

GEORGE FOX AND

WILLIAM PENN,

unlikely yokefollows and friends

When one begins to think of George Fox and William Penn, the tendency is to emphasize comparisons and contrasts. George Fox, the solid, uncompromising, ill-educated, man of the people; and William Penn, the graceful, sophisticated, member of the upper classes.

A century ago the American poet Walt Whitman, while writing about Quakers in *November Boughs*, compared George Fox with William Shakespeare, who came from a similar background, was born in an adjoining county, and died less than ten years before Fox was born. He wrote, 'One to radiate all of art's, all literature's splendor - a splendor so dazzling that he himself is almost lost in it... Then the other - may we indeed name him the same day? What is poor plain George Fox compared to William Shakespere [sic] - to fancy's lord, imagination's heir? Yet George Fox stands for something too -... the thought of God, merged in the thoughts of moral right and the immortality of identity. Great, great is that thought - aye, greater than all else.'¹

The contrast between these two Quakers is nowhere near as dramatic as the one outlined by Whitman, but it is striking nevertheless. We do not know what George Fox looked like, except for a description in William Penn's Preface to Fox's *Journal*, and a few other fleeting references, and there are no authentic portraits. He was said to be large, to have dressed neatly but plainly, including his leather breeches, and to have eaten simply.² There are portraits of Penn, both before he joined Friends and late in life. He dressed well, but avoided lace, ruffles and the other appurtenances of his class. Vigorous and handsome, he put on weight in his later years; likely because he was very fond of good food.³ It is worth noting that Fox, who lived simply, always seemed to have enough money to take care of his needs, and felt free to give money to others. Penn, who inherited money and married women with money, never seemed to have enough to cover his expenses. He too was generous to others except when his debts caught up with him.

Fox married Margaret Fell in 1669 when he was 45 years old, and she was ten years his senior. He implied that it was a marriage of companionship, and probably never consummated.⁴ Penn, on the other hand married twice, once in 1672 to Gulielma Springett when they were both 28, and again in 1696 to Hannah Callowhill who was 25, and Penn 52. He fathered 15 children, or possibly only 14; the youngest was born in 1706.⁵

While Fox presumably had some schooling, for there were those who thought the boy should study for the priesthood, his family apprenticed him to a shoemaker who also dealt in wool and cattle. He read avidly, particularly the Bible and other religious literature, but he never learned to write properly, (his handwriting was crude and his spelling creative), and dictated most of his epistles and essays, as well as his journal.⁶ Penn, on the other hand, spent a number of years in Chigwell School, near Epping Forest northeast of London, and then when the family moved to Ireland in 1656 studied with tutors until he entered Christ Church at Oxford in 1660. After being sent down for religious nonconformity in 1662, his father sent him to Europe on the Grand Tour, which allowed him to study for some months with Moses Amyraut at the Huguenot academy in Saumur on the Loire, near Nantes. He later studied at Lincoln's Inn from early in 1665 until it was closed by the plague.⁷ Penn began to publish as soon as he joined Friends in 1667, using his learning to buttress his arguments in scores of volumes over more than half a century.⁸

They were both 23 years old when they embraced what is now called the Religious Society of Friends. George Fox, after an agonizing struggle for four years to find a religious faith which met his needs, records in his *Journal*, 'then, Oh then, I heard a voice which said, "there is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition," and when I heard it my heart did leap for joy.'⁹ This experience in 1647 marked the turning point in his life, though it was not until five years later that he seemed to break forth into a new level of faith and effectiveness. After hearing the preaching of Thomas Loe whom he had heard before, at a Quaker gathering in Cork, Ireland, in late summer or early autumn in 1667, William Penn realized that he had found the answer to his inward longings, and cast his lot with Friends. He too had moved gradually toward this decision for several years, but apparently never went through the trials and tribulations of the older man. He was swept into the work of the movement almost immediately, publishing tracts, and joining with other Friends to intercede with the Duke of Buckingham for the release of imprisoned Quakers.¹⁰

Both men suffered imprisonment for their religious beliefs soon after their conviction. In 1649 Fox was jailed in Nottingham, first in 'a pitiful stinking place', and later in the sheriff's home. In the following year he was jailed for many months at Derby for blasphemy. He was not imprisoned again until 1653, but was jailed eight times in all for various periods. His last time was in Worcester prison from 1673 to 1675, and William Penn was instrumental in obtaining his release.¹¹ Penn was thrown into the Tower of London for blasphemy in 1668, he was jailed briefly in 1670 after the Penn-Mead trial, and for a longer period in 1671 for preaching in violation of the Five Mile Act.¹² He was never jailed again as a Quaker, and was not arrested until after the Glorious Revolution when he was accused of treason because of his friendship with the deposed James II.

While many persons have written about both men in studies of seventeenth-century Quakerism, only two, Samuel M. Janney and Harry Emerson Wildes have written full length biographies of each of them. Janney, a Friend in Virginia who was active in what was called the Hicksite wing of Quakers, published his biography of William Penn in 1851, and two years later issued a book about George Fox. Even today scholars refer to the Penn book, for it included a number of documents, some of which have been lost in the intervening time.¹³ Janney, who deeply regretted the separation of Friends hoped his biography would 'enable me to do something towards promoting a reunion between the two branches of the Society of Friends'.¹⁴ It was well received by English Friends and *The (London) Friend* published a four part review in 1852.¹⁵ On the other hand, his biography of George Fox, which included 85 pages of selections from his writings concerning "The Doctrines of the Christian Church", and his views concerning "Christian Testimonies" was rejected after John Allen (1790-1859) published a critical letter in *The British Friend*. However, both books were reprinted in the United States many times.¹⁶

Harry Emerson Wildes published his *Voice of the Lord, a biography of George Fox* in 1965, and nine years later issued *William Penn*. Rather than holding himself close to the *Journal*, he wrote a full biography which placed Fox in his historical context. He included more about Margaret Fell Fox than many earlier biographies, and wrote extensively about his ministry in America from 1671 to 1673.¹⁷ The Penn biography is marred by a great many errors, and cannot help being compared with the numerous recent biographies and monographs about Penn.¹⁸ Neither book was reprinted.

