

## “WEAR THE SWORD AS LONG AS THOU CANST”. WILLIAM PENN IN MYTH AND HISTORY

In July 1940, before America entered the war, Harold Evans of the AFSC testified before the Senate seeking to justify the Quaker claim for conscientious objectors who would not serve in the military but who would provide alternative public service. Evans told the senators the story of young William Penn and his sword.<sup>1</sup> The anecdote says that Penn – who had shortly before become a Quaker – approached George Fox with the question whether he could continue to wear a sword. Fox’s answer was: “Wear it (the sword) as long as thou canst.” The next time Fox met Penn, he had no sword. The story has long been popular among Friends, but for Quakers, who have a testimony for truth telling, the issue is whether Evans was speaking fiction to power.

This article will be examining the documentary evidence for three popular traditions about William Penn – the sword story, the treaty with the Native Americans, and the “holy experiment.” The topic is Penn in living memory and the means used by Friends, biographers, and the general public to maintain his fame. We will be concerned with William Penn the hero, or Penn as symbol or myth – bearing in mind that people create myths to capture and preserve what they regard as important truths. The conclusion will address the issue of the relevance of three centuries of traditions about Penn, who remains an elusive and monumental man.

The sword anecdote was mentioned in no eighteenth or early nineteenth century biographies of Penn and was not cited in the recent four-volume edition of Penn’s letters. Its first appearance in print is Samuel Janney’s *Life of Penn*, published in 1852. Janney’s account provided a context for Penn questioning Fox. Penn knew that carrying a sword while in Paris had saved his life, because he disarmed an opponent who challenged him in a late night duel. The story also has Penn worried about adhering to a scriptural command: “Christ has said, ‘He that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one.’” The answer of George Fox to Penn’s query: “I advise thee to wear it as long as thou canst.” “Not long after this they met again, when William had no sword, and George said to him, ‘William, where is thy sword?’ ‘Oh!’ said he, ‘I have taken thy advice; I wore it

as long as I could.' " Janney, who sought to be a careful scholar, provides a footnote.<sup>2</sup> The story was related to him by I. P. of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, who learned it from James Simpson, b. 1743. I. P. is not identified. The story's authenticity rests upon oral tradition.

Now we know that there was an oral tradition surrounding Penn. William Sewel in his 1722 history tells us that he knew many stories that he is not including.<sup>3</sup> That comment comes shortly after a story he does include about the King, a Quaker, and the hat honour. A Quaker came to court wearing his hat. In the midst of people, he encountered the King, whose hat was off. Normally only the King wore his hat at court; everyone else uncovered as a sign of respect. When the Quaker asked why his majesty was uncovered, the King replied that only one person's head could be covered in the presence of the king. The story appears in both Gerald Croese's and Sewel's histories of Friends – the two earliest published histories – one of which was critical (1696) and the other favourable to Quakers (1722). Neither account says the Quaker was Penn whom they in the next pages discuss. By 1736 the story was recounted as involving Penn and Charles. Here is an example of the tendency of good stories to attach themselves to significant figures.<sup>4</sup>

There are other oral traditions involving King James and Penn. There is a supposed dialogue between Penn and King James over religion with the King asking Penn the difference between Quakerism and his religion. Penn asks for the King's hat and compares his plain hat with the King's beribboned headpiece. Penn's conclusions: Quakerism is a plain, unornamented religion without the superfluous finery of Roman Catholicism. Another tradition contained in Clarkson's biography is that King James came to Quaker meetings twice to hear Penn.<sup>5</sup>

The point is that since we learn from Sewel that there was an oral tradition, we cannot dismiss the sword story only because there is no early written record. And it should be noted that there is variation in the sword story in which Penn gives up his sword in a flamboyant gesture in Ireland on his first imprisonment – at a time he announced that he was a Quaker. It is easy to imagine the young radical convert making such a gesture, because at his second arrest, after publishing *The Sandy Foundation Shaken*, Penn sent a letter to his father (and the Bishop of London and the King) announcing that before he would recant he was prepared to make his prison his grave.

This other sword story is based upon what is known as the Harvey manuscript dating from 1729. Penn in Ireland had been arrested. "As

he went to prison he gave his sword to his man & never wore one after."<sup>6</sup> The Harvey document is the only source for another story that on the same day when a soldier broke into the meeting, "W. P. Go's to him takes him by ye collar and would have throw'd him down stairs but a friend or two come to him desireing to let him alone for they was a peaceable people." Since the two events seemingly happened so close together, the Harvey manuscript has Penn learning the peace testimony very quickly.

At first glance Harvey's account would seem definitely to refute the second sword story. But it is not quite so simple. The Harvey manuscript is also based on oral tradition. It is headed "An account of ye Convincement of Wm Pen deliver'd by himself to Thom Harvey related me in a brief manner as well as his memory would serve after such a distance of time." Neither Thomas Harvey nor "me" have ever been identified.<sup>7</sup> So there is an interval from at least 1699 to 1729. Most of Harvey's account of Penn's conversion cannot be confirmed because it is the only source for the events, but there are at least two questionable assertions. Penn was "sent to Oxford where continued till he was expell'd for writing a book ye Preists did not like." There is no evidence elsewhere of a book written by Penn at Oxford, and there are alternative stories of why Penn was "banished." Historian William I. Hull concluded that the Oxford part of the Harvey's history is "not probable." Others have wondered whether it was credible that Sir William Penn had "Tears Runing down his Cheeks" at hearing Thomas Low. So while the Harvey manuscript tends to discredit Janney's story, it is not absolutely conclusive.<sup>8</sup>

To prove the authenticity of the Fox-Penn dialogue on the sword, it would be helpful to have accounts of an early meeting between Penn and Fox, but there is no account of when the young convert and older leader first met. Again, the negative proves nothing decisively. So we must raise the question as to whether the other actions of the two men are congruent with the story. Joseph Besse's 1726 biography attached to the *Collection of Works* told of the evolution of young newly converted Billy Penn's thinking through the implications of the hat honour. After a family friend in Ireland sent news of his son's conversion, Admiral Sir William Penn summoned the young man home. After several stormy scenes, the father asked William as a minimum to agree to uncover in the presence of the King, Duke of York, and himself. William asked to retire for a time of "Fasting and Supplication" to know the will of God, and soon returned to announce that he could not agree.<sup>9</sup> The father then turned the young man out of the house with blows, although his mother provided him

money.<sup>10</sup> Besse's account is interesting for the sympathetic way in which he treats the Admiral; one can almost imagine him worrying that young Quaker boys might find in Penn's behaviour justification for their own adolescent rebellions.

