





THE LIFE
OF
WILLIAM PENN.

THE END

THE LIFE

OF

William Penn,

COMPILED FROM

THE USUAL AUTHORITIES

AND ALSO

MANY ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

BY MRS HUGHS,

Author of Ornaments Discovered, The Cousins, &c.

When we look back upon the great men who have gone before us in every path of glory, we feel our eye turn from the career of war and ambition and involuntarily rest upon those who have displayed the great truths of religion, who have investigated the laws of social welfare, or extended the sphere of human knowledge.

ALISON.

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Philadelphia :

PRINTED BY JAMES KAY, JUN. FOR

Carey, Lea & Carey, Towar & Hogan, John Grigg,
Uriah Hunt, Robert H. Small, M'Carty & Davis,
Kimber & Sharpless, J. Crissy.

BOSTON: Munroe & Francis.

1828.

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1829

JAMES KAY, JUN. PRINTER.

Eastern District of Pennsylvania, to wit :

BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the seventh day of April, in the fiftysecond year of the independence of the United States of America, A.D. 1828, James Kay, Jun. of the said district has deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit :

“ The Life of William Penn, compiled from the usual authorities, and also many original manuscripts. By Mrs Hughs, Author of Ornaments Discovered, The Cousins, &c.

“ When we look back upon the great men who have gone before us in every path of glory, we feel our eye turn from the career of war and ambition and involuntarily rest upon those who have displayed the great truths of religion, who have investigated the laws of social welfare, or extended the sphere of human knowledge.—ALISON.”

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, “ An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned ;” and also to the act, entitled, “ An act supplementary to an act, entitled, ‘ An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned,’ and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints.”

D. CALDWELL,
Clerk of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

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TO

Peter Stephen Du Ponceau, Esq.

THIS

LITTLE VOLUME

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

A STRONG sense of the excellence of WILLIAM PENN's character, and of the many useful lessons that might be derived from it, induced me several years ago to make an abstract of Clarkson's life of him, with the hope that many might be led, by seeing it in a more compendious form, to become acquainted with it, that would shrink from the idea of wading through a more voluminous work. Since my removal to this country, however, the kind encouragement of some, who had it in their power to assist me in procuring many additional materials, induced me to recommence the subject and endeavour to form an original sketch of my own.

The manner in which this undertaking has been executed proves but too plainly that the estimate formed of my powers for performing the task was far beyond what they deserved; yet I am willing to flatter myself that its merits are sufficient to gain for this little work the kind attention of those who have always received with so much indulgence whatever I have presented to them. It has been my endeavour to enable my readers to judge

for themselves of the character for which I claimed their admiration, by giving, wherever it was in my power, either WILLIAM PENN'S own words, or the words of those who were immediately and actively connected with him. In consequence of this, many names will appear in this volume, that will be recognized with pride by many readers as the stock from which they themselves derived their being; and I have only to regret that my limits would not permit me to give more of those names which are so honourably mentioned, and thus to gratify that only justifiable pride of ancestry, the pride of having descended from virtue, sense and learning.

The assistance that I have received from many gentlemen in the city, especially from P. S. Du Ponceau, Esq. John Vaughan, Esq. and T. I. Wharton, Esq. demands my warmest acknowledgments, whilst to Mrs Deborah Logan, who so kindly granted me permission to make use of her valuable mass of manuscript, I feel unable to express my gratitude in proportionable terms. Had the object for which she so kindly lent her aid, been executed in a manner more worthy of the subject, I should have felt satisfied that she would find her reward in the promotion of a cause that she has so much at heart; but as it is, I can only hope that she will accept the will for the deed, and be assured that its deficiencies have arisen from anything rather than from an indifference to the noble subject that I had undertaken.

THE LIFE
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WILLIAM PENN.

WILLIAM PENN, son of Admiral Sir William Penn, was born in London October the 14th 1644. Fortune at the moment of his birth seemed to mark him as one of her most favoured children, and surrounded him with her richest offerings, presented under the smiles of princes and the protection of power. But wonderful are the ways of Providence and often most unlooked for are the means by which its designs are accomplished. And so it proved in this instance, when he, who was surrounded by all the allurements of the world, simply for conscience sake rejected all her flattering gifts, and submitted to the miseries of

scorn, contempt, and persecution, viewing all those adventitious circumstances in their true light and aiming at that real greatness which it is not in the power of princes to bestow, little imagining that he even then was preparing the way for becoming the founder of a mighty state and the father of a powerful people.

Admiral Sir William Penn was a distinguished officer under the parliament, and was entrusted with the command of the fleet sent by Cromwell against Hispaniola; and was afterwards sent to the Tower by him on the failure of that expedition, though the blame rested chiefly on Venables who had the command of the soldiers. The admiral afterwards held high offices under Charles the second; and as he was received as the personal friend of that monarch's brother the duke of York, his power in promoting the interests of his son might be considered as almost unbounded; and naturally anxious that the full benefit of these advantages might be enjoyed, his first care was to give him a liberal education.

For this purpose he sent him first to a grammar school at Chigwell in Essex, which was not only an excellent seminary but had also the advantage of being near Wanstead, at that time his own country residence. It is said that when at this school, and when only eleven years old, he received strong

religious impressions, and became convinced of the capability of man to enjoy a direct communication with God. How far this was real or imaginary, it would be presumption in us to determine; but it may fairly be said that the conviction was of essential importance to his future character, by strengthening his belief in the support and protection of the Deity, and enabling him to persevere in those paths which his judgment and conscience dictated.

From Chigwell his father removed him to a school on Tower hill, near his own residence, and gave him, at the same time, the additional advantage of a private tutor, a circumstance which bespeaks no common care in the admiral to fit him for what he conceived to be his high destination: for the subject of education was not then generally conceived to be of the importance that it now is; and private tutors consequently must have been much less common. At the age of fifteen he had made such use of the opportunities he had enjoyed, that he was sent to college, and was entered a gentleman commoner at Christ's Church, Oxford. He here spent his time so properly between *study* and *exercise*, as not to exceed a due proportion of either. He indulged himself in all those manly sports which are calculated to make the body strong and athletic, as well as those amusements which are not less necessary to give vigour to the mind—the society of amiable and

intelligent friends. Amongst these he was so happy as to number Robert Spencer, afterwards the well known earl of Sunderland, and the still more distinguished and respectable John Locke.

These pleasures, however, had no effect in drawing off his mind from religious subjects, which, on the contrary, seemed daily to take firmer root in his bosom, and were in a short time considerably strengthened by the preaching of *Thomas Loe*, who had formerly been a layman in the university of Oxford, but had then become a Quaker. As the doctrines which he imbibed from this person's preaching were at variance with the mode of worship which he had hitherto pursued, his mind was too upright and ingenuous to admit of his persevering in that which he had hitherto pursued, and, therefore, in conjunction with some of his fellow students, he withdrew from the established form of worship, and held meetings where they could offer up their devotions in a manner more congenial to their feelings. It may easily be imagined that this was highly offensive to the heads of the college; and, in consequence, a fine was levied upon them for nonconformity. Neither he nor his associates, however, were deterred by this exaction from following what they thought right; nay, it may even be presumed that it only strengthened them in their resolutions by adding a degree of irritation and resentment to their other motives.

This may fairly be conjectured from what soon after took place, as it certainly led to most unjustifiable outrages against the ruling authority. An order came down to Oxford from Charles the second, that the surplice should be worn, according to the custom of ancient times, which operated so disagreeably upon William Penn's ideas of the simplicity and spirituality of the Christian religion, that, engaging Robert Spencer and some others of his associates to join him, he fell upon those students who appeared in their surplices, and tore them violently off their backs. It was impossible that an outrage of so unwarrantable and shameful a nature could be overlooked. The college took it up, and William Penn and several of his companions were expelled. This act of a rash and impetuous mind, and which could only be excused on the plea of his youth and inexperience, gave great displeasure to his father, who received him very coldly on his return home. Nor was the admiral's displeasure a little increased by observing the turn which his son's mind had taken, and the desire which he shewed to avoid all gay and fashionable society and to associate only with those of a serious and religious disposition.

Foreseeing a destruction to all the schemes of ambition which he had formed for his son, and which his situation and connections in life gave him so fair a prospect of realizing, the admiral be-

came exceedingly impatient; and, after endeavouring in vain to overcome him by argument, he adopted a mode of discipline more consistent with his habits as a commanding officer, than with his character either as an affectionate father or a reasonable being—and had recourse to blows. These, however, failing, as it was natural they should, for bodily inflictions can have little influence on the mind except in hardening it against the opposing party, he at length turned him out of doors.

But though of rather a hasty temper, the admiral was possessed of an excellent disposition, and could not, therefore, fail to be soon convinced of the error of his proceedings—particularly as his wife, who was a most amiable woman, used every means in her power to soften his anger towards his son. Overcome by such powerful advocates as his own affection and his wife's intercessions, the offender was at length pardoned, and a plan adopted to wean him from his old connections, which, with a mind less firm and steady than the one which was to be conquered, would most certainly have produced the desired effect. Deeming it probable that a change of scene, and in particular the gaiety of French manners, might have a powerful effect in counteracting the increasing gravity of his mind, he was sent to France with some persons of rank who were then going on their travels.

His first place of residence was Paris, but from his short stay there it may be concluded that the gaiety and dissipation of that place did not suit his turn of mind. He afterwards resided some months, during the years 1662 and 1663, with his companions. at Saumur. It appears he had been induced to go thither for the sake of enjoying the conversation and instruction of the learned *Moses Amyrault*, who was a protestant minister of the Calvinistic persuasion, professor of divinity at Saumur, and at this time in the highest estimation of any divine in France. From Saumur he directed his course towards Italy, and had arrived at Turin, when he received a letter from his father desiring his return, as he was himself ordered to take command of the fleet against the Dutch, and wished his son to take care of the family during his absence. Though his religious principles were as firm as ever, he returned home with manners much more accordant with his father's wishes than those with which he had departed. He had become more lively, and had acquired a polish and courtly demeanour which was the natural consequence of having mingled more with the world.

As it was deemed desirable on his return from the continent that he should make himself acquainted with the laws of his country, he entered himself, at his father's request, a student at Lincoln's Inn. The breaking out of the plague, how-

ever, obliged him to relinquish his new pursuit in about a year, as it was necessary, for self preservation, that he should leave London. It is probable, however, that short as this time was, the knowledge which he then obtained was highly serviceable to him in future life, and that he then acquired the rudiments of those principles of law and equity which were afterwards so conspicuously displayed. There can be little doubt that, as his situation in life was too independent to make it necessary that he should follow a profession, his father's motive for directing his attention to the study of the law was a wish to occupy his mind and preserve him from returning to his former habits and associates. But his mind appears to have been too firmly bent upon the cause he had espoused, to be diverted from his object. On the contrary, it broke forth with renewed force from its temporary suppression. He again became serious, and mixed only with grave and religious people.

His father, on his return, immediately observed the change ; and, still feeling the same determination to break up his son's connections, he sent him off to Ireland. He was induced to make choice of this country on account of his acquaintance with the duke of Ormond, (who was the lord lieutenant,) as well as with many others of his court. The duke was a man of graceful manners, lively

wit, and cheerful temper ; and his court was gay and splendid ; so that the admiral imagined his son could scarcely fail, in such society, to forget his early habits, and gradually acquire new tastes and pursuits. But this scheme proved as futile as the former ones ; his religious sentiments remained unshaken, and every thing he saw tended to confirm his determination to a serious life. And here it is impossible not to pause and admire the firmness of that mind which could thus resist such powerful and manifold temptations, and steadily persevere in keeping itself unspotted from the world.

The admiral, again disappointed though not overcome, had recourse to another expedient. He had large estates in Ireland, of which he determined to give his son the sole management, knowing that it would at once keep his time fully employed, and detain him at a distance from all his English connections. And here he found that, though unshaken in his resolution where his conscience told him that it was his duty to oppose, this opposition did not arise from any unwillingness to comply with his wishes ; but that on the contrary he performed the duties of his commission with scrupulous diligence. But an accident occurred at this time which produced very important consequences.

Being accidentally on business at Cork, he heard

that Thomas Loe (the layman who has before been mentioned as having made a great impression on his mind) was to preach at a meeting of the Quakers in that city, and he found it impossible to resist the temptation of going to hear him. The discourse happened to be from the following words: "There is a faith which overcomes the world, and there is a faith which is overcome by the world." The subject seemed so peculiarly fitted to the struggles which he had so long undergone, that it made a strong impression on his mind; and, though he had not before shewn a preference to any particular sect, he from that day favoured the Quakers.

In consequence of this preference, he began to attend their public meetings. But he soon found, from the prejudices of the times, that he had chosen a thorny and rugged road. On the 3d of September 1667, being at one of these meetings, he was apprehended on the plea of a proclamation issued in 1660 against tumultuous assemblies, and carried before the mayor. As his dress did not correspond with that of the society, he was offered his liberty on condition of giving bond for his good behaviour; but not choosing to do this he was sent, with eighteen others, to prison. Soon after his commitment, he wrote a letter to lord Orrery, then president of the council of Munster, from which it will not, it is presumed, be unacceptable to make an extract, as nothing can give so

true a picture of his mind as his own forcible language; and when it is considered that he was at the time of his writing it only in his twenty-third year, it is impossible to read it without being struck with the justness of the reasoning and the moderation of the language in so young a man, and one too who had so much cause for complaint. After arguing against his imprisonment as a point of law, he proceeds thus: "And tho' to dissent from a national system, imposed by authority, renders men hereticks, yet I dare believe your lordship's better read in reason and theology than to subscribe a maxim so vulgar and untrue, for imagining most visible constitutions of religious government suited to the nature and genius of a civil empire, it cannot be esteemed heresy, but to scare a multitude from such enquiries as may create divisions fatal to a civil policy, and therefore at worst deserves the name only of disturbers.

"But I presume, my lord, the acquaintance you have had with other countries must needs have furnish'd you with this infallible observation, that diversities of faith and worship contribute not to the disturbance of any place where moral uniformity is barely requisite to preserve the peace. It is not long since you were a good solicitor for the liberty I now crave, and conclude no way so effectual to improve or advantage this country as to dispense with freedom in things relating to conscience;

and I suppose were it riotous or tumultuary, as by some vainly imagined, your lordship's inclination, as well as duty, would entertain a very remote opinion. My humble supplication therefore to you is, that so malicious and injurious a practice to innocent Englishmen may not receive any countenance or encouragement from your lordship; for as it is contrary to the practice elsewhere and is a bad argument to invite English hither, so with submission will it not resemble that clemency and English spirit that hath hitherto made you honourable." This letter, as far as he was himself concerned, answered the desired end; for the earl immediately ordered his release.

The report that he had become a Quaker was soon conveyed to his father by a nobleman then resident in Ireland, and the admiral immediately sent for him home. Though there was not, at first sight, any thing in his appearance which seemed to confirm the report, it was not long before it was placed beyond a doubt by his renunciation of the customs of the world, and particularly that of taking off the hat, as well as his communion with those only of his own peculiar views. The admiral had now tried his last expedient, and could no longer contain himself. Coming to a direct explanation with his son, the scene is described by *Joseph Besse* (the first biographer of WILLIAM PENN) as having been exceedingly in-

teresting. "And here," says he, "my pen is diffident of her abilities to describe that most pathetic and moving contest which was between his father and him : his father, actuated by natural love, principally aiming at his son's temporal honour ; he, guided by a divine impulse, having chiefly in view his own eternal welfare : his father, grieved to see the well accomplished son of his hopes, now ripe for worldly promotion, voluntarily turning his back upon it ; he, no less afflicted to think a compliance with his earthly father's pleasure was inconsistent with his obedience to his heavenly one : his father, pressing his conformity to the customs and fashions of the times ; he, modestly craving leave to refrain from what would hurt his conscience : his father, earnestly entreating him, and almost on his knees beseeching him to yield to his desire ; he, of a loving and tender disposition, in an extreme agony of spirit to behold his father's concern and trouble : his father, threatening to disinherit him ; he, humbly submitting to his father's will therein : his father, turning his back on him in anger ; he, lifting up his heart to God for strength to support him in that time of trial."

Convinced that it was in vain to attempt any farther to alter the general views of his son, the admiral agreed to give up the point, provided he could obtain one slight concession ; which was, that he would consent to sit with his hat off in his

own presence, and in that of the king and the duke of York. WILLIAM desired time to consider this proposition; and perhaps it is to be regretted that he could not bring his mind to comply with it. His reasons, however, no doubt appeared sufficiently cogent to authorize his refusal; for we find that, after being permitted to retire to his own chamber to consider the matter seriously, he declared his inability to comply. His answer, though couched in terms of the tenderest affection and filial submission, was more than his father could bear; and, giving way to the violence of his anger, he once more turned his son out of doors.

However we may regret WILLIAM'S refusal to yield to this apparently trifling mark of submission to his father's wishes, it is impossible not to reverence the conscientious principles which dictated it. The deprivations to which it exposed him puts all doubt of the sincerity of his motives out of the question; and we cannot, therefore, but sympathize with him when we find him thrown upon the world, without even the means of support. He had no private fortune, nor had he been brought up to any trade or profession. But though his sudden change from affluence to poverty could not but have affected him very deeply, his chief concern arose from the idea of having broken the peace of so worthy a parent. He bore his situation, however, with great resignation, supporting

himself with the comforts which religion afforded; and it was not long before he found that, even in this forlorn state, he was not entirely deserted. His mother kept up a private communication with him, supplying him with money from her own purse, and several other kind friends also came with assistance.

In 1668, being then twenty-four years of age, he came forward in the important character of a minister of the gospel, having before joined in membership with the society of Quakers. Soon after this time, he became involved in a controversy with the minister of a Presbyterian congregation in Spitalfields, the particulars of which we will not attempt to detail; suffice it to say, that as his opponent refused to give him an opportunity of a personal discussion of his sentiments, he determined upon doing it by means of the press. He therefore published "The Sandy Foundation Shaken," in which he treated many of what were considered important points of religion, particularly the doctrine of the trinity, in a manner which gave great offence to many. Amongst those who took umbrage at it, the bishop of London was the most conspicuous. By this means it became an affair of public animadversion, and WILLIAM PENN was soon afterwards apprehended, and sent a prisoner to the Tower.

In his confinement he was treated with great severity. He was not only kept a close prisoner, but forbidden the sight of any of his friends; in addition to which he was told, that the bishop of London was resolved he should either publicly recant or die in prison. But he who for conscience sake had suffered himself to be driven from the roof of a parent whom he loved and revered was not to be subdued by such a threat. In his reply to the bishop, instead of making any mean concessions, he gave him to understand, "that he would weary out the malice of his enemies by his patience; that great and good things were seldom obtained without loss and hardships; that the man who would reap and not labour must faint with the wind and perish in disappointments; and that his prison should be his grave before he would renounce his just opinions; for that he owed his conscience to no man."

Whilst confined in the Tower he amused himself, as well satisfied his conscience, by writing; and produced at this time his "No Cross, no Crown"—as well as another work, called "Innocency with her Open Face," intended as an explanation of "The Sandy Foundation Shaken," which he understood had been much misrepresented. Soon after the publication of "Innocency with her Open Face," he was discharged from the Tower, after having been a prisoner there for seven months.

His discharge came suddenly from the king, who had been prevailed upon by the duke of York to grant it. It is not known whether his liberation was occasioned by a request from his father or was granted merely in compliment to him; but there is every reason to believe that he owed it simply to his family connections and not to any conviction of his innocence on the part of his persecutors.

We are happy to observe, that about this time his father began to shew signs of relenting. His son's steady perseverance in the path he had chosen, notwithstanding the many hardships he had undergone, no doubt convinced the admiral of his being actuated by strictly conscientious principles; and, under such a conviction, it was scarcely possible that his resentment should continue. We do not find, however, that he yielded at this time further than by permitting him to come to his house; for he still refused to see him, but gave him a commission to execute some business for him in Ireland. This commission was cheerfully received; for William, no doubt, felt happy in being able thus to testify his readiness to obey the wishes of his father as far as it was in his power to do so without injuring his conscience.

Whilst in Ireland his time was divided between the execution of his father's business and what he

deemed a due attention to his religious concerns, particularly in visiting those of his poor brethren who were in prison for conscience sake. To these, however, visits of sympathy were not the only kindness which he shewed. He drew up an account of their cases in the form of an address, and presented it with his own hand to the lord lieutenant, and exerted so much zeal himself, as well as interesting his father and many other people of power in their favour, that he at length obtained an order in council for their release. On his return from Ireland, a complete reconciliation took place between him and his father, to the joy of all concerned, but particularly of his mother, and he once more fixed his residence under the paternal roof.

In the year 1670 the Conventicle act was passed by parliament, which prohibited Dissenters from worshipping God according to their own ideas of duty. It is believed to have originated with some of the bishops, and must ever be a lasting stain upon the memory of those by whom it was suggested. But it is not to be supposed that the laws of man, however arbitrary, would have power to deter WILLIAM PENN from pursuing the path which he believed to be right. Accordingly, he and several others proceeded as usual to the meeting house in Gracechurch street, which they found guarded by a band of soldiers. Not being

allowed to enter, they remained about the door, where they were joined by others till they became a very considerable assembly. WILLIAM PENN now began to preach, but had not gone far before he and another of the society, named William Mead, were seized by constables, who produced warrants signed by Sir Samuel Starling, then lord mayor. They were immediately conveyed to Newgate, there to await their trial at the next session of the Old Bailey.

On the first of September the trial came on ; and though it is in our power to give only a cursory view of the proceedings, it is hoped that the slight sketch which will be found here will not fail of interesting our readers.

The jury, who were impanelled, and who deserve to have their names handed down to the respect and gratitude of future generations, were, Thomas Veer, Edward Bushel, John Hammond, Charles Milson, Gregory Walklet, John Brightman, William Plumstead, Henry Henley, James Damask, Henry Michel, William Lever, and John Baily.

The indictment stated, amongst other falsehoods, that the prisoners had preached to an unlawful, seditious, and riotous assembly ; that their meeting had been by previous agreement ; and that it had been by force of arms, to the great terror

and disturbance of many of his majesty's liege subjects. Little was done the first day. The prisoners, after having been brought twice into court, were set aside, to wait till the conclusion of some other trials, as a further mark, no doubt, of contempt and scorn. On the third, they were again brought to the bar. One of the officers, as they entered, pulled off their hats; at which the lord mayor was exceedingly irritated, and in a stern voice ordered him to put them on again. On his being obeyed, the recorder fined each of the prisoners forty marks, observing that their being there with covered heads amounted to a contempt of court.

The witnesses were then called in and examined. The substance of the testimony which they gave was, that, on the fifteenth of August, they had seen WILLIAM PENN speaking to about four hundred people, assembled in Gracechurch street, but could not make out a word he said. That William Mead had also been heard to say something, but nobody could tell what. This testimony being given, WILLIAM PENN acknowledged that both he and his friend were present at the time and place mentioned. Their object in being there was to worship God. "We are so far," says he, "from recanting, or declining to vindicate the assembling of ourselves to preach, pray, or worship the eternal, holy, just God, that we declare

to all the world, that we do believe it to be our indispensable duty to meet incessantly upon so good an account; nor shall all the powers upon earth be able to divert us from reverencing and adoring our God who made us." As soon as he had pronounced these words, Brown, one of the sheriffs, exclaimed, that he was there not for worshipping God, but for breaking the law. WILLIAM PENN declared that he had broken no law, and desired to know by what law he was prosecuted. The recorder answered, "The common law." WILLIAM begged to know where that law was to be found. The recorder replied, that he did not think it worth while to examine all the adjudged cases for so many years which they called common law, to satisfy his curiosity. PENN answered, very significantly, that if the law were common, he thought it should not be so hard to find out.

After a great deal of insolent and unjust behaviour on the part of the mayor and recorder, and a great deal of manly and pertinent argument on the part of PENN, they again remanded him to prison. But hearing a part of the charge to the jury as he was retiring, he made a stop, and, raising his voice, exclaimed aloud, "I appeal to the jury, who are my judges, and this great assembly, whether the proceedings of the court are not most arbitrary, and void of all law, in endeavouring to give the jury their charge in the absence of the

prisoners. I say it is directly opposite to, and destructive of, the undoubted right of every English prisoner, as Coke on the chapter of Magna Charta speaks.”

But this remonstrance had no effect; the prisoners were forced to their cells. The jury were now ordered to agree upon their verdict. Four, who shewed themselves disposed to favour the prisoners, were abused and actually threatened by the recorder. They were then all of them sent out of court. On being summoned again, they delivered their verdict unanimously, *Guilty of speaking in Gracechurch street*. The magistrates on the bench now loaded the jury with reproaches. They refused to take the verdict, and immediately adjourned the court, sending them away for half an hour to reconsider it. That time having expired, the court again sat. The prisoners were summoned to the bar, and the jury again called upon for their verdict. It was given in the same as before, with this difference only, that it was then in writing with the signature of all their names.

The magistrates, enraged beyond measure at the conduct of the jury, did not scruple to express themselves in the most abusive terms in open court. The recorder then addressed them as follows: “Gentlemen, you shall not be dismissed till we have a verdict such as the court will accept; and

you shall be locked up without meat, drink, fire, and tobacco: you shall not think thus to abuse the court: we will have a verdict by the help of God, or you shall starve for it." WILLIAM PENN remonstrated against the injustice of thus seeking to terrify the jury into changing their verdict. Then, turning to the jury, he said emphatically, "You are Englishmen. Mind your privilege. Give not away your right."

In this manner they proceeded,—the court alternately calling upon the jury for their verdict, and then remanding them to confinement because it was not such as they liked, till the fifth day. The jury had then been two days and two nights without refreshment of any kind. But they exhibited even amidst such hardships an example of the steady independence of an English jury which must ever be an honour to their country. Despairing of a verdict more in unison with their wishes, these arbitrary persecutors were obliged to shift their ground; and, pretending that both the prisoners and the jury had refused to pay the court fines, which they, however, had levied without a shadow of justice, they ordered them all to Newgate. As no confinement was likely to induce WILLIAM PENN to comply with an unjust extortion, it is impossible to say how long he might have remained a prisoner had not his father sent the money privately and thus procured his liberation.

The jury, we find, were soon after released, as their confinement was proved to be illegal.

The oppression and persecution which WILLIAM PENN had experienced had served greatly to endear him to the heart of his father. Of his excellent moral qualities and amiable dispositions he had always been well persuaded; but when he saw a son whom he esteemed and loved, however widely he had differed from him in religion, reviled, persecuted, and imprisoned, his heart clung to him with more than usual affection. In addition to these circumstances, his own health had long been declining, and he had no hope of recovery. Under the pressure of sickness and premature old age, which had been brought on by change of climate and hard service, his bosom panted for the kind and tender offices of an affectionate son. During his illness, every day's experience seemed to render that son dearer to him, and being well aware that, with the religious opinions which he entertained, the existing laws of the country would continually expose him to suffering, he determined to make a death bed request to the duke of York, that he would both grant to him his own and endeavour to procure the king's protection. To this request a satisfactory answer, promising their services, was received from both. A short time after this his son was thus addressed by him: "Son WILLIAM, I am weary of the world! I would not live

over my days again, if I could command them with a wish ; for the snares of life are greater than the fears of death. This troubles me, that I have offended a gracious God. The thought of this has followed me to this day. Oh! have a care of sin! It is that which is the sting both of life and death. Three things I commend to you:—First, let nothing in this world tempt you to wrong your conscience. I charge you do nothing against your conscience ; so will you keep peace at home, which will be a feast to you in a day of trouble. Secondly, whatever you design to do, lay it justly, and time it seasonably ; for that gives security and dispatch. Thirdly, be not troubled at disappointments ; for if they may be recovered, do it ; if they cannot, trouble is then vain. If you could not have helped it, be content ; there is often peace and profit in submitting to Providence ; for afflictions make wise. If you could have helped it, let not your trouble exceed instruction for another time. These rules will carry you with firmness and comfort through this inconstant world.”

