

1850

A Popular Memoir of William Penn: Proprietor and Governor of Pennsylvania; under Whose Wise Administration the Principles of Peace Were Maintained in Practice

Jacob Post

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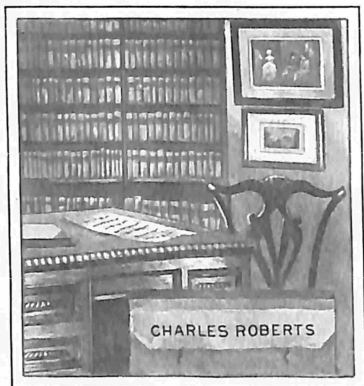
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MEMOIR
OF
WILLIAM PENN

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A
POPULAR MEMOIR

OF
WILLIAM PENN,

PROPRIETOR AND GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA ;

UNDER WHOSE WISE ADMINISTRATION

THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACE WERE MAINTAINED
IN PRACTICE.

"Be wise now therefore, O ye kings ;
"Be instructed ye judges of the earth."
"'Tis time to sheathe the sword
"And spare mankind."

By JACOB POST.

LONDON :

CHARLES GILPIN, 5, BISHOPSGATE STREET WITHOUT ;
EDINBURGH: A. & C. BLACK ;
DUBLIN: J. B. GILPIN.

TO THE
EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN DELEGATES
Assembled in Congress
AT
FRANKFORT, IN GERMANY,
FOR
THE GLORIOUS PURPOSE
OF SECURING
PERMANENT PEACE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD,
THIS
MEMOIR OF WILLIAM PENN,
IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,
By THE AUTHOR.

1850.

B. H. P. C. 1850

P R E F A C E.

THE Life of WILLIAM PENN, Proprietor and Governor of Pennsylvania, exhibits the character of one of the greatest legislators of any country. By wise and conciliatory measures he preserved his territories in peace and prosperity, whilst surrounding governments adopted an opposite policy, and embroiled themselves in long, bloody and expensive wars. To estimate his character, and to appreciate his motives correctly, it will be needful for the reader to have some general knowledge of those principles which so uniformly governed his conduct. To that extraordinary man, the dictates of religion were an everyday exercise, and his conduct, both public and private, were regulated by a conscientious regard to his duties as a Christian, and as a friend to the whole human family.

About the age of sixteen, whilst a student at the University of Oxford, William Penn became acquainted with one Thomas Loe, who had been educated at the same University, but afterwards had

embraced the religious principles of the Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers. From this time he became favourably impressed with the doctrines of that people, and ten years afterwards, at the sacrifice of every worldly consideration, he joined the Society himself, and eventually, as will be seen by and bye, he became an eminent preacher amongst them, as well as a voluminous writer in defence of their principles.

It is only necessary in this place to give the reader a brief sketch of the particular doctrines which principally brought the Friends of those days under great obloquy and reproach, as also grievous persecution both in body and estate, in which William Penn sustained his full share with Christian fortitude. The great fundamental doctrine of the people called Quakers, is a belief in the universality of the Divine light or grace of God in the consciences of *all* mankind. This heavenly gift, which in a measure more or less, enlightens *all* men that come into the world, they believe to be an infallible guide to those who are unreservedly led thereby. The holy Scriptures, they affirm, are an outward revelation from this Inner Guide which was before the Bible was written. Holy men of old wrote under a large measure of its influence and direction, and therefore the one can never contradict the other, but both are found to harmonize with each other. This principle

necessarily leads into individual freedom of thought, and independence of mind and conduct. The Quaker thinks for himself, and, in matters of religion, he calls no man Master, but acknowledges Christ only as the head of the Church. Whilst honouring the magistrate as appointed by God, to prevent evil and promote virtue in the earth, he denies his right to control a man's conscience, or impose upon him the profession of a faith in which he does not believe. To Cæsar he renders the things that are Cæsar's; but to God only, the things that are God's.—The Quaker refuses to uncover his head, or bow his body, or bend his knee, in obeisance to any man, however he may honour him as his superior in rank or station, conceiving these customary marks of politeness (as they are considered) to be tokens of homage and adoration, and due only to God. On a similar ground, he believes it right for him to address every individual, high or low, in the singular number, as being the language of Scripture and right grammar—to require more than this, savours of pride and self-adulation. He conscientiously objects to give flattering titles to men—as “Your Majesty”—“Your Reverence”—“Your Holiness,” &c.; but he does not refuse honour to whom honour is due, as, “The King”—“The Queen”—“The Duke”—“The Bishop,” &c.

The Quaker refuses to take an oath under any cir-

cumstance, whether judicial or profane, because, all swearing is positively forbidden by Christ, as well as the apostle James. The Quaker denies the authority of the priesthood, and the distinction of clergy and laity, under the christian covenant ; and he conscientiously refuses to pay tithes, or other ecclesiastical impositions, believing that the command of our Lord to his apostles applies to every gospel minister in the present day : "Freely ye have received, freely give ;" and that a dispensation to preach the gospel is the gift of the Holy Ghost, and cannot be bought or sold. —Lastly, Inasmuch as God, the Universal Father of all mankind, hath made of one blood all nations of the earth, the Quaker regards every man as his brother, and he refuses to engage in war either by personal service or by substitute, or to contribute to the support of war, whether offensive or defensive : he regards the injunction of our Saviour, "Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you," as absolutely prohibiting all war and warlike measures ; but when differences arise between nations or individuals, he recommends that they be speedily settled by arbitrators mutually chosen.

It will be perceived that the rise and increase of a people, professing these extreme opinions must have been received with alarm by those who were interested in upholding things as they then stood. The pride of the aristocracy was wounded ; to be refused the

honour of the hat, and to be addressed individually in the singular number, "Thou" and "Thee," by plebeians and mechanics, was truly mortifying. But more particularly the clergy and other ministers of religion became aroused to indignation against a people sprung up, who disputed their authority in the church ; their congregations began to diminish, and their revenues were in danger. Thus, the hand of the first Quakers seemed to be against every man, and every man's hand against them. The magistracy, the aristocracy, the hierarchy, and the dissenters from the church, together with the army and navy, were all opposed to the new sect, which was everywhere spoken against, and severe measures were taken with the vain hope of rooting them out of the land. Obsolete penal laws were brought to bear against them and new ones were enacted of a cruel and arbitrary character. Their property was confiscated, and the prisons throughout England were crowded with their persons.

During the Protectorate of Cromwell and the reigns of King Charles and James, many of this people were confined for years away from their daily avocations and their families, and not a few ended their days in noisome dungeons, under the barbarous treatment of jailers, who were encouraged by their prosecutors to afflict them with unusual privations and severity. Notwithstanding this, as their principles became better known, the Friends were rapidly joined by converts

from the lower and middle classes, and not a few among the magistrates, military officers, and clergy forsook their respective callings and emoluments, and united themselves with this despised and persecuted people, so that their enemies at length began to despair of suppressing them. One of the persecuting magistrates, being incensed with their constancy, when William Penn was repeatedly brought into court for trial, openly avowed his belief that "the Quakers would never be put down until the admirable policy of the Spanish Inquisition was resorted to in England!" Unaided by any alliance with the great or powerful—ridiculed and hated by the world, and every where pursued with contempt and cruelty, the principles of the Friends silently spread through England and on the Continent of Europe, as well as in America, winning the assent of men who were inferior to none, whether in education, talents, or respectability, amongst whom William Penn, the subject of the following Memoir, stands conspicuous.

J. P.

Islington, 1850.

MEMOIR OF WILLIAM PENN

WILLIAM PENN, the founder and governor of the province of Pennsylvania, was born in London, in the year 1644, and died at his country-seat at Rushcomb, in 1718. He was the only surviving son of the British Admiral, Sir William Penn, who distinguished himself in the naval wars of the Dutch and English in the time of Oliver Cromwell, and Charles the Second. Sir William was the confidential friend and favourite of the Duke of York, afterwards King James the Second ; and amongst other tokens of his regard, he stood sponsor for his son William at his baptism, and after the admiral's death he continued his friendship for him until he abdicated the British throne in 1688. William Penn was of a thoughtful and religious turn of mind from his youth, and when he had made considerable progress in his education at school, his father sent him at the age of fifteen, to the University of Oxford. Here he was remarked, not only for a strict attention to his studies, but for the sedateness of his conduct and freedom from the follies of his contemporaries, preferring, for his companions, a few of his fellow-students of the same serious turn of

mind as himself. These young men were in the practice of meeting together, privately, for religious edification, which having come to the knowledge of the heads of the college, they were at first admonished, and then fined for nonconformity ; but, at length, having, in their zeal, resisted the introduction of some new innovations in religious practice, they were expelled the University. William Penn's father received him coldly, being displeased at the public disgrace which he had thus incurred : but that which vexed him most, was the change in his son's habits, for he had begun to abandon the fashionable world, and to associate with serious and religious people. The alteration observable in his son's demeanour, occasioned the greatest anxiety to the admiral, well knowing that his splendid prospects in life, which from his great and powerful connexions, he could have promoted and insured, would be thereby defeated. Hoping therefore to reclaim his son, the admiral had recourse to both arguments and entreaties— but these failing, like one accustomed, as he was, to arbitrary power, he proceeded to blows, but with no better success ; and then, in bitter disappointment, he turned him out of doors. After a time, the father relented ; his wife, an amiable and prudent lady, interceded for their son, and he was allowed to return home. Being still anxious, if possible, to change his son's views, he determined on sending him to Paris, hoping that the liveliness of French manners might alter the gravity of his disposition ; and in company with some gentlemen of rank who were

going on their travels, William Penn arrived in the metropolis of France. The gaiety and dissipation of that city were far from pleasing him, and after a short stay, he proceeded to Saumur, where he resided for some months. Here he availed himself of the conversation and instruction of the learned and pious Moses Amyrault of whom it was wittily said,—

“A Mose ad Mosem, par Mosi non fuit ullus :

“More, ore, et calamo mirus uterque fuit.”

Under a man so capable, William Penn renewed his studies. He read the Fathers ; he turned over the pages of theology, and he studied the French language so as to become a proficient in that genteel and necessary accomplishment. After leaving Saumur, he proceeded to Italy, but when at Turin he received a letter from his father, desiring him to return home, which he immediately did. The admiral had recently received the appointment as commander of the fleet, in the war of 1664, against the Dutch, and he wished him to superintend his family affairs in his absence. During the few opportunities which Admiral Penn had with his son before he left home, nothing occurred to occasion dissatisfaction, for he had contracted somewhat of a courtly polish and demeanour, from the custom of genteel society in which he had lately mixed. William Penn now embraced the opportunity of studying the laws of his country, and he was entered of Lincoln's Inn ; but on the plague breaking out in London, he and his mother left the city. The sedate habits of his associates ; the inquiries and controversies then

afloat about religion, and his own individual feelings, had caused the spark to revive which formerly appeared, and he again became a serious character, but without uniting himself to any particular sect or community of christians.