Besse's hat incident shows that young William Penn, who did not observe the hat honour at his first return home, seems to have made a complete acceptance of all the Quaker testimonies at his conversion; at least there is no historical record of a gradual growth. And while converted Quakers during the 1650s who had served in the army might have continued to wear swords, certainly by 1667, when Penn declared himself a Quaker, the peace testimony was well established and the Quaker testimony on suffering for faith would seem to preclude such a practice. So Harvey's account of Penn's giving up his sword seems more likely.

Fox's advice is also not typical. One cannot imagine Fox, for example, saying to Penn: "Attend the Church of England as long as thou canst," or "Swear oaths as long as thou canst." Now, it might be reasonable to expect Fox to handle Penn, as a prestigious potential convert, with care. Quakers did expect a growth in grace, but they also demanded that all follow the Light in their consciences. Fox rarely acted so indirectly on a matter of Truth. Yet there are exceptions. Rosemary Moore has discovered that Friends allowed a great deal of latitude to Isaac Penington, another prestigious convert. Larry Ingle notes that Fox wavered on whether Friends should accept judicial confiscation of estates for refusing to pay tithes and concluded "that on balance Fox was more attuned to compromise than he has normally been depicted, especially when it came to status and wealth."<sup>11</sup> Still, both Fox's and Friends' normal practice was to insist upon the totality of Quaker practices. Fox's success came not because he compromised and followed what we regard as psychologically astute practices, but because he so unyieldingly prepared to resist the demands of the Restoration Church of England

My conclusion is that Janney's sword story seems out of place in seventeenth-century Quakerism, but it certainly fits the mind-set of mid-nineteenth century American Hicksites like Janney who sought to legitimize themselves by history. These were the people who popularized the term "inner light" to refer to the Light of God Within, published thousands of pages of the writings of early Friends, named their college Swarthmore to show that they preserved the seventeenth-century faith, objected strenuously to external authority or credal statements in religion, and saw religion as a search for truth in which the verification came from the

individual. Hicksites like Lucretia Mott flirted with Transcendentalism and Unitarianism and esteemed Penn as an exemplar of reason in religion who broke with priestcraft and evangelical orthodoxy. After all, one of the first signs of the impending break among Philadelphia Quakers was the reprinting of Penn's *Sandy Foundation Shaken*, a book which had landed its author in jail for its seeming denial of the Trinity. For Hicksites, the Penn and Fox of the sword story represent the earlier Friends as they wished to remember them, tolerant and arriving at community consensus through a growth in grace in the conscience rather than from external authority.

Thomas Clarkson's 1813 biography popularized other stories based on oral tradition to humanize Penn. These stories first appeared in Robert Sutcliff's *Travels in Some Part of North America*. Sutcliff, an Englishman who came to the newly independent country in 1804-6, told two stories about Penn in America. In one a boy in Merion, Pennsylvania at night crept up the stairs in a house in which the proprietor was staying, peeked through a crack in the wood, and saw Penn at prayer. Sutcliff provided a source: a sister of O. J., one of the Friends exiled to Virginia during the Revolution. This was probably Owen Jones, Jr. who was exiled to Virginia.<sup>12</sup> The boy or the teller of the tradition was Jones' sister's grandfather, probably Jonathan Jones of Merion. In the other story, Penn, while riding in the woods to a meeting at Haverford, encountered a barefoot girl named Rebecca Wood from Darby going to the same place. He offered the little girl a ride into the community and together they rode into town, he being unconcerned about a lack of dignified appearance. The moral was explicit: "he did not think it beneath him thus to help along a poor bare-footed girl on her way to meeting."<sup>13</sup> Again, we have no external verification of these accounts which rest upon oral traditions. In the Sutcliff version, the girl is not named, and Penn on the way to meeting "would occasionally take up a little-bare-footed girl behind him, to relieve her when tired." Like the sword story, these are designed to humanize Penn. But unlike the sword tradition which I think distorts what we know of Penn and Fox and fits the needs of the nineteenth-century Hicksite Friends, these stories, because they have not made the leap from England to America and seem less significant, are more likely true. A child who had ridden with Penn or a boy who, being naughty, had spied on the proprietor at night would remember and retell the incident. However, I would have more confidence in the Rebecca Wood story if I were sure that seventeenth-century parents would allow a little girl to walk alone

through the woods on a path for several miles to meeting. These two Penn stories can be retold if carefully labelled as one-hundred year old traditions because a likely provenance can be established and they fulfill the first requirement of medicine, which is "to do no harm."

When I mentioned my sceptical conclusions on the Janney's sword account to a responsible Quaker lady, she wailed, "But it's my favourite anecdote. Can I still tell it as a story?" My response: continue to tell it as an example of Quaker traditions, which tell us more about the faith of Hicksite and modern Friends than Penn and Fox. We should treat the sword story as analogous to reading medieval or Reformation biblical exegesis. Such exegesis contains many insights, but we learn more about the exegetes than the *Bible*. Perhaps, in keeping with the temper of the anecdote, I should have replied, "Tell it as long as thou canst."

## II.

In 1869 President Ulysses S. Grant sought to reform the U.S. government's treatment of the native Americans west of the Mississippi. Having heard stories of Quakers' long tradition of work on behalf of the Indians and believing that they would be honest agents, he entrusted the implementation of government policy to Friends.<sup>14</sup> Quakers, who recalled not only the initial seventy years of harmony but their long history of advocacy for Indian rights beginning in 1755, also believed that they would be effective in working with Native Americans. (One Quaker Indian agent took an engraving of "Penn's Treaty" with him to the West.) Quakers then and now date the beginnings of American Quaker concern with the Indians with William Penn. The visible symbol of this tradition is William Penn's treaty with the Indians, an event which supposedly took place in 1682 on his first visit to America.

The first pictorial representation of Penn and an Indian was on a medallion made in England in 1731; in 1755, American Friends created a medal with a picture of George II on one side and a Quaker, presumably Penn, and the Indian on the other. The Pennsylvania government also commissioned a gorget, a piece of armour worn around the neck, with a picture of Penn and the Indian with hands extended in friendship.<sup>15</sup> (I haven't figured out why Friends would use a decorative piece of armour as a sign of peace. It's like a pacifist sword.) The coin and the gorget, created during Pennsylvania's first Indian war, were probably given to Indians during negotiations as a way of rebuilding confidence. With a commission from the Penn

family in England, Benjamin West in 1771 painted the famous picture of the treaty. Thomas Clarkson, at the beginning of the nineteenth century in his *Portrait of Quakerism*, said that an engraving of West's painting was the only work of art to be found in most Friends' houses.

