

THE
METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1852.

ART. I.—FAITH AND SCIENCE—COMTE'S POSITIVE
PHILOSOPHY.

Cours de Philosophie Positive. Par M. Auguste Comte, Ancien Elève de l'Ecole Polytechnique; Répétiteur d'Analyse Transcendentale, et de Mécanique Rationnelle à la dite Ecole. Paris: Bachelier. 1830-1842. 6 tomes, 8vo.

TWELVE long years elapsed during the slow publication of the successive volumes of M. Comte's *Cours de Philosophie Positive*, and nearly ten more have passed away since it was submitted in its complete form to the tribunal of public opinion. The writings of Mr. Lewes, M. Littré, and M. Pinel, and also those of Prof. Whewell and Mr. Mill, forbid our supposing that M. Comte's views have been wholly without influence; yet, during the whole period of these twenty-one years, in which this system of Positive Philosophy has attained its legal majority, it has been but twice noticed, as far as we are aware, in the periodical criticism of Europe,* and never in that of America;† and even the name of its illustrious author would have remained a *nomen ignotum* to the large majority of the literary world, but for a cursory and unsatisfactory critique upon the work in Mr. Morell's *Philosophy of the Nineteenth Century*, and a less meagre but scarcely more adequate examination of his doctrines in Mr. Blakey's *History of the Philosophy of Mind*. From these scanty sources, but especially from Mr. Morell's very limited and borrowed criticism, have been derived the few passing observations upon M. Comte's philosophy, which have been occasionally hazarded in the ephemeral publications of the day. The comparatively recent

° Sir David Brewster, in the *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1838, No. clxxxvi, art. 1; and Prof. Emile Saisset in the *Revue des deux Mondes*. This "strange silence" is noticed by M. Comte himself.—Tome vi, Préface, p. xxi.

† Since this was written an excellent article on the subject has appeared in a contemporary journal.

ART. VII.—WILLIAM PENN.

1. *William Penn : an Historical Biography, from New Sources, with an extra Chapter on the "Macaulay Charges."* By WILLIAM HEFWORTH DIXON. 12mo., pp. 353. Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea. 1851.
2. *The History of England from the Accession of James II.* By THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY. Vol. I., Chap. IV., 8vo. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1849.

IN 1644, according to Mr. Dixon, there were two great events in England: the first was the birth of Quakerism; the second, the birth of William Penn. The first happened after this wise. Three Leicestershire rustics, one of whom was a rude and saturnine lad of nineteen, met at a fair, and resolved to have a stoup of ale together. After exhausting the first supply, two of the bumpkins feeling somewhat mellow called for more, and vowed that he who would not drink should pay the score. The other, who neither relished deep draughts himself nor paying for them for others, demurred, and taking a groat from his pocket laid it on the table, and said, "If it be so, I will leave you,"—which he did, and went home filled with strange and gloomy thoughts. "This simple village ale-house incident," says Mr. Dixon, "was one of the most important events which had yet happened in the history of the Anglo-Saxon race; for out of it was to come Quakerism, the writings and teachings of Penn and Barclay, the colony and constitution of Pennsylvania, the republics of the west, and, in no very remote degree, the vast movement of liberal ideas in Great Britain and America in more modern times." Now we mean no disrespect to Mr. Dixon when we say that we do not believe a word of all this twaddle. We believe that both Quakerism and modern liberty in England and America had a much deeper and more dignified origin than the empty breeches-pocket of George Fox. The burning of the Ephesian temple may have caused the fiery energy of the Macedonian madman, the silence of the Delphic oracle may have been occasioned by the yet greater birth to which it is sometimes referred; but the day for such marvels is passed, or at least, with our knowledge of the facts, we cannot compress all the great events to which Mr. Dixon alludes into these empty ale-pots of the Leicestershire fair. We believe Quakerism to have been a phenomenon of not only interest but importance in the world's history, whether we look at its religious or political results; and we believe its actual origin to have occurred in the labours of George Fox; but we can neither regard the fountain to be so small, nor the stream so large, as represented by the enthusiastic biographer of Howard and Penn.

