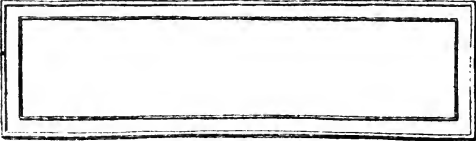


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A  
DISCOURSE,  
DELIVERED BEFORE THE  
**HISTORICAL SOCIETY**  
OF  
PENNSYLVANIA,  
THE NINTH DAY OF APRIL, 1836,  
ON  
THE PRIVATE LIFE AND DOMESTIC HABITS  
OF  
**WILLIAM PENN.**  

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**BY J. FRANCIS FISHER.**  

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PHILADELPHIA:  
PRINTED FOR M'CARTY & DAVIS,—NO. 171, MARKET STREET.

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At a special meeting of the **HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA**,  
held at Philadelphia, on Saturday, the 9th of April, 1835:

It was resolved that the thanks of the Society be presented to **J. FRANCIS FISHER, Esq.**, for his interesting discourse on "The Private Life and Domestic Habits of William Penn," this day pronounced, and that he be requested to furnish a copy for publication.

TO **J. R. TYSON, Secretary.**

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## DISCOURSE.

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WITH the same spirit in which we visit the residences of authors, whose works have been our delight or consolation, or of Statesmen and Philanthropists, whose memories we bless; with the same interest we feel while we look at the mouldering furniture of their chambers, seat ourselves in the chairs they have reposed in, or look out upon the gardens which were once their recreation, do we collect from letters or diaries, and the recollections of the aged, the few scattered notices of their habits and their manners. We try to complete their picture by combining every circumstance of dress or personal peculiarity—and even those particulars which can have no bearing upon the character of their temper or their genius, all deserve a careful preservation; for like the buttons and collar of a painted portrait, they are important to perfect the picture, though they form no part of the likeness.

When we strive to recollect a great man, seen in former years, perhaps the most frivolous particular may first present itself; and the fashion or colour of a coat may be remembered, while we are unable to recall any trace of his features or a single tone of his voice. Yet imperfect as is our reminiscence, we value it. Let us not then despise as frivolous the antiquarian research which has been able to present us with a description of Charles V. in his furred cap and gown of black taffety, drinking a quart of Rhenish wine at a draught; or of

Hobbes smoking ten pipes at a sitting, while composing his Leviathan: let us not disregard the account of the great Frederick's little greyhound, which he carried with him even to battle; or refuse to listen to Brantome, while he describes the table of the Chancellor l'Hospital, served daily, as he tells us, with a single dish of boiled meat. All these things may be of no importance in themselves; yet while matters of more moment might escape us, these may perhaps attach themselves to our memory and in some way serve to bind together and sustain our recollections of greater things, just as the twisting tendrils of the vine serve to support the long branches and luscious clusters of the grape.

Yet even particulars like these have sometimes an intrinsic interest and importance when they relate to those whom we regard as great teachers of philosophy and morals. When we find that Aristotle was magnificent in his *dress*, and that his fingers were covered with costly gems—or when we learn that Epicurus was contented with the simplest fare, “*lætus plantaribus exigui horti*,” we have an opportunity of judging how far the principles which they have given to others as the rules of life, have governed the minds from which they emanated. But without selecting as an instance, one whose vanity resisted the empire of his reason—or him who with a cold temperament lived purely in spite of the principles of a libertine, even in those cases where the practice of morality has been guided by their declared precepts of virtue—the particulars of private life are worthy of investigation, that we may learn the author's application of his own maxims, and how far in his *practice* he could relax the rigour of his own laws of life.

These considerations will perhaps give interest to the picture I shall now attempt to sketch of the *Private Life of William Penn*. Not only as a distinguished writer on Theology and an eloquent teacher of morals, and as one of the Patriarchs of a peculiar sect, (separating itself from others on

grounds of stricter morality, condemning the vices and vanities of the world, avoiding most of its pleasures, and claiming for themselves the character of followers of Christ in primitive simplicity, humility, and purity,) is it interesting and important to know how far he tolerated and practised the customs of the world, and what interpretation he put by his own conduct on the rules of discipline of his Society. But, as the great lawgiver and advocate of our liberties—as the friend of our ancestors, and their conductor to these shores—his manner of life and personal habits—his public carriage as proprietary, and private demeanour as a gentleman, are surely worthy of our curiosity. And although I can amuse you with but few traits of personal peculiarity or of intellectual excentricity, I congratulate myself, that, laying aside all consideration of him as a patriot, a lawgiver, or an author, and directing your attention to the retreats of his domestic life, I shall be able to offer such a picture of gentleness, benevolence, and urbanity; such perfect consistency of generosity and goodness, that you may all experience, as I have done, a pleasure similar to that of the naturalist, who, tearing off the petals of a beautiful flower, finds the inmost structure of its core more curiously fashioned, more exquisitely delicate than the external tints and graceful form which had at first delighted him.

The pages which I shall read to you on this occasion contain the results of an examination, made some time since, of the original cash book of William Penn, and his letters of business to his agents in Pennsylvania. The extracts then made, together with a few anecdotes and traditions preserved elsewhere, I have endeavoured to weave into a connected account of the Private Life and Domestic Habits of the Founder of our State and City.

My narrative may be tedious; my incidents common-place; my particulars trivial; but anecdotes are not to be extracted from a cash book—and letters to a steward afford few traits of character. So barren were the fields I had undertaken to

reap, that I resolved to collect the whole scanty product and leave nothing for the gleaning of future antiquaries—trusting that all true Pennsylvanians would pardon my laborious minuteness. If writers of travels have thought proper to describe the stockings of Queen Elizabeth, preserved at Hatfield, and the night-cap of Voltaire at Ferney, may I not venture to tell you what were the dress, furniture, and equipage of a man, at least as worthy of immortality?

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WHEN William Penn returned from France, in August, 1664, he is represented by Pepys as “a most modish person grown, quite a fine gentleman:” This intimates what we have confirmation of elsewhere, that he had acquired at the court of Louis XIV. all the external graces for which the society of Paris was at that time celebrated: and although at a date three years subsequent, we find in the same diary that “Mr. William Penn, who is lately come over from Ireland, is a Quaker again, or some very melancholy thing, that he cares for no company nor comes into any, which is a pleasant thing after his being abroad so long:” yet it is impossible to believe that the effects of his fashionable education were altogether lost. The best results of dancing and fencing are that the first gives an easy graceful air; the latter a noble manly carriage of the body: and the most important precepts of the education of society are those which teach us to consider the feelings and yield to the prejudices of others in small matters—to correct offensive habits, and to suppress obnoxious opinions. These little matters are often disregarded by stern religionists, and they thus earn odium for themselves and their profession. Perhaps we should never hear the taunt of Puritanism, if they all had the urbanity, the easy grace of manner which we have reason to think distinguished William Penn, who, as he says of himself, “knew no religion that de-

stroys courtesy, civility, and kindness, which rightly understood are great indications of true men, if not of good Christians."

