

Lindley Murray (1745–1826),  
Quaker *and* Grammarian

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Lindley Murray (1745–1826),  
Quaker *and* Grammarian

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**Lyda Fens-de Zeeuw**  
geboren te Rotterdam  
in 1954



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## Acknowledgments

In recent research it has been documented how the novelist Agatha Christie (1890–1976) towards the end of her long career may have developed Alzheimer’s disease (Lancashire 2010: 207–219). The outcome was based on the fact that her written vocabulary declined, repetitions of words increased, and the use of vague expressions, such as *thing* and *something*, multiplied in her writings. During the past few years of writing, I have found myself lost for words more than once, thereby repeating myself again and again, and while I thus felt unable adequately to describe the results of my research, I secretly feared on occasion that surely I must have fallen victim to the same horrible disease, doubting my ability ever to finish this dissertation.

Fortunately, my fear proved unfounded and I have finished it, after all, so now I have numerous people to thank for their contributions and support. First of all, my gratitude goes to the members of the “Codifiers Project”: to the project assistants Marjolein Meindersma and Matthijs Smits for their practical support; to my fellow-doctoral candidates Froukje Henstra, Karlijn Navest and Robin Straaijer, with whom I spent countless pleasant hours discussing my ideas and whose constructive suggestions have been extremely helpful; to Anita Auer I wish to say here that “indeed, a wink has gone a long way!”; while my special appreciation goes to Patricia Chaudron who diligently checked my transcriptions and thus saved me from making many a silly mistake. I am also grateful to the NWO for funding this project, and to the English Department of the University of Toronto, Canada – and more specifically to Ian Lancashire at the Lexical Analysis Centre – for inviting me as a guest scholar and allowing me access to their impressive Robarts library.

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## Abbreviations used

**List of repositories with abbreviations used (in the tables provided in the present study these will be used throughout):**

|       |   |
|-------|---|
| BL    | British Library, London, UK   |
| EBOR  | Ebor Press, York, UK  |
| GLW   | Garner, Bryan A. (2009). <i>Garner on Language and Writing</i> .<br>Chicago: American Bar Association               |
| HALS  | Hertfordshire Archives & Local Studies, Hertford, UK  |
| HC    | Haverford College, Haverford, PA, USA   |
| HUA   | Hull University Archives, Hull, UK  |
| LoC   | Library of Congress, Washington, DC, USA  |
| LSFD  | Library of the Religious Society of Friends in Dublin,<br>Dublin, Ireland   |
| LSFL  | Library of the Religious Society of Friends in Britain,<br>London, UK   |
| MALS  | Manchester Archives & Local Studies, Manchester, UK   |
| ND    | University of Notre Dame Archives, Notre Dame, IN, USA  |
| NLW   | National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Ceredigion, UK  |
| NYHS  | New-York Historical Society, New York, NY, USA  |
| NYPL  | New York Public Library, New York, NY, USA  |
| PP    | Private possession  |
| PUFL  | Princeton University, Firestone Library, Princeton, NJ, USA   |
| PUL   | Princeton University Library, Princeton, NJ, USA  |
| SA    | Seaport Autographs, Mystic, CT, USA   |
| SC    | Swarthmore College, Friends Historical Library,<br>Swarthmore, PA, USA  |
| UoP   | University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA, USA   |
| UoR   | University of Reading, Reading, Berkshire, UK   |
| UvA   | University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, the Netherlands   |
| YaBL  | Yale University Collection of American Literature, Beinecke<br>Rare Book and Manuscript Library, New Haven, CT, USA |
| YaUL  | Yale University Library, Manuscripts and Archives, New<br>Haven, CT, USA  |
| YoMLA | York Minster Library and Archives, York, UK   |
| YoPL  | York Public Library, York, UK   |
| YoUBI | University of York, Borthwick Institute, York, UK   |

**Additional abbreviations used:**

|             |  |
|-------------|--|
| <i>ANB</i>  | <i>American National Biography Online</i>  |
| <i>EB</i>   | <i>Encyclopaedia Britannica Online</i>   |
| <i>ECCO</i> | <i>Eighteenth Century Collections Online</i>   |
| <i>EEBO</i> | <i>Early English Books Online</i>  |
| <i>ODNB</i> | <i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online</i>  |
| <i>OED</i>  | <i>Oxford English Dictionary Online</i>  |
| <i>PYM</i>  | Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends  |
| <i>YMFP</i> | Yearly Meeting of Friends (held in Philadelphia; the name later changed into: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends) |

# 1 Introduction

*Lindley Murray is so little respected that had we remained there  
[i.e. Vancouver Island, Canada] long we should have forgotten our English.*  
(Carson 1945: 126)

The above expression of disappointment was uttered in 1865 by a Mrs Charles Kean in a letter to her friend Marianne Skerrett, who was Queen Victoria's first dresser and "a person of immense literary knowledge" (Carson 1945: 122n97). As an example of this disrespect for the rules in Lindley Murray's *English Grammar* (1795), Mrs Kean wrote that a "Bankers wife told me the *ouses* looked nice when the *Hiny* was green". Although this example does not relate to a grammatical rule, her observation was right in the sense that the *English Grammar* contains a section "on the sounds of the letters" (Murray 1795: 4–15), in which Murray specified that the sound signified by the letter *H* "is seldom mute at the beginning of a word" (Murray 1795: 8). As will be discussed in Chapter 5, Mrs Kean's remark is one of the many examples that illustrate how long this particular grammar continued to influence people's judgement on what encompassed correct English, an influence, which, according to the grammarian Samuel Kirkham (?1797–1843), even resulted in "the interesting and undeniable fact, that Mr. Murray's labours ... have effected a complete revolution in the English language, in point of verbal accuracy" (Kirkham 1834: 35). This widespread conception of Murray's authority in grammatical matters was summarized as follows in the *Dictionary of American Biography*: "for half a century, nevertheless, he was to grammar what Hoyle was to whist" (Malone 1934: 365).<sup>1</sup>

But, and as will likewise be illustrated in Chapter 5, opinions on Murray's *English Grammar* differed widely. In that same year 1865 Mark Twain (1835–1910), at the time a reporter for the *San Francisco Californian*, jokingly ridiculed the verbal shortcomings in San Francisco newspapers. Twain, who, according to Sewell (1987: 20), "never faulted the rules of grammar themselves, only the instruction that made them impenetrable", ironically remarked that if a colleague tried to introduce "something fresh in English composition", instead of being "the slave of their [i.e. the *Californian*'s] notions and Murray's", he would be condemned for not

---

<sup>1</sup> Edmond (or Edmund) Hoyle (1672–1769; cf. *Wikipedia*, s.v. "Hoyle, Edmond") was an authority on card games and is often referred to as the "Father of Whist".

“writing grammar”. The joke, Sewell (1987: 21) writes, was “to call adherence to the formal rules ‘notions.’ Murray does not have notions about grammar any more than an assayer has notions about the purity of gold in a nugget”. Murray’s grammar was frequently heavily scrutinized for the grammatical rules it contained; as an example, Drake (1977) discovered that shortly after Murray’s death, in 1826 and 1827, the *American Journal of Education* ran a series of “‘Strictures on Murray’s *Grammar*’ devoted to detailed examination of the inconsistencies of Murray’s rules against what the writer believes is actual behavior” (Drake 1977: 11). Nevertheless, as this study will show, Murray was by far the most popular of the eighteenth-century grammarians, and with the numerous editions of his grammars, reviews of it and references to it by prominent or more obscure authors it appears that throughout the nineteenth century it would have been almost impossible to be “[i]gnorant of Lindley Murray”,<sup>2</sup> as the headline for a report in the *New York Times* read as late as 1884.

The illustration on the cover of this study, showing a nineteenth-century cigar tin, gives away that in the century following the initial publication of Murray’s *English Grammar* there was even more material available to ensure that the grammarian Lindley Murray (1745–1826; ODNB, s.v. “Murray, Lindley”) could not be ignored. It was an exciting discovery to find that this cigar tin was not the only object carrying Murray’s name or likeness; he appeared to have been among “some of the era’s most notable writers, artists, entertainers, politicians, sports figures and comic strip characters” (Webner 1979) who were depicted on labels that decorated the inner sides of lids of cigar cases by the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, according to an article in the *Wall Street Journal*. His name or image must have been a popular one to exploit at the time – especially, it seems, and very surprisingly, among manufacturers of tobacco and tobacco-related products – because Murray’s name furthermore appeared on matchbox holders as well.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The headline “Ignorant of Lindley Murray” concerned the wording of an argument during a court case regarding an alleged suicide, which was as follows: “Counsel ... said: ‘He locked himself up in a room, and was found dead, with two whisky bottles beside him, where he had blowed his brains out with a piece of bread and two pieces of cheese,’ and that lawyer was astounded by the loud laughter that followed his explanation” (*New York Times*, Internet Archives, 10 October 1884).

<sup>3</sup> Through the auction website eBay, in March 2010, an “old original piece of cigar label art” was offered for sale. This particular label showed the name “Lindley Murray” and furthermore depicted an owl, sitting on a book with a quill in its claw,

The present study will confirm that Lindley Murray was a notable figure indeed. From the start two questions arose that needed to be answered, i.e. “*who* was Lindley Murray” and “*what* was Lindley Murray”. An answer to the second question is fairly easily given. His name is included in both the *American National Biography Online* (ANB) and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (ODNB). The ODNB (s.v. “Murray, Lindley”), for instance, lists dates and places of birth and death, the religious background of his forefathers, places of residence, education, and occupations, while his career as a grammarian receives considerable attention. Very briefly summarized, as the answer to the second question it can be said that he was an American lawyer, who, more or less by accident, became the best-read grammarian of all times. As an illustration of his influence on the English language, a full-text search of the *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (OED) for “L. Murray” resulted in more than 250 references to his *English Grammar*, in addition to three entries for Lindley Murray as first-cited author (i.e. *apostrophic*, adj., *paulo-post-future*, adj. and n., and *terminational*, adj.). These three words were found in two editions of Murray’s *English Grammar*, from 1795 and 1804, and had been coined by Murray, it seems, to describe particular grammatical features. In this light it was peculiar to see that, even at the beginning of 2010, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online* (EB) had not yet included a separate entry for Lindley Murray.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, it does present entries for two other eighteenth-century grammarians, Joseph Priestley (1733–1804; ODNB, s.v. “Priestley, Joseph”), solely because of his scientific background, and the American Noah Webster (1758–1843; ANB, s.v. “Webster, Noah”). This omission of the EB should and could easily be set straight.

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and an ink pot. Additionally, in June 2010, a “vintage advertising matchbox holder cover case ... probably from the 1910–1920 time period”, showing the following words on the cover: “A Perfect Cigar – Lindley Murray – Mild Havana Blend – 10 Cents Straight”, was put up for auction through eBay.

