

CONVINCEMENT AND DISILLUSIONMENT: PRINTER WILLIAM BRADFORD AND THE KEITHIAN CONTROVERSY IN COLONIAL PHILADELPHIA

William Bradford (1663-1752) is one of the earliest, most colourful, and yet most elusive figures within the history of American printing. Only a handful of Bradford papers exists and according to Alexander J. Wall, Jr.'s estimates, as many as two thirds of his potential press work has disappeared.¹ The quality of his work is not noteworthy, so filled with errors some of it may be considered deplorable: broken type, inconsistent inking, and numerous pagination errors. A review of the literature reveals that no monographic works focused on Bradford exist; all treatments of him are, to the best of my knowledge, limited to articles, chapters, and addresses; none has ventured to compile a full-length biography.

However, several scholars have maintained a curious fascination with Bradford which has resulted in a relatively clear picture of his life and work in the colonies from his arrival in 1685 and, to a lesser degree, his apprenticeship in England. Bradford's significance is related to his pioneering efforts advancing his trade in the colonies, being the first printer in Philadelphia and, later, New York and, still later, Perth Amboy, New Jersey. He apprenticed a number of men who became important figures in American printing, namely, John Peter Zenger, Henry DeForeest, James Parker, and his own son, Andrew Bradford. His press produced a number of the colonies' "firsts."²

Due in part to an apparent propensity toward contentiousness, and perhaps to a more significant degree, due to his vocal and critical departure from the group which he originally intended to serve in Philadelphia, namely the Religious Society of Friends, Bradford's career was punctuated by controversy and litigation.

This paper will contribute to the study of William Bradford by examining his relationship to the Religious Society of Friends and how that relationship was affected by his association with George Keith, a Quaker who became increasingly schismatic and vocal with his dissatisfaction with the Religious Society. Although Bradford's

difficulty with the Quakers began as early as his first American imprint, it did not assume its devastating proportions until he was firmly committed to Keith and the cause of the so-called "Keithian controversy."³

BRADFORD'S EARLY RELATIONSHIP TO THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Although earlier there appears to have been some question as to Bradford's place and date of birth, there now seems to be little doubt that it was 20 May, 1663 at Barwell, Leicestershire, England. His tombstone inscription of 1660 is contradicted by Bradford's own assertion of the 1663 date in his 1739 *American Almanac*. Barwell Parish Church baptismal records note his 30 May, 1663 baptism which corrects a previous claim that he was born in Barnwell, a small village in Northamptonshire. His father, William, was a husbandman of good standing and a member of the Church of England. He died in 1667 when his son William was four years old.⁴

Bradford's first extended exposure to the Quakers was no doubt during his apprenticeship with Andrew Sowle (d.1695) at Devonshire New Buildings, without Bishopsgate, London. Sowle functioned as the principal printer and bookseller for the Religious Society of Friends in London. Between 1680 and 1749, Sowle's press produced more than 650 imprints for Friends, including a 1736 edition of Robert Barclay's *Apology for the True Christian Divinity*, and a John Pennington title which denounced both George Keith and Bradford as 'apostate.'⁵

Andrew operated the printing shop for only 11 years before giving responsibility to his daughter Tace. When Tace married in 1706, Andrew's widow, Jane, continued printing until her death in 1711. Tace resumed leadership of the operation until 1749.⁶

There is no indication when Bradford began working with Sowle, but it would not likely have been before 1680 since it does not appear Sowle printed before this date.⁷ It is certain, however, that he left Sowle's shop in 1685 when he and his new wife, Andrew's daughter, Elizabeth Sowle, sailed to Philadelphia.

There has been some speculation regarding whether there was a Bradford printing prior to his arrival in Pennsylvania. A Grolier Club catalogue for a 1893 "Bradford Exhibition" lists one title printed in England allegedly by Bradford, William Penn's folio, "The FRAME of the / GOVERNMENT / of the / Province of Pennsylvania / in / AMERICA: / Together with certain / LAWS / Agreed upon in England / BY THE / GOVERNOUR / AND / Divers FREE-MEN of the aforesaid / Province. [n.p.] Printed in the Year MDCLXXXII." The

catalogue writers suggest that Bradford printed the title "... privately ... on one of his master's (Sowle) presses."⁸ Given the nature of the printing operation and the fact that Sowle's press was probably located in an old house⁹ it is nearly impossible to substantiate an argument for a "secret" printing.