At the time when was painted the Portrait, presented to our Society by his grandson, William Penn was a finished gentleman, with the solid advantages of education embellished by all the accomplishments of the age. His appearance was eminently handsome; the expression of his countenance remarkably pleasing and sweet; his eye dark and lively, and his hair flowing gracefully over his shoulders, according to the fashion set by the worthless though fascinating Charles the Second. How far he adopted the frivolities of the English Court, or how long he joined in its dissipations, we do not exactly know: but we cannot doubt that his principles were shocked and his good taste disgusted by the profanity and indecency, the heartless levity, the dishonest prodigality, and the awful profligacy which have gained eternal infamy for that monarch and his courtiers. No one can believe that William Penn was their companion in their *vices*; we cannot even think of him in "a jackanape's coat with silver buttons,"\* or changing his suit from velvet to cloth, from silk to camlet, with the monthly variation of the mode, or dangling at the toilet of "Mistress Nelly," or paying court to the still more infamous Castlemaine. Yet did he associate with the nobility of England, frequent the court, and was on terms of easy familiarity with the gayest and wittiest of the times: And although, after his final profession of Quakerism, he withdrew from the brilliant circles of London and associated chiefly with the humble and despised sect whose principles he had embraced, though he renounced the vanities and frivolous fashions of the day, and declined the usages which he deemed unworthy of his sense and Christianity; though he thereby astonished his friends and seriously offended his father, and

\* Pepys' Diary, which see for the costume of the times.

at the same time not only refused the offers of royal favour and patronage, but suffered repeated imprisonments rather than yield a point of conscience: yet it is remarkable that we do not find he forfeited the respect or even incurred the ridicule of his old friends and companions. Whenever he appeared at court, either in the cause of his own Society or to solicit toleration or pardon for others, he was always received with kindness and even affection, whether he applied to the bigoted James, or the dissolute and witty Buckingham, or the corrupt Sunderland, or the crafty Halifax. And when, after receiving the grant of Pennsylvania, his solicitude for the affairs of the colony, as well as the interests of his religious sect, induced him to reside constantly in London or its vicinity, we do not find that he incurred neglect or satire, though at a time when singularity in apparel, sour austerity and formal sobriety were the favourite themes of daily epigrams. When paying his court at Whitehall, or following the merry monarch to the races at Newmarket, or accompanying his successor on his tour through England; when surrounded by such men as Rochester and Killigrew, Etheredge and Jermyn, a stiff carriage and a stern countenance would not only have been misplaced, but fatal to the objects of his pursuit. The truth is, that William Penn was as courteous and tolerant as he was honest and virtuous; that he was neither affectedly plain in apparel, nor sanctimonious in demeanour: while his pure morality and noble love of liberty inspired the respect of the servile and dissolute, even their favour was secured by his cheerful good-humour and his temperate wit.

That his conversation was distinguished for vivacity and humour we have the report of tradition, confirmed by the opinion of the greatest wit of the age, Dean Swift, who says "that he talked very agreeably and with great spirit." And by another contemporary testimony still more remarkable, that of "Friends of Reading Meeting" who inform us that he was "facetious in conversation;" and it was one of his own

maxims "that wit gives an edge to sense and recommends it extremely." We are thus assured that he was not only "grave with the wise," but "with the witty gay:" And though he never imitated the licentious jesters of the times, we cannot doubt that he was often called upon to exercise his humour at the court of Charles and James, either in self-defence or in the honest hope of making vice ridiculous.

—So little did he obtrude on the notice of others his religious peculiarities, that he was by many believed to be a member of the society of Jesus, the most accomplished order in the Catholic church, and so scrupulously did he avoid offence, that he rarely made use of "thee and thou," if it was possible to form his sentences without them: and it is curious to observe in his letters to persons of high rank or station how gracefully he escapes the use of these familiar and uncourtly pronouns, speaking to his correspondent either in the third person or by his title. If he refused to put off his hat as a token of respect, I may remark, that it was by no means so unusual to wear it in company as it is now. Pepys complains of "a simple fellow" of a preacher who "exclaimed against wearing of hats in church;" and, speaking of the French service at the Savoy, says, "I never before saw the minister preach with his hat off." After dining in company, he says, "I got a strange cold in my head by flinging my hat off at dinner," and in Lord Clarendon's Essay on the Decay of Respect for Old Age, he states, "that in his younger days he never kept his hat on before those older than himself, except at dinner."

If William Penn gave no offence in these particulars, I do not doubt he also avoided ridicule in the style of his personal attire. His own maxim on the subject addressed to his children is, "choose thy clothes by thine own eyes, not another's—the more plain and simple they are, the better—neither *unshapely* nor *fantastical*, for use and decency and not for pride." With such opinions, we may be sure his garments were never *uncouth*. Of his style of dress, we have no other account than

the tradition recorded by Clarkson, that it was very neat and plain; but if the costume of the statue before the Pennsylvania hospital be such as he ever wore, (which is highly probable, towards the end of his life,) it is certainly far from inelegant, and proves that he must have changed the cut of his coat when the variation of fashion became striking, for such a dress as that was not worn till the time of Queen Anne. While the Puritans were preaching against the use of buckles and wigs—the latter a ridiculous superfluity, if any thing be so—William Penn made use of both, as we learn by his cash book: and although it is not probable that, like his contemporary, Sir Richard Steele, he ever spent 40 guineas in a periwig:—yet, even when in Pennsylvania, he purchased four in one year, at the cost of nearly four pounds each, and as two of these, at least, came from England, and a third was made at Newcastle, we are to conclude that no perruquier had as yet established himself at Philadelphia. Though we find in the same cash book frequent entries of monies paid to Charles Blackburn Taylor, no doubt the first in his line at Philadelphia, we have unfortunately no description of the garments thus charged, nor any other articles of dress specified, except a pair of stockings for the Governor at eight shillings, and a pair of gambadoes (a kind of leathern overalls for riding or shooting) which cost £1. 2*sh.* and frequent notice of the dressing of the Governor's hats—of which three at one time, were in the hatter's hands to be furbished up;\* and on the whole, while I am

\* We have no better means of judging of the style of dress of Hannah Penn and Lætitia, than a girl of about 18; but we find in the said cash book frequent notice of bills paid for them, as for instance, "By expenses paid Esther Masters, for making frocks, 14 shillings. By ditto paid Sarah Thomson for making caps, £1. 4*s.* 6*d.* By Lætitia, paid Francis Richardson, for a pair of buckles, £2. By ditto paid D. Vaughan, watchmaker, for mending Lætitia's watch, 4*s.* By expenses paid Cæsar Ghiselin, the goldsmith's note, £1. 14*s.* By expenses paid Johan Nys, goldsmith, his note, £2. 10*s.* What article of jewelry, William Penn permitted his wife or daughter to wear is not mentioned, but, that ornaments of gold were not



far from suspecting him of foppishness, I should be much more ready to acquit him of the “*affectatæ sordes*,” than to deny for him the “*exquisitæ munditiæ*.” While on the subject of his wigs and hats, I may state, that after he left America, in 1684 he presented his stock of the former to his deputy Thomas Lloyd, and that English beavers were a common token from him to his friends in this country. On one occasion he presents a hat to Edward Shippen, the first mayor of this city, “which has,” he observes, “the *true mayoral brim* :” by which it seems he was willing that the hat, while on the head, might indicate dignity of station, however much opposed to making the taking of it off a sign of respect.

It is related of William Penn, that when his great friend King James asked him to explain the difference between their religions, the Roman Catholic and that of the Quakers, he answered by comparing the one to the hat then worn by himself, which was plain; the other to that of the King, which was adorned with feathers and ribands. “The only difference,” said he, “lies in the ornaments which have been added to thine.” Though this anecdote is well worth quoting to show the enlarged spirit of Christian charity which suggested such an illustration, it is now only repeated to prove that William Penn was not, at that period at least, out of the fashion in the shape of his hat—an article in which fashions were so changeable among Christians—that an author of those times\* tells us that the Turks used to curse each other with the wish “may thou be as variable as a Christian’s hat.”—If it were inquired what was the form then in vogue, it would, I think, be found that the beavers then most common in the purlieus of the palace had low crowns and broad brims, very much turned up and curled at the sides—shovel-shaped

altogether forbidden by the Quakers of those times, we may judge from the circumstance, that James Logan wrote to England, for “a fine gold chain for his wife, such as young girls use to wear.”

\* Evelyn.

perhaps on graver characters—on men of ton, cocked high or low according to the variations of their humour, or to indicate, as patches did in later times, the political divisions of their wearers.

I may remark, while on the subject of the dress of William Penn, that Mr. West, and I believe all other painters who have introduced the early Quakers into their pictures, are chargeable with great mistakes, in the costumes they have selected for them; in many instances, giving them hats and coats of a form not even invented for half a century after the date of the scene they have wished to represent upon their canvas; and in the celebrated Picture of the Treaty under the Elm, our Pennsylvania Painter, besides his unpardonable misconception, in representing the graceful and athletic Penn, at the age of 38, as a fat old man, of a very ordinary appearance; has put him and his companions in dresses which, if they ever wore at all, they certainly did not till nearly 30 years after the settlement of Pennsylvania.

