Intercepted Correspondence of
William Penn, 1670

In connection with the recent William Penn Tercentenary I learned by chance of some letters addressed to Penn in the Public Record Office, London, and secured photostats of them which are here transcribed and published. They do not appear to have been used by his biographers and they were not included in the Extracts from State Papers Relating to Friends 1654-1672 (Journal of Friends Historical Society, Supplements 8-11, 1913), though that volume has some other Penn items, notably his letter from the Tower to Lord Arlington in a form more original and much longer than the printed edition.\(^1\) Like various other Quaker letters in that volume these have been apparently intercepted by the censor. The young Penn was obviously suspect, and one of the letters, that from Philip Ford, with its reference to Friends' meetings held or to be held and to the shipment of Quaker books from Cork to Bristol, evidently aroused enough suspicion to be filed with a précis endorsed by Secretary of State Sir Joseph Williamson. Otherwise the letters are inoffensive enough, purely personal, and with all their variety are of no small interest to the student of Penn or of early Quakerism.

The letters all date from July or August, 1670, and hence belong to an important period of Penn's life and near other well-known episodes. Except the last they are addressed to him in Ireland, and should be studied with the Irish Journal\(^2\) in which he records his every day's doings from October 23, 1669, when he sailed from

\(^1\) 279-286. Compare the smoothed and briefer form in Penn's Works (1726, I, 151 ff.), probably derived from the manuscript Letterbook of William Penn, 1667-1675, 15 ff., now at The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

\(^2\) Printed with some inaccuracies from the small manuscript notebook now at The Historical Society of Pennsylvania in P.M.H.B., XL (1916), 46-84. Much to be desired would be a competent edition of this illuminating bit of autobiography with identifications of the many persons referred to, mostly by obscure abbreviations. Compare for example, the editio princeps of "Penn's Journal: Kent and Sussex, 1672," P.M.H.B., LXVIII (1944), 422-429.
Bristol for Cork, to July 1, 1670. He had been imprisoned in the Tower of London on December 12, 1668, and not released until the end of July, 1669. Within less than six weeks his father sent him to Ireland to look after their estates there. Probably he left Ireland about August 1; some of the letters from England addressed to him in Ireland would not in any case have reached him there. On August 14 he was arrested in London, a victim of the new Conventicle Act, and imprisoned in Newgate. The famous trial at Old Bailey came at the beginning of September followed by his liberation. On September 16 his father, Admiral Penn, died.

The letters, with one exception, appear in abbreviated and sometimes inaccurate form in the Calendar of State Papers Relating to Ireland . . . September, 1669—December, 1670, published in 1910, the last volume in that series published. In transcribing them I have resolved abbreviations but have retained the original spelling and punctuation. In the case of Elizabeth Bowman’s letter I have thought it useful to add a translation in modern form. The notes might have been considerably expanded; I hope they will not seem too generous in view of the intrinsic interest of the letters. For convenience a list of the letters is given below.

Harvard University

HENRY J. CADBURY

3 Failure in two cases correctly to transpose to the older calendar the Quaker numbered months has led to the wrong date and order of Elizabeth Bowman’s and Philip Ford’s letters. Guli appears as “William” Springett, 195, 757. R. P. Mahaffy, the editor, makes the following comment in the Preface, xxxv. “A number of letters from and to Quakers are to be found in the volume. They breathe the spirit of earnest devotion which is common in such letters in this period, and contrast strongly with the idle frivolity and callous immorality, the corruption and intrigue which are the chief characteristics of the time.”

4 In the notes the following abbreviations are used: J.F.H.S. = Journal of Friends Historical Society, 1903-. P.M.H.B. = Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 1877-. Camb. Jnl. = The Journal of George Fox edited from the manuscripts by Norman Penney (Cambridge, 1911). Short Jnl. = The Short Journal and Itinerary Journals of George Fox, edited by Norman Penney (Cambridge, 1925). Besse, Sufferings = Joseph Besse, A Collection of the Sufferings of . . . the Quakers (London, 1753). Brief Relation = A Brief Relation of some part of the Sufferings . . . in Ireland . . . from 1660 until 1671, collected by Thomas Holme and Abraham Fuller, 1672. (For the place and time that it covers this is cited in preference to the same authors’ A Compendious View of Some Extraordinary Sufferings, Dublin, 1731, or Besse, Sufferings, which depended upon it.) Rutty = History of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers, by Thomas Wight, extended and edited by John Rutty, Dublin, 1751. (This first edition is preferable as containing matter omitted in the several later editions.) I wish to express my thanks to Isabel Grubb of Seskin, Carrick-on-Suir, Ireland, for information in notes 55, 56, 57, 77 and 87.


**Summary of Intercepted Penn Correspondence**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Writer</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Addressee</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>State Papers Ireland Vol. and Page</th>
<th>Calendar State Papers Ireland 1669-70 Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>July 3</td>
<td>Ann Gay</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Philip Ford</td>
<td>George Webber's, Cork</td>
<td>328,42</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 16</td>
<td>Elizabeth Bowman</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>William Penn</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>327,110</td>
<td>134-135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 16</td>
<td>Guli Springett Mary Penington</td>
<td>Pennen, Bucks</td>
<td>John Gay for William Penn</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>328,70</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 23</td>
<td>John Gay</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>William Penn</td>
<td>John Gay's house, Dublin</td>
<td>328,84</td>
<td>201-202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 1</td>
<td>Richard Bent</td>
<td>Inchena-backa</td>
<td>William Penn</td>
<td>Mr. Cook's house, Cork</td>
<td>328,95</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 5</td>
<td>John Kealy</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Philip Ford</td>
<td>Thomas Cook's, Cork</td>
<td>328,101</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 9</td>
<td>Philip Ford</td>
<td>Cork</td>
<td>Edward Man, for William Penn</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>327,8</td>
<td>151-152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct.</td>
<td>Partial summary of preceding</td>
<td></td>
<td>Edward Man, for William Penn</td>
<td></td>
<td>327,9</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ann Gay**

Hearing Mr. Penn has bin ell of a fever and ague is a great trouble to me. I desire you do me the kindness as to lett me know what the Cause is: and how he came to gett it: and you will much obblig

Your friend

Ann: Gay

---

5 Ann Gay with her husband John Gay (see note 36) lived in George's Lane, Dublin, and there William Penn had his lodging or chamber from November 2 to 30, 1669. She is frequently mentioned in Penn's diary, and occasionally the children. He gave "2 silver candlesticks and suffers [sic] to A. G. for their care and lodging."

6 Philip Ford. See note 60.

7 Penn's Irish Journal ends abruptly, apparently on July 1, two days before this letter was written, with both Philip Ford and Penn himself still in Dublin. No mention is made of any illness of Penn either then or earlier. Was this illness the cause of the discontinuance of the Journal, and of Penn's delay of nearly a month in going back to England?
My husband is not yet come nor when he will I know not for I heire he mains to A progres 8 Thomas fain 9 has bin gone this wick to the Ile of man 10 soe with my love to John Peniton 11 and all that I know July the 03

[Addressed] These | For William Penn Asqr | at Goerg Webber 12
In | Corke

ELIZABETH BOWMAN

deare frende

thine I resved and Acorden to thy desire I have delard the inclosed I have resaved 3 and she ass Money I delevred the last jest noue for she haeth bene here to mete Margret Rouse Abought her Mouthers Besenes that is in order to Geat her relese & E. J. & her Mouther onderstanden Margrett Foxes Condeshon & that she being weth child & so nere ass she is her time beingen out All Most thay

8 John Gay was at this time in England, but writing three weeks later, he then hoped shortly to return to Dublin (below, p. 360). What is meant by mains to a progress?