The argument is based upon a quotation in John William Wallace's 'Address Delivered at the Two Hundredth Birthday of Mr. William Bradford,' in which Bradford on examination before the Governor and Council of Pennsylvania answered the question, 'By whose order did you print it [the Frame of Government or Charter] in England?' by stating, 'By Governor Penn's.' Wall, however, casts doubt upon the credibility of Wallace's work.¹⁰ Whether Sowle's philosophy of apprenticeship would have allowed for an apprentice to produce such a major work alone is uncertain. Since Sowle was well acquainted with Penn, as well as George Fox, it is quite probable that the work was printed by him, but without his imprint. Bronner and Fraser argue for a Sowlean printing since the letter "R" in "AMERICA" on the title page is the identical sort used in an Andrew Sowle printing of William Penn's 'A Particular / ACCOUNT / of the Late and Present / Great Sufferings / AND / OPPRESSIONS / of the People called / QUAKERS / etc.' [see the word "OPPRESSIONS" on the title page].¹¹ In addition, had Sowle actually permitted Bradford to print a title as early as 1682, then the question may be raised, why are there no further Bradford printings until the Philadelphia imprint of 1685?

Therefore, the "you" which the Grolier Club catalogue emphasises by italics may well have been understood by Bradford and the Governor and Council to be second person plural, that is, referring to Bradford and his teacher, Andrew Sowle.

Bradford was, no doubt, familiar with the Penn work as he most certainly was with a number of other Quaker writings printed by Sowle between 1680 and 1685. Perhaps it was a combination of exposure to the Friends' works he assisted in printing, the visits from Quaker leaders such as Penn and Fox to the printing shop, his conversations with Sowle, and his interest in Sowle's daughter, Elizabeth, which caused him to leave the Church of England and unite with the Religious Society of Friends. In any case, he and Elizabeth were married 28 April, 1685 in Devonshire House Monthly Meeting.¹² By this date Bradford was a "convinced Friend."

Existing evidence suggests that contrary to a number of earlier claims, Bradford did not travel to the colonies on the *Welcome*.¹³ Dixon claimed that Bradford accompanied Penn to the colonies in 1682, and Isaiah Thomas notes that his wife followed him in 1683.¹⁴ Biographical

essays in both *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (1891) and the *Dictionary of National Biography* (1921-1922) mirror the Dixon and Thomas accounts. *The Dictionary of American Biography* (1943) rightly questions this previous assumption. Thomas' account is preposterous due to the records for William and Elizabeth's marriage, and Dixon's account seems to have been written without examining George Fox's letter introducing Bradford to key colonists whom Bradford would have had the opportunity to meet on a previous journey if he had accompanied Penn in 1682.¹⁵

The Bradfords united with Philadelphia Friends by November 1685. Fox's letter of introduction and the letter of transfer from the Devonshire House Monthly Meeting were both dated 6th month, 1685 suggesting they left London early that summer.¹⁶

Nearly 50 years had passed since Steven Daye established the first press in the colonies. According to Stillwell, Daye began printing in Cambridge, Mass. in 1639, quite possibly in the home of Harvard College president, Dunster.¹⁷ The second press may have been William Nuthead's in St. Mary's City, Maryland in early 1685.¹⁸ Whether Bradford's press was the colonies' second or third it certainly marked the beginning of printing in Philadelphia.