Long before the Revolution, Philadelphians revered an elm tree under which the treaty took place. When, in 1810, this elm blew down in a storm, pieces of the wood were saved and sons and grandsons of the "treaty elm" were planted at a few places in the Philadelphia area. (Probably all the tree descendants were killed in the Dutch elm disease epidemic of the 1970s). In the 1850s Granville Penn donated to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania a wampum belt which he claimed was given to William Penn at the time of the first treaty under the elm tree at Shackamaxon Creek.

Like the sword story, it is possible to date the first written account of Penn's treaty. Voltaire in his *Letters to the English Nation* describes the event as "the only Treaty between these people and the Christians that was not ratified by an oath, and that was never infringed."<sup>16</sup> Voltaire admired Friends, at least as much as he liked any religious sect, but his interpretation was also an attempt to embarrass the established churches in Europe. Voltaire could have read about the good results of Penn's and the Friends' policies on Indians from several sources. Before he visited Pennsylvania, Penn wrote an eloquent letter to the native kings in which he stressed his desire for good relations, justice, fair dealing, redress of any grievances, and peace. The Concessions and Agreements also show a desire to conciliate and live in peace with the Indians. Penn's 1683 *Letter to the Free Society of Traders* contained a long and sympathetic description of native culture and how they conducted themselves at negotiations over land.<sup>17</sup>

Early accounts of Pennsylvania, published and in manuscript, emphasized the harmony in Indian-colonist relations prevailing in the colony, which contrasted with events elsewhere in America. John Oldmixon's 1708 history of the British Empire stressed the peace between Quakers and natives as caused by just land dealings and mentioned that no Friend had ever been killed by an Indian. (This may be the origin of the tradition that the Native Americans never killed a Quaker.)<sup>18</sup> Caleb Pusey, an early settler who was an elder, a business associate of Penn, and defender of Friends against George Keith, wrote a manuscript history of Pennsylvania (pre-1725) in which he idealized Penn and stressed his creating peaceful relations among Quakers and Indians.<sup>19</sup> Pusey mentioned the Indians and a



*The remnant of the Great Tree as it now appears  
at Stoke Park, under which the celebrated Treaty was held  
between WILLIAM PENN and the Original Natives of America.*



governor in negotiations in 1721, referring to a "league" and "treaties" of friendship and peace between Penn and the Indians. His account would later be drawn upon by Samuel Smith of New Jersey and Robert Proud of Pennsylvania, who composed the first published histories of Pennsylvania.<sup>20</sup> Though they discussed good relations with Indians coming from Penn's policies, neither mentioned a specific treaty even though the tradition was established by the time they wrote. Their descriptions of the meetings between Penn and the Indians also did not mention the elm and did not locate the place at Shackamaxon Creek.

The most likely source for Voltaire's treaty is Besse's biography (1726). When Joseph Besse wrote what in essence was the first biography of Penn, though consisting mainly of Penn's letters with a little added narrative to tie them together, his very brief account of Pennsylvania reprinted Penn's 1682 letter to the chiefs. Here Penn announces that before he comes he will be sending over commissioners to treat about land and to enter into a firm "league of peace." Note that it is not Penn who is to make the league. Besse then went on to say "His friendly and pacifick manner of treating the Indians begat in them an extraordinary love and regard to him and his people, so that they have maintained a perfect amity with the English of Pennsylvania ever since."<sup>21</sup> Besse also mentioned the negotiations of the Indians with Governor Keith in 1723 in which the Native Americans evoked the memory of Penn and his covenant of friendship. Voltaire could have learned about negotiations with the Indians by Penn's laudatory description of a ceremonial meeting included in his "Report to the Free Society of Traders," favorably mentioned and reprinted in the *Collection of Works*. Not unreasonably, Voltaire concluded that these negotiations resulted in a formal peace treaty based upon a written document signed by Penn and the Indians.

Throughout the eighteenth century Indians recalled the just treatment of Penn and the covenant of friendship he had established. In 1720 they reminded Governor Keith that at their first council Penn had promised "so much Love and Friendship, that he would not call them Brothers, because Brothers might differ; nor Children, because they might offend and require Correction; but he would reckon them as one Body, one Blood, one Heart, and one Head."<sup>22</sup> A colonial governor in 1717 reminded the Lenai Lenape of nine policies affirmed by Penn in a league or covenant of friendship.<sup>23</sup> Stressing the covenant established between the proprietor and the Indians was a useful negotiating tool for the colonial government and the Native

Americans. Because Pennsylvania had no militia and the Quaker-dominated Assembly did not intend to establish one, keeping peace was imperative. Peace with the Indians served to justify Quaker reluctance to provide for military defence and served as a pragmatic justification for pacifism. For the Indians, who did not wish to be attacked and to preserve their lands, recalling Penn's just treatment would remind the proprietor's secretary, governors, sons, and the Assembly to live up to their heritage. So both Native Americans and Pennsylvanians reaffirmed the covenant made by Penn and the Indians. Soon both sides acted as if there had been a formal treaty with the Indians, even when each violated its spirit.

Before the American Revolution an oral tradition of Penn's treaty was well established. So when Thomas Penn commissioned the American-born Benjamin West to create the picture, West knew the traditions and, in the belief that his ancestors had been present, put his father and brother into the picture, although in the painting there is no treaty elm and the place is not Shackamaxon.<sup>24</sup> Almost immediately, those who were historically informed saw West's anachronistic touches: in making Penn too old, in dressing him in a later style of clothes, in the houses that were not yet built, and in having the Indians carry weapons at a treaty negotiation. West's picture, probably commissioned for family pride, also served to remind the colonists of the benevolence of proprietary government and the necessity of peaceful adjustments of dispute with the Penn family and British government. During the Revolution, the painting lost any immediate political content, but in the form of the Hall engraving it remained popular in Britain and America. Its appeal may have rested on its exotic content in harmonizing savage Indians, placid Quakers, and primitive America. In the nineteenth century Friends saw it as a tribute to the practicality of justice and pacifism in preserving tranquility. The picture also glorified the past for a new nation seeking historical roots. West's "Penn's Treaty" painting became an icon to contrast the results of Penn's justice with the incessant Indian wars fought by the United States.