We do not know when these two men first met, for Penn left no record of an encounter with Fox until the time of his marriage to Margaret Fell in Bristol in October, 1669. Fox did not record the presence of the young convert on that occasion and first referred to him in regard to the Penn-Mead trial a year later.

One author suggested that Fox knew about the young William Penn's spiritual searching and appointed Thomas Loe to pursue him and snare him for Quakers. He adds that Loe exerted an "hypnotic" influence on the young man.¹⁹ William I. Hull is the only other biographer who mentions this tale, which first appeared in 1904, and he dismissed it out of hand.²⁰

Another story about Penn and Fox, regarding the younger man's sword, and Fox's admonition, 'wear it [his sword] as long as thou canst,' suggests that the two men met not long after Penn became a Friend. Janney is the source of this report, which first appeared in his biography of Penn in 1851. Hull and others have attempted to authenticate the anecdote, but without success.²¹

This brings us to the first time a meeting is mentioned by one of the two principals. At the beginning of his journal describing his visit to Ireland in 1669, Penn noted that he went to Bristol on October 22, 1669, where he met George Fox, and Margaret Fell who were about to marry. Penn and Fox must have exchanged information about Ireland for the older man had returned from there a few days earlier. Penn expressed approval of the marriage in a meeting for worship, but he had sailed for Cork before the union on October 27.²²

During his travels in Ireland Penn noted in his diary that he wrote to Fox at the end of November 1669, at the same time he wrote to his father and to Gulielma Springett.²³ In May of 1671 Fox wrote to Penn urging him to complete the text of a tract in answer to an attack by Thomas Jenner, a Puritan minister in Ireland.²⁴ The next record of a meeting of the two of them is found in Fox's *Journal* and elsewhere, referring to a small group of supporters who bade farewell to Fox and his 12 companions just before they sailed for America in August, 1671.²⁵ Penn left shortly for his first visit to Quakers in the Netherlands.

When George Fox returned from America at the end of June, 1673, Penn and his bride Gulielma were among those who went to Bristol to greet him, along with Margaret Fell, two of her daughters, Sarah and Rachel, a son-in-law, Thomas Lower, and others.²⁶ Fox and his wife travelled together for a period after his return, and soon visited the Penns at their home in Rickmansworth, Herts, called Basing House.²⁷

In the months which followed, the two couples drew closer together. While Gulielma Penn and Margaret Fox seldom saw one another, they carried on a correspondence in the years ahead. Penn and Margaret Fox developed a close relationship which lasted until her sons-in-law, especially William Mead, turned her against him in the 1690s. When Fox was unable to gain his freedom from Worcester prison through the intercession of his customary supporters he turned to Penn, and the two worked together on many issues until the older man's death in 1691.

Fox and Penn had time to talk about the state of the Society in England during this period, and possibly something about America, but there is no record of what transpired. Thomas Lower, husband of Mary Fell, joined the Fox party, which soon headed north. Fox hoped to see his mother at Fenny Drayton one last time before she died, and Margaret Fell Fox planned to return home to Swarthmoor Hall. While Fox and Lower were visiting John Halford at Armscote, Worcestershire, they were seized by the authorities on December 17, 1673 and taken prisoners at Worcester.²⁸ This eighth and last imprisonment dragged on until February 12, 1675, and left Fox in broken health.

Many friends and others who knew him and respected him, sought to gain his release. Craig Horle has written an excellent description of these efforts, and has shown how his supporters were often at cross purposes.²⁹ Various persons petitioned Charles II to step in and release him, either in person or through others. Fox, who insisted he had done nothing wrong, refused to accept a pardon, for it implied guilt, and this made it more difficult to gain his freedom. Ellis Hookes, the paid "recording clerk" of Friends, George Whitehead, Thomas Moore, an influential Friend from Reigate, the attorney Thomas Rudyard, and others sought his release.³⁰

Though Penn was apparently not involved during the first six months, Fox wrote to Margaret Fell in May asking her to enlist his help.³¹ Penn went to see Fox at Worcester in the summer and began to exchange letters with him in late August.³² In the first letter we have found, Fox and Lower mentioned the work being done by Thomas Moore, but went on to write about various Quaker issues such as the trouble Friends were having with the authorities in Maryland.³³ In Penn's letter of September 5 he referred to some of the same issues, described his visits with local Friends on his way home from Worcester, and wrote, 'I find, that a person of some quality has undertaken' to speak with the King about his imprisonment.³⁴

Fox wrote the following month to ask Penn to become acquainted with William Cecil, younger son of the Earl of Salisbury, who was showing considerable interest in Friends, and also had some influence at court. Penn responded, and the two kept up a correspondence over the following weeks.³⁵ Fox was becoming discouraged about his situation, for, as he wrote later, he had been kept a prisoner and 'tossed to and from Worcester to London and from London to Worcester again three times'.³⁶ In the end, Fox was brought before the King's Bench in London where his case was thrown out because of errors, and a praemunire sentence for refusing to take an oath was dropped.³⁷ It is impossible to determine how influential Penn had been in all of this, but it is clear that Fox turned to him more and more as the months dragged on.³⁸ Both men published tracts against oaths, Penn, with others in May, and Fox in October.³⁹ By that time Fox had travelled to Swarthmoor Hall where he remained for more than 20 months to recuperate, and to dictate his journal to Thomas Lower.

