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Sally Bruyneel

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# MARGARET FELL; HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND THE SHAPE OF EARLY QUAKER THOUGHT

SALLY BRUYNEEL

Early Quaker writings offer a wealth of religious content and passion informing not only students of radical sectarians in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but they provide ready material for builders of contemporary movements as well. In particular, the writings of early Quaker women have inspired feminist scholars, proving a malleable resource as primary source material across a variety of disciplines. This unprecedented interest in Friends writings has no doubt benefited Quaker studies, and it seems to have increased Friends' awareness and interest in their own rich past. This new literacy is also heightening our awareness of the impressive contributions of women within the Society of Friends, tending somewhat to have been overshadowed by those of their male counterparts.

While this emerging reappraisal of Quaker history is encouraging, I find the cross-disciplinary nature of research into the early writings to be somewhat problematic. Despite the fact that early Quaker women's works have become appropriated by feminist scholars and others who have yoked the authority of their example to justice-related causes, the historical contribution of Margaret Fell serves as a timely caution against one-dimensional readings which render early Quaker women little more than mouthpieces for contemporary causes and agendas. Margaret Fell, often referred to as the "Mother of Quakerism," published widely in her service to the Society of Friends. As one might expect, she suffered imprisonment and social reprobation as a result of her Quaker loyalties and practices. However, Fell was no underprivileged individual born into economic adversity, a beacon to the underprivileged of later generations. Rather, it was precisely the privilege and status she enjoyed as a result of her inheritance and first marriage that allowed her to make the sorts of contributions she did.

To press the point further, while Quakers have often challenged societal status when seen as a factor of opposition to their cause, the emerging Friends movement can be seen to have valued highly the

support and political influence provided by the place and status of Margaret Fell. This is displayed clearly in the testimony of Thomas Camm, and by Fell's pivotal role in her 1660 communication to Cromwell: *A Declaration and an Information from Us, the People Called Quakers, to the Present Governors, The King and Both Houses of Parliament, and All Whom It May Concern* (which we will hereafter refer as the 1660 Quaker Peace Testimony). In considering the life of Margaret Fell, the 1660 Quaker Peace Testimony, and the testimony of Thomas Camm, I wish to demonstrate the manner in which Margaret Fell's contribution has been obscured through a misunderstanding of her social location, and to reassess the degree to which her work influenced early Quaker thought.

## MARGARET FELL AND HER HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Margaret Fell, the wealthy seventeenth-century English Quaker, is an enigmatic and complicated figure. In her own time, she was a "self-denying Disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ" to some who knew her well, and "a painted sepulcher" to others. There were those who called her "proud and haughty," while others recognized her as a "tender nursing mother" to those in the faith. Twentieth-century scholarship has likewise demonstrated similar extremes in sentiment with regard to Margaret Fell. William C. Braithwaite's worthy two-volume study of Quaker history, which first appears in 1912, notes Fell's authority in the early movement and makes mention of her numerous written works. At the same time, however, he grants her no place among significant Quaker leadership.<sup>1</sup>

Contrast this with Bonnelyn Young Kunze, whose excellent 1994 work documents Margaret Fell's extensive contribution to the growth of the early Friends movement. Here the reading of historical data presents a figure whose absence would have altered radically the face of early Quakerism.<sup>2</sup> The difference between these two opinions reflects a trend in Quaker studies, away from revisionist and hagiographic exercises that privilege male leadership and overemphasize the role of George Fox in the formation and dissemination of Quakerism.

An intended by-product of this exercise is a stronger sense of Margaret Fell, the clear-eyed, intelligent and indomitable woman who exercised strong leadership and endured great sacrifice on behalf

of the people called Quakers. Fortunately for those of us to whom this matters, contemporary scholarship has provided a recent boon of material about Fell and the activities of women during the early Quaker period. Books such as Christine Trevett's *Women and Quakerism in the 17th Century* represent a growing interest in early Quaker women, and the excellent level of scholarship they demonstrate has made research into Margaret Fell considerably easier.<sup>3</sup> Unlike the first days of my studies, when information about her was sparsely scattered throughout the secondary sources, we no longer wonder if Fell was influential in her historical context. That, if nothing else, must now be granted.