It seems probable, that Mr. West represented in his picture from recollection the appearance of his own father, and the old Quakers he had known in his youth, without stopping to inquire or even think whether they had preserved unchanged the costume of their grandfathers, the first colonists.\*

\* The true costume for the picture would have been that in vogue towards the end of the reign of Charles II. This (as near as I can ascertain) was a collarless coat, perfectly straight in front with many buttons—showing no waist, nor cut into skirts, having only a short buttoned slit behind; the sleeves hardly descending below the elbow, and having large cuffs, showing the full shirt sleeves. The vest was as long as the coat, and, except as to the sleeves, made apparently in the same way. The breeches were very full, open at the sides, and tied with strings. About the hats, I have less certainty, as these varied three or four times in this reign, as Butler says,

Being first high-crowned, like pyramids,  
And next as flat as pipkin lids,  
Sometimes with broad brims like umbrellas,  
And then as narrow as punchinellas.

The Quakers have certainly never run after fashion, but while they disregarded all its minor aberrations, they seem to have followed it at a distance in many of its great changes and revolutions—and I think it would not be difficult to prove that from the days of George Fox, to the middle of the 18th century, every prominent and continued variation in the shape of hats and coats, could be traced in some corresponding alterations in the costume of the society: these variations are surely as consistent with the modesty and plainness which they aimed at as they were with good taste, and though their rules forbade gaudy attire and useless ornaments, I have never heard that they prescribed uniformity or the perpetuity of any particular costume.

I have detained you with these observations, that I might put on record a fact, which may hereafter be useful to our own society or any of its members, who may have occasion to direct the painting of an historical picture, in which the founder of our province or the early settlers are to be introduced. It is to be hoped that a blunder which detracts so much from the value of West's Picture of the Treaty, and from that of the portrait in the apartment beneath us, may never again be committed.

But to return to William Penn, and to speak next of his horses and equipage. What style he maintained in England I know not, but we may judge it was at least equal to his stable establishment in Pennsylvania. Here he had his coach, a cumbrous vehicle no doubt, and little used except in Philadelphia and its neighbourhood, in consequence of the badness of the roads, which even to Pennsbury were nearly impassable but for horsemen. A calash probably referred to by a contemporary pamphleteer as a "rattling leathern conveniency," in which he drove about from one country meeting to another, and a sedan chair, which Hannah Penn might have used on her more sociable gossiping visits among her friends in the city.

When he travelled either to New York, or to the Susquehannah, and visited the Proprietor of Maryland, on the confines of their territories, it was on horseback—and as I find in the inventory of goods at Pennsbury three side saddles mentioned, his wife and daughter Lætitia were doubtless often the companions of his rides. When they met the Lord and Lady Baltimore, they were followed by a large cavalcade, and several of the chief men of the colony accompanied the Proprietor on his visit to the Indian Sachems on the Susquehannah; where, according to Isaac Norris, “after a roundabout journey, in which they had pretty well travelled the wilderness, they lived nobly at the king’s palace at Conestogoe.”

During his first visit to this country, William Penn generally rode a large white horse; but he had also a “ball nagg,” which he probably used at Pennsbury when overlooking the improvements of his farm: he often inquires about them in his letters to James Harrison, and directs especial care to be taken, that they should not be injured in his absence. Like all English gentlemen, he was fond of horses, and desirous to introduce the best stock into America. We find he had, at his first visit, three blood mares; and he promises his steward to bring more on his return, as well as a fine horse; the latter promise at least he fulfilled in 1700, by importing the horse Tamerlane, probably of Arabian blood, and perhaps a colt of the great Godolphin Barb, to which the most celebrated horses in England trace their origin. If he had no other opportunities of becoming acquainted with horses, his sojourn with the Court at New-market, must have given him some skill, which he could turn to good account, in providing his colony with the finest stock of those noble animals.

But his favourite mode of travelling, seems to have been by water. A taste inspired, perhaps, by his father the Admiral, or acquired at Oxford, where the students of Christ Church have been for ages, celebrated as oarsmen, may ac-

count for his extraordinary solicitude about his yacht and barge; of which latter, he thus speaks to his steward: "But above all dead things, my barge, I hope no body uses it on any account, and that she is kept in a dry dock, or at least covered from the weather." This barge, or the one that replaced it in 1700, must have been a vessel of some stateliness, if we may judge by the sums which appear from the cash book to have been spent upon it, of which I may instance the charge of William Corker for painting it, 3*l.* 10*s.* It had its regular officers and crew, of whom George Markham, was boatswain, and Michael Larzillier, cockswain, receiving their wages as such, and required, I infer, six oars. It appears to have been provided with a sail and awnings, and though there is no mention of a flag, it is not unlikely that he spread a broad pennant with the Proprietary's arms, which he was not unwilling to display in all his public acts. This barge was preserved with great care, after William Penn's last departure. James Logan had a house built over it, for its protection, and it was not used until the arrival of young William Penn, except on the occasion of Lord Cornbury's visit to Philadelphia.

We also find mention of several smaller boats, at *Pennsbury*, in which, on shorter excursions for exercise or pleasure, he may have been used,

"To spread the thin oar, or catch the driving gale."

or to scull along the banks of the Delaware, with his gun or angle. That he was not averse from fishing, and fowling, we know by the mention in the cash book of "the repair of the governor's gun," and by his request to James Logan, to give his son occasional amusement in the woods, and upon the waters; and, that the field sports which he enjoyed in his youth were not condemned in his more advanced age, we may infer from his particular directions, that his son's stag and fox hounds should be well taken care of. "If says he," my

son sends hounds, as he has provided two or three couples of choice ones, for deer, foxes and wolves, pray let great care be taken of them, and let I. Sotcher, quarter them about as with young Biles, &c." And why may we not suppose, that William Penn, occasionally partook of "the heart cheering pleasures of the field?" Why may we not, picture him to ourselves, like his virtuous contemporary, Isaac Walton, relaxing from the cares of public business;

"And haply on some river's cooling bank,  
Patiently musing, while intent he stands,  
To hook the scaly glutton?"

With his family he had occasionally other recreations; in attending a fair, or an Indian Cantico; of both of which the cash book gives evidence, such as these. By my mistress, at the fair, 2*l.* 0*s.* 8*d.* By expenses given to Hannah Carpenter, for a fairing, 8*s.* By ditto to two children for comfits, *pr.* order, 1*s.* 6*d.* By the Governor going to a Cantico, 1*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* We have frequent mention of his visits to the Indians, which gave him an opportunity to study their character; and he conciliated their favour, by partaking of their feasts, and witnessing their dances. A respectable old lady, the grandmother of Samuel Preston, related, that in his desire to gain the good will of the Aborigines, "he walked with them, sat with them on the ground, and ate with them, their roasted acorns and hominy. At this, they expressed their great delight, and soon began to show, how they could hop, and jump; at which exhibition William Penn, to cap the climax, sprang up and beat them all." I should be loath to doubt the accuracy of the old lady's memory, for is it not a delightful thought, that our good founder so grave and dignified, on solemn occasions, in the playful joyousness of a good heart, could thus o'erstep the bounds of ceremony, lay aside his gravity, and join heartily in the innocent sports of the kind and peaceful Lenne-Lennape?

On public occasions William Penn was not unwilling to use all the ceremony suitable in a place, where as yet

“Pride there was not, nor arts that pride to aid.”

