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CHRISTIAN DIALOGUE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

DEAN FREIDAY

AT THE HARTFORD, CT, meeting of the Ecclesiology Study Group of the Faith & Order Commission of the National Council of Churches in the United States, in 1995 Brother Jeffrey Gros, F.S.C., convener, asked if the Quakers would prepare a paper on Spiritual Ecumenism and Visible Unity—the latter in the structural sense.

After some preliminary pondering, dialogue seemed a more appropriate topic, and one that could be documented from early Quaker experience. Not only does dialogue provide the parameter for all discussions of Christian unity, but a look at the seventeenth-century variety could offer some clues as to why there are differences between current ecumenical approaches to ultimate union.

For example, in some talks “altar and pulpit fellowship” is considered the final stage. For others this is only a way station. The World Council of Churches objective, however, has been defined as “eucharistic fellowship.” That phrase appears in both the Constitution of the WCC and the By-Laws of the Faith & Order Commission.¹ These are not the only perspectives on ecumenism, however, that are brought to the study of ecclesiology, whether at the national or international level. They vary widely.

For Quakers, ecumenism generally is seen as an adventure in faith, seeking “such unity as Christ wills, when He wills.” But some denominations with a confessional emphasis can conceive only of a Church union constructed step by step with agreement on each point of doctrine or polity that is at issue. For Roman Catholics a *Directory* spells out not only what is essential, but what belongs to the *adiaphora* (roughly translated, “negotiable”). The *Directory* also includes procedures to be followed all along the way. In the Chicago-Lambeth Quadriateral and subsequent statements, Anglicans have spelled out four requirements for ecclesiastical union. While none of these is negotiable, some of them are capable of elastic definition. The key point, however, “the historic Episcopate,” is inflexibly defined; and it is steadfastly maintained to be the kind that now prevails in the Anglican Communion. That kind and no other will be acceptable.

How did we get to this situation? What insights are offered by an examination of seventeenth-century dialogue? Do the ingredients then provide a basis for some generalized reflection on the nature and content of dialogue that will be applicable to current practice?

HOW SHOULD WE PROCEED?

Several possibilities exist for determining some of the content of the seventeenth-century Quaker dialogues. The most obvious source, at first glance, would seem to be George Fox's 1659 *The Great Mystery*,² but the book is tediously detailed and largely answers only the printed attacks on Quakerism rather than dealing with vocal exchanges. A doctoral-thesis type of analysis would be required if any nuanced interpretation of the book's contents were to be achieved.

Fox's *Journal* has frequent references to face-to-face dialogue, but in most cases lists only the denominations that were represented at the public meetings where the Quaker "case" was presented. Except for some of the dialogues with Roman Catholics, there is little or no guidance on what the subject matter was. In the writings of Penn and Barclay there are some specifics, but the range of their conversations was very limited (largely Anglican or Reformed).

Happily, and by pure coincidence, at the time I began to study the dialogues, I was browsing through William I. Hull, *Benjamin Furly and Quakerism in Rotterdam*.³ This offered just the right information on content and gave the reasons why these Continental face-to-face dialogues were taking place. Some of these talks could be called "practical ecumenism." They were cooperative efforts, for example, to obtain release from imprisonment of both Quakers and those of other denominations. Practical intent not only marked such discussions, but they often gave rise to lobbying efforts as well.

With the concrete help of the two Braithwaite volumes on the history of Quakerism⁴ and the extensive biographical notes by Norman Penney that are appended to the Spence Mss. version of Fox's *Journal*,⁵ it was possible to round out who the people were who were involved. Their relationship to the broad evangelistic thrust that was then taking place in Quakerism also became apparent. A chronology thus seemed the best way to present this variegated information.

A chronology also lends itself to quick scanning. One can see which denominations were involved, or why particular contacts were

made. Other important matters stand out, like the growth of toleration, or the gradual elimination of tithes, and the diminishment of Establishment in general. The strategic Quaker input in these matters, as well as the close cooperation with John Locke (1632-1704), assumed considerable significance.

The era in which Quakerism arose was an “interregnum” in Anglican eyes—the period between the regicide of Charles I (1649) and the “restoration” of royalty, including the reestablishment of episcopacy in 1660. A brief Presbyterian empowerment in the early 1650s had been succeeded by Oliver Cromwell as “Lord Protector” from 1653 to 1658. Cromwell moved into the royal residences, used the royal carriages and other trappings of monarchy. When he died in 1658, the ineffective leadership and near anarchy that followed when his son Richard assumed the role of Protector (1658-59) led to the latter’s ousting and caused the Restoration to be welcomed by many, with high hopes.

