10-1-2002

Robert Barclay, The First Quaker Theologian: Works About Robert Barclay (1648-1690) and His *Apology for the True Christian Divinity*

Barbara E. Addison
*Swarthmore College Peace Collection*, baddiso1@swarthmore.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://works.swarthmore.edu/sta-libraries

Part of the Peace and Conflict Studies Commons

Recommended Citation

This work is brought to you for free by Swarthmore College Libraries' Works. It has been accepted for inclusion in Library Staff Works by an authorized administrator of Works. For more information, please contact myworks@swarthmore.edu.
Robert Barclay, The First Quaker Theologian: Works About Robert Barclay (1648-1690) and His Apology for the True Christian Divinity

Written and compiled by Barbara Addison

October 2002

The Quaker Tapestry at Kendal¹

¹ Permission to use this illustration, "Publishers of Truth" (panel B4) has been graciously given by The Quaker Tapestry at Kendal. The Quaker Tapestry is a community textile of 77 embroidered panels made by 4,000 people from 15 countries. Further information may be obtained from: The Quaker Tapestry Exhibition Centre, Friends Meeting House, Stramongate, Kendal, Cumbria, LA9 4BH England. Telephone & Fax: +44(0) 1539 722975, e-mail: info@quaker-tapestry.co.uk, http://www.quaker-tapestry.co.uk.
Chronology of the Life of Robert Barclay

All dates are "new style".

- **1610**: Birth of David Barclay (later Colonel Barclay), Robert Barclay's father
- **1648 December 23**: Birth of Robert Barclay at Ury in Scotland
- **1659**: Sent to Scots' Theological College (Roman Catholic) in Paris where his uncle was Rector
- **1663 March**: Death of Robert Barclay’s mother, whose dying request was that Robert return to Scotland
- **1663 August ?**: Robert brought back to Scotland
- **1665**: Colonel David Barclay became a Quaker
- **1667**: Robert Barclay became a Quaker
- **1670 February**: Robert Barclay married to Christian Molleson
- **1670**: *Truth Cleared of Calumnies* published
- **1672 March**: Robert Barclay walked through the streets of Aberdeen in sackcloth and ashes
- **1672**: Barclay’s first brief imprisonment in the Tolbooth of Montrose
- **1673 or 1674**: First attendance at London Yearly Meeting
- **1673?**: *Catechism and Confession of Faith* published
- **1674**: *Theses Theologicae or Some Solid Positions of Sound Divinity Asserted* published in Low Dutch and Latin
- **1675**: *Theses Theologicae* published in English early in the year
- **1675**: Completion of the Latin edition of the *Apology*; the address to King Charles II was dated November 25, 1675
- **1675**: *Quakerism No Popery* published
- **1676**: *Anarchy of the Ranters* published
- **1676**: *Quakerism Confirmed* published (written with George Keith)
- **1676**: *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity As the Same is Held Forth and Preached by the People Called in Scorn Quakers* published in Latin
- **1676 November 7**: Imprisonment in Aberdeen
- **1677 April 9**: Release from prison
- **1677 July 26**: Embarked on ministerial tour of Holland and Germany with George Fox, William Penn and others
- **1678**: Barclay’s English translation of the *Apology* published
- **1679 November 4**: Last imprisonment, at Aberdeen

---

• **1682 September:** Appointed non-resident Governor (for life) of East New Jersey in the American colonies
• **1683 August:** Barclay attacked by highwaymen north of London
• **1686 October 12:** Death of Colonel David Barclay
• **1690 October 3:** Death of Robert Barclay at Ury, Scotland
• **1692:** Barclay's collected works published under the title *Truth Triumphant Through the Spiritual Warfare, Christian Labours and Writings of That Able and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, Robert Barclay*
• **1724:** Death of Christian Barclay