The task for scholars now is to assess the particular ways in which her influence impacted the early Friends movement. As the body of research grows, our awareness of her true significance likewise increases. We now appreciate, for instance, a fuller understanding of her pivotal role in establishing separate women's meetings for Quakers.<sup>4</sup> We know that she exerted tremendous influence among Lancaster Friends, that she campaigned extensively on behalf of Quaker religious freedom and became an able apologist for their views. Likewise, we acknowledge the significance of her contribution as author of the first English-language defense of women's right to preach, as well as her innovation in penning the first Quaker Peace Testimony.<sup>5</sup> This said, Hugh Barbour's observation that the influence of Margaret Fell "must always be read between the lines" is still largely accurate.<sup>6</sup> There is a great deal we must finally infer, even from the best evidence available.

Despite Friends teachings on the spiritual equality of women and early attempts to give increased autonomy to women's meetings, Quaker historiography has tended to privilege male experience.<sup>7</sup> Likewise, forces inside and outside of Quakerism have inadvertently conspired to credit George Fox with the lion's share of formative Friends leadership, obscuring all but a select few from the eyes of future generations. As Michael Mullett has noted, "There has been a long standing inclination in historical writing about the origins of Quakerism to depict the Quaker movement as overwhelmingly, or even solely George Fox's creation. Indeed, this impulse to identify 'Quakerism' with Fox was already strongly evident within Fox's own lifetime."<sup>8</sup>

This said, I do believe it is unfair to lay the problematic nature of research into early Friends entirely at this doorstep. To a certain

degree, the religious tradition of the Friends itself created a dynamic that has kept leaders such as Margaret Fell obscured from full view. Their concerns about the perils of worldly pride exerted a heavy editorial hand on Quakers who took up the pen. A typical example can be found in the work of Fell, who herself often cautioned others in her writing to comport themselves with humility. For example, she wrote “it is the low, and the meek, and humble that the Lord God teacheth, and it is the broken and contrite spirit that God will not dispise. And He who is the High and the Lofty One, that inhabiteth eternity, dwelleth in the hearts of the humble.”<sup>9</sup> Given her social status, Margaret Fell’s intentional humility would have garnered her a high degree of approval within Friends circles. She would embody a certain moral authority in the minds of her co-religionists, whose faith included a prophetic message of social equality in the face of strong English class-consciousness. However, the silence of humility can also create something of an enigma, potentially thwarting even the best efforts of the historian.

On a different level, Quakers’ strong realized eschatology also affected their perception of what was worthy of written record. Their prophetic mission was fueled by the belief that the Second Coming was a present event, for Christ had come again inwardly, and Christ’s Spirit dwelt within our human spirits.<sup>10</sup> A new world had unfolded and was unfolding, leading Quakers like Margaret Fell to write “now is the mighty day of the Lord come and coming.”<sup>11</sup> In the context of Christ’s Second Coming, evangelistic and apologetic works were simply of greater value than historical records of the Friends, in and of themselves. This is seen throughout early Quaker writings, where attention to historical events such as religious persecutions, the death of a weighty Friend, or even the crowning of a king are recounted largely as vehicles of testimony for encouragement, prophetic warning to heed God’s revealed truth, and witness to the rightness of their cause and the hand of the divine in their midst.

## MARGARET FELL’S SOCIAL LOCATION

When referring to her social location, we look to those things that define Margaret Fell in her own historical context. Her residence in the politically and socially remote north of England, her above-average level of education, her secure economic situation, her social rank

as a member of the landed gentry, her marriage to the heir of a respected Lancaster family, and her membership in a persecuted religious sect all contribute to an understanding of who she really was. Margaret Fell Fox, born Margaret Askew, was one of two daughters who were bequeathed property and money by their father, a well-established gentleman landowner of sufficient stature that his daughter Margaret would be considered a suitable mate for the barrister, and future Lord of the Manor at Ulverston, Thomas Fell.

