturbed him that he extorted a promise that Bute would retire to the country. Watson, 96–97. Far from having agreed on conditions with Bute, Pitt insisted on the expulsion from office of all those who had participated in negotiating the Peace of 1763. Bute did, however, make an effort to bring Pitt into the Government following failure of the August negotiations between the King and Pitt. Lecky, III, 93.
sent for out of the country. The next Session of Parliament will be a warm one, and contentions like to run very high. The most Moderate blame My Ld. Bute for suffering his Ambition to plunge the King his master and the Nation into the present circumstances. I would in order to serve our country attend the levee of some of the great men who are very desirous of fishing out all they can, and of obtaining what they call information. It is Surprising to find how deficient they are in the knowledge of American affairs. My Ld. Shelborn made me promise that I would attend him at his house when I came to Bath which is about twelve miles from hence. But since that he in a disgust has thrown up, and my Ld. Hilsborough succeeds him. The settling of the new conquests is a very arduous affair, and the present Indian war makes that matter more perplexing. Many Schemes and Plans have been laid before the Ministry. Among the rest Ellis, late governor of Georgia, makes them believe that he knows the affairs of the Continent better than any body, whereas his knowledge cannot extend beyond Georgia on the one end, and Halifax at the other: at the latter place he was governor likewise for a short time. he has, however ignorant he may be, obtained patent places in Canada and the neutral Island, to the value of £1000 a year. There will probably occur many things this winter which will nearly concern America. I shall do every thing I can to promote our interest, at least my good wishes will not be wanting. Our Agent Mr. Jackson who is a member of parliament and a very able man will be able to do a great deal, as the present Ministry have a high opinion of him, and he has close connections with them: It is however the opinion of almost every body that they will not hold their places long. the Nation in general think Mr. Pitt is the only man that can retrieve the affairs of the Kingdom, and restore National credit. The

32 John Manners, Marquis of Granby, was a hero of the Seven Years' War. Grenville wrote him to report on Pitt’s meeting with the King, to solicit his support, and to request a meeting. Grenville to Strange and Granby, Sept. 3, 1763, William J. Smith, ed., The Grenville Papers (London, 1852), II, 104-107. Granby did become commander-in-chief, but not until 1766.

33 Shelburne had resigned his post as President of the Board of Trade on Sept. 3, and William Hill, second Viscount Hillsborough, had been appointed his successor on Sept. 9.

34 Henry Ellis (1721-1760), trained in the law, had been a hydrographer and an explorer for the Northwest Passage before his appointment as governor of Georgia in 1757. He relinquished the latter post in 1760, to the general regret of the colony. He had been governor of Nova Scotia from 1761 until his resignation earlier in 1763, but had remained in England throughout his term, relying upon a deputy governor. DAB.
Civil list has a vast load of debt on it, though there has been great retrenchments in the house keeping about the Court, yet in other matters, chiefly to procure friends, there has been great profusion: how the deficiency will be made up time will show: it is thought the present people cannot after their great talk of frugality carry that matter through, they I suppose will wipe their mouths and charge My Ld. Bute with the whole.\textsuperscript{35}

I am thinking Mr. Hamilton and you will have a good deal upon your hands this winter in conducting the affairs of the Government. As Mr. [John] Penn must of course want your assistance in settling matters with the Assembly. Money must be raised and our Patriots will as usual be indeavoring to take advantage of their Countrys distresses, and be cramming their modes down the throat of the Governor.\textsuperscript{36} Patience, temper and resolution will make most evills but imaginary.

Pray tell me how you go on in the supream Court. I have a very kind letter from Mr. Coleman\textsuperscript{37} which I shall endeavor to answer. if I should be prevented by a fit of the Gout which I have, I think, coming on me, being so lame as not to be able to walk out, pray present my love to him and let him read this scrawl. I wish you and yours all health and happiness and beg leave to assure you that I always shall be

\begin{center}
Your Very Affectionate Friend & \\
Most Humble Servant \\
Will: Allen
\end{center}

I have many letter to answer pray present my compliments to my friends and let them know I shall do myself the pleasure of writing to all from whom I have heard when I get to London. I am now in a smart fit of the Gout and cannot write what I here do but in great pain. I however cannot help expressing my Surprise that our people could be so unjust to their Country as to deny the request of Coll Bouquet to let him have some of our provincials. it appears clear to

\textsuperscript{35} This assumption was in error. Grenville succeeded in reducing expenditures by nearly six million pounds within a year after gaining control. Partly in consequence of this economy, he succeeded in remaining in office for more than two years. Watson, 103.