**Robert Barclay's Apology for the True Christian Divinity in Context**

Robert Barclay, the first and greatest of Quaker theologians, systematized the charismatic message of George Fox. Barclay's most recent biographer, D. Elton Trueblood, asserts that Barclay "saved the Quaker movement from extinction by giving Fox's preaching an intellectual form, capable of rational defense."\(^3\) Barclay's best-known work, *The Apology for the True Christian Divinity* expressed the early Quaker theological consensus of Friends' beliefs as Barclay heard it preached by Fox and by other Friends. Dean Freiday considers the *Apology* to be a "thinking through" of Barclay's own religious journey, from the strict Calvinism of his youth, through the Roman Catholicism of his education in Paris, to his Quaker convincement.\(^4\)

The *Apology* was completed in 1675 and published in Latin in 1676 (later translated by Barclay into an English edition which was first published in 1678). Barclay, who was himself of aristocratic lineage, prefaced the *Apology* with a letter to King Charles II, saying that he wished to explain Friends' theological principles to the King and his people, so that they might find the Quakers to be both wise and learned, and to understand that they held "beliefs agreeable to scripture, reason and true learning." Barclay wished to persuade his non-Quaker readers that, though Quakers dissented from Great Britain's established church, they were a peaceful people who should not be persecuted for their beliefs. In the letter, Barclay asserts that: 1) in all the conspiracies contrived against the King, the Quakers had never been found guilty of plotting against him or the government; 2) in the "hottest times of persecution," the Quakers stood boldly for their faith, and had never hidden from the authorities, "as all other Dissenters have done"; 3) they had never sought to make the King or his government "odious" to the people; rather, their practice was consistent with Christianity and civil society.\(^5\)

---

As a statement of Quaker belief, Barclay’s *Apology for the True Christian Divinity* has been accepted by Friends as a reliable summary of their faith. "From its first publication, it has received the unqualified approbation of the Society of Friends, as containing a just and correct exposition of their faith and principles...[the *Apology*] is the only book which has been given by the Society to many of the public libraries in Europe, as well as to some sovereigns and ambassadors, for conveying a correct information of their principles, and for counteracting those misrepresentations with which adversaries... have endeavoured to impress the public mind." The Latin edition was considered especially valuable for distribution to the learned men of Europe.

In the introduction to the most recent (2002) edition of the *Apology*, Peter Sippel explains that "Barclay’s education enabled him to understand academic theology. Most early Quaker publicists used a distinctive Quaker vocabulary which was often misunderstood by educated theologians, whom the Quakers misunderstood in turn. Thus in early debate literature, Friends and their opponents often talked past each other, taking the same words in different senses. Barclay bridges this gap, defending Quaker usage while clearly explaining it for the benefit of those who were accustomed to a different vocabulary."

The *Apology* takes the form of fifteen propositions, following the general pattern of the Westminster Catechism. Barclay had already published and debated the propositions as *Theses Theologicae* (published in 1674 and 1675) before putting them into a more complete form in the *Apology*. Besides the two Latin editions (1676 and 1729) it has been reprinted/reissued 48 times in English: 16 in Great Britain, three in Ireland, and 29 in the United States; there have two editions in Dutch, four editions in German (one published in Germantown, Pennsylvania), one edition in Spanish, three editions in French, one edition in Danish, two in Norwegian, and two editions in Arabic. The Pennsylvania German language edition, published by Christoph Saur in 1776, was authorized by the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1774 (with the strong encouragement and advice of London Yearly Meeting) to promote the "spread of knowledge of the Principles of Truth, as much as may be in the remote settlements." The most admired edition seems to have been the 1765 edition printed by John Baskerville in Birmingham, due to the beauty of its printing.