9 A Quaker minister, Thomas Fearon is repeatedly mentioned by Penn as in his company during his stay in June in Dublin. He is probably the “Thomas Faron who lives at Calvagh nigh Coccermouth in Cumberland,” who was arrested for preaching in Whitby market on December 24, 1670. He is described as a gentleman, well mounted and with good clothes, formerly a printer in Ireland and a merchant who had travelled in Italy, Germany, and several other nations (Extracts, 305-6). He was a visitor to Scotland about 1674 or 1675 (J.F.H.S. VII, 95; XII, 138). He is not listed among the Quaker visitors to Ireland before 1676 (J.F.H.S., X, 158, 159), but that list is confessedly incomplete, and the list in Rutty, 351, mentions a visit of Thomas Fearon to Ireland in 1670. The name occurs in Besse, Sufferings, I, 184, (Durham and Northumberland, 1682). According to the records of Pardshaw Monthly Meeting a Thomas Fearon died at Eaglesfield in 1704.

10 On the history of early Manx Quakerism see W. C. Braithwaite, Beginnings of Quakerism (London, 1912), 224-226, and the articles mentioned there, 224, note 2, together with an earlier article by A. W. Moore, in Yn Lioar Manninagh, which was then the title of the publication of the Isle of Man Natural History and Archaeological Society, I (1894), 281-287.

11 John Penington (see note 29), like Philip Ford, had been the constant companion of William Penn during the preceding months, at Dublin and elsewhere, and so was well known to the writer.

12 George Webber was one of those first converted to Quakerism in Cork in 1655. His frequent sufferings for his religion are recorded, including a commitment together with William Penn and seventeen more to prison by Christopher Rye, the mayor, on November 3, 1667. Besse, who misspells the name as William Paine, begins his list with Penn and Webber. Penn’s diary refers to Webber, but when in Cork he lodged usually with Thomas Cook (note 59).
are veary endorstreet to prokure her liberty which I hope thay well
doue Eliz: J is veary well ass to her heleth but for Aney thing
else thare is not much to bee sade ass to her Groeth in trueth for
she is muche taken upe weth her Mouther compney & such like I
cane truly scay I am trobled for her scake for she of a pretty swete
desposeshon & the wetnes of God is Awake in her thoeth not minded
by her I could weshe weth all my hart that she wose fro that vane
noteye compney & pray when tho Ritest to her a Gane porswade
her to Lefe this Contrey & to Goe for Irlande for I doue belefe itt
would bee better for her soles good & in short everewaye doue not
take Aney notest what I have reten to her here haeth bene a frendly
that is of thy Aquanct that lefes att doblen money tines att my
house his name is John Gaye & I have Assisted hee in what hee
desired of mee frends here are generly veary well every waye &
wonderfully carde on in the powere of the Lorde & kepes Metens in
Armonenwose Maner & a Gret body not weth standend the
cruelty of the enemy whoase streth & powere never wose att soe
gret a hede ass itt tese & Lice to bee I never saye itt soe bade
naether ever wose itt ever so sense trueth aprede in this nasion thy
tacke hole fameles out of thar houses & imployments & grete
thretnens is daly

My dere frend sense my last to the I have altred my Condeshon
but I ded not prosed without the consent (?) & Advise of the Most
of Men & Womens Meten & hade a grete many of good aude (?)
frends compney ther wose allso Eliz Jepi (?) & her Mouther with
som over that that thy brot weth them whoe weare veary much
plesed with there beingen theaere for Charles harese wose thar &
cared one the Meten & that thar Rased in some of them I dou bee
Leefe well never bee forgotten by them [a few words illegible]

I hope that this Lines will com scafe to
thy hande this weth the rembrens of my
dere Love to the is all att present from thy
true frend

Lon, the 16th the 5 Mo

70

Eliz: Bowman

[Addressed in a different hand] ffor Willm Penne | at John Gayes |
hous in Georg's | Lane in | Dublin | these dd | Ireland
Dear Friend; Thine I received, and according to thy desire I have delivered the enclosed. I have received three and she [?] as many. I delivered the last just now for she hath been here to meet Margaret Rouse about her mother’s business, that is in order to get her release, and E. J. and her mother understand Margaret Fox’s con-

13 Elizabeth Baily of [St.] Martin’s in the Field, County of Middlesex, spinster, was married, according to Friends’ records, on June 28, 1670, to Matthias Bowman of London. This agrees with her statement here that she had recently “changed her condition.” She did not thereby change her initials, and she is probably the E. B. to whom Penn in his Irish Journal says he wrote on November 13 and May 10 and from whom he received a letter on June 26. The present letter of later date he did not receive. By a pleasant coincidence we have a letter from John Rous in London, dated the very day of the wedding in which he says: “My wife [Margaret Rous] this morning . . . is gone to Betty Baylie’s marriage” (Abraham MSS. 11, from the Shackleton MSS., cf. J.F.H.S., XI, 152, printed in Maria Webb, The Fells of Swarthmoor Hall [Phila., 1896], 283).

Matthias and Elizabeth lived in the Strand near the New Exchange, where just a year after their marriage a son was born to them named Robert, who lived only two and a half years. Elizabeth Bowman died in childbirth November 16, 1675, aged 36 years. Matthias married the next November Mary Sanders (or Saunders) of the Savoy. The registers from which this information is taken describe him as a haberdasher of smallwares.

14 To whom Penn’s enclosures to Elizabeth Bowman were to be delivered is not clear. Perhaps to the E. J., Eliz. J. or Eliz. Jepé (?) mentioned below. Penn records writing on November 13 to “E. J. & E. B.” She seems to have belonged to Ireland, though then in England. She was evidently no pillar in the church. The only chance of further identification seemed to be to ask a friend in London to look at the certificate of the marriage of Elizabeth Bowman at Somerset House to see if this woman signed among the witnesses. Miss Muriel Hicks kindly did this for me and found that the certificate (vol. 942, p. 6) includes the signature of Elizabeth Jephson (sic).

15 Margaret Fell, the younger (1633–1706), one of the oldest of the seven daughters of Thomas and Margaret Fell, married in 1662 John Rous. When not at his father’s home in Barbados they usually lived at Kingston on Thames. They were assiduous in attempting to secure Margaret Fell’s release from imprisonment during the spring and summer of 1670. See Webb, Fells, 282ff. Margaret Rous was at the time of this letter expecting a baby, her son Nathaniel, born September 9, 1670. See J.F.H.S., XI, 155.

16 Margaret Fell (1614–1702) of Swarthmoor Hall was the widow of Judge Thomas Fell, who died in 1658. They had nine children between 1633 and 1653, concerning eight of whom a good deal is known. She was married at Bristol on October 27, 1669, to George Fox, eight and a half months before this letter was written. She was fifty-five years of age at the time of her marriage. The imprisonment here mentioned was under sentence of praemunire and lasted more than a year in Lancaster Gaol “most of that time being passed in weakness and ill-health” (Helen G. Crosfield, Margaret Fox of Swarthmoor Hall, 1913, 145). A discharge, effective at once, led to her release on April 4, 1671 (Camb. Jnl., II, 424).

