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WILLIAM PENN AND PENNSBURY MANOR of BUCKS COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA

Condensed from *William Penn, Horticulturist*

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As many of you know, I am a great believer in backgrounds, so I am going to tell you a little now about William Penn's father, whose name was also William Penn—Admiral Sir William Penn.

He was a man of the sea—he married a Dutch widow, who brought him Irish estates, and at the age of twenty-nine, the first William Penn was made a Vice Admiral. His ship, the "Lion," carried fifty guns. Later he was created a general of the sea under Cromwell, and he was awarded a chain of gold worth one hundred pounds. Like many of the beautiful jewels in the Italian paintings, we wonder what ever became of that chain of gold. This William Penn was the only seaman in English history to hold the rank of general of the sea—the other four generals being field officers of the Army before receiving naval rank.

Cromwell sent Admiral Penn to the West Indies with a large fleet and many troops, hoping to unseat the Spaniards who were then in full control. It was a disastrous campaign and when Penn came home without orders, he expected to lose his head but, instead, he was sent to the

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Tower for thirteen days. Later, released, he went back to the Irish estates and, after Cromwell's death, returned—hoping for the restoration of the Monarchy in England. He went to Parliament, was knighted at the age of thirty-nine, and he went on his ship to Holland, to bring back the Duke of York. On the same ship went Samuel Pepys, and through Pepys' diary we have a very human portrait of the Admiral—later on, of his family and of his home life.

The British Navy was in a sad state from lack of funds. Both Penn and Pepys were asked to lend the King money, and they did—Penn giving large sums upon different occasions. He never collected this money from the Crown, but we shall see ten years after Admiral Penn's death just what these loans were to mean to his son. Admiral Penn's last years were far from happy or distinguished. He died, worn and prematurely old, at the age of forty-seven.

So, this resumé of the life of the first William Penn seems necessary toward the understanding of the Founder of Pennsylvania. Our William Penn had a comfortable family background. His childhood seems to have been a natural one; his mother was pious and gave him ample religious instruction. The family were comfortably well off, and in youth William Penn never knew the pinch of economy or poverty; and part of his childhood was spent in Ireland. When he was fifteen he went to Oxford, to Christ Church College. He made friends easily, was interested in athletics, stood well in his classes. One of his especial friends was John Locke, later distinguished as the author of "Essay Concerning Human Understanding."

It was while he was at Oxford that Penn first heard the Quaker preacher, Thomas Loe, and it was the turning point in his life. Several other students became interested, and a group was formed which made a decision that was radical in the extreme—they decided they would not attend the services of the Church of England. They held their own meetings; and for this they were fined, and Penn, with several others, was expelled from college. Admiral Penn was furiously angry, and for a brief time turned William Penn out of the house. His mother was more sympathetic, though shocked within her heart, but she finally persuaded Admiral Penn to allow the boy to come home. The Admiral decided that his son needed a change of environment, and so sent him abroad to have a gayer time and to forget the Quaker sim-

plicity of life and thought.

Penn had a good time. He went to the Court of Louis XIV; he studied French and German and picked up a little Dutch on his passage through Holland. He seems to have been popular, good looking, and with his London companions, sons of peers, he proved for a while that "the last refuge of distracted parenthood—the European tour," was a success. He studied for a while at Saumur under the Calvinistic minister, Moses Amyrault, and was later on his way to Italy when his father wrote, urging him to return to England before he himself went again to sea. The family affairs needed attention; Penn was older and could look after the estates. So he returned and dazzled old Samuel Pepys, who wrote of him as "a most modish person, grown, . . . a fine gentleman." One biographer says he even carried a sword and wore ruffles. What of Quakerism?

In London he studied law at Lincoln's Inn. He even went to sea for a brief trip with his father, and upon his return found London in the agony of the plague. Everyone who could quitted London—Penn among them. The sight of the shocking illness, when death stalked the streets and took thousands, upset Penn, and he retired to dwell upon thoughts of death and immortality. The plague had a profound influence on Penn's religious life and on his writings; and he was never the same again.