Quakerism is simply one of the manifestations which the human mind will put forth, under the influence of Christianity, in an age of religious earnestness. There are three prominent forms in which the religious element of the race is prone to manifest itself, all of which are exaggerations of a portion of truth. These forms are scepticism, formalism, and mysticism: the first an extravagant assertion of the rational or logical powers; the second, of the sensibilities, which demand something tangible and visible for their excitement; and the third, of the moral or spiritual powers, which isolate the soul, and link it directly to God. These typical forms we have in the Sadducee, who believed too little; the Pharisee, who believed too much; and the Essene, who did not believe at all, so much as feel, and in whom the intense action of the moral element subordinated both the natural reason and the natural emotions in one eager desire after a species of absorption in the divine essence. Now, of the three we are free to confess that our sympathies are mainly with the last. If we must have an exaggeration at all, we think that of the mystic decidedly to be preferred to that of the sceptic or formalist, as it rests on a higher and nobler element of our nature than either of the others. It is not, therefore, with any depreciating estimate of Quakerism, that we rank it among the manifestations of mysticism in Christianity. The essential principle of mysticism is a belief in, and a reliance upon, subjective rather than objective manifestations of God; and a consequent tendency to regard as at least of co-ordinate, if not of paramount authority to the written revelation of the Scriptures, the revelation that is made by God in the soul. Believing in a direct communication of the divine nature to the human, it makes these inward revelations the standard by which to interpret and decide upon the outward, rather than the outward to be the rule by which to try them. It is to this general principle that we must refer the Quaker doctrine of an inward light, as far as it is peculiar to their creed. As sometimes explained, it is difficult to discriminate between it and the common doctrines of union with Christ, the inhabitation of the Spirit in the soul, and the universal grace of the Remonstrants. But as held by those most deeply imbued with the essential principles of the system, it really embodies all that is peculiar to mysticism, as a distinctive manifestation of the religious element in our nature. Hence the written revelation is neither called the word of God, nor is it regarded as the sole and supreme rule of faith and practice. The Scriptures, being themselves only the records of that portion of the divine light that was imparted to their writers, whilst they are regarded with reverence as the testimony which these men gave to the nature and reality of this inward shin-

ing of the Godhead, are yet deemed only as co-ordinate manifestations of this light, which is given to each man to profit withal. There is a more sure word of prophecy, to which all must give earnest heed, as to a light shining in a dark place, until the day dawn and the Day-star arise in their hearts. This is the real light to our feet and lamp to our path which is given to guide us on our pilgrimage through life. Hence we are urged by Quakerism to look at the light within, rather than at that without; to seek the Christ revealed in the soul, rather than the Christ revealed in the Scriptures. This we believe to be the fundamental principle of Quakerism, and to be essentially identical with that of mysticism as we find it existing under the action of Christianity.

It is curious to see the affiliation between apparently remote forms of thought. It requires but a few steps of logical induction to develop from this principle all the creed of modern scepticism, which admits an inspiration and a revelation, but affirms that they are not peculiar to the writers of the Scriptures; that they did not reach their highest or most authoritative form in them; and that they cannot be ascribed to a writing at all; and, therefore, that no writing can claim from the human mind that submission which we are bound to give to a clear revelation of God. Now, so far as Quakerism has given currency to these principles, its influence as a theological element has been of the highest importance. The mythical theory of Strauss has been anticipated by some of the early Friends; and it is worthy of inquiry whether the system of Schleiermacher, which is now working its way so widely in the new school of theological thinkers, had not its origin in the mystical leaven that was instilled into or evolved from his mind by his early Moravian training.

The causes that gave occasion and success to this movement are not obscure. It was an age of deep religious earnestness, and men were asking, with a real and profound anxiety, "What shall I do to be saved?" The establishment of the great doctrine of justification by faith through the Reformation had disfranchised the Church of that plenipotentiary power which she once wielded in the matter of salvation, and made it an individual transaction between the soul and God. But such was the deadness and corruption of the Reformed Church of England, that the gospel itself had lost its vitality and heart, and become a mere system of formalism. Now there were two possible directions which an awakened religious earnestness might take,—the one an objective, which would strive to breathe into the Church and the Bible their ancient and real significance, and make the dead letter of each a living word; the other a subjective, which, by a more intense development of that earnestness itself,

should evolve somewhat that should in a measure take the place of both, and be a birth of the new rather than a resuscitation of the old. The first direction was taken by Puritanism, the second by Quakerism. The first made Cromwell, Owen, Baxter, Hampden, and the stern colonists of the Mayflower; the second produced Fox, Barclay, Keith, Penn, and the quiet settlers of the fertile fields of Pennsylvania. The first, from its very objectivity, and consequent necessity of being embodied in fixed forms, had an element of hardness, which was also an element of firmness and permanence; the second, from its subjective character, and its existence as a life rather than as a system, was more vague and indeterminate in its manifestations, and had less enduring activity in the original forms in which it was embodied. The first was the system from which William Penn received the early mould and impulse of his character, the second the result to which the peculiarities of his individual nature led him in the circumstances in which he was placed.

There are three aspects in which Penn presents himself to us, which, although not the successive phases of his character in exact chronological order, yet in the main appear in the three great divisions of his life. These aspects are, as a *courtier*, a *Christian*, and a *colonist*. We propose to consider him briefly in each of these characters, in the first of which he was the representative of the state of things from which Quakerism had its origin, its necessity, and its conditions of success; in the second, the type of Quakerism as a religious life; and in the third, the embodiment of Quakerism as a political system, or at least as an element in civil life. We shall probably discover that all these combined influences are perceptible in the resultant of the forces exhibited in his life; and that whilst he did not cease to be a Christian when he became a colonist, neither did he entirely cease to be a courtier when he became a Christian. The best influences of both his courtliness and his Christianity appear mingled in the policy and tone of his colonial life.

