George For's Library Again

HE identification both of titles and of actual copies of the books formerly belonging to George Fox as listed in 1695 (see vol. xxviii. 2ff., xxix. 63ff.) is here continued. The opportunity to pursue the matter further than was possible in America came to the writer during some months spent in Holland and England. The results may be set down as briefly as possible.

Titles Jdentified

Few of the titles likely to be identified at all remained to But of the following some additional information is offered.

H. N's folio. Spiegel dr gerechtigkt.

The full title of this is given in vol. xxviii. 9 but not quite with the exact spelling. A facsimile of the title page is given in Max Rooses, Christophe Plantin, Antwerp, 1913. This folio edition is without date, and the extant copies are even fewer than mentioned (loc. cit.) viz. two instead of three, since the second copy at Leiden is the quarto which must be distinguished from the earlier folio. The quarto edition is of very large size and it is not impossible that the catalogue of Fox's books refers to it, mistaking it because of its size for a folio.

The quarto is definitely dated 1580, which means that the folio was issued well before that date. Its title prefixes the words Speculum Iustitiae, and spells the German differently. The Leiden copy I have seen. It is the only one of this edition that I know of, but at least four other copies are mentioned in ancient book catalogues, viz. two in Bibliotheca Furliana, Rotterdam, 1714 (the books owned by Benjamin Furly, the Quaker, and sold in 1714 at prices and to purchasers given in MS. in the copy of the catalogue in the British Museum).

Bibliotheca Uffenbachiana, Frankfurt am M., 1735, p. 294 (the books

owned by Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach).

J. Vogt, Catalogus historico-criticus librorum rariorum, 4th ed., 1753, p. 487, refers to Heinrici Nicolai, "Eius Speculum Justitiae, Spegel der Gerechtighet 1580 in 4. extant in Bibliotheca Geringiana Mindensi & recensetur in Bibliotheca Hamburg. mixta T.III. p. 400."

Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de I., J., et Dr. J. Enschedé (an old family collection of rare books to be sold at Haarlem, 1867) includes, p. 67f, one

copy of each edition; these two came to the Library of the University of

Leiden the same year.

38. A General Ep. to Frs.

This item previously unidentified can now be determined definitely since the actual book which began with this tract has been found (see p. 14 below). It is none of those suggested before, but A General Epistle to Friends, by way of Caution, to take heed to the Light. By George Keith, 1671 (Smith: Cata. ii. 19).

42. A warning to all sorts of peo.

This initial item in a quarto collection baffled all search until the suggestion occurred to me that it might be the sub-title of a defective copy of some other work. In most of the nine editions between 1655 and 1675 of the pamphlet by George Fox entitled To all that would know the Way to the Kingdom (Smith: Cata. i. 645) the first page of text proper, numbered (1) and following the title page, has the heading "A warning to all sorts of people who live in sin and uncleanness, etc." It so happens that a quarto tract volume in the Bevan Naish Library at Birmingham (No. 2251) begins exactly with this tract from which the title page is missing (in this edition the third page is numbered 3) so that the MS. index of the volume actually begins with an entry, "No. 1 Fox Geo: A warning to all sorts of People." Another volume of tracts, No. 51 in the Hawkins collection mentioned below, begins with this tract, and the modern index again lists it by the sub-title, "A warning to all sorts of people." Though it carries now no evidence of Fox's ownership, it may be the actual copy similarly indexed in the list of his Library.

69. Apocalypsis, dutch. I.S.

This unidentified item, after vain conjectures (vol. xxix. 65) and long search, I have at last identified, and have examined it in the Mennonite Library (Bibliotheek der Vereenigde Doopsgezinde Gemeente) at Amsterdam. A second copy is to be found in the University Library directly opposite across the canal. I do not know of any other copies.

The full title may be read from the accompanying plate. The book is octavo and contains altogether over 600 pages.

It is a discussion, chapter by chapter, of the Book of Revelation, and includes various apocalyptic calculations. That concerning 1,260 years reminds me of Steven Crisp on the same period of time. It is significant that Fox had such a book in his possession and in Dutch. It is possible that he met the author, for Fox was in Holland two years after the book was published.

