AMONG the manifold delights of the bibliographer, one certain to set his pulse pounding and start a fine sweat upon his brow, is the discovery, in an important book, of both cancellers and cancellandum; for such a happy piece of bygone carelessness enables him to see an author in the midst of changing his mind, almost to hear him cry, 'No, no, that isn’t what I want to say, but this!' Now we know, or at least we are told often enough by the psychologists, that what a man refrains from saying is often, if it can be known, more illuminating than what he does say; and likewise, if we know how a writer expressed himself on the spur of the moment and how he later altered what he wrote proprietors colonae, such knowledge not infrequently casts a penetrating ray of light upon that writer’s character or upon some particular facet of the times in which he lived. By some binder’s fortunate error, one of William Penn’s changes of mind has been preserved to us in a unique conjunction of cancellers with cancellandum in the Harvard copy of his Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania, London, 1681, and it is my pleasant privilege here to describe it.

Few debts in history have been discharged in as princely a fashion as that which subsisted between Charles II and Sir William Penn, father of the founder of Pennsylvania. Sir William, a naval officer under Cromwell and after the restoration under Charles, had by sundry services put the crown in his debt to the amount of some £16,000. The recovery of such a sum in cash proving impracticable, Sir William sought the discharge of the debt by a grant of land in America; but having met with no success at the time of his death, he could do nothing but remind his son of the debt and of his suggestion for its liquidation. William Penn immediately took up the matter, and on 1 June 1682 presented a petition to Charles, asking for a tract north of Maryland, bounded on the east by the Delaware, westward 'as Maryland,' and northward 'as far as plantable.' The petition was under consideration for nearly a year, but finally, on 4 March 1681, Penn was given a charter whereby he was granted (with its northern boundary somewhat more definitely defined) what is now the state of Pennsylvania, a domain nearly as large as England itself. Thus, for the discharge of a debt of £16,000, Penn became one of the greatest private landowners in the world. But that great and good man did not look upon his magnificent acquisition with a pecuniary eye, and he did not regard it as primarily an addition to personal fortune. He was an idealist

in politics and deeply religious. His gift represented for him the opportunity to fulfill his desire to found a free commonwealth, on liberal and humane principles and to provide a haven for the persecuted followers of his own religious faith, the Friends, or, as they are perhaps better known, the Quakers.

Penn had no sooner received his charter than he set about drawing up the pamphlets with which we are here concerned. Its purpose was to advertise the province and lay down terms for settlers, but from our point of view it is hardly less a contribution to English prose than a historical document. Since (by the good providence of God), Penn begins, ‘a country in America is fallen to my lot; I thought it not less my duty than my honest interest to give some publick notice of it to the world, that those of our own, or other nations, that are inclined to transport themselves or families beyond the seas, may find another country added to their choice, that if they shall happen to like the place, conditions and constitutions, (so far as the present infancy of things will allow us any prospect) they may, if they please, fix with me in the province hereafter described.’ He proceeds, by way of preface, to advance a number of cogent arguments against the common objections to colonies and colonization in general. One of these arguments, with an example taken from an industry which in our day has developed far beyond the wildest dream of any seventeenth-century mind, is worth quoting.

*See the introduction to the text of Penn’s Some Account as reprinted in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, 1630-1709, ed. Albert C. Myers (New York, 1912), pp. 199-200.

‘Those that go into a foreign plantation,’ he says, ‘their industry there is worth more than if they stay’d at home, the product of their labour being in commodities of a superior nature to those of this country. For instance; what is an improved acre in Jamaica or Barbadoes worth to an improved acre in England? We know ‘tis three times the value, and the product of it comes for England, and is usually paid for in English growth and manufacture. Nay, Virginia shows that an ordinary industry in one man produces three thousand pound weight of tobacco and twenty barrels of corn yearly... Let it also be remembered, that the three thousand weight of tobacco brings in three thousand two-pence by way of custom to the King, which makes twenty five pounds an extraordinary profit. Extraordinary indeed, if one consider what taxes on three thousand pounds of tobacco bring into national and state treasuries today!

Penn next goes on to give ‘something of the place.’ He describes the navigable rivers and harbors, the natural resources of the country, its commodities and products, and the method of trading. But he prefers to underststate. ‘I shall say little in its praise,’ he says, ‘to excite desires in any, whatever I could truly write as to the soil, air and water: this shall satisfy me, that by the blessing of God, and the honesty and industry of man, it may be a good and fruitful land.’ So far as political organization is concerned, the people and governor are to have a legislative power; the rights and freedoms of England (‘the best and largest in Europe’) are to be in force; and ‘what laws we please’ may be enacted ‘for the good
prosperity and security of the said province,' save any against allegiance to England.