His father, when he returned from sea, saw this change in his son with the grief of his former feelings, which occasioned the same fear for the consequence, and a renewed determination to counteract it, and he shortly afterwards resolved on sending him to Ireland. The Duke of Ormond, then Viceroy of that nation, was the admiral's personal friend; and the Vice-regal Court at Dublin having the reputation of great gaiety and splendour, he vainly hoped by introducing his son among his Irish friends, he might even yet receive a new bias and acquire a fresh taste for fashionable society. But nothing which William Penn saw there was able to shake his resolution to lead a religious life, and he returned home as he went. Thus disappointed in his expectations, the admiral after a while, determined on trying another expedient. Having several large estates in a remote part of Ireland, he concluded to give his son the sole management of them, in order to occupy his time and keep him away from his former connections. William Penn accepted this commission with pleasure, and performed it for several months to his father's satisfaction. This very occupation, however, brought him into the situation, which of all others his father deprecated and deplored. Being on business in the city of Cork, he accidentally heard

that his old friend and fellow-collegian, Thomas Loe, a minister of the Society of Friends, with whom he had become acquainted at Oxford, ten years before, was to be at a Quaker's meeting in that city, he could not resist the opportunity of going to hear him. When the preacher arose, he began his discourse with those words—"There is a faith which overcomes the world, and there is a faith which is overcome by the world." On this subject he enlarged with great clearness and authority, shewing the difference there is between living faith which works by love, purifies the heart, and gives the victory over the world, the flesh, and the devil: and that formal dead faith which is confined to the head only, and which readily yields to the seductive allurements of the transitory things of this life. William Penn was greatly moved by the preacher's manner of treating the subject. Although he had not hitherto discovered a particular attachment to any religious community, yet now he became decided in his views, and from this time he diligently attended the meetings of the Friends, became one of that body of Christians, and eventually a preacher amongst them. He had not been long pursuing the course which his conscience pointed out, ere he was made to feel that the path which he had chosen was beset with trials and sufferings of no common kind. Being at a meeting for worship in Cork, he was apprehended with several others, and committed to prison, by the Mayor. William Penn now addressed a letter to Lord Orrery, president of the province, in which he asserted that

his imprisonment was both unjust and illegal, and boldly demanded his liberty, which request was promptly complied with. The rumour that he was in danger of becoming a Quaker quickly reached his father, who sent for him home, when he soon perceived, to his sorrow, that the report respecting his son was too true; he had become not almost, but altogether, a Quaker. This interview between Admiral Penn and his son is described to have been very affecting. The father mourned over the well-accomplished son of his hopes, now ripe for worldly promotion, voluntarily turning his back on all those glittering prospects; and whilst affectionately beseeching him to yield to his desire, the son was no less in an agony of grief at seeing his father's great concern and trouble. Although afflicted at the thought that a compliance with the pleasure of an affectionate parent would be at variance with his heavenly Father's will concerning him, yet he modestly craved to be excused from doing that which would wound his own conscience.

The admiral, on finding his persuasions to be hopeless, threatened to disinherit his son; but neither entreaties nor threats were able to prevail in turning him aside from following his apprehended duty to his Maker, and he lifted up his heart in prayer to God, for strength to support him in the time of trial and adversity. At length the admiral gave up all thoughts of altering the general views of his son, and as a last resort, promised to trouble him no more, *provided* he would consent to appear before the king, the Duke

of York, and himself, with his hat off. This concession of his father deeply affected him, as it manifested an affectionate desire to promote his temporal prosperity, and before giving a decided answer, he asked his father's permission to retire (for a season) to his chamber. Here he humbled himself before the Lord with fasting and supplication, and the result of this religious exercise was a settled conviction, that his peace of mind was concerned in the matter, being confirmed in a belief, that it was required of him to bear a testimony against what appeared to him to be a species of pride and idolatry ; and on his return to his father, he humbly signified, that he dare not comply with his request. The admiral heard his son's answer, but could not brook it, and in the heat of his disappointment, he once more turned him out of doors. Being suddenly reduced from a state of affluence to poverty must have affected him greatly, yet he bore his reverse of circumstances with resignation to the Divine Will, remembering for his consolation, that they who forsake father and mother, houses and land, for the kingdom of heaven's sake, will eventually reap their reward.

William Penn was now about twenty-four years of age, and is described by those who knew him, as a fine, tall, portly gentleman, but very athletic and active withal. He possessed fine talents, and was eminently qualified for a high station in life, by bright and excellent parts, cultivated and improved by the advantages of a liberal education, polished by travelling, and the conversation of the greatest men of the

age. Of these talents and accomplishments, his father, Admiral Penn, was very sensible, and when he found that he had, beyond hope of recovery, espoused the principles of the despised Quakers, his feelings were those of a man in bitterness for the loss of his only son.

Discarded from the paternal roof by a parent whom he tenderly loved, he became dependent on his friends for support. His affectionate mother, also, privately supplied him according to her ability. Much of William Penn's time was now occupied in travelling from place to place, and attending the meetings of the Friends as a minister of the Gospel, whereby he made many converts to his religious opinions. Besides which, he was frequently engaged in formal controversy with those who had ignorantly or maliciously misrepresented, or called in question, the principles of the religious body of which he was a member. About this period he commenced author, and the number of books and pamphlets which he wrote in defence, or in explanation of his religious views, are almost incredible; besides many others on political subjects, and in support of civil and religious liberty. One of his polemical works excited the displeasure of the clergy, and at the instigation of the Bishop of London, he was committed to the Tower on the charge of heresy. Here he was kept a prisoner for seven months, under restraints of unusual severity. At length his liberation came suddenly and unexpected from the king, at the solicitation of the Duke of York. During his confinement in the Tower he

employed himself in writing, more particularly that admirable work, entitled *No Cross, No Crown*, which has passed through several editions, and is well received both in England, and on the continent of Europe and America. The views of the Christian religion which he attempted to establish in this work, he enforced by many cogent arguments, and the concurrent testimony of persons eminent for their greatness, their piety, or their learning, in divers periods and of several nations.

After his release from the Tower, the admiral began to relent, believing that his son although mistaken, was evidently sincere in his religious views, and had given painful proof of his integrity. He now allowed him to come home, although he refused to see him, but caused it to be signified through his mother, that he might return to Ireland to execute a commission for him there. William Penn was greatly cheered by this gleam of returning love on the part of his father, and immediately prepared for his journey. On his arrival in Cork he entered on his father's business, and in the intervals of his engagements, he attended the meetings of his Friends, and used his influence with the government authorities for the liberation of those who were in prison on account of their religious scruples. Having executed his commission he returned to England, and soon after his arrival at home, a cordial reconciliation took place with his father, to the great joy of all concerned.

In the year 1670, an Act had passed the legislature at the instigation of the bishops and clergy,

which prohibited catholics and other dissenters from the English church, from worshipping God in their own way, and William Penn became one of the earliest victims to this unrighteous decree. On going one day with others to their usual place of worship in Gracechurch Street, they found the doors guarded by a band of soldiers, who refused to admit them into their own house. Staying awhile about the place, others came up, until a considerable number were assembled on the spot. At length, William Penn began to address the multitude in the street, when he and another, were seized by constables purposely stationed there, and conveyed to Newgate Prison, where they lay ten days before the time of their trial. The trial came on at the sessions in the Old Bailey, before the Lord Mayor, the Recorder, five Aldermen, and the two Sheriffs of London. Twelve jurymen of the vicinity were empanelled, and sworn to give a just verdict between the king and the prisoners. The indictment charged the prisoners with "preaching to a seditious and unlawful assembly, and that they had met together with force of arms, to the great terror and disturbance of many of His Majesty's subjects!" To this glaring false charge, the prisoners pleaded "*Not guilty.*" On being first brought into court, one of the officers took off their hats, on which the Lord Mayor in a great passion, ordered them to be again placed on their heads, and afterwards, he fined the prisoners for contempt of court, in appearing with their hats on. The evidence failing to establish the charges contained in the indictment, the jury acquitted them, to

the great mortification of the judges and the court, who used the most insulting and opprobrious language, not only to the prisoners, who nobly and ably pleaded their own cause, but also to the jury, whom they ordered to be locked up without food or fire until they should agree upon a verdict, to suit the vindictive feelings of the court. This was repeated for several days, and every time they were called up, they returned the same verdict of "Not guilty." The jury being resolutely determined to maintain their constitutional right, to give a verdict according to their own conviction, persisted in doing their duty, in defiance of the menaces of the court, and having wearied them by their constancy, they were at length threatened and discharged.

The prisoners, although cleared by the jury's verdict, were fined for appearing with their hats on, although, as before stated, after being taken off by an officer of the court, they were replaced on their heads by the mayor's own order. Having broken no law, they did not feel at liberty to pay this unjust demand, which would have implied an acknowledgment of guilt, they were therefore remanded back to prison, when Admiral Penn having heard of the circumstance, sent the money privately, and they were set at liberty.

The admiral had now become dangerously ill, and being thoroughly reconciled to his son, he was anxious to have the consolation of his company and kind offices in his last moments, as well as to confer with him on the settlement of his outward affairs. Fore-

seeing, that whilst the existing laws of the country against dissenters remained in force, his son would be subject to many difficulties on account of his religious scruples, the admiral privately sent one of his own friends to the Duke of York, and also to the king, with his dying request, that they would be pleased to protect him, so far as they consistently could, in cases of further persecution, to which request they promised attention.

Soon after this, the admiral grew worse, and not long before he died he conversed freely and seriously with his son on religious subjects, a few of his expressions have been preserved. "Son William," said he, "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 snares of death. * * * Oh ! have a care of sin, it is that which is the sting, both of life and death. 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 in your own breast, which will be a feast to you in the day of trouble." Just before he died, he looked at his son with a most composed countenance, and addressed him thus, "Son William, if you and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching, and your plain way of living, you will make an end of the priesthood to the end of the world. Bury me by my mother—live all in love—shun all manner of evil—and I pray God to bless you all, and He *will* bless you all." Soon after these words he expired.

William Penn, at his father's decease, became possessed of considerable property, so that had he been so inclined, he might have lived a life of ease and independence, but his regard to the dictates of religion forbade this indulgence, and he devoted his time, talents and wealth to the cause of civil and religious liberty, and the happiness of mankind. (4)

About the beginning of the year 1671, being at a meeting for public worship in London, he was haled out of the place by a file of soldiers, and taken prisoner to the Tower. On being brought up for trial, the magistrates shewed themselves to be his decided enemies, and when the jury acquitted him of the charge "speaking to an unlawful assembly," they were so exasperated at losing their victim that they immediately tendered him the oath of allegiance, well knowing that his principles would not permit him to swear at all. Upon refusing to take the oath, he was sentenced to be imprisoned for six months! On hearing this cruel and unjust sentence, he addressed the court in these words, "I accept it as at the hand of the Lord, and am content to suffer his will. Alas! you mistake your interest: this is not the way to compass your ends. I scorn that religion which is not worth suffering for, and is unable to sustain those who are afflicted for it. Your religion persecutes—mine forgives; and I desire God may forgive you all, and I leave you in perfect charity, wishing you everlasting salvation." After this address he was hurried off by the soldiers to Newgate. (5)

Whilst in prison, he employed his time in writing

several controversial works, and amongst others, an address "To the supreme authority of England, on the anti-christian, irrational, and impolitic laws, by which conscientious persons are persecuted for their religious opinions and practices, when those practices do not interfere with the peace and good order of the community."

On his liberation from prison, he travelled into Holland and Germany, where he remained nearly a year, and successfully published his doctrines and views of the Christian religion.

