

[face p. 63

George Fox's Library: Further Identifications

HAVE had occasion elsewhere (The Friend, March 25th, 1932, p. 255) to express my satisfaction with the publication in the last volume of Inl. F.H.S. (xxviii. 3-21) of the list of books owned by George Fox. Dr. Sippell and John L. Nickalls are to be congratulated on the care and completeness with which they have been able to identify the And their success points to the accuracy (in spite of items. the brevity of the entries) of the original unknown compiler. The intriguing problem of some of the obscurer items was interesting me even before the list was published. I wish now to report on certain further efforts at identification. John Nickalls writes of five items as unidentified, of one other book of which no copy has yet been found, and of only one book in the list of which George Fox's own copy is known to survive today. Such statements constituted a challenge. The following is a report of personal inquiry about these items. The numbers given are those of the original list.

42. A warning to all sorts of peo.

This remains unidentified. Although there are several similar titles among early Friends' books, none corresponds exactly. The absence of title-indexes for seventeenth century literature is a great handicap to identifying such books.

55. Some of ye misteries.

This was identified as Isaac Penington's "Some of the Mysteries of God's Kingdome," etc. (Smith: *Cata.* ii. 347.) There is another possibility and I think a better one. Francis Howgill has a tract with a title beginning similarly "Some of the Misteries of Gods Kingdome," etc. (Smith: *Cata.* i. 990.) The spelling "misteries" agrees with that in the list of Fox's books, but that fact is not conclusive. By accident I discovered that the copy of Howgill's pamphlet in the Jenks Collection at Haverford College has on the title page the initials Gff. That they are his own autograph one can hardly affirm with certainty, but they differ from some forms of his signature less than copies of it available in America differ from each other. The accompanying photograph of the page will enable connoisseurs to judge for themselves. Even if, as in the case of 108, the initials were written by another, this copy is still of great interest as being probably correctly endorsed and therefore another survivor (and that too in America) of the actual books from which the list is made.

60. A necessity of separaõn.

Though not so marked this is the second of the books formerly unidentified. After many vain efforts in other quarters I finally appealed for help to the veteran student of Separatists, F. J. Powicke, of Stockport, who, apparently without difficulty, recognized it as the following:

A Necessitie of Separation from the Church of England, proved by the Nonconformists Principles. Specially opposed unto Dr. Ames, his Fresh Suit against humane ceremonies, in the point of Separation only. Also Dr. Laiton, Mr. Dayrel, and Mr. Bradshaw, are here answered, wherein they have written against us. With a Table in the later end, of the principal occurrents in this Treatise. By Iohn Canne, Pastor of the ancient English church, in Amsterdam. Prov. 31. 8, 9 . . . Ioh. 13, 17 . . . Printed in the year 1634.

Copies of this are in the British Museum, in the Bodleian Library, and in New York in the McAlpin Collection in Union Theological Seminary. In 1849 the whole was reprinted and edited with notes and extensive introduction for the Hanserd Knollys Society by the Rev. Charles Stovel. John Canne was long in exile in Holland and his book was doubtless printed Among his writings the most important was probably his Reference there. In his Necessitie of Separation he quotes copiously from Noncon-Bible. formist writers against the ministry, worship, government, discipline and constitution of the Church of England and argues that if their criticisms are true they should like him take the full step of separation. Although written before the rise of Quakerism and unfriendly in attitude to such Quakerlike positions as were then represented by the Familists (see pp. 57, 132), it is evident that this book contained, well reasoned out, many criticisms of the established Church and would be congenial to Friends in this respect. A work against tithes mainly by " John Osborn, a Lover of Truth " but including an address " To the Reader " signed (with the month in numerical terms "13th of the 5th month 1659") by John Canne is actually included in Quaker collections and, with a query of its Quaker origin, in Joseph Smith's Cata. ii. 248.

D.N.B.

64. Of ye principles & duties.

This, the third item not identified by the first annotators of the list is almost certainly the following :

Of the Principles and Duties of Natural Religion; Two Books. By the Right Reverend Father in God, John late Lord Bishop of Chester.

It is true that the copies in the McAlpin Collection in New York and in the British Museum are dated in 1693 or later. But there were earlier editions of this publication. D.N.B. dates the work as 1678, but the Bodleian Library catalogues a copy of 1675. The work reached at least an 8th edition (1722-3) and was popular and influential. The author was John Wilkins (1614-1672), Bishop of Chester. He married Cromwell's sister and was intimate with men high in Church and state. He was tolerant of dissenters, and his books would interest Friends.

D.N.B.