No other Quaker writer mentions her supposed pregnancy at this time, but the present letter tends to confirm a story printed by Francis Bugg in 1712 in Part III (dated 1707)
dition, and that she being with child and so near as she is, her time being out almost, they are very interested to procure her liberty, which I hope they will do.

Eliz. J. is very well as to her health but for anything else there is not much to be said as to her growth in Truth, for she is much taken up with her mother’s company and such like. I can truly say I am troubled for her sake for she is of a pretty sweet disposition and the witness of God is awake in her though not minded by her. I could wish with all my heart that she was [away] from that vain naughty company. And pray when thou writest to her again, persuade her to leave this country and go to Ireland, for I do believe it would be better for her soul’s good, and in short every way. Do not take any notice what I have written to her.

Here hath been a Friendly [sic]17 that is of thy acquaintance, that lives at Dublin, many times at my house. His name is John Gay and I have assisted him in what he desired of me.

Friends here are generally very well every way and wonderfully carried on in the power of the Lord and keep meetings in [a] harmonious manner and great body notwithstanding the cruelty of the enemy, whose strength and power never was at so great a head as it is and likely to be. I never saw it so bad neither ever was it ever so, since Truth appeared in this nation. They take whole

of A Finishing Stroke, from an anonymous letter he had received from a North Country gentleman, a story which Bugg says “is fresh in the memory of many; Mr. Pennyman, myself and others often talked of it; neither will any honest Quaker deny it.” Evidently it led to a good deal of ridicule. Similar stories of miraculous pregnancy ending in disillusion are known. Widely advertised was that of Joanna Southcott (1749–1814) who in the months before her death expected confidently to become the virgin mother of a new Messiah. An autopsy showed that her symptoms were not pregnancy but dropsy.

Bugg’s correspondent wrote in part: “After many years’ cohabitation, when both George Fox and Margaret Fell were grown old, whether the spirit of delusion to whom they had given themselves up possessed them with a vain conceit that they were Abraham and Sarah I know not. But it is very certain that they both persuaded themselves that Margaret Fell, alias Fox, was with child, and the Lord would raise up Holy Seed of them. All preparations were made for old Maximillia’s lying in, baby-clouts were prepared, the midwife was called and gave attendance for about a month together, but there came nothing forth, all proved wind” (A Finishing Stroke, or Some Gleanings, Collected out of the Quakers Books, Part III, Section XII, 241).

17 John Gay, see note 36.
families out of their houses and employments and great threatenings is daily.\textsuperscript{18}

My dear friend, since my last to thee I have altered my condition, but I did not proceed without the consent and advice of most of the men’s and women’s meeting and had a great many of good old Friends’ company. There was also Eliz. Jeps and her mother with some others that that [sic] they brought with them, who were very much pleased with their being there, for Charles Harris\textsuperscript{19} was there and carried on the meeting and that that raised in some of them I do believe will never be forgotten by them . . . .

I hope that these lines will come safe to thy hand. This with the remembrance of my love to thee is all at present

from thy true friend

Elizabeth Bowman

London, the 16th of the
5th month, 1670

[Addressed in a different hand] for Willm Penne | at John Gay’s | house in George’s | Lane in | Dublin, these deliver | Ireland

Gulielma Maria Springett\textsuperscript{20}

W P Pen 16 5\textsuperscript{mo} 1670

With the salutation of that love which is everlasting and which is livingly felt at this time in my hart to thee and al that truly love the Lord and have given up there all to follow him in this day of trial I salute thee with the rest of thy comp . . . and friends there

\textsuperscript{18}This paragraph, like passages in others of these letters, reflects the furious persecution of Friends in England that followed the second Conventicle Act.

\textsuperscript{19}Probably Charles Harris of High Wycombe, Bucks. In 1670 he was an influential Friend in good standing but later with John Raunce, his father-in-law, he was the ringleader of a local separation (Short Jnl., 352). With the phrase used of him compare the nearly contemporaneous words of William Penn: “C Bukly run the meeting” (Irish Journal, June 19). Friends made a great point of marrying only with the consent of men’s and women’s meetings.

\textsuperscript{20}Gulielma Maria Springett (1643/4-1693) was the posthumous child of Sir William Springett and Mary Proude. Her mother in 1654 married Isaac Penington. Guli, as she was commonly called, made her home with them “at Tiler End Green, in the parish of Penn in the County of Bucks” (Beatrice S. Snell, Minute Book of the Monthly Meeting . . . Upperside of Buckinghamshire 1660-1690 [High Wycombe, 1937], 12). Just when she and William Penn met, and when they became engaged is not known. They were in each other’s company before he left for Ireland and he mentions several letters to and from G. S. (Irish Journal Sept. 18, 19, 20; Nov. 13, 20, 27; Dec. 19, 21; Feb. 15; Mar. 9, 13) but not his letter to her.
Yours of the 27 of 4th mo we received which was very welcome to my Mother but your selves would have been much more acceptable especially she being laitly deprived of the companie of my Deare father who went to vissit friends at Reading and the Goaler sent for Armorer who after a great deale of discourse and reviling language tendered him the oath and committed him to the Goal he hath since been had to the sessions and tendered it again so that in short time it is like to come to a praemunire unless God put a stop to their wicked intentions we would rather if we might chuse that he had been in almost any other place but in al things we have learned to be content and desire so to give up wholly to his will without whom this nor any other trial could come on us and we know he orders al things to the good of those that put there trust in him

Friends heare abouts are generally well and meetings yet quiet which we can not but looke upon as a great thing especially when we consider the grevious sufferings that friends meet with all in other places which are to teidous to mention in particular. deare Gff was heare att two of our meettings and they were very large, we were laitly att London and friends were very well. we speake with Will Baily who came the night before to Lond: from Barbadoes and the Peningtons of June 27. There is nothing in the present letter, with its formality and restraint, to indicate that the author and addressee were or were not betrothed. A special relationship is suggested indirectly only in the remark of Mary Penington, "thou kindly joinedst us." They were married at Chorley Wood, Herts, April 4, 1672. See M. Atherton Leach, "Gulielma Maria Springett, First Wife of William Penn," P.M.H.B., LVII (1933), 97-116, Maria Webb, Penns and Peningtons, (London, 1867), and many other accounts. No other letters from her to Penn are known to me. Certainly none have been published. See also L. V. Holdsworth’s forthcoming Gulielma, Wife of William Penn (London, Longmans, Green).

21 Isaac Penington (1616-1679), son of Sir Isaac Penington, the former Lord Mayor of London and regicide, was sentenced to a praemunire as expected and was not released until the general pardon of May, 1672.

22 Sir William Armorer was notorious for his activity against Friends under the earlier Conventicle Act, as well as this later one. For a description of him, but not by name, see William Penn, The Great Case of Liberty of Conscience (Works, 1726, I, 463 f.), and for his earlier treatment of Friends the pamphlet Persecution appearing with its own Open Face in William Armorer, 1667.

23 George Fox mentions in his journal thus visiting Friends in Buckinghamshire. He also visited the Friends in prison at Reading but was not caught. He adds that the next that came to visit them was Isaac Penington (Camb. Inl., II, 163), who was caught.