\textsuperscript{36} For a discussion of the events of the winter of 1763–1764, which culminated in an attempt to have Pennsylvania made a royal province, see Thayer.

\textsuperscript{37} William Coleman (1704–1769) had served with Allen on the Supreme Court since 1758.
me that if he gets safe the war with the Indians will be short; but if otherwise, all the world will blame our Province, and our name will become Scandalous. Our honor our interest and every laudable motive required a contrary conduct from us: for my part I am ashamed of my country.

Octr. ye 9th 1763  Bath

London Golden Square Decbr. 9th 1763

Dear Sir

I did my self the pleasure to write you fully upon every subject that occurred when I was at Bath. I have now a great deal to say to you but I have not time to write which no doubt will be a matter of laughter to you for you will say what can prevent your having time to write to your friends when you have nothing to do in England but to take your pleasure.

But my good friend you are mistaken. I am here a very busy creature having in my peregrinations through England besides meeting with half a score of my old acquaintance made so many other new ones at the several publick places that I have been at that I have done nothing but pay and receive visits for these three weeks at which time I came from Bath. When Mr. [Thomas] Penn is in town which is two days every week I am with him and urge him to go round to the Ministry to indeavor to ward of the blow that is intended us in Parliament for should the bill that is like to be brought in take place America will be saddled with the payment of fourteen regiments and other things to the amount of £200000 for razing of which Sum there is to be a duty on Negroes, foreign wine that is to be allowed to be imported, on French Rum Sugar and Melasses &c &c There is likewise a Stamp office to be erected which will be the beginning of misery for if they once begin to tax us I fear they will increase our Burdens. I have desired Mr. Penn and our Agent Mr. Jackson

[38] The Assembly had, as noted above, voted to raise seven hundred men. In requesting that this force be raised, Amherst had said nothing about placing it under his command. When Bouquet and Amherst requested that the provincial force be put under Bouquet's command for the Fort Pitt relief expedition, Governor Hamilton refused. Lt. Col. James Robertson to Col. Henry Bouquet, July 19, 1763, Sylvester K. Stevens and Donald Kent, eds., *The Papers of Henry Bouquet* (Harrisburg, 1940), Series 21634, 221-222.
and the Agent for New York to represent that the Provinces are all groaning with a load of debt accrued in the last War consequently unable to bear new impositions that it is breaking the compact between the crown and the settlers in America who by the Royal grants were to have the power of making laws which we shall in effect be deprived of if they make laws for us. That it is the right of Englishmen to be taxed by their representatives only, that in Ireland which is said to be a conquered country such a thing was never attempted. Our Agent Mr. Jackson who is a great favorite of the present chief Minister Mr. Greenville and is secretary to the Chancellor of the Exchequer is very industrious in endeavoring to ward off the blow and has brought Mr. Oswald who is much depended on by the ministry for American affairs to think that it is not right to lay any internal taxes on us but to confine it to duties upon our imports. He hopes that the matter will be seen in this light by reasonable men and such as have a regard to liberty.

Another part of the bill is that no paper money made hereafter is to be a tender which is in other words to say that we shall have no more. Our people are very unjust to Mr. Penn in their thoughts of him. he is really Anxious for our welfare and takes great pains to promote our interest. he lately upon a complaint made again[st] the Province by Sir Jeffery by the help of Mr. Hamiltons letters wherein the whole matter was stated very clearly and Judiciously he so satisfied the people in power that the province had not been to blame that he was told by them that they did not blame his Governor nor his people but rather the General himself as Mr. Penn imagined. Indeed Sir Jeffery is not at present much in estimation as it is generally thought his wrong System of Indian Politicks had occasioned the