Two deliberate changes in the texts of the earlier editions have been noted. In the seventh edition (London: W. Richardson and S. Clark, 1765) was first omitted a sentence on page 340, respecting the imposition of tithes. A more important excision was made in 1779, when the Morning Meeting declared that the next reprint of the

---


8 Monthly Meeting for Sufferings Held in Philadelphia and New Jersey, Minutes, 1774, p. 410-413.

Apology was to omit Barclay’s account of a figure named Hai Eben Yokdan, which had been proven to be false. The story of Yokdan, a “noble savage” somewhat like Robinson Crusoe, was used by Barclay to demonstrate the working of the Inner Light even upon an individual who had been separated from other humans since birth. Most editions after 1779 omitted this story.10

There have been numerous versions of extracts from and abridgements of the Apology. In 1815, George Harrison formed an abridgement chiefly from the 1780 edition, but with references to the Latin original. Quotations from the Apology received wide circulation with the vast reprinting of a work by Mary Brotheron Brook (ca. 1726-1782): Reasons for the Necessity of Silent Waiting, in Order to the Solemn Worship of God: to Which are Added, Several Quotations from Robert Barclay’s Apology was first printed by Mary Hinde in 1774, and was reprinted 25 times in English, once in German, and once in French, in editions published in London, Philadelphia, and Dublin, from 1774 through 1877.

The Apology came under attack in 1678 by John Brown (1610?-1679) a prominent Scottish theologian. In 1679, Barclay published a thorough and forceful answer to Brown: Robert Barclay’s Apology for the True Christian Divinity Vindicated From John Brown’s Examination and Pretended Confutation Thereof, in his book, called, Quakerisme the Path-way to Paganisme…, a book which Trueblood considers to be in some ways more thoughtful and careful on many questions than the Apology itself.11 Other non-Quakers were more complimentary. Voltaire praised the Apology as “a work as well drawn up as the subject could possibly admit.”12 Sir Leslie Stephen, writing of the Apology in his article on Barclay in the Dictionary of National Biography considers it “one of the most impressive theological writings of the century.”

Barclay’s Apology has been the final court of theological appeal for Quakers throughout their history, even during the Society’s separations and heresies.13 Barclay covered his topics so comprehensively that all sides of a controversy were able to quote the Apology in support of their position. Barclay did have Quaker critics, notably the Beaconites and other Evangelicals in the 19th century, who felt that Barclay underemphasized and disparaged the Bible. In the early 20th century, criticism from the opposite wing was led by Rufus Jones, who believed that Barclay lacked value to the modern world because of inconsistency in his thought and his use of worn and discredited forms. Jones charged that he had led the Society of Friends to Quietism, that he had spent too much effort in attacking doctrines such as predestination which were now irrelevant, and that he de-emphasized the goodness of man. Jones believed it was most regrettable that Barclay’s “early formulation of Quakerism should have been

10 For a discussion of the Hai EbenYokdan controversy, including its theological implications and its demonstration of the influence of George Keith on Barclay, see Trueblood, Robert Barclay, p. 158-161.
made as an adjustment with the Augustinian and Calvinistic system instead of following the fresh and transforming path which the spiritual reformers, the real forerunners and progenitors of 'the Children of the Light,' had discovered."\(^{14,15}\) Yet all of Barclay's major works were published within George Fox's lifetime, and were given hearty assent by him and by others of the first generation of Quakerism. After Barclay's death in 1690, in a preface to *Truth Triumphant* (the collected works of Barclay published in 1692) Fox eulogized him as a man who was "a wise and faithful minister in Christ, and writ many precious books in the defence of the Truth...he was a scholar and a man of great parts...a man of repute among men, and preach the everlasting Gospel of Christ freely, turning people from darkness to light."\(^{16}\)

Increasingly throughout the twentieth century, Quaker scholars began to appreciate again the value of Barclay's writing. Howard Brinton, in his introduction to Eleanore Price Mather's *Barclay in Brief*, praised him for the "balance which he maintains in distinguishing between the human and the divine, and herein lies his principal message for the present day."\(^{17}\)

**Bibliography of all editions of The Apology from 1676 through 2002**

Complete Editions: Editions of The Apology for the True Christian Divinity by Robert Barclay from 1676 through 2002

References to "Smith" at the end of some entries refer to Joseph Smith's *A Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books, or Books Written By Members of the Society of Friends, Commonly Called Quakers, From Their First Rise to the Present Time, Interspersed with Critical Remarks and...Biographical Notices* (London: J. Smith, 1867).