Prior to being called to the throne from the Continent, Charles II had declared at Breda that toleration would be granted to all Christians, from Roman Catholics to “Quakers and other enthusiasts.” But he underestimated the opposition he would face, which prevented him from bringing it about. Both Anglicans and Royalists were bent not only on vengeance but on preventing any future displacements of themselves from power.

The so-called “Clarendon Code,” which consisted of four enactments by Parliament between 1662 and 1673, was put into effect.⁶ The result of the first of these Acts became known as “Black Bartholomew,” for it was on St. Bartholomew’s Day, August 24, 1662, that about 1,700 Puritan ministers were ejected from their pulpits. Needless to say, it was a difficult time—not only to dialogue—but even to survive!

While the Code’s Conventicle Act prohibiting non-Anglican religious assemblies of three or more persons caused most dissenters to gather in secret or by subterfuge (usually disguising their worship as social gatherings at the local tavern), Quakers alone persisted in meeting openly. During the Restoration, after a brief respite, the imprisonments that both Catholics and Quakers had suffered under the Puritans multiplied.

SOME COMMON CHARACTERISTICS

In reviewing dialogue as practiced mainly in the time of the British Civil War and the Puritan Revolution, a number of things stand out. For one thing, it is difficult to distinguish dialogue from polemics.⁷ Proselytization is also an unabashed component. Stereotyping, nay, caricaturing, is not only considered legitimate but the more acrimonious the better.

Nonetheless, there were serious attempts to clarify matters that were at issue between the denominations. Agreement with Scripture was the generally-recognized norm applied in judging the correctness of doctrine. And, beneath all the belligerence at the superficial level, drives toward both toleration and Church union were gradually emerging.⁸

In denominational terms, the greatest number of these exchanges in the latter half of the seventeenth century was between Roman Catholics and Quakers. Eight Quaker-Catholic dialogues were mentioned in Fox's *Journal*, and topical outlines are given for a number of them.⁹ The most detailed account, however, is found in the Sarah Cheevers and Katharine Evans account of their three-and-a-half-year imprisonment at Malta by the Inquisition. It is included in the recently-published compendium of Quaker women's writings from 1650 to 1700.¹⁰ Fox's detail that he gives on the Catholic discussions is quite a contrast to his merely mentioning which Protestant churches were represented in the others. And yet, together, the sum total of the latter dialogues is just over twenty, compared with the eight Catholic ones.

THE CATHOLIC DIALOGUES

In 1655, the year the chronology marks the first dialogue by a Quaker, George Bayly (-c.1657) in a Roman Catholic country, Samuel Fisher and John Stubbs are said to have "conversed with some of the cardinals" in Rome and to have "spread books among the friars." They then returned to England unharmed (I: 228-229).¹¹ In 1656, Christopher Birkhead, a shipwright and mariner of Bristol, followed, "but none were convinced." (Br I:409, 577; Sp II: 481)

A 1658 dialogue with a Jesuit by Nicholas Bond, Edward Burrough, and George Fox is described in some detail, with questions

raised such as these: Was the Church of Rome still observing the same life, doctrine, and power of the Spirit as in primitive times? What was the scriptural basis for cloisters, abbeys, and monasteries; for “praying by beads and to images”; and “putting people to death for religion”(I: 427-431)?

The questions addressed to other Catholics and Jesuits in 1661 were similar: Had the Church degenerated “from the Spirit, power, and practice of the Apostles’ times”? If so, wasn’t it “presumptive...to make people believe they had succeeded the Apostles,” when their “fruits and practices were so different” (I: 515-516)? In 1665, the topics were: papal infallibility, whether Christ had descended into hell before he ascended, and the universal availability of salvation (II: 59-61). In 1669, the role of the bread and wine was the topic, and it was addressed by the Quakers in not-too-irenic terms (II:108).

