QUAKER STUDIES 9/1 (2004) [5-16]
ISSN 1363-013X

Seventeenth century published Quaker verse

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Abstract

Early Quakers disapproved of most aspects of popular culture, and before 1661 they published very little verse. During the 1660s some thirty Quaker authors published verse, addressed both to Quakers and to the public. The impetus behind this surge of verse publication was probably the appearance during 1660 and 1661 of a number of papers by John Perrot, a Quaker preacher who had been arrested in Italy and imprisoned by the Inquisition. His writings, which were brought to England, included a considerable amount of poetry. Perrot was released in 1661 and returned to England, fêted by many Quakers as a near martyr. It is likely that his example encouraged others to publish their efforts at verse-making. The Quaker leadership considered Perrot a disruptive influence, and for several years there was a serious dispute, publicly conducted, within the Quaker movement. This would account for the timing of much of the published Quaker verse, and the fact that the authors included Quakers on both sides of the dispute. Most of it was published in 1662 - 63, before the breach between Perrot and the leadership seemed irretrievable. The outpouring of verse publication diminished towards the end of the decade, and during the rest of the century not much Quaker verse was published.

Keywords

verse, poetry, poem, Quaker, Perrot, Ellwood, testimony.

The early Quakers disapproved of many aspects of their contemporary popular culture, whether sports, games, music or theatre. No portraits were painted of the first Quakers, and they were expected to dress plainly and to avoid drunkenness and any form of conviviality, including conversation for pleasure. Poetry was not proscribed, but before 1660 there was practically no Quaker verse printed, although a good deal of popular religious verse was being published around this time.[1] In the course of a long-term study of the development of Quaker ideas as expressed in their pamphlet literature up to 1666, it was noticeable that there was a sudden explosion of verse in their publications of the early

1660s.[2] This paper looks again at this verse, little of which deserves the title 'poetry', considers reasons for its sudden appearance, and attempts a preliminary enquiry regarding the incidence of verse-writing by Quakers during the rest of the seventeenth century.[3]

Proclamations of the Quaker message, Quakers believed, were directly given them by the Lord, and were usually delivered in the style of the Old Testament, which might have a certain poetic style but would not usually consist of rhymed and scanned verse, which requires polishing.[4] Most of the rest of early Quaker writing consisted of disputations with theological opponents, or accounts of brushes with the law, or legal arguments concerning the application of the law to Quakers, which are not well suited for delivering in verse. A further reason for the lack of Quaker verse during the 1650s could be that Quakers did not wish to be associated in the public mind with those radicals who did use verse in their writings, notably Anna Trapnel.

So far it has been possible to find only one noteworthy Quaker poem published before 1660, and that is by Edward Burrough, forming part of his introduction to George Fox's *The Great Mistery of the Great Whore*, and dated November 1658. It consists of forty-four lines of apocalyptic prophecy, introduced by the words: 'This I have seen from the Lord, and received it from him, and thus it came upon me to write.'[5] Otherwise there is very little. There is a doggerel verse in *The Ancient of Days is here* by 'JG' and a short poem in Susanna Batemans' *It matters not how I appear to man*.[6] A few bilingual Latin/English trifles by Samuel Fisher may have been written some time in advance of their use in a pamphlet dated 1660.[7] A short piece of doggerel appears on the title page of Richard Farnworth's *Discovery of Truth and Falsehood*, 'Written by one whom the world calls a Quaker, but is of the divine nature made partaker', and something similar follows the title in Martha Simmons' *O England thy time is come*. There may be a few more such examples.[8] There are reports of singing in some Quaker Meetings, but it is not known if Quakers ever sang their own verses. It is probable that other verse by Quakers was circulating privately during the 1650s, for a number of undated manuscript poems have survived, and several of the collected works of Quakers contain poems not published during their lifetime.[9]

The mental obstacle facing Quaker poets was expressed by Humphrey Smith, Quaker poet, musician and martyr:

> As I was walking alone in my prison at Winchester…these lines began to run gently through me, with melody in my heart to the Lord…it…came so easy and so fast as I could well write…yet would I not have it looked upon to be…a pattern nor example for others to run into the like, for since I came into the life and obedience of truth, I durst not write anything in verse until this time.[10]

This was written in 1662, by which time the Quaker attitude to verse and its publication was changing. In 1660 and 1661 there were several poems among

the Quaker publications, and in 1662 at least fifteen out of some ninety Quaker pamphlets included verse. Eleven instances were found in 1663 and five in 1664, after which there were only a few. During the period 1662 - 66, when my detailed study of the Quaker pamphlet literature ended, some thirty Quaker authors published verses. Generally, the verse was included in collections of short papers, sometimes appearing almost as a space-filling afterthought, sometimes interwoven with the prose passages. A few poems were issued as little poetry books.

The only obvious factor linking these Quaker poets is that most of them came from the second wave of Quakers, people from the southern half of England who joined with Quakers during the period of expansion in 1654 - 58. The chief exceptions were Edward Burrough and Ambrose Rigg. Rigg was a schoolmaster from Cumbria who settled in Sussex and was better educated than the majority of the first Quakers from the North. Most of the versifiers had previously published a few pamphlets, and several were prolific authors.[11] At least six were women, which is perhaps a little more than one might expect, given that in the period 1654 - 66 the proportion of Quaker authors who were women is around 13.5 per cent.[12] However, the numbers are too small to be statistically significant.

Phyllis Mack noted that all the major Quaker women authors, except for Margaret Fell, came from the south, and she related this to their more cultivated environment.[13] It is probable that this environment, where the writing of verse for private circulation among family and friends was an established practice, was also a cause of Quaker southerners, men or women, being the Quakers who wrote poetry.[14] Another factor may have been the intense persecution of Quakers in the early 1660s, which could have given extra inspiration to those Quakers who had the capability to express themselves in verse. However, this is insufficient explanation for the pattern of published verse, the outpouring in 1662 and the tailing-off over a period of several years.

The most likely impetus was the publication during 1660 and 1661 of a number of papers by John Perrot. Perrot was Irish, a former Baptist who became a talented Quaker preacher.[15] Together with several others he set out in 1657 on a missionary journey through Europe, and was arrested in Italy and imprisoned by the Inquisition in the Prison for Madmen in Rome. Chained and frequently beaten in prison, he nevertheless had opportunities to write, and some of this writing shows the effect of extreme stress amounting to mental disturbance. Several pamphlets that he had written in prison were brought to England in 1660 and 1661 and published, and among them were a number of poems and one complete book of verse called *A Sea of the Seed's Sufferings*. [16]

A Sea of the Seed's Sufferings is a cycle of short poems in different verse-forms, altogether nearly fifteen hundred lines, describing in allegorical terms the author's spiritual journey and sufferings, and the nature of his faith. 'Seed' is a common Quaker image, derived both from the parable of the seed and from the idea of the holy seed of Israel (i.e. the Quakers), but in Perrot's poetry it also means himself or his experiences. This is the beginning of *A Sea of the Seed's*

Sufferings, written in the Prison for Madmen in Rome in 1659:

> I am a worm poor and low, which in the Earth doth creep,
> Hid as the tender Plant with Snow, in time of winter deep.
> So saith the Seed, grievous Oppressions long have bin
> My weighty burthens: ages spreading clouds of sin
> Have wrapt me up, and roul'd me under trouble;
> I stand the same, they perish'd as a bubble.
>
> Hills, Mountains, Rocks have cover'd me, procelsive[17] swelling Seas
> Weights, raging waves I feel and see, my burden's without ease
> In Egypts Land, wherein like as a slave I'm bound
> And made the subject of her Ruler's arrows wound;
> And in my bleeding state am made the stock
> Which ev'ry heart therein doth hate and mock.