He was well aware that, by the ignorant, respect is more readily paid to the law, and to the officers who administer it, if surrounded by a certain dignity and solemnity of forms. We are, therefore, not surprised to find in a scurrilous pamphlet, of the day before quoted,\* that the “Proprietor’s Corps de Garde generally consists of seven or eight of his chief magistrates, both ecclesiastical and civil, which always attend him, and sometimes more, when he perambulates the city: one bare-headed, with a long wand over his shoulders, in imitation of the Lord Marshal of England, marches gradually before him and his train, and sometimes proclamation is made to clear the way.” And if we make some allowance for probable exaggeration, we may understand by it, that when the Proprietor went to open the Assembly, or to hold the High Court of the Provincial Council, he was preceded by the members of that body and the sheriff and peace officers of Philadelphia, with their staves of office. We find, also, in the same pamphlet, that “there are certain days appointed for audience, and as for the rest, you may keep your distance.” And again—“The gate of his house, or palace, is always guarded by a Janisary, armed with a club of near ten foot long, crowned with a large silver head, embossed and chased as a hieroglyphic of the master’s pride;” all of which is susceptible of a similar interpretation,—for, if for convenience sake, he had his days and hours of business appointed; or if, while the council was in session, an officer guarded his door, or a porter held his station there, with a tall silver-headed cane, such

\* “NEWS FROM PENNSYLVANIA, or a brief Narrative of several remarkable passages in the Government of the Quakers,” &c.—London, 36 pp. 12mo. 1703. “Published by the author of the Pilgrim’s Progress”—(said to be written by Francis Bugg.)

as even now are seen in Europe, the exaggeration does not seem a very extraordinary one in a writer anxious to bring odium on the government of the Quakers. But lest this testimony should be esteemed suspicious, I will confirm it by the best of evidence, that of William Penn himself. In a note written at Pennsbury, in July, 1700, he gives directions to James Logan to prepare for the arrival of Governors Nicholson and Blackiston of Virginia and Maryland, and requests him to write a circular to the officers of the different counties, directing the sheriffs to receive their Excellencies in state, with a party of twenty horsemen at least, on the borders of each county, and to accompany them through it to meet those of the next; and requiring all the magistrates of each place to wait on them—some to ride out, and others to receive them on alighting, and to lodge them and their servants at their private houses: And still further to show the respect which even the Quakers of those days were disposed to pay to rank and station, I will quote from a letter of James Logan to the Proprietor, an account of Lord Cornbury's reception in Philadelphia, in June, 1702. "He (Lord Cornbury, then at Burlington,) expressed a willingness to give our Province a visit, and therefore had an invitation on Second Day morning. I hastened down to make provision, and in a few hours' time had a very handsome dinner, really equal, they say, to any thing he had seen in America.\* At night he was invited to Edward Shippen's, where he lodged and dined to-day with all his company, near thirty in number. He has just now gone off in the barge very handsomely attended, expressing a great satisfaction in the place and the decency of his entertainment in all its parts."

Lord Cornbury, on his way back to New York, paid a visit to Pennsbury. James Logan writes, "he was attended all the way with four boats besides his own, and about ten in

\* The cash book informs us that this dinner cost £10 1s. 8d.



the morning arrived there with fifty in company. With Mary's great diligence, and all our care, we got ready a handsome country entertainment, which, though much inferior to those at Philadelphia for cost, &c., yet, for the decency and good order, gave no less satisfaction, which he expressed at his departure to the highest degree, promising to acknowledge it particularly to thee." Such was the deference in those days shown to rank and station, even in a community of Quakers.

But to return to my subject. No one can doubt the pleasure of William Penn in the exercise of hospitality: and we find that he frequently entertained at Pennsbury, not only all the distinguished strangers who visited Pennsylvania, but most of the chief families of the province. Though his house was handsomely furnished, and his table plentifully spread, he permitted no extravagance in either—for it was his maxim that "it destroys hospitality, and wrongs the poor." His pastures, his gardens, and the woods and waters around him, afforded him plenty, and of the best provisions, which, as the catalogue of his "batterie de cuisine"\* proves, must have been simply dressed; and his cook, Ann Nichols, could have been little learned in the "Book of Cookery, which," as her master says, "hath outgrown the Bible, and, I fear, is read oftener—to be sure it is of more use."† His residence in Paris had not inspired him with a taste for the exquisite produc-

\* It includes a Dog-wheel.

† There is a book of Cookery (printed in 1682,) in the Library of the American Philosophical Society, entitled, I believe, "Ministers of the mouth." This might throw some curious light upon the manners and habits of the times. Will no one undertake to write a history of cookery, giving us a catalogue raisonné of all the works on the subject, from that of Apicius to Udés, with an account of all the distinguishing dishes of each age? The Romans, in some respects, certainly had the advantage of us, having established schools, not only for cooks but for carvers, where jointed models of every dish gave almost surgical skill to the accomplished sewer.

tions of the French culinary art, as we may infer from the following extracts from his maxims: "The sauce is now preferred before the meat; twelve pennyworths of flesh, with five shillings of cookery, may happen to make a fashionable dish; plain beef and mutton is become dull food; but by the time its natural relish is lost in the crowd of cook's ingredients, and the meat sufficiently disguised to the eaters, it passes under a French name for a rare dish." Yet he was not insensible of the simple luxuries of the country, as appears by the following extract from a letter to his steward: "Pray send us some two or three smoaked haunches of venison and pork—get them of the Swedes: also some smoaked shadds and beef—the old Priest at Philadelphia had rare shadds."

The cash book proves that the cellar at Pennsbury was well supplied with beer, cider, and wine, of which, the kinds mentioned, are Sherry, (then called sack,) Madeira, Canary, and Claret. His own maxim; that strong liquors are good at some times, and in small proportions, "being better for physic, than food, for cordials, than for common use," was confirmed by his practice,—for we find little mention in the cash book, of brandy or rum, except when expressly designed for the entertainment of the Indians: and the tradition of the Proprietor's aversion to tobacco is confirmed, by the cash book having only one entry of its purchase, and then to the amount of ten pence. Notwithstanding the copious supply of fuel from the woods, William Penn, at least on one occasion, purchased English coal at forty shillings per ton. And the repeated mention of Irish and Rhode Island butter, proves that our market had not then acquired its reputation for that delicious article. Tea, coffee, and chocolate, though at the beginning of the last century very common beverages in England, were not much in use in Pennsylvania. The family of the Proprietary were occasionally obliged to send to New York, by the postman, for coffee; and on one occasion paid

18s. 9d. for a pound of the berry. Chocolate was several times procured at Philadelphia—but I do not find that any tea was purchased for the family, although, as a teapot is mentioned in the catalogue of goods at Pennsbury, they had, it is probable, brought with them a supply. It appears not to have been for sale in Philadelphia during the first years of the century, though it was occasionally sent here from England in small quantities by William Penn as presents to his friends, and particularly James Logan, who also writes to England for a supply, and, as he says, had become a great drinker of it as early as 1703.

In examining the inventory of the Proprietor's effects at Pennsbury and Philadelphia, I find that his table furniture was of a very handsome description. It includes a great number of damask table cloths and napkins; a "suite of Tunbridge ware," besides blue and white china, and a supply of silver which even now would be considered remarkable, in which even eight silver forks are mentioned, a refinement at that time little known in England, though common in Italy from the age of the Medici.\* I would not, however, represent that William Penn brought with him to this country a service of plate: That would have been, indeed, incongruous with his professions, his position, and his fortune. Dishes and plates, not of silver, but of pewter, were spread on the table of the Proprietor. The rest of the furniture of the two houses was all that comfort required. Mahogany was not then known, and the spider tables, and high-backed carved chairs were then of solid oak, or of the darker walnut.

*Illa domi natas nostrarque ex arbore mensas  
Tempora viderunt.*

He had one set of Turkey worked chairs, arm-chairs, and couches with cushions of plush and satin: and in the second parlour a great leathern chair, no doubt the Proprietor's fa-

\* See Ben Jonson, in one of whose plays a travelled exquisite of the days of Elizabeth, is ridiculed for introducing, from Italy, the use of silver forks.

avourite seat. Why was it not transmitted to our times, or at least the fashion of it? The great leathern chair of Voltaire is now imitated all over the world. What a zest it would add to *our* comforts if, while reposing in an easy well stuffed chair, we knew we were following a fashion invented, or approved by the Founder of our State?

