NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

The Quaker Bibliographic World of Francis Daniel Pastorius's Bee Hive

What Quaker tracts and treatises were available in the Delaware Valley in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century? How did the published Quaker writings in early Pennsylvania compare in number and subject matter with the universe of published Quaker writings? What do their nature and content suggest about the literary, religious, political, and legal interests of early Pennsylvanians? Answers to these questions are of interest to anyone who seeks to explore the nature of print culture in colonial America.

Francis Daniel Pastorius, who emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1683, offers assistance in developing answers to those questions. Pastorius's life touched great events in Europe and America. Born in 1651 in Sommerhausen, Germany, he was the son of a magistrate of that city. From 1668 to 1676 he was educated in law at the University of Altdorf, interspersed with time at the Universities of Jena, Regensburg, Strassburg, and perhaps Basel. Upon graduation from Altdorf in 1676, he began practicing law in Windsheim. Because of his interest in the Pietist movement centered around Frankfurt, he moved there in 1678.

J. William Frost generously critiqued this essay and encouraged its publication. I am also grateful to Bernard Bailyn, Mary Sarah Bilder, Eva Gasser, Werner Sollors, and an anonymous referee for their comments and to the Woodrow Wilson and the Robert S. Kerr Foundations for financial support. Grant Lucky and Fran Deathe helped me track down citations.

1 For introductions to the role of printed media in early America, see David Hall, Cultures of Print: Essays in the History of the Book (Amherst, Mass., 1996), Mary Sarah Bilder, "The Lost Lawyer: Legal Literacy and Legal Development in Colonial America," an unpublished manuscript proposing the concept of legal literacy.

2 Two studies detail Pastorius's life particularly well. See Michael Learned, The Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius (Philadelphia, 1908), John David Weaver, "Francis Daniel Pastorius (1651–c 1720) Early Life..."
Land Company to purchase land and settle in Pennsylvania, Pastorius felt "a desire in [his] Soul to continue in their Society, and with them to lead a quiet, godly and honest life." He emigrated to Pennsylvania in the spring of 1683 and took on important roles in Pennsylvania, serving as a justice of the peace for Philadelphia County in 1684, 1685, and 1693, as a member of the General Assembly in 1687 and 1691, a court clerk in Philadelphia County from 1696 to 1701, and a schoolteacher for many years.

Pastorius also wrote and published extensively. His letters home, detailing the benefits of life in Pennsylvania, were published in 1701 in Frankfurt; a primer used by students in his school was published in 1698; a pamphlet on Pennsylvania politics was published in 1697. Other writings, including a protest against slavery, treatises on law, medicine, and agriculture, a volume of poetry, and several other volumes that have since been lost, remained unpublished, as did his commonplace book, which he called his "Hive or Bee Stock." Historians call it the Bee Hive.

The Bee Hive, which is now in the rare book room of the University of Pennsylvania's Van Pelt Library, has shed substantial light on Pastorius's thinking. He began writing the Bee Hive in 1696 and seems to have added to it with some frequency until near his death in the winter of 1719–20. The

\[\text{(footnotes go here)}\]
Bee Hive, which runs to several hundred folio pages, contains nearly four hundred stanzas of poetry; hundreds of aphorisms, largely from the Bible; a dictionary with several hundred entries defining terms of religion, law, and natural science, among others; and more than two thousand individual entries—"honey combs"—of Pastorius's thought. One interested in topics such as Quakers, atheism, piety, usury, debt, justice, magistrates, lawyers, equity, equality, freeholder, property, tyranny, nobility, "politick," rebellion, bigamy, polygamy, or hundreds of other topics can look under those headings in the Bee Hive and find nuggets of Pastorius's thought, sometimes in verse. Some thoughts are original; more often they are collected from other writers. In the latter cases, Pastorius cites the authors from whom he took the ideas.