One of the issues mentioned in the 1674 correspondence between Penn and Fox was the so-called Story-Wilkinson controversy.⁴⁰ John Story and John Wilkinson were both farmers in Westmorland who heard Fox at Firbank in 1652 and joined in the itinerant preaching with those called the Valiant Sixty. They were attached to the informal ways of Friends in the first generation, and came to resent the manner in which Fox organized monthly and quarterly meetings, and began to create a discipline. Williams Rogers, a Bristol merchant, joined the other two by 1676 and continued the controversy long after the death of the original separatists.⁴¹

Story probably began to object to the direction Friends were following in 1672 while Fox was in America, and a sizeable group of men and women were expressing opposition to his leadership and authority by the time of his return. Eventually some Friends in several counties withdrew from the main body. They objected to separate business meetings for women, and to the provision that couples wishing to marry under the care of Friends should present themselves to the Women's Meeting for consent. In turn, some in the larger body accused the Separatists of meeting in secret to avoid persecution, and paying tithes to the Anglican Church to avoid heavy fines. Fox tried to stay on the sidelines, and sought, indirectly, to find ways to settle the dispute and return Friends to a unified state.⁴²

At the 1675 yearly meeting an epistle was drawn up to send out to all Friends which were regarded as extremely authoritarian by the Story-

Wilkinson wing. Penn was probably the author of the epistle though others also signed it, and this left no doubt that he, along with George Whitehead, Alexander Parker, and John Burnyeat supported Fox.⁴³ Because Margaret Fell was regarded as the architect of women's meetings, she was also rejected by the separatists.⁴⁴ In early April, 1676 Penn made a rare trip to Swarthmoor Hall to see Fox and his wife, and then went with Margaret Fell, Thomas Lower, and Sarah Fell to Drawwell, near Sedburgh to meet Story, Wilkinson and others including Rogers who came from Bristol.⁴⁵

While travelling with the party of ministers in Holland and Germany in 1677 both Fox and Penn wrote back to England to urge Friends to put aside their differences and come together. Margaret Fell reported that the Separatists would not allow these letters to be heard.⁴⁶ In 1678 the two men went to Bristol together to seek some solution and end the controversy, for Friends in that area had responded to the schismatic leadership of Rogers.⁴⁷ In 1681 Penn joined others in endorsing a tract by Richard Snead, *An Exalted Diotrephes Reprehended*, which sought to end the controversy.⁴⁸ He followed this with his own pamphlet, *A Brief Examination and State of Liberty Spiritual...* in late November of the same year. This was a conciliatory essay asking for tolerance within the church, and called for his fellow Friends to keep 'in the Simplicity of Truth, and Cross of Jesus'.⁴⁹ Troubles continued in Bristol even after Fox had died, and in 1692 Penn issued one more conciliatory pamphlet, *Just Measures, in an Epistle of Peace and Love...*⁵⁰

The two men next met at the 1677 yearly meeting, which Fox attended as he began his travels once more. When the sessions ended in mid-June, Fox, John Burnyeat and others accompanied Penn on his return to his country home in Sussex, called Worminghurst. During the next several weeks Robert Barclay, George Keith, Isaac Penington and others joined them to hold public meetings, both at Worminghurst and in the surrounding countryside.⁵¹ Presumably Fox, Penn, Barclay and Keith discussed their mission to Holland and western Europe which began late in July. Fox and Burnyeat worked long hours on a reply to Roger Williams's *George Fox Digg'd out of his Burrowes* (Boston, 1676), written after a long, inconclusive debate between Williams and several Quakers in the summer of 1672.⁵² While Fox had departed for Long Island before the debate was held, Burnyeat, with two other visiting ministers defended the Quaker side. In 1678 the reply appeared in London, *A New-England Fire-Brand Quenched*. The two men, and perhaps others in the group, halted their work and left Worminghurst on July 13.⁵³

While George Fox had never visited the Friends in Holland and the German states to the east, he had written to them many times, and his words had appeared in Dutch and German language tracts for two decades. In 1677 he desired to travel to Holland to help Friends establish a yearly meeting and local business meetings, in addition to carrying on an ambitious programme of ministry in the area. He invited Robert Barclay and George Keith to accompany him as well as William Penn, who had visited the continent earlier in 1671. Keith's wife Elizabeth, Isabel Yeamans, daughter of Margaret Fell, and others were in the party, including Edward Haistwell who kept a journal of Fox's ministry and travels. Penn also kept a journal which he published in 1694.⁵⁴

The party left Harwich on July 26 and after an uneventful crossing landed near Rotterdam where they stayed with Benjamin Furly. After holding meetings in that city, the group moved north to Amsterdam where they spent several days. Holland Yearly Meeting dated its founding from this time.⁵⁵ On August 6 Penn, Barclay, Furly and Keith started southeast, and two days later Fox, accompanied by Jan Claus as a translator headed northeast. They visited Friends meetings and families, getting as far north as Friedrichstadt where Fox set up both a men's meeting and a women's meeting. Along the way they stayed in Emden, Bremerhaven, Bremen and Hamburg, travelling most of the time by wagon. Back in Emden, the little group passed through Friesland, down toward Amsterdam and soon rejoined Penn at a place called Harlingen on September 11.⁵⁶

In the meantime, Penn and his companions travelled to Osnabrück and on to Herford where they spent several days with Princess Elizabeth, granddaughter of James I of England and a cousin of Barclay. She had been drawn to Friends for some time, and this religious visit was an important event in the three months on the continent.⁵⁷ Barclay returned to Amsterdam and the remainder of the group headed south to Paderborn, Kassel, Frankfurt and Mannheim before starting down the Rhine toward Cologne, Nijmegen, and Utrecht.⁵⁸ As they neared Amsterdam Keith and Furly took a wagon for Rotterdam and Penn went to Amsterdam, and on north to Harlingen.⁵⁹