24 William Bayly, (1675), a sea captain of Poole. See Camb. Inl., I, 435. Like young Isaac Penington (next note) he lost his life returning from Barbados.
he saw J P there he was very well and the place agreed very well with him we expect him home very shortly if nothing prevent Jo: Stubs was also heare and desired his deare love to thee T E s deare love is to thee P ff and J P with mine dearly to them &c

Who am thy friend
Elizabeth Walmslys in the lasting friendship
dear love is to thee &c
Guli: Springett

[Addressed] To | Captain John Gay att | his hous | In | Dublin
For Will: Pen | these

25 Isaac Penington (1656-1670), second son of Isaac and Mary Penington, had gone to Barbados as a lad with a Quaker sea captain of London, John Grove, and with a small cargo of goods to trade, and returning in the summer of 1670 with the same master was lost overboard (The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood, under date of 1670). Like Ellwood, his half-sister Guli mentions his good health at Barbados. Her phrase "if nothing prevent" is an unconscious prophecy of his disaster.

26 John Stubbs (c. 1618-1674), a learned Quaker minister who travelled extensively. He is described at the time of his conversion to Quakerism in 1654 as a priest and also as a soldier (First Publishers of Truth, edited by Norman Penney [London, 1907], 30, 33). Cf. Camb. Jnl., I, 418.

27 Thomas Ellwood (1639-1713), formerly tutor in the family of Isaac Penington, but now married and living not far away at Hunger Hill, which is variously described as in Coleshill parish or Amersham parish, and as in Buckinghamshire or Hertfordshire. His warm friendship for Guli Springett is well attested in his autobiography. See The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood (many editions).

28 Philip Ford. See note 60.

29 John Penington (1655-1710), eldest son of Isaac and Mary Penington, with Philip Ford were Penn's two associates on this Irish Journey. He is constantly mentioned in the Irish Journal. But he was only fifteen or sixteen years of age at the time, he had various ailments or mishaps, and was probably more of a care sometimes than of assistance. M. R. Brailsford, The Making of William Penn (London, N. Y., Toronto, 1930), 274, completely mistakes the boy's identity when she says, "Penn's constant companion, probably the servant who succeeded the 'knavish' Francis Cooke, figures under the initials J. P." In 1672, when they were step-brothers-in-law, he again accompanied William Penn, when the latter travelled through Kent and Sussex with Alexander Parker. See P.M.H.B., LXVIII (1944), 419-429.

30 Elizabeth Walmsley of Giles Chalfont was an active Friend in the locality and with her husband Thomas was intimate with the Penington household. See note by Norman Penney in his edition of the Experiences in the Life of Mary Penington, (Phila., [1911]), 47.

31 I have not identified the initials S. H. In a letter of 1667 to his wife Isaac Penington sends his love to S. H. (Webb, The Penns and Peningtons, 216), and in 1669 W. Penn sent afoot to meeting at Russell's Farm, now Jordans (see Short Jnl., 294) with G. S., S. H., etc. (Irish Journal, September 19, where the transcript writes Russby for Russles). Can this be Sarah Hersent, who signed in 1659 the protest sent to Parliament against tithes, These Several Papers was sent, etc., p. 41; or who signed along with William and Guli Penn a letter of recommendation for one of their former servants, Elizabeth Sims, in 1685, when the latter removed to Philadelphia to marry one John Martin (A. C. Myers, Quaker Arrivals at Philadelphia 1682-1750 [Phila., 1902]), 10? Thomas Ellwood tells us that Guli's maid before both maid and mistress were married was Anne Hersent.

32 John Gay, see note 36.
Deare WkP

Thy letter in which thou kindly joyndest us I received with a deep sense of thy love as also thy prospering in the Truth my deare Husband and I are now seperated as G S hath informed thee but I intend to send it him I am very well satisfied that the stay of my boy is upon the account of thy servis as for thy care Counsel and love I believe he hath not wanted it it is a great joy to me to heare of thy faithfulness and unweariedness in that work of the Lord I being now deprived of my Husbands companie I am more honing after my poore boy then I have been since he went indeed this of my husbands imprisonment is hard very hard to me but when I retire out of all affection and wait to see what the Lord will do with him there I am still as if the thing were not

Thy intire friend

MP

my deare love is to P ff and my poor child he hath increased his intrest in my love by his subjection to thee

JOHN GAY

Dear Sir I should in the first place excuse my selife for not writeing to you all this tyme I have been in England but I shall decline that well knowing your aptness to put the best interpretation upon my neglect (as it deserve indeed to be called) I hope you have

Mary Penington (c. 1625–1682), widow of Sir William Springett, who died in 1643/4, married in 1654 Isaac Penington. For her life see Webb, Penns and Peningtons, and especially Experiences in the Life of Mary Penington, written by herself and edited by Norman Penney [1911].

John Penington, her eldest son, see note 29.

The word "hone," yearn for, is characteristic of this period.

“Captain” John Gay, with his wife Ann Gay (note 5) and their children lived in George’s Lane, Dublin. He is not to be confused with John Jay, Quaker planter of Barbados, and travelling companion in the Jerseys of George Fox (Camb. Jnl., II, 437f.), though John Jay sometimes has his name spelled with a G. and seems to have died in Ireland. It is not clear whether the Gay’s were Friends. They do not appear among the Quaker sufferers in Ireland. They sometimes went with Penn to Friends’ meetings, and John Gay writes third day and fifth day instead of Tuesday and Thursday. This letter shows that John Gay had been some time in England, acting at least partly as agent for William Penn.
had no want of me at Dublin since my absence, especially, having been there your selfe. I have wasted most of my tyme at Penshurst, but intend now if God will to sett forward out of this towne towards home next third day being two or three days longer then I intended to stay here and in respect to H G at whose house I have layne in the most since I came last from pensh and very neere your little freind whom I have several tymes visited but as often missed being much abroad and more in finery than ever I suppose. She wonders at you and her father's writeing and thinks your mad and says that none can deale to any purpose or do any good in medling betwene man and wife but says she shall doe best herselfe with him and by writeing kindly to him hath made him kind which she likes best at a distance and sayth he hath sent her 40 pounds with great kind expressions excusing that it is noe more and that she knows how hard it is to get money in Ireland and hath sent his brother to her to pay her the rest for him if she need it before he can remitt. she sayth she thinks it as impossible for you to alter her by all your writeing as it is for her to alter you by hers and much discourse of that kind.

Upon the last fift day I went to Watford in Essex to see your father and mother where I came about the tenth hower and enquired for Sir Wm Pen who I was told was within. I told the servant I was there to waite on him and to present his sons duty, him that was in Ireland word was brought me from him forthwith that he was not well and had that day taken phisick and could not see me but that if I pleased to come some other tyme he would be glad.

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37 The home of the Sidneys was at Penshurst Place near Tonbridge, Kent. William Penn's friendship for both Henry and Algernon Sidney is well known and for the former at least it goes back to his pre-Quaker youth as his mention of H. S. in the dedication of No Cross, No Crown, 1669, shows.

38 These initials are not identified. They can hardly be those of Henry Gouldney, an intimate friend of Penn's in later life and a Quaker merchant in London, since he was apparently born about 1657 (Short Jnl., 334).

39 Penn's little lady Friend is not identified, but the account of her situation is fairly clear, a woman much abroad and in finery, with a father and husband in Ireland.