---


Barclay, Robert. 1678. An Apology for the True Christian Divinity, as the Same Is Held Forth and Preached by the People Called, in Scorn, Quakers Being a Full Explanation and Vindication of Their Principles and Doctrines, by Many Arguments, Deduced from Scriptur and Right Reason, and the Testimonys of Famous Authors, Both Antient and Modern, with a Full Answer to the Strongest Objections Usually Made Against Them: Presented to the King. Written and published in Latine, for the information of Strangers, by Robert Barclay, and now put into our own language, for the benefit of his countrey-men. [Aberdeen?]: [s.n.. John Forbes?] [Smith, Vol. I, p. 179-180].

Barclay, Robert. 1678. An Apology for the True Christian Divinity, as the Same Is Held Forth, and Preached by the People, Called, in Scorn, Quakers, Being a Full Explanation and Vindication of Their Principles and Doctrines, by Many Arguments, Deduced from Scripture and Right Reason, and the Testimony of Famous Authors, Both Ancient and Modern, with a Full Answer to the Strongest Objections Usually Made Against Them, Presented to the King. Written and Published in Latine, for the Information of Strangers, by Robert Barclay, and now put into our own language, for the benefit of his countrey-men. [London?: s.n.]. ["The 2nd edition [in English], though not stated so"--Smith, Vol. 1, p. 180].

Barclay, Robert. 1678. An Apology for the True Christian Divinity, as the Same Is Held Forth, and Preached by the People, Called, in Scorn, Quakers, Being a Full Explanation and Vindication of Their Principles and Doctrines, by Many Arguments, Deduced from Scripture and Right Reason, and the Testimony of Famous Authors, Both Ancient and Modern, with a Full Answer to the Strongest Objections Usually Made against Them, Presented to the King. [London?: s.n.]. [The 3rd edition -- Smith, Vol. 1, p. 180]

Barclay, Robert. 1683. Verantwoording Van De Ware Christelijke Godgeleertheit. Amsterdam: Voor Jacob Claus. Translated into Low Dutch by J.H. Glazemaker.

Barclay, Robert. 1684. Eine Apologie oder Verthei-di-gungs, Schrifft der Kecht Christlichen Gotts-Gelahrtheit. [In German; publisher unknown]. [Smith, Vol. 1, p. 183].

Barclay, Robert. 1701. An Apology for the True Christian Divinity, as the Same Is Held Forth, and Preached by the People, Called in Scorn, Qvakers: Being a Full Explanation and Vindication of Their Principles and Doctrines, by Many Arguments, Deduced from Scripture and Right Reason, and the Testimones of


Barclay, Robert. 1729. *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity, as the Same Is Held Forth, and Preached, by the People, Called in Scorn, Quakers: Being a Full Explanation and Vindication of Their Principles and Doctrines, by Many Arguments, Deduced from Scripture and Right Reason, and the Testimonies of Famous Authors, Both Ancient and Modern: With a Full Answer to the Strongest Objections Usually Made against Them. Presented to the King.* Newport, Rhode Island: Printed by James Franklin. "The 6th ed. in English." [Smith quotes the Introduction to the 1827 edition as citing a 1728 [ i.e., 1729?] edition published


Barclay, Robert. 1740. Apologie Oder Vertheidigungs-Schrift Der Wahren Christlichen-Gottsgelahrheit…: Nach Der Zweyten Lateinischen Und Sechsten Englischen Herausgebung Gantz Von Neuen Ins Deutsche Übersetzt. [In German; publisher unknown] [Smith, Vol. 1, p. 183].


Barclay, Robert. 1765. An Apology for the True Christian Divinity, as the Same Is Held


Barclay, Robert. 1774. An Apology for the True Christian Divinity, as the Same Is Held Forth, and Preached, by the People, Called in Scorn, Quakers: Being a Full Explanation and Vindication of Their Principles and Doctrines, by Many Arguments, Deduced from Scripture and Right Reason, and the Testimonies of Famous Authors, Both Ancient and Modern: With a Full Answer to the Strongest Objections Usually Made Against Them. Presented to the King. Newport, Rhode Island: Printed by James Franklin. [Smith, Vol. 1, p. 181].