After Fox and Penn spent three days together, the latter and Jan Claus, started toward Emden, Bremen and back to Herford while Fox returned to Amsterdam where he did a good bit of writing during the following weeks, in addition to visiting Friends in the area. While at Bremen, Penn was rejoined by George Keith and Benjamin Furly, who accompanied him as they visited Princess Elizabeth from September 22

to the 25th.⁶⁰ They journeyed to Lippstadt, and on to the Rhine at Wesel, and saw a number of groups of Friends and their sympathizers on the way back to Amsterdam, which they reached on October 7.⁶¹

During the next two weeks Penn and Fox were often together, along with Furly and Keith. During this time Penn and Keith held two debates with Galenus Abrahams, leader of the Collegiant Mennonites. Fox was present but refrained from joining the fray.⁶² On other occasions Penn and Furley went to visit persons who might be responsive to Friends, and Fox joined them on one trip. By October 18 the party had moved to Rotterdam, where a large meeting was held, and then on October 21 they boarded the packet boat at Briel, bound for Harwich. This time it took three days and two nights to cross the Channel, but they landed safely, and the next day went their separate ways.⁶³

While Fox and Penn appeared in meetings together frequently in the following months, and were sometimes guests in the same home. Penn's energies were turned toward two goals which were different from the ones claiming Fox's fullest attention. The first of these was political activity in 1678 and 1679, seeking the election to parliament of Algernon Sidney as a Whig, and enactment of new guarantees of religious toleration. He published tracts to support these goals, in addition to tireless campaigning and lobbying.⁶⁴ The second major emphasis was related to Quaker colonies in North America, beginning with his involvement in West New Jersey in 1675, and his request for a province of his own, addressed to Charles II in 1680. Although Fox was primarily concerned with the spiritual well-being of Friends, he did display an interest in these colonies, especially when thousands of Quakers migrated to West New Jersey and Pennsylvania. As a result, the two men consulted with one another on many occasions about affairs in America.

During his ministry in the English colonies George Fox had seen the Delaware Valley and New Jersey region in 1672 as he travelled from Maryland to New England and back. In May he had crossed the Delaware River at New Castle and made his way north toward Middletown where Richard Hartshorne (c. 1641-1722) lived. In late August he returned, travelling from Hartshorne's home to the spot where Burlington was founded on the Delaware five years later, and made his way down the west side of the river back to New Castle.⁶⁵

Edward Byllynge and John Fenwick, two Quakers who purchased West New Jersey from Sir John Berkeley in 1674, began to quarrel over the colony, and William Penn was named by Friends to arbitrate the

matter later that year. Because the financial affairs of the two men remained muddled, Penn and two of Byllynge's creditors took control of the purchase in 1675.⁶⁶ Not waiting for the trustees to make decisions, Fenwick led a group of colonists across the Atlantic in 1675 and planned a colony near the mouth of the Delaware River which he named Salem. The trustees moved ahead more deliberately and arranged for a community to be developed in 1677 some 75 miles upriver, not far below the fall line, which was named Burlington.⁶⁷ Fox, aware of the unsettled state of affairs sent an epistle "To Friends in New Jersey in America" in the same year. He urged them to keep 'in the fear of God... For many eyes of other governments or colonies will be upon you; yea, the Indians, to see how you order your lives and conversations...'.⁶⁸ In 1681 he sent a similar epistle, "To Friends in Burlington, West Jersey".⁶⁹

There were questions about the manner in which West New Jersey had been transferred from the Duke of York to Lord Berkeley and then to Byllynge and Fenwick. He had granted the land, but said nothing about the government, and Edmund Andros, governor of New York claimed West New Jersey was under his authority. Because James Stuart, Duke of York, was in Scotland late in 1679, both Fox and Penn asked Robert Barclay, his kinsman, to intercede with the Duke on behalf of Byllynge and the Friends in West New Jersey. After James responded favourably to this request in August of the following year, Penn's involvement decreased, and he turned more and more to his own province west of the Delaware.⁷⁰ Penn and Fox met from time to time for several years in an effort to straighten out the controversies in which Byllynge continued to find himself.⁷¹

Scholars who have written about the career of George Fox put much stress on his contribution to the creation of the "Holy Experiment" in Pennsylvania. Wildes, in a chapter entitled "Holy Experiment" admitted that there was no evidence the two men discussed the proposal, but adds 'it is unthinkable' that Fox and Penn were not in 'steady, close consultation'. He claims that Penn's fair treatment of the Indians, 'stemmed straight from Fox'.⁷² Vernon Noble concluded that it was Fox who guided Penn's thinking about a Quaker colony in America, but found no evidence to support his theory. His chapter about Pennsylvania's "Holy Experiment" in the Fox biography, scarcely mentions Fox after the first two pages.⁷³ Henry Cadbury was more circumspect, suggesting that the men likely discussed Pennsylvania and other matters when they met in London.⁷⁴ Janney, in his biographies of

Penn and Fox did not discuss this question. Penn himself wrote that 'I had an opening of joy as to these parts in the Year 1661 at Oxford'.⁷⁵

In his letter to Friends in Ireland, quoted above, Penn strongly suggests that he conferred with Fox about his promotional pamphlets. He said that the tract was 'first read to Traders, Planters & Shipmasters that know those parts, & finally to the most eminent of fr[ien]ds hereaway'.⁷⁶ In replying to criticism of his Frame of Government, Penn wrote that 'Dear George Fox, Alexander Parker, Geo. Whitehead... & an hundred more honest Friends have liked it...'.⁷⁷ As an expression of his admiration and respect for Fox, and to indicate that he had an interest in the new plantation, Penn granted Fox 1,250 acres and a city lot in December, 1681.⁷⁸