<sup>4</sup> The only reference to Lindley Murray in the EB was found under “Age of Johnson”, where it was said that eighteenth-century grammarians became increasingly “aggressive” and “regarded Latin as a language superior to English and claimed that Latin embodied universally valid canons of logic. This view was well maintained by Lindley Murray, a native of Pennsylvania who settled in England in the very year (1784) of Johnson’s death” (EB, s.v. “Age of Johnson”). The EB had also not yet included Robert Lowth, the other one of the two “icons of English prescriptive grammar”, as Tiekens-Boon van Ostade (2006a: 541) describes both eighteenth-century grammarians.

It appeared far more complicated to establish the answer to the first question: “*nho* was Lindley Murray”. Was he the moralist, as he is characterised by Smith (1984: 8) and Hodson (2007: 13, 15; see Chapter 5)? Was he the plagiarist, as suggested by Vorlat (1959; 1996: 165) and Jones (1996: 66; see also Chapter 5), who copied from predecessors such as Robert Lowth (1710–1787; *ODNB*, s.v. “Lowth, Robert”) and others? Or the political exile, as argued by Monaghan (1998; see Chapter 2)? Could he have been all of these, or perhaps none? Until the middle of the previous century hardly any research had been done about Murray and his work, but since then scholars have made up for this omission. Two biographical books (Allott 1991 and Monaghan 1998) were written about him in the past twenty years that aimed to provide insight into his past, though they nevertheless fell short in looking behind the curtain that Murray himself had drawn in his autobiographical *Memoirs* (Murray 1826).<sup>5</sup> Additionally, his work as a grammarian has been discussed in detail by various linguists. Among these are West (1953), Vorlat (1959; 1996; 1999), Belok (e.g. 1970, 1977), Reibel (1996a; 2005) and Tiekens-Boon van Ostade (e.g. 1996b; 2008a), as well as others whose work has been consulted for this study. A further valuable volume in this respect is the collection of scholarly essays entitled *Two Hundred Years of Lindley Murray*, edited by Tiekens-Boon van Ostade (1996a), with contributions from Fuami (1996), Jones (1996), Noordegraaf (1996), Wales (1996b), and many others.

“Lowth’s American counterparts are dudes like Lindley Murray and Goold Brown”, Smitherman (1974: 17) wrote, which illustrates how establishing Murray’s nationality may pose another problem. Murray was born, raised and educated in the American colonies, which were at the time part of the British Empire and did not officially become independent until 1783. Murray left the American continent to settle in England in 1784, one year after the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783) had ended. Yet, as the following passage from a letter to his brother John Murray (1758–1819) testifies, Murray still considered himself an American as late as 1807:

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<sup>5</sup> For the present study, although Murray’s *Memoirs* (1826) were published posthumously by Elizabeth Frank (c.1773–c.1850), I have cited Murray as the author, unless when it concerns Frank’s words, for instance in the preface or continuation to the memoirs.



I am to be / considered as an American; and thou wilt be careful to / have this point settled so timely as to prevent any seizure / of my property at New York. I have a licence, under the / Alien Act of Parliament, to reside in this country as an American, / during pleasure. (Murray to John Murray, 3 August 1807; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F16*)<sup>6</sup>

As illustrated in this passage, Murray had practical reasons for wishing to be considered an American citizen by the American authorities; but in the next chapters it will become evident that his reasons were not only practical and that Murray's heart never actually left his native country. When it concerns the "nationality" of his *English Grammar*, however, it becomes a different story. Murray published the first edition in 1795, after he had lived in England for ten years, but, more importantly, it was intended for an English audience and had been based on previously published English grammars. Although a few years later Murray's grammars became very popular in America as well, none of these was ever officially adapted for publication there. In my opinion, therefore, the *English Grammar* should be classified as an English grammar, not an American one.

Over the years, various epithets have been added to Murray's name, i.e.:

|   |                                      |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| "father of English Grammar"                           | (Johnson 1904: 365)                  |
| "'father' of our school grammars of the last century" | (Fries 1927: 221)                    |
| "the father of our present English language"          | (anon. n.d.) <sup>7</sup>            |
| "the immortal Murray"                                 | (Monaghan 1998: 5, 137) <sup>8</sup> |
| "the Quaker Grammarian"                               | (Monaghan 1998: 4).                  |

<sup>6</sup> For this study, line breaks in Murray's letters are represented with forward slashes, i.e. " / ".

<sup>7</sup> This was taken from an article, titled "Monument to honor Murray", in which a certain Dr Hugh Hamilton pleaded for a monument to mark the birthplace of the "well known grammarian" in Dauphin County, PA. A cutting of the article, from the front page of an unidentified late nineteenth-century local newspaper, was very kindly sent to me by Christine Mason, librarian at the Lebanon County Historical Society, Pennsylvania.

<sup>8</sup> Monaghan (1998: 138n2) gives as the source for this quotation: "Jeremiah Goodrich, in his edition of Lindley Murray, *English Reader* (Providence, 1837), preface".

The present study will show that it is precisely in that last adjective “Quaker” where both biographers and linguists have gone astray; “Quaker” is not just an epithet, and Quakerism is not simply a religion. As will be illustrated in Chapter 3, it is a way of life and therefore it is astonishing that until now, when discussing Murray’s life or grammar, no one has taken into account what this involved. As an example, in his review of Hixson’s book on Isaac Collins, the New York Quaker publisher authorized by Murray to print his grammars for the state of New Jersey, Miner (1969: 307) established that in the book “Murray’s life-long Quakerism is overlooked”; and Lacey (1997: 57), in his review of *Two Hundred Years of Lindley Murray* (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1996c), observes that, although “[a]ll the authors know that Murray was Quaker, and some try to connect their understanding of this work [i.e. the *English Grammar*] with that fact”, this specific topic had hardly been addressed in the book. What is more, no one has yet considered how this life style will have influenced all of Murray’s writings. In this respect it is illustrative that the information about Murray’s life and background in the *OED* contains eight instances of the words *Quaker/Quakerism*, but not once do they refer to Murray himself. As will be outlined below, it is my intention to fill this gap. In the section following I shall present the aim and scope of my research. Then, in Section 1.2, I shall describe my corpus and the collection pro-cess of Murray’s letters, which have formed the basis of this study, together with several landmarks related to his life. Finally, in Section 1.3, the methodology used for my research will be described, together with the structure of this study.

### 1.1 Aim and scope of this study

The goal of the present study is twofold. Firstly, it aims to offer insight into the man that Lindley Murray was. This will allow for a better understanding of the second part of this study: the comparison of Murray’s own language use, found in his so-called “out-letters” (Baker 1980: 123), with the rules laid down in his *English Grammar* (1795). As a result of this dual aim, this study carries both qualitative and quantitative aspects. My research forms an independent study within a project – funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) and supervised by Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade – which is called *The Codifiers and the English Language: Tracing the Norms of Standard English*. As described on its webpage, the research project aims to trace several aspects of the process of linguistic influence that inevitably takes place with any living language,

such as between individuals, within social networks, or from grammars and grammarians on other grammarians. (Milroy/Milroy 1999) describe how the standardisation process for the English language took place in six stages: selection of a particular variety as the standard; acceptance of this standard by influential people; geographical diffusion; elaboration of function; codification; prescription. The “Codifiers’ project” focuses in particular on the two final stages of this process that largely took place in the eighteenth century: codification and prescription. Two of the questions for which an answer was sought within the project were where the grammarians of the period, referred to as codifiers, found the linguistic norm that they promoted in their grammars, and how their own language compared with the norms of correctness that they formulated. These questions were addressed with the help of the research model of Social Network Analysis (Milroy 1987), which has been adapted for the analysis of the degree of sociolinguistic competence of people living in earlier times. This approach is significantly different from that usually undertaken within sociolinguistics (cf. Milroy 1987) in that it focuses on the language of individuals in the context of the social networks to which they belonged.

The language use of arguably the most influential and certainly the most prolific grammarian of the English language, Lindley Murray, is a focal point of this study. It is widely agreed that letters were central to Late Modern English culture (Bannet 2005: ix), and language found in private documents such as letters are considered an indispensable source for reliable data about usage (see e.g. Dossena/Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2008b: 7–11, and Nobels/Van der Wal 2009). Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2006b: 270) notes that “[n]o history of modern English will be complete unless the language of letters is taken into account as well”, and I have therefore decided to analyse Murray’s private letters, written between 1767 and 1825, and to compare the language found there to the rules that he compiled in his *English Grammar* (1795). By doing so, I have treated Murray as a sociolinguistic informant for my analysis.

As briefly introduced above, Quakerism is a way of life and therefore Murray’s language use as found in his letters will be considered within this context (see Chapter 4), although it must be noted that his social network was not restricted to the extremely close-knit Quaker community (see Chapter 3). As for his *English Grammar* (1795), I shall analyse it within the context of its initial purpose of being printed for use in a limited number of English Quaker schools (although, as I shall show in Chapter 5, it unexpectedly ended up exercising its long-lasting influ-

ence on language users all over the world). Analogous to Milroy's (1987) Social Network Analysis model and in line with the starting point of the Codifiers Project, for the present study, Murray's grammar, to which his own usage will be compared (see Chapter 6), is considered as having a similar role as individuals within social networks (i.e. linguistic innovators, early adopters, followers).

By all accounts, the eighteenth century was a key period in the development of the English language (e.g. Hickey 2010b: 1), during which "detailed codification of English grammar was undertaken" (Bex/Watts 1999c: 13–14). Codification is part of the process of standardisation of a language (as described by Milroy/Milroy 1999), of which the principal characteristic, according to Milroy/Milroy (1999: 22), is "intolerance of optional variability in language". Once established, such a standard language must be maintained through a "model of 'correctness'" (Milroy/Milroy 1999: 22), which in the eighteenth century was achieved by codification. This standard English language, as recognized by eighteenth-century grammarians, was the variety used by polite society at the time,<sup>9</sup> and it was codified in dictionaries, grammars, and usage guides, and taught in the school system (Quirk et al. 1985: 18). The most popular of eighteenth-century grammars was Lindley Murray's *English Grammar*, the first edition of which was printed at the very close of the eighteenth century. The popularity of Murray's grammar "may be explained by the need for a reference grammar which could be used in school", according to Tiekens-Boon van Ostade (2000: 886), to which purpose it was well adapted through the use of graded material to accommodate both teachers and pupils. Oldireva Gustafsson (2006: 107), moreover, notes that Murray's school grammar has earned the reputation "of being an epitome of eighteenth-century codification of English grammar".