BRADFORD'S FIRST IMPRINTS

Working rather quickly, Bradford set up his press at either Burlington, Chester, or Kensington¹⁹ and by 28 December, 1685 he had printed his first title, 'Kalendarium Pennsilvaniense, / or, / America's Messenger. / Being an / Almanack / For the Year of Grace, 1686. / Wherein is contained both the English & Forreign / Account, the Motions of the Planets through the Signs By Samuel Atkins. / Student in the Mathamaticks and Astrology. / ... / Printed and Sold by William Bradford, at Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, 1685, [8vo, (20) leaves]. Bradford included a note to the colonies:

Hereby understand that after great Charge and Trouble, I have brought the great Art and Mystery of Printing into this part of America, believing it may be of great service to you in several respects ...²⁰

Much to Bradford's surprise, within two weeks he was called before the Pennsylvania Council and ordered to blot out the title "Lord" in the name "Lord Penn" from all copies of the *Kalendarium* and to print nothing ' . . . but what shall have Lycence from ye Councill.'²¹ McDonald rightly notes that Bradford's publication was the first

occurrence of a book printed within the Council's jurisdiction. Their action was based upon a 1662 Act of Parliament stating that English printing had to be carefully supervised. It followed then that since the Council was a Quaker hegemony it would insist that published works meet with the approval of the Religious Society of Friends.²²

Such strict supervision over printing was not uncommon among Friends in England. Apparently Quakers censored regularly to assure their doctrines were not misstated. A 1674 minute reads,

Agreed that hereafter A.S. [Andrew Sowle?], B.C., nor no other print any bookes but what is first read and approved of in this meeting, & that the Tytle of each booke y^t is approved of & ordered to be printed be entered in this booke & that A.S. & B.C. & all other who print for friends receive their bookes of E.H. [i.e., Ellis Hookes, the Recording Clerk].²³

Even Fox's writings were not uncritically given the meeting's imprimatur: '9 iv. 1677 - A paper of G. ff's read and ordered to be laid by till G. ff be spoken with about it.'²⁴

In 1687 Bradford was required by the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting to '... show what may concern friends or Truth before printing to the Quarterly Meeting of Philadelphia, and if it require speed then to the monthly meeting where it may belong.'²⁵ The following year he was paid £4 to collect and destroy all copies of the Daniel Leeds *Almanac* he had just printed because it contained several 'light and frivolous' paragraphs which Friends found offensive.²⁶ Bradford was brought before Governor Blackwell on 9 April, 1689 for printing the Charter of Pennsylvania for a Provincial Council member, Joseph Growdon, against an earlier vote of the Council not to permit the Charter's publication.

Through these difficulties Bradford must have become disenchanted with the Religious Society of Friends. It is somewhat unfair to argue that Bradford's commitment to Quakerism was due primarily to his attraction to Elizabeth Sowle and, knowing that "marrying out of meeting" was prohibited, he adopted her faith. The conflict with leaders in Philadelphia was real enough and it frustrated his youthful idealism. He would later write that '... the Quakers are become my most inveterate Enemies, and all my relations in England (being Quakers) are offended with me to the highest degree ...'²⁷ With this disappointment and disillusionment perhaps it was inevitable that Bradford would be attracted to another convinced Quaker turned critic of Quakerism, George Keith.

*GEORGE KEITH AND WILLIAM BRADFORD'S
ROLE IN THE KEITHIAN CONTROVERSY*

Former Presbyterian George Keith (1638-1716) was among the most theologically articulate of the first generation of Quaker converts. He studied philosophy, theology, and mathematics at the University of Aberdeen (M.A., 1685) where he befriended fellow student Robert Barclay who also became a "convinced" Friend in the 1660's. Keith, Barclay, and Penn were significant figures in Quakerism's early formal, systematic theological development, more significant even than Fox whose writings, important though they are, were more pastoral and experimental.

The account Keith gives regarding his conviction to Quakerism is nearly identical to that of Barclay's and Fox's.

It lay upon me from the Lord to depart from these teachers who could not point me to the living knowledge of God where I could not find it; and I came and heard men and women who were taught of God who pointed me to the true principle; and though some of them could not read a letter yet I found them wiser than all the teachers I ever formerly had been under.²⁸

Keith's early writings such as 'Immediate Revelation not Ceased' (Amsterdam, 1668), 'Benefit, Advantage and Glory of Silent Meetings' (Aberdeen, 1670), 'The Universal Free Grace of the Gospell Asserted' (Amsterdam, 1671), and 'Quakerism no Popery' (Aberdeen, 1675) outlined doctrines which later were more fully developed by Penn and Barclay.