This venerable old man seems to have met the immediate approach of death with exemplary calmness. Looking at his son with the most composed countenance, he said, “ Son William ! if you and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching, and keep to your plain way of living, you will make an end of the priests to the end of

the world.—Bury me by my mother.—Live all in love.—Shun all manner of evil—and I pray to God to bless you all; and he *will* bless you all.” He expired very soon after. We cannot but admire the amiable ingenuousness of the admiral’s last words. And as his frank avowal of his errors proves them to have arisen from irritability of temper rather than badness of heart, it is impossible not to accept his conduct afterwards as a full atonement. Indeed it is scarcely possible to wonder at the conduct which he pursued when we consider the peculiar circumstances of the case. Accustomed as the admiral had been to a gay and licentious court, where the self denying spirit of religion was altogether unknown, it is not to be wondered that its angelic form, when brought forward to his view in the character of his youthful son, was mistaken for obstinacy and self will. For who could have expected that one so young, and at a period too when vice was fashion, dissipation elegance, and a dereliction of principle wit and spirit, should have courage to look upon the glittering baubles of rank, titles, and splendour by which he was surrounded in their true light, and casting them all behind him aim only at that true greatness of soul which genuine piety alone can bestow. We find however that, when time had proved the firmness of his son’s principles and the purity of his motives, he yielded gradually to their influence, and at length died in the con-

viction that his son had chosen the only certain road to happiness.

The death of his father put WILLIAM PENN into the possession of an annual income of fifteen hundred pounds sterling, a sum which, at that time, was sufficient to render him not only independent but rich. But though now placed in affluence, without any claims upon his public exertions except what his active and ardent mind suggested, he was as little disposed as ever to rest from his labours; but spent a considerable time after the death of his father in travelling about and practising the duties of a public minister.

On his return to London he experienced another of those violent outrages against liberty and the rights of conscience by which he had before been visited. Whilst preaching in a meeting house belonging to the Quakers, in Wheeler street, he was pulled down from his place and conducted to the Tower by officers sent for the purpose. It was not long before he was brought up for examination before Sir John Robinson, one of those gentlemen who had been on the bench on his former trial. It appears that, so far from being ashamed of the part he had then taken, this officer of justice, whose duty it was to protect the rights and liberties of his country, was fully disposed to act it over again. Being baffled in his other attempt at

convicting him, he had recourse to extorting from his prisoner the oath of allegiance, well knowing that his religious opinions forbade his taking it; whilst a refusal to do so, when legally offered, was imprisonment by law. WILLIAM PENN refused, as he expected; when a long conversation ensued, in which PENN argued with him for some time with great coolness, till his illiberal persecutor, venturing to impeach his moral character, his whole frame seemed to be set on fire, and, with all the ardour of conscious innocence, he exclaimed, "I make this bold challenge to all men, women, and children upon earth, justly to accuse me with having seen me drunk, heard me swear, utter a curse, or speak one obscene word, much less that I ever made it my practice. I speak this to God's glory, who has ever preserved me from the power of these pollutions, and who from a child begot an hatred in me towards them. But there is nothing more common than, when men are of a more severe life than ordinary, for loose persons to comfort themselves with the conceit, that these were once as they themselves are; and as if there was no collateral or oblique line of the compass, or globe, from which men might be said to come to the arctic pole, but directly and immediately from the antarctic. Thy words shall be thy burthen, and I trample thy slander as dirt under my feet." The conversation ended by sir John Robinson informing him that he must send him for six months

to Newgate, at the expiration of which time he might come out. To which WILLIAM PENN immediately replied, "And is that all? Thou well knowest a larger imprisonment has not daunted me. I accept it at the hand of the Lord, and am contented to suffer his will. Alas! you mistake your interest. This is not the way to compass your ends. I would have thee and all men know, that I scorn that religion which is not worth suffering for, and able to sustain those that are afflicted for it. Thy religion persecutes, and mine forgives. I desire God to forgive you all that are concerned in my commitment, and I leave you all in perfect charity, wishing your everlasting salvation."—After this he was conducted to Newgate to undergo the punishment to which he was sentenced.

During the time of his imprisonment he kept himself constantly employed in writing, and at the expiration of the period of his confinement he took a journey to Holland and Germany, for the purpose of spreading his religious principles; but no very important particulars are handed down of his proceedings whilst abroad. Soon after his return home, he married Gulielma Maria Springett, the daughter of sir William Springett of Darling, in Sussex—a lady much admired for the superiority both of her personal and mental endowments.

After this marriage, they took up their residence at Rickmansworth in Hertfordshire.

Though possessed of ample means for enjoying a life of retirement and leisure, WILLIAM PENN was far from partaking of its allurements; for, having entered on the important office of a minister of the gospel, he was far from seeking to escape its fatigues : his time was spent in preaching, writing, and vindicating the cause of the oppressed. Amongst his writings at this time are two letters written to two women of quality, in Germany, who had shewn great liberality in granting asylums to persons that had been persecuted for their religion, as well as having evinced great seriousness of disposition themselves. These ladies were the princess Elizabeth, daughter of the deceased Frederic the fifth prince palatine of the Rhine and king of Bohemia and granddaughter of king James the first; and Anna Maria de Hornes, countess of Hornes, the friend and companion of the former.

In addition to his other avocations, he about this time became a manager of colonial concerns in New Jersey in North America; a situation which proved of the utmost importance in bringing him, by degrees, to the formation of a colony of his own. The nature of his situation was that of joint trustee for a person of the name of Byllinge, who had

purchased Lord Berkeley's share of the above mentioned colony, but who, having impoverished himself by the purchase, was obliged to deliver over his property in trust for his creditors, and had earnestly solicited WILLIAM PENN to accept the charge in conjunction with Gawen Laurie of London and Nicholas Lucas of Hertford, two of the creditors.

His new office required great exertion, and, with his usual alacrity, he immediately plunged into business. His first step was to agree with sir George Carteret, the proprietor of the other half of New Jersey, about the division of the province. The eastern half, which was tolerably well peopled, was allotted to the latter, and the western, in which no settlements had yet been made, was reserved for Byllinge: from this division they took the names of East and West New Jersey.

It was now necessary to form a constitution for those who might settle in the new colony, and this task fell almost exclusively upon WILLIAM PENN. The great outline of his laws may not be uninteresting, as a specimen of the liberality and good sense of their framer. The people were to meet annually to choose one honest man for each proprietary. Those who were thus chosen were to sit in assembly, and were there to make, alter, and repeal laws. They were there also to choose a

governor or commissioner with twelve assistants, who were to execute those laws, but only during the pleasure of the electors. Every man was to be capable both of choosing and being chosen. No man was to be arrested, imprisoned, or condemned in his estate or liberty but by twelve men of the neighbourhood. No man was to be imprisoned for debt, but his estate was to satisfy his creditors as far as it would go, and then he was to be set at liberty to work again for himself and family. No man was to be interrupted or molested on account of his religion. By these simple outlines, "he hoped that he had laid a foundation for those in after ages to understand their liberty both as men and Christians, and by an adherence to which they could never be brought into bondage but by their own consent."

Having made these and other arrangements, he and his colleagues circulated a letter, in which they particularly invited those of their own religious society to become settlers. We shall give an extract of this letter as an illustration of that conscientious integrity for which WILLIAM PENN was so remarkable, as well as that liberality and tenderness towards the feelings and opinions of others which he not only always inculcated but invariably practised. After a concise description of the place and an explanation of their right and title, this letter proceeds thus—

“ As to the printed paper, some time since set forth by the creditors as a description of that province, we say, as to two passages in it, they are not so clearly and safely worded as ought to have been, particularly in seeming to hint, the winter season to be so short time, when, on further information, we hear it is sometimes longer, and sometimes shorter, than therein expressed : and the last clause, relating to liberty of conscience, we would not have any to think that it is promised or intended, to maintain the liberty of the exercise of religion by force of arms ; though we shall never consent to any the least violence on conscience, yet it was never designed to encourage any to expect by force of arms to have liberty of conscience fenced against invaders thereof.

“ And be it known unto you all, in the name and fear of Almighty God, his glory and honour, power and wisdom, truth and kingdom, is dearer to us than all visible things ; and as our eye has been single, and our hearts sincere, in the living God, in this, as in other things, so we desire all whom it may concern, that all groundless jealousies may be judged down and watched against ; and that all extremes may be avoided on all hands by the power of the Lord ; that nothing which hurts or grieves the holy life of truth in any that goes or stays may be adhered to, nor any provocation given to break precious unity.

“ This am I, WILLIAM PENN, moved of the Lord to write unto you, lest any bring a temptation upon themselves or others ; and, in offending the Lord, slay their own peace. Blessed are they that can see and behold him their leader, their orderer, their preserver, and conductor in staying and going, whose is the earth and the fulness thereof, and the cattle upon a thousand hills. And, as we formerly writ, we cannot but repeat our request unto you, that, in whomsoever a desire is to be concerned in this intended plantation, such would weigh the thing before the Lord, and not headily or rashly conclude on any such remove ; and that they do not offer violence to the tender love of their near kindred and relations, but soberly and conscientiously endeavour to obtain their good will, the unity of friends, where they live, that, whether they go or stay, it may be of good favour before the Lord, and good people, from whom only can all heavenly and earthly blessings come.”

The spirit of forbearance and kindness that is here displayed cannot be too deeply studied, or too closely imitated, by all the friends of peace of the present day. For if there was a danger of its being violated at that time, when but a few friends were to be associated together in a place where they would be removed almost beyond the reach of temptation, how much more must there now be when a numerous population produces

all the variety of opinion incident to the human mind, and where a thousand temptations lie in wait to entice the yielding heart from the divine rule of "do as ye would be done unto."

In the commencement of the year 1677 we find that WILLIAM PENN had removed from his house at Rickmansworth, and had taken possession of another at Worminghurst, in Sussex, where in the quiet of retirement he occupied himself with his usual diligence in the affairs of his new colony. It interested his attention both on account of the person for whom he acted, and as affording him a more extensive sphere of usefulness. The circular letter above mentioned had been the means of his receiving many applications for shares in the new settlement, and he and his colleagues at length determined to appoint and send over commissioners who should be empowered to purchase lands of the Indians, to adjust rights, to lay out allotments, and to administer, for the first year, the government according to the spirit of the laws laid down. They then made proposals for the immediate sale of the lands, which, on account of the high esteem in which WILLIAM PENN was held, were no sooner made than accepted; and it was not long before nearly two hundred persons set sail for their new territories.

But, amidst his engagements of this nature, he

was called upon to interest himself about affairs of a more domestic nature. The Catholics having acted in many respects in such a manner as to excite the strongest alarm and suspicion, the various acts which had been passed against them began to be enforced with the utmost rigour. Unfortunately for the other Dissenters it was difficult to make a distinction, as they all came under that denomination, though the laws had been intended for the Catholics only. The hardships to which they were thus exposed at length came under the consideration of parliament, and a clause was added to a bill, at that time about to be passed against Popery, discriminating between Protestant Dissenters and Papists, and clearing those by the law who were willing to take the oath and subscribe the declaration contained in it. Still, however, the situation of the Quakers continued the same; for, their religion forbidding them to swear, they were deprived of the intended benefit. WILLIAM PENN, therefore, drew up a petition, requesting that, in the discriminating clause then under consideration, the *word* of a Quaker might be taken instead of his oath, with the proviso, however, that if any such person should be detected in a falsehood he should undergo the same punishment as if he had taken a false oath. On the petition being presented, he was admitted to a hearing before a committee of the house of commons, when he made the following address :

“If we ought to believe that it is our duty, according to the doctrine of the apostle, to be always ready to give an account of the hope that is in us, and this to every sober and private inquirer, certainly much more ought we to hold ourselves obliged to declare with all readiness, when called to it by so great an authority, what is not our hope; especially when our very safety is eminently concerned in so doing, and when we cannot decline this discrimination of ourselves from Papists without being conscious to ourselves of the guilt of our own sufferings, for so must every man needs be who suffers mutely under another character than that which truly belongeth to him and his belief. That which giveth me a more than ordinary right to speak at this time, and in this place, is the great abuse which I have received above any other of my profession; for of a long time I have not only been supposed a Papist, but a seminary, a jesuit, an emissary of Rome, and in pay from the pope; a man dedicating my endeavours to the interests and advancements of that party. Nor hath this been the report of the rabble, but the jealousy and insinuation of persons otherwise sober and discreet. Nay, some zealots for the Protestant religion have been so far gone in this mistake, as not only to think ill of us, and decline our conversation, but to take courage to themselves to prosecute us for a sort of concealed Papists; and the truth is, that, what with one thing and what

with another, we have been as the woolsacks and common whipping stock of the kingdom: all laws have been let loose upon us, as if the design *were not to reform, but to destroy us*; and this *not for what we are, but for what we are not*. It is hard that *we must thus bear the stripes of another interest, and be their proxy in punishment*; but it is worse that *some men can please themselves in such a sort of administration*. But mark: I would not be mistaken. *I am far from thinking it fit, because I exclaim against the injustice of whipping Quakers for Papists, that Papists should be whipped for their consciences*. No: for though the hand, pretended to be lifted up against them, hath, I know not by what discretion, lighted heavily upon us, and we complain, yet we do not mean that *any should take a fresh aim at them, or that they should come in our room*; for *we must give the liberty we ask, and cannot be false to our principles, though it were to relieve ourselves*; for we have good will to all men, and *would have none suffer for a truly sober and conscientious dissent on any hand*. And I humbly take leave to add, that those methods against persons so qualified do not seem to me to be convincing, or indeed adequate to the reason of mankind; but this I submit to your consideration. To conclude: I hope we shall be held excused of the men of that (the Roman Catholic) profession in giving this distinguishing declaration, since it is not with design to

expose them, but, first, to pay that regard we owe to the inquiry of this committee, and, in the next place, to relieve ourselves from the daily spoil and ruin which now attend and threaten many hundreds of families, by the execution of laws which, we humbly conceive, were never made against us."

The justice and liberality of this speech made a considerable impression on his hearers ; and the attention which he had received induced him to address the committee a second time, from the idea that there were other subjects on which he could give them a satisfactory explanation, and make both himself and those whose cause he espoused better known. He therefore addressed them again in the following words :

"The candid hearing our sufferings have received from you, and the fair and easy entertainment you have given us, oblige me to add whatever can increase your satisfaction about us. I hope you do not believe I would tell you a lie. I am sure I should choose an ill time and place to tell it in ; but I thank God it is too late in the day for that. There are some here who have known me formerly. I believe they will say I was never that man : and it would be hard if, after a voluntary neglect of the advantages of this world, I should sit down in my retirement short of common truth.

“Excuse the length of my introduction ; it is for this I make it. I was bred a Protestant, and that strictly too. I lost nothing by time or study. For years, reading, travel, and observation, made the religion of my education the religion of my judgment. My alteration hath brought none to that belief; and though the posture I am in may seem odd or strange to you, yet I am conscientious; and, till you know me better, I hope your charity will call it rather my unhappiness than my crime. I do tell you again, and here solemnly declare, in the presence of Almighty God, and before you all, that the profession I now make, and the society I now adhere to, have been so far from altering that Protestant judgment I had, that I am not conscious to myself of having receded from an iota of any one principle maintained by those first Protestants and reformers of Germany, and our own martyrs at home, against the see of Rome. On the contrary, I do with great truth assure you, that we are of the same negative faith with the ancient protestant church; and upon occasion shall be ready, by God’s assistance, to make it appear, that we are of the same belief as to the most fundamental positive articles of her creed too : and therefore it is we think it hard, that though we deny in common with her those doctrines of Rome so zealously protested against (from whence the name Protestants), yet that we should be so unhappy as to suffer, and that with extreme se-

verity, by those very laws on purpose made against the maintainers of those doctrines which we do so deny. We choose no suffering; for God knows what we have already suffered, and how many sufficient and trading families are reduced to great poverty by it. We think ourselves an useful people; we are sure we are a peaceable people: yet if we must still suffer, let us not suffer as Popish recusants, but as Protestant Dissenters.

“But I would obviate another objection, and that none of the least that hath been made against us, namely, that we are enemies to government in general, and particularly dissatisfied to that which we live under. I think it not amiss, but very reasonable, yea, my duty, now to declare to you, and this I do with good conscience, in the sight of Almighty God, first, that we believe government to be God’s ordinance; and next, that this present government is established by the providence of God and the law of the land, and that it is our christian duty readily to obey it in *all its just laws*, and *wherein we cannot comply through tenderness of conscience, in all such cases not to revile or conspire against the government, but with christian humility and patience tire out all mistakes about us*, and wait the better information of those who, we believe, do as undeservedly as severely treat us; and I know not what greater

security can be given by any people, or how any government can be easier from the subjects of it.

“I shall conclude with this, that we are so far from esteeming it hard or ill that this house hath put us upon this discrimination ; that, on the contrary, we value it, as we ought to do, a high favour, and cannot choose but see and humbly acknowledge God’s providence therein, that you should give us this fair occasion to discharge ourselves of a burden we have not with more patience than injustice suffered but too many years under. And I hope our conversation shall always manifest the grateful resentment of our minds for the justice and civility of this opportunity ; and so I pray God direct you.”

These two speeches had the desired effect of removing a considerable degree of suspicion which had existed against the Quakers as disaffected subjects. The consequence was, the committee agreed to insert a clause, to the purport WILLIAM PENN had suggested, in the bill then in agitation. This clause was reported to the house of commons, and actually passed there, after which it was carried to the house of lords ; but before it had passed a third time through that assembly the parliament was prorogued, and the clause thus rendered useless.

About this time (in the year 1681) he became engaged in the arrangement of his father's affairs, and finding that the government owed the sum of sixteen thousand pounds sterling to him as his father's executor for arrears of pay and for money advanced, he proposed that instead of its being paid to him in cash the king should make over to him by letters patent a tract of land situated on the west side of the river Delaware in North America. There is no doubt that he was first led to this idea by the knowledge which he had gained of the country in his management of West Jersey. He was besides both anxious to have a secure retreat to offer those who were suffering under the persecutions in which he knew so well how to sympathize and to establish such a form of government as should, as he says, serve as an example to other nations. It was not merely that he desired to favour and protect his own particular party, for he, as his biographer Proud expresses himself, like a "universal father, opened his arms to all mankind, without distinction of sect or party. In his republic it was not the religious creed, but personal merit, that entitled every member of society to the protection and emolument of the state ;" and these sentiments he himself thus confirms :

"And now give me leave to say, I have served the Lord, his truth and people, in my day, to my ability, and not sought myself, though much spent

myself; so has he firmly made me to believe, that I shall not, even *outwardly*, go without my reward; I see his blessed hand *therein* that has blessed my faith and patience and long attendance with success. And because I have been somewhat exercised, at times, about the nature and end of government among men, it is reasonable to expect that I should endeavour to establish a just and righteous one in *this province; that others may take example by it*;—truly this my heart desires. For the nations want a *precedent*: and till vice and corrupt manners be impartially rebuked and punished, and till virtue and sobriety be cherished, the wrath of God will hang over nations. I do, therefore, desire the Lord's wisdom to guide me, and those that may be concerned with me; that we may do the thing that is truly wise and just."

And again:

"For my country, I eyed the Lord in obtaining it; and more was I drawn inward to look to him, and to owe it to his hand and power, *than to any other way; I have so obtained it, and desire to keep it*; that I may not be unworthy of his love; but do that which may answer his kind Providence, and serve his truth and people: *that an example may be set up to the nations*: there may be room there, though not here, for such an *holy experiment*."

And a contemporary writer thus expresses himself, when speaking of WILLIAM PENN'S becoming proprietor of Pennsylvania :

“ MR WILLIAM PENN, an eminent Quaker and a gentleman of great knowledge and true philosophy, had it granted to him at this time ;—which he designed for a retreat or *asylum* for the people of his religious persuasion, then made uneasy at home through the bigotry of spiritual courts, &c. Mr PENN, therefore, carried thither with him a large embarkation of those Quakers; afterwards, from time to time, joined by many more from Britain and Ireland. At his first arrival there he found many English families in it, and considerable numbers of Dutch and Swedes; who all readily submitted to his wise and excellent regulations; which highly merit to be known by all persons who would apply to colonizing. The true wisdom, as well as equity, of his *unlimited tolerations* of all religious persuasions, as well as his kind, just, and prudent treatment of the native Indians; also his laws, policy, and government; so endeared him to the planters, and so widely spread the fame of his whole economy, that, although so lately planted, it is thought, at this day (about the year 1760), to have more white people in it than any other colony on all the continent of English America, New England alone excepted.”

This application for the land met with considerable opposition, but was at length decided in his favour; and he was, by charter dated at Westminster the 4th of March 1681 and signed by writ of privy seal, made and constituted full and absolute proprietor of the tract of land which he had pointed out, and invested with the power of ruling and governing it according to his judgment. The charter was made out under the name of Pennsylvania, a name fixed upon by the king as a token of respect to admiral Penn, though much against the wishes of the son, who was apprehensive of its being construed into a proof of ostentation in himself, and was desirous of having it called either New Wales or Sylvania only; but the king said it was passed, and that he would take the naming of it upon himself, a determination for which we cannot but feel obliged to him, since all must be gratified at having the name of its venerable founder thus held in honourable remembrance throughout the state.

Having now become the proprietor of a colony of his own, WILLIAM PENN found it necessary to resign his charge of West New Jersey. This, however, he did with less reluctance, as he had brought it, by this time, to such a state of maturity that it was likely to go on without his assistance. He had sent over about fourteen hundred people, of whom those who were come to an age to have

a character were all persons of great respectability. The town of Burlington had been built. Farms had taken the place of a wilderness of trees. Roads had been made. Religious meeting houses had been reared instead of tents covered with canvas. The town was under the government of a respectable magistracy, and the Indians in the vicinity converted into friendly and peaceable neighbours. Under these flourishing circumstances, he felt little regret at leaving it and turning his attention to his new concern, which he commenced by drawing up an account of the province granted him under the great seal of England.

To this account he annexed a copy of the charter, as well as the terms on which he meant to dispose of his land. In addition to this, he added the following admonition: "I desire all my dear country folks, who may be inclined to go into those parts, to consider seriously the premises, as well the inconveniency as future ease and plenty; that so none may move rashly, or from a fickle, but from a solid, mind, having above all things an eye to the providence of God in the disposing of themselves; and I would further advise all such at least to have the permission, if not the good liking, of all their near relations, for that is both natural and a duty incumbent upon all. And by this, both natural affections and a friendly and profitable correspondence will be preserved 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 undertakings will turn to the glory of his great name, and all true happiness to us and our posterity.”

We have in this admonition a striking display of the amiable and conscientious character of him by whom it was issued; and cannot but be struck with the contrast which we find in it to the proposals but too common in the present day of those who are ambitious of becoming founders of new colonies, but unfortunately commence their undertaking by setting religion, law, and morality at defiance. He shews, by the terms in which all his proposals are couched, his conviction that a strict adherence to every religious and moral obligation can alone give permanency to any undertaking; and we, who now live in the second century from the establishment of his noble project and are witnesses of the unparalleled success with which it has been crowned, cannot fail to admire and revere the wisdom of him by whom it was planned. These reflections apply with peculiar force at this time, when attempts are making to settle communities and form bonds of union under a system the leading articles of which reject every religious principle and social obligation. The history of these fanatical movements to overturn the settled order of society will shew that whatever is intended for the permanent

amelioration of society must have its foundations laid deep in Christian morality. Man was born with a nature which requires the ties of religion, family, and friendship, to satisfy the cravings of his heart. He may increase in wealth and power; he may extend his possessions to such a distance as to gratify his pride and almost satiate his ambition; but unless the heart approve the means which have been used, and the natural affections be kept in constant exercise, time will soon prove that he requires a more solid groundwork on which to rest his hopes of happiness than any thing on which he has founded them.

Amongst the stipulations to be agreed upon before the purchase of land, were many very admirable regulations—such as, that one acre of trees should be left for every five that were cleared, and that oaks and mulberries should, in particular, be preserved, as necessary for the production of silk and the building of ships. But our respect for the wisdom and prudence of the governor is especially excited by the provisions he made respecting the Indians. “In their behalf,” we are told by Clarkson, “it was stipulated, that, as it had been usual with planters to overreach them in various ways, whatever was sold to them in consideration of their furs should be sold *in the public market place, and there suffer the test, whether good or bad: if good, to pass; if not good, not to be sold*

for good ; that the said native Indians might neither be abused nor provoked. That no man should, by any ways or means, in word or deed, affront or wrong any Indian, but he should incur the same penalty of the law as if he had committed it against his fellow planter ; and if any Indian should abuse, in word or deed, any planter of the province, that the said planter should not be his own judge upon the said Indian, but that he should make his complaint to the governor of the province, or his deputy, or some inferior magistrate near him, who should to the utmost of his power take care with the king of the said Indian, that all reasonable satisfaction should be made to the said injured planter ; and that all differences between planters and Indians should be ended by twelve men, that is, by six planters and six Indians, that so they might live friendly together, as much as in them lay, preventing all occasions of heart burnings and mischief.”

There is no doubt that the humanity and love of equity which formed so conspicuous a part of WILLIAM PENN'S character would without any previous experience have led him to a similar mode of conduct towards these children of the forest to that which he adopted, but he must likewise have been greatly confirmed in his judgment by their conduct towards the settlers of New Jersey, of whom Proud in his History of Pennsylvania gives

an interesting account, and one which is calculated to make the most sceptical acknowledge their right to be treated as rational beings. It appears that some violent disorders had taken place between some Indians and the servants of some of the settlers; and the natives, who, till corrupted by European vices, had never shewn any thing but the most friendly dispositions, finding that the cause of the evils which had arisen was drunkenness, had the resolution themselves to petition that the selling of ardent spirits might be absolutely prohibited. A circumstance which presents a forcible lesson to their more enlightened brethren of almost every civilized country. When ignorant of the nature and effects of strong liquors, intoxication in these poor Indians could not be called a crime; but when those who are well aware of their fatal consequences persevere in sacrificing every present and future good to this destructive vice, there is no such excuse to be offered for them. Happy would it be for the world, if even at this day mankind would receive a lesson from these unlettered savages, who, fearful of not having resolution to withstand temptation if still presented to them, earnestly requested to have it removed, whilst those who proudly boast of superiority in knowledge and refinement, vainly self confident, instead of seeking to avoid the allurements, pretend boldly to face it, and only discover their own weakness by falling again and again into the

fatal snare. Whilst possessed of so little virtue themselves it is not to be supposed that Europeans would feel much disposed to guard that of their Indian brethren ; we cannot therefore be surprised to find that their request was not complied with, nor yet that the natives became but too readily victims to the snare, or rather yielded with inordinate fondness to its enticements : but we must ever regret that so large a portion of their vices is to be thus ascribed to those whose duty it was, not only to guard them from an accumulation of crime, but to endeavour to soften their natures and enlighten their darkened minds. But this noble effort may almost be said to be the glory of WILIAM PENN alone, and his stipulations in their favour must ever be an honour to both his heart and head. In the present civilized state of society it is a truth generally acknowledged, that all ranks and nations of men have a right to the justice and humanity of their fellow creatures ; though it must at the same time be confessed that whilst the right is acknowledged in words it is but too frequently denied in practice. But so long back as the sixteenth century, and indeed to a much later date, such claims were seldom even thus far admitted ; power was the only rule of action ; and the poor uncultured savage was made to resign his dearest natural rights to the arbitrary will of European despots. Whilst justice and humanity were thus withheld from

those whose situation offered the most urgent appeal for their exercise, the name of WILLIAM PENN, the warm advocate of the oppressed, the dispenser of justice, and the protector of liberty, shone forth in the western horizon like a splendid meteor, whose radiance was reflected on his native land ; and cold indeed must have been the heart that did not kindle with the fervour of esteem and admiration.