Pastorius's meticulous recording of the authors from whom he drew ideas makes the Bee Hive useful to anyone interested in the range of books available in early Pennsylvania. The Bee Hive includes a bibliography that contains the author and title of every book, treatise, pamphlet, and broadside drawn upon in its compilation, as well as a number of other books Pastorius apparently consulted but did not use in the Bee Hive. When Pastorius drew upon a work for ideas in the Bee Hive he marked it with an asterisk in the bibliography. His primary motivation for compiling the bibliography was to guide his sons, John and Henry, in their reading. A poem addressed to them introduces the bibliography:

At leasure hours and Candle-light,
When others play, or lose their Sight,
Read ye these Books I here have set,
Or other good ones you can get.

Another motivating factor was Pastorius's desire to promote knowledge about the works. In the introduction to the bibliography, he wrote that he recorded the "authors out of which this . . . Hive is collected" because "ingenuum est fateri per quos profeceris." The phrase, which may be translated as "true genius is to acknowledge those through whom you have advanced," also appeared on the title page of his legal treatise, The Young
Country Clerk's Collection, itself a compilation of forms. Pastorius's repeated use of the phrase suggests a concern for pointing readers towards works that helped to form his ideas.

In some cases Pastorius owned the works he cited, but in most instances, he borrowed them. Beside the entry for Robert L'Strange's edition of Seneca's Morals, for example, Pastorius wrote "being lent to me but for a short time, I digested only the preface, Post-script and Afterthought thereof." The lending library established by the Philadelphia monthly meeting in 1682 and the pamphlet war between George Keith's supporters and his opponents suggest that there was active circulation and discussion of books. The full Bee Hive bibliography includes about one thousand entries. Pastorius divided it into books written by Quakers and by non-Quakers. Reprinted here is a list of the books written by Quakers; those titles with an asterisk denote the works that Pastorius indicated in his bibliography that he had drawn upon.

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8 Pastorius, Bee Hive, 55; Francis Daniel Pastorius, "The Young Country Clerk's Collection," Ms. Am. 63, Special Collections, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania, title page.

9 See Learned, Life of Pastorius, 287-93, for a list of books that Pastorius owned.


12 The list of Quaker books appears at pp. 51-55 and in a supplement, at pp. 375-76, of the Bee Hive. The supplement, compiled after Pastorius's initial list, duplicates some of the citations in the main bibliography. He provided much sparser bibliographic information for books in the supplement than he did for books in the main bibliography. Moreover, although the supplement purports to catalog books written by Quakers, it includes some works written by non-Quakers, such as Samuel Pufendorf. Because the supplement was not central to Pastorius's initial plan and was compiled later than most of the Bee Hive, this essay omits references to books appearing only in the supplement. Books cited in both the main bibliography and the supplement are included.
Pastorius's books have attracted the attention of several historians over the past ninety years. When Michael Learned published his biography of Pastorius in 1908, he included a list of the books Pastorius owned (rather than consulted). The list, which includes a substantial number of books printed in Europe, spans a wide array of topics, from religion and horticulture, through law and politics. Recently, Lyman W. Riley transcribed and provided modern bibliographic references for the publications cited by Pastorius in the Bee Hive.\footnote{See Learned, \textit{Life of Pastorius}, 287-93, Riley, "Books from the 'Bee Hive' Manuscript," 116-29, for his transcription of Pastorius's bibliography, which is available at the libraries of Haverford College and the University of Pennsylvania. Victoria Toms also made extensive use of Pastorius's references to books in her dissertation. See Toms, "Intellectual and Literary Background of Pastorius," 139-98. See also Mildred N. Hirsch and Dorothy G. Harris, "From the Library of Pastorius," \textit{Bulletin of the Friends Historical Association} 42 (1953), 76-84, which describes pamphlets in Pastorius's library.}

The present project is the first printed bibliography of Pastorius's Quaker books.