Barclay, Robert. 1850. *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity, as the Same Is Held Forth and Preached by the People Called, in Scorn, Quakers: Being a Full Explanation and Vindication of Their Principles and Doctrines, by Many Arguments Deduced from Scripture and Right Reason, and the Testimonies of Famous Authors, Both Ancient and Modern; with a Full Answer to the Strongest Objections Usually Made against Them.* Manchester [England]: W. Irwin. [The 12th edition -- Smith, Vol. 1, p. 180]


Barclay, Robert. 1869. *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity, as the Same Is Held
Forth and Preached by the People, in Scorn, Called Quakers: Being a Full Explanation and Vindication of Their Principles and Doctrines, by Many Arguments Deduced from Scripture and Right Reason, and the Testimonies of Famous Authors, Both Ancient and Modern; with a Full Answer to the Strongest Objections Usually Made against Them. Manchester [England]: W. Irwin.


Barclay, Robert. 1881. Forsvarsskrift for Den Sande Kristelige Theologie: Indeholdende Fuldstaendig Udvikling Af Samt Forsvar for De Grundfaetninger Og Laerdomme, Der Hyldes Og Følges Af De Folk, Som Kaldes Kuaekere. Stavanger [Norway]: P. T. Dreyer.

Barclay, Robert. 1886. An Apology for the True Christian Divinity, as the Same Is Held Forth and Preached by the People, in Scorn, Called Quakers: Being a Full Explanation and Vindication of Their Principles and Doctrines, by Many Arguments Deduced from Scripture and Right Reason, and the Testimonies of Famous Authors, Both Ancient and Modern; with a Full Answer to the Strongest Objections Usually Made against Them. Glasgow: R. B. Murdoch.


*The Apology for the True Christian Divinity* as collected in *Truth Triumphant*


Barclay, Robert. 1831. *Truth Triumphant, Through the Spiritual Warfare, Christian*
Labours, and Writings, of That Able and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, Robert Barclay. To Which Is Prefixed, an Account of His Life and Writings. New York: Republished by B. C. Stanton. Printed at the office of the Medicochirurgical Review.


Abridgements and Extracts: Abridgements and Extracts from The Apology for the True Christian Divinity by Robert Barclay


Barclay, Robert. 1714. The Universal Love of God to Mankind, Asserted and Proved, By Several Arguments Deduced from Scripture, Right Reason and the Testimonies of Famous Authors: Being Part of the Fifth and Sixth Propositions of Robert Barclay's Apology. Dublin: Printed by Samuel Fairbrother.


Barclay, Robert. 1815. Barclay's Apology for the True Christian Divinity, as Professed by the People Called Quakers. London: Printed for Darton Harvey and Darton. "This abridgment has been formed, chiefly from the 8th ed. of the Apology, printed in 1780, but with frequent reference to the Latin original."-Prefatory address. Abridged by George Harrison.


Barclay, Robert. 1837. *Selections from an Apology for the True Christian Divinity: Being an Explanation and Vindication of the Principles and Doctrines Held by the People Called Quakers.* Lindfield [Connecticut?]: Printed at the Schools of Industry.


Barclay, Robert. 1888. *Views of Christian Doctrine Held by the Religious Society of Friends, Being Passages Taken from Barclay's Apology*. Philadelphia: [s.n.].


Barclay, Robert. 1961. *A Briefer Barclay: Being a Simplification and Condensation of*


Brook, Mary. 1774. Reasons for the Necessity of Silent Waiting, in Order to the Solemn Worship of God: To Which Are Added, Several Quotations from Robert Barclay's Apology. London: M. Hinde.

Brook, Mary. 1775. Reasons for the Necessity of Silent Waiting, in Order to the Solemn Worship of God: To Which Are Added, Several Quotations from Robert Barclay's Apology. London: M. Hinde.