To those who have formed their notions of Penn from that fat old gentleman with a broad-brimmed beaver and all the orthodox habiliments of Quakerism, who flourishes in West's painting and the various engravings of the Shakamaxon treaty, it may seem almost an irreverent abuse of terms to speak of William Penn the courtier. And yet it is nevertheless true that, whilst not open to the charges that have been made against him of the courtly vices as well as the courtly graces, he was for a considerable period of his life, and that not the least important in its influence on his subsequent history, a courtier.

His father, Admiral Penn, was one of the most sagacious and suc-

cessful of that long line of heroes that adorn the naval history of England, although in his loyalty he was a sort of quarter-deck Vicar of Bray. The successor of Blake and the conqueror of Van Tromp, he excites our admiration by his prowess and abilities; but the proffered betrayer of Cromwell, who was willing to be the Arnold of the great rebellion, and the secret correspondent of Charles whilst he ate the bread of the Commonwealth, he calls forth our commiseration and contempt. But as treachery to the Protectorate was construed to be fidelity to the Restoration, the return of the profligate Charles brought the admiral again in connexion with the court, and opened dreams of ambition for his family, that he might make it one of the patrician races of England. To attain this end, it was necessary that his eldest son should be brought under such training as would fit him to maintain the honours of his father's house. For this purpose a university course was essential, and he was accordingly sent to Oxford, at the age of fifteen. Unfortunately for the admiral's purpose, there sat in the dean's chair the form of John Owen, whose high-hearted Puritanism was too earnest and real a thing not to prove contagious to sympathetic natures. Penn, having but a few years before been led by his father's imprisonment under Cromwell to serious reflections, and even to a supposed vision, soon became deeply susceptible to the Puritan influence, and plunged profoundly into the great theological controversies of the day. Hence, when Owen was displaced by the Restoration parliament, the sympathies of Penn and others were all arrayed strongly and indignantly against the new *régime*. 'At this critical juncture there appeared at Oxford a Thomas Loe, who came to proclaim the new doctrines of George Fox, and who found in the excited minds of these recusant adherents of Owen a ready sympathy with his own protest against prevalent spiritual wickedness in high places. A furious crusade of the enthusiastic reformers against the unscriptural abomination of gowns, very naturally procured their expulsion from the university. The ambitious admiral was horror-struck at the thought of the heir and hope of his house becoming a ranting fanatic, and received him with cold and angry contempt. But finding this course unavailing, he determined to try what has cured so many of all taint of seriousness or sobriety—a tour of continental travel, which should expose him to the brilliant seductions of courtly life in Paris and elsewhere in Europe. The plan was so far successful that the silent and almost saturnine boy became somewhat of a polished man of the world, adopting the dress and manners of the fine gentleman, disarming his antagonist in a street duel with rapiers, and able to utter those soft and elegant nothings that formed the staple of fashionable conversa-

tion in that frivolous age. But there were two circumstances that deposited counteracting influences in his mind, the effects of which were long afterwards developed. The first was a course of theological study under the direction of the celebrated Amyrault, of Saumur, whose name is so prominent in the controversies of the Reformed Church of France. Those who have looked into these controversies, will not wonder that, under the guidance of this subtle and powerful intellect, materials should have been accumulated in the mind of Penn which afterwards were used with such force upon Hicks, Kiffin, Baxter, and others whom he met in his countless controversies. The second circumstance was the acquaintance of Algernon Sidney, from whom he imbibed notions that were afterwards attempted to be realized in "the holy experiment" that was made on the fertile banks of the Delaware. But in spite of the theological and political elements that were then infused into his mind, he returned to England, and made his appearance in the gay court of Charles, a finished cavalier. But again were his old Puritan longings awakened by that terrible visitation on London, the plague, in which the phantom of the pale horse and the thirsty dart made many a godless and thoughtless heart tremble; and again did the admiral interpose to save his heir apparent from fanaticism. He therefore sent him to Ireland, where the scheme seemed likely again to be crowned with complete success. The brilliant but virtuous court of Ormonde presented so many counteracting influences, that, having tasted the excitement of military life in an insurrection at Carrickfergus, he became anxious to enter the army, and actually had himself painted, the first and only time in his life, in the costume of a soldier. His father refused his consent to this scheme, supposing that all was going to his mind in regard to his son. But a seeming accident dashed all these expectations, and settled the destiny of Penn. Hearing, on a visit to Cork, that his quondam apostle, Thomas Loe, was to preach that night, he went to hear him, rather from curiosity than any deeper emotion. The fiery words of the earnest Quaker fell, like living coals, on the smouldering elements of religious fervour that yet slumbered in his heart; and inspired with a new purpose, he turned his back on the peerage and splendour intended for him by his father, and identified himself with the followers of George Fox. His father, hearing of it, sent for him, and being unutterably scandalized by his adherence to a sect that would not doff the hat, even in the presence of monarchy itself, the indignant old admiral turned him out of doors. Although readmitted to his father's house, an impassable gulf existed between the two, which continued to separate them, until the admiral was enabled to