The difficulty with Penn's treaty was that neither members of the Penn family in England nor antiquarians in post-Revolutionary Philadelphia, seeking to write biographies of William Penn and the history of Pennsylvania, could find in the colonial laws, records of the Assembly and Council, and papers of governors any written record of the treaty. Why, they wondered, would deeds for land sales be preserved but not the much more significant treaty? Thomas Clarkson, who wrote his biography of Penn to show that a Christian

could be a statesman, admitted that he could not find any documents of the treaty, but was certain of its existence. After all, Pennsylvanians revered the "treaty elm" and the Indians recalled the covenant. Clarkson learned that Joseph Kett, who lived near Norwich, had in his possession the blue sash worn by Penn at the time of the treaty. So Clarkson created a scene of Penn, a few Quakers, and many Indians signing a parchment treaty.<sup>25</sup>

Because they believed that an event so important must have merited a documentary record, the Philadelphia gentlemen who created the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in the 1820s investigated thoroughly. John Watson's *Annals* used the recollections of Mary Preston, a 100 year-old woman of sharp intellect who died in 1774, who distinctly remembered Penn's arrival. Penn was the handsomest man she had ever seen and he had engaged the Native Americans in a jumping contest, which he had won.<sup>26</sup> She did not mention the treaty, but later biographers used her account of Penn's eating Indian food and competing with them as events occurring at the treaty negotiations. Of course, her memory is open to question. After all, Penn may not have been a handsome man. He had lost his hair from the small pox, a disease which often left scars on the face. He does not appear to have engaged in regular exercise, and had just completed a two-month voyage on a cramped ship in which he nursed passengers during a smallpox outbreak. In any athletic contest, he would have been competing against Indians who did not spend most of their time in reading, writing, and attending Quaker meetings. If Penn outperformed the Native Americans, they probably let him win. So, unlike Watson, modern historians will not find the woman's memory reliable.

Watson, Roberts Vaux, and other Philadelphia gentlemen learned from many good sources that Penn met with the Indians several times on both his first and second visits, and it is quite possible that one of those meetings was at Shackamaxon under an elm. The issue is not Penn's wanting peace with the Indians, but whether a treaty took place in 1682. Does the elm story authenticate the treaty? Our first written source is from Richard Peters, Jr. Peters, an old man in 1822, recalled an incident as a child swimming in Shackamaxon Creek. Benjamin Lay, an eccentric hunchback whose antislavery tactics were long remembered, used to remind the boys that they were swimming beneath the "treaty elm."<sup>27</sup> However, Lay migrated to Pennsylvania in 1733. A second source used to authenticate the treaty is the wampum belt given to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania which the Penn family in the nineteenth century

claimed was given at the first treaty. Unfortunately, there is no documentary evidence connecting this or the other wampum belts preserved by the Penn family with the first treaty, and ethnographers are not even sure that the belts originated with the Lenni Lenape Indians.<sup>28</sup> Relying upon oral traditions of the treaty and the elm, the Indians' testimonial, and later the Penn family's wampum belt, one member of the Historical Society concluded that there was a Penn's treaty, and that it was not a land sale. However, the promises were verbal and not written down as the custom with illiterate Indians. The investigation by two other Philadelphia gentlemen came to an opposite conclusion because Governor Patrick Gordon in 1728 referred to it "in writing on record." So the treaty became, either – as the Frenchman Marsillac insisted, "the only treaty never written, signed, nor broken" – or a document once extant but no longer available.<sup>29</sup>

Qualms about the existence of the treaty did not hamper nineteenth-century biographers of Penn or historians of Pennsylvania.<sup>30</sup> The most reliable admit that there is no documentary evidence; not until 1900 does Sidney Fisher argue that there was no such treaty and that Penn and Indians followed normal colonial-American negotiation patterns of making rhetorical promises before getting down to the business of land sales. He concluded that the significance was not in the promises Penn made, which were not particularly original, but in the fact that Penn and the Quakers kept them.<sup>31</sup>

Throughout the nineteenth century historians of Quakers and Pennsylvania and biographers of Penn continued to discuss the treaty, basing their remarks on Voltaire's assertion, oral traditions, and West's picture. Penn and Indians appeared on tablecloths, china, playing cards, puzzles, and advertisements.<sup>32</sup> Part of the appeal remained romanticism: in an America undergoing constant Indian wars over land, these were non-threatening noble savages. For non-Quakers the meaning of the tableau changed from peace to trustworthiness, and the Indians became only background materials. For merchants, Penn represented honesty, a willingness not to take advantage. So the customer, in some strange sense now analogous to the savages, would not be cheated, because the product was of good quality. Representations of the treaty were used on bank notes, insurance policies, and the labels of a wide variety of products. When two Philadelphia Quaker merchants (one Orthodox and one Hicksite) created the Strawbridge and Clothier department store, they took as a sign of their business practices a medallion of Penn and the Indian. The reputation of Friends for probity rather than any

personal commitment to Quakerism led a new company of cereal makers to style themselves The Quaker Oats Company and to use a Quaker in broad-brim hat similar to that worn by Penn in West's painting as a symbol on their products. In America such symbolism continued until the 1930s, but then declined, either because Friends were no longer seen as honest, or even known, or because Quaker Oats was more famous than the Society of Friends.

The most familiar image to Americans of Penn's peace and the Indians now comes not from West but from the rediscovery after 1950 of the early nineteenth-century American primitive painter, Quaker Edward Hicks. Hicks' many paintings of "The Peaceable Kingdom" make a religious use of the image of Penn's treaty. Hicks' pictures have a dual focus: one side has the lion and the lamb and the little child and the other is a representation of Penn's treaty. The border has lettering from Isaiah about the future reign of peace which the church had for centuries interpreted as foretelling the birth of Christ and an eternal peace following the return of Christ and battle at Armageddon. Hicks' paintings link Isaiah's prophecy of a peaceable kingdom with Penn's Treaty. The lion and the lamb would co-exist in peace during the future reign of Christ; Quakers and Native Americans in early Pennsylvania prefigured the coming of Christ's Peaceable Kingdom. In West's painting, the centre of focus is William Penn, the virtue belongs to Friends, and the Indians are armed savages who respond to Quakers.<sup>33</sup> The emotion evoked from viewers is nostalgia, even complacency. For Hicks, the virtue comes from God and transforms both groups and even animals, and the emotion he hoped to create was prayerful hope symbolized in the origins of Pennsylvania which could prefigure the coming new creation of a "Peaceable Kingdom." Most amazingly, Hicks had a better understanding of Penn's intentions of his "holy experiment" than any past or recent historian.