The final lines of this poem again show the level of suffering:

> What shall I say? Blood is the travel of my day;
> Earth's thund'ring rage, blown forth by Lightning's breath,
> Doth post and fly, pursuing Life; Ah! Hear my cry:
> What! Shall I weep in Oceans deep to Death?
>
> I could not hope but that each sigh and groan
> With ev'ry tear is dropt before Gods Throne.

Perrot was released in 1661 and returned to England. Many Quakers, and others, were overwhelmed by this heroic figure, a near martyr, a great public speaker and author of this new style of Quaker pamphlet. However, the general admiration for Perrot was not shared by some of the Quaker leaders, who considered Perrot a disruptive influence, advocating changes in the conduct of Quaker Meetings and thereby undermining good practice and discipline. In particular, George Fox did not like Perrot's 'verses and hard writings'.[18] The Quaker movement became fractured, one group following Quaker orthodoxy while the other followed Perrot. The situation was only slightly eased by the permanent departure of Perrot for America in 1662, as his followers continued to fan the flames of division. However, until 1663 the dispute remained reasonably private, confined to Meetings and correspondence. In the interim Perrot continued to be popular among Quakers of various shades of opinion. If it was his example that inspired other Quakers to try their hand at verse-making, and to publish the results, this would account for the timing of the bulk of the published Quaker verse, and for the fact that the authors included Quakers who were not theologically supporters of Perrot. Most of the poetry was published before the breach between Perrot and the leadership

became public and irretrievable. Later in the 1660s, perhaps, publication of poetry may have become associated with Perrotism.

Most of the Quaker verse consisted of apocalyptic proclamations and warnings of the terrible fate awaiting evildoers, particularly persecutors of Quakers. Some of it was intended for the general public to read, and some was primarily intended for the Quakers themselves. There was also verse intended for pastoral encouragement within the Quaker Meetings. The poetry usually followed the normal style and subject-matter of each individual author, being in effect prose developed into what was usually fairly rough verse, for few of these authors had any special talent.

One of the most prolific of these poets was William Bayly, a sea captain from Poole, who turned Quaker in 1655. He was one of the few Quakers to publish a pamphlet consisting entirely of verse, a four page poem entitled: *Some Words Given Forth by the Spirit of Truth to all People in the Year 1662*.[19] It is typical of a good deal of the Quaker verse of this period, and begins:

The day is come of which the Prophets told
And prophesied in the dayes of old
That Gog and Magog the City compass should
The holy one which shines like purest Gold.
Even new Jerusalem that's come down from above,
Which walkes in truth, in peace, in joy, and love
Whose precious life the Nations seek to smother,
Like unto Cain who slew his righteous Brother.
And the reason why these things are come to pass,
Is that all flesh should fade like to the grass
That down is cut, even by the Mower's hand,
And wickedness no longer in the earth should stand.

Bayly, who was not a supporter of Perrot, included verse in three of his four other 1662 pamphlets, but in just one out of seven in 1663, and in one out of four in 1664, thus providing a good example of the distribution in time of the Quaker verse. After this, he published no more poetry, although he wrote eight more pamphlets before his death in 1675.

Another important Quaker poet, as regards quantity of published output, was Dorothy White. Virtually nothing is known of her, except that she came from Weymouth and may have died in London. She first comes to notice in 1659 as the author of several pamphlets delivering stern warnings to the people of her locality and to the government. She published fourteen pamphlets between 1659 and 1662. Of these one in 1661 and three in 1662 contain verse, in 1663 she wrote one prose pamphlet and nothing more until 1684, when one or two other pamphlets appeared which also included some verses. *Greetings of Pure Peace to the Holy Flock of Jesus Christ*, written in 1662, is an example of her style. It is a pastoral epistle to Quakers, partly couched in verse:[20]

We must be subject unto Light within,
Wherein is known the Cleansing from all Sin;
Subject unto Christ, the Light alone,
Unto the Lamb that sitteth on the Throne;
To the Light within at first we were direct,
The way to Life, Sin to reject:
The True Light we must always obey,
Christ the Life, the New and Living Way,
Though he be the Way, he is a Stumbling Block,
Against the Proud, he is come to knock;
Against the Proud, and down they shall go,
The Lord will reject the Proud, and that they shall shortly know.