Pastorius's list of Quaker works, which contains nearly four hundred entries, is exciting for several reasons. First, it identifies a wide variety of Quaker writings that were present in early Pennsylvania. The books provided a substitute for memories of life in England, especially for people who were born in Pennsylvania. In light of Richard Vann's hypothesis that Quakerism was "made in America"—that is to say that emigrants from Europe were less important in developing the character of American Quakerism than were those born in America—the printed recollections of sufferings and the well-articulated defenses of Quaker thought probably helped to sustain the Quaker understanding of the world, or, as Perry Miller might have said, the Quaker cosmology.\footnote{See Richard Vann, "Quakerism Made in America" in \textit{The World of William Penn}, ed Richard S Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn (Philadelphia, 1986), 157-72, David Korbin, "The Saving Remnant: Intellectual Sources of Change and Decline in Colonial Quakerism, 1690-1810," Ph D diss, University of Pennsylvania, 1968, 306, which employs the phrase "Quaker cosmology" in describing shifting ideas in the eighteenth century and which uses published works to recover that cosmology; Perry Miller, \textit{Errand into the Wilderness} (Cambridge, 1956), 99, which discusses "religious cosmology" of seventeenth-century America. David Hall has provided a suggestive discussion of ways in which the abundant religious literature in New England shaped the development of religious consciousness; see David Hall, "The World of Print and Collective Mentality in Seventeenth-Century New England" in John Higham and Paul Conklin, eds, \textit{New Directions in American Intellectual History} (Baltimore, 1979), 166-80.}

Second, the bibliography allows comparison of the books readily available in Pennsylvania with the universe of Quaker publications. Given Pastorius's attempts at comprehensiveness, the list is suggestive of the total body of
Quaker works that were readily available in early Pennsylvania and thus gives an idea of which Quaker works helped to shape the understanding of Quaker doctrine and which ones, because they did not exist in early Pennsylvania, could not exercise direct influence. Hugh Barbour and Arthur Roberts report that there were 3,759 published Quaker writings before 1700; Pastiorius's 271 entries for works written before 1700 thus represent about 7 percent of the corpus of Quaker publications to that time. Like Quaker writings generally, almost all works in Pastiorius's list were printed in London. One was printed before 1652; more than one-third (143) of the 379 works in the bibliography were printed from 1656 to 1664, with the remainder distributed rather evenly until 1703, when the numbers drop off (Table 1). The latest one was printed in 1717. The list testifies to a “unified transatlantic Quaker culture” between Pennsylvania and England in the late seventeenth century.

What, then, of the contents of Pastiorius's bibliography? The books may be divided into several broad categories. There are extended treatises recording the lives and writings of such leaders as George Fox, William Penn, Edward Burrough, Josiah Coale, Richard Hubberthorne, Isaac Penington, and James Naylor. Those weighty volumes articulated the major themes of Quakerism and might have served to instill a quiet, introspective pietism and a concern for the abuses suffered by Quakers in England. Pastiorius was particularly fond of George Fox's Journal, the most heavily cited volume in the Bee Hive other than the Bible. William Penn's No Cross, No Crown, which itself collected writings from antiquity through modern times to show the prevalence of Quaker ideas throughout history, also drew substantial attention in the Bee Hive. Pastiorius repeatedly cited examples of piety from No Cross, No Crown. The collected works of Hubberthorne, Penington, and Burrough also were important, although much less frequently cited than the works of Penn and Fox.

Other volumes appearing in the list dealt with specific issues. Many were concerned with the English legal system's treatment of Quakers. The records


16 J. William Frost, "Quaker Books in Colonial Pennsylvania," Quaker History 78 (1991), 1, which relates the availability of Quaker books to "unified transatlantic culture."
Table 1

Distribution of Publication Dates of Quaker Publications:
Pastorius’s Bibliography and the Universe of Quaker Publications