The older man regarded the Friends in America as an important part of the Quaker community, and he soon wrote two epistles to them. One was addressed 'to all Planters and such who are Transporting themselves into Foreign Plantations in America', and the other was addressed 'to Friends in New Jersey and Pennsylvania'.⁷⁹ He asked that they let him know how many meetings they had, 'how Truth spreads and prospers amongst you', and urged them to send an annual letter or epistle to London Yearly Meeting. He continued to write from time to time as long as he lived.⁸⁰

We find few references to meetings between the two men, and no letters, during the 18 months from the time Penn obtained his charter until his departure for Pennsylvania in August, 1682. Fox witnessed a letter to William Markham, Penn's cousin who was sent to Pennsylvania in the autumn of 1681 as Deputy Governor, and it is believed that the two men appeared at the Gracechurch Street Meeting during the summer of 1682, where authorities sought to prevent them from preaching.⁸¹ Before sailing to Pennsylvania Penn went to visit Fox at Enfield, and reported on his health to Margaret Fox. He wrote, 'My soul loves him beyond [expression], and his dear love and care and counsel are in my heart. A sweet parting we had'.⁸²

The two men corresponded a few times while Penn was in Pennsylvania.⁸³ Persons dissatisfied with their treatment at the hands of the proprietor would seek Fox's support, but I have found no indication that the older man took the complaints seriously. Concerned for Gulielma Penn, living down in Sussex at Worminghurst during her husband's absence, Fox went to visit her in March 1683 not long after the birth of her seventh child.⁸⁴ Gulielma Penn and Margaret Fox corresponded during Penn's absence.⁸⁵ Penn returned in the autumn of

1684, landing at Worthing, not far from Worminghurst early in October. After staying with his family for a time, he went up to London where he saw many Friends, including George Fox, and then wrote a letter to Margaret Fox to report that her husband was well. He also described affairs in Pennsylvania to her, and mentioned that he had found some Quakers critical of him, but made it clear that she and George were not among those.⁸⁶

The two men met and consulted with one another during the next few years, but followed separate ways much of the time. Fox, who had made a brief visit to Holland in 1684, remained near London for the remainder of his life. He lived with Sarah Fell Mead and her husband William in Essex near Barking, or with Margaret Fell Rous and her husband John at Kingston upon Thames much of the time, but stayed with friends in London when he came into the city for Quaker affairs.⁸⁷ He met with Penn and others about problems in New Jersey, as well as about the suffering of Friends. He attended yearly meeting, Meeting for Sufferings, and other official gatherings as well as meetings for worship.⁸⁸ He continued to write epistles, memorials of deceased Friends, and other short works. In the notes kept about his daily activity in this period, called the Itinerary Journal, we see that Penn and Fox met or appeared together some two dozen times in the five years, 1685-1689.⁸⁹

Penn was caught up in different matters during this period. After Charles II died in 1685, his friend James II became king, and the Quaker spent much time with the Roman Catholic monarch despite their differences of opinion and belief on many issues. Furthermore, the affair of his proprietary colony in America claimed his attention during these years. He went to the continent in 1686, to visit Friends and to meet secretly with William of Orange for James II, and sometimes travelled in England with the monarch, or for personal reasons.⁹⁰ After James II fled England in December, 1688, Penn was under suspicion for treason; he was arrested and held prisoner on three occasions during the next two years, but was never convicted of any wrong-doing.⁹¹

Though the two men seldom met during these years, they were close to one another in spirit. After Fox took a chill on Sunday, January 11, 1691 following the meeting at Gracechurch Street, and took to his bed at Henry Gouldney's home nearby, he asked frequently for Penn, who was out of town.⁹² Fox seemed to realize this was the end, saying, 'I am clear, I am fully clear'.⁹³ Many friends came to visit him in the next two days, and Penn joined them as soon as he heard the news and could

come. After George Fox died Tuesday night, Penn wrote to tell Margaret Fox of his death. '... thy dear husband and my beloved and dear friend, G. Fox, has finished his glorious testimony this night about half an hour after nine, being sensible to the last breath.' In a postscript Penn added, 'He died as he lived, a lamb minding the things of God and His church to the last in an universal Spirit'.⁹⁴

On the following morning, after the mid-week meeting, several ministers gathered to make plans for the funeral. These Friends, including William Penn, Stephen Crisp, George Whitehead and a dozen others found they were unable to deal with the situation at first. An unnamed Friend, describing the gathering said 'It was long before their grief allowed other expression than deep sighs, groans and tears'.⁹⁵ The funeral, planned for noon on Friday, drew close to 4,000 persons. Robert Barrow, in another letter, listed twelve ministers who preached or prayed in the two hour meeting, including Penn, and he was one of the five who spoke once more at the graveside service.⁹⁶

Penn was asked by the editorial committee to prepare a preface for George Fox's *Journal*, and he took care to write one of his most polished and persuasive essays about his dear friend, his place in Christian history, and the development of Friends. In this essay he said:⁹⁷

I write my knowledge and not report; and my witness is true, having been with him for weeks and months together on divers occasions, and those of the nearest and most exercising nature, and that by night and day, by sea and by land, in this and in foreign countries; and I can say I never saw him out of his place, or not a match for every service and occasion.

For in all things he acquitted himself like a man, yea, a strong man, a new and heavenly-minded man, a divine and a naturalist, and all of God Almighty's making... I have done when I have left this short epitaph to his name. Many sons have done virtuously in this day, but dear George thou excellest them all.

Edwin B. Bronner

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²A. Neave Brayshaw, *The Personality of George Fox* (London, 1933), 26-28, 31-33, 165, 166; Vernon Noble, *The Man in Leather Breeches* (New York, 1953), 92, 250.

³William I. Hull, *William Penn, A Topical Biography* (New York, 1937), 129-131, 294-307; Mary Maples Dunn and Richard S. Dunn, eds., *The World of William Penn* (Philadelphia, 1986), Richard Dunn, 'Penny Wise and Pound Foolish: Penn as a Businessman', discusses his extravagant tastes, 41.