Now aged twenty-two, he again sought out his Quaker companions when he went once more to Ireland. Again he chanced to hear Thomas Loe preach and after a few months, when he saw his father before his death in London, he told him of his grave decision to become a Quaker. Admiral Penn, on the other hand, told him that he expected to receive a title. Penn argued against it from Quaker principles, and said he would never inherit the title. After bitter argument, the Admiral said he would rather see his son dead than a Quaker. Penn threatened to throw himself from a window; the argument became a compromise; the Admiral declined the title of Viscount; William Penn became a Quaker, but promised to uncover his head to his father, to the Duke of York, and to the King.

Later he found this promise unbearable, and so he left his home and family for the second time. Again his mother intervened, so back he came, to spend most of his time in his room writing tracts. He must

have been a trying companion; one cannot help but sympathize with the Admiral; his hopes and fears were bound up in this older, stronger son, whose ideas and ideals were utterly foreign to his father and utterly incomprehensible to him. A book followed the tracts. The Bishop of London rose in wrath, as the book had not been submitted to him for approval before its publication. William Penn was sent to the Tower for eight and a half months. He was not allowed visitors; worse than that, he was not allowed books. Admiral Penn stood by silently, making no moves, until he could stand it no longer; then he sent books and began to hope for his son's release. Out of a clear sky then came Penn's famous treatise on religion, *No Cross, No Crown*. The Admiral was astounded. Later came another book, *Innocency With Her Open Face*. Finally, because of their old friendship, the Duke of York ordered Penn's release, and back to Ireland and the Quakers went William.

The Admiral in England was far from well before his demise; so after eight or ten months Penn returned, only to add one more blow to his father's pride. PENN defied his family, he *preached in the streets* "to the great disturbance of the King's peace." He also defied the Conventicle Act which was the law against dissenters' religious gatherings. Naturally he was arrested, he was tried by jury, and he fought in the courtroom like a son of Penn. The Admiral was secretly pleased and paid William's fine without his knowledge, and Penn after being imprisoned was released in time to arrive at the death-bed of his father (1670).

THE "HOLY EXPERIMENT"

Isaac Pennington was an eminent FRIEND. William Penn admired him, and he admired, too, his beautiful step-daughter, Gulielma Maria Springett. She was an heiress, the daughter of the young Colonel Sir William Springett. Penn met for the second time at Chalfont, in Buckinghamshire and, here, pressed his suit. He spent some time travelling in Holland and Germany preaching Quakerism and then went back to England again, where in 1672 Gulielma capitulated and the marriage took place at King's Farm on a spring day. It was, of course, the Quaker ceremony; they declared themselves man and wife at the meeting. Penn leased a home at Rickmansworth, and they lived happily there until 1676, when they moved to an estate in Sussex. True, he spent only a part of his time there; he was a wandering preacher at

heart and followed his star, for he wrote constantly, with a good deal of style; it is estimated that fifteen volumes would be necessary for the complete writings of William Penn, and there are in existence fifteen hundred letters and papers, of which not 30 per cent have ever been printed.

"The Test Act of 1673 barred from public employment, military and civil, all who refused to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England." George Fox, the great Quaker, was old; nevertheless he was imprisoned. Penn championed the cause anew and went at the head of a procession to Whitehall to see the Duke of York. James Stuart had promised the Admiral that he would protect his son, but William Penn had slipped out of the royal group and James Stuart had lost sight of him. Fox had often spoken of his desire to found a colony in some quiet spot where Quakers might live and die together unmolested. He had in mind Maryland, and he had been to America. There was a Quaker settlement in New Jersey, then called West Jersey, probably called so by Sir George Carteret, who owned that grant. Penn and eleven other Quakers bought that land, but Penn wanted more land and better land. Penn reminded himself of the old debt of the Crown to his father's estate. It amounted, with interest, to almost 16,000 pounds, or \$80,000.