judge of the wisdom of his son's choice in that solemn and searching light that falls on earthly things from a death-bed, when his heart relented, and he left his son his fortune and his blessing. Thus ended the courtier epoch of Penn's life; and though, like the rushing tide of the Missouri, after mingling with the placid Father of Waters, we may trace its turbid elements long afterwards in the flow of his life, yet at this point it loses its separate character, and is joined by another set of influences, which bring before us William Penn *the Christian*.

When we pronounce Penn to be a representative of Quakerism as a religious principle, we are not to be understood as affirming that he was a complete type of this movement. Indeed, there was something in the original bent of his mind that did not wholly symphonize with the essential character of Quakerism. Penn was by nature an enthusiast, but not a mystic, and it is in the combination of the two that we find the genuine representation of their religious movement. There were two facts in his nature that drew him toward Quakerism. The one was his Puritanism—the deep and solemn impression of spiritual things that possessed his soul, and prepared him to unite with any class of men, who could share these profound and powerful emotions. The other fact was, his English love of fair-play, and sympathy with the oppressed, who were aiming to establish some great principle. We firmly believe that had Cromwell lived, and given, as he desired, free toleration to all religious professions,—had Quakerism been allowed without opposition to lift up its voice against steeple-houses, mass-houses, taking off hats, and wearing Babylonish apparel, Penn never would have been a Quaker. There was in him, however, a John Bull honesty, with a spice of obstinacy and pugnacity which belongs to the same type of character, that drew him to the persecuted followers of Fox, with all the kindling sympathies of a noble nature hating unfairness and oppression of the weak. Hence his services to the cause were mainly of a polemic character, and he was rather the Ulrich von Hütten or the Theodore Agrippa D'Aubigné of this movement, than the type of its spiritual character. It is perfectly obvious that his sympathies were even stronger with such men as Sidney, Hampden, and Locke, than with Fox, Loe, or the noisy peripatetics who shocked drowsy hirelings in steeple-houses, or fulminated to gaping crowds in market-places, with their testimony against the evil of the times. There is no evidence that he was ever very fondly regarded by Fox, but rather the contrary, in the absence of all confiding and commendatory allusion to him in Fox's private journal, such as we should expect to find with regard to one who rendered the cause such good service. Nor is there any-

thing in this fact that is surprising. Quakerism, from its origin in such a man as Fox, was a protest against all that was esteemed conformity to the world in dress, deportment, and manner of living; and with that pertinacious magnifying of little things, which our nature is always prone to when we lose sight of sober reason and revelation as our guides, it became fiercely intolerant about trifles, whilst denouncing an intolerance about matters of greater importance. This strain of opposition was entirely in accordance with the tastes of many of the early converts, but could not be fully embodied in the son of Admiral Penn, and the friend of Rochester and the two monarchs of the Restoration. He always retained a weakness for the creature comforts and even the elegancies of life, that was sorely scandalizing to his more cynical brethren, and was made the ground of bitter accusations. It is very easy to see that other feelings besides those of a holy indignation against worldly conformity might arise in the lean and gaunt apostles of Fox, when they saw Penn decked out in periwigs of the finest curl and powder, against which they had borne special testimony, and, together with his family, indulging in the gaudy superfluities of silk, and gold, and silver in their apparel; living in a house whose furniture had an elegance that made it vie with a palace; and keeping up a table that not only groaned with the dainties and delicacies of the palate, but also glittered with the elegancies and splendours of the side-board. Mr. Dixon himself, whilst attempting to deny this want of sympathy with his brethren, furnishes unconsciously at once the proof and the explanation of the fact in his own statements. He tells us distinctly that the men who stood by him in his misfortunes were not his fellow-Quakers, but such men as Rochester, Ranelagh, Tillotson, and Locke. And it is only this fact that can redeem the whole sect from a verdict of the most infamous ingratitude in thus forsaking him after his eminent services and sufferings for them. Did we believe that he enjoyed their sympathies and confidence wholly, as one of them in every respect, we should denounce them with indignant severity for thus deserting him in his hour of need. Admitting the fact we allege, we have an explanation of their conduct, which, whilst it cannot justify its ingratitude, yet relieves it from the charge of monstrous and unmitigated baseness.