His enthusiasm for the Religious Society of Friends and his intellectual ability provided him the opportunity to travel to Holland and Germany with William Penn, George Fox, and Robert Barclay, visiting potential Quaker converts. It also resulted in three imprisonments.²⁹ While in England, Keith publicly debated the theological positions of the Baptists, the Congregationalists, and the Anglicans.

In 1685, at the invitation of Barclay and Penn, Keith surveyed a boundary between East and West Jersey. He remained in the colonies as a travelling Friends minister and, in 1688, as a schoolmaster in Philadelphia. Keith presented a document to the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting and later to the Meeting of Ministers in 1690 entitled, "Gospel Order and Discipline Improved." Discussion concerning the paper was postponed time and again while it was referred to other committees and readers.³⁰ Frost has noted that some writers dated Keith's disenchantment with the Religious Society of Friends with the cool reception given to his reforms.³¹ In any case, it is during this period that Keith's writings clearly attack Quaker understandings of faith.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to provide a detailed discussion of the theological issues which George Keith raised.³² However, it should be noted that the essence of his critique was that in spiritualizing Christian theology Quakers had, *ipso facto*, dismissed the physical dimension of faith, most importantly, the historical Jesus.³³ The issues of this controversy are still crucial in contemporary Quaker theological discussion. In order to respond to this “error,” Keith argued for a detailed and structured Discipline wherein adult members and children by an “age of discretion” should subscribe to a confession of faith. Such a “confession” might have been accepted in part had Keith not reacted so severely to Friends’ hesitancy. Barclay’s, ‘A / CATECHISM / AND / CONFESSION OF FAITH’ was published without incident in 1673, and Fox’s, ‘Canons and Institutions’ existed in rudimentary form as early as 1668.

Bradford’s association with Keith can be traced conclusively to 1689, although one may speculate that the two met earlier at Philadelphia Monthly or Quarterly Meeting (no extant evidence substantiates this speculation, however).³⁴ In 1689, Bradford printed a title for Keith, *The / Presbyterian and Independent / Visible Churches / in New-England / and elsewhere, / Brought to the Test, and examined according to the Doctrine of the holy Scriptures, / . . .* He printed two titles for Keith in 1690 before the controversy became heated: *The Pretended / Antidote / Proved Poyson: / Or, The true Principles of the Christian / & Protestant Religion Defended, / . . .* and *A Refutation of the Three Opposers of Truth by Plain Evidence of the Holy Scriptures, . . .*

There is no indication that Bradford printed for Keith in 1691; however, he printed at least 12 titles in 1692.³⁵ It is difficult to clearly identify those titles which are schismatic in this early period since both parties, the Quaker majority and Keith’s “Christian Quakers” as they were later called, understood themselves as representing normative Quakerism. As the controversy continued little hope of reconciliation existed as both groups became more rigorously entrenched in their own line of reasoning.

The Quaker political figures in Philadelphia were faced with a difficult situation. Although Bradford supported Keith and printed his materials, he offered to print those who opposed Keith as well. He had argued before Governor Blackwell in 1689 when charged with printing the Charter of Pennsylvania,

. . . [printing] is my employ, my trade, my calling, and that by which I get my living, to print; and if I may not print such things as come to my hand which are

innocent, I cannot live . . . If I print one thing to-day, and the contrary party bring me another tomorrow, to contradict it, I cannot say that I shall not print it.