40 Sir William Penn's residence at this period is usually supposed to have been at Wanstead, where according to the epitaph in the church of St. Mary Redcliffe in Bristol he also died. I know of no other reference to his living at Watford. Two years later his son on leaving home left his wife at Watford (P.M.H.B., LXVIII [1944], 422). In any case Watford is not in Essex and Wanstead is. The Irish visitor mistook either the town name or the county.
to see me so I lighted and went in and enquired for your mother and desired to know if I might not see her (who it seemed was abed as she told me after) whereupon some person went to her and brought me word she would come presently which after some tyme she did, and was very civell and gave me preserves and other fruite and drinkes and much discourse we had and full of tears she was concerning you that you should continue of that Judgment still that was so contrary to them and that you were grown less loving to her since then before for she had not had one letter from you since you went hence and wondered what the reason was except her husband might meet with them and keep them from her.

I gave her all the assurance I could that you were as much or rather more affectionate and dutifull to her as ever and that I knew full well it was contrary to your principles to be otherwise and that you had lately writt a little letter or Booke in Ireland which plainly spoke to that very particular, and that I had brought 6 of them over with me but had none left to give her which I was sorry for then she fell upon the strange rude way that was taken up amongst such as you of not putting of the hat and what a strange thing was it to speake to a King with the hat on and that religion should be placed in such a thing. I told her that they placed noe manner of religion in it, and that she might plainly see if she had ever read your booke about hat worship &c. I also said what I thought right in your commendations to her and that you had greate favor and respect with the Lord Lieutenant and many greate men visited you and that the Lord Lieutenant had been very civell to you and others of them called quakers she said your father had intended to make

41 Though William Penn mentions no letter written to his mother while in Ireland, he wrote to his father on Nov. 20, Nov. 27, Jan. 8, Jan. 23-24, Mar. 9, and on Jan. 24 to his sister. He received letters from his father on March 13 and April 17, and on the former date also from his sister, and on Dec. 19 one from Richard Penn, his brother.

42 In a Letter of Love to the Young Convinced (Works, [1726], I, 440-442), dated Carberry in the County of Cork, the 19th of 12th month, 1669 (i. e. February, 1670), while urging new converts not to be deterred from their constancy by father, mother, etc., Penn urges them also to “be careful to show all due respect to our relations.”

43 No Cross, No Crown, 1669, had a section on hat-worship.

44 John, Lord Berkeley of Stratton, succeeded Lord Robartes as Lord Lieutenant on April 21, 1670. On June 6 Penn had a conference with him and he immediately ordered the release of imprisoned Friends. Penn's Irish Journal for June mentions various intimate meetings with other notables.
you a great man but you would not hearken to him. I told her that you had (I questioned not) chosen the better part and would rather I hoped be great in heaven much discourse we had of this kind and not fit all to be told you she told me your sister was brought a bed a fortnight since of a girl, and that your brother was well but a little wild and had been greedily entertained where he is in Italy. And now to come to your father, who she sayd with her wondered you did not come over and asked me when you would come over and that your father would fain have you there to understand his estate and how he settles and leaves things for he is very ill of a dropsy scurvy and Jandies and hath a very great belly and full of water and the fisick was to get out the water if possible but the doctor had given over and had sayd (between her & I she sayd) that the fall of the leaf would put him hard to it, and that if not then the first [?] of the winter would carry him away he seldome walks in the garden and not at all abroad but once a week

45 Sir William Penn lived until September 16, 1670. In the meantime his son William had returned from Ireland but on August 14 was arrested for preaching in the street outside the Friends Meeting House in Grace Church Street and was imprisoned at Newgate. He was tried at the Old Bailey in the first days of September, and released on September 7. It is usual to quote from No Cross, No Crown, Chap. IX, Sec. 31, the words of the admiral addressed to his son, as though they indicated a reconciliation between them.

46 Margaret Penn, sister of William Penn the Quaker, was married at the age of fifteen in February, 1667, to Anthony Lowther, son and heir of Robert Lowther, of Maske, Yorkshire. They already had one child, a daughter Margaret, who is mentioned on Jan. 30, 1669, in the will of Admiral Penn. Their sons are listed as Robert, who died unmarried, William, eldest surviving son and heir, John and Anthony (Thomas Wotton, The English Baronetage [London, 1741], IV, 62), but the dates of their births are not known to me, nor the name of the girl here mentioned as born in July, 1670. Anthony Lowther died in 1692. His son William was created a baronet in 1697, and died in April, 1704, leaving issue. Sir William Lowther's grandson, however, died childless, thus extinguishing the baronetcy. Margaret Lowther died in 1718 five months after her brother William. Some letters to her from him are said to be extant in the Justice Collection at Friends House, London. She is mentioned very frequently by Samuel Pepys.

47 Richard Penn, the third of Admiral and Lady Penn's children, was just a lad at this time and lived only to 1673.

48 In connection with the full account of Admiral Penn's ill-health derived by John Gay from Lady Penn it is worth while to recall that such women often paid much attention to the treatment of disease and that scores of prescriptions are preserved from Lady Penn's Book of Phisick copied out for her son by Edward Blackfan and others. (Penn Manuscripts, Miscellaneous, 1674-1716, at The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 81ff., partly printed in P.M.H.B., XL [1916], 472-479. Two receipts mention "William Penn" as "my husband.") The same set of receipts provide also for preserves, such as John Gay mentions.
to the place by blackwall where the India shiping affairs is (I cannot give the name) being concerned there for a widdow of a clarke there lately dead.\textsuperscript{49} his going to the bath was lately consulted of by 4 doctors (she said) 3 were against it and but one for it. they sayd that he would faint away either in the Journey or in the water or in sweating and therefore that was layd aside. I told her that by what I had perceived it was your fathers minde rather to have you stay in Ireland then come hither and that certainly upon the least intimation that it was your fathers pleasure you would come speedily over, it being for his service you went and stayed there rather then your owne inclination. the family being in disorder as she sayd two servant mades being sick of ague, and she under trouble I went away between 11 and 12. thence to Hackney crosse a water out of Essex into Midlesex I think to Alderm fforths who marryed Sir H Vanes daughter\textsuperscript{50} being near travell where the lady Vane was, which I had notice of at faire lane and there made my visit and came just as they were sitting downe to dynner and stayed there till almost sunn set being hott in which tyme Sir Walter and Charles Sir H bretheren\textsuperscript{51} came in who I had opportunity of seeing. I have given you a tedious relation but not much more I suppose then expedient, if wee meet before you come hither I may farther trouble you with something of the like kind. I have not this night wrote to my wife. If you are yet at dublin pray excuse me to her being more ernest now of being my own messenger to her then of writeing.

\textsuperscript{49} I can give neither the name of the place nor the name of the deceased clerk.

\textsuperscript{50} Sir Henry Vane the younger (1612–1662), was a leading republican of the Commonwealth period and liberal in his religious sympathies, as shown by his friendliness to Anne Hutchinson, for he was in Massachusetts and in fact its governor at the time of the controversy about her. He had both sympathy and controversy with Friends until the Restoration when he was imprisoned and finally executed.

In 1640 he married Frances, daughter of Sir Christopher Wray. She also is occasionally mentioned by Friends, e. g., \textit{Camb. Jnl.}, I, 313. She died in 1679. One of their estates was Fairlawne, which had been bought by Sir Henry Vane the elder, and was situated in Kent.

They are said to have had seven sons and seven daughters of whom Albinia (1644– ) married in 1668 John Forth, Alderman of London. He was then a widower aged about 43, she about 24. See Charles Dalton, \textit{History of the Wrays of Glentworth} (London, 1881), II, 126ff.