Determined to treat the Indians as rational beings, who were capable of understanding and feeling the language of kindness and good will, he addressed a letter to them, and sent it by the earliest settlers that went over. This letter, we are persuaded, will be read with pleasure, as a specimen of the gentleness and benevolence of the heart which dictated it.

London, 8th Mo. 1681.

“MY FRIENDS,

“There is a great God, and Power, which hath made the world and all things therein, to whom you and I and all people owe their being and well being, and to whom you and I must one day give an account for all that we have done in the world.

“This great God has written his law in our hearts, by which we are taught and commanded to

love, and to help, and to do good to one another. Now this great God hath been pleased to make me concerned in your part of the world ; and the king of the country where I live hath given me a great province therein : but I desire to enjoy it with your love and consent, that we may always live together as neighbours and friends ; else what would the great God do to us, who hath made us (not to devour and destroy one another, but) to live soberly and kindly together in the world ? Now, I would have you well observe, that I am very sensible of the unkindness and injustice which have been too much exercised toward you by the people of these parts of the world, who have sought themselves to make great advantages by you, rather than to be examples of goodness and patience unto you. This I hear hath been a matter of trouble to you, and caused great grudging and animosities, sometimes to the shedding of blood, which hath made the great God angry. But I am not such a man, as is well known in my own country. I have great love and regard toward you, and desire to win and gain your love and friendship by a kind, just, and peaceable life ; and the people I send are of the same mind, and shall in all things behave themselves accordingly ; and if in any thing any shall offend you or your people, you shall have a full and speedy satisfaction for the same, by an equal number of just men on both sides, that by no means you

may have just occasion of being offended against them.

“I shall shortly come to see you myself, at which time we may more largely and freely confer and discourse of these matters. In the mean time, I have sent my commissioners to treat with you about land and a firm league of peace. Let me desire you to be kind to them and the people, and receive the presents and tokens which I have sent you, as a testimony of my good will to you, and of my resolution to live justly, peaceably, and friendly with you.

“I am your loving friend,
“WILLIAM PENN.”

In a letter of instructions which he wrote at the same time, for the agents whom he sent over to take possession, he discovers so much tenderness towards those who were venturing their fortunes with him, and such caution, judgment, and foresight in various other particulars, especially in the laying out of the *great city* as he prophetically calls it, that we deem ourselves particularly fortunate in being allowed to make the following extracts from the original which is in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

“Instructions given by me WILLIAM PENN, proprietor and governor of Pennsylvania, to my trusty

and loving friends, William Crispin, John Bezar, and Nathaniel Allen, my commissioners for the settling of the present colony this year transported into the said province :—

“That so soon as it shall please Almighty God to bring you well there, you take an especial care of the people that shall embark with you, that they may be accommodated with conveniences as to food, lodging, and safe places for their goods, concerning which my cousin William Markham, my deputy and now on the spot, will in a good measure be able to direct, that so none may be injured in their healths or estate, in which if you find the Dutch, Swedes, or English of my side hard or griping, taking an advantage of your circumstances, give them to know that they will hurt themselves thereby, for you can for a time be supplied on the other side, which may awe them to moderate prices.

“That having taken what care you can for the people’s good in the respects above stated, let the rivers and creeks be sounded on my side of Delaware river, especially upland, in order to settle a great town, and be sure to make your choice where it is most navigable, high, dry, and healthy, that is, where most ships may best ride, of deepest draught of water,—if possible, to load or unload at the bank or quay side without boating or littering of it.

“It would do well if the river coming into that creek be navigable at least for boats up into the country, and let the situation be high, at least dry and sound, and not swampy, which is best known by digging up two or three earths and seeing the bottom.

“Such a place being found out for navigation, healthy situation and good soil for provision, lay out ten thousand acres contiguous to it in the best manner you can as the bounds and extent of the liberties of the said town.

* * * * *

“Be tender of offending the Indians, and hearken by honest spies if you can hear that any body inveighs the Indians not to sell, or to stand off and raise the value upon you. You cannot want those that will inform you; but, to soften them to me and the people, let them know that you are come to sit down lovingly among them. Let my letter and conditions with my purchasers about just dealing with them be read in their tongue, that they may see we have their good in our eye equal with our own interest, and often reading my letter and the said *conditions*, then present their kings with what I send them and make a friendship and league with them according to those conditions, which carefully observe, and get them to comply with you. *Be grave: they love not to be smiled upon.*

* * * * *

“Be sure to settle the figure of the town so as that the streets hereafter may be uniform down to the water from the country bounds: let the place for the store house be on the middle of the quay which will yet serve for market and state houses too. This may be ordered when I come, only let the houses be built on a line or upon a line as much as may be.

“Pitch upon the very middle of the plat where the town or line of houses is to be laid or run, facing the harbour and great river, for the situation of my house, and let it be not the tenth part of the town, as the conditions say (*viz.*) that out of every hundred thousand acres shall be reserved to me ten. But I shall be contented with less than a thirtieth part, to wit three hundred acres, whereas several will have two by purchasing two shares, that is ten thousand acres, and it may be fitting for me to exceed a little.

“The distance of each house from the creek or harbour should be in my judgment a measured quarter of a mile, at least two hundred paces, because of building hereafter streets downwards to the harbour.

“Let every house be placed, if the person pleases, in the middle of its plat as to the breadth

way of it, that so there may be ground on each side for gardens or orchards or fields. That it may be a green country town which will never be burnt, and always be wholesome.

“ I judge that ye must be guided in your breadth of land by what you can get that is unplanted and will be parted with; but, so far as I can guess at this distance, methinks, in a city, each share to have fifty poles upon the front to the river and the rest backward will be sufficient. But perhaps you may have more and perhaps you will not have so much space to allow; herein follow your land and your situation, being always just to proportion.

“ Be sure to keep the conditions hereunto affixed, and see that no vice or evil conversation go uncomplained or punished in any, that God be not provoked to wrath against the country.”

Not long after this, WILLIAM PENN had the misfortune to lose his mother. The death of a tender affectionate parent must ever be a severe trial to such a son, and to his *mother* he owed a more than common debt of gratitude. She had ever acted the part of a mediator between his father and himself, and had supported and comforted him during the time that he was banished from the paternal roof. The grief which he experienced on this oc-

casion had a considerable effect on his health, though we cannot but suppose he resigned himself to the afflictive dispensation with the submission becoming a Christian. He was however drawn from the contemplation of this melancholy event by the attention which his colonial concerns required. His first care was to secure the possession both of the land first granted, and of another portion lying contiguous to it, and which was obtained from the duke of York. He next drew up and published a frame of government or constitution of Pennsylvania, to which he annexed a preface which shews how deeply the subjects of law and government had engrossed his attention. A short extract from this preface we will here insert, believing that the just and philosophical sentiments which it contains are not beyond the comprehension even of juvenile readers.

“ But, lastly, when all is said, there is hardly one frame of government in the world, so ill designed by its first founders, that in good hands would not do well enough; and story tells us, that the best in ill ones can do nothing that is great and good; witness the Jewish and Roman states. Governments, like clocks, go from the motion men give them; and as governments are made and moved by men, so by them they are ruined too. *Wherefore, governments rather depend upon men than men upon governments. Let men be good,*

and the government cannot be bad. If it be ill, they will cure it. But if men be bad, let the government be never so good, they will endeavour to warp and spoil it to their turn.

“ I know some say, let us have good laws, and no matter for the men that execute them. But let them consider, that *though good laws do well good men do better ; for good laws may want good men, and be abolished or invaded by ill men ; but good men will never want good laws, nor suffer ill ones.* ’Tis true good laws have some awe upon ill ministers, but that is where these have not power to escape or abolish them, and where the people are generally wise and good : but a loose and depraved people (which is to the question) love laws and an administration like themselves. *That therefore which makes a good constitution must keep it ; namely, men of wisdom and virtue,* qualities that, because they descend not with worldly inheritances, *must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of youth, for which after ages will owe more to the care and prudence of founders and the successive magistracy, than to their parents for their private patrimonies.*

“ These considerations of the weight of government, and the nice and various opinions about it, made it uneasy to me to think of publishing the ensuing frame and conditional laws, foreseeing

both the censures they will meet with from men of different humours and engagements, and the occasion they may give of discourse beyond my design.

“ But next to the power of necessity, which is a solicitor that will take no denial, this induced me to a compliance, that we have, with reverence to God and good conscience to men, to the best of our skill contrived and composed the frame and laws of this government to the great end of government, *to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power, that they may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honourable for their just administration; for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery.* To carry this evenness is partly owing to the constitution, and partly to the magistracy. Where either of these fail, government will be subject to convulsions; but where both are wanting, it must be totally subverted: then where both meet, the government is like to endure, which I humbly pray and hope God will please to make the lot of this of Pennsylvania. Amen.”

As the time for his setting sail drew near, however, the claims of conjugal and parental affection began to weigh heavy on his heart. The important subject of education could not fail to be looked

upon by him, with such a mind as he possessed, in the serious light it deserved, and he no doubt felt considerable reluctance to leave his children at a time when his guiding hand might be of so much consequence to their future character, as well as to throw the whole of such a charge upon his wife. To make up, in the best way in his power, to his children for the loss of his personal instruction, and to his wife of his assistance, he determined to leave them his best advice in writing, which he did in the following letter, the careful perusal of which we cannot too earnestly recommend to our young readers :

“ My dear Wife and Children,

“ My love, which neither sea, nor land, nor death itself, can extinguish or lessen towards you, most endearedly visits you with eternal embraces, and will abide with you for ever : and may the God of my life watch over you, and bless you, and do you good in this world and for ever !—Some things are upon my spirit to leave with you in your respective capacities, as I am to one a husband, and to the rest a father, if I should never see you more in this world.

“ My dear wife ! remember thou wast the love of my youth, and much the joy of my life ; the most beloved, as well as most worthy, of all my earthly comforts : and the reason of that love was more

thy inward than thy outward excellencies, which yet were many. God knows, and thou knowest it, I can say it was a match of Providence's making; and God's image in us both was the first thing, and the most amiable and engaging ornament in our eyes. Now I am to leave thee, and that without knowing whether I shall ever see thee more in this world, take my counsel into thy bosom, and let it dwell with thee in my stead while thou livest.

“First: Let the fear of the Lord and a zeal and love to his glory dwell richly in thy heart; and thou wilt watch for good over thyself and thy dear children and family, that no rude, light, or bad thing be committed: else God will be offended, and he will repent himself of the good he intends thee and thine.

“Secondly: Be diligent in meetings for worship and business; stir up thyself and others herein; it is thy duty and place: and let meetings be kept once a day in the family to wait upon the Lord, who has given us much time for ourselves: and, my dearest, to make thy family matters easy to thee, divide thy time, and be regular: it is easy and sweet; thy retirement will afford thee to do it: as in the morning to view the business of the house and fix it as thou desirest, seeing all be in order; that by thy counsel all may move, and to thee ren-

der an account every evening. The time for work, for walking, for meals, may be certain, at least as near as may be: and grieve not thyself with careless servants; they will disorder thee; rather pay them, and let them go, if they will not be better by admonitions; this is best to avoid many words, which I know wound the soul, and offend the Lord.

“Thirdly: Cast up thy income and see what it daily amounts to; by which thou mayest be sure to have it in thy sight and power to keep within compass: and I beseech thee to live low and sparingly till my debts are paid; and then enlarge as thou seest it convenient. Remember thy mother’s example, when thy father’s public spiritedness had worsted his estate (which is my case). I know thou lovest plain things, and art averse to the pomps of the world; a nobility natural to thee. I write not as doubtful, but to quicken thee, for my sake, to be more diligent herein, knowing that God will bless thy care, and thy poor children and thee for it. My mind is wrapt up in a saying of thy father’s, ‘I desire not riches, but to owe nothing;’ and truly that is wealth, and more than enough to live is a snare attended with many sorrows. I need not bid thee be humble, for thou art so; nor meek and patient, for it is much of thy natural disposition: but I pray thee be oft in retirement with the Lord, and guard against encroaching friendships. Keep them at arm’s end; for it is giving away our power, aye and self too,

into the possession of another; and that which might seem engaging in the beginning may prove a yoke too hard and heavy in the end. Wherefore keep dominion over thyself, and let thy children, good meetings, and friends, be the pleasure of thy life.

“Fourthly: And now, my dearest, let me recommend to thy care my dear children; abundantly beloved of me, as the Lord’s blessings and the sweet pledges of our mutual and endeared affection. Above all things endeavour to breed them up in the love of virtue, and that holy plain way of it which we have lived in, that the world in no part of it get into my family. I had rather they were homely than finely bred as to outward behaviour; yet I love sweetness mixed with gravity, and cheerfulness tempered with sobriety. Religion in the heart leads into this true civility, teaching men and women to be mild and courteous in their behaviour, an accomplishment worthy indeed of praise.

“Fifthly: Next breed them up in a love one of another: tell them it is the charge I left behind me; and that it is the way to have the love and blessing of God upon them; also what his portion is who hates or calls his brother fool. Sometimes separate them, but not long; and allow them to send and give each other small things to endear

one another with : Once more I say, tell them it was my counsel they should be tender and affectionate one to another. For their learning be liberal. Spare no cost ; for by such parsimony all is lost that is saved : but let it be useful knowledge, such as is consistent with truth and godliness, not cherishing a vain conversation, or idle mind ; but ingenuity mixed with industry is good for the body and mind too. I recommend the useful parts of mathematics, as building houses or ships, measuring, surveying, dialling, navigation ; but agriculture is especially in my eye : let my children be husbandmen and housewives ; it is industrious, healthy, honest, and of good example : like Abraham and the holy ancients, who pleased God and obtained a good report. This leads to consider the works of God and nature, of things that are good ; and diverts the mind from being taken up with the vain arts and inventions of a luxurious world. It is commendable in the princes of Germany, and the nobles of that empire, that they have all their children instructed in some useful occupation. Rather keep an ingenious person in the house to teach them, than send them to schools, too many evil impressions being commonly received there. Be sure to observe their genius, and do not cross it as to learning : let them not dwell too long on one thing ; but let their change be agreeable, and all their diversions have some little bodily labour in them. When grown big, have

most care for them; for then there are more snares for them both within and without. When marriageable, see that they have worthy persons in their eye, of good life, and good fame for piety and understanding. I need no wealth, but sufficiency; and be sure their love be dear, fervent, and mutual, that it may be happy for them. I choose not they should be married to earthly covetous kindred; and of cities and towns of concourse beware; the world is apt to stick close to those who have lived and got wealth there: a country life and estate I like best for my children. I prefer a decent mansion of an hundred pounds per annum before ten thousand pounds in London, or such like place, in a way of trade. In fine, my dear, endeavour to breed them dutiful to the Lord, and his blessed light, truth, and grace, in their hearts, who is their Creator, and his fear will grow up with them. ‘Teach a child,’ says the Wise Man, ‘the way thou wilt have him to walk, and when he is old he will not forget it.’ Next, obedience to thee, their dear mother; and that not for wrath, but for conscience’ sake; liberal to the poor, pitiful to the miserable, humble and kind to all; and may my God make thee a blessing, and give thee comfort in our dear children; and in age gather thee to the joy and blessedness of the just (where no death shall separate us) for ever!

“ And now, my dear children, that are the gifts

and mercies of the God of your tender father, hear my counsel and lay it up in your hearts; love it more than treasure and follow it, and you shall be blessed here and happy hereafter.

“In the first place, ‘remember your Creator in the days of your youth.’ It was the glory of Israel in the second of Jeremiah: and how did God bless Josiah because he feared him in his youth! and so he did Jacob, Joseph, and Moses. O, my dear children, remember and fear and serve him who made you, and gave you to me and your dear mother; that you may live to him and glorify him in your generations!

“To do this, in your youthful days seek after the Lord, that you may find him; remembering his great love in creating you; that you are not beasts, plants, or stones, but that he has kept you, and given you his grace within and substance without, and provided plentifully for you. This remember in your youth, that you may be kept from the evil of the world: for in age it will be harder to overcome the temptations of it.

“Wherefore, my dear children, eschew the appearance of evil, and love and cleave to that in your hearts which shews you evil from good, and tells you when you do amiss and reproves you for it. It is the light of Christ that he has given you for

your salvation. If you do this, and follow my counsel, God will bless you in this world and give you an inheritance in that which shall never have an end. For the light of Jesus is of a purifying nature; it seasons those who love it and take heed to it; and never leaves such, till it has brought them to the city of God that has foundations. O that ye may be seasoned with the gracious nature of it! Hide it in your hearts, and flee, my dear children, from all youthful lusts; the vain sports, pastimes, and pleasures of the world; ‘redeeming the time because the days are evil!’—You are now beginning to live.—What would some give for your time! Oh! I could have lived better, were I, as you, in the flower of youth.—Therefore love and fear the Lord, keep close to meetings, and delight to wait on the Lord God of your father and mother, among his despised people, as we have done; and count it your honour to be members of that society, and heirs of that living fellowship which is enjoyed among them, for the experience of which your father’s soul blesseth the Lord for ever.

“Next, be obedient to your dear mother, a woman whose virtue and good name is an honour to you; for she hath been exceeded by none in her time for her plainness, integrity, industry, humanity, virtue, and good understanding; qualities not usual among women of her worldly condition and

quality. Therefore honour and obey her, my dear children, as your mother, and your father's love and delight; nay love her too, for she loved your father with a deep and upright love, choosing him before all her many suitors: and though she be of a delicate constitution and noble spirit, yet she descended to the utmost tenderness and care for you, performing the painfulest acts of service to you in your infancy, as a mother and a nurse too. I charge you, before the Lord, honour and obey, love and cherish your dear mother.

“Next, betake yourselves to some honest industrious course of life, and that not of sordid covetousness, but for example and to avoid idleness. And if you change your condition and marry, choose, with the knowledge and consent of your mother if living, or of guardians, or those that have the charge of you. Mind neither beauty nor riches, but the fear of the Lord, and a sweet and amiable disposition, such as you can love above all this world, and that may make your habitations pleasant and desirable to you.

“And being married, be tender, affectionate, patient, and meek. Live in the fear of the Lord, and he will bless you and your offspring. Be sure to live within compass; borrow not, neither be beholden to any. Ruin not yourselves by kindness to others; for that exceeds the due bounds of

friendship, neither will a true friend expect it. Small matters I heed not.

“Let your industry and parsimony go no farther than for a sufficiency for life, and to make a provision for your children, and that in moderation, if the Lord gives you any. I charge you help the poor and needy; let the Lord have a voluntary share of your income for the good of the poor, both in our society and others, for we are all his creatures; remembering that ‘he that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord.’

“Know well your incomings; and your outgoings may be better regulated. Love not money nor the world: use them only, and they will serve you; but if you love them, you serve them, which will debase your spirits as well as offend the Lord.

“Pity the distressed, and hold out a hand of help to them; it may be your case; and as you mete to others God will mete to you again.

“Be humble and gentle in your conversation; of few words, I charge you; but always pertinent when you speak, hearing out before you attempt to answer, and then speaking as if you would persuade, not impose.

“Affront none, neither revenge the affronts that

are done to you; but forgive, and you shall be forgiven of your Heavenly Father.

“In making friends consider well first; and when you are fixed be true, not wavering by reports nor deserting in affliction, for that becomes not the good and virtuous.

“Watch against anger, neither speak nor act in it; for, like drunkenness, it makes a man a beast, and throws people into desperate inconveniences.

“Avoid flatterers, for they are thieves in disguise; their praise is costly, designing to get by those they bespeak; they are the worst of creatures; they lie to flatter, and flatter to cheat; and, which is worse, if you believe them you cheat yourselves most dangerously. But the virtuous, though poor, love, cherish, and prefer. Remember David, who asking the Lord, ‘Who shall abide in thy tabernacle? who shall dwell upon thy holy hill?’ answers, ‘He that walketh uprightly, worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart; in whose eyes the vile person is contemned, but honoureth them who fear the Lord.’

“Next, my children, be temperate in all things; in your diet, for that is physic by prevention; it keeps, nay, it makes people healthy, and their generation sound. This is exclusive of the spiritual

advantage it brings. Be also plain in your apparel; keep out that lust which reigns too much over some; let your virtues be your ornaments, remembering 'life is more than food, and the body than raiment.' Let your furniture be simple and cheap. Avoid pride, avarice, and luxury. Read my 'No Cross, no Crown.' *There* is instruction.—Make your conversation with the most eminent for wisdom and piety; and shun all wicked men as you hope for the blessing of God, and the comfort of your father's living and dying prayers. Be sure you speak no evil of any, no, not of the meanest; much less of your superiors, as magistrates, guardians, tutors, teachers, and elders in Christ.

“Be no busy bodies; meddle not with other folk's matters, but when in conscience and duty pressed; for it procures trouble, and is ill manners, and very unseemly to wise men.

“In your families remember Abraham, Moses, and Joshua, their integrity to the Lord; and do as you have them for examples.

“Let the fear and service of the living God be encouraged in your houses, and that plainness, sobriety, and moderation in all things, as becometh God's chosen people; and as I advise you, my beloved children, do you counsel yours, if God should you give any. Yea, I counsel and command

them as my posterity, that they love and serve the Lord God with an upright heart, that he may bless you and yours from generation to generation.

“And as for you, who are likely to be concerned in the government of Pennsylvania and my parts of East Jersey, especially the first, I do charge you before the Lord God and his holy angels, that you be lowly, diligent, and tender, fearing God, loving the people, and hating covetousness. Let justice have its impartial course, and the law free passage. Though to your loss, protect no man against it; for you are not above the law, but the law above you. Live therefore the lives yourselves you would have the people live, and then you have the right and boldness to punish the transgressor. Keep upon the square, for God sees you: therefore do your duty, and be sure you see with your own eyes, and hear with your own ears. Entertain no lurchers, cherish no informers for gain or revenge; use no tricks; fly to no devices to support or cover injustice; but let your hearts be upright before the Lord, trusting in him above the contrivances of men, and none shall be able to hurt or supplant.

“Oh! the Lord is a strong God, and he can do whatsoever he pleases; and though men consider it not, it is the Lord that rules and overrules in the kingdoms of men, and he builds up, and pulls down. I, your father, am the man that can say,

‘He that trusts in the Lord shall not be confounded. But God, in due time, will make his enemies be at peace with him.’

“If you thus behave yourselves, and so become ‘a terror to evil doers and a praise to them that do well,’ God, my God, will be with you in wisdom and a sound mind, and make you blessed instruments in his hand for the settlements of some of those desolate parts of the world, which my soul desires above all worldly honours and riches, both for you that go and you that stay; you that govern and you that are governed; that in the end you may be gathered with me to the rest of God.

“Finally, my children, love one another with a true endeared love, and your dear relations on both sides, and take care to preserve tender affection in your children to each other; often marrying within themselves, so as it be without the bounds forbidden in Gods’ law, that so they may not, like the forgetting unnatural world, grow out of kindred and as cold as strangers; but, as becomes a truly natural and Christian stock, you and yours after you may live in the pure and fervent love of God towards one another, as becometh brethren in the spiritual and natural relation.

“So, my God, that hath blessed me with his abundant mercies, both of this and the other and

better life, be with you all, guide you by his counsel, bless you, and bring you to his eternal glory! that you may shine, my dear children, in the firmament of God's power with the blessed spirits of the just, that celestial family, praising and admiring him, the God and Father of it, for ever. For there is no God like unto him; the God of Isaac and of Jacob, the God of the prophets and apostles, and martyrs of Jesus, in whom I live for ever.

“ So farewell to my thrice dearly beloved wife and children !

“ Yours, as God pleaseth, in that which no waters can quench, no time forget, nor distance wear away, but remains for ever,

“ WILLIAM PENN.

“ *Worminghurst, fourth of sixth month, 1682.*”

A renewal of the persecutions against the Quakers in England offered strong inducements to many of them to accompany WILLIAM PENN in the voyage for which he was now preparing to his new colony; so that about a hundred persons, chiefly Quakers, sailed with him, in the ship *Welcome*, in the month of August 1682. During the passage he had considerable exercise for his benevolence in consequence of the small pox, which broke out with

so much violence amongst the passengers, that no less than thirty of them died. WILLIAM PENN, as might be expected, behaved with great humanity, and administered comfort in various forms to the sufferers. At length after a passage of a little more than six months they had the satisfaction of finding themselves in the river Delaware, which they sailed up, amidst loud acclamations of welcome from the Dutch and Swedes who were settled on its banks as well as the English whom he had sent over the year before, to take possession of the land in his name. On the 24th of October WILLIAM PENN landed at Newcastle in Delaware, a day which ought ever to be held in grateful remembrance by the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, and ought to be commemorated on every returning anniversary. "While our brethren of Massachusetts," says one who, though not a native of this country, has associated himself so closely with her honour and prosperity that she now proudly claims him as her own, "commemorate every year, in the dreary time of winter, the landing of their ancestors on the barren rock of Plymouth, which their gratitude has consecrated to perpetual veneration ; shall we suffer the epoch of the arrival of our great founder and his venerable band of followers to pass away unnoticed?"

After taking possession of the country and making various other necessary arrangements, he cal-

led a general assembly in order to confirm all the laws and regulations previously agreed upon in England. To pretend to particularize all the articles of the constitution or code of laws which was then adopted would be equally inconsistent and incompatible with our plan.

We cannot however forbear mentioning a few of those leading points which shew so conspicuously the wisdom, benevolence, and prudence, of the lawgiver. And here, as in every instance, we find his fundamental and governing principle was religion,—that vital religion which takes its root in the heart and governs the actions by its own pure spirit. Equally free therefore from arbitrary restrictions and from that baneful laxity of principle which under the pretence of liberality seeks to undermine the whole Christian plan, he, at the same time that he admitted liberty of conscience to all, made it a necessary requisite that those who were appointed to any public offices or places of trust should not only be of good moral characters but also professed Christians. Thus, though he did not pretend to dictate to his fellow Christians in what particular mode they should worship and serve their Creator, he took care to shew that he considered those who lost sight of their duty to the great Governor of the universe as but little to be trusted in their transactions with their fellow creatures. Another article was that public schools

should be erected, and that every child should be taught to read and write 'till arrived at the age of twelve, after which he was to learn some useful trade or profession, and so be preserved at once from the dangers of ignorance and the temptations of idleness.

With regard to the criminal laws, as he very justly considered that the great object of punishment was the reformation of the offender, he only admitted of the infliction of death in cases of murder or treason against the state; and in all other cases solitary confinement and useful employment.

Many other laws, equally liberal, humane, and wise, were made and confirmed. "The assembly," says Mr Wharton in his Discourse before the Society for the Commemoration of the Landing of William Penn, "which met at Upland or Chester in December 1682, and which in a session of three days—about the length of a modern speech—adopted a constitution and passed sixty-one laws, ought to occupy a distinguished station in our history."