Brook, Mary. 1793. *Reasons for the Necessity of Silent Waiting, in Order to the Solemn Worship of God: To Which Are Added, Several Quotations from Robert Barclay's Apology.* Dublin: printed by Rachel Maria Jackson.


Brook, Mary. 1795. *Reasons for the Necessity of Silent Waiting in Order to the Solemn Worship of God: To Which Are Added Several Quotations from Robert Barclay's Apology.* Philadelphia: Printed by Jacob Johnson.


Brook, Mary. 1868. *Reasons for the Necessity of Silent Waiting, in Order to the Solemn Worship of God: To Which Are Added, Several Quotations from Robert Barclay’s Apology*. [Colerain, Ohio]: Republished by a member of the General Meeting of Friends of Ohio.


**Bibliography of Works About The Apology: Essays, Refutations, and Vindications Regarding The Apology for the True Christian Divinity by Robert Barclay**


Barclay, Robert. 1679. *Apology for the True Christian Divinity Vindicated from John Brown’s Examination and Pretended Confutation Thereof, in His Book, Called Quakerisme the Path-Way to Paganisme: In Which Vindication I. B. His Many Gross Perversions and Abuses Are Discovered, and His Furious and Violent Railings and Revilings soberly rebuked by R.B… Whereunto Is Added a Christian and Friendly Expostulation with Robert Macquare, Touching His Postscript to the*
Said Book of J. B. Written to Him by Lillias Skein and Delivered Some Moneths since at His House in Rotterdam. London: Benjamin Clerk.


Bellows, William Lamb. 1868. Barclay Vindicated: A Review of Robert Charleton's “Thoughts on Barclay's Apology”. Manchester: [s.n.].

Bellows, William Lamb. 1869. The Friends’ Foundation Principle, Is It True, or Is It False?: An Enquiry Occasioned by Reading a Tract Entitled, "the Oppugners of Barclay, Are They Right, or Are They Wrong?" Gloucester: J. Bellows printer.

Bennet, Thomas. 1705. A Confutation of Quakerism: Or, a Plain Proof of the Falshood of What the Principal Quaker Writers (Especially Mr. R. Barclay in His Apology and Other Works) Do Teach Concerning the Necessity of Immediate Revelation. Cambridge [England]: Printed at the University-Press for Edmund Jeffery and James Knapton.
Bennet, Thomas. 1709. A Confutation of Quakerism; or a Plain Proof of the Falshood of What the Principal Quaker Writers (Especially Mr. R. Barclay in His Apology and Other Works) Do Teach Concerning the Necessity of Immediate Revelation in Order to a Saving Christian Faith. Cambridge [England]: Printed at the University Press for E. Jeffery…and are to be sold by J. Knapton.

Bennet, Thomas. 1733. A Confutation of Quakerism: Or, a Plain Proof of the Falshood of What the Principal Quaker Writers (Especially Mr. R. Barclay in His Apology and Other Works) Do Teach Concerning the Necessity of Immediate Revelation. London: Printed by M. J. and sold by A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch.


Brown, John, R. M. C, and Jonathan Edwards. 1678. Quakerisme the Path-Way to Paganisme: Or, a View of the Quakers Religion; Being an Examination of the Theses and Apologie of Robert Barclay, One of Their Number, Published Lately in Latine, to Discover to the World, What That Is, Which They Hold and Owne for the Only True Christian Religion. Edinburgh: Printed for John Cairns.

Bugg, Francis. 1700. A Modest Defence of My Book, Entituled, Quakerism Expos'd: As Also, of My Broad Sheet; with a Scheme of the Quakers Yearly Synod; and Other Books, Presented Anno 1699. To the Parliament, and G. Whitehead's inside Turn'd Outward by Reprinting His…Ishmael, & C. London: Printed for R. Janeway jun. for the author; and sold by J. Robinson.