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of Publication</th>
<th>Number of Quaker Publications</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mentioned by Pastorius</td>
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<tr>
<td>1648</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>1652–55</td>
<td>24</td>
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<td>1656–59</td>
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<td>1660–64</td>
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<td>1665–69</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>1670–74</td>
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<td>1675–79</td>
<td>32</td>
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<td>1680–84</td>
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<td>1685–89</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1690–94</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>1695–99</td>
<td>33</td>
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<tr>
<td>1700–10</td>
<td>49</td>
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<tr>
<td>1711–17</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>379</strong></td>
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of suffering that were so prominent a part of Quaker life in the seventeenth century included George Whitehead’s *The Case of the Suffering People of God* and William Penn’s *Continued Cry of the Oppressed for Justice,* plus many short, similar volumes by lesser known Quakers. Other volumes recorded sufferings in New England, including George Bishop’s *New England Judged by the Spirit of the Lord* and the anonymous *A Brief Narrative of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers who were put to Death at Boston in New England.* Penn’s pamphlet describing his 1670 trial resonated particularly well with Pastorius. From it he recorded the ideas that “People should have a share in the making of their own Laws and likewise in the judicatory Power to apply these laws made.”

The Quaker interest in religious freedom and law reform appeared in other volumes in Pastorius’s list that were addressed to the king, magistrates, and merchants. The works urged fairer treatment, suggesting that magistrates enforce the laws properly without introducing their own personal biases, that magistrates not enforce the harsh criminal law too rigorously, and that merchants not seek profit to the exclusion of all other goals. Such precatory pamphlets may have proved influential in Pennsylvania, where Quakers were

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19 See George Bishop, *New England Judged, not by Man’s But by the Spirit of the Lord* (London, 1661), *A Brief Narrative of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers who were put to Death at Boston in New England* (New York, 1700)


21 See e.g., E.B. [Edward Billing or Edward Burrough?], *An Alarm to all Flesh Warning (once more) from God, unto all such Rulers, Teachers, and People in England who are, or may be, Persecutors about Religion and Worship* (London, 1663), George Fox, *A Warning to All Merchants of London to Nomsh the Poor* (London, 1658), Francis Howgill, *The Measuring Rod of the Lord Stretched Forth Over all Nations and the Line of True Judgment laid to the Rulers Thereof* (London, 1658)
in a position to put their ideas about government into practice.

George Fox’s Journal, which detailed both his own sufferings and those he witnessed at the hands of capricious magistrates, was probably the most graphic and important portrayal of the inequities of the English criminal justice system for early Pennsylvanians. Another important source of information on that issue was George Fox’s An Instruction to Judges and Magistrates. Fox’s forty-page pamphlet critiqued the inequities of the English legal system. Fox argued against the death penalty for mere property crimes and urged magistrates to act as friends to the poor. Pastorius adopted Fox’s statement that “Job was a judge . . . he was legs to the lame, eyes to the blind, a help to the helpless.”

Penn’s Fruits of Solitude, a book of maxims written while Penn was imprisoned in the Tower of London, appealed to Pastorius’s taste for aphorism. The work contains advice on political and legal issues as well as religious ones and thus connected Quaker religious ideas to government. Pastorius drew from it generously.

Some pamphlets were directed against specific laws. The Conventicle Act was used freely to prosecute Quakers. Some writers proclaimed that the law was not intended to apply to Quakers; others argued that Quaker meetings were not conventicles. Similarly, there were several pamphlets opposing tithes, including Francis Howgill’s The Great Case of the Tythes and the anonymous The Ancient Testimony of the Primitive Christians . . . Revived Against Tythes.

22 See George Fox, An Instruction to Judges and Lawyers (London, 1659), 11; Pastorius, Magistrates Entry, Bee Hive, which quotes Fox, Instruction to Judges, 11