Therefore, it seems Bradford was willing to use his press for all parties in the Keithian controversy based upon an early “free press” idealism. He printed a notice in a 1693 Keith pamphlet which read,

The Printer’s Advertisement. That notwithstanding the various Reports spread concerning my refusing to Print for those that are George Keith’s Opposers, These are to signifie, that if John Delavall or any other of his Brethern have any thing to print, I am most willing to do it for them, not that I want to beg their work, I need it not, but to leave them without Excuse, that if they be in any way wronged or falsly charged by what is published in print to the World, they may have equal privilege to Vindicate themselves as Publickly; though I have little cause to make this offer to them, considering their many Abuses to me. W.B.³⁶

The Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, however, refused to permit Bradford to print for both parties.³⁷

One of the 1692 imprints, a broadside [printed without Bradford’s name], *An Appeal from the Twenty-eight Judges To The Spirit of Truth & true Judgment In all Faithful Friends, called Quakers, that meet at this Yearly Meeting at Burlington, the 7 month, 1692*, was so critical Keith and Bradford were taken into custody. Keith was found guilty but released. Bradford, charged with failing to provide an imprint and for sedition, escaped a lengthy trial due in part to his own curious defense³⁸ and due to a juryman dropping the confiscated evidence, a chase containing the type for the broadside.

Rather than silence Keith and Bradford, the pamphlets became more fierce. Bradford printed at least four titles in 1693, three of which reflect the intensifying of the controversy: *A Challenge to Caleb Pusey, and a Check to his Lyes and Forgeries, &c. With a Postscript by Daniel Leeds; The Judgement given by Twenty Eight Quakers against George Keith and his Friends; With Answers to the said Judgment, Declaring those Twenty Eight Quakers to be No Christians . . . ; New England’s Spirit of Persecution / Transmitted To / Pennsylvania, / And the Pretended Quaker found Persecuting the True / Christian-Quaker, . . .*³⁹

CONCLUSIONS

Bradford cancelled his contract to print for the Philadelphia Quakers on 29 April, 1692 and thus was at liberty to accept the offer to relocate to New York for an annual subsidy equal to that given by the Quakers and the promise to print official governmental materials.⁴⁰

George Keith was “disowned” by both Philadelphia and London Yearly Meetings. He returned to England in 1693, joined the Church of England, was ordained a priest in 1702, and travelled to the colonies to reconvert the Quakers. He died in 1716 while serving as a priest of an English parish.

William Bradford continued to print for Keith producing at least one title in 1702, four titles in 1703, and four more titles in 1704.⁴¹ He joined the Church of England in 1703 and became a Vestryman of Trinity Church. He printed for New York and New Jersey (and later assisted his son, Andrew, in re-establishing a Bradford press in Philadelphia), and maintained a degree of contempt for the Quakers.⁴²

A former apprentice, James Parker, paid high tribute to his teacher following his death in New York on 23 May, 1752;

[Bradford was] a man of great Sobriety and Industry; a real Friend to the Poor and Needy; and kind and affable to all . . . his Temperance was exceedingly conspicuous, and he was almost a Stranger to sickness all his Life.⁴³

After tending to a number of preliminary considerations, I have discussed William Bradford’s relationship to the Religious Society of Friends and charted its path from his apprenticeship with Andrew Sowle to his renunciation of Quakerism, which was hurried, through his association with George Keith. Although the literature concerning Bradford is not extensive it adequately highlights many of his essential characteristics. It is hoped that this paper will contribute to a more complete understanding of Bradford by its prolonged examination of his interaction with the Society of Friends.

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

- ¹ Alexander J. Wall, ‘William Bradford, Colonial Printer: A Tercentenary Review,’ *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 73 (October 1963), 381. According to Wall, 1,016 imprints are known conclusively to be Bradford’s. Of these, 900 are extant with approximately 1,800 copies located in libraries in eastern United States, California, and England.
- ² Philadelphia’s first press (1685), New York’s first lawbook (1694), first proceedings of an American legislature (New York, 1695), first New York currency (1709), first copperplate of New York city (1730), first New York newspaper (1725), partner in the colonies’ first papermill (1690). Concerning this papermill see, Eastwood Wire Corporation’s, *An Historie for Young & Old About the Beginnings of Paper-Making, Including the Founders, in America, with Histories of their lives & illustrations, with Especial Reference to William Rittenhouse* (Bellville, NJ: Eastwood Wire Corporation, 1930).