Bugg, Francis. 1701. A Seasonable Caveat against the Prevalency of Quakerism:
Containing a List of One of Their Parliaments, and Forty-Four of Their Canon Laws. As Also Their Errors in Doctrine, and Politicks in Government, and the Methods They Take to Support Both; Likewise Geo. Whitehead's Mournful Letter of Condolance, Mr. Crisp's Letter of Reproof to Ann Docwra, and G. Fox's Last Will and Testament. Together with an Expostulatory Conclusion, Reflecting on the Quakers Petition, by Their Witnessing against Parliaments, & C. A Hint Also of Their Arbitrary Government in Pensilvania, and a Touch-Stone for Robert Barclay's Apology. London: Printed for the author and sold by J. Robinson; [etc. etc.].

Bugg, Francis and Benjamin Loveling. 1703. Quakerism Drooping, and Its Cause Sinking: Clearly Manifested from Divers Conferences, and Other Proceedings with the Quakers, at Banbury, Sleeford, Colchester, and Mildenhall…: Also, a Reply to the Quakers Apology, Why They Refused to Meet Francis Bugg the 21st of September 1702, to Defend Themselves from His Charge. By Ben. Loveling. London: Printed for the author and sold by C. Brome J. Taylor and R. Wilkins.

Bugg, Francis and Henry Pickworth. 1702. A Narrative of the Conference at Sleeford in Lincolnshire, between Francis Bugg and Henry Pickworth, August 25, 1701: Wherein, Not Only the Contradiction of the Quakers to the Holy Scriptures…But Their Great Inconsistency One with Another; and Particularly, between Fox, Whitehead, Penn, &C. And…Robert Barcley, in His Apology, Is Chiefly Manifested and Detected. London: Printed for the author and sold by John Tayler and R. Wilkins.


Chubb, Thomas. Human Nature Vindicated, or, a Reply to Mr. Beaven's Book Entitled, Supernatural Influences Necessary to Salvation: Being a Vindication of the Fourth Proposition of Robert Barclay's Apology: Wherein Is Shewn, That Man, in His Natural Capacity, Is a Moral Agent: That He Has Power, and Is at Liberty to Do Both Good and Evil: And, Consequently, Can Render Himself Either Acceptable or Displeasing to His Maker: In a Second Letter to a Friend: Humbly Offered to the Consideration of the People Called Quakers. London: Printed by J. Darby and T. Browne; and sold by J. Noon.

Dove, John. 1756. An Essay on Inspiration: Or, an Attempt to Shew That the Pretences of the Ancient and the Modern Zamzummim, to That Ray of Divinity, Were, and Are, Deceptions. Wherein the Fundamental Principles of Barclay, in His Apology for the Quakers, Are Refuted; the Necessity of an External Revelation Proved, and the Fiction of an Internal One Exploded. With a Hue and Cry after the Enthusiast; His Person Described; and His Frenzies Delineated. London: Printed for the author; and sold by E. Withers R. Baldwin and G. Keith 1756.


Elys, Edmund. 1693. Vindiciæ Quorundam Roberti Barclaii Noematum, Contra Aliquas Argumentationes in eo Libro, cui Titulus est Antibarclaius [by L. Anton Reiser]: ubi Reperitur Elucidatio Veritatis, de Immediata & Interna Revelatione, de Scripturis, de Universali Redemtione… A Vindication of some Sentiments of Robert Barclay, etc. [The translator's preface signed: S. P.] [London]: Printed for T. N.


Graham, John (of Sunderland). 1745. *Simon Pure Unmask'd: or, the Errors of Quakerism display'd. A dialogue … Wherein will be pointed out several … Errors … of … R. Barclay, in his Apology, etc.* Newcastle [England]: [s.n.].

Green, Matthew. 1735. *Copy of Verses Wrote by a Gentleman Lately Deceased, Occasion'd by His Reading Robert Barclay's Apology.* London: [s.n.].


Irwin, William. 1868. *A Refutation of William Tallack's Remarks on Barclay's Apology and the Manchester Schism as Contained in His Book Entitled, "George Fox, the Friends, and the Early Baptists."* Manchester: W. Irwin

James, Joseph. 1787. *Proposals, for Printing, by Subscription, in a Neat Octavo Volume, to Contain near Six Hundred Pages...An American Edition of Barclay's Apology, for the True Christian Divinity, as Held by the People Called Quakers.* [Philadelphia: Printed by Joseph James].