⁴John L. Nickalls, *The Journal of George Fox* (Cambridge, 1952), 554, 555, 557; Brayshaw, *Personality of Fox*, 126-129; Noble, *Man in Leather Breeches*, 213-217.

- ⁵The latest information on these marriages may be found in Dunn and Dunn, *The Papers of William Penn* (Philadelphia, 1981-1986), 1, 68, 237-239; 3, 413, 435-437 (hereafter, *PWP*); Catherine Owens Peare, *William Penn* (Philadelphia, 1957), 145-147, 341-349.
- ⁶Brayshaw, *Personality of Fox*, 7, 8; Noble, *Man in Leather Breeches*, 35-38; Nickalls, *Journal*, 1-3. Professor Larry Ingle, at the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga is writing a new biography.
- ⁷Hull, *William Penn*, 67-77, 81, 82, 86, 87; Melvin E. Endy, Jr., *William Penn and Early Quakerism* (Princeton, 1973), 95-101. *PWP*, 1, 31, 32.
- ⁸See, Edwin B. Bronner and David Fraser, *The Papers of Wiliam Penn*, 5, *Wiliam Penn's Published Writings* (Philadelphia, 1986).
- ⁹Nickalls, *Journal*, 11; Hugh Barbour, *The Quakers in Puritan England* (New Haven, Conn., 1964), 34-38.
- ¹⁰Endy, *William Penn*, 95-105. He was in error about the date of his conviction. *PWP*, 5, 90-99; *PWP*, 1, 49, 50, 70, 72.
- ¹¹Nickalls, *Journal*, 40-42, 52-70.
- ¹²*PWP*, 1, 81-97, 171-180, 191-212.
- ¹³Samuel M. Janney, *The Life of William Penn* (Philadelphia, 1851).
- ¹⁴*Memoirs of Samuel M. Janney* (Philadelphia, 1881), 128.
- ¹⁵*The Friend*, X (Seventh Month, 1852), 116 ff.
- ¹⁶*British Friend*, XII (Second mo., 1854), 46, 47, 50; Janney, *The Life of George Fox* (Philadelphia, 1853). Jacob Post published two biographical pamphlets in London at this same time. His *A Popular Memoir of William Penn* (London, 1850), was dedicated to delegates to a Congress at Frankfort, Germany, with the hope that it would contribute to the creation of 'Permanent Peace throughout the World'. Post's *A Brief Memoir of the Life and Public Character of George Fox* (London, 1854), included selections from Fox's 'Letter To the Governor of Barbados', a strong statement of Christian doctrine, not unlike the Apostles' Creed. It may have been issued to counteract the Janney biography.
- ¹⁷Philadelphia, 1965.
- ¹⁸New York, 1974. Wildes was not well at the time he completed the Penn biography, and apologized to me for the numerous errors.
- ¹⁹Augustus C. Buell, *William Penn as the Founder of Two Commonwealths* (New York, 1904), 67-69. Buell referred to an anti-Quaker tract published during the reign of William and Mary as his source, and said that Fox also sent ministers after Isaac Penington, Thomas Callowhill and Lord Coventry.
- ²⁰Hull, *William Penn*, 110, 111. He had written a long review of the book in the *Friends Intelligencer* in 1904, 'William Penn - A Satire or a Eulogy', in which he tore the biography to shreds. 61 (1904), April 16, 241-243; April 30, 275, 276; May 14, 306-309. Hull had not located the unnamed tract, nor have I. It sounds like Francis Bugg (1640-1724?).
- ²¹Janney, *William Penn*, 42, 43. He said he had been told the story by 'J.P.' of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, who had it from James Simpson (1743-1811), who lived in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, in his early years; Hull, *William Penn*, 308.
- ²²*PWP*, 1, 103, 132; Isabel Ross, *Margaret Fell* (London, 1949), 216; Henry J. Cadbury, *Narrative Papers of George Fox* (Richmond, Indiana, 1972), 77, 82, 86, 87.
- ²³November 27, 1669, *PWP*, 1, 109.