Soon after his return to England, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, which had then been newly instituted, and has continued to number among its members some of the most eminent men of the day, whether for scientific or philosophical pursuits or philanthropy.

About this period, being in the twenty-eighth year of his age, he entered into the married state with Gulielma Maria Springett, the posthumous daughter of Colonel Sir William Springett, and by her he had several children.

William Penn was strict in the discipline of his own family, and laid down several excellent rules for their government. He directed that the family and servants should assemble at stated hours, three times every day, for family worship, and for reading the Holy Scriptures or other religious books, and particularly that no one should absent himself from public worship on the days appointed for that service.

He divided the year into courses, and ordered that the family should rise at five, at six, or at seven o'clock in the morning, according to the season of the year. One person was appointed in rotation for each course to call up the rest at the hour appointed. The family was to breakfast at nine, to dine at twelve, and sup at seven, and all were expected to retire to their respective chambers at ten o'clock. Besides these regulations he laid down several other rules for the government of his servants in their conduct and conversation towards each other.

But William Penn was not permitted to remain without interruption in the enjoyment of connubial happiness, which the recent change in his condition had procured him. His talents and his influence marked him out as a competent person to undertake the arrangement of the affairs of the colony of *West New Jersey*, which had fallen into confusion, and threatened the ruin of those who had embarked their property in the concern. Two of the principal proprietors were his particular friends, and at their solicitation he engaged in the onerous duty of trustee, although he himself had no pecuniary interest in the success of the undertaking; and subsequently, he became part proprietor in the colony of *East New Jersey*. From his judicious proposals and the high estimation in which his character was held by the people, considerable portions of these two provinces were soon disposed of, and a number of respectable families emigrated to their respective estates, so that

in a few years both these colonies became in a prosperous and thriving condition.

These engagements probably gave a direction to his mind, which led to the desire of forming a settlement in America upon a larger scale on his own account, where his grievously oppressed friends and fellow-members, and all others, might find a refuge from the storm of persecution for religion, which then raged over the nation, and thus escape from the domination of ecclesiastical tyranny. In a work which he had lately written, entitled "Good Advice to the Church of England, and to Roman Catholic and Protestant Dissenters, on the Duty, Principle, and Interest of Government, to abolish the Penal Laws and Tests," he published the astounding fact, that since King Charles' Restoration, above fifteen thousand families of dissenters from the Church of England, had been ruined, and that more than five thousand persons had died in bonds, or in consequence of long imprisonment, for mere matters of conscience towards God.

Having been for some time engaged in winding up his late father's affairs, and finding that the English Government stood indebted to the admiral's estate in the sum of sixteen thousand pounds, for arrears of pay and loans of money for the naval service, he was desirous of closing the account, and petitioned the king to grant him in lieu thereof, a tract of land on the American continent, north of Maryland, and bounded on the east by the river Delaware. The reduced finances of the English

government made it much easier to liquidate this debt by a grant of uncultivated country in a distant part of the world, which yielded no revenue, than to advance the money.

It was not long before his petition was heard, and, although not without some opposition in the Privy Council, a Charter was granted him in the year 1681, whereby he was constituted full and absolute proprietor of all the tract of land which he had solicited, and he was invested with the power of governing the same, paying annually a fealty to the king of two beaver-skins, who also claimed one-fifth part of all the gold and silver which might hereafter be discovered. He had the power of making laws with the advice of the freemen of the province, and, in case of incursion by neighbouring barbarous nations, or by pirates or robbers, he was empowered "to levy, muster and train to arms, all men in the said province, and to act as their captain-general, to make war on their enemies and pursue the same." That this power was never acted upon or needed, we shall presently show ; and also, by what other means, peace to his province was maintained for seventy years, that is, so long as the principles of William Penn were suffered to govern the policy of the state.

He laid down a plan for the government of his province, which has been the admiration of succeeding legislators, but few of whom have, however, had the courage to imitate it. It was so framed as to possess the elements of reform whenever time or circumstances should render a change necessary to the

good of the people. "I do not find," he says, "a model in the world, that time, place, or some singular emergencies have not necessarily altered ; nor is it easy to frame a civil government that shall serve all places alike." "The great end of government is to support and maintain 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.*"

From the accounts which William Penn had received of his newly acquired territory, he was desirous of naming the province *Sylvania*, from the circumstance of its abounding in forests, but the king insisted that the name of Penn should be prefixed. He remonstrated, fearing that it would be charged to himself as a piece of vanity, but the king overruled his objections, and the province was named *Pennsylvania*. Soon after he had published his frame of government, he received a free gift from his friend and his father's friend the Duke of York, of another tract of land belonging to the government of New York, and lying contiguous to the province of Pennsylvania, at that time inhabited by a few Dutch and Swedes. By this additional grant, Pennsylvania contained an area of upwards of 4000 square miles, or about 288 miles by 156.

William Penn's frame of government was comprised in twenty-four articles, and his original code of laws consisted only of forty. The most conspicuous of

these laws and regulations were, the securing to the native Indians the possession of their rights and property in common with others; and the protection of *all* in their civil rights and in the free exercise of their religion. All who acknowledged their belief in one God were entitled to the franchise of freemen, and those who professed faith in the Lord Jesus Christ were eligible to be elected to fill all places of honour and trust under the government.* William Penn having obtained his Charter under the Great Seal of England, now drew up and published an account of the province, from the best sources which had then been obtained, giving a description of the soil, its products, rivers, bays and harbours, together with some notice of the native Indian tribes. To this account, he annexed a copy of his Charter, to show his title, and also the terms on which he proposed to part with his lands. He appears to have adopted the plan of selling his lands in lots of 5000 acres, for the small sum of £100., something less than 5d. per acre; besides a quit rent to him and his heirs of one shilling for every 100 acres. In no other way could he legally dispose of his land, he himself, as before mentioned, holding conditionally of the Crown. In a very few years, owing to the rapid increase and prosperity of the colony, the price of land became greatly advanced, and at the present day is worth £20. to £60. and upwards per acre. How vast the consideration that

* This just and liberal enactment was greatly in advance of the age. One exception is to be regretted: the Jews, by inference, were excluded from the full benefit of its privileges:

William Penn once possessed nearly twenty millions of such acres ! Besides these conditions, there were others of a general character, calculated to promote the public benefit. On behalf of the natives, it was stipulated, that whoever affronted or wronged an Indian, or over-reached him in trading for his furs, should incur the same penalty of the law as if he had committed it against his fellow-planter. Differences arising between Indians and planters were to be settled by a jury of six persons of each class.

As soon as William Penn had made public the terms and conditions upon which he proposed to sell his land, many purchasers came forward, and amongst others, a company that had been formed, under the title of "The Free Society of Traders," who immediately engaged twenty thousand acres. Many of the "Friends" also, both of England and Wales, zealously embarked in the undertaking, most of whom had the means of prosecuting the object with success.

In August 1681, three ships with passengers and implements of husbandry, and other useful stores, left England for Philadelphia. In one of these Governor Penn sent several commissioners, with Colonel Markham, a relation of his, who was to be his private secretary when he himself should arrive in the colony. This vessel appears to have reached the Delaware in due course ; the second, was blown off to the West Indies, and did not come in until the following spring ; and the third, was frozen up in the river the same night as she arrived, and was obliged to winter there, to the great suffering of the passengers and

crew. Markham, and the other commissioners, were instructed to treat with the Indians concerning their land, and to endeavour to engage them in a friendly and honourable league of lasting peace. They were also the bearers of a kind letter which William Penn wrote to the Indians, concluding in these words, * *
“ I shall shortly come to see you myself, at which time we may more freely and largely confer together in 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. Receive the presents and tokens which I have sent you, as a testimony of my good will, and of my resolution to live justly, and peaceably, and friendly, with you.

“ I am your loving friend,

“ WILLIAM PENN.”

The commissioners, whom the governor sent out, succeeded in conciliating the Indians, and in securing their friendship. A treaty of peace was formally entered into by both parties ; and it is worthy of remark, that this contract between the Indians and the “ Friends,” has been kept inviolate by them and their respective descendants down to the present day.

Many of the first settlers being but scantily furnished to encounter the severity of a North American winter, the Indians did their utmost to provide them with food, and brought them abundance of venison, the produce of their hunting. The reader will do well to bear in mind this friendly intercourse of the Indians

and the new settlers here, and contrast it with that of other provinces, which had been, for a long time, engaged in sanguinary and expensive warfare with the natives on their respective borders, whilst Pennsylvania continued for many years in a state of prosperity and peace. The Indians however friendly disposed, could not supply the wants of all the emigrants as they continued to arrive in the colony, and many of them suffered greatly. Their first object appears to have been to provide themselves with dwellings: these at first consisted of caves or caverns, scooped out of the banks of the river, sufficiently capacious to afford them room for lodging and cooking, &c., and in one of these caves the first child was born. Deborah Morris, a pious lady of the Society of Friends, who died about the year 1800, has preserved a family anecdote by reciting it in her will, to the following purport:—*Item.* “I give to my nephew, Thomas Morris, the large old-fashioned silver salver, which belonged to my dear aunt, Elizabeth Hard, who, with her husband, came over with William Penn and other Friends. All that arrived in those early days wanted lodgings in the then wilderness, and hasted to provide themselves with temporary accommodations. Few of the first settlers were of the labouring class, and help of that sort was scarcely to be had at any price, so that many of the women set to work they had never known before. My good aunt (great aunt) Hard was accustomed to help her husband at building, and took one end of the cross-cut saw with him; she also fetched the water for the mortar wherewith to build a

chimney for their cave. At one time her husband perceiving her to be overwearied said to her, 'my dear, thou hadst better give over and see about dinner.' On which, poor woman, she walked away weeping as she went, for she knew their provisions were all spent, of which she had not told her husband, except a small quantity of biscuit and a little cheese, but she thought she would try if any of her neighbours had any thing to spare. Whilst reflecting on herself as she went along, for coming to America to be exposed to such hardships, she felt reproved in her mind for distrusting a kind Providence who had hitherto provided for them. In this humble state she reached her cave, and on her knees she begged forgiveness for having murmured against the will of her heavenly Father. When she arose to go and call on her friends to ask their charity, the cat came home from a foraging expedition, bringing a fine fat rabbit in its mouth, which she thankfully took and proceeded to dress it as an English hare. When her husband was informed of the fact, they both wept with reverential joy, and thankfully partook of the good so seasonably provided for them. Deborah Morris also bequeaths to her uncle, John Morris, another family relic, a silver tureen, upon which was engraved, the device of the cat bringing home a rabbit in its mouth."

Those Friends who inhabited the caves as a temporary residence, were accustomed to close the door on a sabbath-day to attend their place of worship, leaving some preparation for dinner in the pot on the fire. Some mischievous sailors from the ships which

lay in the river would sometimes ascend the top of their cabins, and with an iron hook at the end of a long stick, draw up the contents of the pot through the chimney, to the no small discomfort of the family when they returned from meeting. But not further to digress we proceed with the history before us.