Little is known of the author, Jan Stevensz, except what can be gathered from his writings. Of these, four others are listed in M. Schagen's Naamlyst der Doopsgezinde Schryveren en Schriften, 1539-1745, Amsterdam, 1745, p. 99f. There is a copy of each in the Mennonite Library in that city.

The author's interests would be congenial to Friends. In the Apocalypsis he translates a short work of Sebastian Franck, and in another book,

APOCALYPSIS

Ofte

Het geopende Boeck met seven segelen.

Dat is:

Een grondelijcke verklaringe over de Openbaringe des H. Euangelist JOANNES.

Maer in klaer ende omstandelijch bertoont wozden / bept de stet Aijche ofte Gemeente Chzisti / ende het Aijche des Antechzist: met des selfs opganch ende nedersganch: bepde / upt de H. Schzist ende Historien / na ozder ende berbolgh des tijdts / een pegelijch tot pzoebe ende nadenchen booz-gestelt.

Door J. S. een Liefhebber der waerheyt. Det breeder inhoudt siet achter dit bladt.

Ende ick sagh in de rechterhant des genen, die op den throon sat, een boeck geschreven van binnen ende van buyten: versegelt met seven segelen. Apoc 51 vers 1.



Sluyt dese woorden toe, ende versegelt dit boeck tot de lactste tijt: vele sullen 't [dan] naspeuren, ende groot verstant daer in vinden. Dan. 12: vers 4. of 14.

t'A M S T E R D A M,

Bedzukt booz den Autheur/ en zijn te bekomen by Jan Rieuwertsz. Boekberkoper in Dirk ban Affen-steegh. 1675.

a short work of Jacob Böhme. What is more interesting is that in his list of twenty-nine martyr stories published in 1686 he includes instances where Dutch Friends were persecuted by others, or were themselves persecutors!²

It is probably absurd to try to suggest the circumstances which led to Fox's having this Dutch book on the Apocalypse in his possession but I cannot resist the temptation to make one suggestion. A striking evidence of his interest in the interpretation of the book of Revelation is found in a paper included in his Journal (Cambridge Journal, ii. 170). In this he reports a calculation made by himself and Richard Richardson and John Stubbs when they were travelling together, apparently in 1671, by which the measure of the city of New Jerusalem (Rev. xxi. 16) is found to be 216.000 miles.

That the same calculation had been sent to Holland and had been corrected by Dutch Friends is evidenced by a letter of George Fox to Peter Hendricks in Holland, dated Swarthmore, 1st 5mo. 1679. A copy of part of this in the possession of T. Edmund Harvey reads as follows:—

"Now concerning the number of the miles of the heavenly Citty—I doe Confess that your number is y° Right, and Rich Richardson, & John Stubbs did cast upp y° other and since Rich. Richardson hath corrected his in English, & so may you doe yours & Robinson y° Scotchman also, in his hebrew Testament, And so if you will you may put it in according to your owne, as you have done itt, and correct others that are in English."

Now Robertson's New Testament in Hebrew, to which Fox must be referring (Darlow and Moule, Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture, Part II, 1911, p. 715, No. 5132), gives the number of furlongs in the passage in Revelation as 12,012 instead of 1,728,000 as in Fox's Journal. Jan Stevensz, also on that passage, in the book under consideration (p. 9, 3rd page with that number), gives the number of furlongs as 12,000 which he calls the equivalent of 500 uuren gaens, or 500 hours' journey. This amounts to only 1,500 miles. My suggestion is that this Dutch book, like the Dutch Testament (108; see below), was supplied to Fox by Peter Hendricks and was intended to confirm the latter's argument about the disputed passage in Revelation. The calculation of the measure of the city had been committed to print by Fox in his Testimony of what we Believe of Christ, 1677 (reprinted in G.T.D., p. 456). It is doubtless this which had come to the attention of Dutch Friends.

- ² The contents of these instances I have published in translation or summary in the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, no. 266 (Fourth Month, 1933), pp. 146ff. Since publication Wm. I. Hull has kindly informed me that at least one of them had already been given in print in J. R. Markou, *Een vriendelijche Samenspraach tusschen een Huysman en een hedendaagshe Quaaker*, Amsterdam, 1684.
- 3 He was the author of Fox's Hebrew Lexicon (No. 80). See vol. xxviii. 16. For the confusion of Robertson into Robinson see Camb. *Inl.* i. 246 note 2.