Yet amidst some of the charged words used in 1665, and terms such as “degeneracy” and “superstition” used at other times, there was genuine respect for much Catholic teaching. It was admitted by Samuel Fisher (1605-1665) that “our doctrine of the universal grace and genuine love of God to all mankind, in giving Christ intentionally to be a Saviour to all...perhaps is assented to as Truth by the Papists....But what if the Romish clergy do hold such a general grace of God?... We take neither it nor aught else to be Truth by tradition from the Papists...but as ourselves have received it from the mouth of God. Must we “reject Truth itself,” Fisher asks, “if their church once held it?”¹²

In a non-Catholic dialogue, Fox asserts (*Wks* 3: 191): “The Quakers are neither of you...nor of the pope; but they are of the Apostles’ stock, and of Abraham, and of Christ; before the pope was...or you were, and so they [were] with the Spirit of God.” Fox’s somewhat droll sense of humor shows up in his very first Catholic dialogue (1651). He says he was overtaken by a Catholic near York “who talked to me of his religion...and I let him speak all that was in his mind.” But after sleeping on it, Fox went to the man’s house the next morning and “declared against his religion, and all their superstitious ways; and told him that God was come to teach his people himself.” This, Fox said, “put the man in such a rage” that he could not “endure to stay in his own house.” (I:84)

Nevertheless, the seriousness with which Roman Catholics regarded Quaker beliefs was surpassed only by the way in which they

interceded on their behalf. Fox mentions the “archbishop or cardinal” who personally visited the Quakers imprisoned in Dantzic in 1677 (II: 287). Fox himself visited the priest, Lord d’Aubigny, who was almoner to the Queen Mother, twice to ask him to intercede for the two Quaker women imprisoned on Malta for over three years by the Inquisition. Fox also “had much reasoning about religion” with “this great man,” and the visits did indeed lead to their release (I:524-526). There was only one other imprisonment by the Inquisition, that in Rome, and the man was declared (probably rightly) to be unstable.

On the other hand, efforts by George Fox to persuade Oliver Cromwell to afford religious liberty to all dissenters were unsuccessful. Even in minimal form, tolerance was still 40 years away. Neither was the time ready for accepting religious experience as a legitimate source of divine knowledge (although it was beginning to be esteemed in other forms of *The Religion of the Heart*, as Ted A. Campbell’s book has pointed out).¹³

Even though imprisonments were on an undreamed-of scale, and nearly 500 Quakers died in prison because of the awful sanitary conditions, physical abuse and torture had become *almost* extinct. Memory was still alive of the 300 “heretics” burnt to death at Smithfield in London during Mary Tudor’s time (1553-1558) and “the steadfastness of the condemned [had] greatly served the cause of Protestantism.”

Anglican martyrologist John Foxe (1516-1587) published “a book of martyrs” in Latin in 1554, recounting persecution in all periods of Christian history. An expanded English edition in 1563, “episcopally approved and publicized,” went through four editions in Foxe’s life, and is still in print. It was a major contributor to the further persistence of anti-Catholicism (O.D.C.C.).

There was shock, nevertheless, not only at the 1649 execution of Charles I in England, but also at the earlier torturing and hanging of the Jesuit priest John Ogilvie (c.1579-1615), the singular execution of the period in Scotland.¹⁴ Such incidents eventually led to modified penalties for the propagation of “non-Established” faith. Nonetheless, anti-Catholicism persisted in Scotland for roughly another hundred years. In Ireland, Olive Plunket (1629-1681), Archbishop of Armagh, was among the many clergy who were executed for their faith.¹⁵

In Scotland, banishment became the more common treatment of discovered priests, although imprisonment of both Catholics and Quakers continued well into the early eighteenth century, in spite of its diminution in England by the late seventeenth century. The eventual attainment of equality under the law for all Christians was hard won in both England and Scotland, and, of course, is still not settled in Northern Ireland.

“Establishment”—i.e., support for the officially-recognized church by tithes and legal preferment—curiously ended in Ireland before it did in England,¹⁶ although most of the ancient church buildings and monasteries remained in Anglican (Church of Ireland) hands. The granting of degrees to non-Anglican students resumed only in 1871 at Oxford and Cambridge. Most professorships were opened to non-Anglicans more recently. But it was not until 1935 that Congregationalist New Testament scholar C.H. Dodd became “the first non-Anglican to hold a chair of divinity (at Cambridge) since 1660.”¹⁷

Quakers never hesitated to point out the inconsistency of punishing or killing others for religion. A whole battery of lobbyists, from Fox and his wife Margaret Fell Fox, to William Penn, Robert Barclay, and others, kept pressing kings and parliaments for reform. The close friendship of John Locke (1632-1704) and Benjamin Furly, the Quaker who served as Locke’s commercial agent in The Netherlands, has received little attention. The chronology, however, suggests close interaction.

Elsewhere, mention of a Quaker connection with the philosopher was probably limited to a list of nineteen “famous members” of Christ Church College, Oxford, which includes Gladstone and “Lewis Carroll” among others. Only two who were evicted are named: “William Penn (‘sent down’ for nonconformity, 1661)” and “John Locke (‘sent down’ for sedition, 1684).”¹⁸

Perhaps this rough overview of the ethos in which dialogue was taking place will help give added meaning to the appended chronology. To further facilitate reference to the chronology, key dates or topics as well as denominations have been bold-faced. Where the topics are important or part of publication titles, capitalization has been introduced artificially so they will stand out.