\textsuperscript{51} Beside Sir Henry Vane the younger, the sons of Sir Henry Vane the elder included Charles (c. 1621–1672); the fourth son, who was in 1650 agent of the Parliament at Lisbon, and Walter (1619–1674), who became a royalist. He was knighted by Charles II whom he served in various capacities. He was killed at the Battle of Senef while serving under the Prince of Orange. See John Willcock, \textit{Life of Sir Henry Vane the Younger} (London, 1913), 351 f.
Isack penington\textsuperscript{52} hath been cruelly used by an evell minded Justice in or neare reading (which it may be you have heard) for onely going to visit freinds in prison at reading, apprehended him and put the oath of alleag to him and for refusing committed him there where he is. Greate courage and boldnes is given to freinds especially of the ministry here which I have seene and heard which makes the enemy much the more rage and make spoyle as they have cheifly in the country to the ruining of familys which the Lord doth behold and in due tyme will recompense. I shall ad noe more but remain, deare friend

yours to serve in so far as in my power

Jo: Gay:

London 23th of the month called July

70

[Addressed] To William Penn esqr at John | Gays house in Georges lane | these | Dublin

RICHARD BENT\textsuperscript{53}

Sir, Hearinge by Jo: Boles\textsuperscript{54} that you are retourned to Corke and that you doe intende suddenly forom thence to London, I have troubled you with this, to intreat you to soliset Mr. Ro: Boyle in my beehalfe, that he woulde bee plesed to make some provision for me beefore he transmitts his intreste of this place to Capn: Os-

\textsuperscript{52} On Isaac Penington and the Justice see notes 21 and 22.

\textsuperscript{53} The writer is evidently being put out of the estate in favor of one Colonel Osborne and asks Penn to intercede with Roger Boyle (Lord Broghill, Earl of Orrery) for some favor. Penn's friendship with Boyle is known from other sources. He mentions in his Journal going to Captain Bent's for advice (Jan. 5) or going to Cork with C Bent his wife and daughter (Dec. 6). This connection would explain the greetings with which this letter closes from Bent's wife and children, and to Penn's associates, Philip Ford and John Penington.

\textsuperscript{54} Capt. or Jo Boles is mentioned frequently in Penn's Irish Journal. On Jan. 1 Penn went with J. Boles to Inches and found the house out of repair. Inches later seems to have been given up by the tenant (C. Phair) with the understanding that he would not touch the house but would pay the arrears of rent (Jan. 21). The parish of Inch is in the Barony of Imokilly near Cloyne, not to be confused with Inchenabacka. See note 56.
bourne, which he hath not yet done, as by a Letter under his hand which I have lately seene, doth appear, and in the same Letter mentioned that hee would preserve what favouer he could to mee: which if you please to reminde him of, and use your interest in him, may prove of such efect, that I with my wife and children may have cause to praye God in a hie mesuer that we hadde the happienes to be aquainted with you, and it may bee likewise a cumfort to you, that God hath made you an instrement of soe much Justice and Equitie in the Land. Well my penn would be too scantey to relate the efects that soe good an action would produce, and knowing your inclination to doe good to all, and more espesially to them whom you professe love to I leave my case of your favouer, and receive a Line or twoe from you after you have spoke with him, which favouer if you please to graunt will not onely bee an hie ingagement on mee and myne, but bee a cumfort to you that God hath made you an instrement of soe much good in the Land. Thus with mine my wifes and chillderens kinde Love to you Phillip and Jo: Peningetone, rests he that is

Very affectionat frende

to Serve you

Ri: Bent

Inchenabacka

First August 70

I pray excuse that I am not the messenger myselfe, which in truth is occasioned by reson of avery urgent occasion that prevents mee

[Addressed] For Will: Penne Esqr theise in Corke | att Mr. Cookes or ellsewheare

55 Is this the Colonel Osborne mentioned by William Penn in connection with negotiations with his father's tenants about Shanagarry (Irish Journal, Dec. 31, Jan. 26, Jan. 29)? An important family named Osborne lived in and around Clonmel. Col. Osborne may have been of that family. Penn's Irish Journal implies a tenant of that name. Cf. also Henry Osborne in note 57.

56 Inchenabacka is now known as Roxborough, a parish about 10 miles north of Shanagarry, and equidistant from Midleton and Castlemartyr. See Samuel Lewis, Topographical Dictionary of Ireland (London, 1837).
Dublin August the 5th, 1670

When I received thyne I left my harvest and building and hastened hither to the end you should not be disappointed, and now haveing almost finished I intend on Tewsday morning to begin my Journey towards Gowran, and carry the mapps with me. I would send them here now but the surrounds of Knocknegeiragh and Knocknegappule hindered me for I can finde them neither in office nor privat hands, for they were reputed Protestant interest and were left unsurveyed; and haveing all the rest of the land described so perfect I am loath to insert them by estimat, although I have them in the Barony Mapp, I cannot bring them to the scale of the great mapp without committing an Error. Therefore I must desire you to enquire for the Book of survey of the Protestant interest which Mr. Taylor and I made up there in the year 1659 out of which you may send

57 This letter, though addressed to Penn's agent, rather than to Penn, may be properly included in Penn's correspondence. Its presence in the Public Record Office is best explained if it was with one or more of the other letters. In fact in the next letter Ford refers to sending Penn a letter of someone to whom money is due for a map not yet received. John or Jonathan Kealy or Kelly I have not yet identified, though he says that he and a Mr. Taylor had been the authors in 1659 of an earlier map. In spite of his apology the handwriting is very regular and legible. Penn's correspondent was probably one of the surveyors or admeasurers of the Down Survey. After the wars in Ireland in the Cromwellian period there were so many demands from English settlers, whether those who had contributed to the cost of the war or old soldiers, etc., that most of the land of Irish Catholics was declared forfeited. In 1652 Dr. William (afterwards Sir William) Petty came to Ireland and was later made Surveyor General. He surveyed all the confiscated lands “in the Protestant interest,” Protestant lands being left unmapped. Petty had various surveyors, etc., under him. He seems to have received one penny per acre.

Henry Osborne, perhaps the Osborne mentioned in Penn's Journal, was one of his admeasurers in Co. Cork in which Penn's land was situated. The survey was supposed to be finished by 1656, but all the maps were not received in Dublin until 1659. Further surveys were made, but the originals were lost in a fire in 1711.

The survey made by Petty was known as the Down Survey. Copies of Petty's maps of the Baronies have been printed. The names of parishes are given but in that of the Barony of Imokilly there are no places called Knocknegeirah and Knocknegapple. These are the correct spellings of place names which mean in English The Hill of the sheep (plural) and The Hill of the horse, respectively. The names are not now known in the neighborhood of Shanagarry.

See T. A. Larcom, History of the Cromwellian Survey of Ireland, A. D. 1655-6, commonly called The Down Survey (Dublin, 1851); B. W. H. Harding in Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, XXIV (1873), 3-118.

58 Compare Penn's Irish Journal, Dec. 15, "we went to admeasure Geivogh & Knockneyapple . . . it amounts to . . . acres . . . more than by the line survey."
me the Trace and number of Acres by the Post, and then your maps will be as perfect as your heart can wish, I am sure that booke is in Corke therefore you cannot miss it.