39 James Oswald (1715–1769), member of Parliament, former member of the Board of Trade and of the Treasury Board, and currently of the Privy Council. Dictionary of National Biography (DNB). This passage is an extremely interesting one. In it Allen advances most of the major points that the colonists later used in arguing against Parliamentary taxation of the colonies. Also, it is important evidence in support of the conclusion reached by Professor Edmund S. Morgan, who found that the longheld view that colonial objections to the Stamp Act were based on its being an internal tax rather than an external tax or duty was not valid; that from the beginning the colonial objection was to taxation; and that the distinction between internal and external taxes originated in England and probably with Richard Jackson. Edmund S. Morgan, "Colonial Ideas of Parliamentary Power," William and Mary Quarterly, V (1948), 311–341. The almost complete lack of punctuation in this paragraph in the original manuscript is perhaps indicative of the depth of Allen's feelings about British taxation.
present Indian war. He is therefore recalled and his brother has taken a house for him. Sir Wm. Johnson will be depended on for the future for the Management of Indian affairs and will have power to draw for money independent of the commander in chief. His character stands in a high point of light in proportion to the decrease of that Sir Jeffery for which he is much obliged to Mr. Penn and your humble servant has thrown in his mite into the scale. I am glad to see by the newspaper that the bill for raising the money is passed the whole dispute was about Goats wool and gave me great concern. I have seen Mr. Hamiltons messages and it must be allowed that the reasons he gives the Assembly for not passing their bill are very just but it was a pity that so trifling an affair as the Old quit rent should throw things into confusion especially as the difference to the Proprietors would not have been ten pounds a year for I do not believe any man in the Government refuses to pay the value of the English shilling. However as paper money is like to be at an end of course that dispute will no longer subsist.

You will no doubt by reading the newspapers see the great disputes and heats that are agitated at present. The verdict that Wilkes has obtained against the Deputy Secretary gives great pleasure to the generality of people and is no doubt very mortifying to the Court but as you will see all these and many other matters in the papers it is needless in me to enter into particulars.

40 Amherst was not recalled, at least not technically. He had some time since asked leave to return. On Oct. 10, 1763, he received "His Majesty's gracious permission for me to return home, ..." Amherst to Egremont, Oct. 13, 1763, quoted in part in Louis Des Cognets, Amherst in Canada (Princeton, 1962), 35. However, his Indian policy had been inflexible and arrogant, and he was not warmly received upon his return. Sir William Johnson's Indian policy, opposed by Pennsylvania's Quaker party, had been of great advantage to Thomas Penn and his supporters. Wainwright, 184-189.

41 When in September, 1763, the Assembly voted to emit £25,000 in bills of credit, Hamilton refused assent because by the act the bills were made legal tender in payment of rents due the proprietors, and cited in his objection the Privy Council decision on the Supply Bill of 1759. Pennsylvania Archives, Eighth Series, VI, 5456-5458. A new Assembly meeting after the October election, but composed of most of the old members, appropriated £24,000 without insisting upon the objectionable provisions. Thayer, 82.

42 John Wilkes had started his North Briton in 1762, and had promptly launched a series of vicious attacks upon the court, the ministers, and the treaty ending the Seven Years' War. On April 30, he was arrested under a general warrant issued against all concerned in the publication of the North Briton by the Secretary of State. On May 3 and 6, Wilkes appeared in the Court of Common Pleas and argued that general warrants were illegal, that the Secretary of State could not act as a magistrate in issuing warrants, and that, as a Member of Parliament he was subject to arrest only for treason, felony, or breach of the peace. The Chief Justice of
several times in writing thus far I must therefore conclude with making an earnest request to you at the instance of Mess. Barclay and Lane that you would accept of a power of Attorney from them Jointed with some others Mr. Turner having declined on account of his Age and infirmity. I have in so many instances experienced their friendship that I conceive myself under the highest obligations to them which makes me take the freedom to request you would gratify them. this will give me no small pleasure and be rendering very worthy men an acceptable service. I have wrote to Mr. Turner on this head and have desired him to Join with me in his application on this head. I am sorry to hear that the business in the supream Court was delayed for want of an appointment. Surely some plain honest man could have been prevailed on to accept any one of that sort with Mr. Coleman for a Colleague would I beleive have done better than a Ceartain proud vain man who I think would in the end not have been the properest person. I think his self sufficiency and over-weaning conceit of his own ability are too predominant and no wonder such a modest man as Mr. Coleman is uneasy to be coupled with him.\(^43\)

I every day grow more and more anxious to return. my children are not yet quite satisfied to go back and beg hard that I will stay another year but are now they say contented to go if I will stay till September but I tell them the first good opportunity about mid-summer we must be turning our faces homeward. I hope therefore to have the pleasure of seeing you and my other good friend early in September when narrative old Age will be unburdening itself of many long storys to you of what I have seen and heard in this same England. I beg my Compliments to Mrs. Chew and all your young folks in which my children desire me to Join them, and that you would be assured that I am with the greatest regard

Your Very Affectionate Friend &
Most Obedient Humble Servant
Will: Allen

To Mr. Chew

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\(^{43}\)This reference is probably to Alexander Stedman, whose nomination to the Supreme Court was criticized by Allen. Thayer, 92.
London Golden Square Jany. 27th 1764

Dear Sir

As I have wrote Mr. Hamilton by this opportunity fully in relation to matters here which no doubt he will show you, it will therefore be unnecessary to repeat the same things to you, which I fear I do even in my letters to the same person, which as I keep no copies I do not know how well to avoid.