69. Apocalypsis, dutch. I S.

This is the fourth unidentified item. Apparently it is a Dutch (or German) edition of the Book of Revelation, and I. S. are the initials of the commentator. An expert in Dutch theology ought to be able to identify this. There is of course the alternative that it is a Dutch work with a Latin title beginning with "Apocalypsis." For example John Story's A Short Discovery of Certain Truths of God (Smith : Cata. ii. 634) might well be so listed, if translated with a Latin title. But we know of no such translation. Or we may compare the anonymous Leiden publication : Apocalypsis insignium aliquot haeresiarcharum, Lugduni-Batavi, 1608. The work is listed as Octavo. Its position in the list near other works of Scripture makes our first suggestion probable. Is the I. S. really S(anctus) Johannes that has somehow escaped the Quaker censorship?

83. G.ff. so called of ye world. G. ff.

It may seem surprising that an item by George Fox himself should be unidentified. But that is the case. Neither Smith nor any other catalogue has such a title entered for him. But I think the solution of the problem is easy. This may have been an unprinted piece. Apparently 104 was a manuscript book also. It is described : "A pocketbook wt parts in ships. G.f."

But we need not rest on conjecture. There still exists a manuscript work by George Fox which begins "Georg Fox So Called of the World but the world knows neither him nor his (new) name," etc. It is nothing less than the *Short Journal*, sumptuously printed by the Cambridge Press for Friends Historical Association in 1925. The editor, Norman Penney, described it as follows (p. xxi.):

"This is a manuscript of 126 oblong pages measuring 8 inches by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It is endorsed on the last leaf: 'a short jornall of gff never were

Vol. xxix.—294.

printd of some short things from ab' y^o year 1648 to King Charles y^o 2^d Dayes,' the first eight words being written by George Fox. . . . The handwriting is believed to be that of Henry Fell.''

In his testamentary papers (Cambridge Journal, ii. 347f) George Fox, directing the collecting and publishing of his works "printed and not printed," mentions not only "y^e great Jornall of my Life" but also "y^e Little Jornall Books" as still unprinted. Some of them were "at Swarthmoor & some att William Meads & some at Benjamin Antrobuses." What we call the Short Journal must have been among them. By 1695 I think it was with the other books at William Meade's and was entered on the list not by the title endorsed on the last leaf, but as was natural, by its first words. Being oblong pages it was included among the Octavos.

If this identification is correct this work is a third actual item of the list still extant—and existing where it belongs, at Friends House, London.

94. A Genl. Ep. to ye Un Chu. T. Collier.

This item is identified but it is said that "no copy of this book has yet been found."* There are, however, several copies in America and there must be more in England. A full title page reads:

A General Epistle to the Universall Church of the First Born: Whose Names are written in Heaven. Even to all the Saints, in the unitie of the Spirit: Grace, and Peace be multiplyed. Written by Thomas Collyer. Tending to the information of the judgment and the binding up of those wounds, breaches, and divisions, amongst Christians: that so unitie and peace might be preserved.

London, Printed for Giles Calvert, and are to be sold at the Signe of the Black spread-Eagle at the west end of Pauls. Anno Dom. 1648.

As the publisher's name suggests, Collier was no conformist. He wrote one or more works against Friends which the latter answered. On the other hand others of his writings would suit Friends well, e.g. this general epistle with its rejection of the orthodox view of the Trinity and of verbal inspiration and A Brief Discovery of the Corruption of the Ministry of the Church of England.

His General Epistle, beside being published separately, sometimes provided the apparent title to one of the two volumes of his collected works by being bound in first position and this may be the form in which Fox owned it.

D.N.**B**.

106. Tystiolaeth o Gariad. Jno Songhurst.

That a copy of this Welsh translation of Songhurst's A Testimony of Love exists in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, was

* This statement in our last issue was incorrect. There is a copy in the British Museum.

information that I was able to secure for John Nickalls while his article was in proof. The full title is given herewith :

Tystiolaeth o Gariad ac Ewyllys Da. I Bawb a ddymunant ddyfod i fwynhau Tragywyddol Fod gidag Arglwydd y bywyd, Pan fo dyddiau yn y byd hwn a diwedd iddint. Gwedi ei roddi allan gan un sy'n dymuno daioni pawb, ac na chyfrgoller yr un mewn pechod. John Songhurst. Pruntiedig yn Llundain gan Joan Bringhurst, tan arwydd

Pruntiedig yn Llundain gan Joan Bringhurst, tan arwydd y Llyfr yn Heol Eglwys Gras, yn y flwyddyn, 1683.