Curtains of satin, or damask, or camlet, or striped linen, were hung in each room, according to its dignity. I find, also, mention of a carpet in one apartment, but it appears rather to have been the covering of a table than a floor; indeed at that period it was a luxury little known in Europe; and at the present day, on the continent, is not universal, even in the palaces of princes.

These particulars, which would otherwise be frivolous and tedious, are mentioned to prove that while William Penn and the contemporary writers of his sect declaim against "inexcusable superfluities," and "unprofitable things of state," they did not mean to denounce the liberal expenses of a gentleman, such as became his fortune and contributed to comforts, not to enervating luxury. He had heard of the apartments of the kings and mistresses at Whitehall, where all the furniture, even to the tables and bedsteads, were of curiously wrought and massive silver.\* He had seen, as he says, "a ceiling of a room which cost half as much as the house."—He had seen the national wealth squandered, the monarch only supporting his extravagance by the bribes of France. He had witnessed the private estates of honourable families ruined, in their efforts to vie with the splendours of the court; and both public and private honour sacrificed in this shameful career of profligacy and expense. It was by this scene that

\* Vide Pepys' Diary for a description of Castlemaine's chamber. In an apartment at Knowle, in Kent, the ancient seat of the Dukes of Dorset, the silver furniture of the time of Charles II. is still preserved. The tables, bedsteads, wardrobes, frames of glasses and pictures, &c. are covered with exquisitely wrought silver representing animals, mythological figures, &c. in high relief.

his good sense and principles were shocked; it was at these vices that his denunciations were aimed; but his whole life shows that he was willing to spend his income liberally in the support of his station as a gentleman, and his state as Proprietor of Pennsylvania. He knew that the only true use of wealth is, to spend it: and though nothing should be wasted, he wished to "join with economy munificence;" and he only admits "*that frugality is good, if liberality be joined with it.*"

Of his liberality and charity, his cash book bears the most gratifying evidence. His daily movements may be traced by some act of benevolence recorded there. Excited by generosity, or softened by pity, he thought not of his own necessities; he measured not his income. Among his own beautiful maxims we find, "The saying is, that he who gives to the poor lends to the Lord: but it may be said not improperly, the Lord lends to us to give to the poor: They are at least partners by Providence with you, and have a right you must not defraud them of." How satisfactory is it after reading this to turn to the record of his daily expenses, and find, on every page, some such entry as these: "By charity given to a poor sailor in prison, per order, 15s. By expenses given a poor negro, per order, 2s. Nor were his gifts limited to sums like these. In cases of sickness or peculiar distress, two or three pounds, and even larger sums, are ordered to be given. There were several poor old persons who seem to have been regular pensioners, receiving their 50 shillings a quarter, or their 6 shillings per fortnight. The poor dependants on his bounty were never forgotten. In his letters from England, in the midst of his complaints of the Assembly's niggardliness, he breaks off with such hints as these to his secretary, James Logan: "Pray remember poor Charles Jones' family in that farm, in the midst of other affairs." "Be kind to poor Lucy and the Dutchman." I will add but one instance of his charity, and it is a striking one. We are told by Thomas Story, that when the Proprietor arrived at Chester, on his return from England, some foolish young men wishing to testify their

joy, by firing off an old cannon which had no doubt remained there from the time of the Swedish government—the piece burst, and one of them lost his arm. His name is not mentioned—but, on turning to the cash book, we find in January this entry:—"By expenses to B. Bevan, of Chester, who lost his arm, 10s. 8d." But the poor lad was careless of his wound, or unfortunate in his surgeon. Again and again we find him noticed in the cash book, and at last, on April 20th, we see these melancholy items entered in succession:—By expenses for a woman watching with B. Bevan, 6s. By ditto to the grave digger, 3s. and 4d. By ditto to F. Jervais, in part of B. Bevan's charges, £2. 10s. We cannot doubt the grief of our Proprietor at an event so sad, springing from the very joy and gladness diffused by his return to his people.

His letters mention many poor, but respectable individuals sent by him to this country, and here supported partly, or entirely by him, until their own industry could secure them a respectable livelihood, and his own conduct fully exemplifies his beautiful definition of liberality. "She finds out virtue in a low degree, and exalts it. She eases their burden, that labour hard to live. Many kind and generous spells such find at her hand that don't quite want, that she thinks worthy. The decayed are sure to hear of her. She takes one child, and puts out another, to lighten the loads of overcharged parents. More to the fatherless. She shows the value of services in her rewards, and is never debtor to kindnesses, but will be creditor on all accounts; where another gives sixpence, the liberal man gives his shilling, and returns double the tokens he receives."

He was particularly generous to the servants of his friends, when they brought from them a present of a deer, or a sheep, or a box of oranges, they never left his door, without half a crown for their trouble, and when he lodged at the houses of others, his presents to their children, and vails to their servants, would have done credit to a richer man. After passing some time at Edward Shippens, he directed his Secretary to

divide among four of the servants, £2. 12s. 8d., no inconsiderable sum in those times; and, upon his arrival in the Canterbury from England, he distributed among the ship's company nearly six pounds, a handsome sum even in our days.

I esteem these minute particulars both curious and valuable: while ready, as Proprietary, to make every sacrifice of interest or privilege, for the good of his colony, his purse was always open to the poor, and whatever he possessed was liberally shared with those dependent upon him. He may, I admit, be charged with improvidence. It is, unfortunately, too true that

—— of qualities deserving praise,  
More go to ruin fortunes, than to raise.

Had he closely attended to his estate in Ireland, had he neglected none of his advantages in Pennsylvania, he would have prevented the villany of Philip Ford, escaped the mortification of imprisonment for debt, avoided many irritating difficulties with the colonists, and ended his life in wealth and comfort in his beloved province: but, we should have lost some of the brightest passages of his history, which relate, that neglecting his own affairs, expending lavishly his own fortune, he devoted himself, in the first place, to the planting of his colony, and securing its liberties and privileges, and, in the second, to the cause so dear to him, of liberty of conscience. While urging with the King the establishment of universal toleration, or pleading the cause of the misguided followers of Monmouth, or advocating the claims of Pennsylvania, before the Lords of Trade, he left his own affairs in the hands of a faithless steward, who, while he supported by his loans the generous expenditures of his master, was weaving his meshes around him, till at last the unsuspecting Penn was threatened with the loss of his mortgaged province; that province which he had planted and reared with so much tenderness, for a paltry debt, infinitely beneath the sums he had expended in establishing it. He looked to America for relief: I would, for

the honour of our ancestors, that I could say, he did not look in vain. It is truly discreditable to the colonists, that so far from easing the burden of debt, or contributing to the support of that man, to whom they owed their peaceful homes, their religious liberties, and political privileges; so far from repaying any part of their obligations to him, who had sacrificed in their cause the best part of his life and wealth; they were refusing payment of his rents, burdening his private estate with the support of public officers, and trying to strip him of the few proprietary privileges he had reserved. Listen to his own eloquent and touching complaint.