I have received your very kind letter with an order inclosed for money to pay your share of Barker’s land, could it be purchased: I have made all the inquiry I could for the owner but in vain till the other day I find that he is lately come from the East Indies, and is proposing this next Spring to go over to look after his land. I desired a friend of his that in case he inclined to sell it to tell him I would wait on him and make him proposals, but I have heard nothing from him only I am told he intends to call upon me to get letters of recommendation to our Country. I was in hopes I should have been able to have made some purchases, that would have lightened the great expence my Voyage will occasion: but fear I shall be disappointed, I have some small matters still in View in that way but think there is no great probability of succeeding. Could I have met with a purchase of consequence or should I meet with any of which I have not any prospect, I will concern you. What I am in some hopes of is the purchase of some rights of land and a small tract or two in the Forks of Delaware and a tract of land belonging to Bellow near our Iron works: but I scarce think I shall succeed, even in these trifling purchases, in which could I buy them it would hardly be worth while to interest you. If I call for any of your money it will be only for the uses you intended.

I long to have the pleasure of seeing you and my other friends though I have many temptations thrown in my way to prevent my speedy return to you, having had great civility shown me by top people here, and am lately chosen into a Society at Almacks, and another at Saunders, among whom a man may lead a life of pleasure.

44 "Our Iron Works" were the Andover Iron Works, a property which covered between eleven and twelve thousand acres of Sussex and Morris counties in New Jersey, had very high quality ore, a furnace and forge, and whose "mansion house and other buildings are elegant and commodious." Pennsylvania Journal, Mar. 1, 1775.
and dissipation but that happens not to be my turn at present.\(^{45}\) I would rather spend what leisure time I may have in viewing the progress of my fields of Lucern\(^{46}\) at Mount Airy. When I mention that place it gives me pleasure to hear that your abode there contributed to your health, and that you are like to build and be my neighbor:\(^{47}\) When I return I have a deal to tell you of the Politeness I might say falseness and corruption of the people here, But you will say that I am grown old and Sour, I am at least I hope so old as not [to] imitate some of them in their ways: While I was writing this My Lady Juliana Penn called upon us to go and see our Country man Wests Painting. he is really a wonder of a man and has so far outstripped all the painters of his time as to get into high esteem at once, whereas the famous Reynolds was five years at work before he got into Vogue, as has been the case with all the others who generally drudged a longer time before they had any thing of a name: If he keeps his health he will make money very fast, he is not like to return among us so that you will not be able to have Mrs. Chew and your little flock painted.\(^{48}\) pray tell Mr. Turner I wrote my Son John that Mr. Walker of Rothgrams son with a number of Workmen were like to come over to our Ironworks and inclosed my last letter to Mr. Turners perusal.\(^{49}\) I long to see the old Gentleman to whom and his and your Folks present my warmest regards and be assured that I am Dear Sir

Your Very Affectionate Friend &
Most Humble Servant
Will: Allen

pray by means of Mr. Peters to whom present my love get the inclosed a safe conveyance or by any other way you shall think best.

To Mr. Chew

\(^{45}\) Almack’s was a small and very exclusive club which had just been organized. Among its members were Burke, Walpole, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Garrick, and Hume. Sir Walter Besant, *London in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1902), 323–324.

\(^{46}\) A plant resembling clover, cultivated for fodder.


\(^{48}\) See Grose Evans, *Benjamin West and the Taste of His Times*, (Carbondale, Ill., 1959).

\(^{49}\) Neither Mr. Walker nor Rothgrams have been identified. Perhaps this Mr. Walker was one of the Walkers, ironfounders of Rotherham, who in 1796 erected an iron bridge over the river Wear. Charles Singer and others, eds., *A History of Technology* (Oxford, 1958), III, 457.
London Golden Square Aprill 13th 1764

Dear Sir,

I have received your long and very kind letter, giving a particular account of our Province affairs, for which am much obliged to you. I know how you are taken up, and what little time you can command from your daily throng; it adds therefore to the obligation that you so far regard your old friend as to spend so much of it on his account as of course you must in the writing so many pages.