Following a brief set of 'conditions' for his settlers, to which we shall return later, Penn's list of 'persons that providence seems to have most fitted for plantations' provides a fine footnote to social conditions in England during the seventeenth century as well as indicating Penn's own ideas of the types best suited to people his ideal commonwealth. He first mentions farmers, laborers, and craftsmen of all sorts, 'where they may be spared or are low in the world.' As they shall want no encouragement, so their labour is worth more there than here, and there provision cheaper.' Scientific and inventive minds are also to be welcomed, for 'a plantation seems a fit place for those ingenious spirits that being low in the world, are much clogg'd and oppress'd about a livelihood, for the means of subsisting being easy there, they may have time and opportunity to gratify their inclinations, and thereby improve science and help nurseries of people.' Penn also holds forth a solution for the old problem of younger sons. 'A fourth sort of men, to whom a plantation would be proper, takes in those that are younger brothers of small inheritances; yet because they would live in sight of their kindred in some proportion to their quality, and can't do it without a labour that looks like farming, their condition is too strict for them; and if married, their children are often too numerous for the estate, and are frequently bred up to no trades, but are a kind of hangers on or retainers to the elder brothers table and charity; which is a mischief, as

in it self to be lamented, so here to be remedied.' And finally, like others before him, Penn comes to the philosophers. 'Lastly, there are another sort of persons, not only fit for, but necessary in plantations, and that is, many of universal spirits, that have an eye to the good of posterity, and that both understand and delight to promote good discipline and just government among a plain and well intending people; such persons may find room in colonies for their good counsel and contrivance, who are shut out from being of much use or service to great nations under settled customs; these men deserve much esteem, and would be hearten'd to. Doubtless 'twas this . . . that put some of the famous Greeks and Romans upon transplanting and regulating colonies of people in divers parts of the world; whose names, for giving so great proof of their wisdom, virtue, labour and constancy, are with justice honourably delivered down by story to the praise of our own times; though the world, after all its higher pretences of religion, barbarously errs from their excellent example.' Penn's own name has long since been added to the roster of those great colonizers of the world he so admirably describes as 'honourably delivered down by story to the praise of our own times.'

Penn is careful, in describing 'the journey and it's appearances, and what is to be done there at first coming,' not to excite any expectation that it will be to a full-blown Utopia that his prospective settlers sail. 'Because I know how much people are apt to fancy things beyond what they are,' he warns, 'and that imaginations are great flattering of the minds.
of men; to the end that none may delude themselves, with an expectation of an immediate amendment of their conditions, so soon as it shall please God they arrive there; I would have them understand, that they must look for a winter before a summer comes; and they must be willing to be two or three years without some of the conveniences they enjoy at home. But he is careful to add that the ship that transports his voyagers need not be looked upon as another Mayflower: 'And yet I must needs say that America is another thing then it was at the first plantation of Virginia and New-England.'

After giving an abstract of the patent granted him by the King, whereby the land is to be Penn's 'to have and to hold to the only heir of the said William Penn his heirs and assigns for ever to be held of us as of our castle of Windsor in free and common socage paying only two beaver skins yearly,' Penn ends his pamphlet with an often-quoted and justly famous paragraph: 'To conclude, I desire all my dear country-folks, who may be inclin'd to go into those parts, to consider seriously the premises, as well the present inconveniences, as future ease and plenty, that so none may move rashly or from a fickle but solid mind, having above all things, an eye to the providence of God, in the disposal of themselves. And I would further advise all such at least, to have the permission, if not the good liking of their near relations, for that is both natural, and a duty incumbent upon all; and by this means will natural affection be preserved, and a friendly and profitable correspondence be maintained between them. In all which I beseech Almighty God to direct us, that his blessing may attend our honest endeavours and then the consequence of all our undertaking will turn to the glory of his great name, and the true happiness of us and our posterity. Amen.'

This, then, is a brief digest of the contents of Penn's ten-page pamphlet describing his province. The Harvard copy, acquired by purchase on 7 January 1848, has long been known to be imperfect; it lacks pages 3-4, but contains two sets of pages 5-6. Brief examination reveals that this imperfection results from the wrong leaf (8r rather than 8b) having been cancelled and the cancelled page preserved along with the cancels. The catchword on the verso of the first leaf containing pages 5-6 in the Harvard copy is 'that,' of the second, 'And.' Of the ten copies recorded in America, besides that at Harvard, inquiry has shown that all have page 5 with catchword 'And.' Thus the first leaf in the Harvard copy is the cancelled, the second the cancells.

Why was this first leaf cancelled?

The greater part of page 5 contains the end of Penn's description of the country and its political organization. There is no variation between the two leaves in the text of this section, and the setting is the same. There follow, however, on the rest of page 5 and on half of page 6, the 'conditions.'