99. The forbidden fruit. Augustine Elutheris.

This item is doubtless correctly identified in xxviii. 18, where the imprint is given as "London: Giles Calvert, 1650." But there were other editions.4 Quaker interest in this work is attested by the letter of Hilary Prache written in London in 1676 (Inl. F.H.S. xvi. 2): "Recently I had also to put from German into English Sebastian Franckens book of The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil in order that the Friends might have it to read, because it agrees with their position." Prache does not intimate that his version was to be printed. But how was it to be circulated? And would he have made it if the earlier English publication was known to be available?

108. A Dutch Testamt with Clasps.

It will be recalled that Fox's copy of this book is actually extant, but the loss of the title page makes the identification of the edition difficult. There are many New Testaments of this size and translation published in Holland between the time the Version was made in 1637 and the death of Fox in 1690/1, and I have compared many complete copies with Fox's defective one without finding the edition which agrees. With the help of the University Library of Amsterdam I have ascertained that the type and headings resemble those used by Paulus Aertsz van Ravesteyn in his Dutch New Testament, Leyden, 1643.

More successful was my attempt to interpret the writing on the fly-leaf mentioned, xxix. 67. My suspicion that it was old Dutch script for the former owner's name was confirmed as soon as I submitted a tracing of it in turn to several experts in Holland. They all without hesitation read "Pietr Hendr."

Now Pieter Hendricks is a well-known Dutch Friend mentioned in Fox's Journal and in other Quaker documents both Dutch and English. He was a prominent member of the Society in Amsterdam, appearing often in the minutes of the Monthly Meeting. Twice letters of Fox begin "Dear Peter and Friends," one belonging to 1667 (printed but without the address as Epistle 253), the other to 1677 (Bull. F.H.A. iv., 1911, p. 6). For further information about him and his capable wife Elizabeth reference may be made to C. Fell Smith, Steven Crisp and his Correspondents, Smith's Catalogue, i. 936f, and (when it is published) William I. Hull's History of Quakerism in Holland. The following data may be of interest. The descriptions of him by Fox on the two letters are respectively: "Peter Hendricks cheesemonger in the Fish lane in the 3 Leyden cheeses at Amsterdam," and "Peter Hendricks Button-Maker on the Cesars graft in Amsterdam." An unpublished letter of Hilary Prache describes his wife, Elizabeth Hendricks, as an English woman. This helps explain their position in Dutch Quakerism. Pieter's signature may be seen more fully on another fly-leaf, a book of English tracts in D,

4 In the British Museum there is an 8vo ed., 1640, and Bibliotheca Furliana, p. 145, No. 790, has a 12mo. ed., London, 1642. The Fox list of octavos includes duodecimos.

and also on letters elsewhere. There is even other evidence of his having provided Fox with books, for a letter of his (Annual Catalogue of Geo. Fox, p. 749) began: "Dr: Gff. by this thou art to receive a book . . ."

Copies Actually Owned by George Fox

In previous articles reference has been made to two of the books in the list as actually extant (55 and 108), both in America. In striking contrast with the tedious process reported a year ago of identifying at Haverford one or at most eight items in a single one of the volumes is the report now to be made. Following a clue that I found in an article in this Journal (vi. 105) by J. J. Green in 1909 and using the external small figure on the leaf edges of the Dutch Testament (xxix. 67) as an indication, I was able on December 2nd, 1932, to unearth in the vault at Friends House in less than an hour's search no less than twenty of the actual books listed in 1695 as the property of George Fox.

A full account of the contents of these books is obviously impossible in the space here available, but, as their history is evidently a good deal alike, they can be dealt with together.

The books are all quarto collections of tracts, none of them large single quarto works and none of them folios or octavos. They are all identically bound in substantial leather bindings and they all have on the leaf edges in front near the top the numeral which in the list recently published (J.F.H.S. xxviii, 4ff.) belongs to the first item in the contents. The books have therefore not been cut on the edges since 1695 though it is possible that the cover and especially the more modern-looking backs are more recent.