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CHRONOLOGY:

- 1642 John Durie (1596-1680), a Scots Presbyterian, argues for toleration. Being exiled with his father at age 10 had made him an ardent advocate of “ecclesiastical pacification” between Anglicans and Presbyterians. To further that “pacification” he accepted ordination in the Church of England in 1634. He traveled widely in Europe for this purpose, gradually becoming the “advocate of toleration for all sects, by means of church unity.”¹⁹
- 1647 George Fox (1624-1691) began to preach.
- 1652 The accepted official beginning of the Quaker movement.
- 1653 Fox issues *A Warning to the Rulers Not to Usurp Dominion over the Conscience*.²⁰
- 1654/5 Fox’s first **interview with Oliver Cromwell regarding toleration**. He had a second in 1656, and a third and fourth in 1658 (to little avail).
- 1655 Quaker [hereafter simply Q.] George Bayly (-c.1657), a London shopkeeper, made the **first visit by a Q. to a European Roman Catholic Country** (Cadbury note in Br I. 577).
- 1655 John Stubbs (c.1618-1674) and William Caton (1636-1665) preached in Calais, France, and were unharmed (Hull IV: 100-101).
- 1655 Mary Fisher (c.1623-1698) and Anne Austin (-1665) **were the first Q. mission to America**. After “publishing Truth” in Barbados, they embarked for Boston, where they were not allowed to land until their luggage was searched and their Q. literature removed and burnt. Then, “after removal to Boston Gaol, they were stripped naked and examined for marks of witchcraft.” Then the ship that had brought them to Boston “was compelled to take them back to Barbados.” From there they soon returned to England (Br I:402. Sp II:479).
- 1655 This year also saw Oliver Cromwell’s national “day of humiliation” for the Vaudois massacre of the Waldensians. It was accompanied by a house-to-house collection for their relief (Br I: 416).

- 1656 Christopher Birkhead evangelizes Continental Catholics, “but none were convinced” [see also 1657] (Br I:577. Hull IV:178f. Sp II:336, 481).
- 1656 Jane Wilkinson, about whom little is known, **was the first Q. to reach Holland** (Br I:576).
- 1656 Mary Fisher and Anne Austin reached Boston a second time and were expelled along with eight Friends who had arrived directly from London about the same time (Br I:402).
- 1656 Quaker meetings began in Rotterdam and Amsterdam (Hull V:203).
- 1656 Jews, expelled from England for over a century, were allowed to return (Br I:427n).c. 1656. Isaac Furnier, “a passionate and giddy-headed man” whom the Q’s would not claim, even though he translated for them, left them at last and became a Roman Catholic (Hull V:185-186n) (“Br I:408”).
- 1657 **A general collection for Quaker missions began** (Br I: 403).
- 1657 George Robinson is known only for his adventurous journey to Jerusalem, which culminated in a sentence to be “burnt to death with camel dung” for having profaned a mosque by entering as a non-Moslem (Br I:419-420) (Sp II: 481).
- 1657 Robert Harwood and George Bayly [cf. 1655] were **imprisoned in the Bastille** for proselytizing and preaching in English. Bayly died there (Br I:416-417).
- 1657 Mary Fisher [cf. 1655] Mary Prince, Beatrice Beckly, John Perrot, John Luffe [or LOVE] (-1658), and John Buckley set out together for Turkey. One by one they dropped off, because of transportation or other problems, until only Mary Fisher persisted. A serving maid of about 35, she somehow made the final 600 miles alone (possibly on foot). Sultan Mohammed IV, a young man of 17, received word that a lone Englishwoman had come near his camp at Adrianople “with a message from the great God to the Sultan.” He caused her “to be received with state ceremony” and bid her speak without fear. She spoke through an interpreter, and when she had finished, Sultan Mohammed “invited her to stay in the country, saying that they felt respect for one who had come so far with a message to them from God.” He also

offered her an escort to Constantinople, which she declined. The Turks “asked her what she thought of their prophet Mohammed.” She answered warily that she “knew him not” but if his predictions came true, he was a true prophet. “Christ, who was the Light of the world, and enlightened every man coming into the world, Him she knew.” She “having performed her message...returned safe to England.” Apparently she was given a gift of silver slippers, still among her possessions when she died. Hence, there is a favorite Q. children’s story, “Silver Slippers” (Br I:420-424).