The governor had now done almost every thing that he judged necessary previous to embarking for his North American territory. His mind, as the time of his departure drew near, became seriously affected at the prospect of leaving his wife and children. In order, in some measure, to afford them his counsel and advice in his absence, he addressed them in an epistle, replete with instruction both religious and domestic, couched in a beautiful style of simplicity and affection which has often been reprinted and admired. By this pathetic effusion of his heart he became somewhat relieved of his anxiety for his family, and better prepared to bid them farewell. A ship having been already engaged for the voyage, was now ready to sail. Previous to embarking, William Penn went to take leave of King Charles, at which interview the following dialogue is said to have taken place, characteristic of these two conservators of the public peace and safety, and descriptive of their opposite policy :—

King.—"What ! venture yourself among the savages of North America ! Why, man, what security have you that you will not be in their war-kettle in two hours after setting your foot on their shores ? I have no idea of any security against these cannibals but in

a regiment of soldiers with their muskets and their bayonets: but, mind you, I will not send a single soldier with you."

Penn.—"I want none of thy soldiers, I depend on something better than soldiers—I depend on the Indians themselves—on their moral sense—even on the grace of God which bringeth salvation and hath appeared to all men."

King.—"If it had appeared to them, they would hardly have treated my subjects so barbarously as they have done, [in other provinces previously occupied.]"

Penn.—"That is no proof to the contrary, thy subjects were the aggressors. When they first went to North America, they found these poor people the kindest and fondest creatures in the world. Every day they would watch for them to come on shore, and hasten to meet them and feast them on their best fish, their venison, and their corn, which was all they had. In return for this hospitality of the savages, as we term them, thy christian subjects, as we term them, seized on their country and their rich hunting grounds for farms for themselves. Now, is it to be much wondered at, that these much-injured people driven to desperation by such injustice, should have committed some excesses?"

King.—"But how will you get their lands without soldiers?"

Penn.—"I mean to buy their lands of them."

King.—"Why, man! you have bought them of me already."

Penn.—"Yes; I know I have, and at a dear rate

too ; I did this to gain thy good-will, not that I thought thou hadst any right to their lands—I will buy the right of the proper owners, even of the Indians themselves : by doing this I shall imitate God in his justice and mercy, and hope thereby, to insure his blessing on my colony if I should ever live to plant one in North America.”

After some further conversation he took his leave, with the king's best wishes for his prosperity in his hazardous undertaking.

On the 1st September, 1682, William Penn sailed from England in the ship *Welcome*, of three hundred tons burthen, having on board about one hundred respectable emigrants, mostly of his own religious persuasion. After a tedious and sickly voyage, the ship anchored in the Delaware, having been six weeks on the passage. The governor disembarked on the tract of land ceded him by the Duke of York, and inhabited by a few settlers from Holland and Sweden. These people, now William Penn's subjects, had been prepared for his coming, by Colonel Markham and the commissioners, and were ready to give him a hearty welcome ; the news rapidly spread that “the Quaker King” was at Newcastle ; and, on the day after his landing, in the presence of a crowd of Swedes and Dutch and English, his deeds of feoffment were produced. The Duke of York's agent then surrendered the territory by the solemn delivery of earth and water, and William Penn was invested with supreme and undefined power, after which he addressed the assembled multitude on the uses and duties of government, recommended sobriety and peace, and pledged

himself to grant liberty of conscience and civil freedom to all. From Newcastle he proceeded up the Delaware to Chester, where he was hospitably received by the honest, kind-hearted husbandmen who had preceded him from the North of England. This little village of herdsmen and farmers with their plain manners, gentle dispositions, and tranquil passions, seemed the harbinger of a golden age.

To this period, 1682-3, belongs William Penn's grand treaty with the Indians, and a confirmation of the conditions which had been concluded with the commissioners. For this purpose a grand convocation of the aborigines of the province had been convened to meet him and his friends, and pledge their faith in each other's sincerity. This meeting took place under a prodigious elm-tree which grew on the banks of the river Delaware, near the spot where Philadelphia now stands. The Sachems and their fierce-looking tribes were seen issuing from the woods as far as the eye could reach, and looked terrible, both on account of their numbers and their weapons. The "Friends" were but a handful of men in comparison, and being without any means of defence, they must have quailed at the sight with terror and dismay, had they not confided in the righteousness of their cause and the Divine protection. As soon as William Penn and his friends drew near the place where the Sachems were assembled, the whole multitude of Indians threw aside their weapons of war and seated themselves in semi-circular groups, each under its own chief. In a short time the presiding Indian warrior, having placed on

his head a chaplet with a horn in it, significant of his pre-eminence, intimated to William Penn that "the nations" were ready to hear him, upon which he began to address them through the medium of an interpreter, after the following manner :—

"The Great Spirit who made you and me, who rules the heaven and the earth, knows the innermost thoughts of men : he knows that I and my friends have a hearty desire to live in peace and friendship with the Indians, and to serve them to the utmost of our power. It is not the custom of me and my friends to make use of any hostile weapons against any of our fellow-creatures ; for this reason we now appear before you without arms. Our object is, not to do injury, and thus to provoke the Great Spirit, but to do good. We are now met together on the broad pathway of good faith and good-will, so that no advantage is to be taken on either side, but all is to be openness, brotherhood and love."

Thus, under the shelter of the forest, William Penn proclaimed to the Algonquin race, the simple message of peace and love, that the Indian and the English should respect the same moral law—should be alike secure in their respective possessions ; and, further, that every difference which might arise should be adjusted—*not by brute-force, but by a peaceful tribunal of twelve men composed of an equal number of both races.* These simple children of the forest were touched by this sacred doctrine, and at once renounced their guile and their revenge, and gave the belt of Wampum. "We will live," said they, "in love with William

Penn and his children, so long as the moon and the sun shall endure." The governor then paid them for the land and made them many presents besides, from the merchandise which he had brought with him : this he did to their hearts' content. After this was done, he laid the roll of parchment, containing the treaty which had been agreed upon, on the ground, observing again, that the ground should be free and common to both, and that he should consider them as the same flesh and blood as Christians, and as the children of the same Heavenly Father. He then took up the parchment and presented it to the Sachem who wore the chaplet and horn, and desired him and the other chiefs to preserve it carefully for three generations, that their children might know what had passed between them, just as if he himself had remained to repeat it. He then, by means of the same interpreter, explained to them the conditions of the purchase deliberately and distinctly, so that they might clearly understand the terms of the contract for their future union and friendship. 16

Here let us pause for a moment and contemplate the scene which then presented itself. Imagine the chiefs of these savage communities of Indians, the dread and terror of neighbouring provinces, of noble shape and grave demeanour, assembled in council, their bows and arrows, and tomahawks carelessly flung aside as useless ; the old men sitting in a half moon upon the ground—the middle-aged in a like figure at a little distance behind them—the young foresters forming a third semi-circle in the rear.

Before them stands William Penn, graceful in the summer of life, surrounded by a few of his friends, all in the habiliments of peace ; even Markham's regimentals were not seen on this peaceful occasion ; the governor himself was distinguished from the rest, only by a blue silken belt round his waist.

This treaty of peace and friendship was made under the open sky, beside the Delaware, with the sun and the river and the forest for witnesses. It was, as M. Voltaire has observed, "the only treaty which was not confirmed by an oath, and the only one which was never broken." It was not ratified by signatures and seals : its terms and conditions had no abiding monument but in the heart. They were written there, like the law of God, and were never forgotten. The simple sons of the wilderness returned to their wigwams, kept the history of their covenant by strings of wampum (small shells), and long afterwards in their cabins, they would count over the shells on a clean piece of bark, and thus recall to their memory, and repeat to their children, or to strangers, the words of Onas, a term by which they designated William Penn ; Onas, in the Indian language signifying *a pen*.

When the news was spread abroad that William Penn, the Quaker, had opened an asylum for the good and oppressed of every nation, emigrants crowded to the land of promise from England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland, and the Low Countries. More than one thousand arrived in the first year.

From several places in Germany, the humble and industrious people, who had lately melted at the Christian doctrine of Penn the missionary when amongst them, were now ready to renounce their German homes for the protection of the Quaker king. There is nothing in the history of the human race like the confidence which the simple virtues and institutions of this truly great man inspired.

William Penn named the future metropolis of his province Philadelphia, or, a city of brotherly love—in this he evidenced the peaceful principle which reigned within his breast. His choice of the site for the chief town of his territory, and the masterly plan which he laid down for building it, marked it out, as designed to be the admiration of the whole world. No other city, ancient or modern, was ever built on a scale of like convenience and grandeur, except perhaps ancient Babylon, of which Philadelphia might be said to be a miniature model. Philadelphia is situated between two navigable rivers, the Schuylkill and the Delaware; ten streets two miles long, were run in a direct line from river to river, and twenty others, of a mile long, drawn across the said ten, cutting them at right angles.* Several open squares, from five to ten acres each, were left in appropriate parts of the town for building government offices, places of worship, schools, infirmaries, and for other public objects. Some of these spaces

* These streets were to be from 30 to 60 feet wide; one in particular, which runs from river to river, is 100 feet wide.

were planted with trees, and formed into promenades, for the recreation of the citizens. William Penn did not live to see this admirable design completed, and his successors, from motives of economy, (as the land greatly increased in value), had not the courage to carry out the plan in its original extent.

The progress of William Penn's settlement was more rapid than that of any of the other provinces of North America. In August, 1683, Philadelphia consisted of three or four little cottages, the conies were yet undisturbed in their hereditary burrows; and there the deer fearlessly bounded unconscious of foreboding streets. The stranger that wandered from the river banks was lost in the thickets of the forest; and two years afterwards, the place contained about six hundred houses, and the school-master and the printing-press had begun their work. In three years from its foundation, Philadelphia had gained more than New England had done in thirty. This was the happiest season in the public life of William Penn. He had led the greatest colony into America that any man ever did upon private credit, and he lived to see the most prosperous beginnings established there. Pennsylvania was the twelfth colony of the United States, but in point of prosperity, it soon outran its elder sisters. On the State of Pennsylvania, and the friendly feeling subsisting between the colonists and aborigines at that period, the learned Abbé Raynal remarks, "Here it is, the mind rests with pleasure upon modern history, and feels some kind of compensation for the disgust, horror

and melancholy, which the whole of that history, but particularly the European settlements in America, inspires."

As William Penn had taken from himself and his successors all arbitrary power, by establishing the elective franchise of the people, so also he took from them the means of being intolerant in religion. Christianity was, by the Charter, made the law of the land, but no preference was given to any sect—equality of religious rights, not less than civil freedom, was insured to all. No other provincial government (except, perhaps, that of Lord Baltimore, who was of the Roman Catholic persuasion) had framed its laws so wisely, and on so just and honourable a basis.

The question, so long and so pertinaciously affirmed, that it was impossible to be at peace with savages, was confuted by actual demonstration. There were at that time no less than ten Indian nations within the limits of the province of Pennsylvania, and all of them earnest in cultivating a peaceful intercourse with their Christian neighbours.

William Penn laboured hard whilst he remained in the province, for the future prosperity of its inhabitants, and gave great encouragement for cultivating the arts of civilized life. Amongst other institutions, he founded and liberally endowed a Public Grammar School, and incorporated a Board of Education, which has been continued down to the present day. The Board has a corporate seal with this inscription, "Good instruction is better than riches." He granted many privileges to this Institution, and also framed several

enactments for the future comfort of the poorer class of his subjects. He established a Court for the protection of property belonging to widows and orphans, which, in the early period of the province was frequently in danger of being alienated from the rightful owners. For every court of law he wisely appointed three arbitrators, to whom the plaintiff and defendant might, if they chose, refer their disputes without incurring the expense attending a suit at law.