The service rendered by Penn to his sect was very considerable. With that restless activity and enterprise that belonged to his English nature, he went forth as a missionary to proclaim these new doctrines on the continent. Here he at once gave and received impulses that continued to act long after his missionary tour was ended. In visiting Holland, he came in contact with some of those exiles for

conscience' sake who were looking to the New World as the theatre for the establishment of their principles; and dreams of a holy commonwealth began to arise in his mind, which were afterwards to be embodied in the experiment of Pennsylvania. His labours also at home, in battling for the new faith with his tongue and pen, were by no means inconsiderable. His fluency and ready memory gave him great advantages in oral discussion, whilst a smooth, and at times somewhat energetic style of expression, in spite of his tendency to what Burnet calls "a tedious, luscious way of talking," gave fitting expression to his thoughts. Here also he used to great advantage the treasures that he had accumulated, and the polemic subtilty and skill he had acquired under Owen, at Oxford, and Amyrault, at Saumur; and the *Catenæ Patrum*, and *Loci Communes*, which now seem to us such stores of learned lumber, were wielded with no small effect in that age of theological dialectics.

But, perhaps, his greatest services were rendered in the social and civil relations of the new sect. The public adherence of such a man tended to redeem the new movement from the character of absolute vulgarity, and shield it from that utter contempt with which men generally would be disposed to regard it. But contempt was not the only influence to be dreaded. Hatred and open hostility, the more intense because of the mingling of political and religious feelings so closely in that day, were visited on the Quakers, not only in acts of popular violence, but also in the rigorous enforcement of laws, which, however at variance with English liberty in its essential principles, yet found their place on the English statute-book. And whilst we cannot, with Mr. Dixon, consider Penn as placing the rights of juries, and the guarantees of prisoners, in the commanding position which they now hold, by his own individual trial, yet we must admit that it was one of the battles that was fought for these great principles, and that in contesting the positions taken by the court, he did a valuable service not only to his sect, but also to his nation. And whilst we cannot fully reconcile his course with his principles of passive non-resistance, yet this is but in accordance with the general view we have taken of his Christian and Quaker character. That he was not bound by his principles to obey a bad law is true, but that this unresisting passivity, which his sect proclaimed as Christian meekness, was consistent with an attempt to induce, first the court, and then the jury, to set aside the law, and assume the power of annulling and virtually repealing it, whilst they had sworn to decide under and according to the law; and also with his influence in prevailing upon the imprisoned jurors to sue out a writ of *habeas corpus* for their discharge,—that such sturdy and man-

ful battling for victory, even in a good cause, was exactly Quakerish, is a fact which many will be slow to perceive. But the world owes many of its greatest blessings to the inconsistency of its benefactors, and will judge much more leniently of the man who is inconsistently right, than of him who is always consistently wrong. But, however we may decide the questions of casuistry that arise here, it is obvious that the bold and successful stand that was taken by Penn in regard to this species of legal persecution, was the means of saving his compeers from much petty annoyance and harassing difficulty.

The connexion of Penn with James II. presents nothing which, with our view of his Christian character, was inconsistent with his duties or relations. It is true, that had he been a disciple of the grain of blunt old Fox, there might have arisen between the Quaker and the Papist some exciting discussions about mass-houses, rag-religion, and unseemly vanities, if not on graver topics; but we regard the absence of these things in the connexion between the monarch and subject, as equally consistent with the good sense and good manners of both, and not inconsistent with the sincerity of each in his religious professions. The relations between James and Penn were produced by two causes, the first of which was highly honourable to both, and the second at least highly natural in view of the circumstances of the case. Admiral Penn was the friend of the Stuarts in their exile and misfortune, and descended even to treachery to advance their interests, and after their restoration to power continued their loyal and devoted subject in a department of service in which his eminent abilities were peculiarly valuable, and in which England had a special pride. It was, therefore, natural that he should be regarded with special favour, and that when, on his death-bed, he commended his son to the royal favour, James, then Duke of York, should undertake his guardianship out of affection to the dying hero. This guardianship he exercised before he ascended the throne, and before his patronage could be referred to any motives of state policy. This was the first and main cause of the intimacy thus so strangely existing between the republican Quaker and the despotic Papist. The second cause was one which cannot be regarded as seriously open to objection. Penn was contending as a Quaker for liberty of conscience, because he believed that it was sinful to repress the manifestations of the inward light, and unjust to deprive an Englishman of the power of doing what was not morally wrong. James was desirous of obtaining this liberty because he himself needed its protection, and because thus his designs in introducing Popery could the more effectually be promoted. Different, however, as were their motives, the

result aimed at was the same—the abolition of all penal restrictions on religious belief; and therefore it was not surprising that both, feeling themselves to be weak, should seek mutually to strengthen one another in attaining a common end. As Quaker and Papist were classed together in common hate and hostility, and oppressed by common disabilities of law, it is not matter of surprise that they should unite in striving to obtain common safety and protection. Such a union was, under the circumstances, natural in the highest degree.