Not considering the king's grant a sufficient authority for taking possession of the country, without its being likewise ceded to him by the native inhabitants themselves, WILLIAM PENN had empowered his commissioners, on their first com-

ing over to treat with them for the purchase of the land, which treaty it now became necessary for him to confirm.

Mr Rawle, in an address delivered before the Historical Society of this city, says, when speaking on this subject, that "WILLIAM PENN did not first set the example of these acts of strict justice, although he closely conformed to the best examples of others. In Europe he has frequently been applauded for having led the way, but he himself never claimed this credit, and his other merits are sufficiently great to bear the destitution of this." We believe however that it may safely be affirmed that he was the first to treat them with that tender and protecting kindness which was so well calculated to soften and improve their natures. We do not find him making any sudden or violent efforts to convert them to Christianity whilst their minds were yet unfit for the reception of it; but as a skilful husbandman would seek to prepare the ground before he put in the seed, so we find this wise and judicious man striving first to gain their confidence, aiming no doubt at leading them gradually, by a love of the fruits, to seek for themselves the same tree of knowledge from which they found him to have derived so much, and which was intended by its great planter to overshadow all the nations of the earth. That such effects might have been produced is no very ex-

travagant supposition, if all the successors of WILLIAM PENN had preserved the same undeviating and conscientious line of conduct towards these unfortunate people; for many very interesting proofs are to be found of the affection and gratitude for the great Onas* which was felt many years after by those whose forefathers had received this kindness.

In the following note from Proud we have several striking expressions of their gratitude:—

“ At a treaty, held with the Six Nations, at Philadelphia, in July 1742, in governor Thomas’s administration, Ganassatego, chief of the Onondagos, said, ‘ We are all very sensible of the kind regard which that good man, WILLIAM PENN, had for all the Indians.’ ”

* This word, in the language of the Iroquois or Six Nations, means a *quill*. It is probable that the companions of WILLIAM PENN thus interpreted his name to the Indians. The Delawares called him *Miquon*, which in their language means the same thing.

But the true signification of WILLIAM PENN’s name belongs to the Welsh or Celtic language, from which it is derived. In that ancient tongue, the word *Pen* means a *head*, and metaphorically a *leader* or *chief*. If this had been known to the Indians, they would not have called our venerable founder by the insignificant name of *quill*, but would have given him that of *Sakima*, a *sachem* or *chief*, by which his dignity and influence would have been increased. But perhaps he was unwilling to take that honourable distinction, as we know he objected to giving his name to *Pennsylvania*.—*Note by Mr Du Ponceau.*

“At this treaty, these Indians thus expressed themselves respecting James Logan, which further shews the sense and gratitude of that people when they are well treated: ‘Brethen, we called at our old friend James Logan’s in our way to this city, and, to our grief, we found him *hid in the bushes*, and retired through infirmities from public business. We pressed him to leave his retirement, and prevailed with him to assist once more, on our account, at your councils. We hope, notwithstanding his age and the effects of a fit of sickness which we understand has hurt his constitution, that he may yet continue a long time to assist this province with his counsels. He is a wise man, and a fast friend to the Indians. And we desire, when his soul goes to God, you may choose in his room just such another person, of the same prudence and ability in counselling; and of the same tender disposition and affection for the Indians.....In testimony of our gratitude for all his services, and because he was so good as to leave his country house and follow us to town, and be at the trouble, in this his advanced age, to attend the council, *We present him with this bundle of skins.*’

“After the governor had concluded, James Logan replied to that part of the speech which related to him, and said—‘That, not only upon the account of his lameness, of which the Indians

themselves were witnesses, but on account of another indisposition which about three years since had laid him under an incapacity of expressing himself with his former usual freedom, he had been obliged to live retired in the country. But that our first proprietor, the honourable WILLIAM PENN, who had ever been a father and true friend to all the Indians, having above forty years since recommended them to his particular care, he had always, from his own inclination as well as from that strict charge, endeavoured to convince all the Indians that he was their true friend; and was now well pleased that after a tract of so many years they were not insensible of it. He thanked them kindly for their present, and heartily joined with them in their desires that the government may always be furnished with persons of equally good inclinations, and not only with such but also with better abilities, to serve them.' ”

“ At a council held with the Seneca and other Indians, in Philadelphia, in July 1749, in the administration of James Hamilton, Ogaushtash, in part of his speech, thus expresses himself, ‘ We recommend it to the governor to tread in the steps of those wise people who have held the reins of government before him in being good and kind to the Indians. Do, brother, make it your study to consult the interest of our nations; as you have so large an authority, you can do us much good,

or harm ; we would, therefore, engage your influence and affections for us ; that the same harmony and mutual affections may subsist during your government which so happily subsisted in former times, nay from the first settlement of this province by our good friend the great WILLIAM PENN.’

“ At a treaty held at Easton, in Pennsylvania, with the Indians, in 1756, in Governor Morris’s administration, Teedyuscung, the Delaware chief, spoke as follows : ‘ Brother Onas, and the people of Pennsylvania. We rejoice to hear from you that you are willing to renew the old good understanding, and that you call to mind the first treaties of friendship made by Onas, our great friend, deceased, with our forefathers, when himself and his people first came over here. We take hold of these treaties with both our hands, and desire you will do the same ; that a good understanding and true friendship may be re-established. Let us both take hold of these treaties with all our strength we beseech you. We, on our side, will certainly do it.’ Again, on concluding a peace, in July, the same year, Teedyuscung said,—‘ I wish the same good spirit that possessed the good old man, WILLIAM PENN, who was a friend to the Indians, may inspire the people of this province, at this time.’ ”

These instances sufficiently prove that the In-

dian heart is not the stern inflexible material that is often represented. It may suit those whose interest it is to oppress, to cry out against their savage and untameable natures; but let all go upon the principles of kindness and justice; let all seek to establish a bond of brotherhood and good will, leaving to these poor persecuted beings the little that yet remains to them; and we doubt not it will soon be found that there exists not amongst them a heart so hard that it cannot be melted by kindness.

A time and place having been appointed, WILLIAM PENN, accompanied by a few of his friends, met the Indians, and gave them in purchase for their land such articles of merchandize as they deemed an equivalent for it, entering at the same time into a solemn engagement to treat them in every respect as friends and brothers. It is much to be regretted that a particular account of the whole transaction has not been handed down to posterity. Tradition, however, informs us that it took place under an elm tree of extraordinary size, which grew on the banks of the Delaware, near a large Indian settlement called Shackamax-on, where Kensington now stands. This tree was blown down in the storm of 1810, and the trunk after its fall was examined and measured, and found to be twenty-four feet in circumference, and its age two hundred and eighty-three years.

Of course every branch and fibre of a tree which had canopied the head of a man who had done so much honour to his species, could not fail to be held almost as sacred. It has consequently been distributed not only over this but other countries, in the form of walking sticks, snuff boxes, and a variety of other articles. A large piece was sent to John Penn, of Stoke Park in England, which was made an ornament for one of his apartments, having the following inscription engraved on it to tell the history of its honours.

“A remnant of the great Elm, under which the Treaty was held between WILLIAM PENN and the Indians, soon after his landing in America, A. D. 1682, and which grew at Kensington, near Philadelphia, till the autumn of the year 1810, when it fell during a storm. Was presented to his grandson, John Penn, Esq.”

“Mr West, who has introduced this tree into his celebrated picture representing the treaty, has mentioned a peculiar mark of respect shewn to it, in more recent times, in the following words:—‘This tree, which was held in the highest veneration by the original inhabitants of my native country, by the first settlers, and by their descendants, and to which I well remember about the year 1755, when a boy, often resorting with my school-fellows, [the spot being the favourite one for as-

sembling in the hours of leisure,] was in some danger during the American war of 1775, when the British possessed the country, from parties sent out in search of wood for firing; but the late general Simcoe, who had the command of the district where it grew, from a regard for the character of WILLIAM PENN, and the interest which he took in the history connected with the tree, ordered a guard of British soldiers to protect it from the axe. This circumstance the general related to me, in answer to my inquiries concerning it, after his return to England.' ”

It is a feeling, as inseparable from our natures as it is favourable to virtue, to hold in reverence every thing and place which is connected with a great event, and the more lengthened the line of perspective along which they are looked back upon by the eye of posterity, the more sacred the relics become. And hence it is that we feel an impatience, almost amounting to irritation, when we think of the holy associations connected with this tree and the spot where it grew being destroyed by any doubts being suggested of its having been the actual spot on which the treaty was made. Such doubts have however been started, and as every thing calculated to remove them, and to confirm the belief that tradition has been faithful to her trust, cannot fail to be interesting, we shall avail ourselves of the information collected

by an active member of the Historical Society on the subject, and give a number of letters from persons whose recollections carry them back to contemporary witnesses, which appear to us to set the subject at rest.

“MY RESPECTED FRIEND,

“After asking thy excuse for so long delaying to answer thy letter of the 5th inst. and which was partly occasioned by my desire to furnish thee from the papers in our possession with some evidence that the original treaty was held at Shackamaxon, under the shade of the venerated elm, which I have no doubt was really the case, notwithstanding that I have not been able to find the casual mention of the circumstance in our papers, for it would probably have only been casual, James Logan not attending the Proprietor until his second voyage hither. The family of Penn in England could, I should suppose, furnish proof of the place where this transaction so honourable to their illustrious ancestor was held, together with many other particulars highly gratifying to those who delight to look back upon the infancy of our state,—for I have no doubt but that they possess a very great mass of information on every subject connected with the establishment of the colony.

“I never could account for the propensity of some to unsettle every received opinion, either

on subjects which though speculative are of the highest importance to the comfort as well as to the well-being of every individual and to society, or on those minor topics which, like the present instance, have afforded so much innocent satisfaction in consecrating, as it were, a local spot sacred to the recollection of the dignity of moral virtue. But in the present instance I believe they have nothing on which to found their opinion that the first treaty was held at Chester: My honoured mother was born near to that town and passed the first part of her life there, was well acquainted with its oldest inhabitants, some of whom had been contemporaries of WILLIAM PENN, and I may add, was well qualified from her inquiring mind and excellent memory to have known such a tradition, had it existed; which she would have treasured up and often mentioned, with that of the proprietor's residence at Robert Wade's during his first visit. The dwelling which was thus honoured was called Essex House, and stood on the other side of Chester Creek, its very ruins have long disappeared: only two or three pine trees mark the spot, and I have formerly seen a ball and vane which had belonged to the old building and had been preserved by some of the descendants of Robert Wade, who (I have heard) were enjoined by the will of some of the family to do so, in a hope of the mansion's being rebuilt, when they were to be again replaced on its turret.

“I hope, my kind friend, thee will excuse the ir-relativeness of the above to thy question respecting the scene of the treaty, which had it been at Upland, (now Chester) I think there is no doubt but it would have furnished an article in the Swedish records. We were once in possession of a book of the records of the courts held under their government prior to the arrival of WILLIAM PENN, which, (if I remember aright) my dear Dr Logan gave into the hands of the late Samuel White, Esq. of Delaware, to place in the archives of that state.

“I am with great respect,
thy affectionate friend,

“D. LOGAN.

“*Stenton, 29th 5th mo. 1825.*

“ROBERTS VAUX, ESQ.”

“*Philadelphia, 19th May, 1825.*

“DEAR SIR,

“The Swedish writings mention the treaty of PENN with the Indians, and their great respect for him; but nothing as to the locality. Circumstances make it highly probable that it was held at (now) Philadelphia, as being pretty far into the country, and, by its site, destined for a capital. The first assembly being held at Chester is not an argument for its having been there, because In-

dian concerns could not have been objects previous to many inquiries about them.

“If a monument is to be erected, Philadelphia is, undoubtedly, the proper place.

“Your respectful servant and friend,

“NICHOL. COLLIN.

“ROBERTS VAUX, Esq.”

“*Belmont, September 6th, 1825.*

“MY DEAR SIR,

“At your request, but with much diffidence as to the subject you mentioned, to wit:—the place of holding the first grand treaty with the Indians by WILLIAM PENN; I can only say that, from early youth to this day, I have always understood and believe, that the treaty in 1682 was held at Shackamaxon, now Kensington. When a boy, I have resorted to the great elm tree opposite the house in which President Palmer resided, in *olden* times; and have always confided in the then uncontradicted tradition, that under that tree the treaty was held. The place had been an Indian village; but one less in importance than a settlement opposite thereto, at now Cooper’s point, in New Jersey; where a very large village or town had been. Indian graves, arrows, stone axes, ornamental trinkets, cooking vessels, and every indi-

cation of Indian residence, were found on both sides of the Delaware ; but on the eastern side, in the greatest plenty. I never heard at that time of day, nor since, that the fact was disputed, until you now inform me that doubts exist on the subject.

“ I can only relate my early impressions ; which were those of my contemporaries. I had the most authentic opportunities of knowing Indian history, and the transactions between the proprietaries of Pennsylvania and the Indians ; my uncle, Richard Peters, having been during, I believe, thirty-five or forty years, the secretary of the province, and the confidential agent of the proprietaries. I was much acquainted with his official duties ; and had access to the office papers. He had the chief concern in the Indian department, and I have no doubt but that I could have put any question relative to treaties, or other Indian affairs, at rest in my early life. But now I can only recall past impressions ; and those, as to the point in question, have uniformly been as I have stated.

“ WILLIAM PENN was one of uncommon forecast and prudence in temporal concerns. You will see in his Biography, page 121, Vol. I. that he had the precaution in the 8th month, 1681, (in the fall of which year he arrived in the Delaware) to write, from London, a most friendly and impressive let-

ter to the Indians; calculated to prepare the way for his arrival among them in his province. No doubt, and I think I remember the early impression I had, that he pursued such cautionary measures on his first coming into Pennsylvania. You will see in the same book, in Vol. II.* that he gives a minute account to his friends in England of the Indians in 1683; and says that he had made himself master of their language; so as not to need an interpreter. This shews a familiar and frequent intercourse with them. I was pleased, in the same letter, to see that our wise predecessors used *oxen*, and not horses, in their ploughs. I wish the present race of farmers were equally and generally as wise and economical. The crops were then more abundant than in our days. From one bushel of barley sown, they reaped forty, often fifty—and sometimes sixty. Three pecks of wheat sowed an acre. All this is, to the point in hand, but in favourite interlude. He gives also an account of the native *grapes*, which he eulogizes; and announces his intention to establish a vineyard. Peaches were in great plenty among the natives; and very good.

“ He gives an account of the Dutch and Swedish settlers, between whom there was much jealousy. It is well known that both of these settlers

* Penn's Works, in 2 vols, printed in 1726.

established forts, for their defence against the natives, and probably to overawe each other. The Dutch deemed the Swedes and Finns intruders. The first inhabited the lands on the bay; and the Swedes “the freshes of the river Delaware,” as high as Wicacoa, within half a mile of Philadelphia.

“It appears that the seat of his government was first established at *Upland*, or Chester; where several of his letters are dated. Now I have always understood that *Talks* with the Indians, preparatory to a final arrangement by a conclusive treaty, were held at *Upland* or Chester. But it is almost indisputably probable, if general tradition did not confirm the fact, that WILLIAM PENN chose to hold this treaty beyond the reach of any jealousy about the neighbourhood of fortified places, and within the lines of his province, far from such places; and at a spot which had been an Indian settlement, familiar to, and esteemed by, the natives; and where neither Swedes nor Dutch could be supposed to have influence; for with them the Indians had bickerings. This view of the subject gives the strongest confirmation to the tradition of the treaty being held at Kensington; and the *tree*, so much hallowed, afforded its shade to the parties in that important transaction. The prudent and necessary conferences or talks, preparatory to the treaty, if any vestiges of them now remain,

may have given the idea that the treaty was held at Upland.

“The name and character of WILLIAM PENN, denominated by the Indians *Onas*, was held in veneration, through a long period, by those who had opportunities of knowing the integrity of his dealings and intercourse, especially by the *Six Nations*, who considered themselves the masters of all the nations and tribes with whom he had dealings in his time, and his successors thereafter who adhered to the policy and justice practised by him. At Fort *Stanwix*, fifty-seven years ago, I was present when the *Delawares* and *Shawanese* were released by the Iroquois or *Six Nations*, (originally *five*,) from the subordination in which they had been held from the time of their having been conquered. The ceremony was called “*taking off the petticoat*,” and was a curious spectacle. When I was adopted into the family of a *Tuscarora* chief, at the time of the Treaty of Fort *Stanwix*, he made to me a speech, in the style used on such occasions ; in which he assured me of his affection ; and added, that he was pleased with my being “*one of the young people of the country of the much respected and highly esteemed Onas*,” which means a *quill* or *pen*. He gave to me one of his names—*Tegochtias*. He had been a celebrated warrior, and had distinguished himself on expeditions, toilsome and dangerous, against the

Southern Indians. The feathers and desiccated or preserved birds, called by the Indians *Tegochtias*, i. e. *Paroquets*, were brought home by the war parties as *Trophies*. The feathers decorated the *Moccasins* (whereof I had a pair presented to me,) mixed with porcupine's quills in beautifully ornamented workmanship. If there be any thing in my Indian name of *Paroquet* ludicrous in our estimation, I shall not be ashamed of it, when the great and good PENN was denominated, not a whole bird, but merely a *quill*. My *moccasins* cost me an expensive return in a present the ceremony required; but I considered the singular *honour* conferred on me richly deserving remuneration; though, in fact, I was more diverted than proud in the enjoyment of the amusing and curious scene, and had no doubt but that this expected remuneration was an ingredient in the motive leading to my adoption. *My* nation is reduced, as is all that confederacy, to a mere squad—if not entirely annihilated; though at that time it (the confederacy) could bring 3000 warriors into the field. One race of men seems destined to extinguish another; and, if so, the whites have amply fulfilled *their* destiny. I wish, however, that the present treaty makers had the bust of WILLIAM PENN, made from the *elm tree*, with a scroll superscribed “PENN'S *Exemplary Treaty*,” constantly before their eyes. It would be as monitory on this part of their duty as the portrait of *Washington*

is exciting in all others. The remaining aborigines of our country are doomed, sooner or later, to the like extinction their departed predecessors have experienced. If, in any instance, they seem to be stationary; begin to establish farms, and exercise civilized occupations; they must be removed, (to accommodate an intruding white population,) to the wilderness; and recover their former habits. But I see WILLIAM PENN adopts the idea that they are of *Jewish* origin. And, if they are of Israelitish descent, it is in the decrees of providence, that, like all other *Jews*, they must be homeless wanderers; dispersed throughout all the regions of the earth. *Even now*, in our day, a portion of these copper coloured *Ishmaelites*, *if so they be*, are to be compelled to wander far away, and leave their cultivated homes, to satisfy the sordid cupidity of speculating land jobbers. But if their fate be, in the immutable decrees of heaven, so determined, unworthy executioners often consummate judgments.

“Very sincerely yours,

“RICHARD PETERS.

“ROBERTS VAUX, ESQ.”

“*Belmont, November 3, 1825.*

“MY DEAR SIR,

“I met my old friend David H. Conyng-
ham a day or two ago. We fell into conversa-

tion on olden times, and, among other reminiscences, the *elm tree* at Kensington was discussed. Both of us remembered our boyish amusements, and, among them, our bathing at the three stores and on a sandy beach near the famous *elm*. It stood then majestically on a high and clean bank, with a fine area around it; but, in a later period, the bank has been washed away. His recollections and mine (earlier than his by a few years) go back between sixty and seventy years. No person then disputed the fact, that this elm was the tree under which PENN's treaty was held. But Mr Conyngham remembers distinctly the frequent visitations of *Benjamin Lay** to the scene of our sports. He was, as you know, eccentric and singular; but not deficient in understanding and *chronicling* all remarkable events. He must have known some of the contemporaries of WILLIAM PENN. After dilating on the worth and virtues of that good man, and particularly as they applied to his treatment of the natives; he would call on

* "*Benjamin Lay* came to Pennsylvania in 1731, at the age of 54 years, less than fifty years after Penn's treaty in 1682, and was no doubt personally acquainted with individuals who knew the fact of the locality of that transaction. Lay's benevolent character and pursuits were such, as to render the *tree*, and the interesting event connected with it, peculiarly gratifying to him; and as it was his constant practice to cultivate and cherish in the minds of young persons a love of truth, of justice, and of good will to men, by familiar and forcible illustrations, I place great confidence in the accuracy of his knowledge in this respect.

the boys ; point to the elm tree ; and enjoin them to bear in mind, and tell it to their children, that under that tree PENN'S treaty was held ; and they should respect it accordingly.

“ Yours very sincerely,

“ RICHARD PETERS.

“ ROBERTS VAUX, ESQ.”

But even the evidence of these letters, satisfactory as it is, appears less decisive than that of the great West, who in painting his historical picture of the treaty cannot be supposed to have allowed himself any liberty that was not sanctioned by fact ; and as his grandfather was one of the friends who attended WILLIAM PENN on the occasion, we are sure that he had high authority to rest upon. We rejoice therefore that the evidence has been considered sufficiently satisfactory to the gentlemen of the PENN Society to induce them to erect on the spot a neat marble monument, the unostentatious simplicity of which is emblematic of the deed that it is meant to commemorate.

Of the treaty from which this spot derives its honour, many writers, of different nations and of different religions and political opinions, have spoken in the highest terms of praise that were ever bestowed upon any thing of the kind before or since. Voltaire says, “ This was the only treaty between

those people and the Christians that was not ratified by an oath, and that was never broken.” “WILLIAM PENN thought it right,” remarks the Abbé Raynal, “to obtain an additional right by a fair and open purchase from the aborigines; and thus he signalized his arrival by an act of equity which made his person and principles equally beloved.—Here it is the mind rests with pleasure upon modern history, and feels some kind of compensation for the disgust, melancholy, and horror, which the whole of it, but particularly that of the European settlements in America, inspires.”

“Being now returned,” says Robert Proud, in his History of Pennsylvania, “from Maryland to Coaquannoc, he purchased lands of the Indians, whom he treated with great justice and sincere kindness.—It was at this time that he first entered personally into that friendship with them, which ever afterwards continued between them, and which for the space of more than seventy years was never interrupted, or so long as the Quakers retained power in the government. His conduct in general to these people was so engaging, his justice in particular so conspicuous, and the counsel and advice which he gave them were so evidently for their advantage, that he became thereby very much endeared to them, and the sense thereof made such deep impressions on their understandings, that his name and memory will

scarcely ever be effaced while they continue a people.”

Colonies of Dutch and Swedes, to the number of between two and three thousand, had previously occupied the territory of which WILLIAM PENN had now become the proprietor; and these, together with the English who had come over with his commissioners the preceding year, received him with every demonstration of joy. The day after his arrival he called them together in the court house belonging to the Dutch, and explaining to them his object in coming over, gave them every assurance of his kindness and good will, and of his determination to continue to them their rights, both civil and religious. It would neither come within the limits, nor agree with the object of this work, to enter into the particular arrangements which he made for the government of the province; but we will avail ourselves of the permission which has been kindly given to us by one to whom we owe many obligations, to make a few extracts from a manuscript containing a History of Pennsylvania* from its earliest period, and which gives an interesting account of the peaceable manner in which it was first founded, and the promp-

* This history is a translation from the German by P. S. Du Ponceau, Esq. who we hope will be induced to publish it, as it appears to be simple, concise, and perspicuous.

itude of action which always marked the character of its lawgiver.

“The first colonial assembly,” says the historian, “was called to carry into execution the plan of government agreed upon in England; yet a notable alteration therein took place at the very beginning. The freemen of the colony were summoned to appear in person, but instead of this they chose twelve men for each of the counties into which PENN had divided the country, consequently only so many as were necessary according to that plan to constitute one of the branches of the legislature. Nothing else could be done than to admit the apology that the freemen made, founded on the smallness of their numbers, on their agricultural avocations, and their want of experience in matters of government.

“PENN had himself recognized the principle, that there must be a people before there is a government, and that the people must be free and united, that their government may be durable; he therefore was not displeased to see the change which took place in the number of the representatives. The Assembly also unanimously agreed that each county should send in future three members to the council and six to the assembly. All the other business was transacted with the same unanimity; and the assembly separated after a ses-

sion of three days, in which the most cordial harmony prevailed. In that short period they not only granted the request of the lower counties which had desired to be united to the province, extended the rights of citizenship to all the inhabitants, and provided an easy mode for the naturalization of foreigners that might hereafter migrate into the country; but they discussed a code of laws for the province, and after making a few amendments finally enacted it."

Again the same writer says—"The spirit of order, industry, and economy, by which Pennsylvania always so nobly distinguished herself before the other colonies, was produced by her early laws. It succeeded beyond all the expectations of the founder. In the first year nearly thirty ships arrived with emigrants from England and Wales, who settled themselves along the Delaware up to the lower falls*. They were mostly Quakers, who were not only induced to migrate by the respect which they bore to WILLIAM PENN'S character; but also by the oppression to which they continued to be subject in England, where they were constantly vexed by the ecclesiastical courts in consequence of their refusing to pay tithes and other church dues. They were soon followed by some Irishmen and Hollanders, and by the first German

* The Falls of Trenton.

emigrants, quakers from Griesheim in the Palatinate, who formed German Town.

“The first settlers had considerable difficulties to encounter, because they had to learn by experience the best and most convenient manner of settling a wilderness; and many felt the want of provisions, from which they were not seldom relieved by the humanity of the Indians. The want of horses at this early period was found a very great hardship. The christian resignation and courage of these pious adventurers, and the hope of raising to the Lord a free and holy people, enabled them to surmount every obstacle. PENN wrote to his friends in England a circumstantial account of the situation of his province, which indeed shewed only the fair side, and that in the clearest light. It produced the desired effect: but the hopes which he entertained of introducing the culture of the vine into Pennsylvania by means of French vine dressers, and also glass and linen manufactories, and the whale fishery, were not realized.

“Hitherto the province had been considered as a numerous family under the guidance of a beloved father, and indeed WILLIAM PENN deserved this name as well for the moderate use which he made of his prerogatives as for the paternal care with which he pursued every object that tended to the benefit of those who were subject to his govern-

ment, which was particularly shewn in the foundation of the city of Philadelphia.”

In the planning of this city, which WILLIAM PENN, with a prophetic voice, always denominated the Great City, he evinced that judgment, forethought, and methodical arrangement, which formed so conspicuous a part of his character, and its unprecedented increase and present opulence and beauty will stand as monuments to future ages of the wisdom of the great mind by which it was planned. It was not long before the population of the colony was increased by the arrival of so great a number of emigrants from England that there might perhaps have been some danger of their suffering considerable inconvenience for want of provisions, had it not been for the kind attention of the Indians, who, considering them as the children of Onas, were ready to hunt for them or do any thing in their power to assist them. It may easily be supposed, however, that even with the best aid that could be procured, there must yet have been many difficulties to be encountered by people who had hitherto been accustomed to all the comforts and luxuries of Europe, and were now removed to a wilderness where the hand of cultivation had never yet appeared. It may also be very readily imagined, that he who undertook to be the leader of this body of adventurers and to organize them into a regular society must have had

many trials to undergo, and many occasions on which it was necessary both to bear and forbear. Yet though far from being insensible to them, and at all times expressing his feelings and sentiments with manly firmness, he at the same time possessed that governing principle of religion which led him to meet every trial with a meek and becoming spirit. Thus we find him, about this time, expressing himself in the following manner in a letter to a friend :

“ I bless the Lord I am very well, and much satisfied with my place and portion; yet busy enough, having much to do to please all, and yet to have an eye to those that are not here to please themselves.