The manner of conducting the public business of the government, as first established in Philadelphia, is amusing, on account of its simplicity. The members of both houses, that is, the Senate and House of Assembly, were to meet whilst in session twice a day for the dispatch of business, viz., at eight o'clock in the morning and at three in the afternoon. They were called together by the ringing of a large bell, and if any member was half an hour behind the time appointed, he was fined ten-pence. Each member was allowed three-pence per mile for travelling expenses, and six shillings per day for his maintenance during his attendance in sessions; and the clerk of the records had a salary of twenty pounds per annum!

William Penn having now been in the colony nearly two years, seen his government settled, laws established, judges, justices, sheriffs of counties, and other civil officers appointed, and the province in a prosperous condition, purposed to embark for his native country in the year 1684.

As a specimen of administrating the laws of William Penn against offenders charged with high crimes and misdemeanours, the following case may afford an illustration :—A man was taken up under a charge of coining adulterated Spanish pieces of silver, which were then current in the province ; he was tried before the governor and his council, and being found guilty on the clearest evidence, he was sentenced to have his implements for coining broken to pieces—to pay a fine of forty pounds towards building a new court-house—and a further sum to make good the deficiency to all those who, within a month, should bring in the base coin to be exchanged, which was then to be returned to him after it had been melted down, and he was further sentenced to be confined in prison until these terms were fulfilled. The Philadelphian prisons were not only places of confinement but of improvement ; schools and workshops were part of their discipline, and the earnings of the inmates were appropriated towards the expenses of the establishment, a portion being reserved for their own individual benefit, when the period of their confinement was completed.

In this sentence, it will be seen the claims of justice were fulfilled, the criminal was punished, and means taken to prevent the repetition of his crime, whilst the public, who had been defrauded, were reimbursed their loss, but the offender himself was suffered to live and repent of his misdeeds. In the mother-country he would most likely have expiated his crime by the sacrifice of his life on the gallows. And

what is remarkable, this very convicted felon after his reformation, appears in the annals of Pennsylvania as occupying a responsible and honourable situation among his citizens.*

When William Penn had been returned to England about four months, King Charles II. died, and was succeeded by his brother, the Duke of York, now James II., who had always manifested a partiality for William Penn, at first, as being the son of his intimate friend, the admiral, and afterwards on account of his own merits. He often honoured him with his company, sometimes detaining him long whilst the best of his Peers were waiting for an audience. The great influence which William Penn had with King James, he used for the benefit of others, and his house was frequently thronged with those who desired to present their petitions through him ; he neither asked or received any personal favours himself ; but even the legal expenses of many poor persons in prosecuting their suits, he paid out of his own pocket. A popular writer of the present day in his recent history of England, has sullied his brilliant pages, by an attempt to defame the memory of William Penn, charging him in two instances (as the mere tool of King James and his Court) with some particular transactions and motives diametrically opposed to his religious princi-

* The primitive laws enacted by William Penn adjudged the punishment of death to no crime except wilful murder. The British government, after 150 years have arrived at his standard ; and, in course of that period, has abolished the penalty of death, for more than 200 offences, to which criminals were before liable.

ples, and at variance with his uniform conduct through life. These charges have been strictly searched into by respectable persons, not of William Penn's communion, on both sides the Atlantic, and are clearly proved to be unsupported by evidence. Never was the character of a great and good man assailed on more paltry grounds. "I would not," remarks one of his reviewers, "hang a dog on such evidence." These calumnies must do more harm to the reputation of the living author than to the honour of the deceased patriot.

King James professed to be favourable to the toleration of *all* religious communities. In these views he was zealously supported and encouraged by William Penn, and some others, and as violently opposed by the protestant bishops and clergy, and many influential persons of that day. The king's known favour to the Roman Catholic religion occasioned it to be suspected, that his plea for liberty of conscience was only a cloke to introduce that form of worship into the nation. Whatever might be the king's designs herein, it is very certain that William Penn had no other motive in the part which he so actively took, than the conviction, that liberty to worship God according to the dictates of a man's own conscience, and not at the will of another, was the natural, inalienable, and undoubted right, of all men of every religious profession. On one occasion, in writing to Archbishop Tillotson, he makes this emphatic declaration, "I abhor two principles in religion, and I pity those that own them. The first is, Obedience upon authority without conviction; and the other is, Destroying or

persecuting, for God's sake, those that differ from me." Heresy has been truly and nobly defined by a Father of the Catholic Church to be, "A wicked life, *not* a difference of opinion."

Adverse circumstances and other causes, detained William Penn from his government for fifteen years, much to his own pecuniary loss and the detriment of the colony. During this period he appointed, as occasions required, successive governors to administer the affairs of the province in his absence, and he continued to promote by his own unwearied exertions at home, its peace and prosperity. Owing to the limited means of the young colony, adequately to support an efficient governor, William Penn found it no easy task to fill the office with men every way qualified. Hence he was necessitated to send over, from time to time, governors whose habits and inclinations but ill accorded with the peaceable principles of those who had the executive in their hands. The consequence of this want of unity between the governor, the council and the representatives, was frequently the cause of serious disputes, more particularly on the question of providing a military defence for the province, to be prepared in case of invasion or attack from some then unknown enemy. The friends of Penn were not backward in asserting their civil and political rights by all lawful and peaceable means, and they did not fail to remonstrate, sometimes in very plain and honest language, whenever their governors attempted to encroach on the privileges of the people. One instance may serve as a specimen.

In the year 1704, Governor Evans determined

on his own authority, to impose a tax or toll on all outward bound vessels when leaving the river. The principal inhabitants became alarmed at this innovation on their chartered privileges, which guaranteed that no tax or other impost should be levied but by consent of a majority of the people's representatives. The council remonstrated again and again, but without effect, and the governor being determined to carry his point, ordered a fort to be erected on the banks of the river, and furnished with guns and ammunition. An officer and some men were stationed there to stop every vessel outward bound, and to claim a toll according to her tonnage. A consultation of some of the principal merchants was had, and one of them, a person of considerable influence, a member of the governor's council, and one of "the Friends," offered at his own risk to test the governor's power or authority to tax the people without their consent. Having a ship ready to sail with produce for the West India market, with which a considerable barter-trade was already established, he determined to see his vessel safely down the river himself. He first dispatched two of his friends with the ship's papers to the fort, to show that the vessel had been regularly cleared at the custom-house, and to endeavour to persuade the officer to suffer her to pass without molestation. Their remonstrance, however, proved unavailing, and the deputation were given to understand what they might expect if they persisted in their determination. Notwithstanding this threat, "the Friend" went on board, and boldly

taking the helm, which the captain was afraid to do, he proceeded with a fair wind and a brisk breeze down the river, steering as near to the opposite side as he safely could. On nearing the fort, a gun was fired to bring the vessel to. No notice was taken of this warning, the ship continuing her course under full sail, when all the guns at the fort were discharged, until she got out of their reach, having escaped without damage, except in some of her sails which were shot through.* The officer at the fort, not willing to miss his prize, immediately had his boat manned and went in pursuit. The ship's sails were now slackened, and the boat was allowed to come alongside, and having fastened a rope to the ship, the officer and his men came on board. Whilst engaged in a warm controversy with the owner and his friends, some one on board (no doubt advisedly) quietly loosed the boat and let her drift astern. The ship was now under full sail, and when the officer at length discovered that he was in danger of a voyage to the West Indies, and that all his hopes of retreat were cut off, his courage failed, and he suffered himself to be led as a prisoner into the cabin. "The Friend" now determined to land his captive on the Jersey side of the Delaware, and deliver him up to Lord Cornbury, the governor of that province, who claimed in his own right, the exclusive jurisdiction of the river. The governor, a proud and haughty man, on hearing the

* The firing of the guns were distinctly heard in Philadelphia, the feelings of the Friend's wife on the occasion may be better conceived than expressed.

case, was quite indignant at this encroachment on his prerogative, and he threatened the officer in no measured terms of rebuke, who now became seriously alarmed at his situation, and sued for pardon, making many professions of sorrow for the offence he had committed. At length, having promised never to attempt the like again, he was suffered to depart. The Friend and his companions now returned back to Philadelphia, and the ship proceeded on her voyage. The illegal tax, in consequence of this patriotic but peaceful resistance, was thenceforward abandoned.

When differences arose between any of the inhabitants and the native Indians, care was taken to end them speedily. These occasions very seldom occurred, but when inquired into, were generally found to have originated in some misconception, or the misrepresentation of mischievous persons, amongst either colonists or the natives. One instance may serve to shew how disputes were amicably settled and hostilities rendered unnecessary. A report was once brought to town and industriously circulated, that five hundred armed Indians were on their march towards Philadelphia with hostile designs, it was not doubted. The alarm quickly spread through the city, and gathered strength in its progress by imaginary additions to the coming danger, so that the peaceful inhabitants were, at length, in the greatest consternation. The Government Council having deliberated on this juncture of affairs, Philip Pusey, a Friend, being one of the council, and five others, proposed to meet the Indians on the road, and have a friendly conference with them. Having mounted their horses, they pro-

ceeded, unarmed, into the wilderness until they reached the Indian camp. After exchanging salutations, Pusey inquired of the chief, if the report they had heard was true ; and, if they had any complaints to make they were there ready to hear and redress them, reminding him, that, " The Great God who made all mankind, extends his love to Indians and to English. The rain and the dew fall alike on the grounds of both ; the sun shines on us and on you equally, and we ought to love one another." The little griefs of the tribe having been canvassed and assuaged, the King of the Delawares replied to the Quaker Envoy, " What you say is true. Go home and harvest the corn God has given you, (it being the time of harvest,) we intend you no harm." Thus ended this peaceful embassy, and if any hostility had really been intended, it was thus happily averted, and the friendship between both parties strengthened.

But it is now time to return to the personal history of William Penn. In the year 1686, he again visited his friends on the continent of Europe. In this missionary tour, he was accompanied by George Fox, Robert Barclay, and some others of the Society of Friends. They occasionally separated into small companies in their travels, and held meetings in different parts of Holland⁷ and Germany. In Suabia, William Penn formed a friendship with the Princess Elizabeth, Hereditary Sovereign of Herwerden. She was daughter of Frederic the Fifth, Prince Palatine of the Rhine and King of Bohemia, and Grand-daughter of James the First King of England.

William Penn and his companions, spent several

days in the neighbourhood of the palace, and held religious meetings with the Princess, and the members of her family as well as with her people. The religious views of the Princess, and some ladies of her Court were, on many points, much in unison with those of William Penn, and they afterwards held a religious correspondence with each other.

This royal lady governed her small territory so well, that she was much beloved by her subjects, "Her meekness and humility," remarks William Penn, "appeared to me extraordinary, she did not consider the quality but the merit of those she entertained. She was abstemious in her living : and, in her apparel, she was void of all vain ornaments." It appears, it was the practice of the Princess and her Court to rise early, breakfast between six and seven o'clock, dine at one, and sup at eight. Such were the simple manners of the court of Herwerden.