I intirely agree with you in opinion upon the several points you mention, if Government and the laws of our Country are to be trampled on with impunity, we hold our lives and our property by a very precarious tenure. But of all things I think a Dutch Mob the most dangerous. The Presbyterians are some of them wild and impatient under real or even imaginary injury. but by temper and prudence they may be brought to see their mistakes. If the Germans grow Seditious, and should rise up in numbers, it will be difficult to restrain their rage. their Anger would I feer end in spilling the blood of the objects of their resentment. I think it is the duty of every good man to use his utmost indeavors to calm the minds of the inhabitants and not by adopting their sentiments of Vengeance keep up and perhaps further inflame the contentions among us.60 You and I both have been personally attacked by a sect of men that I need not name, represented as the worst tools of Government, and every thing said of us to injure our reputations,61 but I know the bulk of these people have been misled by a set of Mock Patriots, whose interest it was to imbroil the Province, and have formed their notions of us from these misrepresentations. But shall we for these reasons do any thing against them inconsistent with Justice and Charity: The Back people have a right to complain that they are not sufficiently represented. The Charter says every County is to have not less then four members. they therefore have a right to that number at least and every Just

60 This passage no doubt represents Allen's reaction to the Paxton riots of December, 1763, and January, 1764. His moderation in discussing these events owed perhaps as much to the fact that his old foes, the "Quaker Party," bore the brunt of the rioters' anger as it did to his distance from the scene.

61 The meaning of this statement is not clear. Ordinarily, one would assume that the sect of men who had attacked Allen and Chew were the Quakers, but the juxtaposition of Allen's remarks about back country representation may indicate an attack from the Germans or Presbyterians of the frontier.
man must commend them for insisting on this their right. But even that should be done in a lawful way, and not by force of Arms; for that will make in the end the cause, otherwise very Justifiable and good, a very dangerous and bad one.

I am shortly to have a meeting with Mr. Thomas & Richard Penn where Mr. Wilmot is to be present, in which I will endeavor to persuade them to yield in some matters that are really of no importance, and which I have frequently told to them, that they are disputes about Goats wool. I say if by laying matters in their true light, I could be any how instrumental in abolishing and annihilating the sensless matters that have been frequently contested in our Assembly, and put a Stop to the most interesting concerns of the Province, I should count my self very happy. I am in hopes that my efforts will be attended with success, as I think the Proprietors dispositions and intentions are very Just, and rather favorable then otherwise to the people.

It is with great concern that I hear our good Friend Mr. Peters is in so declining a way. I fear that enthusiasm has helped to corrupt his Blood and have as bad an effect on his Constitution as it seems to have on his mind, I cannot think it has had any good effect on that. He was truly an honest good man when he laughed and Joked as much as any of us, and I think his quitting us and herding with Vestry men, Old women, and other devotees, has not made him a better. He regarded the weighties matters of the law; and Virtue, which I take to be the most Substantial piety, as much as any man, and I beleive full as much as he does now. I sincerly loved him and

52 The Charter of Privileges granted by Penn in 1701 stated: "SECONDLY: for the well governing of this Province and Territories, there shall be an Assembly Yearly Chosen by the freemen thereof, to Consist of four persons out of each County of most note for Virtue, Wisdom & Ability (or of a greater number at anytime as the Governour and Assembly shall agree) upon the first day of October forever." Colonial Records, II, 57-58.

53 Henry Wilmot had prepared a brief against taxation of the proprietary estates for presentation to the Board of Trade. Taxation of the Penns' lands, and latterly the level at which their located but unsettled lands should be assessed, had long been at issue between Assembly and proprietor. Indeed, this dispute had helped the Assembly to determine on its petition that Pennsylvania be made a royal colony. Shortly after this letter was written, Thomas Penn yielded. He may well have been motivated by a desire to retain political control over the Province, but it is likely that the meeting to which Allen refers involved a discussion of this problem, and that Allen played some part in obtaining the decision to yield. Thayer, 84.
if this should find him living pray present him my very hearty and affectionate regards.\textsuperscript{54}

I have been making many attempts to buy land but without any success, that of [illegible] in which I should have concerned you, is not to be sold, the owner Major Barker intending shortly for America of which if I remember right I apprized you in a former letter. I treated with one Ingham for 90,000 acres of old rights and thought for a time we were like to agree, but he had such an account of the sales of the London Company's lands among which there was some old rights that I could do nothing with him.\textsuperscript{55}

I am obliged to you for your kind intention in getting some things ready for me in my Garden at Mount Airy. I hope to have the pleasure of eating Buttered Indian Corn with you there in August next: I earnestly long to be at home. We have not all the Politeness that reigns pretty universally here, but I hope we have full as large a share of sincerity; to say no more. Home is home, be it never so homely.