Another year passed by (1678)—conditions in England seemed hopeless to Penn. He began by applying for a tract of land on the west side of the Delaware River. There were already small settlements of Dutch and Swedish colonists on the river; inland he had heard of mountains and deep forests. Here he planned his colony and a "government without classes, hereditary distinctions or religious inequality where men, even he himself, would be under law." He petitioned for a grant of land, payment to be made by the money loaned the Crown years before by his father and remaining unpaid. His position was not too favorably received. It dragged along until Penn almost gave up hope, but the argument that the Crown owed this sum of money to Penn's estate came at an opportune time, when it would be easy to discharge the debt with land instead of cash. Even after Penn received the right to settle and govern, the land would still have to be bought from the Indians. There were also to be considered the sentiments of Lord Baltimore in Maryland; he might not care for such a near neighbor. This

proved to be true later. There were many objections to the petition to be overcome, but as Penn had meddled in politics and was not always on the side of the King, perhaps they considered he would be less of a nuisance in America.

At last, after months of waiting and discussion, it came about. Details were worked out. "Tenure of this vast area was of the King in free and common socage by fealty only for all services and not by knight services. Two beaver skins must be delivered annually at Windsor Castle (how? I wonder), and a reservation was made by the Crown of one-fifth of all the gold and silver ore. The territory was created a province and seignory named PENNSYLVANIA." Penn drafted an outline of Government which would preserve the best features of an old system, but carry out his own ideas. Freedom of religious opinions came first, then a list of twenty-three other fundamentals. On February 24, 1681, the Charter was submitted to the King and at a Council on March 4, it was duly considered. It was of this meeting, which Penn attended, that the story of his wearing his hat in the King's presence is told. As Penn stood facing the King, Charles removed his own hat. Penn is said to have remarked, "Friend Charles, why dost thou not keep on thy hat?" The King laughingly replied, "It is the custom of this place for only one person to remain covered at a time."

Probably at this meeting the province was named. Penn had decided to call his grant New Wales, because the country was mountainous as Wales. Secretary Jenkins, a Welshman, objected. Penn suggested Sylvania as it was forest land; Charles added Penn in honor of the Admiral and of his services to the Crown. This document, or perhaps a copy (no one knows which) is in the Division of Public Records at Harrisburg. It is written upon parchment; it bears a portrait of Charles II, and is skilfully illuminated.

When the Charter was granted, it is said that Penn exclaimed, "God hath given it to me. He will bless it and make it the seed of a nation"; and so what was known as the "Holy Experiment" was launched. Penn had published information about the Colony, the cost of the ocean passage, and a statement regarding the rights and privileges of the future settlers. Shares of land consisted of five thousand acres, each costing one hundred pounds, but land could be rented in lots of two hundred acres at one penny an acre. Ocean passage would prob-

ably cost "Six pounds a head for masters and mistresses; five pounds for servants, and two and a half pounds for children." Penn's cousin, Captain Markham, was sent to America as deputy governor and wrestled with some surveying problems and tried to right some of the mistakes made in London about the boundary lines of the province. Lord Baltimore made objections, which were not settled for a long time.

At last, in October, 1681, the Quakers sailed, one hundred families, on several ships; on one, the "John and Sarah," were three commissioners who, under Penn's orders, were to lay out a town and treat with the Indians.

PROPRIETARY AND HORTICULTURIST

One year later, October 27, 1682, (the dates coincide) Penn arrived in America. He crossed on the "Welcome" with a hundred passengers, the voyage taking two months. It was a most unpleasant crossing; thirty of the passengers died of smallpox. Penn landed at Newcastle and proceeded to Upland, now called Chester. After some deliberation he selected two large tracts of land for the use of the Duke of York, and one tract of one thousand acres for the Quaker founder and leader, George Fox.

Arthur Pound says, "Penn's original plan for Philadelphia reveals his sweeping imagination, his prophetic view of what the city was destined to become." He made elaborate plans for the laying out of streets and the plan for Broad Street remains today, cutting the city in halves north and south. His early study of history led him to model the city from the ancient city of Babylon.

The first child to be born in the city in 1682 was John Key, and Penn gave the little boy a deed for a lot in the new city. Penn's ideas for planning the new town were well in advance of the times and were to exert a tremendous and widespread influence. There was a greater difference in comfort and traffic in Philadelphia than in the town of Boston with its so-called "cow paths." Penn was determined that his town was not to grow in a haphazard fashion. His first scheme was to set aside 10,000 acres at the junction of the two rivers, Schuylkill and Delaware, for his "checkerboard" plan. The arrangement of the streets was: "Four of these to be 100 feet wide with 28 cross streets at right angles to be 50 feet wide." A public square or park of 10 acres and four

more of 8 acres each in the 4 quarters of the city were provided "for the comfort and recreation of all forever."