George Fox was not present with William Penn at this visit, but he wrote to the Princess a religious communication. Her reply may serve to shew a trait in the character of one whom William Penn was pleased to number amongst his friends, being but short, it is here introduced :—

"DEAR FRIEND, GEORGE FOX,

"I cannot but have a tender love to those that love the Lord Jesus Christ, to whom it is given not only to believe in Him, but also to suffer for him : therefore your letter and your friend's visit have both been very welcome to me. I shall follow their and

your counsel, as far as God will afford me light and unction, remaining still,

“Your loving Friend,

“ELIZABETH.”

Hertfort, *30th of August*, 1687.

William Penn had been entrusted by King James with a commission to the Prince of Orange, on the subject of abolishing the penal laws and test act, and had several interviews with him at the Hague. The prince, afterwards King William of England, became agreeably impressed with his talents and principles, and continued to hold his character in esteem after he ascended the British throne, and sometimes effectually shielded him from the designs of his envious adversaries. Whilst travelling on the continent, William Penn was favourably known to the German population, and afterwards many of the peasantry, with their families, emigrated to Pennsylvania, and became some of the most orderly and industrious of the settlers in his new province. In course of this missionary tour through Holland and Germany, he and his companions had to endure many hardships and privations, which do not often fall to the lot of men brought up in affluence like himself. Sometimes to travel on foot for many miles, and more than once to lodge in the fields, and not unfrequently, scantily and coarsely supplied with food. It was said to be a constant custom with William Penn at his meals, always to speak in praise of something on the table, but never to find fault, if the fare was ever so bad. One of his travelling companions, on sitting down to a

very mean repast, thought to himself, now my friend will be puzzled. When the dinner was nearly over, he was heard to observe, "*This is excellent mustard,*" to the no small amusement of those who knew his foible. On their passage home they narrowly escaped shipwreck ; the vessel sprung a dangerous leak, and having to encounter a dreadful storm, the seamen had great difficulty in keeping the pumps at work, or even in securing themselves from being forced overboard by the tempest, but after a passage of three days and two nights from Briel, they landed in safety at Harwich.

After King James had abdicated the British throne, and was succeeded by William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, the tide of popular favour turned against William Penn, of which his enemies took prompt advantage, and eagerly sought his destruction. It was not long before he was taken up on a charge of holding a treasonable correspondence with the fugitive King. On his examination, he boldly avowed his love and regard for him who was his friend, and had been his father's friend ; whilst at the same time he made the declaration that King James, by abdicating the British throne had virtually dissolved the connection between himself and his subjects, and that therefore he had in all sincerity, transferred his allegiance to the present sovereigns. Having been some time in custody, and nothing appearing to criminate him, he was released, but it soon became evident that his enemies were watching his movements with an evil eye.

He now entered warmly into a succession of con-

troversies with those who had impugned his religious principles, and he had to defend himself against the public clamour of his being engaged in concert with others, to promote the restoration of the late king. Whilst these false charges prevailed throughout the nation, news arrived of dissensions in the province of Pennsylvania, which threatened the ruin of the colony. Much pains were taken by his enemies to magnify these reports, and to represent to the king and the government, the danger there was in continuing William Penn as governor of the province. An unprincipled informer having been found by his enemies, suited to their purpose, but who afterwards was pronounced by Parliament to be a cheat and an impostor, gave his evidence on oath, of sundry pretended acts of mal-administration in the government of Pennsylvania, upon which a writ was issued for William Penn's apprehension. So rapidly and successfully were these ill-founded reports disseminated and impressed on the mind of the king and his council, that William Penn was at length deprived of his government, which was placed, *ad interim*, in the hands of the governor of New York. Add to this, he had greatly impoverished his private estate in support of his infant colony, and his circumstances had become so embarrassed that he deemed it prudent to withdraw from public notice, and to live for a time *incognito*. By this means he avoided the writ which had been issued for his apprehension, and also the clamour of his creditors until he should be in a condition to satisfy them.

Thus we see this, noble-minded man and philan-

thropist was plunged into a state of deep mortification ; all his hopes of giving to the world a pattern of a more perfect government, and a more virtuous people, appeared to be now over. His ample fortune might be considered as absolutely thrown away, through a combination of adverse circumstances, and the malevolence of wicked men.

About this period (1693) William Penn was deprived by death of his wife, whom he tenderly loved, a lady of great beauty and rare accomplishments, mental, moral and divine. She was the posthumous daughter of Sir William Springett, a colonel in the parliament army, who raised a troop of horse among his own tenantry, and signalized himself in the civil wars of Charles I. He died of fever at the siege of Arundel, which had been fortified and garrisoned by the king's troops. The colonel's widow married Isaac Pennington, a gentleman of property, and, as both himself and his wife had joined the Society of Friends, Gulielma Maria Springett had been educated in the religious principles of that community when William Penn married her. Pennington's father was Lord Mayor of London, in the time of the civil wars, and had taken an active part in the struggles of that period. He however did not approve of the extreme measures of Cromwell's party, and refused the appointment of one of the king's judges on his trial.

Upon the death of his wife, William Penn seems to have arrived at the climax of sorrow and affliction, and nothing but a consciousness of his own upright-

ness and integrity in the sight of God, and a mind equal to every occasion, could have supported him under all his varied and accumulated trials.

Dashed from the pinnacle of eminence and favour, he was now living in exile, between privacy and a jail. His active and benevolent mind was not however broken by this reverse of fortune, but he still kept forming plans, according to his now limited means, for the benefit of mankind. In his retirement he employed himself in writing an interesting work, entitled "Some Fruits of Solitude, in reflections and maxims relating to the conduct of human life." He also wrote "An Essay towards the present and future peace of Europe." In this work he has laid it down as an axiom, that peace is best promoted by justice, rather than by war, and he suggested the idea of a great Continental Diet or Sovereign Assembly of Delegates, before which all differences between nations should be brought that could not otherwise be terminated, and that the judgment of this court of arbitration should be final. This subject he has treated in all its details. Henry IV. of France had a similar plan for preserving the peace of Europe, but his death, by the hand of an assassin, frustrated his benevolent design.

William Penn had now lived in privacy for two years, when certain persons of rank and influence who had known him intimately, and who admired his character, began to interest themselves on his behalf. They considered it a dishonour to the government, that a man of such an exemplary

life, and who had been distinguished for his talents, his generosity and his public spirit, should be buried in an ignoble obscurity, and thus be prevented from rising to future eminence in usefulness. In North America he had sacrificed a princely fortune for a public good, and in all parts of England there were those whom he had benefited by his private liberality. These considerations began to operate upon the minds of many of the nobility, and three of their number went in a body to King William. They represented his case as not only hard but oppressive ; there was nothing, they said, against him which could lead any impartial person to suppose that he was in any degree implicated in any of the charges which had been exhibited against him ; and his principal accuser had been publicly stigmatized as an impostor and a cheat, and had fled the country. They themselves had been acquainted with William Penn a long time, some of them for more than thirty years, and had never known him to do an ill thing, but many good offices. The king, in reply to these representations, observed, that William Penn was an old acquaintance of his own, having known him at the Hague—that he had nothing to say against him, and that he might follow his business as freely as ever. Having been honourably acquitted, and his government restored, his thoughts naturally turned towards Pennsylvania, where the benefit of his master-mind had been long needed, but being now left with a young family of motherless children, he found it to be his duty to stay some time longer with them, in order to

make those domestic arrangements which the late melancholy event had rendered needful. During his stay at home, he published an account of his travels in Holland and Germany, besides several other works. He afterwards went through several parts of England in his capacity of a minister of the Gospel, preaching to large congregations in many towns as he passed along.

In 1696, William Penn married his second wife, she was the daughter of an eminent merchant of the city of Bristol, who had previously joined the Society of Friends with his family. About this time, William Penn paid a visit to the Czar, Peter the Great, the founder of the Russian empire, who was then in England, practically studying naval architecture, and worked as a shipwright in the king's dockyard at Deptford, near London. The Czar received him courteously, and they conversed together in High Dutch, in which language they were both proficient. William Penn presented him with some books written in that language, explanatory of the principles of the Society of Friends. This interview seems to have been satisfactory to both parties, so much so, that the emperor afterwards attended the Friends' meeting at Deptford. The impression on the mind of the Czar of the peaceful principles of the Friends, did not soon wear off, for being, many years afterwards, at Fredericstadt in Holstein with his army, designed to assist the Danes against the Swedes, and on inquiry, finding there was a Quakers' meeting in the town, he went to it, accompanied by Prince Menzikoff and other officers

of his staff. The Muscovite lords showed their respect by their silence, but they understood nothing of the preacher's discourse, and the Czar was observed occasionally to interpret some of the words to them as they were spoken. He afterwards commended the sermon, and said, "Whoever could live according to such doctrine would be happy." It may not be out of place here to observe, that the late Emperor Alexander of Russia, was one in judgment with the Friends on their doctrine of peace and the anti-christian practice of wars and fightings. Although he himself had been deeply involved in war, yet he freely acknowledged it was directly opposed to the precepts of Christ and the spirit of the gospel. Whilst in London on occasion of the Peace of 1815, the Emperor received a deputation of the "Friends" to congratulate him on the return of peace and the termination of the war with Napoleon, at which time they entered into a satisfactory explanation of their religious principles, and presented him with some of their books. Shortly after this interview, the Emperor attended two of the Friends' meetings in London, in company with his sister the Duchess of Oldenburgh, and some branches of the Royal family of Russia, who were with him. A few years afterwards he manifested a particular regard to two ministers of the Society, who, in course of their missionary travels, visited him several times by appointment, at his palace at Petersburgh, and he gave them tokens of unreserved friendship, by opening his views to them in regard to the anti-christian practice of war, and

on other subjects connected with his private religious opinions.

With the view of arranging his affairs before embarking a second time for America, William Penn was desirous of visiting his estates in Ireland. Whilst there, he attended several meetings of "the Friends" in Dublin, and in other parts of that nation. At these meetings he generally had large audiences, amongst whom there were frequently seen persons of rank and consequence. One who was much in his company on these occasions, has remarked, that "the Lord was mightily with him, clothing him with majesty, holy zeal, and Divine wisdom, to the admiration of the people, and the satisfaction of his own friends."

The next year, in company with his wife and some of his family, he embarked a second time for his American Government, where many things had occurred during his long absence, that required his interference. His first care after his arrival, was to summon the Assembly of representatives to meet in sessions: during which a few bills were passed, some offices were filled, and certain salaries regulated. This sessions lasted only sixteen days; the cold at this time was so intense, that the health of the members would have suffered had it continued longer. At one sitting in particular, after they had come together, they were obliged to adjourn immediately, on account of the severity of the cold. During the sessions, although the season was so inclement, very

few of the members absented themselves, and frequently, all of them attended.

When the spring had advanced, William Penn made a tour through the province, consulting and advising with experienced and influential persons wherever he came on the improvement of their respective localities, and the welfare of the inhabitants. Whilst out on this excursion, he visited an Indian camp, and was present at one of their feasts which took place near a beautiful spring of water, overshadowed by the bending branches of lofty trees. Several bucks had been provided for the occasion, and cooked in Indian fashion: hot cakes made of Indian wheat and bean-meal, were also served up, of which the Governor partook, and greatly enjoyed the simple hospitality of these unsophisticated sons of the forest. After the feast, the Indians had a dance, and on taking his leave he invited some of them to call upon him at his house at Pennsbury. It was not long afterwards that several of their kings and queens with their attendants made him a visit, and were courteously entertained. When they returned back to their several tribes, they reported the extraordinary kind reception they had met with from the Governor and his lady: and the friendly feeling thus excited, was not without a beneficial effect. Whenever the Indians came on public business, the Governor received them in "the Hall of Audience," which was a large room built for these occasions. Here he usually occupied an oaken arm-chair, where he made new treaties with the Indians as occasions required, and

amicably adjusted all their rightful claims. Whilst out on this tour he held religious meetings with the white inhabitants whenever a convenient opportunity presented. On one occasion, Lord Baltimore, the governor of the province, with his lady attended : the latter, after the meeting was over, told William Penn she had no doubt but that educated men like himself could preach, but she wanted to hear how their rustics could deliver a discourse ; to which he replied, that rustics and mechanics were some of their best preachers.