The Frames Box Fees and other materialls of those Maps cost me £4-17s-ood, and the Comon Rate given me by the office for making each Barony Map is £3 soe that I have made up the three Baronyes: together with the greate map—which I hope you will compute together, and returne me to Kilkenny soe much money as will answer my paines, I assure you I wish I had given £5 that I had not undertaken them, because my loss of time about them is very greate. I shall continue at Gowran 10 days and shall goe thence to Waterford soe that before I send the maps I expect they Letter and money, which is all at present from

Your Loveing Freind
Excuse this scribbling for I have not time to read it over

[Addressed] For Mr. Phillip Ford | at Mr. Thomas Cooke's house in Corke | These

PHILIP FORD
Corke, the 9th 6mo 1670

Dear friend

My last to the was [ . . . ] the 3 Day after thou wentest from hence the 5th Day following I went to Kingsayle and had the stoned

60 Thomas Cook, of Cork, is mentioned as early as 1660 among the Quaker sufferers. He is also mentioned in Penn's Irish Journal, and Penn stayed at his home, Dec. 25, March 15, 24, etc.

60 Philip Ford (c. 1631-1701/2) of Bristol with John Penington had accompanied William Penn to Ireland in October, 1669, and after they left he remained behind to continue the settlement of Penn's affairs. His address in Cork was at Thomas Cook's. He was later for many years Penn's agent in London where he married in 1672 and lived at the sign of the Hood and Scarf in Bow Lane, Cheapside. Finally he appears to have proved quite untrustworthy. See Short Jnl., 320 f.

This letter (State Papers Ireland^ 327, 8) is accompanied by a note summarizing it (ibid. 9) and endorsed in the hand of Joseph Williamson: "Information. Seditious books out of Ireland. William Penne. Oct. 1670," showing that this letter and presumably the others here transcribed were held for the censorship of that powerful official. Evidently they came to his attention only in October many weeks after they were written.

In its Quaker and non-Quaker material and in the intermixture of the two this letter resembles and continues Penn's Irish Journal whose last entry is "31st [sic] of 4th month" (July 1).
horse to Capt Rooth who has taken him but would not cum to a price but his keeping shall cost thee nothing he saith, he purposeth to Ride him to Charlevell this weeke to give the Earle of Orrery a visit and as he likes him may cum to a price [?] at his Returne which I shall indeuver, as to the Remainder of the [.....] pay of thy fathers he saith its not paid thee, thou knowest and what was mere he gave the Account he did not proffer to pay it – neither did I see it Convenient to Aske for it at that time I sent a letter to Capt [.....] to meet me at Kingsayle fort who Accordingly did I Acquainted him with what Orders thou left with me concerning him and [.....] and likewise Capt Rooth I let see thy fathers letter According as thou bidst me. did likewise send for the Ensigne W. P to cum to the castle but he would not be seene nor none of his family but word brought back by Capt Rooths servant that he was gone over the water to the towne which was not soe. Capt Rooth seemed to wonder very much at it that he came not but doutless Capt Rooth knew why he came not whilst we were in expectation of his Cuming (?) I propounded what thou orderst me to Capt Crispin who was willing to conclude that business betwixt the Ensigne and himself he having half the proffitt from the day of the Ensignes entering upon it – he allowing him half of what he has Received and giveing him halfe the bills that are unpaid and then upon the payment of the 72 li : 8 s he would give a [.....] as to that but would not conclou the Improvements at Mack Rume

61 Captain Richard Rooth, a kinsman of Admiral Penn, who had settled on the latter’s lands at Kinsale and to whom Penn had lately transferred his father’s positions of governor of the town and captain of the fort and garrison, which he had received in 1660 along with the estate of Shanagarry. The captain whose name is no longer decipherable here may be Crispin.

62 This is Roger Boyle (mentioned in the preceding letter), first Earl of Orrery, to whose new home in Charleville the King had lately added lands in Cork and Limerick to constitute a large manor of Charleville.

63 Ensign William Penn, son of Admiral Penn’s brother, George Penn, was Clerk of the Cheque at Kinsale from the Restoration to 1673.

64 Captain William Crispin (1627–1681/2), another kinsman. For an account of him and his family see the article by M. Jackson Crispin, P.M.H.B. LIII (1929), 97–131, 193–202, 289–321 (where he is described as a nephew by marriage of Admiral Penn). Cf. P.M.H.B. XXII (1898), 34–56 (where he is treated as a brother-in-law of Admiral Penn).

65 Macroom. This castle and manor had been seized for the commonwealth. In 1654 Cromwell directed that lands worth £300 a year should be granted to Admiral Penn in County Cork near some fortified place. Thus it became his property until at the Restoration Charles II returned it to its royalist owner General McCarthy, giving Penn in exchange the castle
so that I [. . . ] no likelyhood of ending that busiess except their be an Allowance granted him in one way or other he having a bill of the Ensigne to give him half proffitt looks upon himself as safe anough as to that so the Ensign not cuming as the business was so it is then I told Capt Crispin that I had order to call on him for the 30 li but he said he would allow it in the money paid to the Ensigne as so much of his [. . . ] of if he be sued then he must come upon old R Southwell for his 40 li stopt and pay it out of that, as to Major Love he was not in a condision to Make any Account keeping his bedd and every day Expecting his Death. Capt Rooth saith he see that Account he gave thee which he looked upon as pretty equall the same day I was their John Hadock had a Meeting at Rich Nunns in Kingsayle and Margaret is to have one there next 6th Day as for Powell he hath not brought in his Account as he said to thee he would nor as I understand ever Intends but what is owing he purposeth to keep towards his Improvements and for Tige Reardon thou must send a writing under


66 Robert Southwell (1607-1677) of Kinsale, Vice-Admiral of the Province of Munster. See P.M.H.B., LIII (1929), 123, and for his relations with Ensign William Penn, see M. R. Brailsford, op. cit., Appendix B. Penn mentions him several times, including sometimes the same adjective “old R. Southwell” (April 21), “old R. S.” (May 19).


68 John Haydock (1640-1719) of Coppull in Lancashire, a Friends’ minister and brother of the better known Roger Haydock. See Camb. Jnl., II, 495, and Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, LI (1937), 16-18. He visited Ireland in 1669, 1671, 1676, 1710 (J.F.H.S., X, 158 f, 174). A few weeks after this letter, on September 14, 1670, John Haydock with ten others was committed to the county jail for meeting at the house of Nathaniel Ruby at Wexford (Brief Relation, 16). His absence in Ireland in 1670 is noted in his account of his brother, A Collection of the Christian Writings . . . of Roger Haydock (London, 1700), 216.

69 Richard Nunn of Kinsale is not identified.

70 Margaret Sutton may be intended, a public Friend who visited Ireland some time between 1656 and 1675 according to an unchronological list prepared from memory by William Morris (J.F.H.S., X, 158 f). A woman of this name offered to suffer at Bury in place of George Whitehead in 1656 (Besse, I, 662).

71 Compare “E. Pouels Island” in Penn’s Irish Journal, April 18. A priest Powell of Youghal had argued with Penn earlier.