25 See George Fox, That All Might See who they were that had a Command and Did Pay Tythes, and who they were that had a Law to Receive them (London, 1657), Francis Howgill, The Great Case of the Tythes and Forced Maintenance Once More Reviewed (London, 1665), The Ancient Testimony of the Primitive Christians and Martyrs of Jesus Christ, Revived Agst Tythes Or, a Relation of the Sufferings of William Dobson (London, 1660)
Most of the entries dealt with issues of religious doctrine rather than with government. Here again they took various forms. Some were affirming works urging pietism and outlining Quaker beliefs, such as Robert Barclay's *Truth Triumphant through Spiritual Warfare*, a collection of his writings covering the broad expanse of Quaker beliefs. George Fox's *Journal* recounts not only his sufferings in the English criminal justice system; it also describes his conversion to the Light and the ways he maintained his fervor. Collections of writings by Quakerism's major figures included Fox's *Letters*, Penn's *Journal*, and the works of such important figures as James Naylor and Stephen Crisp. There were also individual tracts devoted to explaining Quaker principles, such as Edward Burrough's *A Declaration to all the World of Our Faith and What We Believe*. Likewise, there were explanations of doctrine from George Fox, such as *The Pearl Found in England* and *The Papists Strength, Principles, and Doctrines . . . Answered and Confuted*, and from other leaders, such as William Penn's *Christian Quaker*.26

The most popular of the writings designed to induce pietism appeared in the list. John Thompson's often-reprinted *Piety Promoted*, which collected the dying sayings of numerous Quakers, illustrates the role that individual experience and testimony played in Quakerism.27 Pastorius's list included many individual testimonies of Quakers, such as James Naylor's *Milk for Babes and Meat for Strong Men . . . being the Breathings of the Spirit Through His Servant James Naylor*.28 Other tracts in the list defended Quaker doctrine, such as Elizabeth Bathhurst's *Truth's Vindication, or A

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Gentle Stroke to Wipe Off the Foul Aspersions . . . Cast Upon the People of God Called Quakers.\textsuperscript{29}

The Quakers' own political and ecclesiastical dispute in Pennsylvania—the controversy over George Keith that racked the colony beginning in 1691—generated a number of tracts. They show, like so many Quaker writings, the combined elements of law, politics, and religion. Pastorius had access to the \textit{State of the Case}, a tract written by Samuel Jennings, one of the judges who presided over the defamation trial of George Keith, Thomas Budd, Peter Boss, and William Bradford, which turned the controversy into a legal dispute as well as a religious and political one.\textsuperscript{30}

Pastorius also cited five tracts by Caleb Pusey, including \textit{Satan's Harbinger Detected}, Pusey's response to Daniel Leeds, a Keith supporter, which ran to more than one hundred pages.\textsuperscript{31}

One must be wary when using lists of books as a proxy for ideas. Just because a book appeared in a person's library does not mean that the owner supported, believed, or had even read its contents. Nor can one know how a reader interpreted a book's contents when it was read. Pastorius's list, when used in conjunction with the Bee Hive entries, suggests the ideas that at least one reader gleaned from the texts and may, therefore, mitigate some of the problems of interpretation posed by a bare bibliography. In the case of Henry Clark's \textit{Here is True Magistracy Described}, for example, Pastorius cited Clark's pamphlet in his Bee Hive entry on magistrates as a source of ideas about magistrates. Pastorius neglected to mention, however—and in the same Bee Hive entry actually opposed—the main idea of Clark's pamphlet, that

\textsuperscript{29} Elizabeth Bathhurst, \textit{Truth's Vindication} (London, 1679). See also George Fox, \textit{The Priests and Professors Catechism For them to Try Their Spirits} (London, 1657); George Fox, \textit{Priests Fruit Made Manifest and the Vanity of the World Discovered} (London, 1657).


Quakers should not use the legal system.32 One can see in the Bee Hive entries the material Pastorius thought useful in the books. The common theme of Quaker writings suggest—and his Bee Hive entries confirm—that they were cited because he generally supported the positions taken by the authors.