As Tiekens-Boon van Ostade (2000: 876) observes, the terms "normative" and "prescriptive" are often regarded "as more or less synonymous" when describing the nature of grammars. She finds that while the grammars of the period were "all strongly normative in the sense that they set out to describe a norm of correctness in their attempts to codify the language" (Tiekens-Boon van Ostade 2000: 877), they could be either of a more descriptive or more prescriptive nature. Murray, as will be illustrated in Chapter 5, has often been condemned for his prescriptive attitude towards English grammar, an attitude characterized, for instance,

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<sup>9</sup> *Polite* should be understood here in the sense of "polished, refined, elegant, well-bred" (Freeborn 1998: 388).

by the use of deontic modals, such as *should*, *must*, and *ought to* (Vorlat 1996: 168; see also Tiekens-Boon van Ostade 2010a: 83–84). “[P]rescriptivists”, Bex/Watts (1999b: 7) observe, “tend to start from the premise that there are certain forms which are correct”. Then and now, teachers of the English language, on the other hand, gladly – and necessarily – embrace the concept of prescriptivism in their classrooms. As Bex/Watts (1999b: 8) also note, “[t]hose who are heavily involved in the educationalist debates recognise that pedagogy, by its very nature, tends to be prescriptive”. And Murray, by his own account, compiled his *English Grammar* solely for the purpose that it could be used in schools. He was a prolific writer, although the majority of his books were compilations instead of original works; in the words of Frank (Murray 1826: 188), to this purpose Murray “considered what was useful, practicable, and excellent”. Among the many books and pamphlets that he produced – a complete list of which can be found in Appendix A – there were no fewer than ten English language textbooks. When analysing the grammatical rules and comparing them to Murray’s own usage to find out if indeed he wrote as he ruled, I shall, nevertheless, focus almost exclusively on the *English Grammar* (1795).

## 1.2 The letter corpus

With the exception of a handful of letters and several partial quotations taken from a few others, Murray’s letters have never been published. So far I have been able to collect twenty-one of his letters that were either copied by hand by the recipient or a third person, or printed in various books, the majority of which are journals and diaries dating from the nineteenth century. Although for the present study the content of these letters is included in my research into Murray’s background, they were discarded for the analysis of Murray’s language use. For my comparison of his usage to his grammar rules I collected as many of Murray’s autograph letters as could be located. When compiling this corpus, it was of course crucial for the purpose of my analysis to establish first and foremost whether the letters were indeed written by the grammarian Lindley Murray and not by someone whose name happened to be identical to his. All letters collected were therefore analysed as to their authenticity, to ensure that the results of my linguistic analysis, as the next step, would be valid. In general, with letters “[a] script may vary greatly because of the writer’s age, mood, haste or leisure, illness, or other factors” (Hamilton 1961:46), but in Murray’s case, over the many

years of writing, the script remained remarkably stable – only its size varied considerably – which facilitated in establishing him as the writer.

My letter corpus such as I have collected it consists of 262 autograph letters by Murray, which makes for a total number of words of close to 115,000. Two more letters that had been attributed to the grammarian Lindley Murray, one by the *Fales Library* in New York and the other by the *New-York Historical Society*, proved not to be by him. In all likelihood these were written by his nephew and namesake Lindley Murray (b1790), the son of Murray's brother John. This nephew wanted to become a bookseller and his uncle took a special interest in him, concerned as he was that young Lindley would continue his education. The handwriting of these two letters does not agree with that of Murray the grammarian, and their likely origin was deduced from a combination of date and place of writing, and contents. One other letter that is attributed to the grammarian Lindley Murray has also been left out of my corpus. This is a letter to Robert and Elizabeth Pearsall, children of a sister of Murray's wife Hannah (1748–1834; cf. Reibel 1996a), of which I have located two versions with almost identical wording. One of these was sent to Ingrid Ticken-Boon van Ostade by Makoto Ikeda, the other was found in the Ford Collection of the *New York Public Library*. The latter version originates from Smith's *American Historical and Literary Curiosities* (1860), and was positioned opposite a copy of one of Benjamin West's autographs. The information that accompanies these two letters reads: "Portraits of two Distinguished Americans; viz., Benjamin West and Lindley Murray, with their autographs" (Smith 1860; plate XLI). Both copies of Murray's letter show asterisks in several – but different – positions, and each of them carries an identical portrait of him, which, according to Frank (*Memoirs* 1826: xii) was not made until after Murray's death, by a miniature painter named Westoby. It is therefore impossible to say if either of the two versions is an exact copy of the original autograph.

The majority of the letters in my corpus carry a date. When they do not, in several cases the period of writing could be established from the contents. For instance, when Murray discussed advertising strategies for promoting the election of William Wilberforce (1759–1833; *ODNB*, s.v. "Wilberforce, William"; see Chapter 2) in an undated letter to his friend Samuel Tuke (1784–1857; *ODNB*, s.v. "Tuke, Samuel"), this provided me with a clue about the year of writing. In other cases, when a letter carried a date, this supplied additional information on events described in the letter itself. Furthermore, in several instances the identity of

an unspecified addressee of a letter could be deduced from the contents. This is, for example, the case with a letter from 1799 to a friend named George, which was partly intended for George's wife Sarah, in which Murray referred to George's temporary place of residence and, among other matters, gave advice on the subject of foreigners being exempt from taxes in England, since they were already taxed in their native country. On the basis of the contents I have identified this friend as George Dillwyn, because it is known that the Quaker George Dillwyn (1738–1820; anon. 1871), who was married to Sarah Hill of Philadelphia, was a friend of the Murrays and resided in England for eighteen years before returning to America in 1802.

### 1.2.1 *The collection process*

In the course of collecting Murray's letters, I visited the places where he was born and died, and where objects related to his life and work could be observed. The present section briefly describes these visits in order to illustrate the relative obscurity that still surrounds the most popular grammar writer ever. Two university libraries in Pennsylvania hold a collection of autograph letters by Murray, as well as other material related to him, such as several of his textbooks and various nineteenth-century newspaper clippings and journal articles. These archives are at the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, where I was kindly allowed to handle and photocopy or photograph the manuscripts myself, and Magill Library of Haverford College, where the special collections librarian generously presented me with three copies of Murray's textbooks. In total, more than sixty manuscript letters were found at both locations.

At a distance of about an hour's drive from these two libraries is Swatara, Murray's place of birth (see Chapter 2), in what is now Lebanon County. The Internet Trail Guide to the *Swatara Creek Water Trail* gives concise directions on how to get to "the birthplace of Lindley Murray, a famous grammarian and author". The website further mentions that "Robert Murray, Lindley's father, owned the mill from 1745 to 1746" and that, "[f]or a time, the site was known as Shuey's Mill". Indeed, along a remote stretch of highway there is a small plaque (see Figure 1.1; the date of birth mentioned on the plaque, however, is incorrect, see Section 2.2) – erected on the site of what is now a used-car dump, carrying the name *Conrad's Old Mill, Autos* – in memory of Lindley Murray's birthplace, but locals are hardly aware of it or of who Murray was. As an

example, within one kilometre of this site were a pub and a petrol station, which housed a tourist information desk, but at neither of the two locations could any additional information be obtained. The owner of the car dump, moreover, was able to tell no more than that the plaque was there in honour of “somebody who was famous in the old days”.

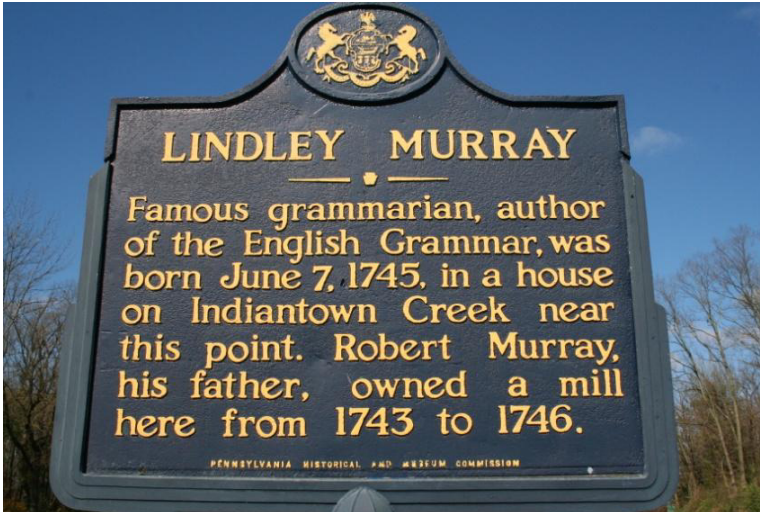


Figure 1.1 Plaque in memory of the birth place of Lindley Murray.

Not far from the memorial plaque, across the road, stands an old red wooden building named *Murray's School*. This school was one of seven schools in the area that were each named after a well-known American, such as Washington, Webster and Murray, the latter one having written “school books or something”, as an elderly person, whose aunt had taught in *Murray's School* a long time ago, remembered. According to this man the school had, however, been closed “since ages”.

York, England, is the city where Murray passed the second half of his life and where he died, and this is also where another important collection of Murray's autographs is kept. In the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research of the University of York more than a hundred letters are located, which were copied for me by the library staff. Several items that Murray used while living in Holgate, now part of the city of York, are currently kept in the Mount School in York, a Quaker institution, which is the successor to the Trinity Lane School for which Murray wrote his *English Grammar* more than 200 years ago (see Chapter 5). Both Murray's writing desk and wheeled invalid chair are carefully



stored indoors, while his summer house that formerly stood on the extensive grounds surrounding his home has now been given a prominent location on the grounds of the Mount School (for further information and pictures, see Allott 1991: 38, 41 and 63).



Figure 1.2 *Plaque in memory of Quaker Friends in York.*



Figure 1.3 *Headstones of Lindley and Hannah Murray at Bishophill, York.*

While in York, a visit was made to the Murrays' former home in Holgate, which building, after many renovations, has recently been converted into several apartments. I furthermore visited Bishophill, the location where Murray and his wife Hannah are buried. The Quaker burial grounds of earlier days needed to make way for an apartment building, but rather than digging up and destroying the remains, only the headstones of several prominent Quakers were moved to the edges of the former graveyard, so that they now rest near the wall of the garden that has become part of the property. Figure 1.2 above shows the plaque that commemorates these Quakers, mounted on the side of the apartment building, and Figure 1.3 above shows the headstones for Lindley and Hannah Murray.

The twenty other repositories, scattered over two continents, that held one or more – and sometimes many more, as in the case of Hertfordshire Archives in Hertford, England, with thirty-nine letters – of Murray's autographs, when requested sent photocopies or photographs of the letters, sometimes even at no charge at all. In addition to the 259 letters of Murray that were thus obtained, I have been able to purchase three of his autograph letters. Collecting Murray's letters for research and transcription will prove to be an ongoing process. According to Hemlow (1968: 27), “[i]t was the custom in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, at the deaths of the *recipients*, to return packets of letters received, usually docketed and suitable tied, to the *writers*. The letter was the property of the writer and was often so claimed”; and Hemlow gives here the example of the schoolmaster and book collector Charles Burney (1757–1817; *ODNB*, s.v. “Burney, Charles”), who “after the death of his second wife in 1796, destroyed 500 or more of his letters to her, which he found she had saved, and an equal number of her replies to them” (Hemlow 1968: 29). Murray had furthermore objected to the publication of any of his letters, according to his assistant Frank (Murray 1826: xi), who commissioned the publication of Murray's memoirs after his death. As Reibel (2005: 15) noted, in her will Frank specified that after her decease all of Murray's letters and other manuscripts that were in her possession had to be burned. It can be safely assumed, therefore, that Murray wrote many more than the 283, both autograph and printed, letters that I have been able to retrieve so far.