In a letter to the Earl of Sunderland in 1683, Penn speaks of the plans for the province. "I have lay'd out the Province into Countys, Six are begun to be seated, they lye on ye Great River . . . on each side, ye least as broad as ye Thames at Woolwych from 3 to 8 fathom water."

The first building of importance was a tavern called the Blue Anchor. It was sort of community center; its size was twelve by twenty-four feet! Wharves were built on the river front; log and clapboard houses were erected in the town, one hundred within the year; and the farms numbered over three hundred. In two years, there were six hundred houses, some built of brick, and Penn's pride was evident from his letters to England and from his diary. He writes: "There is built about 80 houses and I have settled at least three hundred farmes Contiguous to it." And to Lord Fairfax he also wrote: "Our capital town is advanced to about 150 very tolerable houses from wooden ones; they are chiefly on both the navigable rivers that bound the ends or sides of the town. The farmers have got their winter corn in the ground. . . . I suppose we may be five hundred farmers strong. I settle them in villages, dividing five thousand acres among ten, fifteen or twenty families as their ability is to plant it." In another letter he wrote: "I say little of the Town itself. . . . But this I will say for the good Providence of God, that of all the many Places I have seen in the World I remember not one better seated."

Penn was a good advertiser; indeed his letters and the pamphlets of immigration were full of glowing descriptions of the charm of Pennsylvania, and truthful at that. Little did he dream of the great wealth under his "fertile soyle," mineral wealth, coal, oil, or that timber would be exported to the Barbados.

A printing press was set up (one pauses here to think of Franklin who was later to add to the printing laurels of Philadelphia); a school was established in 1683, where it cost "To learne to read English, 4s., by the quarter; to read and write, 6s., by the quarter; . . . for boarding a scholar, that is to say dyet, washing and schooling, ten pounds one whole year." Penn organized a postal system, on a basis of weekly service from Philadelphia to Maryland and surrounding settlements.

Penn's famous letter to the Committee of the Free Society of Trad-

ers, which was written to England at this time, 1683, is well worth reading; it is a complete and lengthy description of the country, the settlements and the Indians, charmingly written.

His relations with the Indians were, as is so well known, extremely friendly. He organized councils and entertainments for them, he won them over completely, earning his reputation for fair dealing. He preached to them as once he had preached to Londoners; he played their games and was looked upon as a king among them. The way had been paved by Captain Markham, who had received very little credit, but through Markham's efforts the pledge that "We will live in peace with Onas (which means 'quill' or 'pen') and his children as long as the sun and moon shall endure" was kept. The treaty under the Great Elm will be recalled, when the famous belt of wampum was given to Penn. The belt was returned to Pennsylvania by Granville Penn in 1857, and was given to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

NOW, WE COME TO PENNSBURY:

Penn decided he must live comfortably and like a gentleman; so he soon began to build a mansion. He called the place "Pennsbury Manor." The estate was situated in Bucks County, four miles above Bristol on the Delaware River, and consisted of 6,558 acres purchased from the Indians. This was in 1682. The soil was fertile and alluvial, and the estate ran for two miles on the river bank. It was an extravagant investment of 7,000 pounds. Many of the materials for the house were brought over from England. Twenty miles of rough road led to Philadelphia, and some of his second wife's letters give an excellent picture of the life at "Pennsbury," and their evident hospitality amid the beauty of the surrounding woods. Their favorite form of transportation was by a large six-oared boat or barge; it was used more often than the rough road through the woods to Philadelphia. "Above all dead things," Penn wrote, "I love my barge." Penn's house, like Rome, was not built in a day; for some time he lived in a small cottage on the place while the house was in the process of building.

He loved the peace and denseness of the thick woods and the beauty of the river. He loved the land and the soil, and became imbued with the idea that his children should love the land too; "Let my children be husbandmen and housewives," he wrote to Guli. Orchards

were planted and he begged "a few fruit trees of the Lord Sunderland's gardener's raising out of his rare collection." Thus, Penn became a *horticulturist*. He urged the settlers to plant flowers and shrubs as well as orchards and grain. Seeds were sent from England to the colony, and with the abundance of native wild flowering plants, many gardens flourished. George Fox, had one; and Father Pastorius who lived in the Germantown settlement, had a garden, and encouraged his friends by assigning to each family their three acres of land for a garden.