Some Quaker verse would have been suitable for singing as hymns, if that had been acceptable in Quaker worship. It was only some ten years later that hymns were being sung in congregational worship at a Baptist church in Horsleydown in Southwark. It may be that religious verse, suitable for family worship though not at this date used in the congregations, was circulating more widely, and earlier, than the published material shows.[21] This is a Quaker hymn, written by Katharine Evans, while imprisoned by the Inquisition in Malta. She was an associate of Perrot, though not as badly treated by the authorities.[22]

Lord, teach me in thy Wayes,
that I may walk therein
And lead me in thy Paths
and cleanse me from all sin.

Before I knew the Lord my God
to be so near to me
I walked in the way so broad
thinking he did not see.

But when my wayes directed were,
and paths the Lord did guide
I walked alwayes in his fear,
and did not go aside.

An interesting piece among many poorer verses is John Raunce's *A few Words to all People concerning the present and succeeding times*. Raunce was a doctor from High Wycombe who later separated from mainstream Quakerism. *A Few Words* was published as a broadside, and is too long to reproduce here in full. The following is an extract:

The great day of the Lord's at hand,

who shall abide his ire;
Or who before him then shall stand,
who is devouring fire.
Then Kings and Captains, bond and free
shall at his presence quake;
Then all into dark holes would flee,
when he the Earth shall shake:
Then in the ragged Rocks and Caves
you'll seek a place to hide,
Who use God's people worse than slaves
then they not you'll abide
.....
Where gnashing teeth with weeping cries
for ever more shall be
To such as do God's truth despise
and follow vanities.
Oh now dear suffering Friends rejoice,
redemption will not stay
From us who have made Christ our choice
before the evil day.
When Prisons, Sword, Gallows and Fire
shall compass us about,
He will help us when in the mire
and guide us when we doubt.
Ah tender Friends I dearly greet
you in the Lord of Life;
And in his patience which is sweet,
fare well where is no strife.
Yea in that love which suffereth long,
for ever let us dwell;
And in God's truth let us be strong,
in this I say farewell.[23]

Raunce wrote another fine ballad in 1665, *Certain things as they were revealed before*, on the occasion of the London plague which the Quakers said was God's punishment for the transportation of Quakers to Barbados.[24]

A rapid search of Quaker pamphlets published after 1666 indicated that Quakers published only a small amount of verse during the rest of the century.[25] There were three verse collections, one by a well-known London Quaker named Benjamin Antrobus, one by E. Hincks, a woman from Cornwall, and a small posthumously published collection of poems by a William Sixsmith.[26]A theological treatise of 1680 included translations from Latin authors in rhyming couplets.[27] Thomas Ellwood wrote a long verse epic about King David which he started in 1688, but it was not completed till 1712.[28] Quaker poets, like Quakers in general, were tending to become less extreme in their ideas and

behaviour and more like the general run of their contemporaries. Quakers or otherwise, a few people among those who wrote verse might publish it, while the majority, having less talent or not wishing to expose their work to the public, did not. The lack of further published verse from established and long-lived Quaker authors, such as William Bayly and Ambrose Rigge, may indicate that there was a certain inhibition among Quakers regarding the publication of their poetry.[29] Among the published poems were several testimonies to the dead, suggesting that poetry for this purpose was acceptable among Quakers. An example is the 1670 testimony to William Simpson by Oliver Hooten:

> Where now thy soul doth rest in quiet peace,
> Since that thy labours here on earth did cease.
> By Faith in Christ thou hast obtained a Crown
> Transcending glory of the Worlds renown.
> For thee in Heaven is prepared a Throne,
> To live for ever with our King alone.[30]