“ I have been at New York, Long Island, East Jersey, and Maryland, in which I have had good and eminent service for the Lord.

“ I am now casting the country into townships for large lots of land. I have held an assembly, in which many good laws are passed. We could not stay safely till the spring for a government. I have annexed the territories lately obtained to the province, and passed a general naturalization for strangers; which hath much pleased the people.—As to outward things, we are satisfied; the land good, the air clear and sweet, the springs

plentiful, and provision good and easy to come at; an innumerable quantity of wild fowl and fish: in fine, here is what an Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob would be well contented with; and service enough for God, for the fields are here white for harvest. O, how sweet is the quiet of these parts, freed from the anxious and troublesome solicitations, hurries, and perplexities of woeful Europe!"

And again to some one who appears to have cast some reflections upon him he says—

“ Well; the Lord is a God of righteous judgment. Had I indeed sought greatness, I had staid at home, where the difference between what I am here and what was offered and I could have been there in power and wealth, is as wide as the places are.—No: I came for the Lord’s sake; and therefore have I stood to this day, well and diligent and successful, blessed be his power! Nor shall I trouble myself to tell thee what I am to the people of this place in travails, watchings, spendings, and to my servants every way freely, not like a selfish man. I have many witnesses. To conclude: It is now in Friends’ hands. Through my travail, faith, and patience, it came. If Friends here keep to God in the justice, mercy, equity, and fear of the Lord, their enemies will be their footstool: if not, their heirs, and my heirs too, will lose all, and desolation will follow. But, blessed

be the Lord, we are well, and live in the dear love of God, and the fellowship of his tender heavenly Spirit; and our faith is for ourselves and one another, that the Lord will be with us a King and Counsellor for ever.

“Thy ancient though grieved friend,

“WILLIAM PENN.”

There is a letter addressed to Lord North, written a short time after this, which has been recently printed by the Historical Society from the original in their possession, giving some account of the state of the colony at that time, which cannot fail to be interesting:—

“MY NOBLE FRIEND,

“It hath been sometimes a question with me whether writing or silence would be more excusable, for it is an unhappiness incident of great men to be troubled with the prospects of those their power and goodness oblige; but because I had rather want excuse for this freedom than be wanting of gratitude to my benefactor, I determined to render my most humble thanks for the many favours I received at the Lord North’s hand, in the passing and great despatch of my patent. I thank God I am safely arrived, and twenty-two sail more; the air proveth sweet and good, the land fertile, and springs many and pleasant. We

are one hundred and thirty miles from the main sea, and forty miles up the freshes. The town plat is a mile long and two miles deep; on each side of the town runs a navigable river, the least as broad as the Thames at Woolwich, the other above a mile; about eighty houses are built, and I suppose above three hundred farms settled as contiguously as may be. We have had since last summer about sixty sail of great and small shipping, which we esteem a good beginning: a fair we have had, and weekly market, to which the ancient lowly inhabitants come to sell their produce to their profit and our accommodation. I have also bought lands of the natives, treated them largely, and settled a firm and advantageous correspondency with them; who are a careless, merry people, yet in property strict with us, though as kind as among themselves; in counsel so deliberate, in speech short, grave and eloquent, young and old in their several class, that I have never seen in Europe any thing more wise, cautious and dexterous; 'tis as admirable to me as it may look incredible on that side of the water. The weather often changeth with notice and is constant almost in its inconstancy. Our trees are sassafras, cyprus, cedar, black walnut, chesnut, oak black, white, red, Spanish and swamp the most durable; divers wild fruits, as plum, peach, and grape, the sorts divers. Mineral of copper and iron in divers places. I have only to add,

that it would please the Lord North to smile favourably upon us, a plantation so well regulated for the benefit of the crown, and so improving and hopeful by the industry of the people, that since stewards used to follow such enterprizes in ancient times at least encouragement and countenance might be yielded to us, whose aims shall in every thing be bounded with a just regard to the king's service; and we think we may reasonably hope, that, England being the market both of our wants and industry in great measure, there is interest as well as goodness of our side. I have pardon to ask for a poor present I make by the hands of the bearer my agent and kinsman Capt. Markham; all I have to say is this; 'tis our country produce, and that of old time offerings were valued by the heart that made them. I end with a congratulation of the honour the king hath joined to thy great merit, and my sincere and most affectionate wishes for thy prosperity; being one of those many whom thy goodness hath obliged to own and approve, as really I am,

“Thy very sensible, thankful friend

and servant to my power,

“WM PENN.

“*Philadelphia, the 24th* }
5th mo. July, 1683. } ”

“TO THE LORD KEEPER NORTH.”

The greatest interruption to the tranquillity of which he speaks with so much satisfaction appears to have arisen from the conduct of his neighbour Lord Baltimore, the proprietor of Maryland, with respect to the boundaries of their respective provinces. As the chief interest that this controversy now possesses arises from the manner in which WILLIAM PENN vindicated his own rights, as giving a further display of his character, we will avail ourselves of two more letters contained in the same volume from which the last was taken, always preferring when it is in our power to let him speak for himself, as no words can give so good an idea of his powerful, polished, and correct mind as his own energetic and perspicuous language.

“ Philadelphia, 2d of 12 mo. Feby, 1683.

“ MY NOBLE FRIEND,

“ It cannot be strange to a Lord of so much experience, that in nature all creatures seek succour against might; the young from their old and the feeble from the strong, and that the same nature, by reciprocal instinct, inspires the old to protect their young, and the strong the weak of their own kind. This, my noble Lord, is much of my case and this trouble; and to whom can I go, with more reason and hope than to him that hath, with so much honour and truth and a perpetual success,

been the kind and constant patron of my just cause! Let this therefore, noble Lord, meet with thy usual favour; which will add to the many bonds I am under, as affection and gratitude to thy just interest and service.

“ My last to the Duke brought with it a copy of a demand made by the Proprietor of Maryland, with my answer to it, another of which I have presumed to inclose, and pray that somebody may be commanded to read it at thy rising or undressing, as being too long for a time of business, and yet the matter would not admit of more contraction. I dare humbly hope that the king’s right, that of his royal highness, and what their grace and favour have made mine, against the pretensions of that Lord, will appear in my answer, with a more than ordinary force and evidence. To which I pray leave briefly to add, first, that the land in question was never demanded by him of those in possession, till by silence and omission forfeited; the lower parts of this river and bay having never been asked for of the Dutch for six and twenty years, much less reduced; if a title [?] by neglect in an improved country, here more, where the wildness of the soil rendereth it not above the sixtieth part to that which is laboured and improved. The upper part of this river, from Christina river to the falls, was never demanded of the Swedes nor Dutch neither, since they reduced it; which

is now about thirty years from when the crown of England took it in the 1664 as I take it, and has been since held *jure belli ac pacis*. This is not all; he never run his line, these fifty years that he hath had his grant—a default never to be placed to the account of the possessor, nor yet to the crown, for granting it to another; non-improvement and neglect of fixing bounds making the loss just on his side, were his pretensions otherwise right; for as there is no transgression where no law is, so where there are no bounds set, nor possessor found, nor any claimant appears, there cannot (with submission) be any title against the planter. Nay, it is the practice of all these parts of America, and was the express condition in all the Duke's patents to the free men planters of his colony, they settling and improving the premises. In the next place, what he seeks never was, as well as it is not, in his possession, consequently never cost him any thing to improve, nor has he lost any income by its being mine. To this I add that he doth not want it: he hath 200 miles (for two degrees) upon both sides of the bravest bay in the world, Chesapeak, while I have but one side of an inferior one, and none at all, it seems, if he could have his will, to the ruin of (perhaps) the most prosperous beginnings in America. I have but two creeks that ships of two hundred tons can enter out of the river for harbourage; he has forty (and to spare) that ships of five hundred tons can

enter and ride in. And though this argument ought not to prevail against absolute right, yet, in a case circumstanced as this of mine is, I hope that prudence and proportion, together with my arguments of contrary right, will more than even the scale. With God I leave it, and my noble friends: but, if I am herein disappointed, it will be a ruinous voyage to me, having spent, in my preparations, transport and maintenance of the quality of Governor, aye and the government too, with the appendant charges, a vast sum more than ever I received; and I hope and believe the King and Duke, by favour of my noble friend, will never suffer me to fall short of the most important part of the grant and country, and which that Lord hath no right to, want of, nor loss by. And now, my noble friend, give me leave to value myself to the Duke by so acceptable a proxy as the Lord of Rochester in his affairs of New York: he must indeed remember the humble advice I gave him, when in his closet he asked me my opinion of the selling of New York, what I wrote to him from hence in that affair, and the zeal and respect I have shewn in his service herein, and that not without success (though any one will think I did not play the cunning man in it); and I cannot suffer myself to believe that a prince of his generous and steady temper will permit so fatal a stroke to come upon my honest interest, nay his own, (and that of no

small moment to New York, for it is the garrison's grainery,) as to let that Lord go away with the only river and bay I have any interest in, who, besides that he has no right to them, needs them not, never had them, and so loses nothing by the want of them, I humbly conceive is neither more able nor willing to serve the Duke there or here. I have done: only please to remember what I told the king at Windsor, who graciously permitted me to render him my thanks and take my leave of him, to wit, that if ever any unhappy occasion came to try the truth of the assurance I gave the king of the quakers' unfactious and peaceable principles towards him and his government, my life and estate on it they would not derogate from my character; that if I could lie to any I would not choose to do it to him, whose goodness had not only obliged me but also put me more within his power to be even with me. This, it seems, is but too soon confirmed by the madness and folly of some evil and restless men. God defend these kingdoms from blood and misery, and send us peace in our days; which I humbly wish my noble friend to think upon in behalf of my peaceable friends, lest men, even disinterested, that look on, should say with too much truth that in England, in times of danger, there is no odds in being innocent. I shall add no more but my best wishes, and that I am with much zeal and

affection, my noble friend, thy most obliged and faithful friend,

“ WM PENN.

“ If I may, please to give my most humble duty to the King and Duke.

“ FOR THE EARL OF ROCHESTER*.”

“ MY NOBLE FRIEND,

“ It is an unhappiness small folks are exposed to, that the discharge of their duty is an increase of their debt. I am one of those, who am obliged to this acknowledgment, and yet the freedom of making it needs an apology; but I take comfort in this, that I have to do with a very merciful creditor, one that is as easy to forgive as ready to oblige; which is all the defence I shall make for myself in the liberty I take. I hope my agent hath presented thee with my last and the respects I bear so honourable a friend. I did in that give some account of our condition here, which (thanks be to God) mends upon us. Our

* It is right to mention that this nobleman was not the Lord Rochester who was the favourite companion of Charles the Second, since the courteous manner in which WILLIAM PENN addresses himself to this nobleman would give a very unfavourable impression of his character, were it supposed to have been used to one so unworthy of respect as was the dissolute companion of that dissolute monarch.

capital town is advanced to about 150 very tolerable houses for wooden ones ; they are chiefly on both the navigable rivers that bound the ends or sides of the town. The farmers have got their winter corn in the ground. I suppose we may be 500 farmers strong. I settle them in villages, dividing five thousand acres among ten, fifteen or twenty families, as their ability is to plant it. Germans, Dutch and French are concerned in our prosperity with their own ; for here are come three parties (one of each) as spies to the multitude, they say, behind, that on their report will also embark with us. The Germans are fallen upon flax and hemp, the French on vineyards. Here grow wild an incredible number of vines, that though savage and so not so excellent, beside that much wood and shade sour them, they yield a pleasant grape, and I have drank a good claret, though small and greenish, of Capt. Rappe's vintage of the savage grape. The only interruption I meet with is from the unkindness of my neighbour proprietor the Lord Baltimore, who not only refuseth compliance to the king's commands, and the grant he and the duke have graciously made me, but as impatient of the decision of our joint sovereign, would anticipate that by indirect ways of his own, who, to say true, by the course of his affairs, yields him as little regard as ever he can ; he taketh himself to be a prince, that, even to his fellow subject and brother proprietor, can of right deter-

mine differences by force, and we have been threatened with troops of horse (which are fine things to the wood) to reduce those parts in my possession to his power and greatness, aye though king and duke had them quietly before, and so were pleased to deliver them to me. And till I had preached another doctrine to him, as that the king was lord chief justice and high sheriff of America, that he finally must judge, eject and give possession, he refused to go with me to king and counsel; saying he had nothing to do with king and counsel, but would take his right where he could get it. He also told me, my patent had a proviso and exception of appeals, but his had not. I told him, that omission was not a privilege but a prejudice in my opinion; however sovereignty was reserved I was sure, and, if the king was not appealable from Maryland, he was not sovereign of Maryland, but the Lord Baltimore. This softened him a little to his duty, and now he pretends to refer, as do I, with an entire submission. My case I send as an answer to his demand; to which I only pray leave to add, that he never was in possession, and he consequently loses nothing by the want of it that he never had. Further, he never claimed it, not of the Dutch for twenty-six years after his grant, nor of the Swedes for seven and forty years, the one having the upper part of the river, the other, to wit the Dutch, the lower and all the bay: which in an improved country is

a forfeiture by omission and neglect; more it must be in a wild place, where the land is not the sixtieth part to the labour. To this I add, he never run his line, nor fixed his bounds; and with submission, where there are no boundaries, possessors, nor claimant, but long unquestioned possession on another side, there can be no title pleadable against the planter; the maxim of the civil law holding good in this case, *Quæ nullius sunt in bonis dantur occupanti*. But this is not all; he needs it not; I do; without it I have nothing, and without it, he hath forty brave harbours, having 200 miles for two degrees of the bravest bay in the world, Chesapeak, and that on both sides, replenished with many stately rivers and coves for the biggest ships. I have two that ships of two hundred tons perhaps may enter out of the river; in the bay, none, but for small craft; and where right is, to be sure prudence and proportion will more than even the scale. I must (without vanity I can) say, I have led the greatest colony into America that ever any man did upon a private credit, and the most prosperous beginnings that ever were in it are to be found among us; and if this lord (who may remember that his country was cut out of Virginia, to the great abatement of the interest of that province, and this not for debt, or salaries due, but as mere grace) shall carry away this poor ewe lamb too, my voyage will be a ruinous one to me and my partners, which God de-

fend. And, my honourable friend, I shall only pray that my case may be remembered and recommended to the king by my noble friend the marquis of Halifax. I am not to be blamed for this liberty, when it shall be considered how great a place his wit, honour and abilities have with the king, and how much, and with what success, he hath acted the friend to my poor concerns. I hope the innocency of our friends at this juncture hath not dishonoured the lord of Halifax's former favours to them; as I take confidence to believe, that the innocency of men shall protect them in England with their superiors in evil times, else the odds would be little in being such. I say no more, but pray God to reward all thy favours to them and me, and to give me leave to value myself upon the character of

“My Noble Friend,

“Thy very affect. cordial

friend to serve thee,

“W. P.

“*Philadelphia, the 9th of the* }
12th month, 1683. }

“TO THE MARQUIS OF HALIFAX.”

But amidst his useful and various avocations, WILLIAM PENN received accounts from England which gave him great concern. It appeared that the persecutions against the Dissenters, and parti-

cularly the Quakers, were still carried on with great violence. Many particular instances coming to his knowledge in which that peaceable sect had undergone fines and imprisonment on account of their religion, he at length determined to return to England, and endeavour, by his own personal interest, to improve their condition.

Before this could be done, however, there were many arrangements to be made in his infant settlement, which he immediately commenced with great diligence. That which he had most at heart was to improve, to the utmost of his power, the acquaintance and good-will of the Indians, as well as to forward their civilization and improvement. For these purposes he held frequent conferences with them, so that we find before the time of his departure he had entered into treaties of amity with nineteen different tribes. Such was his anxiety for the good of these poor people, and with such earnestness did he pursue it, that we are told by one of his biographers, "he laid out several thousand pounds to instruct, support, and oblige them." His reward was such as must have been most gratifying to his benevolent heart—that of love and confidence to him and his successors, which was handed down from generation to generation.

His next care was to forward, as much as possible, the buildings which were to form the city,

as well as to appoint the necessary officers, and invest them with proper authority for the government of public affairs during his absence. He then set sail for England, and, after a favourable passage, landed October 1684 within seven miles of his own house, and had the happiness of finding his wife and children in perfect health and comfort. He lost no time after his arrival before he set about accomplishing the chief object of his return, and had even obtained a promise from the King to do something for the people for whom he pleaded; but the death of Charles the Second soon after rendered his endeavours abortive.

James the Second, whilst Duke of York, having promised Admiral Penn to be a friend and protector to his son, a considerable degree of intimacy had grown up between them, which WILLIAM PENN now thought it desirable to cultivate as much as possible. For this purpose, he took lodgings for himself and family at Kensington, where he was distinguished by his Majesty as a favourite friend and counsellor. The influence he possessed, however, he exerted almost entirely for the benefit of those who suffered on account of religion; and one of his first applications was in favour of the venerable John Locke, who had been deprived, by the command of the late King, of his place as student of Christ-Church, Oxford, with all its rights and benefits, on account of his opposition to Popery and

and arbitrary power. His application was so far successful, that the King empowered WILLIAM PENN to inform Locke, who was then in Holland, that he might return to England, and should be pardoned. That great man, however, declined to accept the offer, considering that to receive a pardon would be to acknowledge himself guilty.

Perhaps few situations can be more trying to any man's honour and integrity, than that of basking in the sunshine of royal favour; and it is most gratifying to see how well WILLIAM PENN bore the test of its fiery ordeal. A passage from Gerard Croese proves the strength of his mind on such an occasion :—

“ WILLIAM PENN was greatly in favour with the King, the Quakers' sole patron at Court, on whom the hateful eyes of his enemies were intent. The King loved him as a singular and entire friend, and imparted to him many of his secrets and counsels. He often honoured him with his company in private, discoursing with him of various affairs, and that not for one but many hours together, and delaying to hear the best of his peers who at the same time were waiting for an audience. One of these being envious, and impatient of delay, and taking it as an affront to see the other more regarded than himself, adventured to take the freedom to tell his majesty, that when he met with PENN he thought

little of his nobility. The king made no other reply, than that PENN *always talked ingeniously, and he heard him willingly.* PENN, being so highly favoured, acquired thereby a number of friends. Those also who formerly knew him, when they had any favour to ask at Court, came to, courted, and entreated PENN to promote their several requests. PENN refused none of his friends any reasonable office he could do for them; but was ready to serve them all, but more especially the Quakers, and these wherever their religion was concerned. It is usually thought, when you do me one favour readily, you thereby encourage me to expect a second. Thus they ran to PENN without intermission, as their only pillar and support, who always caressed and received them cheerfully, and effected their business by his interest and eloquence. Hence his house and gates were daily thronged by a numerous train of clients and suppliants desiring him to present their addresses to his majesty. There were sometimes there *two hundred and more.* When the carrying on these affairs required money for writings, such as drawing things out into form and copyings, and for fees and other charges which are usually made on such occasions, PENN so discreetly managed matters, that out of his own, which he had in abundance, he liberally discharged many emergent expenses.”

As often happens however to those who labour

for the good of others, his returns were far from being such as he deserved. The well known attachment of James the Second to the Catholic religion, and the marks of favour which WILLIAM PENN received from him, threw a suspicion on that excellent man of being secretly a friend to that cause to which his patron was known to be so much devoted. This suspicion gave great alarm to the Protestants, who were very naturally apprehensive of a renewal of the persecutions from which in former reigns they had suffered so much; and knowing the great intimacy which existed between WILLIAM PENN and the King, they soon adopted the opinion that he was himself a Papist, and that all his influence with the King would consequently be exercised to strengthen the Catholic cause. Amongst those who entertained this opinion and even ventured to give open expression to it was the respectable Dr Tillotson, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; and as the opinion of such a man, both on account of his high station, and still higher character, could not fail to have great weight with all who heard it, WILLIAM PENN thought it necessary to take some active measures to refute it, and therefore wrote to Dr Tillotson in the following terms:—

“ Being often told that Dr Tillotson should suspect me, and so report me, a Papist, I think a Jesuit, and being closely prest, I take the liberty to ask

thee if any such reflection fell from thee. If it did, I am sorry one I esteemed ever the first of his robe should so undeservedly stain me, for so I call it; and if the story be false, I am sorry they should abuse Dr Tillotson as well as myself without a cause. I add no more, but that I abhor two principles in religion, and pity those that own them.—The first is *obedience upon authority without conviction*, and the other *the destroying them that differ from me for God's sake*. Such a religion is without judgment, though not without teeth. Union is best, if right: else charity; and, as Hooker said, the time will come when a few words spoken with meekness, humility, and love, shall be more acceptable than volumes of controversies, which commonly destroy charity, which is the very best part of the true religion; I mean not a charity that can change with all, but bear all, as I can Dr Tillotson in what he dissents from me, and in this reflection too, if said, which is not yet believed by thy Christian true friend,

“WILLIAM PENN.”

To this Dr Tillotson replied:—

“HONOURED SIR,

“The demand of your letter is very just and reasonable, and the manner of it very kind; therefore, in answer to it, be pleased to take the following account:

“The last time you did me the favour to see me at my house, I did, according to the freedom I always use where I profess any friendship, acquaint you with something I had heard of a correspondence you held with some at Rome, and particularly with some of the Jesuits there. At which you seemed a little surprised; and, after some general discourse about it, you said you would call on me some other time, and speak further of it. Since that time I never saw you, but by accident and in passage, where I thought you always declined me, particularly at Sir William Jones’s chamber, which was the last time, I think, I saw you; upon which occasion I took notice to him of your strangeness to me, and told what I thought might be the reason of it, and that I was sorry for it, because I had a particular esteem of your parts and temper. The same, I believe, I have said to some others, but to whom I do not so particularly remember. Since your going to Pennsylvania I never thought more of it, till lately being in some company, one of them pressed me to declare whether I had not heard something of you which had satisfied me that you were a Papist? I answered, No; by no means. I told him what I had heard, and what I said to you, and of the strangeness that ensued upon it; but that this never went further with me than to make me suspect there was more in that report which I had heard than I was at first willing to believe; and that if

any made more of it, I should look upon them as very injurious both to Mr PENN and myself.

“ This is the truth of that matter ; and whenever you will please to satisfy me that my suspicion of the truth of that report I had heard was groundless, I will heartily beg your pardon for it. I do fully concur with you in the abhorrence of the two principles you mention, and in your approbation of that excellent saying of Mr Hooker, for which I shall ever highly esteem him. I have endeavoured to make it one of the governing principles of my life, never to abate any thing of humanity and charity to any man for his difference from me in opinion, and particularly to those of your persuasion, as several of them have had experience. I have been ready upon all occasions to do them all offices of kindness, being truly sorry to see them so hardly used ; and though I thought them mistaken, yet in the main I believed them to be very honest. I thank you for your letter, and have a just esteem of the Christian temper of it, and rest your faithful Friend,

“ JO. TILLOTSON.”

WILLIAM PENN's liberal, independent, and manly answer cannot fail to be read with pleasure :—

“ WORTHY FRIEND,

“ Having a much less opinion of my own

memory than of Dr Tillotson's truth, I will allow the fact, though not the jealousy; for, besides that I cannot look strange where I am well used, I have ever treated the name of Dr Tillotson with another regard. I might be grave, and full of my own business. I was also then disappointed by the Doctor's; but my nature is not harsh, my education less, and my principles least of all. It was the opinion I have had of the Doctor's moderation, simplicity, and integrity, rather than his parts or posts, that always made me set a value upon his friendship, of which perhaps I am better judge, leaving the latter to men of deeper talents. I blame him nothing, but leave it to his better thoughts, if, in my affair, his jealousy was not too nimble for his charity. If he can believe me, I should hardly prevail with myself to endure the same thought of Dr Tillotson on the like occasion, and less to speak of it. For the Roman correspondence I will freely come to confession: I have not only no such thing with any Jesuit at Rome (though Protestants may have without offence), but I hold none with any Jesuit, priest, or regular in the world of that communion. And that the Doctor may see what a novice I am in that business I know not one any where. And yet, when all this is said, I am a Catholic, though not a Roman. I have bowels for mankind, and dare not deny others what I crave for myself, I mean liberty of the exercise of my religion; thinking faith, piety, and providence a better security than

force and that if truth cannot prevail with her own weapons all others will fail her.

“ Now, though I am not obliged to this defence, and that it can be no temporizing now to make it; yet that Dr Tillotson may see how much I value his good opinion, and dare own the truth and myself at all turns, let him be confident I am no Roman Catholic, but a Christian, whose creed is the Scripture, of the truth of which I hold a nobler evidence than the best Church authority in the world; and yet I refuse not to believe the porter, though I cannot leave the sense to his discretion; and when I should, if he offends against those plain methods of understanding God hath made us to know things by, and which are inseparable from us, I must beg his pardon, as I do the Doctor's, for this length, upon the assurance he has given me of his doing the like upon better information; which that he may fully have, I recommend him to my ‘Address to Protestants,’ from p. 133 to the end, and to the first four chapters of my ‘No Cross No Crown,’ to say nothing of our most unceremonious and unworldly way of worship and their pompous cult; where at this time I shall leave the business with all due and sensible acknowledgments to thy friendly temper, and assurance of the sincere wishes and respects of thy affectionate, real friend,

“ WILLIAM PENN.”

This letter produced so full a conviction on the mind of the liberal Tillotson, that he had done injustice to WILLIAM PENN, that a very friendly intercourse afterwards took place between them. The suspicion however was still entertained by many others, and a letter being sent to WILLIAM PENN, in which those opinions were expressed and Dr Tillotson's name mentioned in connection with it, WILLIAM PENN wrote the following note to his friend, enclosing the letter which he had received :—

“ WORTHY FRIEND,

“ This should have been a visit ; but being of opinion that Dr Tillotson is yet a debtor to me in this way, I chose to provoke him to another letter by this, before I made him one ; for though he was very just and obliging when I last saw him, yet certainly no expression, however kindly spoken, will so easily and effectually purge me from the unjust imputation some people cast upon me in his name, as his own letter will do. The need of this he will better see when he has read the inclosed, which coming to hand since my last, is, I presume, enough to justify this address, if I had no former pretensions. And therefore I cannot be so wanting to myself, as not to press him to a letter in my just defence, nor so uncharitable to him as to think he should not frankly write what he has said, when it is to right a man's reputation

and disabuse the too credulous world. For to me it seems from a private friendship to become a moral duty to the public, which, with a person of so great morality, must give success to the reasonable desire of thy very real friend,

“WILLIAM PENN.”

To this Dr Tillotson gave the following satisfactory answer:—

“SIR,

“I am very sorry that the suspicion I had entertained concerning you, of which I gave you the true account in my former letter, hath occasioned so much trouble and inconvenience to you: and I do now declare with great joy, that I am fully satisfied that there was no just ground for that suspicion, and therefore do heartily beg your pardon for it. And ever since you were pleased to give me that satisfaction, I have taken all occasions to vindicate you in this matter; and shall be ready to do it to the person that sent you the inclosed, whenever he will please to come to me. I am very much in the country, but will seek the first opportunity to visit you at Charing Cross, and renew our acquaintance, in which I took great pleasure. I rest your faithful friend,

“JO. TILLOTSON.”