A sketch of Songhurst, who came to Pennsylvania, will be found in *The Friend* (Philadelphia), xxvii, 1854, p. 188f. For assistance in tracing this item I am indebted to my former pupil, Miss Elnith Griffiths, of Chelsea and to my former colleague, Professor F. N. Robinson, of Harvard.

108. A Dutch Testamt. with Clasps.

The survival of Fox's own copy of this book is a fortunate circumstance and nothing needs to be added to what was previously said about it (xxviii. 2of). But does this copy disclose in any way the process of cataloguing indicated by this list? To answer this question I examined it carefully and the original cover which is separately preserved. The latter shows no mark or number. A front flyleaf contains a number, 52, and two words in a script unintelligible to me. This is all the marking visible except of course "G:ff^s Book" on the back fly-leaf, but, as with disappointment I was reluctantly replacing the precious little book, some faint ink marks caught my eye where I least expected them, on the outside edges of the closed pages. When closely examined they proved to be the number 108. Here then had been marked the inventory number. If the same method was used on the other books of the library, though it would be impossible for volumes not smoothly trimmed, it may prove of assistance in identifying other extant survivors of the same collection.

Thus far we have been considering only the named works in the list. But the Library of Fox, to which the list gives evidence, contained also other works. John L. Nickalls estimates the whole collection as several thousand works. Can we suggest more as to the lost titles?

The list itself runs from I to 108 and then adds "Stitched printed books in six parcels from No. 109 to No. 355." There were therefore 247 more items. They were unbound, which is what stitched means. But I think the custom of the times was not to stitch several pamphlets together. Each book or pamphlet would be numbered separately. Furthermore, though parcel is an elastic term, evidently parcels averaging forty items to the parcel would be much bulkier than convenient if many of the items were not small tracts. I am inclined to think therefore that Nos. 109 to 355 were mostly single items.

With the 108 first numbers the case is different. Except No. 62 they were apparently bound. But how many of them were bound collections of several items? A note at the beginning says: "a. The volums begin with these books." Unfortunately, however, instead of putting the mark "a" opposite certain of the numbers discriminatingly, the cataloguer seems to have added it regularly to every item at first (I to 25) and then to have disused the symbol. We are left then entirely to our own inference. Those books which were published in original bindings or which were bulky would probably not include additional items. For example 1-9 are all Folios and, except for broadsides mentioned with two of the copies of the Battledoor (4, 8), they would probably not include any other work. Most of the Octavos (64-108) also were single units of considerable thickness, originally published in binding. This would be true of the Bibles. dictionaries and other non-Quaker works. Most of the Quaker octavos also were thick, running from 150 to 450 pages each. In one case (100) three items are named as bound into one volume. But the only titles given here that would run to less than 100 pages and would therefore be most likely to be bound with others are, I think, 74, 84, 93, 95, 96, 98, 106, 107.

With the quartos (10-63) the situation is different though even here out of fifty-five items several are probably single original substantial volumes, e.g. 12 (476 pages), 13 (902 pages), 15 (355), 16 (355), 22 (523), 26 (420), 28 (388), 29 (488), 36 (360), 41 (300), 43, 47, 48, 50 (780), 57 (648), 59 (143), 60 (283), 61 (168), 62 (168), 63 (136). But many others are smaller tracts and were certainly bound in collections ranging in size up to over a thousand pages. Similar bound collections of quarto Quaker tracts are many of them still extant from the seventeenth century. For example among the early bound volumes of quarto Quaker tracts which once belonged to the Friends Library of Philadelphia, the four whose first title occurs also in Fox's list (Nos. 20, 31, 38 and 39), though unfortunately not identifiable with his own copies, illustrate the character of such old collections and contain 10, 34, 29 and 23 pieces respectively.

In one case it is certain that the small quarto tract mentioned in Fox's list was originally only the first item in a larger bound book. That case is the actually identified copy already mentioned (No. 55). Although it is now handsomely bound alone in leather like all the 1,354 items in the William H. Jenks Collection, its earlier history is disclosed by the fact that an ancient hand has numbered the leaves in ink (the recto, in the upper right corner) from I to 25 (omitting by accident 14). This like many other methods of continuous numbering was usual when several tracts were bound together. Evidently it assisted in indexing the full contents of a volume. The existence of these numbers beginning with I shows that this tract was the first of a collection and confirms the suggestion of the initials that this is the actual copy which gave the title to the item in Fox's list. It is not likely that many bound volumes of tracts began with just this one, or that his own copy was used twice as the first item in a collection.