The myth or icon of Penn's treaty had both a positive and negative impact on later history. For Friends, it served as a goal to keep the meetings aware of Indian rights and abuses of the British and American governments' policies. So Friends consciously set out to make sure that the U. S. government did not fraudulently take Indian lands. Yet the myth also precluded a careful evaluation of whether Penn's treaty and policies really had brought justice in Pennsylvania.<sup>34</sup> Did honesty, the sanctity of contracts for land sales, and unlimited immigration impede the removal of the Native Americans from lands? Or did Penn's policy serve to ease Quaker and American consciences? Until the 1930s Quakers supported

Native American assimilation to European cultural norms and Christianization, even though it should have been apparent that these policies led to demoralization and loss of lands. Penn, whose knowledge of Indians was rudimentary, seems to have respected native culture; later American Friends had little more accurate information and less respect. So when Grant turned to American Friends to carry out a policy of an honest implementation of a forced assimilation, the experiment failed miserably. The Quakers could not escape their blinders imposed by their uncritical acceptance of the Penn Treaty icon; captives of a myth, they failed to realize that what was noble in 1682 was irresponsible in 1870.

### III.

The most famous phrase that Penn wrote in connection with the founding of Pennsylvania was contained in a letter to James Harrison in August, 1681. "For my

Country (I see?) the lord in the obtaineing of it: & mor(e was) I drawn inward to looke to him, & to o(we it?) to his hand & powr then to any ot(her way.?) I have so obtained it & des(ire) that I may not be unworthy of his love, but do that wch may answear his Kind providence & serve his truth & people: that an example may be Sett up to the nations. there may be room there, tho not here, for such an holy experiment."<sup>35</sup> The "holy experiment" has been used by many historians and biographers as capturing the essence of Penn's intentions for his colony. The letter containing the phrase was unknown to Besse, but printed with the "holy experiment" italicized in a footnote in Robert Proud's *History of Pennsylvania* (1797) and more prominently in Clarkson's two-volume biography. Since then the phrase has appeared in most serious biographies as well as in shorter sketches designed for children. It was the theme of Benjamin Trueblood's 1894 speech at the time of placing the statute of Penn on the tower of Philadelphia's City Hall. The "holy experiment" served as the organizing theme of artist Violet Oakley's murals in the State Capitol in Harrisburg and is in the title of many histories of early Pennsylvania and a book calling for Quaker spiritual awakening, *The Holy Experiment II*.<sup>36</sup> Countless numbers of American undergraduates have read in textbooks, and probably memorized as a possible identification question, the phrase as the heading for the section on the early history of Pennsylvania. Unlike the sword story and Indian treaty, the myth of "holy experiment" is not about the authenticity of the source – the original letter exists – but in its meaning and significance for understanding Quaker Pennsylvania.

Virtually all scholarly and popular references assume that the meaning of the "holy experiment" is encompassed in the first meaning listed in the *Oxford English Dictionary*: a "test" or "trial"; that is, a kind of scientific or empirical experiment.<sup>37</sup> Just what Penn was experimenting with varies, with the most common assertions being self-government, religious liberty, freedom, pacifism, treating the Indians justly, providing a refuge for persecuted religious minorities – all of which were features of early Pennsylvania. On occasion, the term has been extended to having Penn experimenting with democracy, separating church and state, or reforming of the criminal code and abolishing capital punishment for most crimes. Again, all these were present in the colony to some degree. Almost no one asks whether the riskiest experiment was entrusting Quakers with the power to govern, though that clearly was new, and in later life Penn might not have judged that aspect of early Pennsylvania a success. All of these interpretations have in common an assumption that the experiment was about creating political arrangements so that Quakers could practice true Christianity; even religious liberty was to prove whether such freedom would create anarchy. Unfortunately for the political interpretation, there is little evidence that Penn thought that assembly government, the rule of law, religious liberty, or pacifism needed a trial or test to prove its value or that having a government following such policies would have a decisive impact on true piety. After all, Quakerism was flourishing in Britain which had none of them.

The common mistake of the myth-makers is to overlook what the *Oxford English Dictionary* refers to as the second meaning of experiment which is "to have experience of." In one of the most often quoted passages of his *Journal*, George Fox, in authenticating knowledge gained through inward revelation, commented, "That I know and know experimentally." Penn also referred to the experience of the Inward Light as "experimental."<sup>38</sup> As a person interested in the study of nature, Penn obviously knew both the "trial" and "experience" meaning of experiment. At issue is whether Penn's holy experiment was a trial of principles of government or a sign of grace. I think the latter, and argue that in 1681 Penn saw his receiving the charter as a testament of God's providential gift and as a sign of the approach of the millennium.

In the letter to Harrison just before Penn referred to the "holy experiment," he acknowledged that the grant came from "the lord" and that he "owe it to his hand & pow(e)r then to any ot(her) way." Since the land came from God, Penn had, like the biblical people of Israel, an obligation to "serve his truth & people; that an example,

may be Sett up to the nations." The same day, Penn wrote a letter to Robert Turner in which he used essentially the same phrase: "that an example, a standard may be Sett up the Nations."<sup>39</sup> The scriptural reference for both passages is Isaiah 11: 10: "In that day the root of Jesse shall stand as an ensign to the peoples; him shall nations seek, and his dwellings shall be glorious." The Isaiah prophecy had originally been applied to the indestructible Mount Zion, the dwelling place of the Lord. The Christian Church had reinterpreted the prophecy as referring to the coming of Jesus and also to the return of Christ at the end of time and the creation of a new Jerusalem.

That Penn was not just using the verses metaphorically can be shown by looking at a letter written by Thomas Janney four days earlier. Again he referred to England as too crowded a land and contrasted it with Pennsylvania. "God will plan(t) Americha & it shall have its day: (the 5th kingdom) or Glorious day of (Jesus?) Christ in us Reserved to the last days, may have the last part of the world, the setting of the son or western world to shine in."<sup>40</sup> Notice that it is God and not Penn who is planting America. The fifth kingdom is from the book of Daniel in which the prophet tells the king that the first four kingdoms will end because of flaws in their composition, but the fifth, whose foundation is laid by God, will endure. Penn testifies in several letters, using terms still current in the Quaker community, of his religious clearness in his actions in obtaining the charter. Penn's careful waiting and his purity of motive allowed God to be "over all," that is, to show His power in creating the colony.

The "Glorious day of Christ in us Reserved to the last days" is a reference to the book of Revelation where Christ returns at the end of time making way for a new Jerusalem that will need neither sun nor moon because "the glory of God is its light" and there would be no night. Penn's metaphor joins the sun's setting in the West (i.e. America) and the Light of Christ, conflating the "son" Jesus and "sun" light.

The example to the nations, the fifth monarchy, the last days – these are the biblical language of the apocalypse, the end of time. Additional evidence of the millennial significance of the "holy experiment" comes in the name and prayer Penn gave to the colony's chief city, Philadelphia. Virtually everyone comments upon the Greek derivation of brotherly love. One biographer, ignorant of the fact that there was a religious group of Philadelphians in England, gave Penn the credit for inventing the word. Only Sydney Fisher in 1900 also noticed that Philadelphia is a city mentioned in the book of



Revelation, but he misunderstood the significance of the biblical passage.<sup>41</sup> In Revelation 3 the “angel of the church in Philadelphia” writes, “I know your works,” and prophesies that the town will become “the city of my God, the New Jerusalem which comes down from my God out of heaven.”