The exertions which WILLIAM PENN made in behalf of his suffering brethren were not confined to those of his own peculiar denomination; but extended to all those who suffered on account of their religion: nor was it long before he reaped the benefit of his exertions in favour of the suffering Christians, by the King and his council issuing a proclamation of pardon to those who were in prison on account of their consciences. He had no doubt aided this object in the minds of the council by a work which he at this time published, called a "Persuasive to Moderation." But it is probable the gradual influence of his conversations with the King, when this great object was always kept in view, had a much more powerful effect. The consequences of this proclamation were most happy to the Quakers, as it was the means of restoring no less than twelve hundred conscientious and suffering people to their families and friends many of whom had been several years in confinement†

After this happy event, WILLIAM PENN resolved on a tour to the continent, to visit the several churches there. On setting out he was commissioned by the King to visit the Prince of Orange, at the Hague, and endeavour to gain his compliance to a general religious toleration in England, together with the removal of all tests,—a commission which it may well be imagined he most joy-

fully undertook. He then visited various parts of the continent; after which he returned again to England, further to promote, by his interest at court, the spread and confirmation of religious liberty. Indeed, so entirely was his heart engaged in this great cause, that he resolved to remain in England till it was completed, though all the accounts which he had received from America proved that matters stood greatly in need of his presence, support, and direction. He had reason to hope, however, that it would not be long before he saw religious toleration established as the law of his native land, which would enable him to return with much greater satisfaction and honour to the land of his adoption. But, unfortunately, the King, whilst he shewed himself anxious to procure general religious liberty, proved himself at the same time so decided a Catholic, that the people were induced to believe his only object was to favour the Papists, and in these suspicions WILLIAM PENN was so much involved, that many were afraid to acknowledge his acquaintance, whilst others, whose minds were of a more independent character, remonstrated with him on the subject. Amongst the latter was a Mr Popple, who was intimate both with him and John Locke, and whose letter with WILLIAM PENN'S answer we will give as specimens of an elevation of mind, and elegance of composition, far beyond the age in which they lived:—

“To the Honourable WILLIAM PENN, Esq. Proprietor and Governor of Pennsylvania.

“HONOURED SIR,

“Though the friendship with which you are pleased to honour me doth afford me sufficient opportunities of discoursing with you upon any subject, yet I choose rather at this time to offer unto you in writing some reflections which have occurred to my thoughts in a matter of no common importance. The importance of it doth primarily and directly respect yourself and your own private concernments; but it also consequently and effectually regards the King, his government, and even the peace and settlement of this whole nation. I entreat you therefore to bear with me, if I endeavour in this manner to give somewhat more weight unto my words than would be in a transient discourse, and leave them with you as a subject that requires your retired consideration.

“You are not ignorant that the part you have been supposed to have had of late years in public affairs, though without either the title, or honour, or profit, of any public office, and that especially your avowed endeavours to introduce among us a general and inviolable liberty of conscience in matters of mere religion, have occasioned the mistakes of some men, provoked the malice of others, and in the end have raised against you a multitude

of enemies, who have unworthily defamed you with such imputations as I am sure you abhor. This I know you have been sufficiently informed of, though I doubt you have not made sufficient reflection upon it. The consciousness of your own innocence seems to me to have given you too great a contempt of such unjust and ill-grounded slanders; for, however glorious it is and reasonable for a truly virtuous mind, whose inward peace is founded upon that rock of innocence, to despise the empty noise of popular reproach, yet even that sublimity of spirit may sometimes swell to a reprovable excess. To be steady and immovable in the prosecution of wise and honest resolutions, by all honest and prudent means, is indeed a duty that admits of no exception: but nevertheless it ought not to hinder that, at the same time, there be also a due care taken of preserving a fair reputation. ‘A good name,’ says the Wise Man, ‘is better than precious ointment.’ It is a perfume that recommends the person whom it accompanies, that procures him every where an easy acceptance, and that facilitates the success of all his enterprizes: and for that reason, though there were no other, I entreat you, observe, that the care of a man’s reputation is an essential part of that very same duty that engages him in the pursuit of any worthy design.

“But I must not entertain you with a declama-

tion upon this general theme. My business is to represent to you more particularly those very imputations which are cast upon yourself, together with some of their evident consequences; that, if possible, I may thereby move you to labour after a remedy. The source of all arises from the ordinary access you have unto the King, the credit you are supposed to have with him, and the deep jealousy that some people have conceived of his intentions in reference to religion. Their jealousy is, that his aim has been to settle Popery in this nation, not only in a fair and secure liberty, but even in a predominating superiority over all other professions: and from hence the inference follows, that whosoever has any part in the councils of this reign must needs be popishly affected; but that to have so great a part in them as you are said to have had, can happen to none but an absolute Papist. That is the direct charge: but that is not enough; your post is too considerable for a Papist of an ordinary form, and therefore you must be a Jesuit: nay, to confirm that suggestion, it must be accompanied with all the circumstances that may best give it an air of probability; as, that you have been bred at St Omer's in the Jesuits' college; that you have taken orders at Rome, and there obtained a dispensation to marry; and that you have since then frequently officiated as a priest in the celebration of the mass at Whitehall, St James's, and other places. And this being admitted, nothing can be too black to

be cast upon you. Whatsoever is thought amiss either in church or state, though never so contrary to your advice, is boldly attributed to it; and, if other proofs fail, the Scripture itself must be brought in to confirm, 'That whosoever offends in one point (in a point especially so essential as that of our too much affected uniformity) is guilty of the breach of all our laws.' Thus the charge of Popery draws after it a tail like the *et cætera* oath, and by endless *innuendos* prejudicates you as guilty of whatsoever malice can invent, or folly believe. But that charge, therefore, being removed, the inferences that are drawn from it will vanish, and your reputation will easily return to its former brightness.

“Now, that I might the more effectually persuade you to apply some remedy to this disease, I beseech you, Sir, suffer me to lay before you some of its pernicious consequences. It is not a trifling matter for a person, raised as you are above the common level, to lie under the prejudice of so general a mistake in so important a matter. The general and long prevalency of any opinion gives it a strength, especially among the vulgar, that is not easily shaken. And as it happens that you have also enemies of a higher rank, who will be ready to improve such popular mistakes by all sorts of malicious artifices, it must be taken for granted that those errors will be thereby still more confirmed, and

the inconveniences that may arise from thence no less increased. This, Sir, I assure you, is a melancholy prospect to your friends ; for we know you have such enemies. The design of so universal a liberty of conscience, as your principles have led you to promote, has offended many of those whose interest it is to cross it. I need not tell you how many and how powerful they are ; nor can I tell you either how far, or by what ways and means, they may endeavour to execute their revenge. But this, however, I must needs tell you ; that, in your present circumstances, there is sufficient ground for so much jealousy at least as ought to excite you to use the precaution of some public vindication. This the tenderness of friendship prompts your friends to desire of you ; and this the just sense of your honour, which true religion does not extinguish, requires you to execute.

“ Pardon, I entreat you, Sir, the earnestness of these expressions ; nay, suffer me, without offence, to expostulate with you yet a little further. I am fearful lest these personal considerations should not have their due weight with you, and therefore I cannot omit to reflect also upon some more general consequences of your particular reproach. I have said it already, that the King, his honour, his government, and even the peace and settlement of this whole nation, either are or have been concerned in this matter : your reputation, as you

are said to have meddled in public affairs, has been of public concernment. The promoting a general liberty of conscience having been your particular province, the aspersion of Popery and Jesuitism, that has been cast upon you, has reflected upon his majesty for having made use, in that affair, of so disguised a personage as you are supposed to have been. It has weakened the force of your endeavours, obstructed their effect, and contributed greatly to disappoint this poor nation of that inestimable happiness, and secure establishment, which I am persuaded you designed, and which all good and wise men agree that a just and inviolable liberty of conscience would infallibly produce. I heartily wish this consideration had been sooner laid to heart, and that some demonstrative evidence of your sincerity in the profession you make had accompanied all your endeavours for liberty.

“But what do I say, or what do I wish for? I confess that I am now struck with astonishment at that abundant evidence which I know you have constantly given of the opposition of your principles to those of the Romish church, and at the little regard there has been had to it. If an open profession of the directest opposition against Popery, that has ever appeared in the world since Popery was first distinguished from common Christianity, would serve the turn, this cannot be denied

to all those of that society with which you are joined in the duties of religious worship. If to have maintained the principles of that society by frequent and fervent discourses, by many elaborate writings, by suffering ignominy, imprisonment, and other manifold disadvantages, in defence thereof, can be admitted as any proof of your sincere adherence thereunto; this, it is evident to the world, you have done already. Nay, further; if to have inquired, as far as was possible for you, into the particular stories that have been framed against you, and to have sought all means of rectifying the mistakes upon which they were grounded, could in any measure avail to the setting a true character of you in men's judgments, this also I know you have done. For I have seen under the hand of a reverend dean of our English church (Dr Tillotson) a full acknowledgment of satisfaction received from you in a suspicion he had entertained upon one of those stories, and to which his report had procured too much credit. And though I know you are averse to the publishing of his letter without his express leave, and perhaps may not now think fit to ask it, yet I am so thoroughly assured of his sincerity and candour, that I cannot doubt but he has already vindicated you in that matter, and will (according to his promise) be still ready to do it upon all occasions. Nay, I have seen also your justification from another calumny of common fame, about your

having kidnapped one, who had been formerly a monk, out of your American province, to deliver him here into the hands of his enemies ; I say, I have seen your justification from that story under that person's own hand ; and his return to Pennsylvania, where he now resides, may be an irrefragable confutation of it to any that will take the pains to inquire thereinto.

“Really it afflicts me very much to consider that all this does not suffice. If I had not that particular respect for you which I sincerely profess, yet I could not but be much affected, that any man, who had deservedly acquired so fair a reputation as you have formerly had, whose integrity and veracity had always been reputed spotless, and whose charity had been continually exercised in serving others, at the dear expense of his time, his strength, and his estate, without any other recompense than what results from the consciousness of doing good : I say I could not but be much affected, to see any such person fall innocently and undeservedly under such unjust reproaches as you have done. It is a hard case ; and I think no man that has any bowels of humanity can reflect upon it without great relentings.

“ Since therefore it is so, and that something remains yet to be done—something more express, and especially more public than has yet been

done—for your vindication ; I beg of you, dear Sir, by all the tender efficacy that friendship, either mine or that of your friends and relations together, can have upon you ; by the due regard which humanity, and even Christianity, obliges you to have to your reputation ; by the duty you owe unto the King ; by your love to the land of your nativity ; and by the cause of universal religion, and eternal truth ; let not the scandal of insincerity, that I have hinted at, lie any longer upon you ; but let the sense of all these obligations persuade you to gratify your friends and relations, and to serve your King, your country, and your religion, by such a public vindication of your honour, as your own prudence, upon these suggestions, will now shew you to be most necessary and most expedient. I am, with unfeigned and most respectful affection, Honoured Sir,

“ Your most humble and most obedient servant,

“ WILLIAM POPPLE.”

ANSWER.

“ WORTHY FRIEND,

“ It is now above twenty years, I thank God, that I have not been very solicitous what the world thought of me : for since I have had the knowledge of religion from a principle in myself, the first and main point with me has been to approve

myself in the sight of God through patience and well-doing : so that the world has not had weight enough with me to suffer its good opinion to raise me, or its ill opinion to deject me. And if that had been the only motive or consideration, and not the desire of a good friend in the name of many others, I had been as silent to thy letter as I use to be to the idle and malicious shams of the times : but as the laws of friendship are sacred with those that value that relation, so I confess this to be a principal one with me, not to deny a friend the satisfaction he desires, when it may be done without offence to a good conscience.

“The business chiefly insisted upon is my Popery, and endeavours to promote it. I do say then, and that with all sincerity, that I am not only no Jesuit, but no Papist; and, which is more, I never had any temptation upon me to be it, either from doubts in my own mind about the way I profess, or from the discourses or writings of any of that religion. And in the presence of Almighty God I do declare, that the King did never once, directly or indirectly, attack me, or tempt me, upon that subject, the many years that I have had the advantage of a free access to him; so unjust, as well as sordidly false, are all those stories of the town!

“The only reason, that I can apprehend, they have to repute me a Roman Catholic, is my fre-

quent going to Whitehall, a place no more forbid to me than to the rest of the world, who yet, it seems, find much fairer quarter. I have almost continually had one business or other there for our Friends, whom I ever served with a steady solicitation through all times since I was of their communion. I had also a great many personal good offices to do, upon a principle of charity, for people of all persuasions, thinking it a duty to improve the little interest I had for the good of those that needed it, especially the poor. I might add something of my own affairs too, though I must own (if I may without vanity) that they have ever had the least share of my thoughts or pains, or else they would not have still depended as they yet do.

“But because some people are so unjust as to render instances for my Popery, (or rather hypocrisy, for so it would be in me,) ’tis fit I contradict them as particularly as they accuse me. I say then solemnly, that I am so far from having been bred at St Omer’s, and having received orders at Rome, that I never was at either place, nor do I know any body there ; nor had I ever a correspondence with any body in those places : which is another story invented against me. And as for my officiating in the King’s chapel, or any other, it is so ridiculous as well as untrue, that, besides that nobody can do it but a priest, and that I have been married to a woman of some condition above sixteen years (which no priest

can be by any dispensation whatever), I have not so much as looked into any chapel of the Roman religion, and consequently not the King's, though a common curiosity warrants it daily to people of all persuasions.

“ And, once for all, I do say that I am a Protestant Dissenter, and to that degree such, that I challenge the most celebrated Protestant of the English church, or any other, on that head, be he layman or clergyman, in public or in private. For I would have such people know, 'tis not impossible for a true Protestant Dissenter to be dutiful, thankful, and serviceable to the King, though he be of the Roman Catholic communion. We hold not our property or protection from him by our persuasion, and therefore his persuasion should not be the measure of our allegiance. I am sorry to see so many, that seem fond of the Reformed Religion, by their disaffection to him recommend it so ill. Whatever practices of Roman Catholics we might reasonably object against (and no doubt but such there are), yet he has disclaimed and reprehended those ill things by his declared opinion against persecution, by the ease in which he actually indulges all Dissenters, and by the confirmation he offers in Parliament for the security of the Protestant religion and liberty of conscience. And in his honour, as well as in my own defence, I am obliged in conscience to say, that he has ever declared to me it

was his opinion; and on all occasions, when Duke, he never refused me the repeated proofs of it as often as I had any poor sufferers for conscience sake to solicit his help for.

“But some may be apt to say, ‘Why not any body else as well as I? Why must I have the preferable access to other Dissenters, if not a Papist?’ I answer, I know not that it is so.—But this I know, that I have made it my province and business; I have followed and prest it; I took it for my calling and station, and have kept it above these sixteen years; and, which is more (if I may say it without vanity or reproach), wholly at my own charges too. To this let me add the relation my father had to this King’s service, his particular favour in getting me released out of the Tower of London in 1669, my father’s humble request to him upon his death bed to protect me from the inconveniences and troubles my persuasion might expose me to, and his friendly promise to do it, and exact performance of it from the moment I addressed myself to him; I say, when all this is considered, any body, that has the least pretence to good nature, gratitude, or generosity, must needs know how to interpret my access to the King. Perhaps some will be ready to say, ‘This is not all, nor is this yet a fault; but that I have been an adviser in other matters disgustful to the kingdom, and which tend to the overthrow of the Protestant

religion and the liberties of the people.'—A likely thing, indeed, that a Protestant dissenter, who from fifteen years old has been (at times) a sufferer in his father's family, in the University, and by the government, for being so, should design the destruction of the Protestant religion! This is just as probable as it is true that I died a Jesuit six years ago in America.—Will men still suffer such stuff to pass upon them?—Is any thing more foolish, as well as false, than that because I am often at Whitehall, therefore I must be the author of all that is done there that does not please abroad?—But, supposing some such things to have been done, pray tell me, if I am bound to oppose any thing that I am not called to do? I never was a member of council, cabinet, or committee, where the affairs of the kingdom are transacted. I have had no office, nor trust, and consequently nothing can be said to be done by me; nor, for that reason, could I lie under any test or obligation to discover my opinion of public acts of state; and therefore neither can any such acts, nor my silence about them, in justice be made my crime. Volunteers are blanks and cyphers in all governments. And unless calling at Whitehall once a day, upon many occasions, or my not being turned out of nothing (for that no office is), be the evidence of my compliance in disagreeable things, I know not what else can, with any truth, be alleged against me. However, one thing I know, that I have

every where most religiously observed, and endeavoured in conversation with persons of all ranks and opinions, to allay heats, and moderate extremes, even in the politics. It is below me to be more particular; but I am sure it has been my endeavour, that if we could not all meet upon a religious bottom, at least we might upon a civil one, the good of England, which is the common interest of King and people; that he might be great by justice, and we free by obedience; distinguishing rightly, on the one hand, between duty and slavery; and, on the other, between liberty and licentiousness.

“But, alas! I am not without my apprehension of the cause of this behaviour towards me, and in this I perceive we agree; I mean my constant zeal for an impartial liberty of conscience. But if that be it, the cause is too good to be in pain about. I ever understood that to be the natural right of all men; and that he that had a religion without it, his religion was none of his own. For what is not the religion of a man’s choice is the religion of him that imposes it; so that liberty of conscience is the first step to have a religion. This is no new opinion with me. I have writ many apologies within the last twenty years to defend it, and that impartially. Yet I have as constantly declared that bounds ought to be set to this freedom, and that morality was the best; and that as often as

that was violated, under a pretence of conscience, it was fit the civil power should take place. Nor did I ever think of promoting any sort of liberty of conscience for any body, which did not preserve the common Protestantism of the kingdom, and the ancient rights of the government; for, to say truth, the one cannot be maintained without the other.

“ Upon the whole matter, I must say, I love England; I ever did so; and that I am not in her debt. I never valued time, money, or kindred, to serve her and do her good. No party could ever bias me to her prejudice, nor any personal interest oblige me in her wrong: for I always abhorred discounting private favours at the public cost.

“ Would I have made my market of the fears and jealousies of the people, when this King came to the crown, I had put twenty thousand pounds into my pocket, and an hundred thousand into my province; for mighty numbers of people were then upon the wing: but I waved it all; hoped for better times; expected the effects of the King’s word for liberty of conscience, and happiness by it: and till I saw my friends, with the kingdom, delivered from the legal bondage which penal laws for religion had subjected them to, I could with no satisfaction think of leaving England, though much to my prejudice beyond sea, and at my great expense here, having in all this time never had either of-

rice or pension, and always refusing the rewards or gratuities of those I have been able to oblige.

“ If, therefore, an universal charity, if the asserting an impartial liberty of conscience, if doing to others as we would be done by, and an open avowing and steady practising of these things, in all times, and to all parties, will justly lay a man under the reflection of being a Jesuit, or Papist of any rank, I must not only submit to the character, but embrace it too ; and I care not who knows, that I can wear it with more pleasure than it is possible for them with any justice to give it me. For these are corner stones and principles with me ; and I am scandalized at all buildings which have them not for their foundations. For religion itself is an empty name without them, a whited wall, a painted sepulchre, no life or virtue to the soul, no good or example to one’s neighbour. Let us not flatter ourselves ; we can never be the better for our religion, if our neighbour be the worse for it. Our fault is, we are apt to be mighty hot upon speculative errors, and break all bounds in our resentments ; but we let practical ones pass without remark, if not without repentance : as if a mistake about an obscure proposition of faith were a greater evil than the breach of an undoubted precept. Such a religion the devils themselves are not without ; for they have both faith and knowledge : but their faith doth not work by love, nor their knowledge

by obedience. And if this be their judgment, can it be our blessing?—Let us not then think religion a litigious thing, nor that Christ came only to make us good disputants, but that he came also to make us good livers: sincerity goes further than capacity. It is charity that deservedly excels in the Christian religion; and happy would it be if where unity ends, charity did begin, instead of envy and railing, that almost ever follow. It appears to me to be the way that God has found out and appointed to moderate our differences, and make them at least harmless to society; and therefore I confess, I dare not aggravate them to wrath and blood. Our disagreement lies in our apprehension or belief of things; and if the common enemy of mankind had not the governing of our affections and passions, that disagreement would not prove such a canker, as it is, to love and peace in civil societies.

“He that suffers his difference with his neighbour about the other world to carry him beyond the line of moderation in this, is the worse for his opinion, even though it be true. It is too little considered by Christians, that men may hold the truth in unrighteousness; that they may be orthodox, and not know what spirit they are of. So were the apostles of our Lord: they believed in him, yet let a false zeal do violence to their judg-

ment, and their unwarrantable heat contradict the great end of their Saviour's coming, Love.

“Men may be angry for God's sake, and kill people too. Christ said it, and too many have practised it. But what sort of Christians must they be, I pray, that can hate in his name who bids us love, and kill for his sake that forbids killing, and commands love, even to enemies ?

“Let not men, nor parties, think to shift it off from themselves. It is not this principle, nor that form, to which so great a defection is owing, but a degeneracy of mind from God. Christianity is not at heart ; no fear of God in the inward parts ; no awe of his divine omnipresence. Self prevails, and breaks out, more or less, through all forms but too plainly, (pride, wrath, lust, avarice,) so that though people say to God, Thy will be done, they do their own ; which shews them to be true Heathens, under a mask of Christianity, that believe without works, and repent without forsaking ; busy for forms, and the temporal benefits of them ; while true religion, which is to visit the fatherless and the widow, and to keep ourselves unspotted from the world, goes barefoot, and like Lazarus is despised. Yet this was the definition the Holy Ghost gave of religion, before synods and councils had the meddling with it and modelling of it. In those days bowels were a good

part of religion, and that to the fatherless and widow at large. We can hardly now extend them to those of our own way. It was said by him that could not say amiss, 'Because iniquity abounds, the love of many waxeth cold.' Whatsoever divides man's heart from God separates it from his neighbour; and he that loves self more than God can never love his neighbour as himself. For (as the apostle said) 'If we do not love him whom we have seen, how can we love God whom we have not seen.'

"O that we could see some men as eager to turn people to God, as they are to blow them up, and set them one against another! But, indeed, those only can have that pure and pious zeal, who are themselves turned to God, and have tasted the sweetness of that conversion, which is to power, and not to form; to godliness, and not to gain. Such as those do bend their thoughts and pains to appease, not increase heats and animosities; to exhort people to look at home, sweep their own houses, and weed their own gardens. And in no age or time was there more need to set men at work in their own hearts than this we live in, when so busy, wandering, licentious a spirit prevails; for, whatever some men may think, the disease of this kingdom is sin, impiety against God, and want of charity to men. And while this guilt is at our door, judgment cannot be far off.

“Now this being the disease, I will briefly offer two things for the cure of it.

“The first is David’s clean heart and right spirit, which he asked and had of God: without this we must be a chaos still: for the distemper is within; and our Lord said, all evil comes from thence. Set the inward man right, and the outward man cannot be wrong; that is the helm that governs the human vessel; and this nothing can do but an inward principle, the light and grace that came by Christ, which, the Scriptures tell us, enlightens every one, and hath appeared to all men.—It is preposterous to think that he, who made the world, should shew least care of the best part of it, our souls. No: he that gave us an outward luminary for our bodies, hath given us an inward one for our minds to act by. We have it; and it is our condemnation that we do not love it, and bring our deeds to it. ’Tis by this we see our sins, are made sensible of them, sorry for them, and finally forsake them. And he that thinks to go to Heaven a nearer way will, I fear, belate his soul, and be irrevocably mistaken. There are but goats and sheep at last, whatever shapes we wear here. Let us not therefore, dear friend, deceive ourselves. Our souls are at stake; God will not be mocked; what we sow we must expect to reap. There is no repentance in the grave; which shews that, if none there, then no where else. To sum up this divinity of mine: It is

the light of Jesus in our souls, that gives us a true sight of ourselves, and that sight that leads us to repentance ; which repentance begets humility, and humility that true charity that covers a multitude of faults, which I call God's expedient against man's infirmity.

“ The second remedy to our present distemper is this : Since all of all parties profess to believe in God, Christ, the Spirit, and Scripture ; that the soul is immortal ; that there are eternal rewards and punishments ; and that the virtuous shall receive the one, and the wicked suffer the other : I say, since this is the common faith of Christendom, let us all resolve in the strength of God to live up to what we agree in, before we fall out so miserably about the rest in which we differ. I am persuaded, the change and comfort, which that pious course would bring us to, would go very far to dispose our natures to compound easily for all the rest, and we might hope yet to see happy days in poor England, for there I would have so good a work begun. And how it is possible for the eminent men of every religious persuasion (especially the present ministers of the parishes of England) to think of giving an account to God at the last day without using the utmost of their endeavours to moderate the members of their respective communions towards those that differ from them, is a mystery to me. But this I know, and must lay it

at their doors ; I charge also my own soul with it ; God requires moderation and humility from us ; for he is at hand, who will not spare to judge our impatience, if we have no patience for one another. The eternal God rebuke (I beseech him) the wrath of man, and humble all under the sense of the evil of this day ; and yet (unworthy as we are) give us peace for his holy name's sake.

“ It is now time to end this letter, and I will now do it without saying any more than this : Thou seest my defence against popular calumny ; thou seest what my thoughts are of our condition, and the way to better it ; and thou seest my hearty and humble prayer to Almighty God to incline us to be wise, if it were but for our own sakes. I shall only add, that I am extremely sensible of the kindness and justice intended me by my friends on this occasion, and that I am for that, and many more reasons,

“ Thy obliged and affectionate friend,

“ WILLIAM PENN.”

We know from history that the consequence of the King's mode of proceeding, and his well known attachment to the Catholic cause, was that a tumult was excited, which ended in the flight of the King into France, and the establishment of William of Orange and his consort Mary on the throne.

Great was the change which WILLIAM PENN now experienced. Lately the friend and favourite of the King, and the channel through which those who had favours to ask sought to present their requests, he now saw himself the object of suspicion and contempt, and threatened even with those persecutions himself which he had taken so much pains to remove from others. His mind naturally turned, under these circumstances, to his own quiet and peaceful home in America; and it may well be imagined, that his heart panted for the sweets which it promised him. But the fear of appearing to deserve the suspicions of Popery which now rested upon him deterred him from availing himself of the asylum which it offered, and made him resolve to remain for the present where he was—guarded by the armour of an innocent heart and well spent life. But these did not prove sufficient to protect him from evil; for, whilst walking soon after through Whitehall, he was sent for by the Lords of the Council, then sitting. In his examination he protested that “he had done nothing but what he could answer before God, and all the princes in the world; that he loved his country and the protestant religion above his life, and had never acted against either; that all he had ever aimed at in his public endeavours was no other than what the Prince himself had declared for; that King James had ever been his friend, and his father’s friend; and that in gratitude he

himself was the King's, and did ever, as much as in him lay, influence him to his true interest." This manly and frank declaration was of little service to him, and he was obliged to give security for his appearance on the first day of the next term; after which he was discharged.

When the time, however, arrived for his answering to the charges made against him, not one person could be found to substantiate them. Not a single being could be found who would say he was a Papist or a Jesuit, or that he had, in a single instance, aided the late King to establish Popery or arbitrary power; so that he was, of course, acquitted.

Soon after this event, he had the pleasure of seeing the toleration act passed by King, Lords, and Commons; and though it was far from being equal to his wishes, it was still a very happy change in the state of the country. Dissenters of every denomination were "now excused from certain penalties if they would only take the oaths to government. They were allowed to apply for warrants for those houses in which they intended to worship; and the magistrates were obliged to grant them; and, provided they worshipped in these with the doors not shut, they were not to be molested." For the Quakers, this act contained a more particular exemption in relation to oaths; so

that there was at once an end to all the troubles, imprisonments, and hardships, which had so long harassed the country. This event must have been most highly gratifying to one who had laboured so hard for its accomplishment. That it owed its origin in a great measure to his endeavours there can be little doubt, as he had made a great impression on the Prince of Orange, now King William, whilst at the Hague, as well as having been the means of drawing many of his countrymen into its support, both by his conversation and writings.