Although my corpus has grown bigger than anticipated at the start of this study in 2006 (when an estimated 200 letters were expected to be identified), I therefore strongly suspect that even more letters of Murray are yet to be discovered. Research has already confirmed that he is

known to have written other letters, but whether they are still extant remains to be established. References to such letters were, for instance, found in Cornell University's *Catalogue of Rare and Valuable Autograph Letters* [...] (1907). In this respect, it is the frustration of every scholar when material remains unavailable for research, despite continuous efforts to obtain it. I am, for example, aware of at least one autograph letter being in the possession of a private collector, who, though known to me, has denied me access to this letter for historical sociolinguistic research. This American collector furthermore acquired a letter book containing more than thirty handwritten copies of Murray's letters that are not in my corpus – which in all probability were copied by the recipients – the contents of which will possibly remain equally inaccessible for research.

### 1.3 Methodology

As introduced in Section 1.1, my initial starting point for this study had been the question how Murray's own language – as found in his out-letters – would relate to the rules that he had laid down in his *English Grammar* (1795). As soon as a start was made with the transcription of the collected letters to this purpose, however, it became apparent that, first of all, it needed to be established *who* the man Lindley Murray was, so that the contents of his letters could be adequately analysed from a combined historical and linguistic perspective. Earlier biographies provided only fragmentary information and were largely based on Murray's own memoirs, which, as I shall illustrate in Chapter 2, were written with a specific goal in mind that has to be considered when interpreting the contents. I therefore consulted various Quaker institutions and libraries, both in the United States and in England, in order to learn more about Quaker governance and customs. Personal interviews and authoritative Quaker publications provided me with sufficient background information to try and understand what being a Quaker meant in the time that Murray lived and how this would have influenced his way of life and his writings. As the present study will show, this knowledge proved highly worthwhile when studying Murray's *Memoirs* (1826), but it was no less essential for the interpretation of his letters.

In this and the following chapters, therefore, many passages are cited from Murray's letters, as well as from those of his correspondents. Relevant constructions and emphasis in these and other quotations are highlighted in boldface type. For the linguistic analysis of the letters I was able to make use of the concordancing program WordSmith Tools,

developed by Mike Scott (2008), which produced the context of a particular word or phrase in Murray's letters and allowed for frequency analyses. Unfortunately, the search for words containing long <s> – the analysis of which is discussed in Section 4.4.2 – had to be done manually, because the software does not recognize this particular allograph. When preparing my corpus for analysis, I excluded all passages in Murray's letters that appeared to be quotations, since these would not be his actual words and therefore do not reflect his usage.

My analysis of Murray's grammars was primarily based on Alston's (1965) overview, although, as will be illustrated in Section 5.2, Alston's list of editions and reprints of the grammars is far from complete. In order of their first appearance (see also Section 5.1 and Appendix A), Murray's grammars are: the *English Grammar* (1795), the *Abridgment* (1797) and the two-volume *English Grammar* (1808). In addition, he published the following English language textbooks: *English Exercises* (1797), *Key to the Exercises* (1797), *English Reader* (1799), *Sequel to the English Reader* (1800), *Introduction to the English Reader* (1801), *English Spelling-Book* (1804), and *First Book for Children* (1805). Another valuable tool for the present study has been the database *Eighteenth Century Collections Online (ECCO)*, which at the moment of writing contained over 180,000 titles, including books, pamphlets and essays, published during the eighteenth century. The database allowed me to search through many eighteenth-century volumes, including several of Murray's grammars. Unfortunately, from the viewpoint of the present study at least, *ECCO* only covers the eighteenth century and the first edition of Murray's *English Grammar* was not published until 1795. This means that at the time of writing this study, of the *English Grammar*, for instance, only four editions were included in *ECCO*, with the publication dates 1795, 1796, 1797 and 1799. To enable me to compare more editions for editorial adaptations by Murray – but limiting myself to the period when Murray lived and thus would have been able to edit or adapt them – I searched the online book repository *Google Books* and subscribed to email-alerts from the auction website *eBay* in order to receive notices when one of his grammars was offered for sale. As a result, I have collected until this moment thirteen additional editions of Murray's *English Grammar*, nine of which were purchased through *eBay*.<sup>10</sup> Unless mentioned otherwise, for the comparison

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<sup>10</sup> In addition to these nine editions of the *English Grammar*, I have thus far managed to purchase through *eBay* four editions of the *Abridgment*, three of the *English Exercises*, and one copy of the two-volume edition *An English Grammar*, which makes for

of Murray's grammatical rules to his own usage only the first edition of Murray's *English Grammar* was used. Whenever reference is made to Murray's grammars in the plural, this concerns Murray's grammatical textbooks collectively.

### 1.3.1 *Structure of this study*

For reasons given in the introduction above, a fairly large part of this study, i.e. Chapter 2, is reserved for a biographical sketch of Murray. To this purpose, I have studied the existing biographical works on Murray, which were mostly based on his *Memoirs* (Murray 1826; e.g. Allott 1991, Reibel 1996a, Monaghan 1998), as well as biographical data that could be retrieved from his letters. Where memoirs can be considered as formal writing, the genre of private letters also comprises informal writing (Biber/Finegan 1997: 265), and therefore I expected to find that Murray included information in his letters that he would have deemed inappropriate or too personal for his memoirs. I was correct in thinking so. Since only few of his letters have been studied by his biographers, the result of the analysis of my corpus was the establishment of a more complete picture of Murray than had been available thus far, with surprising findings.

According to Aarsleff (1967: 10), if we wish to gain the proper depth of historical perspective, we must seek to recapture all relevant contemporary knowledge, and that includes developments in religious thought; “[any] effort to study ... apart from that context will give less than a full understanding”. As Murray was a Quaker, I deemed it essential, therefore, to examine his Quakerism. In Chapter 3 I shall discuss in detail what being a Quaker entailed at the time and how this influenced Murray's life, while it subsequently left its mark on his letter writing *and* grammar writing. In addition, in two sections, two particular forms of typical “Quaker Speak” (Heron 2003: title page) by Murray are analysed.

In Chapter 4 Murray's letters are further discussed. In the eighteenth century, letter writing was an art that had to be acquired, and letters were rarely spontaneous outpourings (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006b: 252). On top of that, Murray's letters show that he grew into a restrained letter writer, who carefully weighed his words against the ruling principles of the Quaker community. Nevertheless, his letters provide us with a wealth of information, not only of a biographical nature,

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a total of seventeen grammatical textbooks by Murray from the period 1802–1826 that are currently in my private possession.

but also because they give important insight into Murray's social network and language use. In the same chapter the physical aspects of Murray's letters are discussed in detail. The letters have been transcribed as closely as possible to the original manuscripts and all original spelling in Murray's letters has been retained; this concerns e.g. capitalization, abbreviations, punctuation, the use of long <s>, as well as spelling errors and self-corrections. Because of its remarkableness, one of these spelling features, Murray's use of the long <s>, will be focused on particularly, together with one linguistic peculiarity found, i.e. Murray's use of personal pronouns when addressing his recipients or referring to himself. Also in Chapter 4, I shall provide an overview of Murray's most prominent correspondents and illustrate how he managed to stay in contact with them through periods of political turmoil. A complete list of Murray's autograph letters with corresponding addressees in my corpus is given in Appendix B.

Chapter 5 deals with Murray as a grammar writer. In general, eighteenth-century grammars aimed at a section of the population that was interested in trying to rise in society (cf. Fitzmaurice 2008: 309; Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2010a: 78). This was, however, not so much the case with Murray's grammar, as I intend to demonstrate. "I had a view to / the Schools of friends, throughout all the books" (Murray to George Dillwyn, May 1799; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F3), Murray wrote on the subject of the *English Grammar* and its *Abridgment*, and the education of the young girls at the Quaker boarding school, for whom the grammar was originally intended, was characterized by a practical approach and a discouragement of "all that is thought merely ornamental" (Sturges 1931: 10). In this chapter figures are given for the sales of Murray's textbooks, Murray's plan for the grammar is outlined and comments on his publications by Murray's contemporaries as well as by present-day scholars and critics are discussed. For this part of the present study particularly, the search for sources was greatly facilitated by the use of internet search engines, electronic research databases and online newspaper archives. My analysis of all sources that were thus available to me resulted in finding numerous references to Murray and his grammar, by both prominent and lesser-known people, of which only a small part has been included here. Additionally, in this chapter Murray's attitude towards competitors in the field of grammar writing is analysed, and his activities when marketing his grammars are described.

Murray stressed in a letter to his brother that "[c]riticisms whether for or against, are useful to me" (Murray to John Murray, 1 April 1806;

SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F16). In the context of this remark, Watts (1999: 40) considers “[g]rammar writers as a ‘discourse community’”, and although Murrays letters do not give much evidence for this, I added to Chapter 5 a section with examples on how Murray dealt with criticism that he received from several people, including educators and grammar writers. While Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2002: 467) notes that Lowth is a “unique person to study, because he was both a letter writer and a codifier”, this holds equally true for Murray. And as his letters illustrate, see Section 5.7 particularly, Murray had indeed been subject to many an internal and external linguistic dispute, just as his predecessor Lowth must have been, according to Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2002: 467).

In Chapter 6 Murray’s language as found in his out-letters will be compared to the rules he compiled in his *English Grammar* (1795). As introduced above, the eighteenth century is generally considered to be the age of prescriptivism – although, judging by the number of grammars produced, this holds even more for the nineteenth century, as Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2008b: 6; see also Mugglestone 2006b) argues; but it is also seen as the age in which a popular culture of letter writing developed and codes of politeness became fixed (Hickey 2010b: 1; Whyman 2009: 218). Both views come together in this chapter, which, contrary to the earlier chapters, is mainly based on quantitative research. It would go too far for the present study to provide a detailed analysis of all of the rules in the *English Grammar* in relation to Murray’s own usage; for the comparisons in Chapter 6, therefore, I have based my analysis on two existing lists of normative strictures: the first is a present-day compilation of “grammatical shibboleths”, several of which go back to the eighteenth century (Crystal 1995: 194); the second one contains eighteenth-century grammatical proscriptions, taken from the main source for Murray’s grammar, i.e. Lowth’s *Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762; Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006a: 553–555). This approach resulted in the analysis of eighteen grammatical features, to which I have added two spelling features because they are likewise dealt with in Murray’s *English Grammar* and are significant in his letters, i.e. the use of capitalized nouns and the spelling variants *shew* and *show*.

My final chapter, Chapter 7, contains the conclusions to this study. Moreover, five appendices have been added: Appendix A gives an overview of Murray’s publications; Appendix B contains a list of Murray’s autograph letters plus corresponding addressees; Appendix C holds images of two of Murray’s autograph letters to illustrate his script and

letter-folding practice; in Appendix D I have added transcriptions of a substantial part of two of Murray's letters, which are discussed in Section 5.7, because they deal almost entirely with linguistic issues, i.e. grammar, spelling and pronunciation; finally, Appendix E shows a chronology of events, related to Murray's lifetime, i.e. 1745–1826.