*There are copies in the John Carter Brown Library, the Chapin Library of Williams College, the New York Public Library, the Quaker Collection of Winterthur College, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Clements Library at the University of Michigan, the Newberry Library, the Huntington Library, the Clark Memorial Library of the University of California, and in the private collection of Mr. H. F. du Pont, Winterthur, Delaware.
which Penn lays down for his prospective settlers, and it now appears that he stopped the press to make some highly interesting alterations in the text of these as originally sent to the printer. To acquaint the reader with what Penn's conditions were, I here quote in full the text of this section as contained on the cancellers, i.e. the text as it is generally known:

My conditions will relate to three sorts of people: 1st. Those that will buy: 2dly, Those that take up land upon rent: 3dly. Servants. To the first, the shares I sell shall be certain as to number of acres, that is to say, every one shall contain five thousand acres, free from any Indian incumbrance, the price a hundred pounds, and for the quit-rent but one English shilling on the value of it yearly for a hundred acres; and the said quit-rent not to begin to be paid till 1684. To the second sort, that take up land upon rent, they shall have liberty so to do, paying yearly one penny per acre, not exceeding two hundred acres. To the third sort, to wit, servants that are carried over, fifty acres shall be allowed to the master for every head, and fifty acres to every servant when their time is expired. And because some engage with me that may not be disposed to go, it were very advisable for every three adventurers to send an overseer with their servants, which would well pay the cost.

The dividend may be thus: if the persons concerned please, a tract of land shall be surveyed, say fifty thousand acres to a hundred adventurers, in which some of the best shall be set out for towns or cities; and there shall be so much ground allowed to each in these towns as may maintain some cattle and produce some corn; then the remainder of the fifty thousand acres shall be shared among the said adventurers [sic] (casting up the barren for common, and allowing for the same) whereby every adventurer will have a considerable quantity of land together; likewise every one a proportion by a navigable river, and then backward into the country. The manner of dividend I shall not be strict in, we can but speak roughly of the matter here; but let men skillful in plantations be consulted, and I shall leave it to the majority of votes among the adventurers when it shall please God we come there, how to fix it to their own content.

Turning now to the cancellandum, we find among the minor alterations that instead of referring to 'the shares I sell' to those that buy land, Penn originally wrote 'the lots I make.' This is a simple correction, made obviously in the interest of clarity and to make the construction a parallel one of buying and selling. Penn originally advised every three 'proprietors' rather than 'adventurers' to send an overseer with their servants; the proposal for 'fifty thousand acres' to be surveyed for every hundred adventurers was originally for only forty thousand (again a simple correction, since each share was to contain five thousand acres); and the land remaining after some of the best had been set out for towns or cities was originally to be shared 'by lot.' These alterations are of no great interest or importance, but are noted for the sake of completeness.

In speaking of servants towards the end of the first paragraph of this section, however, instead of the bald and straight-forward statement already quoted, Penn originally wrote this: 'To the third sort, to wit, servants that are carried over they shall have fifty acres after their time is expired: for I think it an unconsiderable thing that those who are able to pay the
passage of ten servants should take up five hundred acres on that account, and make the poor men work like slaves, and when their four years are out, to keep the five hundred acres to themselves, and let them have none.ạm

Our first reaction to this sentence is, 'I'm typical of the man!' But it is not hard to guess why Penn thought better of his forceful way of expressing his private sentiments and decided to strike it out. Prospective buyers in the wealthy stratum of society were naturally the men whose interest Penn most wanted to arouse by his pamphlet, and it would be they to whom his strictures on the treatment of servants would most aptly apply. He could therefore not risk offending any of this class who might entertain less humane ideas than his own, and since the wealthy are not infrequently sensitive on such points, Penn on second thought probably considered it more prudent to avoid seeming to pass moral judgment on that particular type of man's inhumanity to man that expresses itself in some master-servant relationships—or did in the seventeenth century. The fact that Penn was a shrewd enough business man to realize that it would be better to change what he originally wrote does him no discredit, nor does it alter the fact that what he originally wrote in this passage represents a tiny facet more than has hitherto been known of those broad and humane principles we associate with his name. To be able to add even so small a measure to the stature of a great man by rescuing a single sentence from oblivion is a rare privilege.

James E. Walsh

Three Texts of 'The Death of Queen Jane'

In the Harvard College Library there are three texts of 'The Death of Queen Jane' (No. 170 in Francis James Child's The English and Scottish Popular Ballads) which, although their existence has been known to ballad students for some time, have not been given later-day publication. Two of them are printed copies which came to light after Child had finished his work; the third is from a manuscript which Child rejected.

The earliest of the texts is from a chapbook in the Boswell collection, called The Catadonia Garland, with no printer or date but presumably of the late eighteenth century.2

KING HENRY AND QUEEN JEANY.

Queen Jeany was in labour six weeks & three days.
Till the women were all weary, and fain would find ease,
Go call me down K. Henry, go call him down,
said she.
Go call me down K. Henry and he will soon cure me.

1 (Boston, 1881-78), III, 371-375; V, 243 f.

2 Call number: '15776 2; Vol. XXVIII, No. 11. Listed as No. 1222 in the Catalogue of English and American Chap-books and Broadside Ballads in Harvard College Library (Library of Harvard University, Bibliographical Contributions, No. 56; Cambridge, 1903).
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