It occurred to me there might be still extant, in the Jenks Collection, marked in the same handwriting with the larger page numbers from 26 on, other tracts which originally belonged in this particular volume of tracts It was necessary to examine each of the thousand and more quarto tracts which that collection contains. There were only three or four the numbering of which seemed sufficiently to resemble that of the Howgill tract to have any claim to be considered to come from the same hand. Beside the likeness already mentioned they have certain common evidences of early trimming of the lower margin. It is natural that the "G:ff" should not have recurred on every later title page in the collection. My own judgment is that the handwriting of these is identical. Three experts in such matters to whom I showed the pamphlets regard the identity as certain. If it is, these items probably were subsequent parts of the same volume, already bound in it before Fox's death, and therefore additional survivals of the actual books owned by him. For this hypothesis it is no more necessary to claim for the numbering than for the signature that it is Fox's own writing. It is merely the serial numbering put into the volume he owned while it was still undistributed, by an unknown indexer

and at an unknown date. The pamphlets which I would thus tentatively include as surviving parts of No. 55 are the copies in the Jenks collection of the following :

Some of the Misteries of Gods Kingdome, Francis Howgill. (Smith: *Cata.* i. 990.) Handwritten serial leaf numbers 1-25 (14 omitted).

The Real Cause of the Nation's Bondage and Slavery, Richard Hubberthorne (*ibid.* i. 1013). Leaves 365-368.

A Tender Visitation of Love, George Bishop (*ibid.* i. 278). Leaves 521-530.

The Cry of the Innocent for Justice, John Crook (*ibid.* i. 486, a duplicate of 20). Leaves 637-659 (639 repeated, 641 omitted).

Fortunate though we are in being able to identify four tracts in this one of G.ff.'s bound volumes of tracts it is evident that the four account for not a tithe of its whole contents. Other tracts from the same volume are doubtless extant. Though the history of the book for two centuries after 1695 is not known (the crossed out name of Richard Smith, Jr. helps little), it seemed worth while to look over the other quarto tracts at Haverford College—another 1,500 roughly —to see if the same clues occurred in any of them. Again four appeared which seemed to me to be certainly of the same marking, *viz*:

The Harlot's Vale Removed, Dennis Hollister. (Smith: Cata. i. 964.) Leaves 62-108 (92 omitted).

A Discovery of the Education, Edw. Sammon and others with letter by John Peace. (Smith: *Cata.* ii. 531). Leaves 344-351 (345-349 unnumbered, apparently substituted from another copy in the modern binding).

A Diligent Search, etc. Dorothy White. (Smith: Cata. ii. 880.) Leaves 373-375 (375 repeated).

A Faithful Testimony for the Lord, John Gibson. (Smith: Cata. i. 839.) Leaves 766-769.

All these happen to come from the former collection of Charles Roberts which was made at the same time and largely by the same methods as that of William H. Jenks. It is not at all unlikely that they were secured from the same dealer or source. Though their former place in Fox's bound quarto is not so certain as with the other four (the modern binder has in some of these cases obscured the earlier edge) I think anyone who examines them will be convinced that they once belonged there.

Possibly further search in other collections would lead to the identification of other parts of this volume or even to the discovery of some of the other larger items in the list. But I must leave that at present to others.

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Further notes on this subject may be expected in our next issue.

A Penn Pilgrimage

Skilfully engineered by Samuel Graveson, of the Penn Club, assisted by John L. Nickalls, of Friends Historical Society, a successful pilgrimage to the haunts of William Penn took place on Saturday, September 10th, in commemoration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Penn's sailing for Pennsylvania. About 150 Friends participated. The F.H.S. president, John William Graham, and others, made speeches. A report appeared in "The Friend" (Lond.), of the 16th.

The Luminogram

An invention of great interest to historical researchers has been exhibited at this year's exhibition of the Royal Photographic Society in London. The name *Luminogram* has been given to the process, by means of which writing chemically erased or washed out is clearly revealed, though quite invisible to the eye, or in an ordinary photograph. Variations in paper surface resulting from erasure are also detected. An exhibit historically interesting was an old parchment, with nothing legible left upon it, but believed by its owner to be a document of historical value. The Luminogram of it revealed almost every word of a letter from Louis XVIII of France to the Sultan of Turkey concerning the appointment of a French ambassador. The invention is operated by Lt.-Col. W. R. Mansfield of 23 St. John's Road, Brixton, London, S.W.9.

Nell Gwyn and Friends

Francis R. Taylor writes: "Hast thou ever run across Nell Gwyn in a Quaker connection? I find the following in Bancroft's United States History, ii. 347: 'Profligate gallants of the Court of Charles II. assembled to hear the drollery of Nell Gwyn heap ridicule on the Quakers.'"

The answer is in the negative.