- ²⁴May 24, 1671, *PWP*, 1, 191, 208. Penn was in Newgate prison at the time, his second imprisonment in less than a year. The reply to Jenner, *A Serious Apology for the Principles and Practices of the People Call'd Quakers* ([London], 1671), written by Penn and George Whitehead, (c. 1636-1723), appeared in June, *PWP*, 5, 128-130.
- ²⁵Nickalls, *Journal*, 579-581.
- ²⁶*Ibid.*, 665.
- ²⁷*Ibid.*, 670; Peare, *William Penn*, 159.
- ²⁸Nickalls, *Journal*, 670; Ross, *Margaret Fell*, 247; Peare, *William Penn*, 159; *PWP*, 1, 287.
- ²⁹Craig Horle, 'Changing Quaker Attitudes toward Legal Defense: The George Fox Case, 1673-75, and the Establishment of Meeting for Sufferings', J. William Frost and John M. Moore, eds., *Seeking the Light, Essays in Quaker History in Honor of Edwin B. Bronner* (Wallingford, Pennsylvania, 1986), 17-39.
- ³⁰Nickalls, *Journal*, 674-677; *PWP*, 1, 289.
- ³¹*Ibid.*, 691.
- ³²*PWP*, 1, 288-293.
- ³³28 August, 1674, *PWP*, 1, 288-291.
- ³⁴*PWP*, 2, 291-293. He began the letter, 'In the unalterable love of god, I salute thee, & my spirit visits thee, whom I Cannot but remember with all endeared affection'.
- ³⁵Fox and Lower to Penn, 10 October, 1674, *PWP*, 1, 295; Penn to Fox, 20, 21 November, 1674, 'The Papers of William Penn', Microfilm edition (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1975), 1:660; to Penn from George and Margaret Fox, 25 November, 1674, *Ibid.*, 1:665; Penn to Fox, 1 December, 1674, *PWP*, 1, 297; Fox to Penn, 11 January, 1675, *PWP*, 1, 298; Horle, 'Changing Quaker Attitudes', *Seeking the Light*, 30, 31.
- ³⁶Nickalls, *Journal*, 705.
- ³⁷Horle, 'Changing Quaker Attitudes', *Seeking the Light*, 34; Nickalls, *Journal*, 704, 705. Fox had refused the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy in January, 1674.
- ³⁷Peare, *William Penn*, 166; 'Their correspondence demonstrates the growing bond between the two leaders...'. *PWP*, 1, 287.
- ³⁹*A Treatise of Oaths...*, ([London], 1675), signed by William Penn, Richard Richardson and eleven others, *PWP*, 5, 201, this tract went through many printings; Fox, *A small Treatise concerning Swearing...* (London, 1675), reprinted in *Gospel Truth Demonstrated* (London, 1706), 469-482.
- ⁴⁰Fox and Lower to Penn, 28 August, 1674; Penn to Fox, 5 September, 1674, *PWP*, 1, 288, 292.
- ⁴¹William Charles Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism* (Cambridge, 1961), Chapter XI, 'The Wilkinson-Story Separation', 290-323; *PWP*, 1, 327, 328; Endy, *William Penn*, 133, 134.
- ⁴²Richard T. Vann, *The Social Development of British Quakers, 1655-1755* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), 102-106; Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 296, 297, 309; Nickalls, *Journal*, Henry J. Cadbury's 'George Fox's Later Years', 718.
- ⁴³It contained provisions for disciplining or condemning a meeting which was unruly, and outlined how couples wishing to marry were to appear before the Women's Meeting as well as the Men's Meeting. *PWP*, 1, 328-333.
- ⁴⁴Penn wrote to Fox, 4 March, 1676 about various matters, including the criticism of Margaret Fell by the Story-Wilkinson group. '... Poor Margaret is so much smitt at, and run upon... as if she were the Cause...' *PWP*, 1, 360.

- ⁴⁵Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 304, 305, note, p. 679; Ross, *Margaret Fell*, 288.
- ⁴⁶*PWP*, 1, 514.
- ⁴⁷Norman Penney, *The Short Journal of George Fox* (Cambridge, 1925), "The Haistwell Diary", 263-265, 375; Braithwaite, *Second Period*, 313, 314.
- ⁴⁸(London, 1681), *PWP*, 5, 277, 278.
- ⁴⁹(London, 1681), *PWP*, 5, 279-281.
- ⁵⁰*PWP*, 5, 378-380.
- ⁵¹Penney, *Short Journal*, "Haistwell Diary", 235; Nickalls, *Journal*, Cadbury, 721.
- ⁵²*Ibid.*; Arthur J. Worrall, *Quakers in the Colonial Northeast* (Hanover, New Hampshire, 1980), 35-37.
- ⁵³The second part, *Something in Answer to Roger Williams his Appendix*, was signed G.F., J.B., 5 Month [July], 1677, and was undoubtedly completed at Worminghurst. While preparing Volume 5 of *The Papers of William Penn* I endeavoured to discover whether Penn had contributed to this volume, but never found any evidence to confirm that theory. Hull, *William Penn*, 219, claims that Penn was a co-author, but offers no evidence.
- ⁵⁴Nickalls, *Journal*, Cadbury, 722-728; Penney, *Short Journal*, "Haistwell Diary", 236-255; *PWP*, 1, 425-508; *An Account of W. Penn's Travails in Holland and Germany* (London, 1694), *PWP*, 5, 420-423. Text also available in *A Collection of the Works of William Penn* (London, 1726), I, 50-116. In the seventeenth century the word "travails" was sometimes used to describe important, serious travels. Did Penn publish his *Travails* in 1694 to emphasis his close relationship with Fox, when he was under serious criticism from some Quakers?
- ⁵⁵*Short Journal*, "Haistwell Diary", 239; *PWP*, 1, 439.
- ⁵⁶*Short Journal*, "Haistwell Diary", 239-247.
- ⁵⁷*PWP*, 1, 439-469. Fox wrote a letter to Princess Elizabeth which was delivered to her by Isabel Yeamans during this visit, *Short Journal*, "Haistwell Diary", 239.
- ⁵⁸*PWP*, 1, 446.
- ⁵⁹*PWP*, 1, 468; *Short Journal*, "Haistwell Diary", 248; *PWP*, 1, 469.
- ⁶⁰*Short Journal*, "Haistwell Diary", 249-251; *PWP*, 1, 473-488; arrival of Keith and Furley, 484.
- ⁶¹*PWP*, 1, 488-493. A map portraying Penn's two journeys is found on page 429.
- ⁶²*Short Journal*, "Haistwell Diary", 253, 254; *PWP*, 1, 493, 499. I believe Henry Cadbury was in error when he wrote that this debate was on September 8, for Penn, Keith and Fox were not together in Amsterdam until October 7, Nickalls, *Journal*, Cadbury, 726.
- ⁶³*Short Journal*, "Haistwell Diary", 254, 255; *PWP*, 1, 500.
- ⁶⁴For a biographical sketch of Algernon Sidney see *PWP*, 1, 511, 547; for brief summaries of Penn's three political pamphlets written at this time see *PWP*, 5, 237-242, 245-247, 248-250. Mary Maples Dunn wrote about this period in Penn's life in *William Penn, Politics and Conscience* (Princeton, 1967), 34-43.
- ⁶⁵Nickalls, *Journal*, 618, 619, 630-634; for Hartshorne, see *PWP*, 2, 342n.
- ⁶⁶John E. Pomfret, *The Province of West New Jersey* (Princeton, 1956), 65-68; *PWP*, 1, 383; *PWP*, 5, 221, 222.
- ⁶⁷Pomfret, *West New Jersey*, 71-73, 102-106.
- ⁶⁸T. Canby Jones, *The Power of the Lord Over All* (Richmond, Indiana, [1989]), No. 340, May 4, 1677, 351, 352.
- ⁶⁹*Ibid.*, No. 367, n.d., 392, 393.
- ⁷⁰Pomfret, *West New Jersey*, 111, 112; *PWP*, 2, 23-25.