The books are part of a collection of sixty-six volumes, the property of Westminster and Longford Monthly Meeting, and were placed on deposit at Devonshire House in 1906, as is recorded by the following printed book plate:

This volume containing Tracts is the property of Westminster and Longford (formerly Westminster) Monthly Meeting to which it was bequeathed by Richard Hawkins under his Will, dated in 1734. This Volume is deposited on Loan in the Library of the Meeting for Sufferings, 1st mo., 1906.

This collection of books is numbered continuously on the back as "Tracts 1", "Tracts 2", etc., up to "Tracts 66".

The relation between the new numbers (RH) and those of the old list of George Fox's library and leaf edge inking (GF) is as follows:

GF	$\mathbf{R}\mathbf{H}$	\mathbf{GF}	RH	RH	\mathbf{GF}	$\mathbf{R}\mathbf{H}$	GF
10	38	37	17	17	37	39	49
11	25	38	28	18	40	41	33
14	32	40	18	22	18	42	25
18	22	44	52	23	20	45	58
20	23	45	55	24	32	47	35
25	42	49	39	25	11	50	51
31	53	51	50	27	54	52	44
32	24	52	60	28	38	53	31
33	4 I	54	27	32	14	55	45
35	47	58	45	38	ÌO	60	52

Hereafter in referring to the volumes I shall use the number of Fox's library list.

The printed books owned by Fox were at William Meade's in 1695.5 In accordance with his instructions they were kept together as a Library. They were borrowed and returned. They were used for collecting Fox's own writings. We know that nearly a score of the big quarto collections of Tracts came to Thomas Lower and through him to his executor, Richard Hawkins. The latter gave them to the Meeting or Meetings of which Westminster and Longford Monthly Meeting is the heir, and the latter early in this century placed them on deposit at Friends Reference Library. The books have thus been together for at least two hundred years. In all that period we know that Morris Birkbeck examined most of them and that J. J. Green was aware of their former ownership by George Fox. They contain no evidences of being used or marked by other readers since the days of Meade, Antrobus and Hawkins. They confirm completely the only two identifications made heretofore of items in the list, and make it much easier to identify others, in case they are still extant.

A notice written in the hand of Richard Hawkins usually on the back of the first title page, and occurring in at least

⁵ See heading of the list printed in xxviii. 4. Ten years earlier Fox himself (Camb. *Inl.* ii. 348) refers probably to the same bound collection as "many of my Books Bound up with other Books", but whether they were then in London or "in the North" is not clear. Few if any of the items in the list were published later than 1683.

thirteen of the twenty volumes, runs, with variation, as follows:

What is contained in this vollume is here Plased in the yeare 1725 for the Uuse and Servis of Hammersmith Meting by R HAWKINS one of the Executors of Doctor Thomas Lowor (No. 20)

In two other volumes are references to the Meeting at the Savoy. For example (No. 37):

This Collection may be of Servis I therefore desire itt maye be plased amongest the Bookes by me Given for the Use and Servis of the Monthly Meeting of the Savoy

R. HAWKINS.

or (No. 45):

This is Geven for the Use and Servise of the Monthly Metting At the Savoy in the yeare 1723 R HAWKINS bound here together in number 37 and Chefley all of G F writting

Further ancient evidence of Richard Hawkins's ownership is the stamped R H in the middle of both front and back covers of most of the volumes. And two volumes (27 and 53) have also stamped on them in like manner G F.

Richard Hawkins's interest in the meeting library is attested by the Monthly Meeting minutes, for at the very start he was the instigator. (See Westminster M.M. minutes for 1714, Vol. 4, folios 37, 40, etc.)

Two statements by Hawkins himself indicate his motive. In another of the volumes of tracts in this collection (No. 51), not identified however as of Fox's ownership, he wrote on the verso of the first title page:

Although I have lodged for the use and Servis of the Monthly Meeting at the Savoy G F Doctrinals Wm Dewsb works with James Parnels & Divars other freinds have therefore never the Les thought fitt that is here collected bound up to Gether the which in time to com if wanted being origenalls may not Easeley procurred shall thearfore place them for preservation with such other frinds Bookes as is by me Geven as above mentioned being in number 34

R HAWKINS

What is above contained is all redy Don so that this vollum is now to be for Richd Hartwell R HAWKINS

A broadside is at Friends House which begins as follows:

WESTMINSTER MONTHLY MEETING THE LIBRARY ENDOWED BY THE WILL OF RICHARD HAWKINS 1734.