Some studies have shown the extent of European ideas—particularly religious ideas—in early Pennsylvania.33 Imaginative monographs, such as Frederick B. Tolles's *Meeting House and Counting House*, J. William Frost's *The Quaker Family in Colonial America*, and more recently, Sally Schwartz's *A Mixed Multitude*, have explored the vibrant ideas collected from Europe and transplanted to the Delaware Valley.34 Much of the recent scholarship on early Pennsylvania explores the ideas of the colonists, based on the study of their treatises or the books in their libraries. Edwin Wolf's 1988 book on colonial Philadelphia, for instance, has added substantial dimension to our understanding of the reading interests of Philadelphians. Tolles, Frost, and Wolf together show that Quakers read (and wrote) widely and in diverse areas, from religion to law to politics to horticulture.35

32 In the same entry on magistrates where Pastorius cited Clark's pamphlet, he cited Caleb Pusey's *Satan's Harbinger* (Philadelphia, 1698), 62–63, to show that "It never was against our Principles to be concerned in outward government." Pastorius, Magistrates Entry, Bee Hive. For a further exploration of Pastorius's legal ideas and the treatises he used, see Alfred L. Brophy, "*Ingenium est Fateriper quos profeceris*: Francis Daniel Pastorius' Young Country Clerk's Collection and Anglo-American Legal Literature, 1682–1716," *University of Chicago Law School Roundtable* 3 (1996), 637, 647–48, 652–65.


Pastorius's list contributes to that understanding. While Professor Frost has pointed out that American Quakers by the middle of the eighteenth century often lacked access to important seventeenth-century Quaker authors, such as George Fox, William Penn, and Issac Penington, Pastorius's list suggests that at least at the beginning of the eighteenth century there was a well-developed Quaker book culture in the Philadelphia area.36

Some treatises in Pastorius's list were great in size as well as in the knowledge that they might impart. The collected works of Edward Burrough and Issac Penington each ran to more than eight hundred pages. But what of the median size of the writings? Nearly half (156) were thirty pages or less in length. They remind us that much of Quaker culture was developed by people writing their thoughts in tracts that could be produced quickly and inexpensively and then carried to the far reaches of Quaker settlement. They also remind us that Quakerism was a religion that gained momentum not by the power of "theological tenets" but by people "recognizing the moral actions of Quakers."37 The several hundred Quaker publications circulating in early Pennsylvania are worthy of study because of what they teach about the ideas held by the people who brought them to the Delaware Valley.

Books by Friends Referenced in the Bee Hive

Abbreviations:
Wing: Donald G. Wing, Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English Books

law by combining detailed quantitative study of litigants with examination of Quaker writings on justice.

37 Frost, Quaker Family, 30.

Spellings have been retained as in the original; punctuation has been modernized. The entries have been placed in alphabetical order of author's last name and numbered sequentially, except for a few entries with incomplete citations that are listed at the end. An asterisk indicates that Pastorius used the work in preparing a Bee Hive entry.


2. William Ames, Good Counsel and Advice to all the Friends of Truth (London, 1661) 14 pp. Wing A300.


4. Anon., To All Friends and People in the Whole Christendome, (So Called) That they May See What was the Government of the Church of the Jewes, the Government of the Church of Christ in the Primitive Times (London, 1658) 29 pp. Wing A1321.


8. Anon., Some Queries to be Answered in Writing or Print by the Masters (London, 1654) 16 pp. Wing S4564.


12. Daniel Baker [attributed to Thomas Hart by Pastorius], *The Prophet Approved, by the Words of His Prophesie Coming to Passe* (London, 1659) 4 pp. Wing B484.


27. E.B. [Edward Billing or Edward Burrough?], *An Alarm to all Flesh: With an Invitation to the True Seekers: An Arrow Shot Against Babylon Out of Joseph's Bow Warning (once more) from God, unto all such Rulers, Teachers, and People in England who are, or may be, Persecutors about Religion and Worship* (London, 1660) 10 pp. Wing B598.

28. William Bingley [attributed to Moses West by Pastorius], *A Grevious
Lamentation over Thee O England: Or, the Greatest Part of thy Inhabitants, who have withstood the day of their visitation (London, 1683) 8 pp. Wing B2921.

29. George Bishop, A Few Words in Season; or, A Warnings from the Lord to the Friends of Truth (London, 1660) 3 pp. Wing B2993.