- 1657 Fox begins to give shape to what have come to be called “Testimonies,” starting with tithes, bowings and scrapings, “good morrows,” and “good evens.”
- 1657 Fox writes a catechism for children.
- 1657 After Bayly died of illness in the Bastille, Harwood was released. He returned to England and got into a dialogue with the Muggletonians (Br I:417). Lodowick Muggleton (1609-1698) founded the Muggletonians, some of whom survived in small groups that lasted into the 19th century.
- 1658 Dialogue with a Jesuit by Nicholas bond, Edward Burrough, and G. Fox (cf. text).
- 1658 Massachusetts, by the narrowest of margins, passes a new act “against the ‘cursed sect’ of Quakers, under which **they could be banished upon pain of death if they returned.**” Marmaduke Stevenson and William Robinson of London, and Mary Dyer of Rhode Island were **apprehended, the two men hanged, Mary Dyer reprieved.** That was in 1659 (Br I:404).
- 1659 **Mary Dyer returns to Boston, is hanged on Boston Common** (Br I:404).
- 1660 Charles II was restored to the throne vacated by the regicide of Charles I. Prior to being recalled from the Continent, he issued a Declaration at Breda that toleration would be given to Roman Catholics “as well as Quakers and other enthusiasts.” A pejorative term of Latin derivation, enthusiasm originally meant “possession by a god, supernatural inspiration, prophetic or poetic frenzy.” [O.E.D.] From Luther onward it had subjective overtones. By the seventeenth century it was

applied to everyone from Q's to Anabaptists, even Catholic Quietists. But in spite of this history of malicious misuse of the term, Mgr. Ronald Knox (1847—1937) added to the tradition of using it as a term of ridicule. In addition to a very good modern English version of the NT (one of the earliest), Knox wrote at least two murder mysteries: *The Viaduct Murder* (1925) and *The Body in the Silo* (1933). His crowning literary achievement, however, was his book *Enthusiasm*, republished as recently as 1950. Although it pretends to great scholarship, it is in reality a grab-bag in which Knox lumps all his dislikes as “enthusiasm.”

- 1660 George Fox declared on peace and nonviolence:
- That Spirit of Christ by which we are guided, is not changeable, so as once to command us from a thing as evil and again to move unto it...We testify to the (whole) world that the Spirit of Christ, **which leads us into all Truth**, will never move us to fight and war against any man with outward weapons, neither for the Kingdom of Christ nor for all the kingdoms of this world...
- 1661 After the Fifth Monarchy men's uprising in England, Q's (later exonerated) were arrested in a nationwide sweep, with 4,230 imprisoned within two weeks. (Br I:479, 512) (Sp I:468)
- 1661 William Leddra was the **4th and final Boston martyr**.
- 1661 Fox writes *To All that Profess Christianity*. It was also the year of his remarkably broad Declaration on universal liberty of religion (including “**animists**”):
- As touching religion...there [should] be universal liberty...let him be Jew, or Papist, or Turk, or Heathen or Protestant of what sort so ever, or such as worship sun or moon or stocks [= idols] or stones, let them have liberty...to speak forth...[their] mind and judgment...and let none be persecuted.²¹
- 1661 Dialogue with Catholics and Jesuits (see text for content).
- 1661 Q's in Holland were denounced by the collegians (Hull V:11, 36).
- 1662 Toleration was far from the case in Restoration England. The vicious repression under the “Clarendon Code” is detailed in the text.

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- 1662 Fox calls for *All People in Christendom to Answer the Christian Witness in Christian Denominations*.
- 1662 **A Catholic priest, Lord d'Aubigny, who served the Queen Mother, Henrietta Maria, as Lord Almoner, obtained the release of the two women, Katharine Evans (- 1692) and Sarah Cheevers, who had been held prisoners of the Inquisition on Malta for 3½ years, although they were not mistreated.** After their release, when the women called on Lord d'Aubigny to thank him, his reply was: "... all that I shall desire of you is that when you pray to God, you will remember me in your prayers." (Br I:431-432)
- 1663 Elizabeth Hooton (c. 1600-1671/2), probably "the first person to **accept and preach the views promulgated by Fox,**" went to Massachusetts Bay "to buy a house in which to live." She was the first Friend to come to Cambridge, which she described as "a cage of unclean birds" (Rev 18:2). She was arrested, tried before the magistrates, imprisoned, and twice whipped and driven out.²²
- 1664 Bubonic Plague in **Amsterdam**.
- 1664 Q. John Coughen pleads for *all Christians to concentrate in one common faith* (Hull V:23).
- 1665 Several groups of Catholics were allowed to "discourse" with Fox while imprisoned in Scarborough Castle, although "they would not let Friends come to me." (II:59-61)
- 1666 Q. view of sacraments attacked by a Dutch reformed pastor (Hull V:33).
- 1666 Fox and Ellis Hookes (c. 1630-1681) collaborate on an *Epistle to all people on the whole earth*. Beginning in 1653, Hookes became the **first salaried employee of early Friends**, serving as secretary.
- 1669 The role of the bread and wine was discussed in a Roman Catholic dialogue (II:108-109).
- 1670 William Penn and Thomas Rudyard, a lawyer who became one of the Proprietors of East New Jersey, and who migrated there and became Deputy Governor in 1682, collaborated in efforts to convert the Labadists. The Labadists had been founded by Jean de la Badie (1610-1674), a Roman Catholic priest who "embraced Protestantism about 1650."