Mr. Dixon devotes an extra chapter to “the Macaulay charges,” which he denies, and tries to disprove with great spirit, and as to the most serious of them, with success. But with that proneness to hero-worship which seems to be strong in his nature, he thinks it needful to show that, because Macaulay is wrong about some things, he is wrong about everything, and that his hero is the very Bayard of the broad-brimmed chivalry. This claim, however, has certainly not been made out either by Dixon or Forster for William Penn.

Mr. Dixon reduces Macaulay’s charges to five; the first of which is, that Penn’s connexion with James in 1684, caused his own sect to look coldly upon him. Mr. D. replies to this, that “his only authority for this statement is Gerard Croese, a Dutchman, who was never in England in his life,” and that the records of the society show that he was in good standing. Now it so happens that Mr. D. has wholly blundered in replying to this charge, missing its vulnerable point, replying to a charge which was not made, and asserting a fact which was not true. It is not only not true that Croese was never in England, but the evidence of this fact is found in the very passage quoted by Macaulay. And the fact exhibited from the Society Records does not bear on the charge, any more than the fact that Thomas Jefferson was elected to high office and never impeached proves that there was no suspicion and dislike felt toward him. The allegation is not of anything publicly and formally expressed, but of coldness and dislike, which would naturally take a less open form. The proof that this feeling exists is spread out on Dixon’s own pages. The only point where the charge is really vulnerable is overlooked by Mr. Dixon. It is in assigning the cause of this want of cordiality solely to his connexion with James. It had other causes, as we have suggested, more creditable to Penn, and perhaps less creditable to his associates, although not involving anything in them at variance with the common laws of human nature.

The second charge, that Penn “extorted money” from the girls of Taunton for the maids of honour, is the most serious, and is fully

set aside by Mr. Dixon. He gives eight reasons against this charge, the first of which is, that the letter on which it was based was directed to George Penne, and not to William Penn. Now this is really all that is needed, and the other points raised are like the twelve reasons that were proffered for the absence of a juror, the first of which was that he was dead—a reason which was deemed wholly satisfactory by the Court, and the others were dispensed with. Mr. D. having clearly made out that it was Penne, not Penn, who was engaged in this mean business, the charge must be withdrawn, and we believe has been withdrawn by Macaulay himself. That it should ever have been made by one who had studied the high and honourable character of Penn in all pecuniary transactions, is certainly somewhat surprising.

In regard to the other charges, we believe that Mr. D. has adduced proof that satisfactorily establishes the substantial innocence of Penn, although in some cases he does not fairly meet the statements of Macaulay. In the transaction with Kiffin, all that Mr. D. adduces is negative, as far as respects the charge that James prevailed on Penn to use his influence with Kiffin to accept the aldermanship, and that this influence was ineffectual. It may be true that Penn did advise Kiffin to the step, and yet that his advice was not at first followed, whilst afterwards, when stronger influences were brought to bear, the office was accepted. But the charge itself really involves no guilt on the part of Penn, considering his relations with the king.

Mr. Dixon also indulges in the heroics somewhat, at the remark of Macaulay that Penn had become "a tool of the king and the Jesuits," and utters some very indignant bursts of eloquent interrogation concerning Penn's boldness and decided Protestantism. Now the remark of Macaulay contains no imputation on either, for his employment as a tool of Jesuitical intrigue was not with his complete knowledge of the extent of the designs which he was employed to further. He was an unconscious instrument, and unconscious because of the very unsuspecting nobleness of his nature, and the more effectual because of the simple integrity of purpose with which he acted. The crafty Jesuits used him as they have so often used noble natures, and are using them at this hour, by playing upon the very excellencies of their character, and enlisting them in their service. All that is proved there, by such a charge, is, that Penn was not as wily or profound a plotter as those with whom he was associated by circumstances; a fact which few persons will regard as much to his disadvantage.

As far, then, as these charges seriously affect the Christian char-

acter of Penn, we believe they have been successfully answered by his defenders; but as far as they show him to be a man of like weaknesses and foibles with his fellows, we regard the effort at vindication as at once unnecessary and unsuccessful. Penn, although a decided Quaker, was neither an ascetic nor a mystic, nor did he deem it necessary to become a bare-footed friar because he had become a Christian. His aim was not to go out of the world, but to be delivered from its evil; and whilst, according to the rules of St. Dominic, and, indeed, according to the rules of honest old George, as expounded by such teachers as Bugg, (the man with the unsavoury name, as Southey calls him,) he cannot be canonized as a saint, yet, according to the broad and liberal canons of the word of God, he can be welcomed and loved by us as a Christian.