The messianic utopianism that Penn manifested before coming to Pennsylvania continued to be expressed during the first visit. In 1684 just before he returned to England, Penn wrote a farewell letter to prominent Friends in the government in which he included what has become known as the prayer for Philadelphia:

“And thou, Philadelphia, the virgin (settlemt) of this province, named before thou wert born, wt love, wt care, wt service, and wt travail, have there been to bring thee forth & preserve thee from such as would (abuse) and defile thee. o that thou may be kept from the evil that would overwhelm thee; that, faithful to the god of thy mercies, in the life of righteousness thou mayst be preserved to the end. my soul prays to god for thee, that thou mayst stand in the day of trial, that thy children be blessed of the Lord . . . .”<sup>42</sup>

There are four parts of this prayer which are important for our purposes; two parts have double meaning: the “virgin settlement” and the significance of being “named before thou wert born.” Philadelphia was a virgin, that is, a new and unsoiled town which Penn had named in England and founded in Pennsylvania. Yet the prayer also links the city with a birth, a virgin birth, recalling the purity of Penn’s motives in founding the colony. Before “thou wert born, what love, what care, what service, what travail, has there been to bring thee forth and preserve thee.” Philadelphia, like the land of Israel in both Isaiah and Jeremiah, is a virgin; and the city, before its birth, was named not only by Penn but also named and described by John the author of Revelation. In Revelation 12:2 the woman was “with child, in anguish for delivery.” And after the dragon comes, “her child was caught up to God . . . and the woman fled into the wilderness, where she has a place prepared by God.” Another significant phrase: “that . . . thou mayest be preserved to the end.” The end of what? We think of the death of an individual as the end; but cities endure virtually forever – except that all cities except Jerusalem will cease at the eschaton. And what accompanies the end of time: the four horseman of the apocalypse and the war between Christ and the antichrist – a period of stress and trial. Penn’s prayer is “that thou mayest stand in the day of trial;” the day of trial could be either the series of trials at the end of the world (I Peter 4:12 “concerning the fiery trial which is to come” or Revelation 3:10 in

which Philadelphia is preserved from the "trial") or the trial before God at the last judgment with the separation of the good from bad. On this occasion, it is crucial that the children of Philadelphia be "blessed."

Penn's vision of godly Pennsylvania was not unique. It was echoed in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting's epistle to London Friends in 1683: "o(u)r god hath engaged us, yea he hath over Come us wth his Antient glory, the Desert sounds, the wilderness rejoices A Visitation inwardly & outwardly is Come to America, God is Lord of all the Earth & at or setting of the sun will his name be famous."<sup>43</sup> Notice that the founding of Pennsylvania is the spread of the lordship of God over all the earth. One would have thought that God's name was already famous, but invoking the "setting of the sun" which is in the West where America is located is another reference to the apocalypse as described in Revelation.

The conclusion is clear: the myth that Pennsylvania was conceived as a "holy experiment" in free government and religious liberty is wrong, because Penn did not think such political arrangements were holy. Instead, he prayed and felt that his colony had the potential of becoming a holy experience, a meeting in the wilderness in which pure worship and righteous behaviour might lead God to inaugurate his new Jerusalem. America, specifically Pennsylvania, might be the promised land.

It is easy to understand why the "holy experiment" was later reinterpreted into a secular myth. Penn's new province proved extraordinarily difficult to govern and even the devout Quaker colonists proved obstinate. The caves along the Delaware where settlers lived the first winter were before 1700 rumored to be houses of ill repute. Penn soon dropped the eschatological language. After all, at the time he anticipated the end he also wrote multiple Frames of Government, approved laws, established a legislature, and sold lands. He, his sons, and the colonists soon came to defend Pennsylvania as a land of political and religious freedom and economic opportunity, "the best poor man's country." In the eighteenth century Pennsylvania could be thought of as an experiment in religious liberty, representative government, the rule of law, and Quaker government – all of which made the land prosperous but not holy. Still, Penn's success in creating the colony and its later history could be viewed as providential, as if God had a particular care for a Quaker colony.

The late-eighteenth-century Quaker historian Robert Proud thought Penn's aim was to provide as much freedom as was compatible with morality.<sup>44</sup> So when Isaac Norris II, Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly, in 1752 chose an inscription for the state

house bell, he picked a passage in Leviticus "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land and to the inhabitants thereof." Perhaps it was a conscious tribute to Penn's 1701 Frame of Government, but in the nineteenth century the liberty bell became a symbol of American democracy. The making of that myth belongs to American, not Quaker history.

#### IV.

When evaluating the prominence of myth in religion and history, scholars need to be careful; for in relying only on documentary evidence our enterprise can be destructive rather than informative. Without oral history there would have been no synoptic gospels, no hadith of Mohammed, no lives of the Buddha. And in the case of the three myths described here, it is often historians devoted to documentary truth who helped to create and propagate these stories. Centuries before literature professors discoursed on deconstruction theories, even long before liberal or modernist theology, early Christian apologists and mystics discussed the symbolism in biblical stories and warned against too literal an interpretation of texts. Such a caution is useful in considering Quaker myths. The study of myth-making in a religious group like Friends devoted to speaking the truth will help us to understand the evolution of denominational history. And there is clearly a kernel of factuality in each of these myths: Penn did stop wearing a sword; he did meet with the Indians and seek a covenant of peace; and he did create a holy experiment.

When re-reading Robert Proud's history, I discovered an account of a negotiation between West Jersey Indians and Friends before Pennsylvania was settled. The Indians recited a history of the selling of alcohol by Europeans. The Dutch had sold alcohol; they had, said the Indians, "been blind, they did not see it was for our hurt." The Swedes had come next and also sold alcohol for profit. The Swedes also had no eyes. Finally, the Quakers came and they had kept their eyes open. They had seen the hurt and effects of selling alcohol on tribal life, and by mutual consent had abolished its sale.<sup>45</sup> May I suggest that the way Friends should approach their history and myths, as well as their role in the wider society, is with their eyes open. I would be glad if when the story of twentieth-century Friends is written, historians conclude that while others were blind, Quakers acted with their eyes open.