After this accomplishment of his wishes, his mind turned with renewed interest towards America. He had found it necessary, since his departure, to make various changes in his mode of government, and had only a short time before appointed a new deputy governor. It seemed, however, that his personal presence would afford the most likely means of settling all disputes, and of putting an end to all dissatisfaction; he therefore determined upon resuming his place amongst them as soon as he saw the new act of toleration received and sanctioned by the voice of the people. But no sooner was this the case, and he had commenced his preparations for his intended voyage, than he was arrested by a body of military, and again brought for examination before the Lords of the Council.

The present charge against him was that of holding a correspondence with the late King, who was then in France; on hearing which, he begged to appeal to King William in person. This was granted, and a letter produced from King James to him, which had been intercepted. On being questioned concerning it, he acknowledged, with the frankness of a manly and innocent mind, that the King's motive for writing that letter appeared evidently to be, to induce him to endeavour to replace him on the throne; but that it had been written without his knowledge or concurrence; and that, much as he loved the late King, and felt obliged to him for all his former marks of friendship, he had too sincere an interest in the welfare of his country, and felt too strongly the duty he owed the state, to think of being instrumental in restoring *his* lost crown. This defence brought such conviction to the mind of the King, that he was inclined to acquit him immediately; but objections being made to this by some of the Council, he was ordered to give bail for his appearance at the next Trinity Term, after which he was allowed to go at large as before. Again the time for his appearance in court arrived, and again, no one coming forward against him, he was honourably acquitted.

Once more at liberty, he again began to think of returning to America; when, in consequence of

a threatened invasion by the French during King William's absence in Ireland, the Queen was obliged to exert herself for the defence of the nation. And, in order to strike terror into the hearts of the supposed conspirators, she published a proclamation for apprehending many suspected persons, amongst whom was WILLIAM PENN. Here then we see this excellent man again an inhabitant of a prison, where he lay for some time. At length being brought before the Court of King's Bench, he was again acquitted; for, though some appeared in evidence, nothing could be proved against him.

It cannot be wondered at that he now turned with sickening anxiety towards the peaceful shades of America. Harassed and persecuted in a country which he had spent his life in endeavours to serve, he longed for a distant and more friendly home. The object for which he had crossed the Atlantic was in a great measure accomplished, and he felt himself authorized to seek that security for his person in Pennsylvania which seemed to be denied him in his native country.

Just at the time that he was almost ready for departure, George Fox, the great founder of the society of Quakers, died in London; and he had the satisfaction of performing the last offices of friendship to him whilst living, as well as of

attending his remains to the grave—where he spoke for a considerable time to about two thousand persons. Little did he imagine that at that very moment emissaries were again employed to denounce him as an enemy to his country. An infamous fellow of the name of Fuller, who was afterwards declared by Parliament to be “a cheat and an impostor,” came forward and made accusation against him upon oath, in consequence of which persons were sent with a warrant to apprehend him even at the funeral of his friend. Fortunately, however, they had mistaken the time and arrived too late.

There was now no alternative but that of the vessels, which had many emigrants ready to embark in them, sailing without him, as he could not with honour, under present circumstances, leave the kingdom. To have done so, by way of avoiding the execution of the law, would have been useless, as he was equally subject to it in America as in England. But, had that not been the case, his mind would have revolted from it, as having the appearance of flying from the punishment which he knew himself not to deserve. Equally prudent, however, as spirited, he was no way disposed to throw himself in the way of his enemies, and therefore determined to keep himself in retirement—where, though he might easily be discovered by those who wished to find him, he would

cease to force himself upon the public attention. Influenced by these considerations, he took a private lodging in London, where study, religious exercises and the visits of a few friends combined to cheer and lighten his hours of retirement.

The subject of most serious regret to him was, the bad effect of his absence on the affairs of the province, where differences had arisen which he alone was capable of adjusting. Jealousies had been excited which would probably never have been known had he been himself at the head of the government; for the candour, openness, and impartiality of his conduct were peculiarly well calculated to remove every suspicion, and hush every rising discontent. His personal assistance, however, it was now out of his power to give, so that his only resource was to send his best advice and most affectionate admonitions by letter.

Among the friends who visited him in his retirement was John Locke. This great philosopher had come over to England in the same fleet which had brought the Prince of Orange, and now came forward with the same offer of services which WILLIAM PENN had made him in similar circumstances. But Locke received the same answer which he had then given; for, conscious that he had done nothing which required pardon, WILLIAM PENN re-

fused to accept it, and thus imply an acknowledgment of guilt.

When he had been about six weeks in retirement, a second proclamation was issued for his apprehension, on the plea of his having been engaged with Dr Turner, Bishop of Ely, and James Grahame, in a conspiracy with the Earl of Clarendon, the Viscount Preston, and others, to bring James the Second back to England; but he continued to keep himself quietly in his lodgings: and it is remarkable, that though no extraordinary privacy was observed, he was never disturbed by constable, magistrate, or officer of justice of any kind.

During this period he was actively employed in writing, as the only means then in his power of serving his fellow creatures, for whose benefit it was constantly his delight to labour. But in the midst of this employment, his apprehensions were excited by an event which seemed to threaten a destructive blow to his domestic happiness. His wife's health had long been declining, but was now in a very alarming state. The difficulties and hardships which her husband had encountered and still laboured under had proved too much for her strength to bear, and her life seemed likely to prove the sacrifice.

Still, however, the measure of his misfortunes

was not completed, but other and severe trials awaited him. The account of the disturbances and discontents which had arisen in his province had reached the ears of his enemies, and had been eagerly seized upon by them as a means of accomplishing his ruin. For this purpose it had been industriously circulated, and pains had been taken to impress the minds of the King and Queen with the belief, that he was incapable of governing—and that nothing could save Pennsylvania from ruin but taking it out of his hands. The success of his enemies was equal to their wishes; and a commission was granted by William and Mary to Colonel Fletcher, the Governor of New York, to take upon himself the government of Pennsylvania, of which WILLIAM PENN was wholly deprived.

It is impossible for description to do justice to such a situation as that to which this excellent man was now reduced. Deprived at once of all the fond expectations he had enjoyed of governing a virtuous and happy people; his fortune lost with the province in which it had been vested; dashed from the high station which he had lately enjoyed in the smiles of royalty; slandered and reviled by his enemies, and looked upon with coldness and suspicion even by those who had formerly been his friends; a tender and affectionate wife sinking rapidly under the misfortunes which had thus accumulated upon her husband—what could have sup-

ported him under such circumstances but that which can sustain and comfort under every trial? Religion, that friend which he had chosen in his earliest youth, was now his consolation and his support. With this, and with the balm of a spotless conscience, he was resigned and patient, receiving all as from the hand of Him who is able to make "all things work together for good."

He now anxiously wished to hasten to Pennsylvania, that he might still be near to watch over the constitution he had so carefully formed, and to take care that no infringements might be made upon its rights and liberties, without a protest against it either by himself or others. But here, besides the illness of his wife, another difficulty arose: his circumstances had become so embarrassed, that he knew not how to accomplish his wishes; so that his continuance in the country where he had met with nothing but hardship still remained as much a matter of necessity as it had ever been.

At length a few of those great men who had long known and esteemed him were roused to a sense of the injustice under which he suffered. They therefore went in a body to the King, and pleaded his cause with so much effect, that his Majesty (who had previously known and respected him) gave them an order for him to be immedi-

ately set at liberty. But it does not appear that WILLIAM PENN was himself quite satisfied with the mode of his release, as he afterwards obtained permission to make his own defence before the King and many of the Lords of Council ; after which he was honourably acquitted.

His restoration to public esteem was a subject of peculiar satisfaction at this crisis ; for the health of his wife was now in so hopeless a state, that there was no other prospect than of a speedy termination to her existence. To see her husband restored to his place in society must have been a balm to her wounded bosom ; and though her own frame had sunk under the calamities that had befallen him, an amiable mind, such as hers is represented to have been, must have rejoiced in the prospect of usefulness which still seemed to lie before her beloved partner. Her decline was gradual, and her death composed, tranquil, and resigned. She expired in the arms of her husband, who thus speaks of her in a memorial he drew up after her death : “I hope I may say she was a public as well as a private loss ; for she was not only an excellent wife and mother, but an entire and constant friend, of a more than common capacity, and great modesty and humility ; yet most equal, and undaunted in danger ; religious as well as ingenuous, without affectation ; an easy mistress and good neighbour, especially to the poor ; neither

lavish nor penurious; but an example of industry, as well as of other virtues: therefore our great loss; though her own eternal gain.”

After the death of his wife, he devoted himself for some time almost entirely to the care of his family, to which he felt that he had to act the part of a double parent; and in no point of view whatever does this great man appear to more advantage than in the character of a father. Deeply impressed with a sense of the importance of the duties which devolved upon the head of a family, we have already seen a beautiful example of his solicitude for his children in the letter he wrote to them, even at the time that he was pressed by such a variety of engagements. Indeed, the whole of his domestic character is of such a nature as to shed a beautiful and captivating lustre over all his public exertions.

Steady and persevering as he was in all his undertakings, it is not to be supposed that he could resign one that had taken such hold of his heart as the government of his province and territories had done, without an effort to recover it. For this purpose, soon after his honourable discharge, he sent a petition to the King to have it restored to him. This petition we are happy to say was successful, and not only so, but the instrument by which it was restored was worded in a manner

highly creditable to him; for it declared, "that the disorders and confusion into which the province and territories had fallen had been occasioned entirely by his absence from them." From this time he began rapidly to recover in the estimation of his countrymen; for the base character of Fuller had become fully known, and he had undergone the disgrace of the pillory for crimes which deserved a still more severe punishment.

His duties as a public minister now called WILLIAM PENN for a time from home, when he visited the counties of Gloucester, Somerset, Devon, and Dorset, holding meetings almost daily at the most considerable towns, to which the people flocked in great numbers. From this time nothing particular seems to have occurred to him till the beginning of the year 1696, the third from the death of his wife, when we find him again entering into the marriage state with Hannah, daughter of Thomas Callowhill, and grand-daughter of Dennis Hollister, two eminent merchants of the city of Bristol, who had both joined the religious society of Quakers.

Soon after this event, his happiness met with a severe shock from the death of his eldest son, a very promising young man, who had just passed his twentieth year. As his disorder was consumption, his decease had no doubt been long anticipated, but as he possessed most amiable and engaging

manners and dispositions, and had also made great attainments in learning, his loss could not but be severely felt by his relatives and friends. To this beloved son WILLIAM PENN acted the part of a tender and affectionate nurse, attending him constantly, with the kindest solicitude, for the last three months of his life. And, after receiving his last breath on his bosom, he gratified the natural feelings of a parent by giving to the world an account of his exemplary resignation and piety, during his long and trying illness.

From this time to the year 1690, though actively employed in preaching and writing, the life of WILLIAM PENN presents no very important incident. At this period, however, we find him preparing to resume his personal charge of the government of Pennsylvania, to which place he sailed with his wife and children in September 1699. They had a long and tedious voyage of three months, which however proved eventually fortunate for them, as it detained them from Philadelphia at the time that it was visited by a contagious distemper which was fatal to many of its inhabitants. We have a letter* before us at this moment from

* This extract, with all the further letters and extracts which we shall insert, is taken from "Selections from the Correspondence of the Hon. James Logan, copied from the Originals by Mrs Deborah Logan;" to whom we are obliged for the use which we now make of them.

one Isaac Norris, a highly respectable inhabitant of the city at that time, of whom WILLIAM PENN, in a letter written some years afterwards, says that he was a masterpiece for his education. In this letter the state of the city is thus described :—

“In my last letter I advised something of it being sickly here, which affliction it has pleased the almighty and allwise God still to continue very sorely upon us, which causes many to bow before Him. There is not a day, nor a night has passed for several weeks but we have the account of the death or sickness of some friend or neighbour. It hath been sometimes very sickly, but I never before knew it so mortal as now. About ten days ago there was reckoned nine persons lay dead at the same time, and I think seven or eight this day lay dead together.”

Fortunately for WILLIAM PENN and the companions of his voyage, we find that this affliction had entirely passed away before their arrival, as appears by another letter from the same hand, which says, after announcing the arrival of the proprietary and his family, “Our place, through great mercy, is very healthy again; and an extraordinary moderate and open fall.” We shall add an interesting account of WILLIAM PENN’S arrival, and the manner in which he was received; which is given in a letter from his secretary James Lo-

gan to William Penn, Jun. the only surviving son of the proprietary by his first wife, who being married remained in England :—

“The highest terms I could use would hardly give you an idea of the expectation and welcome that thy father received from the most of the honest party here. Friends generally concluded that after all their troubles and disappointments, this province now scarce wanted any thing more to render it completely happy. The faction that had long contended to overthrow the settled constitution of the government received a universal damp, yet endeavoured what mischief they could by speaking whispers that the proprietary could not act as governor without the King’s approbation and taking an oath, as obliged by act of parliament, but that in a great measure soon blew over. Colonel Quarry, judge, and John Moore, advocate of the admiralty, the two ringleaders, went down to the water side among the crowd to receive the governor at his landing, who not seeming to regard the very submissive welcome they gave him, and taking notice of an old acquaintance that stood by them, expected nothing but almost as open hostility from the proprietary as they were at before with Colonel Mackham, especially having heard that copies of Colonel Quarry’s letters to the Admiralty at home against the government were also brought over.

“Directly from the wharf the governor went to his deputy’s, paid him a short formal visit, and from thence with a crowd attending to meeting, it being about 3 o’clock on First day afternoon, where he spoke on a double account to the people, and praying, concluded it. From thence to Edward Shippen’s, where we lodged for about a month.”

The dissensions which are likewise touched upon in this letter, and which at the time called so loudly for the wise and judicious head of the community, have long since lost their interest; but were it even otherwise, this is not the place for entering into a discussion of them, where the only aim is to sketch the character of WILLIAM PENN, not to give a history of his colony; whilst those who are desirous of having a more circumstantial account of the transactions of the infant community, may easily have their curiosity gratified by a perusal of the regular histories of those times. Not equally irrelevant to our subject are the characters of those whom he had chosen as his intimate associates, for there is perhaps no way by which a more correct view may be given of the mind that it is our endeavour to pourtray, than by sketching the characters of some of those who accompanied him to this country, and who were the most nearly connected with him. This task is for two reasons peculiarly agreeable, the one, because it is always delightful to speak of excellence, and the other,

because we have before us a picture of that excellence sketched by pencils far superior to any we could ourselves have employed on the occasion. The person most intimately connected with this great man—his wife Hannah Penn—appears to have been a woman in every respect worthy of being the friend and companion of so great a character. For the sake of portraying her merits in the glowing colours of the energetic writer to whom we have before referred, who spoke from personal knowledge, and evidently under the impulse of strong feeling; we will anticipate a little our dates, and give two extracts from letters written on the eve of WILLIAM PENN'S second return to his native country. At this time Isaac Norris thus expresses himself:—

“The governor, wife and daughter, well—their little son is a lovely babe—his wife is a woman extremely well beloved here; exemplary in her station, and of an excellent spirit, which adds lustre to her character; and has a great place in the hearts of good people.”

Again, after expressing himself in terms of great respect and affection of the governor, he speaks thus of his wife:—

“She is beloved by all, I believe I may say to the full extent; so is her leaving us heavy and of

real sorrow to her friends. She has carried herself under and through all with a wonderful evenness, humility and freedom. Her sweetness and goodness has become her character, and is indeed extraordinary. In short, we love her, and she deserves it."

The person who stood next to his excellent wife in the confidence of the governor whilst in this country was his secretary Logan, of whom we have the following beautiful sketch by the same pen which not only copied the "Selections" from which we have been permitted to make so many valuable extracts, but has also enriched them with many important notes :—

"James Logan, whose services to the public and to WILLIAM PENN, the illustrious founder of Pennsylvania, were so many and so important, was born at Lingan in Ireland the 20th of the 8th month 1674. His family were originally of Scotland, and were very opulent until the crown seized the estates, alleging that Sir Robert Logan was implicated in the conspiracy of the Earls of Gowrie. His father Patrick Logan had received a university education, being designed for the church; but becoming convinced of the religious principles of the people called Quakers, he relinquished his profession, and went over to Ireland with his wife, where he settled and educated his

children. The abilities of this son must have been early apparent, for he speaks of having attained the Latin, Greek, and some Hebrew before he was thirteen years of age, and also that in his sixteenth year, having met with a book of the Leybourns on mathematics, he made himself master of that science without any manner of instruction. He had been put apprentice to a considerable linen draper in Dublin, but the Prince of Orange landing, and the war in Ireland coming on before he was bound, he was returned to his parents, and went over with them first to Edinburgh, and then to London and Bristol. Here, he says, whilst employed in instructing others, he improved himself in the Greek and Hebrew; he also learned French and Italian with some Spanish, and he notices that he went three months to a French master to learn pronunciation without which he was sensible he should never be able to speak it; and this he says was the only money he ever paid for instruction, for though he had his course of humanity, as it is called, from his father, yet he could safely say that he never gave him the least instruction whatsoever more than he gave to his other pupils. In 1698 he had a prospect of engaging in a trade between Dublin and Bristol, and had commenced it with a good prospect of success, when in the spring of 1699 WILIAM PENN made proposals to him to accompany him to Pennsylvania as his secretary; he submit-

ted this offer to the consideration of his friends who disagreed in their judgment, himself decided in its favour, and accordingly sailed with WILLIAM PENN, 3 September 1699, in the Canterbury, Fryers master. Their voyage was prosperous, and they arrived in Philadelphia the beginning of the 10th month, December, following.

“The then adverse state of his affairs caused the stay of the Proprietor to be but short; for in less than two years he returned to England leaving his secretary invested with many important offices, which he discharged with singular fidelity and judgment; he was secretary of the province, commissioner of property, for some time president of the council, and afterwards chief justice of Pennsylvania.

“Notwithstanding his life was thus devoted to business, he found time to cultivate his love of science, and at length was permitted to enjoy the treasures of knowledge which he had acquired in a truly dignified retirement at his seat of Stenton near Germantown. He corresponded with the literati in various parts of Europe, and received at his house all strangers of distinction or repute who visited Pennsylvania. He was also the patron of ingenious men and constantly exerted himself to procure for merit its well earned meed: Dr Franklin experienced his protection and friendship, and it

was to him that Thomas Godfrey first imparted his ideas of the celebrated quadrant which ought to bear his name instead of that of Hadley. The instrument was submitted to the inspection of James Logan who procured it to be taken to sea, and finding its value greatly exerted himself (though without effect) to have the merit of the invention and its promised reward secured to its real author.

“The confidence which WILLIAM PENN reposed in the abilities and integrity of his secretary is abundantly evinced in his letters to him. Fidelity, integrity, and disinterestedness were eminently conspicuous in his character, which was indeed of that sterling worth, that needs no meretricious ornament.

“The aborigines whose concerns were consigned to his care by WILLIAM PENN paid an affecting tribute to his worth, when in his advanced age they intreated his attendance on their behalf at a treaty held at Philadelphia in 1742, where they publicly testified by their chief Cannassatego their satisfaction for his services and sense of his worth, calling him a wise and good man, and expressing their hopes that when his soul ascended to God one just like him might be found for the good of the province and their benefit.

“ Besides his published works there is an essay on moral philosophy still extant in manuscript and letters on a variety of subjects which shew the deep research of which the mind of this great man was capable, and it is pleasing to reflect that although he suffered more than the usual infirmities of age (having injured himself severely by a fall some years before) yet his mind was sustained in undiminished excellence. He was eminently happy in domestic life, his wife being a most amiable lady, and his children dutiful and affectionate. After a retirement of several years from public business, he finished his useful and active life at his seat of Stenton, October the 31st, 1751, having just entered into the 77th year of his age.

“ He left the valuable library which bears his name a legacy to the public. Such at least was his intention, and his children after his death fulfilled the bequest.”

Many others might be mentioned whose names we recognize at this day in their descendants, and whose fair fame has been handed down without a blemish; but there would be no end to the list were we once to outstep the limits of PENN'S own immediate household.

It was the intention of the proprietary on his second emigration to this country, to make it the

place of his future residence, and to devote the remainder of his life to rearing and nourishing his infant colony. One of his first cares was to bring two bills before the assembly, for the suppression of piracy and illicit trade, and his next to improve the good understanding that subsisted between the new settlers and the native inhabitants of the country, which he sought chiefly by trying to civilize the Indians themselves—not, however, by forcing a religion upon them, the sublime nature and principles of which they were altogether incapable of comprehending, but by leading them on by gradual instruction to the adoption of that highest species of refinement, an imitation of the example of our Divine Teacher. On every occasion the powerful mind of this great man took at once a philosophical view of every subject that it embraced; and hence we find him in his plans of government not enacting a severe code of laws, with the idea that crime was to be prevented by the dread of punishment alone; but justly conceiving that ignorance is the sole cause of crime, he sought to prevent it by impressing on the minds of those whom he wished to benefit the beauty of virtue, as well as the inexpediency of vice; and for this purpose he earnestly set about forming plans for educating the youth of the colony, and leading them to virtue by a knowledge of the paths which they ought to pursue, rather than by frightening them from those which they ought to avoid. Education he knew to be the

foundation stone of that sublime moral fabric which he was anxious to erect, and which he hoped would prove not only a blessing to those who helped to raise the superstructure, but a beacon light to conduct others to a secure and peaceful harbour. Much is it to be wished that the executive powers of the present day were equally convinced of the importance of a system of public education, and that the means, not simply of learning to read and write, but of acquiring from well qualified teachers a solid and useful course of education, were within the power of every child in the state. The erection of schools would then supersede the necessity of building penitentiaries, and this city, which was nominated by its benevolent founder the scene of brotherly love, would indeed become the seat of peace, piety, and learning.

WILLIAM PENN'S ideas on this subject we have in his own powerful language, when he says, "That, therefore, which makes a good constitution must keep it, viz. men of wisdom and virtue, qualities that, because they descend not with worldly inheritances, must be carefully propagated by a *virtuous education of youth*, for which after ages will owe more to the care and prudence of founders and the successive magistracy, than to their parents for their private patrimonies."

And again, "Upon the whole matter, I take the freedom to say, that if we would preserve our government, we must endear it to the people. To do this, besides the necessity of present, just, and wise things, we must secure the youth: this is not to be done but by the amendment of their way of education; and that with all convenient speed and diligence. I say, the government is highly obliged: it is a sort of *trustee for the youth* of the kingdom, who, though now minors, yet will have the government when we are gone. Therefore depress vice, and cherish virtue; that through good education they may become good; which will truly render them happy in this world, and a good way fitted for that which is to come. If this be done, they will owe more to your memories for their education than for their estates."

The idea of what constitutes a good education he has given us in the following excellent reflections: "If one went to see Windsor Castle, or Hampton Court, it would be strange not to observe and remember the situation, the building, the gardens, fountains, &c. that make up the beauty and pleasure of such a seat. And yet how few people know themselves. No, not their own bodies, the houses of their minds, the most curious structure of the world; a *living, walking* tabernacle;—nor the world of which it was made and out of which it is fed, which would be so much our benefit, as

well as our pleasure to know. We cannot doubt of this when we are told that 'the invisible things of God are brought to light by the things that are seen,' and consequently we read our duty in them to him that is the Great and Wise Author of them, as often as we look upon them, if we look as we should do. The world is certainly a great and stately volume of natural things, and may be not improperly styled the hieroglyphics of a better. But alas! how very few leaves of it do we seriously turn over! This ought to be the subject of the education of our youth, who at twenty, when they should be fit for business, know nothing of it. It would go a great way to caution and direct people in their use of the world, that they were better studied and knowing in the creation of it. For how could men find the conscience to abuse it, while they should see the Great Creator look them in the face, in all and every part thereof."

Another of WILLIAM PENN's favourite objects was the improvement of the city, which had increased, during his absence, with amazing rapidity. At the time of his quitting it for England it consisted of a hundred houses, and on his return he found it to contain seven hundred. The calamitous visitation, however, of the yellow fever, which it had experienced a short time previous to his arrival, proved that great care was necessary to preserve

the health of the inhabitants, and for this purpose he made various judicious arrangements with respect to the free ventilation and cleanliness of the city. His own house was in Second Street, where the house of Robert Waln, Esq. now stands, but his chief place of residence was at Pennsbury, which is described in the following manner in a note by the same pen to which we have before acknowledged our obligations :—

“ Pennsbury house was built in the manor of that name situated in a bend of the river Delaware, being the easternmost point of Pennsylvania, the land of an excellent quality, and the situation exceedingly pleasant. The house was standing since my memory and some of the old furniture in it, though in a very neglected and decayed condition ; for a long time an apartment was kept there for the agent of the family when he visited the estate, and he described the beds and linen as having been excellent. When I was a child I remember going with my mother to visit one of her friends, who had made a pilgrimage to Pennsbury and had brought away, as a relic, a piece of the old bed then still standing : it was of holland and closely wrought with a needle in a small pattern with green silk, it was said to be the work of his daughter Letitia. Some years afterwards, during the revolutionary war, a person of my acquaintance was there when the house had fallen

in and was in ruins, a hedge pear tree growing among them. I have since seen the situation ; but nothing of the mansion remained, the materials having been taken away : an old malt house and some other outbuildings were still standing, and an avenue of walnut trees planted along the road. There are beautiful islands in the river, which here makes a considerable bend. I thought the situation very pleasant.

“The mansion was represented as being large and handsome for the time it was built, the frames and other work being brought from England. It was leaded, with probably a cistern of the same, from whence the tradition that there was a fish pond on the roof, which I remember to have heard. The garden was large, and laid out with pastures and good fruit trees.”

From Pennsbury he made frequent excursions both in the character of a minister of religion, and on visits to the Indians. He also received frequent visits from them, and at one time we hear of his being present at an Indian feast. The entertainment was given by the side of a beautiful spring, carpeted, probably, with soft grass, and canopied, we are told, by the overshadowing branches of lofty trees. Their repast consisted of venison for which several bucks were killed, and hot cakes of wheat and beans. Dancing concluded the entertainment. His visit was returned

by kings and queens, who, we may be well assured, would experience, at his house, all the hospitality he could exercise.

About this time, during one of his journeys through the territories as a minister, an anecdote is recorded of him which, though trifling in its nature, we cannot think of passing unnoticed. On his road he overtook a little girl, who was walking from Derby to Haverford to meeting. Having inquired whither she was going, and being informed, he desired her to get up behind him, and brought his horse to a convenient place for her to mount. Thus with his little companion on the bare back of the horse, and without either shoes or stockings, did the Governor of Pennsylvania proceed to the town to which he was going. We have great pleasure in relating this little incident as a proof of the simplicity of his manners and the kindness of his disposition; qualities which are too seldom seen in persons of his ability and elevated rank: for few men are aware how much the most distinguished talents and titles are ornamented by courteousness and humility. We often hear of minds capable of comprehending vast and important subjects, and of accomplishing undertakings which will hand their names down to posterity; but we seldom have the gratification which WILLIAM PENN'S character affords, of marking the union of the most distin-

guished abilities, with dispositions the most amiable and engaging.