By seventeenth-century standards an educated and articulate woman, Margaret Fell lived the majority of her life in the north of England. It is worth reminding ourselves that in the seventeenth century, the 200 to 250 mile journey to the capital city of London left northerners socially and politically somewhat isolated from their southern fellows. Then, as now, the North receives minimal attention from the South except in times of political or social unrest. Northerners have historically been viewed as hardy, self-reliant and often poor, provincial folk. This geographical location is of significance because it was in the north that George Fox found his earliest successes and established his strongest following among early Friends. Margaret Fell's influence among northern Friends from 1652 onward is well documented.<sup>12</sup>

In her late teens, Margaret entered into a long and affectionate union with the socially prominent Thomas Fell (1598–1658). Thomas was the wealthy descendent of an old and influential Lancaster family, and a man marked for success in the political arena during the turbulent period of the English Civil Wars. In order to understand the social prerogative this afforded Margaret, it is worth our time to look briefly at the career of Thomas Fell. Those familiar with such works as *A Brief Account of Thomas Fell, of Swarthmore Hall*, are aware of his service as Vice Chancellor of the Duchy and County Palatine of Lancaster for two terms, as a Judge of the Assize in the Northwest (Chester and North Wales circuit), as member of the Long Parliament (1647-1649), and as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster from 1654 until his death in 1658.<sup>13</sup>

Upon his death, Judge Fell's will included money for a gift to his friend John Bradshawe, who succeeded Fell as Chancellor and who later presided at the trial of Charles I.<sup>14</sup> Richard G. Bailey has added a brief but significant contribution to this information in his "Research Note on Judge Thomas Fell." There we find that as Chancellor, Thomas Fell would have had an official London

residence at Duchy-House in the Strand, presided over the Duchy Council and the Duchy Court at Westminster, and enjoyed a substantial salary drawn from litigation fees. On the basis of his research Bailey notes that Judge Thomas Fell “held one of the highest, most influential and most lucrative offices in the Kingdom. As chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster he stood in a distinguished lineage that included Sir Thomas More and Sir Robert Cecil. When considering his role in the history of early Quakerism the power and influence of such an important statesman cannot be underestimated.”<sup>15</sup>

That Judge Fell was a man of rank, power and privilege is evident even in this short summary of his career. While there was little that was common about Margaret Fell, a husband of this standing would have conferred status and social rank upon even the most common seventeenth-century women. By her own merit, however, Margaret by all accounts enjoyed her husband’s greatest confidence in her abilities, and she managed a large household effectively and often oversaw the details of their various business interests. Thomas Fell’s duties as Judge included lengthy absences from the manor at Ulverston, and there is no doubt she was in complete charge while he was away. There is also no doubt that she used these periods of her husband’s absence to further her own activities on behalf of Friends, particularly those activities to which he may have objected had he been aware of them.<sup>16</sup>

In any case, Margaret Fell oversaw the comings and goings of staff, a family of eight children, and the unusually high number of visitors who made their way to her remote north country home at Swarthmore Hall. Thus, although there is no doubt that Margaret Fell deferred to her husband, she also exercised tremendous authority in her own right. These observations help us gauge the power and authority Margaret Fell wielded through her natural giftedness, her own social standing and the rank conferred upon her by her husband’s considerable status. As we attempt to gauge the place Margaret Fell occupied in early Quaker leadership, it is helpful to remember that this affluent and personally dynamic, upper-class woman is someone George Fox first encounters on his visit to Ulverston in 1652.

Simply judged on the merits of her own social position, without considering her subsequent contributions, Margaret Fell is undoubtedly one of the most significant of George Fox’s northern converts. Most readers are likely to be familiar with the story of Fox’s first visit

to Margaret's home at Swarthmore Hall, and her subsequent conviction. Although both Fox and Fell wrote accounts of this meeting that were eventually published, a far more interesting record is found in an unpublished letter written by Margaret in 1679. The familiar events, such as Fox's confrontation with Rector Lampitt during a "lecture day" meeting at St. Mary's in Ulverston are present. Fell recalled that Fox entered the church building during the meeting and began to speak on the Scriptures. His message so angered the Rector and several members of the congregation that Reverend Lampitt commanded the church warden to expel Fox from the premises.