The most entertaining Quaker verse was related to an internal quarrel of the 1680s, when two disputants published pamphlets entirely in rhyme. William Rogers, a breakaway Quaker, began it, with twenty-two pages of very bad verse, the words so twisted to make them rhyme and scan that it is impossible to find a comprehensible quotation. He was answered by Thomas Ellwood, a much more accomplished versifier, with thirty-one pages in rhyming couplets. Ellwood had a poor opinion of Rogers' poetic abilities:

> What drew thee, William, to this Rhiming fit,
> Having no more propensity to it?
> Couldst think such hobling and unequal Rhimes,
> That make a Jangling, like disorder'd Chimes,
> Could of a Poem e'er deserve the name
> Or e'er be read without the Author's shame.

Ellwood felt he had to justify his own incursion into rhyme, and wrote in his preface:

> To such as ask, why I in Verse have writ?
> This Answer I return, I held it fit,
> Verse should in Verse be answered, Prose in Prose.
> My Adversary his own Weapon chose.
> He chose before in Prose to write, and then
> I aswere'd him in Prose. So now agen,
> Since he his Stile from Prose to Verse hath chang'd,
> And in the Muses Walks hath boldly rang'd,
> In his own Method him I chose to Treat,

Lest he should wise be in his own Conceit.

Having discussed all his opponents' arguments, Ellwood ended:

Ye now are broke, and into pieces Shatter'd,
And from the Body and the Head are Scatter'd.
Without the camp ye stand (Oh dismal state!)
Snarling amongst the Dogs, without the Gate;
Belching forth Slander and Calumniation
'Gainst those that in the Light have kept their Station.
Oh! May the God of Heaven stop your Way,
That Ye no more the Simple may betray.[31]

Verse of this kind could hardly have been published under Quaker auspices twenty years before; it would have been considered 'light'. A similar example in manuscript, also by Ellwood, has survived.[32]

Poetry in manuscript, of which Thomas Ellwood's is the best known, was certainly circulating. Ellwood's poetry was intended for himself and his friends, and some of it appeared later in his autobiography and in a collection of his poems, both published posthumously.[33] Of other Quaker poets, Mary Mollineux, who died in 1696, did not want her verse published during her lifetime.[34] Lilias Skene's poems, written during the period 1665 - 96, have recently been rescued from an obscure manuscript in Aberdeen.[35] John Kelsall and John Gratton wrote poetry, but belong rather to the eighteenth century.[36] There is probably more to be found.

Ambrose Rigge was the longest lived of the original Quaker poets, dying in 1704, but there are no further poems in his collected works until the very end, where there is a short poem, dated 1703, which has something of the feel of a sonnet, and has more polish but less passion than his works of forty years before. These had been similar in tone to the verses by Bayly and Raunce which have already been quoted. Rigge's last poem may serve as a conclusion to this paper, and point the way to the Quakerism of the eighteenth century:[37]

Song of a Solac'd Soul

Mount up, my Soul, on Contemplation's Wing
And sound high Praises to thy Heavenly King;
Who hath Destroyed Death; that he may be
For ever more a Saviour unto thee.
Therefore to Live is Christ, to Dye is gain,
That thou with Him for ever may'st remain,
In perfect Triumph, over death and Hell,
In those sweet Mansions, which no Tongue can tell,
So while on Earth thou dost continue here,
Mind thy Redeemer, with continual Fear;

Who will preserve thee, to thy finishing day,
From Sin to Death, and every Evil Way.
Then will God's Secrets ever thee Attend
And Crown thy Head with Laurel in the end.

If these samples inspire others to investigate early Quaker verse-making in more depth, then this paper will have served its purpose.

NOTES

1 Capp, B., 'Popular Literature' in Reay, B., (ed.), *Popular Culture in Seventeenth Century England*, Croom Helm: London and Sydney, 1985, pp. 218-23.

2 Moore, R., *The Light in Their Consciences: early Quakers in Britain, 1646-1666*, University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000, pp. 205-06, 236-39.