## 2 Lindley Murray (1745–1826): his life and career

*The grammarian is not a law-giver, though he seems to be; the laws he pretends to make are so many green whites, and the Samson of current speech does not even go to sleep and let them bind him.*  
(*The Yorkshire Herald*, February 1901)

### 2.1 Introduction

Contradicting the observation above, Baugh/Cable (2002: 272) note that in the eighteenth century the grammarian did set himself up as a law-giver: “he pronounced judgment”; and Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2008b: 1) defines language codification as “the laying down of the ‘laws’ of the language”. In Lindley Murray’s case the professions of lawyer and grammarian go hand-in-hand, as I intend to show in the course of this chapter. As mentioned in the previous chapter, after his textbooks had become less popular, for a long time Murray’s life and works were not given much scholarly attention. Two fairly recent biographies of the “Quaker Grammarian” (Monaghan 1998: 4) have been very useful for the present chapter that intends to portray this eighteenth-century grammarian: Allott (1991) on Lindley Murray in particular, and Monaghan’s (1998) discussion of the Murray family in general, in which its “most illustrious member” takes a prominent place (Monaghan 1998: 4). Allott (1991) used Murray’s *Memoirs* (1826) as the basis for his biography of Lindley Murray, and his focus, to a large extent, is on the period when Murray lived in York, England. He devotes an entire chapter to these *Memoirs*, keeping Murray’s “own punctuation and spelling”, while adding annotations to the original text (Allott 1991: 1). Allott further provides the few pieces of background information that exist on Murray’s assistant Elizabeth Frank (c.1773–c.1850), who was instrumental in publishing the *Memoirs*. The following passage is from Allott (1991), who cites a letter from Murray to his brother John from June 1801:

The young woman that resides with us is named Elizabeth Frank. She has been in our family about seven years, and is about 28 years of age. She is of a respectable family, her father a justice of the Peace, and a man of large property. She is a well bred woman, well educated, and very sensible. (Allott 1991: 52)

Monaghan’s (1998: 5) “extended biographical discussion” of the Murray family focuses primarily on Murray’s years in America and is

likewise largely based on the *Memoirs*, but also on the contents of several of Murray's letters. Unfortunately, Monaghan's interpretation of facts is occasionally misleading and inaccurate, and at times severely injurious to Murray's reputation. In this and the following chapters, I have set the record straight by rectifying what I consider to be the most damaging of these inaccuracies. Monaghan, at the same time, considers Murray's *Memoirs* to be a valuable repository of information, and this is unquestionably so. The volume was written in the form of six autobiographical letters, addressed to Frank as "My dear Friend", because Murray imagined this narrative form to "have some advantages" (Murray 1826: 2). Frank added to these letters a "Preface, and a Continuation of the Memoirs" (Murray 1826: title page), and the book was published less than six months after Murray's death, in 1826, offering a wealth of biographical information that, according to Monaghan (1998: 7), however, might not pass a test of weighing its assertions against known facts. In the preface to the *Memoirs*, Frank explained her reasons for publishing Murray's biography (Murray 1826: iii–xiv): the grammarian had obtained such "celebrity", and his works had excited such interest, that an "authentic account of his life and character" was called for. To this purpose, she had started to make notes during Murray's lifetime, in preparation for publication after his demise.

Frank stressed that she had experienced considerable difficulty convincing Murray to allow her to do so, because Murray, as she stated, kept demurring about the propriety of having his biography published and continually expressed "an apprehension, that neither the subject, nor the manner in which it is treated, is worthy of public notice and approbation". This reluctance on Murray's side seems a bit forced, however. After all, by that time he had grown into a devout Quaker, and within the Quaker community the publication of a collection of memories, of any size, and quite often in the form of a series of letters, was firmly encouraged in Murray's days (and even long after), since they formed part of Quaker testimonies and were meant to detail their spiritual experiences. Quakers commonly published journals and memoirs after their deaths: their writings were recommended as spare-time reading, especially to adolescent Quakers, and served as an example of good living (Stewart 1971). As Vann/Eversley (1992: 9) formulated this practice, Quakers "were as industrious in writing about themselves as in every other sphere of their lives". In the process, the custom was either to remove or explain away all actions that might be considered untoward.

When reading Murray's *Memoirs*, we further have to bear in mind – as will be extensively discussed in Chapter 3 below – that at the time all publications by Quakers had to be approved by the Quaker authoritative body for church affairs. Therefore, to form a proper judgement of its contents, it needs to be taken into account that publication of Frank's volume will have been subject to this approval of the Quaker authorities. The first of the six letters was written in 1806 and the last one in 1809 (although Murray extensively revised his portion of the *Memoirs* in 1823, see Allott 1991: 42). Autobiographies, by their very nature, are subjective documents, and since Murray's *Memoirs* were intended to be exemplary to future generations of Quakers, as all his books were for that matter, its publication will have been no exception. Murray remarked that in the process of writing it he wished to “avoid every species of undue self prominence, as well as to repress whatever may be considered as false delicacy”, but he admitted that he might “sometimes err, in prosecuting these intentions” (Murray 1826: 2). The *Memoirs* are, however, illustrative of which events Murray at a later stage of his life thought important enough to record, and how he would like to be remembered. If at all necessary, the fact that Hannah Dobson (1748–1834), his wife, survived him for eight years will have ensured that Frank indeed submitted her biographical account “exactly as received from the author”, as she specified in the preface (Murray 1826: viii). I have therefore decided to view the *Memoirs*, in as far as it concerns the six letters of Murray (1826: 1–130), as his autobiography, despite the fact that it was edited by Frank after his death.

In addition to these books and several other valuable sources of biographical information, for the present study into Murray's life and career as a grammarian I have based my analysis on a further source, supplied by Murray himself: his letters. The decision to do so was not free from ambivalence. According to Frank, Murray had expressed a desire that after his death “none of his letters should on any occasion, or in any manner, be published” (Murray 1826: xi), let alone be analysed in minute detail. For all that, their nature as a source for the present study cannot be valued too highly. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, the 262 autograph out-letters of Murray that I have collected for this study were written to a great number of people of a widely varied background, Quakers as well as non-Quakers. They cover a period of fifty-nine years, with the first letter in my corpus dating from 1767, which is the year that Murray turned twenty-two and had just got married. From the subsequent years until the Murrays settled in England, at the beginning of

1785, I have been able to locate no more than two additional letters. All remaining letters in my corpus were written from this year onward, in England.

The year 1785 is significant in the sense that it divides Murray's long life into two parts of, more or less, equal length. This division is determined both geographically and socially: the first forty years of Murray's life were mostly spent in America – with the exception of a period of three years when Murray and his wife Hannah joined his father in London, to assist him in setting up a business there – where, following his formative years, he worked as a lawyer and merchant; after he had permanently settled in England in 1785, Murray started to write, first a religious book, but soon textbooks followed, while at the same time he became heavily involved in philanthropical work. Lack of sufficient letters to reconstruct the first half of his life compels me to fall back on secondary sources such as Allott (1991) and Monaghan (1998), together with Murray's autobiography in the form of the six letters joined together in the *Memoirs*, which, as Murray wrote, communicate his memoirs "especially" of "earlier periods" of his life (Murray 1826: 1). Ample correspondence written in England, however, provides valuable information that will be used to try and complete the picture of the grammarian that Murray became: these letters can rightfully be considered as a continuation of his autobiography. Focal points for this biographical chapter will be Murray's education, religious outlook and character traits – aspects of his life that will provide a necessary background to the chapters to come, which includes an analysis of the language rules as found in Murray's grammar and their comparison to his own usage. I shall additionally focus on Murray's health because this topic has been subjected to much speculation in the past decade or so (see e.g. Monaghan 1998). To this purpose I shall cite from autobiographical works by other people, the majority of whom were Quakers. Section 2.2 will deal with the first half of Murray's life, i.e. his years in America; while Section 2.3 will describe Murray's life and labour in England from 1785 onward, with special focus on his illness in Section 2.3.1. The final Section 2.4 will contain some concluding remarks.

## 2.2 1745–1784: Murray in America

As the first of the six autobiographical letters in the *Memoirs* (Murray 1826: 1–14) tells us, Lindley Murray was born in 1745 – on 27 March, to be exact (see Lindly 1924: 343) – in "Swetara, near Lancaster, in the state

of Pennsylvania” in America (Murray 1826: 3; see also Section 1.1),<sup>1</sup> as the oldest child of Robert Murray (1721–1786) and Mary Lindley (d1780). The family soon grew numerous: eleven more children would follow, eight girls and three boys (Lindly 1924: 343–344), but only four of them would survive into adulthood: Mary (b1752), John (1758–1819), Beulah (1762–1800), and Susannah (1764–1808). As Murray summarized his parents’ background, they were “of respectable characters, and in the middle station of life”. The ancestors of his father were Presbyterians of Scottish descent and had emigrated via Ireland to America in 1732; his mother was the daughter of an Irish Quaker immigrant. At the time of Murray’s birth in 1745 his father possessed a well-run flour mill, but Robert Murray was an ambitious man, and when Lindley was about eight years old, the family moved to New York, where his father would make a fortune in business. This process of moneymaking is pictured as follows by Murray:

[My father] being of an enterprising spirit, and anxious to provide handsomely for his family, he made several voyages to the West Indies, in the way of trade, by which he considerably augmented his property. Pursuing his inclinations, he, in time, acquired large possessions, and became one of the most respectable merchants in America.

In the pursuit of business, he was steady and indefatigable. During the middle period of his life, he had extensive concerns in ships; and was engaged in a variety of other mercantile affairs. (Murray 1826: 3)

By contrast, Murray described his mother Mary as “a woman of an amiable disposition, and remarkable for mildness, humanity, and liberality of sentiment ... a faithfull and affectionate wife, a tender mother, and a kind mistress” (Murray 1826: 4). At this point in the *Memoirs* Murray briefly wrote how he mourned the loss of “[t]his excellent mother” in 1780, and he finished the rough sketch of his father with the remark that Robert “did not possess the advantages of a liberal education; by which his talents and virtues might have been still more extensively useful”. The death of Robert Murray six years later is extensively discussed in the *Memoirs* in the fourth letter (Murray 1826: 77–78; see

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<sup>1</sup> Nowadays, this tiny township is called Swatara, and it is situated in the county of Lebanon, Pennsylvania.