Here, her account of the confrontation is quite informative. She wrote, "[b]ut when he came to touch them then they grew weary, and very angry, and so set the Church wardens to haul G[eorge] out: But I stood up in my pew and looked at the Church warden: and he stood behind G[eorge] F[ox]: and let him alone, and G[eorge] F[ox] spoke a great while."<sup>17</sup> In this account, Fell's reproofing glare halts Fox's removal from the hall for some time. Her implied directive carried more weight than the Rector's spoken word. This reading makes a great deal of sense in the context of our analysis. It was Margaret's husband, as Lord of Ulverston Manor, who would have secured Reverend Lampitt's appointment to St. Mary's. In fact, when Fox was finally removed from the church, it came only through the intervention of John Sawry, a member of Parliament who was also present in the meeting house.<sup>18</sup>

It is interesting to note in passing that when we interpret this narrative against the backdrop of Margaret Fell's social location, she is positioned high in the authority structure of her local community. Awareness of this dynamic gives us a different read on the drama that unfolds, and on the historical significance of this situation. Of all the participants in the story, Fox is lowest in status and rank; whereas Margaret Fell is subject only to the member of Parliament, John Sawry. In any case, the connection between Fell and Fox was immediate and long lasting, and the Fell home at Swarthmore Hall became a meeting place for Friends worship. Of this important event, biographer Isabel Ross wrote:

Thus began a half-century of work for the Quaker fellowship, a work in which there was a remarkable co-operation between the founder (till his death in 1691) and a woman who was frequently addressed as "our nursing mother." By her own



personality, her social position, her education, courage, genius for friendship, and the gift not only of seeing essentials but of holding on to them even against the pressure of her friends, she gave stability to the movement, especially in the early days before any organization had been created by George Fox himself.<sup>19</sup>

Margaret Fell's social position, particularly as the wife of a Judge, afforded the Lancaster Friends a degree of protection they did not often enjoy in other meetings. That Margaret herself was aware of her unique status among Friends is seen in a letter from 1667. There she recalled that "we [Friends] kept our integrity and met together— At our house at Swarthmore with my husband's consent: And he being the chief magistrate in the Country, they could not fall upon us in persecuting us as their hearts desired."<sup>20</sup> For this reason, Judge Fell's death in 1658 marks the end of an important period in Friends history and a gradual but dramatic shift in Margaret's personal fortunes. Freed from the social obligations and proprieties she had fulfilled out of deference to her husband, Margaret Fell began a period of increased visibility and activity beyond Lancaster and its environs. With the sizeable resources of her estate, she was able to continue her activities on behalf of Quakerism with new freedom.

In a sense, one could say that the death of Judge Fell launched her second life as a Quaker leader. From this point on, freed from concerns over her husband's societal expectations, she also became a target for those who had been held at bay by his good offices.<sup>21</sup> Within two years, George Fox would be arrested during worship at Swarthmore Hall, and Margaret Fell would complete the Peace Testimony and deliver it to Charles II in London on behalf of Friends. In 1663, she undertook a 1,000-mile journey throughout England, visiting various Friends meetings accompanied at several points by such Quaker leaders as George Fox and William Caton. By 1664, Margaret Fell had been arrested, tried and convicted of crimes against the Crown for her refusal to take the Oath of Allegiance. She was stripped of her citizenship, and incarcerated at Lancaster Prison. During this, the first of two imprisonments, she wrote six of her most important publications, including *Womens Speaking Justified*.

A year after her release from Lancaster Prison in 1668, Margaret Fell and George Fox were married, though they seldom resided together, given the time either or both spent in jails, on missionary journeys or travel in ministry. Margaret Fell, now Margaret Fox, con-

tinued to organize Friends for mutual support during ensuing periods of persecution. Her work organizing women's meetings and defending the autonomy of those meetings took on greater importance, and as Bonnelyn Young Kunze wrote, "one of Margaret's greatest single accomplishments in her Quaker career was her pivotal work in establishment of separate women's meetings which she commenced shortly after she was released from Lancaster prison."<sup>22</sup> She traveled widely, including eight more trips to London, the last of which took place when she was over 70 years old.

In London, Fell met with King Charles II, just as she later would with James II, to plead the cause of religious freedom for Quakers. Her encounters with kings and other government leaders was one for which she was well suited, for she was from a "great family" in her own right, and had married well. Again, her social location reveals a great deal about the importance of Margaret Fell for the early Society of Friends. She was called into service in part because she was much more likely to gain an audience than were George Fox and others of lesser social rank, and she gladly took up the challenge. This boldness is also reflected in her voluminous correspondence, and in her publications.