1734 11th Mo. 28th. I give Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, Poulton Abridgement of the Statutes, and Cooks Institutes, with such of my Books as may be made choice of, with others I may give, to be placed

in a regular and handsome manner in the room up one pair of stairs in the Meeting House, for the giving Liberty to any Friend, or the sober children of any Friends, who desire it, to read any such Books.

The paper continues with a reference to the care of the books and to the provision of funds for the purchase of others "in order to the leaving a perfect collection of all Friends' Books to posterity."

The Monthly Meeting minutes of 1714 concerning the forming of a meeting library mention also John Whiting, and one of the Fox volumes (33) has this entry instead of any reference or stamp referring to Hawkins:

John Whiting His Gift To the Savoy Meeting 4th 11th Month 1715 Numb 4

There is no further MS. evidence of Lower's ownership, but Fox's ownership is indicated in thirteen of the books by the inscription "GFs Book" in the same hand as the like inscription in the Dutch New Testament (Inl. F.H.S. xxviii, frontispiece). This occurs usually on the front fly-leaf (or, by error, on the back fly-leaf, upside down). Beside this phrase, said to be in Mark Swanner's hand, the same expression is written on the fly-leaf of 44 in the hand of Haistwell (cf. Short Journal, illustration facing page 225). In all these cases, as in the Testament, above the words is a number not identical with that in this list, and under them a mark which possibly is meant to be a Hebrew letter. In 14 two other Hebrew letters occur [3] (=GF) the same Hebrew monogram as appears in the title of his unpublished book on types (Annual Catalogue, under 1673; 12, 68 F).

A bit of writing which I noticed that seemed to me to be his is a single word correcting the word "kid" into "bride" in the following passage of one of his General Epistles (No. 38, Tract 57, page 5): "And the Lamb shall have the victory, and the Kid the Lamb's wife shall be known." This was certainly an annoying misprint! More certainly in Fox's hand is the familiar "gf" with which he has indicated his own authorship on the title page of certain anonymous tracts.

Other manuscript references belonging to the time after his death are:

"To be returned to Benj Antrobus's" (44) [in Ellwood's hand]. "G.W. to puse/And to returne it to W Meads for Jo Loft (31)" [in same hand].

Nearly every tract volume has one MS. index, some two, one (37) three. These are of various ages. The hand in some cases is identical with that which numbered the pieces or leaves. The oldest indexes give the number of leaves for each item and the total. In most cases the total number of items is given but these are often incorrect. The total number of tracts in the twenty volumes amounts to about 730. There are many duplicates, i.e. the same work included in more than one volume. There are also many broadsides folded and bound in. I would guess at least fifty, perhaps a hundred in all.

Works not by Friends

Of so many tracts mention may be made of only one sort, those not by Friends. Beside the items already described (J.F.H.S. xxviii. 10) under 10, 11 (where, however, the translator may be regarded as a Friend), and 45, since they were known from the list, being the first item in the volume, I may note the following:

10, item 2. A Plain and Necessary Confutation of Divers Gross and Antichristian Errors, delivered to the University Congregation, the Last commencement Anno 1653. By Mr. Sydrach, Master of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge . . . London: Giles Calvert 1654.

Contains several pieces.

10, item 3. The Stumbling Stone. . . William Dell. . . . London, 1653.

A favorite piece among Friends by a favorite among their predecessors. Smith: Cata. ii. 521.

25, item 25. The Poor Man's Mite, Unto the more large contributions of the Liberal (further contents on title-page but no author) London . . . 1659.

A MS. note signed by Morris Birkbeck's monogram runs: "N.B. not by a Friend, tho' a conscientious piece."

- 37, item 38. Infant-Baptism None A Christs. William Hartley. London 1652.
- 37, item 39. The Morning Alarum. An Epistle sent to one of the Princes of Germany, Treating in briefe of the Order of the Four Monarchies, The Calling of the Jewes, The Rebuilding of Jerusalem and of Canaan, etc. . . .

Translated out of French into English by Nathaniell John-. . London . . . 1651.

No author's name, but signed in one place D.R.