- ³ The Keithian schism represents the first major division within American Quakerism. See Isaac Sharpless, 'The Keith Controversy,' in *The Quakers in the American Colonies*, Rufus M. Jones (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962), 443-5.
- ⁴ Ms. Burial records, Barwell Parish Church (Barwell, Leicestershire, England).
- ⁵ John Pennington, AN / APOSTATE / EXPOSED: / or / George Keith / Contradicting himself and his / Brother BRADFORD. / WHEREIN //Their Testimony to the Christian / Faith of the People called Qua- / kers, is opposed to G.K.'s late / Pamphlet, Stiled, Gross Error / and Hypocriste detected. London, Printed and Sold by T. Sowle, near the Meetinghouse in White-Hart-Court in Grace-Church Street, 1695.
- ⁶ R.S. Mortimer, 'Biographical Notices of Printers and Publishers of Friends' Books Up to 1750,' *Journal of Documentation* 3 (1947/48): 121-2. Tace used the imprint, "the assigns of J. Sowle," from 1711 to 1739, and she used her name and occasionally also Luke Hinde's name from 1739 until her death in 1749.
- ⁷ Anna Littleboy suggests that Sowle began printing without an imprint as early as 1670, but no conclusive evidence exists prior to 1680. See, *A History of the Friends' Reference Library with Notes on Early Printers and Printing in the Society of Friends* (London: Offices of the Society of Friends, 1921).
- ⁸ Grolier Club, *The Bradford Exhibit* (New York, 1893), 7.
- ⁹ Mortimer, 121.
- ¹⁰ Wall, 361.
- ¹¹ Edwin B. Bronner and David Fraser, *The Papers of William Penn* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), vol. 5, *William Penn's Published Writings, 1660-1726: An Interpretive Bibliography*, 282-4. A facsimile of each title page is available for examination, p. 254 [A Particular Account] and p. 282 [The Frame of the Government].
- ¹² Ms. Register Book of Marriage, Quarterly Meeting of London and Middlesex (General Register Office, Somerset House, London now P.R.O.).
- ¹³ See Michael Tepper, ed., *New World Immigrants: A Consolidation of Ship Passenger Lists and Associated Data from Periodical Literature*, vol. 1 (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1980), 257-8; 319-20.
- ¹⁴ William Hepworth Dixon, *History of William Penn* (London, 1851), 226; Isaiah Thomas, *History of Printing* vol. 1 (Albany, 1974), 208.
- ¹⁵ Tepper notes that there was a William Bradford of Sussex County who appears in public records as early as January 1682. This Bradford, a surveyor, may have misled biographers concerned with the printer, Bradford. Tepper, 319-20.
- ¹⁶ The letter of transfer is dated more specifically, 12, 6th month, 1685. Minutes of the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, 4, 11th month, 1685. For a copy of Fox's letter of introduction see, *The Historical Magazine and notes and queries concerning the antiquities, history and biography of America* 4 (February 1860) : 52.
- ¹⁷ Margaret Bingham Stillwell, *Incunabula and Americana, 1450-1800: A Key to Bibliographical Study* 2nd ed. (Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1961), 152.
- ¹⁸ Lawrence C. Wroth, 'The St. Mary's City Press: A New Chronology of American Printing,' *The Colophon* (Winter 1936): 333-57. See also, Stillwell, 157.
- ¹⁹ Joseph Sabin, *Bibliotheca Americana*, vol. 2, 399.
- ²⁰ The *Kalendarium*, "the printer to the readers."
- ²¹ Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, January 9, 1685/86, I, 165.
- ²² Gerald D. McDonald, 'William Bradford's Book Trade and John Bowne, Long Island Quaker, as His Book Agent, 1686-1691,' chap. in Wilmarth S. Lewis, ed., *Essays Honoring Lawrence C. Wroth* (Portland, ME: Anthoensen Press, 1951), 209.