36. James Bolton, Judas His Thirty Pieces Not Received, But Sent Back to Him, For his Own Bag . . . Being Something by way of an answer to a Letter that was sent . . . from Robert Rich in Barbadoes, which was for the distribution of a certain sume of money to seven churches . . . wherein it is manifested . . . Quakers cannot partake of his gift (n.p., c. 1660) 15 pp. Wing B3506.


   John Burnyeat, see also George Fox, *A New England Fire-Brand*.

42. Edward Burrough, *A Declaration to all the World of Our Faith and What We Believe who are Called Quakers* (London, 1661) 8 pp. Wing B5997.

43. Edward Burrough, *A Description of the State and Condition of All Mankinde Upon the Face of the Whole Earth* (London, 1657) 14 pp. Wing B5999.


54. Christopher Cheesman, *An Epistle to Charles the II King of England and to Every Individual Member of His Council* (Reading, 1661) 8 pp. Wing C3773.


57. Henry Clarke, *Here is True Magistracy Described and the Way to Rule and Judge the People Set Forth* (London, 1660) 8 pp. Wing C4455.


Josiah Coale, see also Ambrose Rigge, *Visitation*.


77. John Crook, *An Epistle to all that Profess the Light of Jesus Christ within to be Guide* (London, 1678) 10 pp. Wing C7206.


79. John Crook, *Truth's Principles, or those Things About Doctrine and Worship which are Most Surely Believed and Received Among the People of God Called Quakers* (London, 1663) 23 pp. Wing C7219.

80.* John Crook, *Truth's Progress, or, a Short Relation of its First Appearance and Publication after the Apostacy* (London, 1667) 20 pp. Wing C7222.


84. William Dewsbury, *To All the Faithful Brethren Born of the Immortal Seed of the Father of Life* (London, 1661) 8 pp. Wing D1276.


90. Thomas Ellwood, *An Answer to George Keith's Narrative of His Proceedings at Turners Hall . . . wherein his Charges Against Divers of the People Called Quakers . . . are Fairly Considered, Examined, and Refuted* (London, 1696) 232 pp. Wing E612.


100. Jane Fearon, *Absolute Predestination not Scriptural: or, Some Questions upon a Doctrine which I heard Preache'd, 1704, to a People called Independents* (London, 1705) 40 pp. NUC 0058425.


103. Lydia Fell, *A Testimony and Warning given forth in the Love of Truth: 
and is for the governor, magistrates and people . . . of Barbados (London, 1676) 20 pp. Wing F625.


   See also Richard Hubberthorn and Samuel Fisher, *Supplementum Sublatum.*


108. George Fox, *That All Might See who they were that had a Command: and Did Pay Tythes; and who they were that had a Law to Receive them* (London, 1657) 22 pp. Wing F1931.

109. George Fox, *To All that Would Know the Way of the Kingdom, Whether they be in Forms, Without Forms, or Got Above All Forms* (London, 1660) 14 pp. Wing F1945.


118. George Fox, *An Epistle to all People On the Earth . . . shewing to all the People Upon Earth, that they may Come to an Understanding of Themselves* (London, 1657) 20 pp. Wing F1805.


121.* George Fox, John Stubbs, and Henry Fell, *For the King and His Council* (London, 1660) 7 pp. Wing F1822.


126. George Fox, *The Line of Rightousness and Justice Streched Forth Over All Merchants . . . an Exhortation unto all Friends and People Whatsoever . . . that Ye All Do that Which is Just* (London, 1661) 8 pp. Wing F1857.


128.* George Fox, *A Paper Sent Forth into the World from Them that are Scornfully Called Quakers Declaring the Ground and Reasons why they Deny the Teachers of the World, who Profess themselves to be Ministers, and dissent from them* (London, 1654) 8 pp. Wing F1872.


139. George Fox, *A Warning to All Merchants of London, and such as buy and sell with an Advertisement to them to lay aside their superfluity and with it to Norrish the Poor* (London, 1658) 6 pp. Wing F1985.