The following trifling anecdotes have been preserved, characteristic of the parties concerned :—

The governor and one of his friends had been some distance for a walk, and took shelter from a shower underneath a blacksmith's shed. The blacksmith, it appears, was in office, but did not know his visitors, nor they him, and conceiving they did not give him that honour which was due to his station, was inclined to show himself rude and uncourteous. William Penn was willing to have passed off the affront with a smile, but his companion asked the man for his name, which he gave, adding, with an air of importance, "I am one of the justices of the peace for the county." "Pshaw!" replied the Friend, "this friend of mine here makes such *things* as thou art." When the man found out the quality of his guest, his consequence became lowered, and he begged pardon. On another occasion, the governor was seen one morning riding into town with a poor girl seated behind him—her bare legs dangling at the side of his horse, to the no

small amusement of the spectators. It seems he had been out for a ride in the country, and on returning home he overtook this poor girl at some distance on the road, and on finding she was going to Philadelphia to attend her place of worship, he offered her a ride, which she was glad to accept, without knowing to whom she was indebted for this humane act.

In those early days, wigs were generally worn by gentlemen ; even members of the Society of Friends, who professed to exclude all superfluities, adopted this mode of head-dress, so essentially useless ! In 1685, William Penn writes from England to his steward, to allow his deputy-governor, Lloyd, the use of his wigs in his absence. A few years later, a Friend in writing to London for some wearing apparel, says, "I want, for myself and my three sons, each, a wig, —light good bobbbs."

The rapid progress of commerce in Philadelphia about that period, may be gathered from the custom-house duties, which, in 1699 were only £1500, and in two years increased to £8000. The exports were mostly in tobacco, which was extensively cultivated, and in 1702, eight vessels were freighted for England with above eighty hogsheads each, of that pernicious weed. William Penn had an utter dislike to the use of tobacco, and in one of his letters he pathetically exclaims, "Oh ! that we had a fur-trade instead of a tobacco one !" Indian furs then brought a high price in England. On one occasion, whilst in Philadelphia, he came unexpectedly to a house where a company of his Friends were quietly met, each one enjoying his

pipe : seeing the governor coming, they quickly put their pipes out of sight, when he remarked, It pleased him to find they were ashamed of so odious a practice, to which one of the company replied, "Not so, but we did it out of condescension to a weak brother."

William Penn had been scarcely two years in Pennsylvania when he was suddenly called back to England. A serious question had arisen regarding the American colonies, and a bill was prepared to be brought before parliament to compel the proprietors to part with their respective governments to the British crown.

He had not been long returned to England, before the bill designed to change the North American proprietorships into royal governments was entirely dropped, so that he had re-crossed the Atlantic with his family to no purpose.

Soon after William Penn's return to England, King William died, and was succeeded by Queen Anne. William Penn was in favour with this princess, and occasionally attended her court : the queen always received him in a friendly manner, and appeared to enjoy his agreeable and interesting conversation.

From this period to that of his last illness, there was ample cause of exercise for all the powers of his body and mind to employ his time at home, under circumstances of a painful nature, in all of which his character shone with the lustre of a great and good man.

In the year 1709, he submitted, for the sake of justice, to a most painful duty. His pecuniary em-

barrassments were such as to oblige him to give a mortgage on his province for £6,600., in order to discharge the claims of his creditors. The money was advanced by some members of his own Society, and a few other of his personal friends. These difficulties were occasioned by his great expenditure for the benefit of his province—not receiving the remittances to which he was entitled—his bounty to the Indian natives—his generosity in minding the public affairs of the colony more than his own private concerns—his benevolence to those who made no suitable returns—and his confidence in some who betrayed and defrauded him. These altogether made up a catalogue of disasters which brought him into this undeserved and mortifying condition : add to this, the infirmities of old age now began to visit this remarkable man, so that his situation at length broke his spirits, not easy to be broken, and rendered him incapable of business or of society, as he was wont to be in the days of health and vigour of body and mind.

In the year 1712, he had made up his mind to part with his province of Pennsylvania, and he accordingly offered it to the English government for £20,000., which was afterwards reduced to £12,000., but the precarious state of his health prevented this treaty from being finally executed. He had several attacks of apoplexy, the last of which had so impaired his memory and understanding, that he was scarcely fit to manage the most trifling of his private concerns. After a continued and gradual declension for about six years, his body drew near to its dissolution, and his soul, being

prepared for a more glorious habitation, forsook the worn out tabernacle, for one of those many mansions which Christ, our Saviour, hath prepared in his Father's house, for all those who love and serve him. He died at his seat at Rushcomb, the 30th day of July, 1718, in the 74th year of his age.

William Penn was blessed with a faithful and competent helpmate in his wife. During his last protracted illness, and after his decease, she conducted the correspondence with the colony in her own proper hand, with so much ability and style, as to be a fit representative of her husband. Her numerous letters have been preserved, and manifest a mind competent to write with much good sense and fitness on every branch of the colonial government, to which her husband's attention would have been required. In one letter she modestly speaks of herself as a "poor helpless woman, having her hands over-full of family affairs and troubles." Then again, we find her "stepping up to London for the relief of the colony," and there conferring with men of competent judgment, to enable her the better to make choice of a new governor for the province. She carefully and affectionately guarded her husband from being perplexed with any management of his multifarious affairs, and interposed her own authority by answering all applications.

By this judicious care, the latter years of the life of this great man were spent in quiet and calm serenity. His mature and capacious mind was gradually humbled to the innocent simplicity of a little

child, yet with transient intervals of former brightness ; but a strong desire for the prosperity of the Truth as it is in Jesus, remained with him to the last.

By his last will, which was made in 1712, William Penn bequeathed his estates in England and Ireland to the children of his first marriage. The province of Pennsylvania he directed to be sold, and the produce thereof, with all his lands, rents, and other profits, in America, after paying his debts, he bequeathed principally to his widow and his children by her, reserving two thousand acres of land to his daughter by his first wife, and the same to his three grandchildren, the issue of his eldest son William Penn. To George Fox, his friend and coadjutor in the work of the ministry, he left one thousand acres, as a token of his love and esteem. His estates in England and Ireland, which he bequeathed to his children of his first marriage, although producing only £1500. per annum, were, at the time of making his will, considered of more value than all his property in America. But during the interval of rather more than six years, between that period and the time of his decease, a progressive increase of trade and population almost unparalleled, during a happy state of uninterrupted tranquillity, had improved the Pennsylvania property far beyond what any one could have contemplated. Eventually the government of Pennsylvania devolved on John, Thomas, and Richard Penn the surviving sons of the younger branch of the family, and they parted with it to the English government.

Having traced the history and conduct of William Penn from his youth to the grave, we may now inquire how far he demonstrated the practicability and safety to a nation, in adopting that novel and bold stroke of policy which he avowed, viz. *that all wars are unnecessary*. And although offences may arise, that it is quite possible, and far wiser and better, for all parties, to decide them by justice, and even by concession, rather than by the sword.

Let us now examine the character of those nations which surrounded his province, upon whom this grand experiment was to be made. Uncivilised, untutored wild men of the wilderness, with whom, he and his people were brought into contact, and, at times, into controversy, regarding their respective rights.

When provoked to anger, the Indian is implacable in his resentment, and years cannot divert him from seeking an opportunity to take revenge of his adversary. Has a white man injured him, then white men are his enemies, and he wreaks his vengeance on any white man wherever he finds him. He cannot discriminate between the innocent and the guilty, but he involves ALL in the crime of one. Neither is he able to judge of the difference between one offence and another, but when provoked by little or, by much, he seeks to revenge himself by inflicting the punishment of death upon his adversary. This, of course, arises from his want of a civilized education. It has been his father's practice, and he has adopted it. But deal fairly and justly and kindly by them, and you secure their firm and lasting friendship.

This sound and safe policy William Penn and his coadjutors adopted, and it is worthy of remark, that so far as they are concerned, it has continued between the Indians and the Quakers down to the present time. "The Friends" of North America still keep up a kind intercourse with the several tribes of Indians on the borders of their respective provinces, and are closely engaged in instructing them in husbandry and the arts of civilized life, and also in imbuing their minds and their children's with the peaceful principles of Christianity. Many of the Indian tribes still regard the Quakers as the children of William Penn, their fathers' friend and benefactor, and are accustomed to seek to them for counsel and advice in every transaction of importance which they have with the whites. Now let us, for a moment, contrast this pacific policy with that of war, by bringing both into view before the reader.

Although the colony of Pennsylvania was established considerably after most of the other provinces bordering on the Atlantic, and without possessing the advantages which several of them had, yet in a few years, it was estimated it contained more inhabitants than all Virginia, Maryland, and both of the Carolinas. The cause of this increase of population in Pennsylvania, beyond that of other provinces, is to be attributed, not only to the civil and religious freedom secured by its laws to the settlers, but also to the kind and just treatment which had been shewn to the Indian natives, whereby the colonists were entirely safe from molestation or aggression. The neighbouring

states, by pursuing a different policy, were engaged in frequent broils and wars with the Indians, attended with grievous loss of life and property, whilst Pennsylvania stood alone in the enjoyment of uninterrupted prosperity, peace, and quietness. (2)

In 1675, Massachusetts was at war with the tribe of Pokanokets, under King Philip, although their late chief (Massasoit) had welcomed the first settlers to the soil of New England, and had opened his cabin to shelter the founder of Rhode Island. The war soon extended to other tribes, and that of Narragansatt was extirpated from the face of the earth. The Indians had their revenge—one town after another in Massachusetts was laid in ashes; the pleasant residences that had been won by hard toil in the desert were laid waste. They ravaged the scattered villages like a passing storm, and for a long period all New England was kept in a state of terror and excitement. The province of Maryland was also visited by the natives with hostilities, and massacres were perpetrated to a frightful extent. (1)

William Penn came to his province some years later, and without arms; he declared his purpose to refrain from violence—he had no message but that of peace; neither sword, gun, or soldier was seen in his province, and not a drop of Quaker blood was ever shed by an Indian,* and this kind feeling and mutual forbearance has continued between the Friends and the Indians to the present day. (1)

* A small exception to this general rule will be noticed hereafter.

So late as the year 1845, the Indians in the state of New York manifested in a somewhat curious manner, their grateful remembrance of the ancient kindness and justice shewn to them by William Penn and the early Quakers. The Seneca tribe, located at Alleghany and Cattaraugus, held their usual council in July of that year, on the general state of their affairs, to which some of the Friends were invited. After the business was concluded, one of the chiefs made a speech to the following purport :—"In order," said he, "to express the high regard we entertain for the friendship so long existing between the 'Friends' and the Seneca Indians, we have solemnly concluded to adopt into our nation one of their members, and for that purpose we have selected our venerable friend, Philip E. Thomas. According to the ancient custom of our tribes, we, by this act, express the grateful sense of our obligation to 'the Friends,' and make fast the chain which has so long bound us together."