The third aspect in which we see him is, as a *colonist*. This portion of his life is set forth in ample detail by Mr. Dixon, and the perusal of it will excite feelings of the liveliest admiration for the energy of the colonist, and of the profoundest melancholy in view of the obstinacy and ingratitude which he encountered in his great enterprise. His thoughts were directed to this work by his disappointments in England. An ardent friend of liberty, and trembling for its fate in the feeble hands of Charles II., he strained every nerve to have Algernon Sidney returned to parliament, and succeeded, but was disappointed by the treachery and intrigue of the royalists, who procured his rejection from the house, although twice legally elected. Disheartened by these iniquitous measures, he began to look around him for some more hopeful field for the culture of these great principles of liberty. His eyes were naturally directed to that land of hope, the New World, concerning which his youthful enthusiasm had been kindled by his father's stories of the tropical splendour of the West Indies, and his later expectations excited by the Holland emigrants, who sought on the shores of New-England "freedom to worship God." Fortunately circumstances opened up a way by which these longings could be gratified. His father had bequeathed to him claims on the government for money lent, and arrearages of pay, amounting to fifteen thousand pounds, equivalent to near fifty thousand in our day. The empty exchequer of Charles was of course unable to meet such a claim, after its lavish squanderings on scandalous and worthless favourites, and hence payment was from time to time postponed. Penn now proposed to take in satisfaction for his claim a portion of the crown lands in the New World. This claim was opposed by the royalists, because of the republican notions he meant to ingraft on the colony; and a thousand delays, and vexations, and disappointments were invented

to baffle and defeat the project. At length, however, he succeeded, and a charter was made out for a tract of land, which Penn wished to name New-Wales, or Sylvania, but Charles, in honour of his father, called Pennsylvania. Of the vast region thus deeded away, he was made absolute proprietor. His next step was to devise a plan of settlement and government for his new colony, which he did, with the aid of his friend Sidney; and although we cannot, with Mr. Dixon, find in this the germ of the United States and the fountain of American liberty, yet we can unite with him in regarding it as a remarkable proof of the sagacity and political wisdom of its framers. To which of them it owes most, we cannot now decide; but there is honour enough for both, thus to throw themselves so far in advance of the ideas of their generation, and embody so fully the great principles of civil and religious liberty. Having determined the plan, the next step was to obtain suitable emigrants, which, in that restless and dissatisfied age, was not a matter of much difficulty. When it was understood that the enthusiastic follower of Fox, and the high-hearted friend of Sidney, had matured the plan of "a holy experiment" on the virgin soil of the west, in which the dreams of Harrington, More, and Locke should be gloriously embodied, many were found ready to flock around his standard. Accordingly, expeditions were soon fitted out, and in due time the proprietor himself followed, and began his noble and arduous work. He organized the government, embodying in it his principles of peace and justice; laid out a great city; made treaties with the Indians, of which Voltaire sarcastically said, that they were the only ones never sworn to, and never broken; and founded his new republic on principles the most wise, equitable, and comprehensive. Having finished this work he returned to England.

Now, however, his days began to be darkened with thick and gloomy clouds. The scenes that followed the accession and expulsion of James, and the breaking out of the French war involved him in great trouble. Under pretext that his Quaker principles were incompatible with the safety of the colony, and the military defence of the country, he was deprived of its government by an order of council, which annexed it to that of New-York. The blow was a sudden and crushing one. His whole fortune had been expended on his colony, so that one hundred and twenty thousand pounds would not cover the loss. The cherished dreams of his life were embodied in this "holy experiment," which now seemed about to be wrested from his hand. His Irish estates were ruined by the war of the revolution. His English property was covered up with fraudulent claims by the villanous Fords, whom he had so confidently trusted.

He was thus reduced to poverty from an unbounded affluence, menaced with disgrace, threatened with illegal prosecutions, harassed with perjurers and slanderers, robbed of his proprietary rights, and to crown the crushing weight of misfortune, his high and noble-hearted wife, the lovely Guli, died, and left him to struggle with the gathering sorrows that thickened around, in loneliness and bereavement. We know of few sadder sights in history than Penn at this midnight of his life. But the cup of his bitterness was not yet full. In consequence of the resistance offered by the colonial government to Col. Fletcher, the royal deputy, it was actually proposed to withdraw the charter, and thus rob him of his land. He was aroused from the depth of his grief by this new outrage, and desirous of going to America to adjust the difficulty. But he was actually too poor to pay the outfit. He bethought himself of his colonists on whom he had expended a princely fortune, and who were at that time owing him a large amount of quit-rents. He therefore wrote a letter, in which he touchingly laid bare his poverty, and asked those who were in his debt to loan him a few thousands, that he might come out and shield them from this threatened outrage. To their eternal disgrace, they refused the loan, and even made his misfortunes the occasion of trying to exact new privileges from his generous and yielding nature. We wonder not that this utter baseness called forth such indignant complaints from him, and disturbed the quiet placidity of his usual mildness. That the colonists should be ever grasping increased grants of power, disputing his authority over them, and striving to limit his prerogative was the natural result of the unnatural mixture of feudalism and democracy that existed in his constitution; but that they should refuse to pay their lawful dues, neglect him in his misfortune, decline even a loan in his poverty, when they had in their own hands security for repayment, and make his very weakness the pretext for fresh rapacity, shows a thorough meanness and ingratitude of nature that hold them up to execration and contempt.