Section 2.3). Murray's parents were both Quakers at the time he was born. According to Monaghan (1998: 14), Robert Murray had converted to Quakerism to be able to marry Mary Lindley, which gained him access to "the top echelon of Pennsylvania's Quaker merchants". One of Lindley Murray's nieces, Mary Colden Wadsworth, remembered her grandparents as follows:

My Grand Father, Robert Murray, descended from an ancient house in Ireland ... [he] settled in New York, he was one of the most eminent Merchants in the city and wealthy – he had a partner in England by the name of Sansom .... My Grand parents lived in a style of life corresponding to their wealth. Almost every foreigner brought letters of introduction to them, and were hospitably and elegantly entertained at their table. (Colden Wadsworth 1819: 29; NYPL: MS, Ford Collection)

Murray stressed that he and his siblings were duly raised in the Quaker spirit by their parents:

[They] were concerned to promote the religious welfare of their children. They often gave us salutary admonition, and trained us up to attend the public worship of God. The Holy Scriptures were read in the family: a duty which, when regularly and devoutly performed, must be fraught with the most beneficial effects. (Murray 1826: 4)

Nevertheless, as Wright (1995) notes, Murray's parents were certainly "not strict in their behaviour or beliefs, having the Scriptures read each morning and evening in the family and ensuring that Lindley had a true and complete understanding of them", and she finds that neither of them used "the 'thee' and 'thou' form of address" (Wright 1995: 24), customary among Quakers. Murray's emphasis on his spiritual upbringing, however, is illustrative of the purpose of the *Memoirs*; it reflects Murray's religious ideology at an advanced age and at the same time set an example for present and future generations of Quakers.

Murray pictured himself as an exceptionally precocious child in his *Memoirs* (cf. Allott 1991: 34):

That activity of body, for which I was remarkable in youth and mature life, commenced at an early age.\* When I was only nine

months old, I frequently escaped, as I have been informed, from the care of the family; and, unnoticed by them, made my way from the house to the mill, which were more than a hundred yards distant from each other. (Murray 1826: 5–6)

His memory may have played him false here, because, undoubtedly with unintended irony, Frank added a footnote to this passage which questions the exactness of his recollections. It says:

\* The first months of the author's life afforded no promise either of bodily or mental vigour. Till he was about half a year old, he was almost perpetually crying. His countenance gave no indication of intelligence .... She [i.e. Murray's mother] often said, that if, at that time, Providence had been pleased to take away her first-born, she should have thought the dispensation merciful, both to the poor little infant and its parents. (Murray 1826: 5)

Murray appeared to have outgrown his sickly infancy, because he continued to describe himself in his memoirs as an active, occasionally mischievous, boy throughout his childhood, spoiled by his grandmother and an aunt. His memory tricked him, again, when he wrote how he was sent at “an early period”, being six or seven years old, to the Academy of Philadelphia to “have the advantage of a better school than the country afforded”. As Allott (1991: 34) notes, the school's enrolment list shows that Murray did not start there until 1756, when he was already ten or eleven years old. There Murray joined the English Department and he stressed how, “even at that age” (which, in effect, appears to have been not all that early), he read passages from *The Travels of Cyrus*.<sup>2</sup> It must have been around this time that during a visit to Newport, Rhode Island, Murray met the Quaker Nathanael Greene (1742–1786; *ANB*, s.v. “Greene, Nathanael”), a future general of the American Revolution. “[I]n the society of his cultivated friend [i.e. Murray]”, with whom he had many profitable discussions on the subject of his readings, Greene was said to have “advanced rapidly towards a fuller appreciation of his own powers and acquisitions”, and “[t]he study of Watts's Logic, and Locke on the Understanding, was among the first fruits of his friendship with

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<sup>2</sup> The full title of the book, written by Andrew Ramsay, is *A New Cyropaedia, or the Travels of Cyrus, with a Discourse on the Theology & Mythology of the Ancients* (first published in Paris in 1727, under the title *Les Voyages de Cyrus*).

Murray” (Sparks 1846: 13, 14). Murray thoroughly enjoyed his time at the Academy of Philadelphia and he mentioned that he regretted that it was only a short one, because his parents had decided that he should accompany them when they moved to North Carolina. Robert Murray apparently expected “some commercial advantages” from their stay there, but it would turn out to be a brief one, because about two years after Murray had left the Academy of Philadelphia, the family moved to New York.<sup>3</sup>

In New York Murray attended “a good school”, where he made “the usual progress of young learners”. As the following passage from the *Memoirs* illustrates, he appears to have been a typical school boy who very much liked to play, yet still managed to do his homework besides:

Being extremely fond of play, I believe I rarely neglected any opportunity of indulging this propensity. At the times of vacation, I generally enjoyed myself with diversions, till the period for returning to school approached. I then applied myself vigorously to the task that had been previously assigned me; and I do not recollect that I ever failed to perform it, to the satisfaction of my teacher. A heedless boy, I was far from reflecting, how much more prudent it would have been, if I had, in the first place, secured the lesson, and afterwards indulged myself in my playful pursuits. These would not then have been interrupted, by uneasy reflections on the subject of my task, or by a consciousness of unwarrantable negligence. – Sometimes I absented myself from school, to enjoy a greater degree of play and amusement. During these pleasures, the idea of impending correction, would occasionally come across my mind ... I concluded that if I must be corrected, I would not lose the pleasure I then had. (Murray 1826: 9–10)

Even as a boy Murray seems to have had an inquisitive nature, which he considered sometimes to have been “unwarrantable curiosity” instead. As an example of this, he wrote how he wished to study “the natural dispositions of animals”, though overlooking in the process the fact that “teasing them” was a form of cruelty and marked “a depraved turn of mind”.

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<sup>3</sup> Murray remembered the year of their moving to New York as 1753, but Allott (1991: 35) has established that it cannot have been until 1757 or, even more likely, 1758.



The second letter in the *Memoirs* (Murray 1826: 15–37) deals with the period after his leaving school and subsequently being trained for business. Interestingly, in view of Murray's later illness and career development, he introduced this letter by explaining how a person's choice of type of employment should depend on their "inclinations, genius and **bodily constitutions**", because it will "probably continue for life". He added that if these factors were opposed, "progress must be slow, and the ultimate attainments very limited". Although Murray remembered that he was put to work at his father's counting house "[a]t an early age", in reality he must have been about fifteen years old at the time.<sup>4</sup> He stressed that he had, however, no wish at all to become a merchant, but that his father kept him to the counting-house business, restraints which Murray conceived as undue on account of his "lively spirits and allowable indulgences". In the hope of lessening his son's dislike for the business, his father then sent him to a merchant in Philadelphia – the centre of Quaker religion at the time and a city which had already grown to be a cosmopolitan community – but this was to no avail and Murray was soon allowed to return to New York. It was only after his father had given him a great number of silver watches, imported from England and for Murray to sell as he pleased, that he became enthusiastic at the prospect of earning a considerable amount of money.

Murray's father was a strict parent and this meant that Murray was not allowed to leave the house in the evenings. When on one occasion he had ignored this rule, his father punished him, unjustly, so Murray felt, so he decided to run away from home. Murray explained how at first he had been hesitant to mention this escapade of which he was not proud, but since it was illustrative of his character at the time, he felt it needed to be included after all. He described his decision as follows:

I could not bear it; and I resolved to leave my father's house, and seek, in a distant country, what I conceived to be an asylum, or a better fortune. Young and ardent, I did not want confidence in my own powers; and I presumed that, with health and strength which I possessed in a superior degree, I could support myself, and make

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<sup>4</sup> Following Allott's calculations, if Murray attended school in New York from 1757 or 1758 onward – a school period which included several vacations, as Murray remembered – he will not have started at his father's business until about 1759 or 1760. In the eighteenth century this was not an early age for boys to start their apprenticeship.

my way happily through life. I meditated on my plan; and came to the resolution of taking my books and all my property with me, to a town in the interior of the country; where I had understood there was an excellent seminary, kept by a man of distinguished talents and learning. (Murray 1826: 18–19)

The next seven pages of the *Memoirs* are devoted to this event. Murray, by this time a young man, settled as a boarder in the above-mentioned seminary, situated in the vicinity of Philadelphia, and began his studies, which he greatly enjoyed. He also enjoyed his independence, but at the same time missed the “attentions of a most affectionate mother”. His stay there would not be long though. Although Murray had no intention of going back to New York, an unexpected meeting with an acquaintance of his father resulted in Murray being tricked to deliver a letter to an address in that city, where an uncle who “happened to be there” persuaded him to visit his mother, who had been “greatly distressed on account of my absence”. Because both his parents proved glad to see him again, Murray abandoned the idea of leaving for a second time, and he was happily “restored to the bosom of my family”. It is worth mentioning here that Murray described this adventure as a “rash and imprudent” one, while it appears that in effect it had been a rather well-considered decision.

Shortly after these events, Murray asked for a private tutor, to instruct him in “classical knowledge and liberal studies”, and he “sat up late, and rose early, in the prosecution” of them, which did not at all agree with his “constitution”; as Murray put it, his “sickly hue proclaimed the intenseness of [his] application”. According to Monaghan (1998), at the time, a “liberal education” aimed for achievement of an understanding of history, literature and science, and, as a “product of the Enlightenment”, the concept asserted to prepare a person for a thoughtful life. As Monaghan concludes from the *Memoirs*, Murray “hewed to” this ideal throughout his life (Monaghan 1998: 34). In spite of Murray’s efforts his achievements were, however, limited, as he wrote modestly, and his “stock of knowledge and literary improvement has, consequently, been always far from extensive”. It was about the same time that Murray joined a “society of young persons, for the purpose of debating on subjects of importance and difficulty, and of exercising ourselves in the art of elocution”. This debating club, which was “something of a secret society” according to Bryce Scott (1933: 13), was called *The Calliopean*. Its membership, limited to sixty men, comprised among

others an initiation fee, annual dues and a system of fines, and meetings were held weekly throughout the year, on Tuesday evenings at six o'clock. Murray prepared amply for these meetings by reading books and collecting arguments for debate, and he found that this was very helpful in enlarging his general knowledge and fluency of expression. At the same time, he argued, such debating societies carried the risk of encouraging a "spirit of disputation and loquacity" as well as scepticism, and as a result its youthful members might lose their "veneration for truth, virtue, and religion".

Despite these possible dangers, Murray's mind nevertheless "improved", as he described it, and at the age of seventeen or eighteen he expressed to his father the wish to become a lawyer, a profession which, as he wrote, was connected with "literary pursuits". Robert Murray was, however, opposed to his son's plan, because he imagined it would lead him "to deviate from the principles and conduct of that religious society of which [he] was a member". He tried to convince his son of the advantages of becoming a merchant instead, "both in point of emolument and respectability", but to no avail. Unable initially to persuade his father, Murray adopted a new strategy and presented his case in writing, including all the arguments "in support of this propensity" and answers to "every objection which had been advanced against" it. This produced the desired result, and "a considerable sum of money" ensured that he was placed at the office of his father's legal counsellor, Benjamin Kissam (1728–1782).