During the whole of his residence here, things appear to have gone on in the most peaceable and satisfactory manner; and happy would it have been both for him and those whom he had come to govern, had he been permitted to remain amongst them: but though so warm a friend to peace, the comforts of it never seem to have been his portion for any length of time, and we consequently find that before he had been above two years in this country, his tranquillity was again interrupted.

It appears that the Governors at home having become jealous of the growing influence of the Proprietary Governors in America, had formed a plan for buying them off. For this purpose a bill was brought into the House of Lords. The hardship of this measure was remonstrated against by those owners of land in Pennsylvania, who were at that time in England, and they solicited a cessation to the proceeding till WILLIAM PENN could arrive and answer for himself.

This intelligence was immediately despatched to America, and could not fail of being exceedingly distressing to one who had the good of the province so much at heart, and had only as yet commenced the

improvements in which his feelings were so warmly engaged. He had also every reason to believe that, in the unfinished state in which things still remained, without his presence and authority tranquillity would not long be maintained. Not to go to England, however, would be to subject his government to total dissolution; and, therefore, as the less evil, he decided on going.

After appointing a deputy governor, and making such other arrangements as the time would permit, he set sail with his wife and family, leaving James Logan behind, who was empowered to act for him in various important capacities; and landed in England after a passage of six weeks. He had been about two years in Pennsylvania, during which time it is said by Besse, in an account of his life prefixed to a collection of his works, that "he had applied himself to the affairs of government, always preferring the good of the country and its inhabitants to his own private interest, rather remitting than rigorously exacting his lawful revenues; so that, under the influence of his paternal administration, he left the province in an easy and flourishing condition." Soon after this, we find him involved in difficulties of a new kind; for he now began to be assailed by pecuniary embarrassments, in addition to the many others which had afflicted him.

It is much to be lamented, that the most liberal and active benefactors of mankind have so often had cause to repent of their generosity, and that the ingratitude of those whom they were anxious to serve has rendered them in the end severe sufferers. Such was the case with WILLIAM PENN, in return for his generous and indefatigable exertions in the service of the Jersey and Pennsylvanian colonists. His expenses, as may well be supposed, had been enormous; but the colonists ungratefully neglected to make him those pecuniary returns which were his legal right, and on which he himself depended.

These difficulties are referred to with great feeling by James Logan, where he says, "The account of thy circumstances and the exigencies I know thou must labour under there, with the difficulties I am oppressed with here through the great decay of trade and the poverty of the planters from whom chiefly we receive our pay, makes my life so uncomfortable that it is not worth the living. I am ground on all sides. I know it is impossible to satisfy thee thus, and the condition of our affairs will not enable me to do better."

And in a letter dated a short time after this, WILLIAM PENN says himself, when writing to James Logan, "I have not had one penny towards my support since the taking of the two ships I ad-

vised thee of, and have lived in town ever since I came over, at no small expense ; having not been three months of the twenty I have been in England absent from court." In another letter, he says, " My exigencies indeed are very pressing, but I had rather be poor with a loving people than rich with an ungrateful one."

In the same letter from which we have made this extract, he speaks of having received intelligence of the death of Governor Hamilton, and of his being about to send over a young man of the name of Evans to supply Hamilton's place, who was to be accompanied by his eldest son William. His motive for sending his son over to this country, besides that of giving him an opportunity of becoming acquainted with a people and place of which he was likely at a future day to be the head, appears to have been to remove him from the temptations which surrounded him in his native country, and which he does not appear to have possessed such strength of mind as would enable him to withstand, as may be gathered from an extract from one of his father's letters to James Logan on the subject, where he says when speaking of his son's intended visit, " Immediately take him to Pennsbury, and there give him the true state of things, and weigh down his levities as well as temper his resentments; and inform his understanding; since all depends upon it, as well

for his future happiness as in measure the poor country's. I propose Isaac Norris, young Shippen, and the best and most noble and civilized of others for his conversation; and I hope Colonel Markham and cousin Ashton and the Fairmans may come in for a share, but the first chiefly. Watch him, outwit him, and honestly overreach him for his good. Fishing, little journeys (as to see the Indians, &c.), will divert him; and intreat friends to bear all they can, and melt towards him, at least civilly if not religiously! He will confide in thee. If S. Carpenter, Richard Hill, and Isaac Norris would gain his confidence, and tender Griffith Owen (not the least likely, for he feels and sees), I should rejoice."

This visit, however, was far from proving serviceable either to the son or the country. The fault may probably not have been entirely his, though as we find that his character afterwards was far from being such as it ought to have been, it is but fair to presume that his conduct here had been very reprehensible. His stay in the country, however, was not long; for having been involved in some fray, for which he was publicly exposed, he was so highly offended at the treatment which he had received that he left the country very soon after. Such a termination to a visit from which he had no doubt fondly anticipated very different results, could not fail to be exceedingly painful to

the father in whichever light he viewed the affair. We find him, as is natural, disposed in a great measure to take his son's part, and consequently find him expressing himself with great indignation in a letter to James Logan upon the subject:—

“ Pray carefully penetrate to the bottom of the design of affronting my son. Had I not orders to turn out David Lloyd from the lords justices? and to prosecute and punish him, and send word what punishment I inflicted, and that part of it should be that he was never after capable of any employ in the country? and does he endeavour my ruin for not obeying? but offering him to cover himself in the profits under any tolerable name, and did I not do almost as much for ——— and had orders to treat him sharply for ———? and has he forgot how I prevailed with —— to drop the prosecution? and has —— forgot the boons I have made him many a day? Well, all's well that ends well. But if those illegitimate Quakers think their unworthy treatment no fault towards me, they may find that I can upon better terms take their enemies by the hand than they can mine, and unless the honest will by church discipline, or the government (whilst it is mine) take these Korahs to task and make them sensible of their baseness, I must, and will do so. In short, upon my knowledge of this winter's assembly, I shall take my last measures. When the prosperity that attends the

country is talked of, and what they have done for me or allowed my deputies that have supported them against their neighbour's envy and church attempts there and here, they seem struck with admiration, and must either think me an ill man, or they an ungrateful people. That which I expected was 300 or 400 per annum for the governor, and to raise for other charges as they saw occasion: and if they will not do this willingly, they may find they must give a great deal more whether they will or not. I only by interest have prevented a scheme drawn up to new model the colonies. I was told so by a duke and a minister too, for indeed if our folks had settled a reasonable revenue I would have returned to settle a queen's government and the people together, and have laid my bones with them, for the country is as unpleasant to me as ever, and if my wife's mother (who is now very ill) should die, I believe not only my wife and our young stock, but her father too would incline thither. He has been a treasure to Bristol, and giving his whole time to the service of the poor friends first, till they made 8 per cent of their money, and afterwards the city poor, by act of parliament, where he has been kept in beyond forms, he has so managed to their advantage that the Bristol members gave our friends, and my father in law in particular, an encomium much to their honour in the house. Well! God Almighty forgive, reclaim, amend, and preserve us all. Amen."

Yet he adds a little farther on in the same letter :
 “ I justify not my son’s folly, and less their provocation : but if his regards to your government does not hinder him, he has a great interest to obtain it with persons of great quality, and in the ministry too, and he is of a temper to remember them ; though I fear they did design the affront to me more than to him, which renders the case worse.”

The part which David Lloyd is spoken of as having acted towards the son is far from being the greatest injury that he did the father ; for it appears that, from motives which we shall not presume to penetrate, he drew up in his capacity of recorder of the Assembly, a complaint against the government, which he forwarded to England with a view of taking the power out of WILLIAM PENN’S hands, which complaint he signed in the name of the Assembly, though it was afterwards proved that he was himself the only one concerned in the transaction. The circumstance, however, of his being the only person engaged in this ungrateful and unworthy act was at first unknown to WILLIAM PENN, who wrote on the occasion a letter addressed to Roger Mompesson, Esq. which we give here, less on account of the transaction of which it treats than on account of the amiable, manly, and discriminating mind which it displays in the writer :—

“HONOURED FRIEND,

“It is a long time since I have been obliged with any letter from thee, and then so short that had not others furnished me with thy American character, I had been at a loss to answer the inquiries of thy friends; but by my son I received one more copiously informing me of those affairs that so nearly concern both the public and my personal and family good, and for answer to the greatest part thereof, I desire thee to observe, First, That (with God’s help) I am determined to stand firmly to both, and for that reason will neither turn an enemy to the public, nor suffer any under the style of the public good to supplant mine. I do entirely refer my concerns, both as to the legality and prudence thereof (not only in government but property) to thy judicious and judicial issue, so that it may hold water with thy learned and honourable friends of both parties. I went thither to lay the foundation of a free colony for all mankind that should go thither, more especially those of my own profession, not that I would lessen the civil liberties of others because of their persuasion, but screen and defend our own from any infringement on that account. The charter I granted was intended to shelter them against a violent or arbitrary government imposed upon us: but that they should turn it against me that intended their security thereby, has something very

unworthy and provoking in it, especially when I alone have been at all the charge as well as danger and disappointment in coming so abruptly back and defending ourselves against our enemies here, and obtaining the Queen's gracious approbation of a governor of my nominating, and commissioning the thing they seemed so much to desire. But as a father does not use to knock his children on the head when they do amiss, so I had much rather they were corrected and better instructed than treated to the rigour of their deservings. I therefore earnestly desire thee to consider of what methods law and reason will justify, by which they may be made sensible of their encroachments and presumption, that they may see themselves in a true light in their just proportions and dimensions. No doubt but their follies have been frequent and big enough in the city to vacate their charter, but that would be the last thing, if any thing would do. I would hope that in the abuse of power, punishing of the immoderate offenders should instruct others to use it well. But doubtless from the choice of David Lloyd, both for speaker and recorder, after the affront he gave in open court to the authority of the crown in the late reign, which he owned but never repented of, and for which the lords justices of England commanded me to have him tried and punished, and to send them word what punishment I inflicted; as also the choice of

——— for ——— that confessed himself ———
 to defraud the king of his customs (for which he
 is punishable at this day); there is an excess of
 vanity that is apt to creep in upon the people in
 power in America, who having got out of the crowd
 in which they were lost here, upon any little emi-
 nency there, think nothing taller than themselves
 but the trees, and as if there was no after superior
 judgment to which they should be accountable;
 so that I have sometimes thought that if there was
 a law to oblige the people in power in their re-
 spective colonies to take turns in coming over to
 England, that they might lose themselves again
 amongst the crowds of so much more considerable
 people at the Custom House, Exchange, and West-
 minster Hall, they would exceedingly amend in
 their conduct at their return, and be much more
 discreet and tractable and fit for government. In
 the mean time, pray help to prevent them from
 destroying themselves. Accept of my commis-
 sion of chief justice of Pennsylvania and the ter-
 ritories. Take them all to task for their con-
 tempts, presumption, and riots. Let them know
 and feel the just order and economy of govern-
 ment, and that they are not to command, but to
 be commanded according to the law and constitu-
 tion of the English government; and till those un-
 worthy people, that hindered an establishment
 upon thee as their chief justice, are amended or
 laid aside, so as thou art considered by law to thy

satisfaction, I fully allow thee twenty pounds each session, which I take to be at spring and fall; and at any extraordinary session thou mayst be called from New York unto, upon mine or weighty causes, having also thy viaticum discharged, let me entreat thee as an act of friendship, and as a just and honourable man. More particulars expect from James, for I perceive time is not to be lost.

“Now I must condole thy great loss in thy wife and thy brother, the particulars of which must refer thee to her brother and our common friend C. Lawton. Thy letters inclosed to me I delivered, and was well enough pleased to see that one of them was directed to Lord S ———. I write no news, only I find that moderation on this side of the water is a very recommending qualification—nothing high church nor violent whig, neither seeming to be the inclination and choice of the present ministry. I wish our people on your side had no worse dispositions.

“I cannot conclude this letter till I render thee (as I now do) my hearty acknowledgments for all the good advices thou hast given for the public and my private good; especially thy sentiments to the governor upon three preposterous bills, foolishly as well as insolently presented him by David Lloyd at the last Assembly. Let him part with nothing that is mine, for had he passed them they

would never have been confirmed here, but he might have spoiled himself. What a bargain should I have made for my government with the crown after such a bill had taken from me the very power I should dispose of! I will say no more at this time but that I am with just regards,

“Thy very affectionate

and faithful friend,

“WILLIAM PENN.

“*Hyde Park, 17th of* }
12th mo. 1704-5.” }

After having mentioned David Lloyd, only to speak of his unworthy conduct, we cannot deny ourselves the pleasing task of recording the change which afterwards took place in his sentiments towards the proprietor, especially as we can give it in the beautiful language in which it is expressed in a note by the same pen to which we have before been obliged, and which speaks of him thus: “Some years after this we find him in a kind and friendly disposition of mind, assisting James Logan in ascertaining the proprietary title to the Lower Countries, and it is soothing to observe the characters of men, who have, like him, hitherto been swayed by prejudice or passion, that when the evening of life advances, the storms which have agitated them subside, and the soul, like the sun of the natural world, emerging from the clouds

which have obscured it, illuminates the horizon with its parting beam, and the day closes in serenity and peace.”

In the year 1707 WILLIAM PENN found himself involved in still greater pecuniary embarrassments than any that he had yet experienced, in consequence of the dishonesty of a steward to whom he had entrusted his concerns with too unlimited a confidence. On this person's death his affairs were placed in the hands of executors, who made such a demand upon WILLIAM PENN's property as he was resolved to resist, and consequently became involved in a law suit. On account, however, of some papers that he had imprudently signed, in compliance with the wishes of his steward, without having properly inquired into their nature, this suit was given against him. The general sentiment was that he was much aggrieved: yet a subject on which there could be two opinions could not fail to be exceedingly painful to his upright and honourable mind; particularly as it ended in his being obliged to live within the limits of the Fleet Prison, till an arrangement could be made of his affairs. From these circumstances he was obliged to mortgage his province of Pennsylvania for the sum of £6,000, which money was principally advanced by his own religious society; a certain proof we deem it, that his difficulties were the result of undeserved misfortunes.

We cannot be at all surprised to find that his health suffered materially from such an accumulation of troubles. Deceived by those in whom he had confided; embarrassed in his affairs, and disappointed in the failure of a Chancery suit, by which, though he knew himself to be right, his reputation was greatly endangered; obliged to mortgage his province, and, in addition, exposed to many mortifications on account of a renewal of disturbances in that province, he could scarcely fail, at the advanced age of sixty-seven, to totter under his burden. Religion, indeed, might enable him to endure these afflictions with humble and pious resignation; but the body partakes not of the heavenly flame which animates the mental structure, so that when severely oppressed, it shews its destructible nature by sinking under its load.

But however his health may have declined, his mind still resisted the pressure of the burdens which seemed to accumulate upon it. Isaac Norris, who was at that time in London, in speaking of him says, "After all I think the Fable of the Palm good in him. 'The more he is pressed the more he rises.' He seems of a spirit fit to bear, and rub through difficulties, and as thou observes his foundation remains." Indeed such will ever be the case with those whose actions are the result of genuine benevolence, and whose minds are sup-

ported by that steadfast sense of religion which, so far from forsaking us in time of need, only gains increased strength from the disappointments and mortifications to which all worldly schemes are liable. His object in the settlement of this state had been to prepare a home for the persecuted Christian, where he might worship his Maker in the way that his conscience directed; and he well knew that the God whom he sought thus to serve would not leave him unrewarded, even though pains and trials should be his only return from his fellow men. And thus we find him breathing the words of piety, love and peace, in a paragraph of a letter to James Logan written whilst imprisoned and persecuted and apparently forsaken by all men:—"Give honest and wise Samuel Carpenter, Caleb Pusey, S. Masters, Griffith Owen, and I hope Thomas Story too, my dear love, not forgetting Captain Hill and his sweet wife; indeed all that love the truth in its simplicity my love is for and forgiveness for the rest.—My God has not yet forsaken, nor yet forgotten me in all respects. Blessed be his name!"

From this time to the year 1712 we find but few incidents of importance connected with this narrative. He seems to have preserved his usual activity in all his various avocations till that time when his usefulness was stopped by a fit of apoplexy, which stamped its ravaging effects on his

memory and understanding. His decline was easy and gradual, and though he was for four years rendered incapable of business, he retained, during nearly the whole of that period, sufficient consciousness to enjoy the society of his friends, and to unite with them in the exercises of religion. During this period of helplessness, which must have been particularly painful to one who had been accustomed to spend a life of such unremitting activity, he had a kind and faithful nurse, steward, and amanuensis in his amiable and affectionate wife. We have an admirable letter before us from that excellent woman to James Logan, dated in 1716, which we are persuaded will be read with pleasure by all who have a gratification in seeing the feminine virtues ennobled by vigorous intellect and active usefulness:—

“*Ruscomb, the 2d of 2d mo. 1716.*”

“This is to accompany a little present to thy wife, viz. a small case of bottles, in which there is two of convulsion water, one strong, the other small enough for children without mixing. She should have had it sooner, but that London, Bristol, nor Ruscomb could afford one half pint ready made, nor would the season allow of making it till now, and therefore I have now made a quantity for thy wife to accommodate herself and friends as occasion requires: it is an extraordinary

medicine and what I may not make again for many years. I hope it will come in time enough to be of service to your dear little girl, whom I heartily wish you comfort in, and shall be glad to hear her life and health is continued to you, and yours to her.

“ I design this with the case to the care of Clement Plumstead, from whom I had thy kind present of skins, which Peggy with myself very kindly accepts from thee, and it was delightful also to my husband, as is always any thing from that country to which he holds his love and good wishes through all his weakness, and which, through mercy, does not much increase on him, though now and then a little fit of disorder in his blood makes me fear worse is coming. But he has hitherto been preserved in a sweet and comfortable frame of spirit, and very comfortable in himself, and I enjoy him as a great mercy to me and mine, but the want of his direction in his public and family affairs, you there, as well as myself here, are but too sensible of. I have now been at London advising with my friends what may be done for your relief and the help of that country which is now so lamentably managed. All generally conclude no way like that of resigning the government wholly to the crown, with the provisos my husband has made; and which Thomas Story says are as much as could be expected, and at least as

much as can be attained, for he struggled hard for them, and I do not expect any that come after him will be able to do more or better than he did. Therefore we have all reason to wish it were so confirmed, but as that cannot be done this session, and your case requiring speedy thought, we have under our consideration three that offer as governors in case of a change, and neither of the three is James Coutty, nor can I hear his name has been so much as mentioned for the place—to be sure he will not be chosen by us, but perhaps one of the three may, who has a very good character for a judicious, considerate, and well natured man—a man said to be above the world and the little tricks of it. Indeed if he answers but the character I have of him, and from a considerable man too, I think you will be happy under his administration, and hope you will make him easy if he comes. But how to get him commissioned and approved, is a task, and I must say the people of Pennsylvania have been wanting to themselves in not appointing an agent or two to discourse with me, and then correspond with you and solicit your affairs here. Such a person or persons, considering the circumstances of things, would certainly have been of great use to you and ease to me, who am but a woman, and by the indisposition of my husband have the whole load of a large family's affairs—indeed I may say of a double family, for so in reality it is, because the person thou mentioned in

one of thine as reformed is, notwithstanding all their pretences, but exactly *ditto*. I wish I could say otherwise, I might then have, in many respects, help and ease from some of the burdens which I now labour under. But he has now put himself out of the way of every thing, except the enjoyment of that which has brought him to where he is. My daughter Penn is here, and gives her love to thee, as also does my dear husband. We are sorry Rebecca Blackfan gives no better encouragement from Pennsbury, she mightily complains for want of money. I desire thou wilt see that Peter Evans does not wrong her, for he has firmly bound himself to Edward Blackfan, his executor, &c. in a hundred pound bond, to pay her £20 per annum, a copy of which, if I can get time, I purpose to send thee by Clement Plumstead, as also another letter in answer to some of thine, but 'tis hard for me to get time from my husband to write, and to do it before him does but make him thoughtful when otherwise he would be very easy and comfortable, as he generally is when business is not in his view.

“I told thee in my last I had left John at Bristol with my cousin Webb, where he goes on well, if he can but have his health. My other four children are as yet with me, and through mercy well, as is the rest of the family. But you will doubtless by these ships hear of the death of poor

Thomas Lloyd, who has left a melancholy widow and six fine children, some of whom I fancy will go by this opportunity to their nearest relations with you. I hope Sybella Masters will also return to hers: all her friends, I believe, in these parts wish it, and I trust she is prevailed on to attempt it for the good of herself and family. I shall say no more now, but designing another letter, I close this with true kind love to thee and wife, from

“Thy real friend,

“H. PENN.”

We see, by what is said by this affectionate wife of the manner in which her husband's feelings were affected at the sight of business in which he was unable to assist, that his mind still retained a portion of its native activity. This however gradually forsook him, and from that time to the 30th of July 1718 his existence appears to have been little more than a blank, and nothing seems to have been wanting, but the extinction of the last spark which continued till that day to flicker in his feeble frame, to blot him out from the number of the living.

After tracing the rise and gradual progress of any thing so beautiful as the mind of this great man, a regret bordering on melancholy steals over us on arriving at its close. We are unwilling to admit the idea, that one so good, so excellent, so calculated to conduce to the happiness of others, was withdrawn from

a world that so much required the influence of such an example; and that regret would amount even to agony, were it not for the reflection that the virtue which we have been contemplating, elevated and noble as it appears to us, was but the dawn of a higher excellence which was removed only to be perfected in higher and happier spheres. As we naturally feel desirous of being further acquainted with the person and manners of those whose characters we admire, we read with interest the description which is given of WILLIAM PENN. We are told that in his person he was tall and athletic, and that in his youth he was exceedingly fond of manly sports. In more advanced age, though inclined to corpulency, he was uncommonly active, and is said to have been a fine looking, portly man. That his address and general deportment were graceful and elegant, may be gathered from what is said by one of his friends, when speaking of his son on his first arrival in this country, who thus expresses himself: "Our young landlord, to say true in my judgment, discovers himself his father's eldest son: his person, his sweetness of temper, and elegance of speech, are no small demonstrations thereof." This however might easily have been presumed, independent of such testimony, from a recollection of what his education had been. Indeed, in the consideration of WILLIAM PENN's character, this circumstance ought ever to be kept in view, as giving it additional lustre, by

proving that native energy of mind which had power to rise even above the all-powerful influence of example and education. This great and governing principle was a love of truth and justice. For this he gave up not only the allurements of a court and the fascinating temptations of riches and power, but what was to him still more valuable, the protection and favour of an affectionate parent: for this he endured imprisonment, persecution and scorn; for this he forsook his country; and for this he exposed himself to all the trials and mortifications which must ever attend the amalgamation of different dispositions and interests in forming a home to which truth might resort with confidence, and where justice might hold her balance, to be swayed only by the laws of equity.

Had power or self-aggrandizement been his object, he might doubtless have acquired it in a much higher degree in his native country, where the government was corrupted, and the smiles of its monarch were ready for his acceptance. But that sense of religion, which took possession of his mind at so early an age, taught him to judge of these things by their real value, not by their meretricious glare; and led him to aim through life at a nobility beyond the power of kings to bestow. From the persecutions which he himself experienced he learned a lesson of mercy to

others, and was ready to hail as friends the wise and good, to whatever denomination they might belong. "Salute me, (says he in a letter to James Logan) not only to my declared friends, but to the moderate and ingenuous whatever name they bear." In another place he says, in speaking of a person by whom he was sending letters to this country: "He is a great enemy to Friends, a reviler. Let kindness teach him his mistakes." And in another we find the following passage: "I went thither to lay the foundation of a free colony for all mankind that should go thither; more especially those of my own profession. Not that I would lessen the civil liberties of others because of their persuasion, but screen and defend our own from any infringement on that account." This general kindness and good will had no effect however in leading him to palliate vice or countenance injustice; for we find him at all times most unqualified in his disapprobation of every species of immorality.

His ideas on government we have spoken of more than once, and have shewn by his own words the philosophical view which he took of the subject. We have an example, moreover, of the manner in which he was in the habit of summing up a number of important principles in a few concise sentences, in the following passage from one of his letters to James Logan:—"Give no occa-

sion of discontent to the inhabitants, nor yet court any selfish spirits at my cost and my suffering family's. Distinguish tempers and pleas, and let realities, not mere pretences, engage thee. Repress real grievances; suppress vice and faction; encourage the industrious and sober; and be an example as well as a commander, and thy authority will have the greater weight and acceptance with the people."

On his piety it is equally unnecessary here to enlarge: for he proved by every word and action, that religion was with him not a mere profession, or a favourite hypothesis that he wished to support, but a governing principle, which accompanied him through all the scenes and transactions of life, comforted him in sickness, and closed his eyes in death.

When we reflect upon how much he accomplished, the many volumes which he wrote, his zeal as a minister of religion, his activity as a governor, and the active part that he took in all public questions, we are astonished to think that the life of one man, even though protracted as his was to the age of seventy-four, could have allowed time to accomplish so much. But the consideration affords us a striking proof of the importance of a methodical arrangement of time, of which he was always particularly sensible. These

are the bold outlines of the picture: and when to them is added all the finer shading which is to be derived from a fulfilment of the social and relative duties of an affectionate husband, a tender parent, and a faithful friend, accompanied by a pleasing cheerfulness of manner and great personal neatness, who will hesitate to hold him up as a pattern to the rising generation? Or what youthful mind, after becoming acquainted with his sterling worth, rigid principle, liberal sentiments, and kind affections, can fail to experience the glow of noble emulation, or to turn from the subject with a determination to go and do likewise? And let the youthful reader remember that every virtuous aspiration, every noble resolve, will tend to the object so dear to every American heart, the permanent independence of his native country: since, though he never may be called upon to act as a statesman or legislator, there is still a sphere, however small, surrounding every individual, in which the influence of example will promote the cause of virtue; and virtue alone will secure the permanent well-being of any country. Fortune may favour, natural advantages may assist, and laws may restrain; but a virtuous and enlightened people can alone present a bulwark that no enemy can destroy.

By a will made in 1712, a few months previous to the first fit of apoplexy, for he had three, he left his estates in England and Ireland to his son William and his daughter Letitia, the children of his first wife. The government of his province of Pennsylvania and the territories, and the powers belonging to them, he devised to his particular friends, Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer; and William, Earl Powlett, upon trust, to be disposed of to Queen Anne, or to any other person, to the best advantage—and to be applied in such manner as he should afterwards direct. “He then devised to his wife Hannah Penn, together with eleven others, and to their heirs, all his lands, rents, and other profits in America, upon trust, to dispose of so much thereof as should be sufficient to discharge all his debts, and, after payment of them, to convey to his daughter Letitia, and to each of three children of his son William, (namely, Guilielma Maria, Springett, and William,) ten thousand acres of land, (the forty thousand to be set out in such places as his trustees should think fit,) and then to convey all the rest of his landed property there, subject to the payment of three hundred pounds a year to his wife for her natural life, to and amongst his children by her, (John, Thomas, Margaret, Richard, and

Dennis, all minors,) in such proportions and for such estates as his wife should think fit. All his personal estate in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, and arrears of rent due there, he devised to his wife, whom he made his sole executrix, for the equal benefit of his and her children.”

Subsequently to making the foregoing will, WILLIAM PENN had agreed to part with his province to government, for £12,000. But the crown lawyers having given a joint opinion, which was adopted by government, that the agreement for sale in 1712 was made void by his inability to execute the surrender in a proper manner—not only the province, but the government of it, descended to his sons John, Thomas, and Richard.

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