Lindley, Benjamin. 1710. *The Necessity of Immediate Revelation, Towards the Foundation and Ground of True Faith, Proved; and the Gospel, Its True Ministers, and Their Christian Writings, Especially R. Barclay's “Apology, &c.” Vindicated: in an answer to...J. Bennet...in his...“Confutation of Quakerism”.* London [J. Sowle].


Loeber, Christoph Heinrich. 1685. *Schrifftma¨ssige Vorstellung des Quaker-Irrlichtes, darinn so wohl eines ungenannten Quakers einfa¨tige und eilfertige Anmerckungen, u¨ber die Entdeckung des Quaker-Greuels, &c. als auch des Vornehmsten so in R. Barclaji ... Apologia zu dero Besta¨rckung enthalten ... gru¨ndlich beantwortet, etc.* Jena: [s.n.].


Newton, Samuel. 1767. *A Letter to the Author of a Letter to Dr Formey, in which some of the prevailing sentiments of...Quakers, as they stand in Mr R. Barclay's Apology, and as they are touched upon in that Letter, are...discussed, etc.* [By Philalethes, i.e. Samuel Newton.] Norwich [England]: [s.n.].

Newton, Samuel. 1771. *The Leading Sentiments of the People Called Quakers*
Examined, As They Are Stated in Mr. Robert Burclay’s Apology: With an Answer to What Mr. Phipps Has Advanced for the Defence of Them, in His Observations Upon an Epistle to the Author of a Letter to Dr. Forney. London: Printed by S. Burchall for E. and C. Dilly.


Shirreff, Alexander, Paul Gellie, and John Leslie. 1675. Quakerism Canvassed: Robin Barclay Baffled in the Defending of His Theses Against Young Students of Aberdene. [London?: s.n.].

Thornley, John. 1742. An Essay: Or Examination of the Doctrine of Robert Barclay’s Apology; Containing, a Large Number of Discourses and Arguments, with Proofs Abstracted from the Holy Scripture, Concerning the Most Particular Points and


Bibliography of Works About Robert Barclay and the Barclay Family: Works About Robert Barclay and His Family


Barclay, Robert [son of the Apologist] and Henry Mill. 1812. A Genealogical Account of the Barclys of Urie, for Upwards of Seven Hundred Years: With Memoirs of Colonel David Barclay, and His Son Robert Barclay--Also Letters That Passed Between Him, the Duke of York … And Other Distinguished Characters; Containing Curious and Interesting Information, Never Before Published. London: Printed for the editor by J. Herbert.

Barclay, Robert and David Barclay. 1870. Reliquiae Barclaianae: Correspondence of Colonel David Barclay and Robert Barclay of Urie. London: Lithographed by Winter & Bailey. Letters to and from Colonel David Barclay and Robert Barclay, plus other letters and family documents up to 1742.


Bevan, Joseph Gurney, editor. 1801. Some Account of the Life and Writings of Robert


---

18 Originally attributed to David Barclay [grandson of the Apologist], this work is now believed to have been written by a group of Quakers, of whom Joseph Gurney Bevan was the chief author/editor.
Budge, Frances Anne. *The Barclays of Ury and Other Sketches of the Early Friends.*
London: [s.n.], 1881.


*The Concurrence and Unanimity of the People called Quakers in Owning and Asserting the Principal Doctrines of the Christian Religion; Demonstrated in the Sermons or Declarations of Several of Their Publick Preachers, Namely Mr. Robert Barclay [and 13 others].* London: Reprinted and sold by J. Sowle, 1711


Quaker Religious Thought. 1965. 3:1 (Spring 1965) is devoted completely to Robert Barclay.


Wragge, John Philip. 1946. George Keith: His Life & Writings Up To 1677 & Their Influence on Robert Barclay: or the Debt of Robert Barclay to George Keith… Birmingham [England].