143. Margaret Askew Fell Fox, *A Call to the Universal Seed of God, Throughout the Whole World* (London, 1665) 17 pp. Wing F625A.


150.* Daniel Gould, *A Brief Narration of the sufferings of the people called Quakers; who were put to Death at Boston in New England* (New York, 1700) 38 pp. Evans 911.


158. Jeremiah Haward, Here Followeth A True Relation of Some Sufferings Inflicted upon the Servants of God . . . called Quakers (London?, 1654) 8 pp. Wing H1547.


162. Jeremiah Haward, Here Followeth A True Relation of Some of the Sufferings Inflicted Upon the Servants of the Lord, who are Called Quakers by this Generation of Evil-Doers (London, 1654) 8 pp. Wing H1547.

163. Joseph Helling, A Salutation from the Breathings of the Life to the Faithful in the Kingdom and Patience of Jesus Christ (London, 1661) 8 pp. Wing H1383.


166. Richard Hodden, The One Good Way of God: Contrary to the Many
Different Ways of Men's Making. With Loving Warnings, Exhortations and Cautions, to All Sorts of Men, Concerning their Souls (London, 1661) 54 pp. Wing H2283.


170. Francis Howgill, An Information and also Advice to the Armie . . . and Also to All People who Seek Peace and Righteousness (London, 1659) 11 pp. Wing H3167.


176. Francis Howgill, The Popish Inquisition Newly Erected in New England, whereby their Church is Manifested to be a Daughter of Mysterie Babylon . . .


195.* Nicholas Knight, *A Comparison Between the True and False Ministers in their Calling, Lives and Doctrine* (London, 1675) 22 pp. Wing K691.


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341. Richard Vickris, *A Few Things of Great Weight Offered to the Consideration of All Sober People, and to Friends of Truth More Particularly*


346.* Morgan Watkins, The Marks of the True Church, The Virgin and Spouse of Christ that Brings Forth by a Holy Seed the Birth that Pleaseth God, and the Marks of the False Church, or Whore, that Brings Forth the Evil Seed (London, 1675) 27 pp. Wing W1067.


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354. Dorothy White, *A Lamentation Unto this Nation and Also a Warning to all People of this Present Age and Generation with the Voice of Thunder Sounded Forth from the House of the Lord God* (London, 1660) 8 pp. Wing W1751.


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368. George Whitehead, *Truth Prevalent; and the Quakers Discharged from the Norfolk Rectors' Furious Charge In a Sober Answer to Their Book, Falsely Stiled, The Principles of the Quakers Further Shewn to be Blasphemous and Seditious* (London, 1701) 187 pp. Smith 2:904.

369. George Whitehead, *A Word of Tender Admonition to King Charles II and to this Present Parliament* (London, 1660), in *Copies of Several Letters which were Delivered to the King* (London, 1660) 54 pp. Wing F1778.

370. John Whitehead, *A Manifestation of Truth Concerning the Scriptures*


376. *Humphrey Wollenrich, This is Written in Plainness of Heart and Bowels of Love to any Persecutors* (London, 1661) unknown pp. Wing W3299.


Pastorius included the following works, for which complete citations have not been located:

382.* Anon., *An Answer to One Powell, that had been a Priest.*

383. *Innocency Defended Containing an Answer to some Injurious Charges . . . Unjust Reflections of the Lord Cornbury Governour of the Province of New Jersey.*

384. Thomas Lawson, [title illegible].

385. William Smith, *Real Christianity* [remainder of title illegible].

386. Thomas Taylor, *God's [Controversy With England?] Virtue* [broadside?].

387.* Jacob Telner, *A Treatise Showing the Many Gross Absurdities and Pernicious Errors that Naturally Follow from the False Glosses Upon the . . . Chapter to the Romans by a Member of the Religious Society of Universal Love.*

Pastorius also referred to Thomas Budd but did not identify which of Budd's works he was citing.

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