Murray described how his studies and work during the next four years were not always exciting, as many "barren and uninviting tracts" as well as "discordant views" had to be studied, but nevertheless time "rolled on very pleasantly". His fellow student for two years at Kissam's law office, fondly remembered by Murray as "an old friend", was John Jay (1745–1829; *ANB*, s.v. "Jay, John"), a future governor of the State of New York and the first Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. In *The Life of John Jay* (1833), published by Jay's son, Murray is likewise referred to as "Mr. Jay's old friend and fellow-student" (Jay 1833: 342). Although Jay was not a Quaker, this did not seem to matter to Murray (or to Jay, for that matter); some of his other friends, as Murray wrote, had not even been religious: they were "either deists or sceptics". After these four years of internship, the two men went their separate ways, but in 1794 Murray wrote to Jay, who had just been appointed America's envoy extraordinary to the British court, to congratulate him and to express his wish that "when thou hast been happily instrumental in removing every

cause of uneasiness and discord between Great Britain and America, thou mayst find thyself authorized to tender the mediation of America to the present belligerent powers” (i.e. France and England; Jay 1833: 343). The letter was accompanied by a revised edition of Murray’s book *The Power of Religion* – and, according to Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2010b), “you gave only second editions of your books to close friends” – and it included an invitation to Holdgate, but Jay replied that he did not dare promise he would come, because his time was not his own. Jay, furthermore, favourably commented on the “sentiments diffused” in the book, adding that, unfortunately, “our opinions are oftener right than our conduct” (Jay 1833: 345). A few months later, Jay would indeed prove successful in negotiating a treaty with England. Following his law studies, at the age of about twenty-two, Murray was called to the bar and became licensed to practise “both as counsel and attorney, according to the custom of that time, in all the courts of the province of New York”.

The third letter in the *Memoirs* (Murray 1826: 38–60) begins with Murray’s philosophical statement that the “two most important events of a man’s life, are generally those of his entering into business for himself, and his forming the connexion of marriage”. He added that his business was “promising” and that his marriage was a happy one. Murray had become attached to Hannah Dobson somewhere halfway through his law studies and these feelings of attachment had soon proved mutual, which had resulted in the young couple getting married on 22 June 1767, after “two years’ acquaintance”. On the final pages of the previous letter in his memoirs Murray had already introduced his wife of “more than forty years” as “a young woman of personal attractions, good sense, a most amiable disposition, and of a worthy and respectable family”. He described her and their life together in very affectionate terms and wrote how he found that their “esteem and love for each other, have not diminished with advancing years”. Frank confirmed their happy marriage and described how Murray “never failed to congratulate” his wife on their anniversary (Murray 1826: 160–166), sometimes even in writing. In a letter to his brother John, Murray pictured their relationship after forty-one years as follows:

It is now more than Forty one years since we / were joined together: and, through the whole of this period, / I have found her invariably a dear and tender companion, / and one that has been remarkably suited to all my cir= / cumstances in life, and, in short, adapted to all my wishes. / I humbly trust that our connexion, our

love and happi= / ness in each other, will not end with time.  
(Murray to John Murray, 4 July 1808; SC: *Lindley Murray papers*  
RG5/198 S1 F17)

Not long after Murray had started his business, his father, who had gone to London earlier “on commercial matters of importance”, asked him to join him there. According to his son, Robert Murray had been “considerably indisposed” for many years previous to this trip to England: “at the best, his constitution was but delicate”. When Murray joined his father he found him, however, in much better health and initially concluded that the climate in England was apparently very beneficial.<sup>5</sup> A few months after Murray had arrived by himself, the entire Murray family came over from New York to join father and son, including Murray’s young wife Hannah, because Murray at that point “did not expect to return very soon”. Murray described their stay in England as follows:

When I first came to this country, I had not fixed any time for my continuance in it: but soon after my arrival it appeared probable that, in the course of a year, I should return to America. There was not, therefore, much opportunity for my dear partner and myself to gratify our curiosity, in surveying what was instructive and interesting in this highly cultivated and happy land. We, however, made good use of our time; and were much pleased with the novelty and information, which, on every side, continually pressed for attention. (Murray 1826: 40)

Expectations about the duration of Murray’s stay in England appear to have varied. In the end it turned out to be about three years before Murray and his wife sailed back to New York, which was towards the end of 1771, while the rest of the Murray family stayed behind for a few more years, until they, too, returned in 1775. Earlier in 1771, a young medical student and Quaker from Philadelphia named Thomas Parke (1749–1835; cf. Bell 1949) had visited London,<sup>6</sup> where he frequently met

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<sup>5</sup> Later, however, Murray observed that this benefit to his father’s health had only been temporary.

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Parke later married Rachel Pemberton, the daughter of James Pemberton (1723–1809; *ODNB*, s.v. “Pemberton, James”) and niece of Israel Pemberton (1715–1779), “the ‘King of the Quakers’” (Bell 1949: 578). From a social network perspective it may be interesting to note here that Parke was a good friend of the

with the entire Murray family. Parke wrote in his journal about the trip, and Bell (1951) records how he mentioned that there “[h]e saw a great deal, too, of Lindley Murray and his wife, and after they returned to New York he continued to visit Murray’s father in London” (Bell 1951: 241). Bell added that

Parke made many little excursions with Lindley Murray and his wife; he found the former always agreeable company, the latter he thought pretty and good-natured. Together they witnessed the Horse Guards parade and saw the changing of the guard at St. James’s Palace. They visited Westminster Abbey, which Parke thought “curious”, and Westminster Hall, which struck him as small and meaner than he expected it to be. They went to Sadlers Wells, “famous for Rope Dancing &c.,” and often strolled along the enchanting paths of Vauxhall Gardens and through the beautiful green serpentine alleys of Kensington Gardens, where a band played in the palace grounds ... One day at St. James’s they “had the pleasure of seeing their Majesties w<sup>th</sup> several of the Nobility, which was a pleasing sight. I had an excellent view of y<sup>e</sup> King & Queen as I walked very near their Chairs from S<sup>t</sup> James to the Queens Palace where they Dined.” Several times they went to the theater. (Bell 1951: 245)

The passage above from Bell’s edition of Parke’s journal is of particular interest, especially the final short sentence “Several times they went to the theater”. While Murray restricted the information in the *Memoirs* about his London sightseeing to the words that he and his wife surveyed “what was instructive and interesting”, we know from Parke’s account that these sights concerned the usual tourist attractions, including theatre visits. As will be illustrated in Chapter 3, this last-mentioned activity was a highly unusual pastime for a Quaker who was intent on following the strict discipline of the Society of Friends. In fact, eighteen years later Murray published a tract entitled *Extracts from the Writings of Divers Eminent Authors [...] Representing the Evils and Pernicious Effects of Stage Plays*,

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American Quaker Robert Barclay who was manager and later co-owner of Henry Thrale’s brewery, from where hampers of beer were frequently sent to Parke in Philadelphia. As a result of this connection with the Thrales, Barclay, in his turn, occasionally met and conversed with Dr Samuel Johnson (1709–1784; ODNB, s.v. “Johnson, Samuel”), who was a close friend of theirs. As Bell (1949) noted, it appears that the eighteenth-century world was not all that big.

and other *Vain Amusements* (1789). Parke's stay in England was filled with unapproved "frivolities", which eventually led him to drift from the stringent Quaker principles, with "scarcely an evening [that] was not filled with some party of pleasure" (Bell 1949: 576–577); it is clear that the Murrays, at least during their first stay in England, likewise regarded the Quaker discipline more loosely than after they had permanently settled in York in the spring of 1785.

Following his return to New York in the early 1770s Murray resumed his law practice, but at the same time continued to educate himself further in other areas. As an example of this, in 1774 he subscribed to the two-volume edition of *A New Voyage, Round the World [...] by Captain James Cooke, in the Ship Endeavour* (Hawkesworth 1774). Murray's business prospered and one of the functions that he almost immediately obtained and held for a number of years was that of public notary for "the Province of New-York" (anon. 1774 or 1775: 101; anon. 1781: 136). Murray explicitly mentioned that "pecuniary interest was not my only rule of action", and that in doubtful cases he often recommended to settle differences by arbitration rather than by going through the hassle of an expensive law suit. In those years the city of New York was quite an agreeable place to live, according to Noah Webster (1786). The following passage contains several fragments from Webster's description of the city for the *New York Directory of 1786*:

The situation of the city is both healthy and pleasant. Surrounded on all sides by water, it is refreshed with cool breezes in summer, and the air in winter is more temperate than in other places under the same parallel .... The city is esteemed the most eligible situation for commerce in the United States .... in point of sociability and hospitality, New York is hardly exceeded by any town in the United States .... That the Americans were formerly, and may be still, behind the citizens of London, in their attention to literature and the arts, will be acknowledged, nor is it surprising. Yet, no person acquainted with the well-bred American ladies, can charge them, generally, with ignorance; and there are great numbers in New York whose minds are highly improved, and whose conversation is as inviting as their personal charms .... On a general view of this City, as described thirty years ago, and in its present state, the comparison is flattering to the present age ... (Webster 1786: iii–xxii)

At that time the city and county of New York combined counted some 23,000 inhabitants, a substantial part of whom were Quakers. Among them were many wealthy, respectable merchants like the Murrays, and city life and prosperity, according to Davison (1964: 18), “often menaced the purity of traditional Quakerism”, to the dismay of the more conservative population of Friends. One of these so-called plain Quakers (for a definition of “plain” in the context of Quakerism, see Section 3.3) who were shocked at the extensive business ventures managed by Friends was Elias Hicks (1748–1830), and his description of the situation in Murray’s hometown at the time, i.e. shortly before the latter sailed to England, is captured by Forbush (1956) as follows:

On his visits in New York City [in 1783], Elias perceived that a great change, which involved Friends, was taking place. Immigrants from all over the world crowded the port, expanding opportunities for trade. A Quaker, Robert Murray [i.e. Lindley Murray’s father], head of the largest shipping firm in the country, rolled up to his office in a coach imported from England. (Forbush 1956: 52)

This luxurious coach, as Monaghan (1998: 21) describes it, had its interior “decorated with eighteen yards of broad lace, 40 yards of common lace, eleven yards of silk bombazel, with five [five?] tassels and worsted tufting”, and cost the huge sum of “£153 14s”. The economic boom that had taken place earlier had made the fortune of Robert Murray, whose investments were numerous and varied (Monaghan 1998: 15–22), and Murray’s father was one of those Quakers who maintained the lavish lifestyle by which Hicks appeared to have been so scandalized. As Monaghan (1998: 22) puts it, “[t]his is the environment in which Lindley Murray grew to young manhood. He was a wealthy and privileged youth, the scion of a rich family”.