Other Contents of the Library

An examination of the Library at Westminster Meeting House brought to light three volumes, the gift of Hawkins to Hammersmith Meeting.6 Each has the proper number in Fox's list marked on the leaf edges. The folio has also the initials G.F. in ink on the top edges. The volumes are as follows. The number in Fox's list precedes the title:

- The Christian Quaker, Wm. Penn and G. Whitehead.
 - fol. 24A
- Humphr(e)y Smith's works **28**.
- 4° 9H The Accuser of Our Brethren, G. Whitehead 8°

There are other books in the Westminster Library which have written statements in them of presentation by Hawkins, e.g. the volumes of Eusebius, Coke, and Fulton mentioned above. One or two which contain references to Lower also and which are apparently rebound may be the actual copies listed from the Library of Fox, though without any proof on title page or leaf edge. I may mention

Immediate Revelation, G. Keith 63. Wm. Dewsbury's Works Rusticus ad Academicos, S. Fisher

Fisher's book has, to be sure, not a reference to Hawkins or Lower, but an inscription of gift by John Whiting, which agrees, except for the number, with that quoted for 33.

⁶ I satisfied myself by a visit to Hammersmith that none of the books belonging formerly to Fox, Lower or Hawkins were still there. H.J.C. Since this article was written, a further nineteen volumes have been deposited by Westminster Friends at Friends House, including all those mentioned below as having Fox, Lower or Hawkins association. 18T in the Hawkins Collection is a folio volume containing George Fox's Battledoor, The Great Mistery and a collection of fifty-eight broadsides by Friends. Henry J. Cadbury has identified it as item Ff in the Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers. Many of the page numberings in ink are in George Fox's own hand. It may therefore be supposed, though it cannot be proved, that the volume once belonged to George Fox. Modern rebinding has removed any marks on original leaf edges, fly-leaves or cover. It now bears no evidence of ownership by Lower or Hawkins. All these volumes are now exhibited in the Library at Friends House.

J.L.N.

With regard to Dewsbury's works we have not merely the statement of Hawkins himself already quoted but as late as 1842 the printed Catalogue of Books and Pamphlets Belonging to Westminster Monthly Meeting contained this entry.

Dewsbury, William, Works of, small 4to 2 copies. Old edition once belonging to G. Fox.

This entry is interesting as the only reference I know of in the nineteenth century to any of these books as owned by Fox.7

I have said above that this Library of Fox's books was used for collecting his writings. They were indexed and numbered or the whole volume paged. Then the contents, so far as written by Fox, were noted in the Annual Catalogue of his works begun in 1694 and still in Friends Reference Library. The identifying mark is the letter "a" which appears also in the list of books. By this work we can determine which of Fox's writings were contained in the volumes in the library list, though not listed, because not at the beginning of the volume. For example an entry "(9) 212 A Voice of the Lord to the Heathen" (189B) means that the pamphlet of that title by Fox (Smith: Cata. i. 652) was to be found as the ninth included in the volume numbered 21.

Similarly, we can identify more than thirty of the titles of the "Stitched printed books in 6 parcels from No. 109 to No. 355" mentioned at the close of the library list. As I suspected these were always separate items. They are indexed simply by the single number, without a page number in parenthesis. Thus we now know that 311a was A Warning to all Teachers of Children by George Fox (Smith: Cata. i. 653) and 324a was A Journal of the Life of William Caton, edited by George Fox in 1689 (Smith: Cata. i. 394f).

I may further explain that the words at the very end of the list, "they are since put with b", "s refer to what was originally another part of the same collection of Fox's printed works, namely "b" or "George Fox his broadsides (some cut out)" (Annual Catalogue, p. 960) or "Gff's broadsides stitched in a brown paper book" (ibid. p. 178). The titles Nos. 1b to 49b can all be identified with no more than five omissions. A few of the broadsides bound with copies of the Battledoor mentioned under 4a and 8a of the first list are also catalogued.

HENRY J. CADBURY.

⁷ The printed catalogues of 1842, 1855 and 1858 make no detailed reference to the tracts but refer to sixty-six volumes of early Friends' tracts, and to a written index to them. But other books then catalogued but not now in Westminster Library may have been once Fox's property, e.g "Fox, G., Battledore with Tracts by other Friends; London, 1660" (c.f. 7 and 8 on the list).

⁸ Int. F.H.S. xxviii. 9.