Then followed the ceremony of initiation, after which the chief concluded with these words, "We now give him the name of Sougouan, whereby we express our sense of his character, and under which he will hereafter be recognised amongst us."—[N.B. Sougouan signifies in the Indian language "The Benevolent."]
—Philip E. Thomas then expressed the satisfaction he felt at this evidence of their regard and confidence, and that being now identified with their people, he should be willing to co-operate with them in any measures calculated to promote the prosperity and happiness of the Seneca nation.

Seeing, then, it has been manifested by William Penn and his followers that peace may be preserved even with barbarous and lawless Indians, surely it is fair to affirm, that the same blessed results would follow between civilized nations, if the like means to avert the horrors of war were resorted to, viz. a strict regard to justice and a sincere desire to promote and preserve peace by forbearance, and if needful, even by concession. It is a favourite maxim with politicians, that "the way to preserve peace is to be always prepared for war." This doctrine has been fairly tested by William Penn and by others, and proved to be both fallacious and mischievous. Supposing that a government increases its navy and strengthens its military appointments, a neighbouring nation seeing this would deem it good policy to do the same, and thus the inflammable train is laid, which requires but the match to be applied, or some wandering spark wherewith to ignite the combustible materials that have been so imprudently prepared, and then the terrible explosion is produced, which the efforts of both nations, for ages, can scarcely compensate or repair.

The dreadful calamities attendant on war, every one is ready to deplore, but too few are found willing to make a sacrifice to preserve peace. A nation's honour which is but another name for national pride, is too frequently suffered to mock that solemn appeal to heaven, "Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us." When divested of its meretricious glare, and the sophistry by which it is countenanced, war is found to be but another

name for murder and for robbery; and every declaration of war is an open defiance of God's holy commands, "Thou shalt not kill."—"Thou shalt not covet."

We have not time or space to describe the miseries which war has entailed on nations that have been engaged therein, whether conquered or triumphant. It is impossible to conceive the extent of the miseries of one single campaign: it is not merely the horrors of the battle-field: these are obvious to all who read: but to this is to be added the bitterness of family sorrows where the public eye does not penetrate. Women mourning the loss of husbands and sons, children that of their fathers and natural protectors: these taken into view, with the mutilated forms of those who have escaped the carnage, complete altogether such a picture as Satan himself may rejoice to behold. A person may read *Voltaire's History of Louis XIV.*, and yet have but a feeble conception of the miseries attendant on war, but in *Labaume's Narrative of Napoleon's Campaign in Russia*, himself an eye-witness, we have minute facts so distinctly and graphically detailed, that we there see a portrait of war as it really is, and what is more, we are made to feel it too, proving most clearly, the uncompensated miseries which nations bring on each other by resorting to arms, in which the conquerors have their full share. Very justly has it been admitted, "There is nothing so much to be dreaded by a nation, as a victory, except a defeat." This testimony approaches very near to the policy of maintaining peace by all prac-

licable means, and coming from one of the most successful of modern warriors, and an able politician, may be regarded as good authority for the great advantages which a state of peace has over that of war. Such is the unproductive character of conquest, that a footing in your neighbour's territory is sure to prove a bad speculation. War is the very worst of investments; a new province will never repay the capital sunk in the conquest, therefore if people were wise, governments would never attempt to enlarge their dominions at the expense of their exchequer.

In prospect of a war, it might be useful for the people of any nation, first, to sit down and count the cost—then on the other side the account—place the value of the thing contended for: the balance will show the unprofitable result of the contest.

Although peace at all times is undoubtedly the best policy for a nation and for individuals, it was a much higher principle than prosperity merely, that moved William Penn to adopt those pacific measures which he so successfully carried out. He rightly considered that all war is utterly forbidden in the gospel of Jesus Christ, who is emphatically called the Prince of Peace, and upon this foundation he determined to form his government, and to leave the consequence to the disposal of his God. The prohibition of all war by our Divine Saviour, was, to his mind, plain, literal, and undeniable, admitting of no compromise whatever.

That the policy of always being prepared for war is false in principle, the following facts among others, may be quoted as evidence :—

During the first year, when the State of Pennsylvania was conducted on the christian grounds of preserving peace, by doing justice and exercising patience and forbearance, there was neither garrison or fort, soldier or musket, to be seen within the province, and there needed none. The native tribes of Indians were perfectly aware of this, and mixed with the inhabitants, without their bows and arrows and tomahawks: all these were laid aside in confidence that nothing would be suffered to harm them. After those days of tranquillity had passed away, the policy of the government became changed, and the Quakers were out-voted in the senate and displaced from the councils—forts were erected—soldiers enrolled and armed, and every preparation for war was deemed to be good policy, in order to be ready for any emergency that might arise. The Indians seeing this became wary, shy, and jealous, suspecting that these warlike measures were designed against them, and accordingly they prepared themselves for the coming storm. The uncivilized men of the wilderness had by this time learned of their christian neighbours the use of fire-arms, and both parties being now ready for a conflict, things did not remain long before some injury or offence was given to the Indians—a dreadful retaliation was the consequence, and a murderous war ensued, which was carried on for many years. The mode of Indian warfare is secret and sudden: with untiring patience they will lie in ambush for those who come within their reach in the highways or in the fields, and shoot them without warning. Sometimes

they attacked the Europeans in their houses, whom they murdered after their own horrible custom. The major part of the inhabitants on the frontiers sought safety by abandoning their homes and retiring to fortified places, or to the neighbourhood of garrisons ; and those whom necessity compelled to pass about their lawful business provided themselves with arms for their defence.

Amidst this dreadful desolation and terror, "the Society of Friends" were stedfast to their principles. They would neither retire to garrisons nor provide themselves with arms ; they remained openly in the country whilst the rest were flying to the forts. They still pursued their occupations without a weapon either for annoyance or for defence. And what was their fate ? they lived in security and quiet. The habitation, which, to his warlike neighbour, was the scene of murder and of the scalping knife, was, to the unarmed Quaker a place of safety and of peace. Three of the Society only were killed, and these exceptions forcibly confirm the doctrine, that to be prepared for war is not only *no* preventive but absolutely an incentive to war. Two of them were seen by the Indians many times, to go to their work in the fields *without arms*, and they let them alone, saying, "These are peaceable men and hurt nobody, neither will we hurt them." At length a spirit of fear and distrust having taken place in their minds, they took weapons of war to defend themselves. The Indians, now seeing these men with guns, and imagining they intended to kill the Indians, shot

them both.* The other case was that of a female Quaker, who had remained in her habitation with safety for a considerable time, but was at length persuaded to go with some of her more fearful neighbours to a fort not far off for protection. The Indians were on the watch, and seeing this woman coming one day out of the garrison, they shot her dead, no doubt thinking, that as she had mixed with their enemies, she must be like-minded with them in their designs against the Indians. With these small exceptions to a general rule, it is worthy of remark, that in all their wars the Indians spared the Quakers, the descendants of those peaceable men whom they had been taught by their fathers to look upon as the Indian's friend. *They knew the Quakers did not fight, and therefore they did not consider them as their enemies.*

In the revolutionary war of American Independence, there were a few families of "the Friends" and some others, residing on the borders of the State of New York. This section of the country was greatly harassed by scouts and freebooters of Indians, attached to both armies, British and American. The American governor of this province unable to afford them protection, issued a proclamation for the inhabitants to remove into more secure localities. Many of them did so, but "the Friends" requested to remain, at the same time they acknowledged they had been warned of the danger, and that the conse-

* They afterwards expressed their regret when they were told that these men were Quakers, but said, "Why then did they carry guns?"

quence must rest with themselves. As these Friends were one day at their worship, the door being open, they perceived an Indian passing to and fro. When he saw the Friends peaceably sitting, without word or deed, and had taken a full view of the meeting, he and his company came in, placed their arms in a corner of the room, seated themselves, and remained until the meeting ended. When the meeting was over, one of the "Friends" invited the Indians to his house, and gave them some refreshment ; after which they quietly walked off. Previous to their leaving, a Friend inquired of their leader, what their motive was in coming there—(mark the reply). "When," said he, "we first surrounded the house, we intended to destroy all that were in it, but when we saw you sitting with your door open, and *without weapons of defence*, we had no disposition to hurt you—we would have fought for you." This party of fierce Indians were observed to have human scalps with them, to carry to their camp, as trophies of the success of their expedition.

During the last war between the Americans and English, there were some of "the Society of Friends," in number about two hundred, residing about sixteen miles from Vincennes, in the province of Indiana. These people observed a strict neutrality, and took no part with either side. At one time General Harrison made this village his head-quarters, and when the army left the place they were surrounded by fierce and hostile Indians, whose tracks were often seen in the morning, in the sand which surrounded

their houses ; yet not a hair of their heads was hurt, not an animal was stolen, nor an ear of corn taken. At the close of the war an American officer asked one of the Indian chiefs why they did not destroy this people, seeing they were so completely in their power? Mark his reply—"We!—we noble warriors! Think we go fight people that hurt nobody? No, we too noble nation for that."

Many other instances might be adduced in proof of the proverb, that "Like begets its like." As envy and strife produce envy and strife, so does a disposition to preserve peace and concord, produce the same in others. That a preparation for hostilities is a signal for war, and that a military equipment excites a spirit of aggression, whilst the absence of these symbols produces a contrary effect on the human mind, we may quote the case of one, not a Quaker :—Raymond, in the account of his *Travels in the Pyrenees*, says, "The assassin has been my guide in the defiles of Italy—the smuggler of the Pyrenees has received me with a welcome in his secret paths ; whereas, if I had been armed, I should have been considered the enemy of both, but *having no arms they have both respected me.* I have long since laid aside all threatening weapons whatever : they may irritate the wicked and intimidate the simple, but the character of the man of peace is a much more sacred defence."

On the same principle, whoever heard of a civilized people making war on women or children? Their defenceless situation is their protection : not possessing the means of aggression or of defence, their per-

sons are spared from attack by common consent : the human mind revolts at the thought of attacking those who have neither the power or the inclination to defend themselves.

These humane and christian principles, which, so long and so successfully preserved the territories of William Penn in peace and prosperity ; whilst a contrary policy, both cruel and costly, produced the opposite effect in other provinces of the North American States, have been, thus eloquently noticed by the Abbé Raynal :

“ Pennsylvania, without either wars, or conquests, or struggles, or any of those revolutions which attract the eyes of the vulgar, soon became an object fit to excite the admiration of the whole universe. Its neighbours, notwithstanding their savage state, were softened by the sweetness of its manners ; and distant nations, notwithstanding their corruption, paid homage to its virtues.”

We now conclude this brief memoir of one of the most eminent of Christian philosophers, in the words of Father O’Leary, who, in his Essay on Toleration, truly observes, that “ William Penn, the great legislator of Pennsylvania, had the success of a conqueror, in establishing and defending his colony among savage tribes without drawing a sword ;—the goodness of the most benevolent of rulers, in treating his subjects as his own children—and the tenderness of a universal father, who opened his arms to all mankind without distinction of sect or party.”