After spreading in Europe, the Labadists made settlements in Maryland and New York. They were extinct by 1730 (Douglas: 575).

- 1671-3 Fox's extensive travels, mostly on foot through the wilderness, to the British Colonies in North America.
- 1673 Fox's *Epistle to Christians, Jews, and Turks*.
- 1674 William Penn's *A Rebuke to Twenty-One Learned and Reverend Divines*.
- 1674 Penn's *The Christian Quaker*.
- 1675 Penn's *Truth Exalted* (published in English in 1668) translated into Dutch.
- 1676 Robert Barclay (1648-1690) publishes the *Apology in Latin* (English 1678—his own translation). The *Apology* has been translated into a dozen or more languages and remains the basic and best Q. systematic theology. Barclay was educated at the **Roman Catholic Scots College (Paris)**, where his uncle of the same name, a diocesan priest, was Rector. The College basically trained priests for the mission to Scotland for sustaining and renewing Catholicism there.
- 1676 Francis M. van Belmont (-1699), a Roman Catholic intellectual becomes a Q. (Hull V:105-123).
- 1677 Penn's *Concerning Justification*.
- 1677 Penn travels in Europe on behalf of Friends (notably in Holland and Germany).
- 1678 Lady Conway (Speaker Finch's daughter), an **Anglican**, becomes a Q. Her father's assessment: "she joined the most melancholy sect that ever was." (Hull V:107ff)
- 1678 **"The Popish Plot" in England.**
- 1679 T.L. Kohlhans and his brother become "good Lutherans Quakerized." (Hull V:123-125, "125")
- 1681 Pierre Bayle (1647-1706), a French Huguenot, later to become author of an encyclopedic dictionary, wrote advocating "universal toleration and a conciliatory attitude toward the French government." Ironically, he was writing just before the Edict of Nantes was revoked (1685; Hull V:129-130; O.D.C.C.).

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- 1682 George Fox's *Concerning Persecution in all Ages*.
- 1682 Fox's *Answer to the Great Turk the sultan [sic] mahomet*.
- 1683-9 The years that John Locke (1632-1704) was in Holland, where he was closely associated with Rotterdam Quaker Benjamin Furly (Hull V:82-100).
- 1684 Elizabeth Hendricks and Judith Zinspenning, Dutch Q's, published the *Light of Christ, the Guide to Salvation* (Hull V:150).
- 1686 William Penn's *Persuasive to Moderation*.
- 1686 "The Literary Society" was founded in Amsterdam by Locke and Limborch. Jean le Clerc (1657-1736), a remonstrant (follower of Arminius), was also a member. This group was preceded by "The Lantern," named for the *Camera obscura*, which Benjamin Furly had installed in his home, where they met and discussed the emerging empirical sciences, social science, and literary matters (Hull V:77, 87 and other loci). Similar gatherings of the seventeenth-century intelligentsia began with the founding in England of **The Royal Society, composed largely of Anglican clergy**, whose interests included science in particular. The first woman to be admitted to this august body (not until after World War II) was Kathleen Lonsdale, a Q. crystallographer and physicist.
- 1686 Q. Richard Richardson (c. 1623-1689), the salaried clerk of a number of Q. committees, informed the one in charge of raising "large sums of money to free from slavery" the Q's who had been captured by the Barbary pirates, that this exclusively Q.-directed effort had brought the comment from other Christians that "Friends were that charitable only to their own." (Sp II:498)
- 1686 John Locke orders a book on the Catholic quietists for Benjamin Furly, (Hull V:140), whose library, auctioned after his death, contained 4,400 volumes (over 100 by Q's). It was a sizable private collection for that period (Hull: V:137-155).
- 1687 Penn publishes *Beati Pacifici: Good Advice to the Church of England, Roman Catholic, and Protestant Dissenters*.
- 1688 Furly intervenes on behalf of Locke Floris, an imprisoned Mennonite (Hull V:95).