To say that Fell was a match for any writer of religious polemic or apology in her day may be faint praise given the tenor of the times, but a review of her published material shows that Margaret Askew Fell Fox was intelligent, well-versed in Scripture, and passionate about her faith.<sup>23</sup> Reading her correspondence likewise reveals that she possessed an iron will, and that she was an independent thinker and a born leader who was not afraid to take command of a situation. Given Margaret Fell's temperament, talent and social standing, it is difficult to envision a situation where she would not emerge as a leader of some sort. Looking at her in the context of the nascent Friends movement, it is hard to imagine that she would not have risen to the forefront of Quaker leadership very rapidly.

Then again, while everything written by her and about her in her own time should be viewed in the context of her contextual social position, this set of factors alone cannot explain the extent of her impact. She also had an impact as a leader, spiritually and personally, among Friends and beyond. Some of the most sober and touching testimony to who Margaret Fell was for Quakers comes from the northerner Thomas Camm, who had known her since his Quaker conviction in 1652.<sup>24</sup> Camm remarks on points we have already

seen in this article, but his unadorned testimony affords telling insight into her character. His observation that Margaret willingly walked “in the narrow way of the cross, choosing much rather to join with, and suffer affliction, and all manner of reproach for Christ’s sake, with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures, treasures and glory of this world, which she had a share of above many,” has been read in various ways. For example, Kunze sees here that Margaret Fell’s social standing did not protect her from the suffering common to the human condition.<sup>25</sup>

At the opposite end of the spectrum, Ross reads this as testimony to Fell’s warmth and hospitality.<sup>26</sup> But when this is read with her social location in mind, Camm’s words may be taken as evidence of what Quakers knew and accepted about Margaret Fell—that she enjoyed greater social rank and prerogative than most, that she willingly and openly identified with the Friends cause, and that this was accepted with approval by Friends generally.<sup>27</sup> Likewise, Camm recalls that this woman was gifted “with qualifications many ways for a considerable service in his church, in which she shined as a morning star.” Here, since the day he penned it in 1706, has been a witness to her significance in the eyes of early Friends.

Finally, Thomas Camm tells us something of Margaret Fell’s funeral following her death in 1702, being present along with many other Quakers. He seems to find it just and noteworthy that there were also persons “of great quality and degree in the world” who attended her farewell. This provides evidence of her lingering social standing despite her decline and imprisonment after the death of Judge Fell. It may also indicate that many Friends, and Camm at the very least, found her status a source of some credit and strength to the Society of Friends generally.

## THE 1660 PEACE TESTIMONY

As we stated at the outset, our analysis of the 1660 Peace Testimony takes place in the context of Margaret Fell’s life. The year 1660 is in many ways a transition between her first and second lives, when Margaret was at the apex of her personal freedom and power. She had been a widow for more than a year and still retained a great deal of social standing. At home in Swarthmore Hall, Margaret Fell was surrounded by the comings and goings of her daughters, servants, and

other members of the Friends community. However, her activities as a Quaker were now much more troubling to her well-heeled neighbors, who found them inappropriate for a widow of her high station. In May of 1660, George Fox, her spiritual mentor and longtime intellectual companion, visited her estate. His visit was cut short when he was arrested there on a pretext, an event that may have been instigated by her gentry neighbors.

Fox was jailed at Lancaster Castle, where he would remain until September. The month after his imprisonment, Margaret Fell traveled to London with her daughter, and there she delivered her Peace Testimony to King Charles II.<sup>28</sup> The importance of this document should not be underestimated. Coming just a month after Charles II returned to England, it was the first published articulation of the Quaker Peace Testimony. This work, which precedes George Fox's *Declaration from the Harmless and Innocent People of God called Quakers, Against All Plotters and Fighters in the World* by a period of six months, is a careful attempt to address popular misconceptions about Friends beliefs and practices that were the grounds for much of their religious persecution. The document was published with names of thirteen other weighty Friends, including George Fox and William Caton.

The names of the thirteen witnesses are followed with an addendum in which Margaret herself forcefully declares, “[a]nd now I am here to answer what can be objected against us on behalf of many thousands...and to give an account of the hope that is in me to everyone who asks according to scripture; [I] who was moved of the Lord...to come two hundred miles to lay these things before you, who to the will of the Lord am committed.”<sup>29</sup> This is Fell in full force, a woman of rank in London to gain audience with the King, ready to defend the cause of Quakers on the basis of Scripture from her own reckoning.