Pennsylvania was the perfect background for the first botanical garden in America. William Penn sowed the seed, and certainly John Bartram tended it and brought it to fulfillment. Penn's famous letter to the Free Society of Traders, of which I have spoken before, contains a list of native trees, plants and grain. He liked a tidy spot; he said, "it would be pleasant if the old Indian paths were cleared up." Also—"In what you build . . . Let all be uniform and not ascue from the house. Get and plant as much quick, as you can, about fields, and lay them out large, at least twelve acres in each."

But Penn's life was not that of a country gentleman. He had a vast territory to look after, thirty millions acres, and difficult problems to face: witchcraft, whipping of servants, and politics. There was always the boundary question, too, with Lord Baltimore; it took Mason and Dixon to settle it in 1762. Then, too, Penn became homesick for his family. Guli was not well; he longed to see her.

So he left Pennsylvania, August 16, 1684, and sailed for England, leaving the government of the Province with the Council. He wrote a letter of farewell to the president of the Council, which shows his devotion to his idea of establishing a colony on humane principles. He wrote to his friends in Pennsylvania from aboard the ship as he was returning to England, "My love and my life is to you, and with you, and no water can quench it, nor distance wear it out, or bring it to an end. I have been with you, cared over you, and served you with unfeigned love."

Within two years Penn lost his beloved and very promising son, Springett. He could not remain any longer at "Worminghurst," and soon moved elsewhere. Guli had died in 1694, and a year later Penn married again. Pound remarks that he was the marrying type. Hannah Callowhill was a FRIEND, a native of his own Bristol, and twenty-

four years younger than he. She was a fine young woman, devoted all her life to Penn, an excellent mother to his three remaining children (Guli had borne him seven children).

Penn was away from America for fifteen years; he had intended to stay only two in England. Much water had swept under the bridge since his departure. Philadelphia had grown tremendously, and was a town of commercial importance. Penn was accompanied by his second wife, Hannah Callowhill, and his daughter Letitia. They reached Pennsylvania on the ship "Canterbury" in the fall of 1699. The Letitia Cottage, in which Penn had lived during most of his first stay in Pennsylvania, was now too small for his family. After a winter in town in the so-called "slate-roofed house" where son John, called "the American," was born, they moved to "Pennsbury" in Bucks County, which was not as comfortable in winter as in summer.

Penn had not lived in the great house, "Pennsbury," but now, after many years, it was completed and he and his family moved in. They lived in good style. The rooms were large enough, some of them, for public meetings. The house was much admired both inside and out; the beautiful river views were an unending source of pleasure. The grounds were laid out in a series of terraces, which led down the slope to the river, planted with poplar trees eighteen inches in diameter; terraces and steps led to the grounds below the broad walk and the lawn; paths were cut through the woods where he might ride on his favorite white horse and where he could also wander on foot. Penn was keenly interested in the value of forest land and the preservation of trees in the Province of Pennsylvania, for in a document of July 11, 1681, it is written "that in clearing the ground, care be taken to leave one acre of trees for every five acres cleared; especially to preserve oak and mulberries for silk and shipping."

Mindful of an English estate set in park lands, Penn had the idea of surrounding his manor house with a heavily wooded park. He used gravel from nearby pits for his walks; he refused to have gravel brought from Philadelphia because of its color; it was red, and red evidently did not fit into his color scheme. The boat landing was built at the foot of the broad walk, and the creek nearby was bridged in several places. Maryland had fine shrubs and trees, and Penn bought some of them and had them planted with care; he was particularly interested in

two types, fruit trees and the native wild plants and flowers. The latter were transplanted in the gardens and carefully watched. He writes in his description of Pennsylvania:

"The artificial produce of the Country, is Wheat, Barley, Oats, Rye, Pease, Bean, Squashes, Pumpkins, Water-Melons, Musk-Melons, and all Herbs and Roots that our Gardens in England usually bring forth. . . .