- 1689 Edward, Bishop of Cork and Ross (Anglican?) says of the Quakers: “I look upon many of you as an harmless, well-meaning people, but under very strong delusions.” (Penn Works III:535)
- 1689 1st of John Locke’s *Letters concerning toleration*.
- 1690 2nd of Locke’s *Letters concerning toleration*.
- 1690 Philip Jakob Spener (1635-1705), founder of German pietism, charges that “Quakers do not instruct their youth,” and van Belmont picks up the gauntlet (Hull V:116).
- 1690/1 George Fox, “father in the faith” for the Q’s, dies leaving a huge literary legacy. In addition to nine volumes of collected works, there are literally hundreds of pamphlets and other separate pieces that were not included. There were also 24 Dutch titles, which were apparently never translated into English (although Fox must have written them in English and then had them translated).
- 1692 3rd of Locke’s *Letters concerning toleration*.
- 1697 Two of the books in Furley’s library were by Jane Leade (1623-1674), a **founder of the Philadelphians**, a British “society” that lasted into the late twentieth century. Jane Leade was also active with John Durie [cf. 1664] “in promoting church unity.” (Hull V:149)
- 1698 **Regarding the sacraments: “we judge not those that conscientiously practice them.”** This was at least a semiofficial Quaker statement adopted at Dublin, 4th of 3rd Month, over group signatories (Penn Works III:530).

NOTES

1. Article III. Functions and Purposes, states: The World Council of Churches is constituted for the following functions and purposes: 1) to call the churches to the goal of visible unity in one faith and in one eucharistic fellowship expressed in worship and in common life in Christ, and to advance toward that unity in order that the world may believe; ...
The By-Laws of the Faith & Order Commission state: 2) Aim and functions. *The Aim* of the Commission is to proclaim the oneness of the church of Jesus Christ and to call the churches to the goal of visible unity in one faith and one eucharistic fellowship, expressed in worship and in common life in Christ, in order that the world may believe.
2. *The Great Mystery of the Great Whore Unfolded; and Antichrist’s Kingdom Revealed unto Destruction. In answer to many false doctrines and principles... held forth... against the despised people of the Lord, called Quakers...* (London: 1659; Philadelphia: 1831 edition).
3. No. 5 of a series of 10 Swarthmore College monographs, all by Hull, and all but one on early Dutch Quakerism (1941) xvi + 314 pages.