The force of her postscript bears witness that Fell was no passive courier or mouthpiece for someone else's message. As Terry S. Wallace rightly observes, “Margaret's Declaration and Information from the People Called Quakers...reflects her key position among early Friends and her stature as one of the individuals best suited to represent them before, and negotiate with, the government.”<sup>30</sup> This observation underscores the value of integrating Margaret Fell's social location into an analysis of her written work. For our purposes here I would like to briefly note three points of interest. First, the

Peace Testimony was delivered to the newly crowned Charles II by Margaret herself. As we have already noted, Margaret Fell was one of the few Friends who possessed the necessary social connections, along with the requisite skills, to articulate the Quaker position. Second, Fell had been invested with the authority to write and speak on behalf of the people called Quakers. Her authority is witnessed by the thirteen Quaker leaders who “in the unity of the Spirit and members of Christ, do subscribe and witness the truth of this and in behalf of those in the same unity.”<sup>31</sup> Third, the work possesses a consciously calm and rational tone reminiscent of her early letters to Oliver Cromwell. Fell begins by explaining Friends’ religious practices, particularly those that had been used as cause to fine and imprison Quakers under cover of law. Awareness of her social location adds insight here when we recognize that she was married for 26 years to a barrister who often defended Quakers against exactly these types of charges. From these three observations about the Peace Testimony—made in light of her context and social location—we can safely infer that Margaret Fell was a *bona fide* leader in the early Friends movement. She occupied this position by virtue of her own capabilities and skills, her social rank, and her spiritual standing among the Friends leadership overall.

## CONCLUSION

The point of this effort is to make it clear that subtleties of social location are important for any serious reading of early Friends writings, both as an aid in recapturing a more nuanced historical record and as a check against the tendency of committing interpretive violence against the early records themselves. It is also an attempt to demonstrate, through the example of Margaret Fell, ways in which such an informed and nuanced reading can yield further fruit for scholarship. In this paper I have argued that Fell was in fact far too significant a person in her own context not to have exerted a strong influence upon all who took up common cause with her. This contribution must itself be understood in light of her long and close association with George Fox, as he may have had as much to gain from her as she did from him.

From her apologetic and polemic writings, it is obvious that she rapidly became a Quaker thinker in her own right. From the fine work of recent scholars, we know that Fox, Fell, and countless other influ-

ential Friends maintained a close network and went to great lengths to continue epistolary communications across great distances. In this rapidly evolving atmosphere of expectation and unfolding revelation, it is highly implausible that Fell would have contributed to the formation of Quaker thought and practice as anything short of a first-team player. Given the evidence various scholars in this area have produced, Fell deserves in death what her writings did not claim for her in life—a place among the most influential leaders and thinkers of the early Quaker movement.

My own view resonates with Terry S. Wallace, who observed, “Just as it is impossible to think of the rise of the Quakers without thinking of George Fox, it is impossible to envision their growth and success in proclaiming the Everlasting Gospel without Margaret Fell.”<sup>32</sup> In writings such as her 1660 Peace Testimony, we have strong evidence that she was on the leading edge of the Quaker movement. In our own context, using something as simple as her social location allows such documents to become sources of new insight into the growth and development of early Friends beliefs and practices.

As we have seen through the Peace Testimony itself, Margaret Fell was in a unique position to influence others on behalf of the Friends movement. She possessed social status, and earned the trust of George Fox and other weighty Friends. More importantly, perhaps, she possessed the inherent giftedness and confidence to make a difference, and she was willing to put herself on the line in service to the truth. Wherever she went in life, she was a force to be reckoned with. I believe that her relative obscurity is our loss, and I commend to you the words of Thomas Camm, who wrote, “I know and have seen a great deal thereof, as well as her constancy, valor, and undaunted firm zeal for God and Truth, without any shrinking, and so greatly exemplary to others, to her commendation, God’s honor and glory, as ought not to be buried in oblivion, but to be recorded for posterity.”<sup>33</sup>

## NOTES

1. Braithwaite, William C., *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912).
2. Kunze, Bonnelyn Young, *Margaret Fell and the Rise of Quakerism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994).