“When it pleased God to open a way for me to settle that colony, I had reason to expect a solid comfort from the services done to so many hundreds of people; and it was no small satisfaction to me, that I have not been disappointed in seeing them prosper and growing up to a flourishing country, blest with liberty, ease, and plenty, beyond what many of themselves could expect; and wanting nothing to make themselves happy, but what, with a right temper of mind and prudent conduct, they might give themselves. But, alas! as to *my* part, instead of reaping the like advantages, some of the greatest of my troubles have arose from thence: the many combats I have engaged in; the great pains, and incredible expence, for your welfare and ease, to the decay of my former estate; of which (however some there would represent it) I too sensibly feel the effects; with the undeserved opposition I have met with from thence, sink me into sorrow, that, if not supported by a superior hand, might have overwhelmed me long ago. And I cannot but think it hard measure, that while that has proved a land of freedom, and flourishing, it should become to me, by whose means it was principally made a country, the cause of grief, trouble, and poverty.” And again, after recapitulating some of his services to the colonists, he thus contrasts them with their return:—

“The attacks on my reputation, the many indignities put upon me, in papers sent over hither, into the hands of those



who could not be expected to make the most discreet and charitable use of them; the secret insinuations against *my justice*, besides the attempt made upon my estate; resolves past in the assemblies, for turning my quit rents, never sold by me, to the support of government; my lands entered upon, without any regular method; my manors invaded, (under pretence I had not duly surveyed them) and both these by persons principally concerned in these attempts against me here; a right to my overplus lands, unjustly claimed by the possessors of the tracts in which they are found; my private estate continually exhausting, for the support of that government, both here and there; and no provision made for it by that country; to all which I cannot but add, the violence that has been particularly shown to my Secretary; of which I cannot but thus far take notice, that, from all those charges I have seen, or heard of against him, I have cause to believe, that had he been as much in opposition to me, as he has been understood to stand for me, he might have met with a milder treatment from his prosecutors; and to think, that any man should be more exposed there, on my account, and instead of finding favour, meet with enmity, for his being engaged in my service, is a melancholy consideration! In short, when I reflect on all these heads, of which I have so much cause to complain, and at the same time think of the hardships, I and my suffering family have been reduced to, in no small measure owing to my endeavours for, and disappointments from that province, I cannot but mourn the unhappiness of my portion dealt to me from those, of whom I had reason to expect much better and different things."

Yet, with a patience, which injuries could not exhaust, with a benevolence that ingratitude could not chill, he still thought with fondness of the flock he had gathered, and led to America; still looked at Pennsylvania, as his haven of rest."

And still had hopes, his long vexations past,  
Here to return and fix his home at last.

All his directions to his Steward, James Harrison, seem to look to a permanent establishment at Pennsbury; and even after his second departure, he directs the improvements to be continued, and the gardens and house preserved. Though, upon the visit of his son, who he hoped would learn to love Pennsylvania, and establish himself in the province, which was then his destined inheritance; the proprietor thought of resigning the Manor House to his son's family, and placing himself nearer to the capital, and hints that it "would be acceptable if the Town would be so kind as to build me a pretty box like Edward Shippens, upon any of my lots in town, or purchase Griffith Owen's, or T. Fairman's, or any near healthy spot as Wicaco, or the like, for Pennsbury will hardly accommodate my son's family and mine, unless enlarged." And in another letter says to James Logan, "Thou urgest my return, but alas! how is it good sense to save my estate here, to discharge debts, and eat up what I have there, as the best returns? But I want water; launch my vessel; think of that. If I am not worthy of a house, in or near the town, as Griffith Owen's, T. Fairman's, or Daniel Pegg's, or the like, that 500 of your money may purchase for my reception, and at least 500 per annum, to live there, besides my own rents; I have spent all my days, money, and pains, and interest, to a mean purpose. Think of this, and impart it; they will all get by it, as well as myself."\* But if James Logan ever conveyed the hint to the colonists, it certainly was not taken by them. The house built afterwards at Springetsbury, was erected at the expense of his sons, and no appropriation was made for his relief. It was, perhaps, too much, to expect generosity from a community chiefly of hard-working mechanics, who had but little money, and lived

\* It was but little that he asked for; the greater shame to the colonists, that they complied not with a request so reasonable. Nearly 20 years before, he thus wrote to his steward, James Harrison: "The country thinks not upon my supply, and I resolve never to act the Governor, and keep another family and capacity, upon my private estate. If my table, cellar, and stable, may be provided for, with a barge and yacht, or sloop for the service of

with the utmost frugality; who could neither appreciate the tastes, nor measure the necessities of those born and educated in a higher sphere than their own; but we cannot but be surprised, that the conduct of the Proprietary had not inspired them with unbounded confidence and gratitude; that, owing every thing to him, they were not anxious to prevent his wants, and gratify his every wish.

During his last visit, William Penn's town residence was "the old Slate House," still standing in Second Street, opposite to the bank of Pennsylvania. But he was chiefly at his Manor House of Pennsbury, in Bucks county, a building which, owing to neglect, went to premature decay, and was pulled down a short time before our revolutionary war. Mr. Watson, in the second volume of our Memoirs, describes a visit made to its site, a few years ago, but he could do little more than trace the foundations of the edifice,—

Sunk were its bowers in shapeless ruin all,  
And the tall grass o'ertopt the moulding wall.

A landscape view of it, is probably preserved in England; for, in 1686, William Penn wrote to his steward for "a draught of Pennsbury, which an artist would quickly take, with the landscape of the house; out-buildings; their proportion, and distance, one from another; the river, gardens, and orchards, &c." And repeating his request, in another letter adds, "there are those there that can do it;" which may be mentioned as the earliest proof that any of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania were skilled in the arts of design. We may, perhaps, indulge the hope of procuring from Mr. Penn this interesting drawing. In the mean time, some interest may be found in such a description of the house, and grounds, as I have been able to collect, from the various manuscript authorities the Governor, and government, I may try to gett hence. For in the sight of God, I can say, I am five thousand pounds and more behindhand, more than ever I received or saw, for land in that province, and to be so baffled by the merchants, is very discouraging.

thorities, to which I am indebted for the facts in the present discourse.

The principal mansion was about 60 feet in front, facing the river. It was two stories in height, and of brick. Its appearance was, it is said, stately, and it was entered by a handsome porch and steps. On the first floor was a large hall, probably the whole length of the house, used on public occasions for the meeting of the council, and the entertainment of strangers, and the Indians; a little hall, and at least three parlors, all wainscoted, and communicating by folding-doors. On the roof was a large leaden reservoir, for water, to the leakage of which, is attributed, in part, the ruin of the mansion. The outhouses, which were uniform, and facing in a line with the house, were 1st, a kitchen and larder; 2d, a wash-house; 3d, a house for brewing, and baking; and 4th, a stable for twelve horses: all these one story and a half high. The Mansion House was seated on a moderate eminence, made a peninsula by the Welcome creek, which was crossed by several bridges. A broad walk through an avenue of poplars led to the river, descending from the upper terrace to the lower grounds by a flight of steps. The house was surrounded with gardens and lawns; and the more distant woods were opened in vistas, looking down the river, and upwards to the Falls. These woods had been laid out in walks, at the Proprietor's first visit, and the preservation of the trees is enjoined in several of his letters. He had some thoughts "of running a pale across the neck, half way towards the south point, for the beginning of a park," but, we have no reason to think that this plan was executed. He was anxious about the rearing of cattle, and designed the neighbouring island for feeding "young cattle, and a studd of mares." But he does not seem to have had much of the knowledge of a farmer, and his chief care and solicitude are about his gardens. He sent out several gardeners, one of them a Scotchman, recommended as "a rare artist." He directs, that he shall have three men under him, and, if he cannot agree with the

old gardener Ralph, is to leave to his charge, the upper gardens, and court yards, and to take as his own province the lower grounds. The Proprietor sent out from England, walnuts, hawthorns, hazels, fruit trees, and a great variety of the rarest seeds, and roots; while in this country, (as we learn from the cash book,) he procured from Maryland, several panniers of the trees, and shrubs, indigenous in that province, and he directed, by his letters, that the most beautiful wild flowers of the woods should be transplanted into his grounds. On the whole, his directions indicate a love of nature, and elegance of taste, which are very remarkable. While we peruse the letters of William Penn, we may believe that Pennsbury was truly a delightful seat; but of its charms not one trace remains; its woods are destroyed, its lawns are corn fields, not one shrub, not one "garden flower grown wild" survives: a few English cherries, and some stumps of ornamental trees, were all that Mr. Watson could trace of the glories of the garden.\*