3 I am grateful for information and suggestions from the anonymous referee of this paper, and from participants in the Quaker Research Summer School at Woodbrooke, 2003.

4 Nayler, J., 'Psalm of Thanksgiving', in *To the Life of God in All*, 1659. N321. The Psalm has its own Wing number N304, but separate publication in 1659 is doubtful. See also a psalm in Stubbs, T., *Certain Papers Given Forth*, 1659. S 6086.

5 The only other known poem by Burrough, a paraphrase of 1Cor.15 which has considerable merit, is in the Henry T. Wake mss, 'Transcriptions of poems by John Raunce and others' (Ms Box P, Library of the Society of Friends (LSF), Friends House, London.) It is reproduced in Wright, L., *The Literary Life of Early Friends*, Columbia University Press, 1932, p. 133.

6 Farnworth, R., *A Discovery of Truth and Falsehood*, London: Calvert 1653. F479A; Simmons, M., *et al*, *O England thy time is come*, 1656. S 7393; JB and JG, *The Ancient of Days is Here* (1657) G32; Bateman, S., *It matters not how I appear to man*, 1658. B1097. I am obliged to the referee of this paper for reminding me of the Simmons and Bateman examples.

7 Fisher, S., *Christ's Light Emerging*. 1660. F1050, and at the end of the *Additional Appendix to Rusticus ad Academicos*, 1660. F1056.

8 Verse as such was not separately recorded in my pamphlet database for the years 1652 - 59, for the reason that there was practically none. Consequently, I now have no means of making an exhaustive search. However, the great majority of Quaker pamphlets published up to 1666 passed through my hands in the course of my research, and there is no doubt about the arrival of printed verse in some quantity after 1660, and that there was very little before.

9 Noted by Wright, *Literary Life*, pp.131, 132. She found otherwise unknown poems in the collected works of Samuel Fisher, Thomas Taylor, Humphrey Smith, William Smith, Thomas Stubbs and Robert West, besides unpublished verse in the Henry T. Wake and Letters of Martin Mason mss (both in LSF, Ms Boxes P and G).

10 Smith, H., *A Paper showing who are the True Spouse of Christ, and who are not*, M.W., 1662. S4070, 4.

11 William Bayly, Humphrey Smith, William Smith and Dorothy White were among the most prolific Quaker authors during the early 1660s who also wrote verse (a time when many of the original leading Quakers were dead or imprisoned) but none of them had any great long-term significance, and, except for White, their poetry was a small proportion of their output.

12 I found poems dated 1660 - 66 by Hester Biddle, Katherine Evans, Dorothea Gotherson, Rebecca Travers and Dorothy White. The referee of this paper added Judith Boulbie.

13 Mack, P., *Visionary Women*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992, pp. 188-89 for the difference between northern and southern women writers.

14 Capp, 'Popular Literature', p. 203, for verse-writing.

15 For Perrot the standard account is Carroll, Kenneth L., *John Perrot: early Quaker schismatic*, London: Friends Historical Society, 1970.

16 Perrot, J., *A Sea of the Seed's Sufferings*. 1661. P1629. For an estimate of its poetic worth, see Smith, N., 'Exporting Enthusiasm: John Perrot and the Quaker Epic' in Healy, T. and Sawday, J. ,(eds), *Literature and the English Civil War*, Cambridge: University Press, 1990.

17 "Procelsive" is not in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, but is possibly Perrot's, or the printer's, version of 'procellous', an obsolete word derived from Latin 'procellosus', meaning 'stormy'. (*Ed.*)

18 Cited by Carroll, *John Perrot*, p. 52 from the report by Robert Rich of Fox's meeting with Perrot. Perrot, J., *Hidden Things brought to Light*, 1678, pp. 3-7.