72 Tige Reardon is not identified. He was evidently a tenant connected with some of the property of Lady Penn, for she like the Admiral had interests of her own in Irish estates, having lived there with her father and first husband until 1641.
thy Mothers hand that its Due and for Lumbards\textsuperscript{73} I expect to hear from thee what to do. Last first Day was a Meeting at Youghall,\textsuperscript{74} Geo. Harris,\textsuperscript{75} Margaret and S. Mitchell\textsuperscript{76} several there is that be convinsioned amongst whom is Major ffarmer's\textsuperscript{77} Daughter that is Married in that towne to a merchant he was at the Meeting with her. After the Meeting was over M: and S: Mitchell went to the Batbist Meeting where they had good servis and severall of the Batbists confessed to the Truth, next first Day John Hadock is to have a meeting there at Youghall he is now in the west. I went to O Silver\textsuperscript{78} for the 13 li but he saith he hath not the money neither would say when he would pay it – but I thinke to send to him before next terme if he will not pay it – I have receivd no money since thou wentst I purpose to be with the tenants in Imokelly\textsuperscript{79} this weeke as to the Mapp if I Receivd it I shall pay him his money I sent thee the letter of his,\textsuperscript{80} as to the Spanish work being tenn pieces and the Italian Introducktio\textsuperscript{81} I sent them from Kingsayle if their was more of them thou must send me word for I doe not remember that ever thou tolst me the particulars I have sent them to Bristol to ffrancis Rodgers\textsuperscript{82} with another box

\textsuperscript{73} Not identified.

\textsuperscript{74} The beginnings of Quakerism at Youghal date back to the visit in 1655 of Elizabeth Fletcher and Elizabeth Smith. Robert Sandham (1620–1675), one of the converts, settled there in 1662 and the next year a meeting was established at his house, and continued at his widow's until in 1681 a meeting house was built (Rutty, 92, 138–140). William Penn had stayed at that house and attended large meetings there, e.g., March 5, 6 (Irish Journal), cf. Feb. 9.

\textsuperscript{75} Geo. Harris I have not identified.

\textsuperscript{76} Thomas and Susanna Mitchell of Cork were convinced in 1655 and are frequently mentioned among sufferers. She was a minister and died in 1672. Rutty, 92, 137.

\textsuperscript{77} Perhaps the "M Farmer" mentioned by Penn as living between Youghal and Shanagarry (Feb. 10). The register of Youghal Friends meeting shows that Elizabeth Farmer married at Youghal in 1669 James Dowlan, son of James and Susanna Dowlan of Somersetshire.

\textsuperscript{78} Evidently the "Owen Silver" with whom Penn had been negotiating at Youghal (March 7).

\textsuperscript{79} Imokilly was the barony that included the Admiral's estate at Shanagarry. Cf. note 65.

\textsuperscript{80} Presumably the map, the letter and the man here referred to are explained by the previous letter to Philip Ford from John Kealy. Cf. note 57.

\textsuperscript{81} The context suggests a Spanish work in ten volumes (?) and an Italian book. I cannot be sure that they were books or manuscripts written by Penn like the ones mentioned below, but translated for Catholics on the continent. I know of none such.

\textsuperscript{82} Francis Rogers, of Bristol ( -1693/4) was probably the brother of the William Rogers of the same city who a few years later was an active opponent of Fox. Penn had been in frequent correspondence with him according to the Irish Journal.
of books 120 of Liberty Con 12 six [. . .] of popery which may be 300 books 59 letters Love and the Odd sheets to perfect them thou hadst away likewise 2 pairs shoes and all the letters since thou wentst – several friends have there Deare Love to thee friends in this Citty are generally well the Mayor continues taking friends names but proceeds no further My deare love is to friends in that citty London and thereabouts as thou hast freedom to Acquaint them that know me so hoping to here of thy well fare I Remaine thy friend in faithfullness to serve thee

Philip Ford

[Postscript] before the sealing hereof thyne per inclosure G: H: came to hand wherein I understand thy safe Arrivall at Bristoll which I and severall more here was glad of as to thy horses thou wouldst have sent I suppose thou Intends only thy gray geld[er] and John P for the Mare is sold to John ffennell and the stoned horse is with Capt Rooth so that them two J P and thine I purpose

83 The books mentioned were written by Penn during his recent stay in Ireland, viz., The Great Case of Liberty of Conscience, A Seasonable Caveat against Popery, A Letter of Love to the Young Convinced. If they were printed in Ireland no editions show such an imprint, but probably on account of restrictions on publications the printers would withhold their names.

84 The records of sufferings for Cork in 1670 confirm this statement: "Matthew Dean, Mayor of Cork . . . took account of Friends names, how oft they were at meetings, and thereby made occasion of multiplying indictments against Friends at the Assizes where some had two, others three, six or more indictments drawn up and framed against them; the effects whereof through fines and fees, etc., proved very prejudicial to them." Short Relation, 22.

85 Second initial is uncertain and identification of the person is impossible.

86 There are frequent references in the Irish Journal to the exchange, sale, or purchase of horses. The horses here mentioned are apparently the same as those mentioned as follows: Jan. 16 "put out the gray gelder to grass [at Captain Gale's]. He gave me a stone coult." Mar. 8 "I changed my dun nag for a flea bit mare." Mar. 14 "I have bought his [Cousin Rooth's or Capt Beul's] stone horse for 15 li, that is my black horse of John Fennell and 9 pounds sterling." Nearly thirty years later when Penn with two other Friends was in Ireland on a religious visit and only casually inspecting his estates their horses aroused the cupidity of some officials. What legal device was attempted to deprive them of their mounts and how Penn countered with legal expedients is related in the Journal of the Life of Thomas Story (Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1747), 131.

87 John Fennell (1626-1706), son of Robert and Mary Fennell (née Davies), of Steeple Ashton, Wiltshire, later of Cardiff, where he married Mary Davies. He moved to Ireland about 1655 and became a farmer at Kilcommonbeg, County Tipperary, a few miles from Clogheen and Cahir. He was an important Friend in the early days in that neighborhood. His descendants of the same name, still Friends, owned the same land until about twenty years ago. A number of Irish Friends of the present day are descended from him.
to send to Minehead and so have safely (?) convaid to Bristoll this day I spoke to a master of a ship that will carry them but it will be next weeke before he sets sayle & I question whether I shall get them [ ] or noe before here is not any ship for Bristoll but the Arthur and Mary and she cannot carry them

P. F.

[Addressed] To | Edward Man88 at the signe | of the Goulden Lyon nere | Bishopsgate | London | For Will:Penn

**PARTIAL SUMMARY OF PHILIP FORD'S LETTER**

P ff in his letter from Corke the 9th 6 mo 1670 Directed to Edward Man at the signe of the Golden Lyon nere Bishopsgate London for Will Penn

Gives an account of a meeting he was at Richard Nunns in Kinsale and that Marget was to have one there the next 6th day. That the last 1st day was a meeting at Youghall where severall are convinced, and the next 1st day another to be held there by Jo. Haddock.

He speaks of a Spanish, 10 quiers and an Italian Introduction, which he sent from Kinsale to Bristol to Francis Rodgers with another box of books 120 of Liberty of Con. 12 6 [ ] of Popery which may be 300. books 59 letters Lov and the Odd sheetes to perfect those which he had away. –

[Endorsed in hand of Joseph Williamson] Information. Seditious books out of Ireland W(?) Penne. Oct. 1670

88 On Edward Mann see *Camb. Jnl.*, II, 422; *Short Jnl.*, 306. This address was a convenient one for Friends, and others of them beside Penn used it. Stubbs suggested this address for himself this year (*Webb, Fells*, 294). Letters for George Fox or Susannah Fell were addressed there in 1674 (*Camb. Jnl.*, II, 453, 456), the latter “next door to the Golden Lyon within Bishopsgate.”