"There are diverse Plants that not only the Indians tell us, but we have had Occasion to prove by Swellings, Burnings, Cuts, etc., that they are of great Virtue, suddenly Curing the Patient; And for Smell, I have observed several, especially one, the Wild Myrtle; the other I know not what to call, but are most Fragrant.

"The Woods are adorned with Lovely Flowers, for Colour, Greatness, Figure and Variety: I have seen the Gardens of London best stored with that Sort of Beauty, but think they may be improved by our Woods. I have sent a few to a Person of Quality this year for a Tryal.

"The Natural Produce of the Country, of Vegetables, is Trees, Fruits, Plants, Flowers. The Trees of most Note are the Black Walnut, Cedar, Cyprus, Chestnut, Poplar, Gumwood, Hickery, Sassafrax, Ash, Beech, and Oak of divers Sorts, as Red, White, and Black; Spanish Chestnut and Swamp, the most Durable of all: Of All which, there is plenty for the Use of Man.

"The Country it self in it's Soil, Air, Water, Seasons, and Produce, both Natural and Artificial, is not to be despised."

Farm problems, too, occupied his mind. In one of his many letters he repeats various experiments such as planting patches of grass seed and the effect of fertilizer. Beyond doubt the virgin soil was prolific, for there are recorded different stories of a single root stalk of barley having sometimes fifty, sometimes seventy green stalks. Penn wrote his steward, James Harrison:

"I recommend to thee for the gardens and the improvement of the lands, that ashes and soot are excellent for the ground, grass and corn. Soot may be got at Philadelphia, I suppose, for the fetching. I suppose it should be sewed pretty thick. . . . It's best for low lands, and such as are moist. Let me desire thee to lay down as much as thou canst with English grass and plow up new Indian fields and after a crop or two

they must be laid down so too; for that feeds sheep, and that feeds the ground, as well as they feed and clothe us."

Penn had sent out from England, walnut, hawthorn and hazel trees, fruit trees as well, and a great variety of the rarest seeds and roots. These were carefully noted in his expense account. He brought back eighteen roses from London, recording the event in his diary.

The gardens grew to be the wonder of the colony for their beauty and extent. A country-house, with an ample garden, was the Governor's passion; and he spared neither care nor money to make the grounds of "Pennsbury" a little Eden. He procured in England and from Scotland the most skilful gardeners he could find. In one of his letters, he speaks of his good fortune at having met with a "rare artist" in his line, who is to have three men under him; and if he cannot agree with Ralph, the old gardener, they are to divide the grounds between them—Ralph taking the upper gardens and the courtyards, the "rare artist" having charge of all the lower grounds; and he gives ample instructions as to every detail of their proceedings.

Penn was exceedingly enthusiastic about the natural beauty of his estate, the vistas toward the river and the beauty of the flowers. To Robert Boyle in England he wrote: ". . . of flowers, I may say, I never saw larger, more variety, or richer colours, in the curious gardens of England. Of them I have ordered my gardener to make a collection against next year." To another he wrote: "The Country is in Soyle good, aire sereen (as in Lanquedock) and sweet from the Cedar, Pine and Sassafrax with a wild mertile yet all send forth a most fragrant smell, which every breeze carrys with it to ye Inhabitants where it goes." To another friend he wrote:

"Our garden supplies us with all sorts of herbs and even some which are not found in England. Here are roses, currents, gooseberries, turnips, while carrots and onions are better than those in England. Peaches of three kinds and in such quantity that they let them fall to the ground. There are also pears and apples in abundance, cherries and apricots, some black and others red, prunes and quinces."

To his old gardener, Ralph, he said, "Stick to the garden and get the yards fenced in, and get doors to them." A wise provision, for wild animal life was abundant and every gardener suffers when his flowers and fruit are molested.

Penn loved to dwell upon his early plans for Philadelphia. "Let every house be placed, if the person pleases, in the middle of its plat as to the breadth way of it, that so there may be ground on each side for gardens, or orchards or fields, that it may be a green country town which will never be burnt and will always be wholesome."