*J. William Frost  
Presidential Address given during  
Britain Yearly Meeting in London, 24 May 1998*

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

- <sup>1</sup> Nancy Black, "The True Practice of Law: Alternatives to Litigation," mss., no pp.
- <sup>2</sup> Samuel Janney, *The Life of William Penn*, 2 ed., revised, (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1852), 51.
- <sup>3</sup> William Sewel, *History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of the Christian People, Called Quakers*, (London: J. Sowle, 1722), 609.
- <sup>4</sup> Ibid.; Gerald Croese, *The General History of the Quakers*, (London: John Dunton, 1696), 96, 105. William Hepworth Dixon, *William Penn: An Historical Biography*, (London: Chapman and Hall, 1851), 228.
- <sup>5</sup> Thomas Clarkson, *Memoirs of the Private and Public Life of William Penn*, first edition, 1813, (Dover, NH, 1820), I, 185.
- <sup>6</sup> "The Convincement of William Penn," *J.F.H.S.* XXXII (1935), 23.
- <sup>7</sup> Thomas Harvey, a minister from Taunton Monthly Meeting, appears the most likely source. Harvey, who died in 1733, married in 1690, had children in 1694 and 1695, and lived in Horsington. In 1723 Thomas Harvey had a cow distrained for tithes. Penn would have been frequently in the Bristol area because this was the home of Hannah Callowhill, whom he married in February 1695/6, and because it was the logical place to embark for Ireland. He may have moved to Bristol in 1697 because of the illness of his father-in-law. There were also a Thomas Harvey Sr. and Jr. who lived at Hogstye End in Buckinghamshire, but the Sr. died in 1706 and the Jr. was born in 1693. Because the manuscript indicates that the person giving the information had talked to Penn, this seems to eliminate the Bucks County Harveys. It is possible that Thomas Harvey was not a Friend, but the careful wording of the manuscript as to the reliability of Harvey's memory seems congruent with Friends' testimony on truth telling. Testimonies Concerning Ministers, 1728-1758, p. 73; London Yearly Meeting, Minutes, 1734, p. 87; Joseph Besse, ed., *Great Book of Sufferings; Digest Registers of Birth, Marriages and Burials for England and Wales c. 1650-1837*; Tyeth A. T. Spencer, *Quakerism at Hogstye End, Buckinghamshire*, (Leighton Buzzard, H. Jackson (1939). I am indebted to Malcolm Thomas for help in trying to identify Thomas Harvey.
- <sup>8</sup> There are three parts of the Harvey manuscript that make me conclude that it contains some reliable information. Penn at the first hearing of Thomas Loe in Ireland about 1657 mentions his father's black servant. Pepy's diary indicates that the Admiral brought back from Jamaica a Negro slave. Second, when Penn hears Loe for a second time, he is so moved that he begins to cry and he stands up so Friends can see his tears. This act sounds like that of a self-important young aristocrat. Third, when Penn surrenders his sword, he gives it to his man-servant. The offhand way the servant is referred to again indicates a gentleman. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, translated by Robert Latham and William Matthew, (Berkley, CA: University of California, 1970), II, 60.
- <sup>9</sup> Joseph Besse, ed., *A Collection of the Works of William Penn*, (London: J. Sowle, 1726), 4.
- <sup>10</sup> This is really the only thing we know about Penn's relationship to his mother. One biographer said Lady Penn "was a plain, mediocre person; or we would know more about her." Parson Weems, best known for his account of George

Washington and the cherry tree, in his biography created imaginary dialogue between Penn and his mother to show a tender domestic scene. Weems used Clarkson and other sources, but he also created dialogue between Penn and his parents, Kings Charles and James, and prominent Friends. A reader would have no way of separating fact from fiction. Sydney G. Fisher, *The True William Penn*, (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1900), 39; M.L. Weems, *The Life of William Penn*, (Philadelphia: Carey and Lea, 1833), 23ff.

- <sup>11</sup> In a comment delivered at the close of the lecture, Rosemary Moore noted that Friends tolerated many deviations from Isaac Pennington, like Penn a prominent member of the gentry. Larry Ingle, *First Among Friends: George Fox and the Creation of Quakerism*, (Oxford, New York, 1994), 140-141; the quote is from a personal communication, July 1, 1998.
- <sup>12</sup> Robert Sutcliff, *Travels in Some Parts of North America*, (York, England: Peacock, 1811). Sutcliff could have learned both of these anecdotes from O. J.'s sister. Owen Jones' grandmother was Gainer Owen, whose brother was married to Ann Wood of Darby. There were Wood families with children in Darby at the time of Penn's visit, but we could not find Rebecca Wood's name in Quaker meeting minutes. Thanks to Patricia O'Donnell of Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, for this information.
- <sup>13</sup> Clarkson, *op. cit.*, II, 83.
- <sup>14</sup> Clyde A. Milner II, *With Good Intentions: Quaker Work among the Pawnees, Otoes, and Omahas in the 1870s*, (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska, 1982), 2.
- <sup>15</sup> Nicholas Wainwright, *One Hundred and Fifty Years of Collecting by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania 1824-1974*, (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1974), 3.
- <sup>16</sup> Voltaire, *Letters on the English Nation*, (London: Davis and Lyon, 1733), 25. A variant of this saying is in Clarkson, 131. "C'est le seul traite entre ces peuples et les Chretiens qui n'ait point ete rompu." *The Works of Voltaire: A Contemporary Version*, "Essays in Literature, Art, History," (New York: Dingwall-Rock, 1927), XIX, Part 1, 209.
- <sup>17</sup> Richard Dunn and Mary Dunn, eds., *The Papers of William Penn*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), II, 127-128, 442-460; this is a more accurate text than even the first published version.
- <sup>18</sup> John Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America*, (London: J. Nicholson, 1708), 167.
- <sup>19</sup> Henry J. Cadbury, ed., "Caleb Pusey's Account of Pennsylvania," *Quaker History*, 64 (1975), 49-51.
- <sup>20</sup> Samuel Smith, *History of the Province of Pennsylvania*, ed., William M. Mervine, (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1913); Robert Proud, *The History of Pennsylvania*, (Philadelphia: Poulson, 1797).
- <sup>21</sup> Joseph Besse, *Collected Works of William Penn*, 121, 124.
- <sup>22</sup> "Presentation to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania of the Belt of Wampum," *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, (1858), VI, 256; see also Albert Cook Myers, ed., *William Penn His Own Account of the Lenni Lenape of Delaware Indians*, (Moynan, PA: published by Myers, 1937), p. 95.
- <sup>23</sup> Charles Keyser, *Penn's Treaty with the Indians*, (Philadelphia: David McKay, 1882), 39, 43, 47.
- <sup>24</sup> The best account of the painting and its reproductions is Ellen Starr Brinton, "Benjamin West's Painting of Penn's Treaty with the Indians," *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association*, 30, (1941), 99-189.