At his manor of Springetsbury, which covered the larger part of Penn Township, he had no mansion; the villa, to the north of Bush Hill, of which we may all recollect the stables, green-house, and shrubbery, was built by his son Thomas about a century ago; but on the same estate, to the northward, a vineyard was planted by his directions, which gave its name to the estate now covered by the village of Francisville; though, according to old draughts, an eminence nearer the Schuylkill (perhaps on the site of Pratt's Garden) is denominated "Old Vineyard Hill." There he established a person skilled in the culture of the vine, whom he had sent for from France, and supported at considerable expense, having much at heart the making of wine in his province. The following are extracts from his letters on this subject: "I writ, that regard should be had to Andrew Doze about the vine-

In 1705, he writes, "If Pennsbury has cost me one penny, it has cost me above 5000*l.*, and it was with an intention to settle there; though God has been pleased to order it otherwise. I should have returned to it, in 1686, or at farthest, in 1689.

yard: I know it is a charge; but if wine can be made, it will be worth the province thousands by the year; for many Frenchmen are disheartened by the Carolinians.\* In seven years there would be hundreds of vineyards, if the experiment takes, and I understand by Patrick Lloyd and Dr. More, that he produced ripe grapes the 28th of the fifth month, '86, when the roots were but fifteen or sixteen months planted. 'Tis an high character of the country, and Andrew Doze, I am told, said he deserved the place, paying me only an acknowledgement in wine." And, in another letter, he says, "All the vines sent in this vessel are intended for Andrew on the Schuylkill for the vineyard. I could have been glad of a taste last year, as I hear he made some." Whether he long persisted in the experiment I cannot tell; it was, however, it seems probable, abandoned, at farthest, at his second visit in 1699, and is only one of many examples to prove, that, in this country, wine is not to be expected from the foreign grapes.

Thus was the mind of the Proprietor, in the midst of the tumults of parties, and the whirlwind of revolution, occupied about the advancement of agriculture, in his colony. Most of the emigrants were husbandmen, and he esteemed it their happiness. He lived a country life, and would recommend it to his children. "The country," says he, "is the philosopher's garden and library, in which he reads and contemplates the power, wisdom, and goodness of God. It is his food, as well as study, and gives him life, as well as learning." And in his parting instructions to his wife, he enjoins: "Let my children be husbandmen, and housewives; it is industrious, healthy, honest, and of good report. This leads to consider the works of God, and diverts the mind from being

\* William Penn also gave the means of emigration to a respectable French Protestant, Charles De la Noue, who promised to undertake the culture of the vine. Could he have been a descendant of that model of cavaliers, that rare union of genius, honour, courage, and piety, Francois De la Noue, the Huguenot captain, more admirable in every particular than Bayard; but, perhaps, eclipsed, which the latter was not, by the more brilliant qualities of his master.

taken up with the vain arts and inventions of a luxurious world. Of cities and towns of concourse, beware. The world is apt to stick close to those who have lived, and get wealth there: a country life and estate, I love best for my children."

With such views, he, in 1703, sent to Pennsylvania his son William. During the absence of his father, this young man had been drawn into all the fashionable dissipations of the day. Distinguished as the eldest son of the Proprietor of Pennsylvania, he was sought for, by the first people in London, and as his father says, "he had wit, kept the top company, pretended to much honour, was but over generous by half, and sharp enough to get to spend, and must be handled with much love and wisdom." In short, the society of coffee-houses and taverns, then the usual resort of the *Wits*,\* and the fashionable saloons of London, perhaps not less corrupting, had formed in him habits, not only inconsistent with his father's principles; but even, perhaps, debasing to him, as a gentleman. Distinguished for good nature, and a yielding temper, he could not withstand the temptations to which he was exposed; and when our excellent Proprietor returned to England in 1702, he found his eldest son, the hope of his house, travelling rapidly the road to ruin and disgrace. How deeply he felt this, may be seen in his letters to his secretary Logan; to whose care and guidance he committed this son, when he prevailed on him to tear himself away from his dangerous, though fascinating associations; hoping that an honest pride of name, good example, simple and virtuous pleasures, and an interest in the affairs of the colony, he was then destined to govern, might win him back to sobriety and virtue.

\* At Philadelphia, too, it was then the usage of gentlemen to meet their friends at a tavern. Business rarely occupied the afternoon, and at the White Hart Inn, the most reputable in the place, were generally to be found some of the most respectable persons of the province, with their pipes and bottle, enjoying that easy and unrestrained conversation, which they would perhaps have found no where else.

“Take him,” says he, “immediately away to Pennsbury, and there give him the true state of things, and weigh down his levities, as well as temper his resentments, and inform his understanding, since all depends upon it, as well for his future happiness, as, in measure, the poor country’s. I propose Governor Hamilton, Samuel Carpenter, Isaac Norris, young Shippen, and the best, and most civilized of others, for his conversation, and I hope Colonel Markham, and cousin Ashton, and the Fairmans may come in for a share, but the first chiefly. Watch him, outwill him, and honestly overreach him for his good. Fishing, little journeys, (as to see the Indians, &c.) will divert him; no rambling to New York, nor mungrill correspondence. Entreat friends to bear all they can, and melt towards him, at least civilly, if not religiously; he will confide in thee. If Samuel Carpenter, Richard Hill, and Isaac Norris, could gain his confidence, and tender Griffith Owen, (not the least likely, for he feels and sees,) I should rejoice. Pennsylvania has cost me dearer in my poor child, than in all other considerations. The Lord direct his ways for his honour, his father’s comfort, and his own peace; may thou have the religious authority, and persuasiveness with him, to balance against passion, levity, and too great openness. He has excellling qualities, with his lessening infirmities.” And, again: “He aims to improve his study, this winter with thee, as well as to know the country, the laws and people, and his interests and mine therein; use thy utmost influence upon him, to make him happy in himself, and me in him. Pray watch over him for good; qualify his heats, inform his judgment, increase his knowledge; he has a more than ordinary opinion of thee, advise him to proper company; give him fitting hints how far to go, he being naturally too open, and prevent his quarrelling with our enemies, an advantage they may improve to our prejudice. In short, keep him inoffensively employed, at those times that he is not profitably concerned. Let the first be the country, its laws, and constitutions, and the settlement of the town, and coun-



ties; then study, with intervals, in the woods, and upon the waters. Be as much as possible with him, and let him not be at any public house after the allowed hours, nor keep any expense at Pennsbury, in entertainments, &c." But alas, his good father was in this instance, as in so many others, destined to have a cruel disappointment. James Logan devoted himself to him as his mentor; they went to Pennsbury together, the young Proprietor received the affectionate welcome of the Indians, and at Philadelphia established themselves in a good style, at Clark's great house. The principal friends of his father noticed him with kindness, letters from Philadelphia say "he is generally well received, and seldom fails of drawing love where he comes." His natural sweetness of temper, and inclination to what is good are spoken of; but the good influence he was under at first, was not lasting. Encouraged by the imprudent and dissipated Governor Evans, and a few others, he fell into his old habits, which soon becoming notorious in so small a place, brought him into disgrace and trouble. Having lost the respect of all the better parts of society here, he remained not much longer in America, but returned with mortified pride to England, where he rapidly sank each day deeper into the slough of dissipation; and having deserted his wife and friends, and imbittered the last years of reason of his excellent father, died a few years after him in France.\*

William Penn was not destined to see a son grow up an honour to his name and credit to his care. His first born, Springet, died at the age of twenty, a youth of the finest genius, and most admirable virtues; the father's beautiful memorial of this son is to be found in his works. His three youngest sons were still small, when their father's intellect

\* While in Pennsylvania, young William Penn, openly professed his disunion from the Society of Friends; on his return to England, to the great affliction of his father, he declared his intention of entering the army, or navy, and finally stood as a candidate for Parliament, but failed in carrying his election; all these were doubtless expedients for avoiding his creditors, who pressed him sorely, and obliged him to fly to the continent.

became clouded, and his power of instruction taken away. Whether Hannah Penn attended to his admirable directions, for the education of his elder children, I know not. Her limited means would hardly permit her to follow out his generous views, contained in the following extract: "Let their learning be liberal, spare no cost, for by such parsimony all is lost that is saved." Of the eldest and youngest, John and Richard, we know little; Thomas was bred a merchant, and had excellent business habits and talents, though he did not continue to pursue commerce. By the death and will of John, becoming Proprietor of three fourths of the province, he was chiefly occupied with its affairs, and he fulfilled his charge with good sense, liberality, and honour.