4. Wm. C. Braithwaite. *The Beginnings of Quakerism* [up to 1660] (Cambridge: University Press, 1961) 2nd ed. rev. by Henry J. Cadbury, xxviii + 607 pages; and to a lesser extent the same author's and reviser's *The Second Period of Quakerism*, same date, place, and publisher, xxviii + 606 pages.
5. *The Journal of George Fox* ed. from the [Spence] Mss. by Norman Penny, reprinted 1973 by New York: Octagon Books, from the 1911 ed. published by the Cambridge University Press; in two volumes: Vol. I xiii + 470 pages; Vol. II, 530 pages.
6. Tithe collection had been enforced by law since A.D. 900, according to the *Encyc. Brit.* 14th ed. In England the state tax on certain lands, the last remnant of the tithes, was to disappear by 1996 [sic!]. The four acts of the Clarendon Code were: 1) The Conventicle Act (1664), which prohibited non-Anglican religious gatherings of three or more. 2) The Five Mile Act (1665), which prohibited non-conformist ministers from preaching, teaching, or coming within five miles of their former parishes. 3) The Test Act (1673), in force until 1829, which required among other things that all office holders were to receive "the sacrament of the Eucharist according to the usage of the Church of England." 4) The Act of Uniformity (1662), which reintroduced the Book of Common Prayer, and required all clergy to be episcopally ordained.
7. Interestingly, a recent revision of the Dewey Decimal System for classifying books assigns class 239 to both "apologetics" and "polemics."
8. The Council of Florence (1438-1441), for example, failed in its attempt to reunite Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Christians. Philip Melancthon (1497-1560) was the person mainly responsible for the Augsburg Confession of 1530, which was ironically aimed at "restoring peace and unity" between Catholics and Lutherans. Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), an Armenian theologian and the "father of International Law," whose name appears on the United States Supreme Court Building, was also an advocate of Protestant-Catholic unification. Although none of these attempts succeeded, they indicated an undercurrent of movement toward closer relationships.
9. The page numbers for the 8th Bicentenary edition of the *Journal* (1902) are, for Vol. I: 84(1651), 229 (1655), 427-431 (1658), 515-516 (1661); and for Vol. 2: 59-61 (1665), 100-102 (1668), 108 (1669), 183 (1672). For topics see "The Quaker Dialogues" portion of the text.
10. On pp. 171-209 of *Hidden in Plain Sight: Quaker Women's Writings, 1650-1700*, ed. by Mary Garman, Judith Applegate, Margaret Benefiel, Dortha Meredith, with Foreword by Rosemary Radford Ruether (Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill, 1996) xix + 540 pages.
11. Parenthetical notes without identifying letters refer to the Bi-Centenary edition of Fox's *Journal* (cf. note #9 above). Other works referred to parenthetically are:
Br = the Braithwaite Vols. (cf. note #4).
Douglas = *The New Intl. Dict. of the Christian Church* (cf. note #17).
Hull = The Swarthmore Volumes by William I. Hull (cf. note # 3).
Vol. IV = *The Rise of Quakerism in Amsterdam 1655-1665* (1938) xii + 346 pp.
Vol. V = *Benjamin Furlly and Quakerism in Rotterdam* (1941) xvii + 314 pp.
O.D.C.C. = *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. by F.L. Cross; 2nd ed. ed. by F.L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone (London: Oxford) xxxi + 1519 pp.
O.E.D. = *The Oxford English Dictionary... on Historical Principles*, ed. by James A. H. Murray, et. al. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1933) 12 Vols. + suppl. vol. with biblio.
Penn Wks = *The Select Works of William Penn* in 3 Vols., 4th ed. (London: Phillips, 1825): Vol. I, 603 pp; Vol. II, 596 pp; Vol. III, 620 pp.
Sp + Norman Penney's biographical notes appended to *The Journal of George Fox*, ed. from the [Spence] mss. (New York: Octagon Books, 1973) [1st publ. in 1911 by Cambridge Univ. Press] 2 Vols.: v. I, xliii + 470 pp; v. II, v + 530 pp.
12. Samuel Fisher, *Rusticos ad Academicos: The Rustick's Alarm to the Rabbis: or, The Country Correcting the University and Clergy* (London: Robert Wilson, 1660) p. 131.

13. Ted A. Campbell, *The Religion of the Heart: A Study of European Religious Life in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Columbia SC: Univ. of So. Carolina Press, 1991) x + 218pp.
14. Thomas Collins, *Martyr in Scotland: The Life and Times of John Ogilvie* (London: Burns & Oates, 1955). The dust jacket refers to him as “the only Catholic to suffer judicial execution for his faith during the Reformation in Scotland.”
15. Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., *Cromwell in Ireland: A History of Cromwell’s Irish Campaign* (Dublin: M.H. Gill & Son, 2nd ed. 1883) is a well-documented account, siege by siege.
16. Curiously, while Establishment survived in England until the 20th century, the [Anglican] Church of Ireland was disestablished in 1869-70, although Ireland was still under British rule (O.D.C.C.).
17. *The New Intl. Dict. of the Christian Church*, general editor, J. D. Douglas (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1978) s.v. Dodd.
18. *The Blue Guides: England* ed. Muirhead and Rossiter, 7th ed. (London: Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1965) lxx + 665 pages, here pp. 250-251.
19. See Douglas (op. cit. in note #17), p. 31. See also *A History of the Ecumenical Movement, 1517-1948* ed. by Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill, 2nd ed. with revised bibliography (London: S.P.C.K., 1967) xxv + 838 pp, s.v. “Dury” [sic].
 Furly not only had a volume by Durie in his library, but brought Penn and Barclay into touch with Durie (Hull V:149).
20. Unless otherwise noted, all titles and dates for Quaker publications (which I have often abbreviated or epitomized) are taken from Q. Joseph Smith, *A Catalogue of Friends’ Books...* in 2 Vols. (London: Joseph Smith, 1867) 1,027 and 984 pp.
21. George Fox, “Doctrinals,” [full title: *Gospel-Truth Demonstrated in a Collection of Doctrinal Books...* (London: T. Sowle, 1706)], in the essay “Truth’s Triumph in the Eternal Power...” (1661), p. 234.
22. The location of the quotes has been lost, but Mabel Richmond Brailsford *Quaker Women, 1650-1690* (London: Duckworth, 1915) has an entire chapter on Elizabeth Hooton.