But matters began soon to brighten somewhat, as this chequered life wore nearer to its sunset. His government was restored to him by an order in council, and the sunshine friends who forsook him in his adversity began to return as the clouds dispersed. But his troubles were still not ended. He returned to Pennsylvania, intending to spend the remainder of his life in elegant retirement at *Pennsbury*, on the Delaware. But before he had been long there, he was alarmed by hearing of a new attempt in England to wrest from him his charter, and thus rob him of his property. Calling the colonial assembly together he urged them to take such steps as would remove

all pretext for this high-handed outrage, promising them all aid in his power in placing the colony on a permanent basis. Instead of responding to his generous patriotism, they again attempted to wring out of his misfortune some gain for themselves, and presented him a long list of the most exorbitant and exacting demands, as insulting as they were unjust. Penn, however, calmly reasoned with them, until they became ashamed of their most rapacious demands, and were reduced to less outrageous terms; but to the last they refused to take on themselves the expenses of their own government, which he had all along borne from his private means, and forced him to the necessity of selling land to raise the means of returning to England. At length he returned; and although the project of wresting the charter from him was abandoned, other troubles met him. The Fords, his sly and villanous agents, trumped up an enormous account against him, which, proven as it was by perjury, was forced to extreme process, and the generous old man, by whose unsuspecting confidence they were enabled to defraud him so basely, was arrested in meeting, and in his old age thrown into prison, because of his inability to pay an unjust debt. At length this matter was adjusted; but new difficulties appeared in the colony. Penn desired to return, but could not because of his poverty. Again he asked them for aid, desiring only the settlement of a stated salary upon him as governor. But again, with consistent meanness, his brethren refused to grant his request. He then wrote them a calm and touching letter, reciting his sleepless anxieties, his sacrifices, and his poverty, all endured for their sakes, and then offered to transfer them to the crown, if they desired the change. His letter seems to have produced a good effect, and the next session of the assembly was more rational and grateful, so that the old man's heart was gladdened by the evidence of returning reason, before he passed away.

But before a second assembly could convene he was beyond the influence of earthly trouble. Repeated strokes of palsy reduced him to a second childhood, and although for five years he lingered on, enjoying comparatively good health, the free and manly intellect was gone. His sole employment was gambolling with the children, and gazing at the beautiful furniture of his mansion with infantile delight. The powers of speech and memory gradually left him; and although there lingered a sweet and holy radiance about his wrecked nature, like a twilight on the columns of the Parthenon, yet it only made the more touching and mournful the shattered nobleness that it illumined. At length, after the columns of his earthly tabernacle had been gently taken down one by one, the final summons came, and without a struggle, or a gleam of conscious recognition of the weeping ones

who hung above the shattered ruins of the weary and wayworn pilgrim, he fell asleep, as the first gray dappings of the dawn were brightening in the sky, on the morning of July 30, 1718. His end at least was peace.

Such was William Penn, the courtier, the Christian, and the colonist, whose life, though stormy and eventful to a degree unusual even in an age of event and storm, yet may be said to have had two childhoods and two deaths. Without being intellectually great, he did that by the unity, energy, and directness of his purposes which greatness failed to accomplish; and without being that faultless monster which his eulogists endeavour to depict him, he was a high-souled, manly, and open-hearted Englishman, a friend who never shrank from avowing his affection, a patriot who scorned to conceal his sentiments, and a Christian who was never ashamed of his cross. Although we cannot, with Mr. Dixon, make him the Romulus or Lycurgus of American liberty, yet we recognise his wisdom, pacific policy, and liberal views as among the most important elements that go to form the inheritance we enjoy, and his embodied influence in the colony he founded as giving marked and decided tone to many of our institutions. Without being either a myth, a hero, or a martyr, his rare combination of excellencies has exalted him into a species of mythical apotheosis, his success has invested him with a halo of heroism, and his sufferings have imparted to his life some of the sublime interest of martyrdom. Inferior to many of his contemporaries in separate qualities, he yet combined the available in faculties with the advantageous in circumstances, so as to accomplish that which they attempted in vain. Of his biographer we have only space to say, that he has done a good service to the memory of his hero, although failing to accomplish much that he has attempted. But we are bound in justice to add, that this failure arises from the impossibility of the case rather than from the inability of the writer; and our only objection is that he has had the folly to attempt what was impossible, and thus to render a partial failure certain. If he has not made a hero out of a warm, noble-hearted, and active Englishman, he has at least shown us that, in the various aspects under which we see William Penn, he was a man to be admired, loved, and even revered, and one whose memory the world will not, soon or willingly, permit to die.