I could wish, that Clarkson had printed the whole of William Penn's "Rules for the Regulation of his Family." Though they chiefly concern the government and conduct of his servants, they would have been altogether interesting, and would have assisted me in the faint picture I have presented of his domestic life. What is, however, quoted in the Memoirs of William Penn is important, and, as rules of conduct, might be placed with those of his admirable Enchiridion. Regularity, modesty, and temperance, are simply and forcibly enjoined, and even in his industrious disposition of hours, the greatness of his mind is shown.

Family devotion commenced and ended every day. We can well imagine this patriarchal scene, where this good man, surrounded by his family and servants, offered up his daily prayers and services to God; a usage once common in the households of country gentlemen in England: I would I could believe it had many followers in modern times, and in our own country. Our churches are, indeed, crowded on the first day of the week, but pride, or the fear of the world, may carry thither the modern Pharisee. Our preachers may boldly defend the faith, and vehemently denounce the follies and pleasures of the world; but lust of power, vanity, hypocrisy, may lurk in the bosom of the Elder. Prayers may

be offered in the privacy of the closet, yet is it possible to protect them from selfishness? But, in the humble offering of a whole family, where the master and servant kneel side by side, and the world sees us not, neither pride of rank, nor vanity of attainments, nor sectarian bigotry, nor single interests can enter. Or, if in an exercise so endearing, so knitting together of hearts, any thing of selfishness enters, it is so refined and elevated, that it no longer deserves that name.

Let it be borne in mind, that three times in every day was assembled for religious duties the family of William Penn; and if there be any who have been shocked at the picture of his worldliness (if they call it so) that I have presented, I ask them only to look into their own hearts, and inquire whether they have as often even thought of their Creator in the daily revolution of the sun; to search their own memories, and see if in their life they have done half the good to their fellow creatures.

Had William Penn been only a despised and persecuted dissenter, I would not boast of his consistency. Had he always lived in ascetic seclusion, I would not praise his moderation and temperance. But, as the associate of statesmen, the counsellor of princes, the friend of the worldly and the witty, he was neither dazzled by splendour, nor seduced by pleasure; enjoying rank and influence, his heart stood the test of prosperity, as well as it sustained the trials of persecution and adversity. Concerned in affairs of state, he was guiltless of intrigue; possessed of power, he was never arbitrary; prodigal in his expenses, but only for the public good; in want of money, he was still a patriot. Such was the Founder of Pennsylvania. When we turn from his public career to his private life, his virtues offer a picture not less delightful, which I should have pride and pleasure in attempting, had I not found, in the Testimony of Reading meeting in England, a character of William Penn, so beautiful and so complete, that I could not hope to equal it; and as it is the evidence of his contemporaries and neighbours, who knew him last and best,

and has the sanction of a religious society, proverbially scrupulous in their eulogies, I will read it to you entire, and with it shall conclude.

After speaking of his death and funeral, the memorial continues:—

“He was a man of great abilities—of an excellent sweetness of disposition—quick of thought, and of ready utterance,—full of the qualifications of true discipleship, even ‘love, without dissimulation:’ As extensive in charity, as comprehensive in knowledge, and to whom malice and ingratitude were utter strangers; so ready to forgive enemies, that the ungrateful were not excepted.”

“Had not the management of his temporal affairs been attended with some deficiencies, envy itself would be to seek for matter of accusation; and even in charity, that part of his conduct may be attributed to a peculiar sublimity of mind; notwithstanding which, he may, without straining his character, be ranked among the learned, the good, and the great; whose abilities are sufficiently manifested throughout his laborious writings, which are so many lasting monuments of his admired qualifications, and are the esteem of learned and judicious men among all persuasions.”

“And although, in old age, by reason of some shocks of a violent distemper, his intellects were much impaired; yet his sweetness and loving disposition surmounted its utmost efforts, and remained, when reason almost failed.”

“In fine—he was learned, without vanity—apt, without forwardness—facetious in conversation, yet weighty and serious—of an extraordinary greatness of mind, yet void of the stain of ambition—as free from rigid gravity, as he was clear of unseemly levity—a man—a scholar—a friend—a minister, surpassing in speculative endowments—whose memorial will be valued with the wise, and blessed with the just.”

## APPENDIX.

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If the particulars dwelt on in the preceding pages, *now* appear trivial and of no interest, they will, at least, if preserved in the Transactions of the Historical Society, grow into importance, as the period and manners they illustrate shall, in the progress of time, become more distantly removed; and when William Penn and his followers shall be considered as ancient as Columbus and his companions are by *our* generation, we shall, perhaps, be thanked by our successors for handing down to them a description of his dress and a record of his expenses.

With this view I add, as an appendix, the following additional excerpts from the cash book.

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The whole expenses of William Penn from November, 1699, to the same month in 1701, amounted to £2,049, Pennsylvania currency.

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The servants of William Penn, named in the cash book, are Mary Lofty, housekeeper; Ann Nichols, cook; John Sotcher, steward at Pennsbury; Hugh Sharp, gardener; Robert Beekham, man servant; Dorothy Mullars, a German maid, and Dorcas, a *negrine*. These do not appear to have been the whole of the establishment. There were evidently no slaves at Pennsbury, contemporary with the cash book, except such as were hired of their masters for a limited period.

The following list of prices will give some idea of the relative expenses of the times. It consists of extracts from the cash book, beginning in November, 1699.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Coal per ton, . . .	2			A deer, . . . . .		15	4
Wood for 10 cords,	4	1	6	Cocoa nuts for 20			
Cheese per pound,			6	pounds, . . . . .	2	10	
Cider per barrel, .	1	10		Sherry wine per do-			
Lime, for 6 bushels,		11		zen, . . . . .	2		
Oil per barrel, . . .	2	5		Canary wine per do-			
A barrel of olives,		10		zen, . . . . .	2	14	
Molasses, 1 hhd. at				A barrel of gunpow-			
per gallon, . . . .		3	4	der, . . . . .	15		
Oats per bushel, . .		2		A horse bought of			
Load of hay, . . . .		9		J. Janney, . . . .	15		
Cranberries per bu-				A boat for the plan-			
shel, . . . . .		2		tation, . . . . .	5	10	
Sugar per pound,			12	Cook's wages for a			
Candles 3 1-2 do-				year, . . . . .	9		
zen, . . . . .	2	9	8	Wire cage with a			
Candles 70 pounds				cistern, . . . . .		13	
wt. from Boston,	3	10		Six chairs, . . . . .	2	2	
Pr. of leather stock-				Six cushions to			
ings, . . . . .	3	2		Claus Berents,	3		
Pr. of stockings for				A chest of drawers,*	7		
Governor Penn,		8		Coat for a labouring			
Pr. for a servant,		1	8	man, . . . . .		15	
For dressing the Go-				A farrier at New			
vernor's hat, . . .		1	8	Castle for cure of			
Ton of flour, . . . .	17			a horse, . . . . .		6	
A quarter of beef				A lawyer's fee to T.			
146lb. per pound,			4½	Clark, . . . . .	3	16	8
A hog, . . . . .	1			A painted skin, . .		12	

A labouring man's hire varied from 2s. 6d. to 4s. per diem.

To judge of these prices, it is important to know what was the provincial currency, and this I cannot exactly ascertain; but the guinea of gold usually sold for £1. 13s.; though sometimes for 32s. The pound sterling is in one place estimated at 30s. currency. The English crown at 8s.; while the dollar varied from 6s. to 6s. 2d.; and the piece of 8, from 7s. 4d. to 7s. 8d.

\* A wedding present from Lætitia to Mary Lofty, the housekeeper, on her marriage, to John Sotcher.



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