- ²³ Littleboy, 2.
- ²⁴ Littleboy, 3.
- ²⁵ Minutes of the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, 5, 10th month, 1687.
- ²⁶ Incidentally, Bradford continued to print for Leeds; see, Daniel Leeds, 'News of a trumpet sounding in the wilderness, or, The Quakers ancient testimony revived, examined and compared with itself, and also with their new doctrine. Whereby the ignorant may learn wisdom, and the wise advance in their understandings. Printed and Sold by William Bradford at the Bible, 1697.'
- ²⁷ Bradford to John Chamberlayne, 12 September, 1709. This letter is printed in its entirety in Beverly McAnear, 'William Bradford and the Book of Common Prayer,' *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 43 (Second Quarter, 1949): 103-107.
- ²⁸ George Keith, 'Immediate Revelation not Ceased,' 84. Quoted in Sharpless, 445.
- ²⁹ 1664, 1667, and 1675. See *Dictionary of Religious Biography*, 1977 ed., s.v. "George Keith," and *Dictionary of Christianity in America*, 1990 ed., s.v. "George Keith."
- ³⁰ See 'Extracts from the Minutes of the Meeting of Ministers,' in J. William Frost, *The Keithian Controversy in Early Pennsylvania*. (Norwood, PA: Norwood Editions, 1980), 137-149.
- ³¹ Frost, v.
- ³² For a detailed discussion of these issues consult, Frost and Sharpless. See also Hugh Barbour and J. William Frost, *The Quakers, Denominations in America*, no. 3 (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), 79-81; and Jon Butler, 'Gospel Order Improved: The Keithian Schism and the Exercise of Authority in Pennsylvania,' *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd ser. 31 (1974) : 431-45. A rather exhaustive bibliography of Keith's writings and works discussing the Keithian controversy is contained in, Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, *Catalog of the Book and Serials Collections of the Friends Historical Library* vol. 4 (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1982), 108-115.
- ³³ Due to a misunderstanding, Keith was also accused of teaching the transmigration of souls. He had provided a number of suggestions for a Francis Mercurius van Helmont manuscript which was published anonymously in 1684, 'Two Hundred Queries moderately propounded concerning the Doctrine of the Revolution of Humane Souls and its conformity to the Truth of Christianity.' To these charges he responded in 1691 with his, 'Truth and Innocency / DEFENDED / AGAINST / Calumny and Defamation, / In a late Report spread abroad concerning the / REVOLUTION / OF / Humane Souls. / With a further Clearing of the Truth, by a / plain Explication of my Sence, etc.' For a copy of this document see, Frost, 33-52.
- ³⁴ Discouraged with his difficulties in Philadelphia, Bradford received a certificate of removal in 1689 and sent his family back to London; Sowle, nearing retirement, had apparently offered his business to him (Bradford to Chamberlayne, in McAnear, 104). However, Friends in Philadelphia offered him a £40 per annum subsidy and convinced him to stay and send for his family. Wall, 364-5.
- ³⁵ For complete titles of the 1692 imprints see, Sabin, vol. 9, 404-6, 409, 412-14.
- ³⁶ George Keith, 'The Heresie and Hatred which was falsely Charged upon the Innocent Justly returned upon the Guilty,' 1693, 23. Also printed in, William S. Reese, 'The Bradford Imprints,' *New York Historical Society Quarterly* 63 (1979), 58.
- ³⁷ Frost, xiv.

- ³⁸ Bradford argued that the jury not only had to prove he printed the broadside but that the content was in fact seditious. See Wallace, 55, and Wall, 366.
- ³⁹ It should be noted that Keith utilized printers other than Bradford and, consequently, his annual publications are not limited to the Bradford imprints.
- ⁴⁰ A bibliography of Bradford's first year of printing in New York is available in, Douglas C. McMurtrie and Wilberforce Eames, *New York Printing MDCXCIII* (Chicago: The John Calhoun Club, 1928).
- ⁴¹ Sabin, vol. 9, 403-14. By 1703 Bradford was also the printer for New Jersey.
- ⁴² He even felt that his disfavour with the Quakers was in part the reason for his nominal success as a printer in the colonies. Bradford to Chamberlayne, in McAnear, 105.
- ⁴³ *Post-Boy*, May 25, 1752. Also printed in *Dictionary of American Biography* 1943 ed., s.v., "William Bradford."