Strange, too, that he should write as one of the Puritans did of the fragrance from the land when approaching it from the sea. In 1630 John Winthrop wrote in his journal: "We had now fair Sunshine Weather and so pleasant a sweet Aire as did much refresh us, and there came off the shore like the smell of a Garden." William Penn wrote: ". . . even while they were yet from the land where there was wafed to them as delightful a fragrance as if it came from a freshly blossoming garden."

The gardener, Ralph, died and one Nicholas reigned in his stead at "Pennsbury." As Penn advised Ralph to lay hay dust from Long Island in his courtyard because it was best for his fields, so he tells Nicholas, "To have as many roots and flowers next Spring, by transplanting them out of the woods." He was pleased when the Indian fields bore well, "which is sweet and pleasant." Also the *dairy* received attention, for he wrote "a good dairy my wife will love." The English country type of life was eagerly planned for and enjoyed while it lasted in America.

On the estate Penn built a brew house and he cultivated grapes to a large extent. He had even great hopes that America would produce wine equal to the wines of France, and he writes at length about the grapes of divers sorts.

And like a true horticulturist he watched the weather—

"The Air is Sweet and Clear, the Heavens serene, like the South-Parts of France, rarely overcast; and as the Woods come, by Numbers of People, to be more clear'd that it self will Refine . . .

"For the Seasons of the Year, having by God's Goodness now lived over the Coldest and Hottest that the Oldest Liver in the Province can remember, I can say something to an English Understanding."

Penn was truly interested in horticulture and in the development of his Province along such lines. "Pennsbury" was kept up for several years after Penn returned to England, and he sent out shrubs and trees and gave directions how to plant them and about keeping everything in

repair, especially the gardens. In 1704, the Manor was noted for its apple orchard and the quality of its "parmaines and golden pippins." Penn expected to return as late as 1708, when he wrote to Logan to have William Walton "keep all in order till we come." Penn was never quite at home in cities. What he wrote for his children was true of himself, "a country life and estate I like best for my children."

LAST YEARS

During the last years Penn spent in Pennsylvania he found time to make a will in which he left legacies to negro slaves and directed that they should be liberated. He abhorred piracy and tried to stamp it out with the help of Governor Bellomont of New York. He advocated, too, a uniform standard for coin and suggested a mint for small silver coins to be established in New York. He recommended a boundary settlement between America and Canada, a general naturalization law, and set forth many other ideas for improvement which received scant attention in England.

Meanwhile, his family were urging their return. In July, 1701, he writes: "I cannot prevail on my wife to stay and still less with Tishe. I know not what to do." What he wanted to do was to end his days as Governor of Pennsylvania and to remain "among our woods."

In England, Penn became broken in health and exhausted from worry and anxiety—he tried to reduce expenses by moving to the country from where he tried to negotiate with the Crown to buy Pennsylvania. Nothing came of this proposition, and his health failed gradually. Several paralytic strokes left him old and broken, and his mind became like that of a little child. Early in the morning of July 30, 1718, in his 74th year, he died.

The Quaker Meetinghouse at Jordans is surrounded by fields and woods; it is a peaceful spot reflecting in its simple architecture and quiet taste of its founders. We walked into the burying ground, its green turf starred with tiny daisies, and stood in silence and read quietly the names on the simple headstones:

WILLIAM PENN, 1718	HANNAH PENN
GULIELMA MARIA PENN, 1689	MARY PENNINGTON (Guli's Mother)

ISAAC PENNINGTON — many others

"Their Bodies Are Buried in Peace: But Their Name Liveth Forever More."

Silently we paid our tribute to the Founder of our State, a man who lived his life amid trials and tragedies, but who set up an ideal of government, lived up to it, believed in it, gave his all for it, and of whom was written after one hundred years: "It should be sufficient for the glory of William Penn that he stands upon record as the most humane, the most moderate and the most pacific of all governors."

I leave WILLIAM PENN in your hearts, I hope—and in your minds these lines, written by him to a friend in August, 1681:

"For my country, I eyed the Lord in the obtaining of it, and more was I drawn into it to look at Him, and to owe it to His hand and power, than to any other way. I have so obtained it, and desire that I may not be unworthy of His love, but do that which may answer His kind providence, and serve his truth and people, that an example may be set up to the nations; there may be room there, tho' not here, for such an Holy Experiment."