19 Bayly, W., *Some Words Given Forth*, 1662. B1538.

20 Since writing this article, in the course of enquiring about some papers by White in the strongly pro-Perrot Crosse manuscript in Friends House, London, I heard from Catie Gill, author of the article on Dorothy White in the new *Dictionary of National Biography*, that White's later work shows some evidence of a breach, later mended, with the wider Quaker community. It may be that she was a follower of John Perrot, and the example of her work that follows could indeed be read in that light. I am grateful to Catie Gill for her help.

21 Wright, *Literary Life*, p. 131, noted that a number of the poems in the collected works of William Smith and Thomas Taylor should be described as hymns. For early hymns, see Wykes, D. L., 'From David's Psalms to Watt's Hymns: the development of hymnody among dissenters following the Toleration Act,' in *Continuity and Change in Christian Worship: studies in church history 35* (1999), pp. 227-39, especially pp. 232-33.

22 Evans, K., *A Brief Discovery of Gods Eternal Truth*, 1663, p. 54. E3453. One of William Smith's hymns, included in his *Universal Love*, 1664, is reproduced in Moore, *The Light in Their Consciences*, p. 213. Also see Andrew Robeson's hymn, 'A Moving in the Spirit for the Seed to feel' in *To the Risen Seed, a Salutation*, 1662. R1622.

23 Raunce, J., *A few Words to all People concerning the present and succeeding times*, 1662. R320.

24 Raunce, J., *Certain Things as they were revealed before*, 1665. R319.

25 The 'rapid search' consisted in looking for verse in the Quaker pamphlets dated 1667 - 1700 in the Woodbrooke Library, Birmingham, more than half the total published. The list in Wright, *Literary Life*, is similar. The referee of this paper, who had made an extensive study of Quaker women's writing, found several women authors of verse testimonies to the dead, but otherwise only two more women writers of published verse from the later part of the century, Ann Docwra and Mary Adams. As far as I am aware, no full study of the Quaker pamphlets from the later part of the century has yet been made.

26 Antrobus, B., *Some Buds and Blossoms*, 1684. A3523; Hincks, E., *The Poor Widows Mite cast into the Lord's Treasury*, 1671. H2050; Sixsmith, W., *Some Fruit brought forth through a Tender Branch*, 1679. S3925.

27 Lawson, T., *A Mite into the Treasury*, 1680. L726,

28 Ellwood, T., *Davideis*, 1712.

29 Christine Trevett, in her presidential address to the Friends Historical Society 'Not Fit to be Produced', *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, 59/2 (2001), pp. 115-24

30 From the testimony to William Simpson by Oliver Hooton, written in Barbados, see Hooton, O., *A Short Relation concerning the life and death of….William Simpson*, 1670. S3618, p. 70.

31 Ellwood, T., *Rogero Mastix, or a Rod for William Rogers* E625, 8, unpaginated, p. 31, answering Rogers, William, *A Second Scourge for George Whitehead* (both published 1684/5) R1861.

32 In Ellwood's verse manuscript 'Rhapsodia' (in LSF, Ms. vol. S 80). It answers a poem by Charles Harris, John Raunce's son-in-law, on the subject of women's business meetings.

33 Ellwood, T., *History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood*, Sowle, 1714; Hinde, L., *Collection of Poems on Various Subjects*, n.d., but in the period 1744 - 66, when Hinde was active. Its publication may have been associated with the 3rd edition of the *History*, 1665.

34 Mollineux, M., *Fruits of Retirement*, 1702. See Mortimer, J. E., 'An Early Quaker Poet, Mary (Southworth) Mollineux', *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, 53, (1972-75), pp.125-47.

35 University of Aberdeen Historical Collection Ms 2774, now being studied by Betty Hagglund.

36 John Kelsall mss in LSF; Gratton, J., *Journal*, 1720.

37 Rigge, A., 'Song of a Solac'd Soul' , p. 16, in *A Treatise concerning the Internal Word and Spirit of God*, 1704. Rigge's early poems may be found in *A Standard of Righteousness Lifted Up*, and *A*

True Prospect for the Bishops, both published in 1663. R92, R99.

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