3. I would like to mention that my own research has likewise been greatly aided by the kindness of Fell aficionado Elsa Glines, who provided me access to her transcripts of the entire corpus of unpublished Fell correspondence. Her future publication of this painstaking research will make a monumental contribution to Fell scholarship.
4. Kunze, 167.
5. As Ruth A. Tucker and Walter L. Liefeld have noted, Fell “was an outstanding apologist for the movement during the early years, and her policy positions became an integral part of Quaker belief.” Ruth A. Tucker and Walter L. Liefeld, *Daughters of the Church: Women and Ministry From New Testament Times to the Present* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1987), 230.
6. As D.J. Latt has observed in his preface to the 1979 reprint of Margaret Fell’s *Womens Speaking Justified*, “[I]t is clear that these years [1640s–1700s] were crucially important in the development of Quaker theology and the organizational structure of the Society. What is often unclear about this period, however, is the extent to which Margaret Fell (1614-1702) and other women Friends participated in these important developments. If that participation were judged on the basis of some modern accounts of early Quaker history and editions of their writing, the conclusion would certainly be that women played a peripheral role in the development of early Quaker theology. Yet that is far from the truth.” *Womens Speaking Justified, Proved, and Allowed by the Scriptures, etc.* [1667], David J. Latt, ed., Augustan Reprint No. 194 (Los Angeles: Clarke Memorial Library, UCLA 1979), iii.
7. An excellent discussion of this may be found in Christine Trevett’s *Women and Quakerism in the 17th Century* (York, England: The Ebor Press, 1991).
8. Mullett, Michael, ed. *New Light on George Fox, 1624-1691* (York, England: The Ebor Press, 1993), 1.
9. Margaret Fell, A General Epistle of Margaret Fell, to Friends, 1655, in *Works*, 71.
10. A well-written and insightful summary of early Quaker views on eschatology may be found in Ben Pink Dandelion, Douglas Gwyn and Timothy Peat, *Heaven on Earth: Quakers and the Second Coming* (Birmingham, England: Woodbrooke College). See in particular Douglas Gwyn’s section on “Early Friends and the Second Coming.”
11. Margaret Fell to Oliver Cromwell, 1655. Spence MSS (Friends House Library: London), 3/90.
12. A good example is found in Thomas Camm’s testimony in M. Fell, *Works*, 4.
13. T.M., *A Brief Account of Thomas Fell, of Swarthmore Hall* (London: Charles Gilpin, 1846).
14. An account of Thomas Fell’s will can be found (among other places) in appendix ten of Isabel Ross’ work, *Margaret Fell: Mother of Quakerism*.
15. Bailey, Richard G. “Research Note on Judge Thomas Fell (1598-1658),” *The Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, 1997.
16. For example, in a 1657 letter to Garrard Robbert she asks them to move quickly on a publication she had written. She wrote, “Let it come forth speedily and let it be sent abroad, before my husband come up to London, lest he light of it an prevent the service of it.” Spence MSS, 3/49.
17. Spence MSS, 135/124.
18. Ross, Isabel. *Margaret Fell: Mother of Quakerism* (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1949), 11-12.
19. Ross, 11.

20. Spence MSS, 134/125.
21. George Fox himself noted in his preface to the *Life of William Caton*, “Judge Fell...stood up nobly for us and the Truth, and our adversaries were confounded; so that he was a wall for God’s people against them.” George Fox, ed. *Life of William Caton* (1689), iv. Cited in Ross, 118.
22. Kunze, 21.
23. Bear in mind Christine Trevett’s observation that seventeenth-century Friends “were not producing great academic or pastoral theology....They concentrated on a small number of things.” 23 Trevett, 51.
24. Thomas Camm in M. Fell, *Works*, 3.
25. Kunze, 191.
26. Ross, 382.
27. Thomas Camm in M. Fell, *Works*, 4.
28. As Terry S. Wallace notes, “[S]he began the arduous journey to London...to foster good will with the new government and to seek a remedy for the persecution of Quakers throughout the nation. She could not foresee that she was entering upon one of the most active and significant decades of her ministry, a decade that would see the initial success of her mission, followed by some of the most distressing persecution of friends.” Wallace, Terry S., *A Sincere and Constant Love: An introduction to the work of Margaret Fell* (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1992), 44.
29. Fell, Peace Testimony, *Works*, 210.
30. Wallace, 44.
31. Fell, *Works*, 211.
32. Wallace, 45.
33. Camm, in Fell, *Works*, 5.