- <sup>25</sup> Clarkson, *op. cit.*, I, 129-131; Kett received the sash from Mrs. Mary Penn, daughter-in-law of the founder. Another sash, pink with blue stripes, which Penn is also alleged to have worn at the treaty, was inherited by Hudson Gurney, Esq., MP of the Barclay family. *Records and Proceedings of the Outinian Society*, (London: Nicol, 1822), p. 36.
- <sup>26</sup> John Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, in the Olden Time*, first edition, 1842, (Philadelphia: Elijah Thomas, 1857), 55-56; *The Life of William Penn, The Founder of Pennsylvania*, (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blackisten, 1849), 98-100, 117.
- <sup>27</sup> Roberts Vaux, "A Memoir on the Locality of the Great Treaty between William Penn and the Indian Natives in 1682," *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, (1826), I, reprinted 1864, 87.
- <sup>28</sup> "Presentation to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania of the Belt of Wampum Delivered by the Indians to William Penn, at the Great Treaty under the Elm Tree, in 1682," *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, (Philadelphia, 1858), VI, 205-282; Horatio Hale concluded after discussions with Iroquois chiefs that the design on the treaty belts proved of Iroquois origin. A later investigator argued that the belt could be from the Iroquois, the Lenni Lenape, or other Northern tribes. The Penn family owned several wampum belts which, when sold at auction, were all labelled as having come from Penn's treaty with the Indians. Horatio Hale, "Four Huron Wampum Records: A Study of Aboriginal American History and Mnemonic Symbols," (London: Harrison and Sons, 1897), 244, 251; Frank G. Speck, *The Penn Wampum Belts, Leaflets of the Museum of the American Indian*, No. 4, New York, (March 22, 1925), 11-15; Lot 139 at Christie's Sale, July 10, 1916.
- <sup>29</sup> Governor Patrick Gordon in 1728 stated to the Native Americans that "your Leagues with you(r) Father William Penn, & with his Governours are in Writing on Record" in contrast to the oral traditions of the Indians "& I desire that you may repeat them over and over again to your Children, & to all your People." Gordon then listed the nine links in the covenant chain of perpetual peace. "Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania," *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania* III, (Philadelphia: Severns, 1852), 329-330; see also 88; John Watson, "Indian Treaty For the lands Now the Site of Philadelphia and Adjacent Country," 132 and Peter S. Duponceau and J.F. Fisher, "A Memoir on the History of the Celebrated Treaty made by William Penn with the Indians under the Elm Tree at Shackamaxon, in the year 1682," *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, (1836), III, Part III, 192, 200-202; Marsillac quoted in William I Hull, *William Penn: A Topical Biography*, (New York, Oxford, 1937), 85.
- <sup>30</sup> Captain Black Beaver, a Delaware Indian, claimed to have had a parchment of the first or "Great Treaty" which the tribe had kept intact until it was destroyed during the Civil War. Thomas C. Battey, "The Penn Parchment," *The Friend*, (1/30/1897). Henry Cadbury evaluated this story in "Letter from the Past 62," *Friends Intelligencer*, (1/20/1945), 43. Charles Keyser compared scepticism of the treaty with questioning the "precious story" of the "Divine Master" and insisted that this oral tradition enduring for many generations made the story inhabit the "secure treasure-house of Earth's most valuable possession - 'the credence of our common humanity.'" Keyser, *op. cit.*, 14.
- <sup>31</sup> Fisher, *op. cit.*, 212-214, 234.

- <sup>32</sup> Brinton, *op. cit.*, 129-132. Pictures of these artifacts are in *Symbols of Peace: William Penn's Treaty with the Indians*, (Philadelphia, 1976) and *An Image of Peace: The Penn Treaty Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Meyer P. Potemkin*, (Harrisburg, PA; Pennsylvania History and Museum Commission).
- <sup>33</sup> In 1805 West stated that "The great object I had in forming that composition was to express savages brought into harmony and peace by justice and benevolence, by not withholding from them what was their right, and giving them what they were in want of, and as well as a wish to give by that art that a conquest that was made over native people without sword or Dagder." Quoted in Brinton, *op. cit.*, 114.
- <sup>34</sup> For example, there is no modern history evaluating the entire story of Quaker relations with Native Americans in Pennsylvania and elsewhere in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
- <sup>35</sup> Dunn and Dunn, *Penn Papers*, II, 108
- <sup>36</sup> Benjamin F. Trueblood, *William Penn's Experiment in Civil Government*, (Boston: American Peace Society, 1895); Violet Oakley, *The Holy Experiment: A Message to the World from Pennsylvania*, (Philadelphia, private printing, c. 1922); Maxwell Burt, *Philadelphia: Holy Experiment*, (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, 1945); Edwin B. Bronner, *William Penn's "Holy Experiment,"* (New York: Temple University Press, 1962); Paul Cromwell, *The "Holy Experiment": An Examination of the Influence of the Society of Friends upon the development and evolution of the American Correctional Philosophy*, (Ph.D. diss., Florida State, 1986). Robert Grant Crist, ed., *Penn's Example to the Nations: 300 Years of the Holy Experiment*, (Harrisburg, PA: Council of Churches for the Pennsylvania Religious Tercentenary Committee, 1987); J. Jason Browne, *A Holy Experiment II: The Resurrection of the Spirit of America*, (Scottsdale, AZ: Visionary Press, ca.1995); William Kashautus III, *The Making of William Penn's Holy Experiment in Education*, (Philadelphia: Committee on Education, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1992).
- <sup>37</sup> *Oxford English Language Dictionary on Historical Principles*, III, 431-432.
- <sup>38</sup> Proud, *op. cit.*, 40, 41, 44; Clarkson, *op. cit.*, II, 109.
- <sup>39</sup> Dunn and Dunn, *op. cit.*, II, 110.
- <sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 106.
- <sup>41</sup> Fisher, *op. cit.*, 213.
- <sup>42</sup> Dunn and Dunn, *op. cit.*, II, 591
- <sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 523, 503. For other migrants who shared Penn's vision, see J. W. Frost, "William Penn's Experiment in the Wilderness: Promise and Legend," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 107 (1983), 591-595.
- <sup>44</sup> Proud, *op. cit.*, I, 168-9/. Penn's purpose was "to render men as free and happy as the nature of their existence could bear, in their civil state, and in a religious state, to restore to them those lost rights and privileges, with which God and nature had originally blessed the human race."
- <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 148.

The illustration of the "Great Tree" is taken from *Records and Proceedings of the Outinian Society*, (London: Nicol, 1822), opposite page 29.