I hope I shall have satisfied Mr. Turner that I have had some thought of our great concern Iron works, Since I have been here especially when Mr. Hossonclever comes over with his 200 people and I shall bring Mr. Walkers Son and some Workmen from Yorkshire, and shall get Andover Iron tried in every way it can be; by all my accounts already received, which are not a few, it is the best that ever was in England. I have had several and shall have many other proposals to contract for all we can make but I shall not agree with any of them till I have conferred with the other owners, and untill Mr. Hossonclever lays his before them.\textsuperscript{56}

I cannot say that the Climate here is agreeable to me, the perpetual rains make the air so damp that every body is complaining of Colds,

\textsuperscript{54} Peters, educated in the law, had become a priest in the Church of England and assistant rector of Christ Church. In 1737, after a quarrel with the rector, Archibald Cummings, he resigned and became secretary of the provincial Land Office. In 1762, he returned to the ministry as rector of Christ Church and St. Peters. \textit{DAB}.

\textsuperscript{55} \textit{PMHB}, LXXX (1956), 255.

\textsuperscript{56} Hossonclever is Allen's variant of Hasenclever. Peter Hasenclever, born in Prussia and trained in his father's iron and steel works, was in England at this time. In June, 1764, he arrived in New York and launched extensive industrial operations in New York and New Jersey. These operations ultimately failed, and Hasenclever returned to Silesia. What business connections, if any, existed between Hasenclever and Allen is not known. \textit{DAB}. 
and I among the rest have had some small share of them. I cannot
tell what is the occasion of it, I do not relish my victuals well and
have no joy when I set down to a well spread table. I am not yet one
of Hal's men not as Tailer tuck, or Bulls pizzle as Shakespeare
humourously calls them. But I am daily falling off in Flesh. I can
set cross leg which I have not done for some years, tie my garters
above knee, and weigh forty pounds less than when I left Philadel-
phia. instead of being a terror to the Chairmen I am every day
saluted with a Chair your Honor, and as my Girls frequently use the
Coach, I am wafted about in Chairs like a Shrimp. if Mr. Hamilton
and I was to be together, they would call him the fat Gentleman.
I am sorry to hear that my Son is gathering tallow fast

There are almost numberless applications for grants of land in the
new conquests few of them have yet been made out if any: The many
competitors bidding up on one another: for example the Coal mine at
Louisburg has been the object of many and five shillings sterling a
Chaldron is offered to the crown, all the Grantees will be saddled
with large quit rents to the King they are determined to fall upon
every measure to raise a revenue in America. We are to be their
grand Milch Cow but if they are not prudent in their modes we shall
turn dry upon their hands. I mean we shall not be able to take of the
English Manufactures, must live frugally and consume chiefly what
we make ourselves. I have sent over to Mr. Hamilton the bill that is
lately passed laying dutys on us and that before the house of com-
mons for preventing the paper money hereafter to be made from
being a legal tender by Dr. Smith who comes over in the Pacquet. he
really has great merit from the Accademy having with a prudence
that I thought he used much to want Collected a large sum of Money
and is spoke very well of by all persons here. He brings over a letter
signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury Mr. Penn and Dr. Chandler
recommending to the Trustees by some publick act of theirs to ex-
press their resolution to adhere to the broad bottomed establishment

57 Henry IV (Part I), Act II, scene 4, lines 270–274, G. B. Harrison, ed., Shakespeare, The
58 A chaldron represented a measure for thirty-six bushels of coal.
59 The Sugar Act had been agreed to on Mar. 13. The Paper Currency Act received the
Royal assent on Apr. 18.
60 Samuel Chandler (1693–1766), nonconformist divine and minister of the Old Jewry
Church for forty years. DNB.
upon which they set out that no Society or sect of religion may have it in its power to exclude or discountenance those who differ from them. I beg you would be so good as to present mine and my childrens Compliments to Mrs. Chew and all your good family and that you would be assured that I always am Dear Sir

Your Very Affectionate Friend
& Most Humble Servant
Will: Allen

To Benjamin Chew Esqr.