- ⁷¹Penney, *Short Journal*, "Itinerary Journal", 103, 308; Pomfret *West New Jersey*, 141; Nickalls, *Journal*, Cadbury, 735, 736.
- ⁷²Wildes, *Voice of the Lord*, 412-418, quotations, 413.
- ⁷³Noble, *Man in Leather Breeches*, Ch. 21, 254-265. Rufus M. Jones, in *George Fox, Seeker and Friend* (New York, 1930), 163, stated that Fox's visit to America 'led to the launching of the "Holy Experiment" in Pennsylvania', but provides no supporting evidence.
- ⁷⁴Nickalls, *Journal*, Cadbury, 735, 736.
- ⁷⁵To Robert Turner and others, 12 April, 1681, *PWP*, 2, 89; Hull, *William Penn*, 218.
- ⁷⁶To Robert Turner and others, *PWP*, 2, 89.
- ⁷⁷To Jasper Batt, 5 February, 1683, *PWP*, 2, 348. Beyond this reference there is no indication that Fox was involved in writing the Frame of Government, and his interests did not lie in that direction, *PWP*, 2, 135-238, "The Frame of Government of Pennsylvania, 1681-1682".
- ⁷⁸*PWP*, 2, 643; for a copy of the deed, see Penny, *The Journal of George Fox* (Cambridge, 1911), II, 365-367. Fenn apparently gave 1,000 acres to Alexander Parker, and 500 acres to both John Burnyeat and George Whitehead; the latter was also given a city lot, *PWP*, 2, 634, 639, 656.
- ⁷⁹Jones, *The Power of the Lord*, No. 376, [1682], 404; No. 379, 22 February, 1683, 407.
- ⁸⁰*Ibid.*, Nos. 404, 405, 408, 412, 1686-1688, 455-457, 459, 460, 467, 468.
- ⁸¹[28 October, 1681], *PWP*, 2, 129; Cadbury, *Narrative Papers of George Fox*, 55, 57.
- ⁸²14 August, 1682, *PWP*, 2, 277.
- ⁸³WP to Jasper Batt, 5 February, 1683, *PWP*, 2, 346-349; James Claypoole to WP, 1 April, 1683, *PWP*, 2, 369, Batt to WP, [August, 1683], *PWP*, 2, 463, 466n. In Cadbury's *Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers* Philadelphia, 1939), he found references to three letters from Fox to Penn in this period, pp. 173, 174, 179.
- ⁸⁴Claypoole to WP, 1 April, 1683, *PWP*, 2, 370; Gulielma Penn to Margaret Fox, 21 August, 1683, *PWP*, 2, 460; Nickalls *Journal*, Cadbury, 736, 746, 750.
- ⁸⁵Gulielma Penn to Margaret Fox, 21 August, 1683, *PWP*, 2, 460, 461; 24 August, 1684, *PWP*, 2, 597, 598. There are references to other letters, Ross, *Margaret Penn*, 322-324; Cadbury, *Narrative Papers*, 240, 241.
- ⁸⁶29 October, 1684, *PWP*, 2, 605, 606.
- ⁸⁷Ross, *Margaret Fell*, 330; Nickalls, *Journal*, Cadbury, 747.
- ⁸⁸Penney, *Short Journal*, "Itinerary Journal", xiii-xix, xxiii-xxvii.
- ⁸⁹*Ibid.*, 95-199.
- ⁹⁰*PWP*, 3, 18, 19.
- ⁹¹*Ibid.*, 217, 236, 251, 252, 283, 284; Joseph Illick, *William Penn the Politician* (Ithaca, New York, 1965), 103-111.
- ⁹²Henry Gouldney to John Rodes, 15 January, 1691, Mrs. Godfred Locker Lampson, *A Quaker Post-Bag, Letters to Sir John Rodes* (London, 1910), 51, 52.
- ⁹³Many volumes contain descriptions of Fox's last illness, this quotation is from Nickalls, *Journal*, Cadbury, 752. See, Penny, *Short Journal*, "Itinerary Journal", 222, 353; Penney, *Cambridge Journal*, II, 369-371, 495; William Beck and T. Frederick Ball, *The London Friends' Meetings* (London, 1869), 154-157.
- ⁹⁴13 January, 1691, Helen G. Crosfield, *Margaret Fox of Swarthmoor Hall* (London, n.d.), 188, 189; "Papers of William Penn", microfilm edition, 6:532.

⁹⁵The quotation was paraphrased by Beck and Ball, *The London Friends' Meetings*, 156, presumably from the letter by an unnamed Friend to John Airey, 15 January, 1691, Penney, *Cambridge Journal*, II, 369-371.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, 495.

⁹⁷Nickalls, *Journal*, xlvi, xlvi; the pages of the Preface were unnumbered in the 1694 edition, and it was omitted from some copies. These quotations come from pages, xxxvi, xxxvii in the 1831 edition of the *Journal* as part of an eight volume reprinting of *The Works of George Fox*. This edition has just been reissued as a New Foundation Publication (State College, Pennsylvania, 1990). For a discussion of the printing of the Preface, and its reissue as *A Brief Account of the Rise and Progress of the People Called Quakers* (London, 1694), see *PWP*, 5, 410-416.