This was also still the environment in which the young adult Murray practised law until “the troubles in America commenced”, causing a “general failure of proceedings in the courts of law”. According to Murray this coincided with a severe illness that left him “in a feeble state of health”. With his wife he now moved to Long Island, at the time a picturesque paradise some forty miles from New York City (McCullough 2007: 143–144), to remain there until “the political storm should blow over”. Murray described how he kept himself busy with activities, such as shooting, fishing and sailing, that appeared to be beneficial to his



health, which was in need of “reestablishment”. Murray, at this point in the *Memoirs*, however, did not elaborate on what ailed him, but, and completely in line with the purpose of the book, he inserted two full pages of warning against such idle amusements, which, as he stressed, afforded him “no solid satisfaction”. In retrospect, his time, as Murray put it in his memoirs, would have been better spent “in doing good to others, in the society and converse of pious and virtuous persons”. After about a year of “idly sailing about the bay” Murray and a neighbour engaged in a plan to set up a salt manufactory, because the British navy prevented the importation of salt to the American colonies. Murray spent a considerable amount of money on this project, but just as they would go operational, the British occupied New York, including Long Island,<sup>7</sup> thereby allowing salt to be brought into this part of the country again. The description of this episode, once more, is construed not so much as to show what happened – Murray must have expected the enterprise to be extremely profitable, but suffered a substantial loss instead – but to serve as an example of responsible behaviour; his idea had been born because he had “felt for the distresses” in which his country was involved, and after the scheme had collapsed, his natural disposition not “to brood over misfortunes” ensured that he considered the adventure as an opportunity to acquire knowledge that could make “some addition to my little stock”.

After having lived a life of leisure for about four years on Long Island, Murray felt the need to acquire additional “funds for the expenses” of his family. So it must have been around 1778 that he and his wife returned to New York, this time at 209 Water Street (Barck 1931: 238). This location was, according to Murray, “a situation favourable for business”, which was essential because he had now decided to enter into “mercantile concerns”. With “unlimited credit” from his father Murray quickly succeeded and within five years was able to add so much to his capital that he could “retire from business” around the time that the American Independence was declared.<sup>8</sup> Again the Murrays moved, this time to “a country seat [called Bellevue, and located in southern Manhattan on the East River] on the banks of the river, about three miles from the city of New York”. Here the Murrays expected to find

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<sup>7</sup> British troops landed on Long Island on 22 August 1776, while New York City was occupied three weeks later (McCullough 2007: 142, 185).

<sup>8</sup> This period more or less coincides with the date of Hicks’s report (Forbush 1956; see this section, above) on seeing Robert Murray in his imported coach.

“every enjoyment that our hearts desired”. Bearing in mind the intended audience of the *Memoirs*, which would require for Murray to adopt a somewhat modest attitude, his description of this mansion suggests that it must have been grand indeed, with a “spacious and elegant piazza”, orchards, and even fields to afford “pasturage for the cattle” – all of which Murray described as being necessary to ensure that his health might improve, and that he could devote himself to study and other “mental acquisitions”. His niece Mary’s memory of her uncle in those years is that

[a]fter making a very handsome fortune, he retired from business, to Belle Vue, a beautiful country seat, three miles from the City. He had long anticipated this calm retreat from the bustling scenes of business – but he did not long enjoy it ... it is thought he materially injured his muscular system – his health afterwards declined, so that he was advised to seek another climate. (Colden Wadsworth 1819: 30; NYPL: MS, Ford Collection)

At this point in the *Memoirs*, although he had hinted at it in the previous section, Murray for the first time discussed the apparently serious health problem that he experienced. He described how, shortly before they moved to Bellevue, he had had

a severe fit of illness, which left me in a very infirm and debilitated state of body. The tone of my muscles was so much impaired, that I could walk but little; and this relaxation continued to increase. I was besides, in the course of the day, frequently affected with singular sensations of chilness [*sic*], succeeded by a degree of fever. (Murray 1826: 50)

As will be illustrated, from this point in time onward Murray’s state of health, together with all possible and impossible remedies, is a constantly recurring theme in the *Memoirs*, as it is in his letters. There has been a considerable amount of speculation about the origin of his complaints as well as about the consequences, and therefore I shall pay attention to this topic in a separate Subsection 2.3.1 to this section. For Murray, at this stage, travelling and additional exercise were considered to be beneficial for relieving the symptoms, so he and his wife Hannah set off for Bristol in Pennsylvania, then to New Jersey, and next to Bethlehem near Philadelphia, a settlement of Moravians, where “the sick gentleman”, as he

was soon called, was instructed on the Moravians' concept of arranged marriages, among other topics. Once arrived in Bethlehem, his father and his sister Beulah, of whom Murray was very fond, joined them and they all stayed there for several weeks. A planned visit to Murray's birthplace Swetara, however, had to be cancelled when Murray's father suddenly became indisposed and considered it "not to be prudent to continue his visit any longer". His son had to accompany him back to New York, where they arrived safely after an agreeable journey. Murray's regret at having to leave Bethlehem speaks clearly from his description of the Moravian settlement:

The grandeur of the neighbouring hills; the winding course of its adjacent beautiful river; and the serene, enlivening state of the atmosphere; joined to the modest and tranquil appearance of the inhabitants ... are sufficient to render Bethlehem a most interesting and delightful retreat. (Murray 1826: 57–58)

The fourth letter that forms part of Murray's *Memoirs* (1826: 61–82) starts with a brief reflection on how the loss of good health makes someone more sensible of its value and how, apparently, "unmixed enjoyment does not belong to this state of existence". This philosophical outlook on life by Murray was the result of his consultation of a leading physician, who had informed him that a more moderate climate would most likely be beneficial to his ailing physical condition, and that Yorkshire, in England, "might prove a proper situation". This meant that he would have to leave that "little paradisiacal spot" that Bellevue had become to him. Murray's description of his changed awareness of life's values is confirmed in a long memorial published on the front page of the *Boston Courier* of 9 September 1826. The part in question reads:

For some years previously to his settling in England, he had been led to form a correct estimate of the value of all earthly pursuits; to turn his back on the applause of the world; and had become an humble, consistent, and exemplary member of our religious society; his mind, as matured, having made the principles of his education, those of his judgement. (anon. 1826d)

Monaghan (1998: 1–9), on the other hand, sees this part of the *Memoirs* primarily as a tool for Murray to protect his own and his family's reputation that had taken a severe blow as a result of their perceived loy-

alist wartime activities during the American Revolution.<sup>9</sup> To that purpose, he claims, Murray barely mentioned this eventful period; after all, “he had something to hide” (Monaghan 1998: 8). In Subsection 2.3.1 I shall go into a full consideration of Monaghan’s views in this matter. I must add here, however, that in a much later stage of his life, Murray did have something to say about later American war activities. In a letter to a close friend in York, the philanthropist and asylum reformer Samuel Tuke (1784–1857; *ODNB*, s.v. “Tuke, Samuel”), he wrote the following:

There is in The Christian Observer of this / month, just published, <sup>page 818, 819</sup> an extract from a / Sermon of D<sup>r</sup>: Morse in America, which places / in a striking point of view the impolicy and / iniquity of the American Government making / war against Great Britain. It is so just, / and so honourable to Gr Britain, that it / must highly gratify a British reader, and / tend to convince every doubting mind, / that the Amer: Government have acted a / most iniquitous and dishonourable part. (Murray to Samuel Tuke, 4 January 1812; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)

But Murray likewise condemned the belligerent activities of the “tyrant, and oppressor of Europe” Napoleon Bonaparte, as he wrote to Samuel Tuke (Murray to Samuel Tuke, 21 March 1815; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*); and one month later, shortly before Napoleon’s defeat at Waterloo, he wrote indignantly to his brother John: “That disturber of nations, the insatiably / ambitious and faithless Napoleon, has again appeared in / France, and at the head of the government” (Murray to John Murray, 19 April 1815; SC: *Lindley Murray papers*, RG5/198 S1 F19).

Lindley and Hannah Murray originally intended to make “a short residence in England” and they expected that the separation from their relatives and friends would not be long, only two years perhaps. Towards the end of 1784, sent off by many of them and accompanied by several others, they embarked on a “commodious ship” that sailed for Lymington, a port in the south of England. Bearing in mind the couple’s excursions with Dr Parke during their previous trip to England, as well as

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<sup>9</sup> The British government used a fairly precise definition of Loyalists: “those born or living in the American colonies at the outbreak of the Revolution who rendered substantial service to the royal cause during the American War of Independence”. With the defeat of the British, many of them felt compelled to (temporarily) leave the United States in fear of retribution from their compatriots. Subsequently, an estimated 100,000 loyalists left the country (*Canadian Encyclopedia Online*).

Hick's description of New York at the time, Murray's description of how they intended to choose their new place of residence is significant:

it was our frequent and special desire, that our lot might be cast in the neighbourhood and society of religious and exemplary persons; from whom we might derive encouragement to the practice of virtue. We had lived long enough to perceive, how strongly the human mind is influenced, and how apt it is to be moulded, by the dispositions and pursuits of those with whom it is intimately connected. We had felt the danger of intercourse with persons, who seemed to make the pleasures of this life the great object of their attention. (Murray 1826: 65–66)

After a voyage of about five weeks they arrived in England in January 1785, which was going to be their country of residence from then on.

### 2.3 1785–1826: Murray in England

Their “desire of being settled favourably for the cultivation of our best interests” led Murray and his wife to York, after a stay of six weeks in London where they had met with a number of friends they had made during their earlier visit. At the time Yorkshire was a “stronghold of English Quakerism” with “kind and agreeable friends [i.e. Quakers]” (Bell 1951: 253), and among the places in Yorkshire that had been advised as suitable for settlement were Pontefract and Knaresborough, but it may have been “the association of names” or “the pleasantness of the surrounding country” that tipped the scale in favour of York and, more particularly, the nearby village of Holdgate, or Holgate as it is spelled today. A few days before Murray and his wife would undertake the trip north, he had written to his father from Islington, near London, about their plans to look around in Yorkshire:

I am advised to ride a great Deal as I can take no other Exercise / & have a good Appetite which requires Action – And as Riding here in a / hired Carriage is very expensive<sup>Λ</sup> and I am not able to drive myself, I have been advis'd to buy a second hand / one, which I have done, & will not cost above half what I must pay / in the other Mode, & can readily be sold again, as I have got it cheap– / – in a few Days we propose to set off for a Place call'd Pomfret, or pontefract / in Yorkshire, if it suits we shall fix there – I am better than when at

NYork / , can sit Meetings & ride 20 Miles a Day, but cannot walk above 10 or 12 Times / acrofs the Room without feeling my Weaknefs for several Hours after it– / the Weather has been cold and bracing, so that I cannot say much as to the / Benefits of Coming, till after the warm Season. (Murray to Robert Murray, 3 March 1785; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F10)

Pontefract appears not to have suited the Murrays, however, because they travelled on to York. Upon first sight of their future house in Holdgate the Murrays were already attracted to it, but since it was then occupied by a naval officer they decided to rent a furnished house in York so they could look around further for a property to their liking. Six months later, however, the coveted house in Holdgate became available after all, and Murray acquired the place where they both would live until their deaths. According to Hodgson (2000: 4), Murray, as an American and “because of the recent War of Independence”, would have been unable to buy property in his own name and therefore his friend and fellow-Quaker William Tuke (1732–1822; *ODNB*, s.v. “Tuke, William”) purchased it on his behalf.<sup>10</sup> In a letter to his brother John, Murray described their home of many years, which “contributed so much to [their] comfort and enjoyment”, as follows:

I entirely agree with my dear brother that he has / a right to know any particulars respecting my family, which he / is desirous of knowing. It is pleasing to me to gratify a curiosity / which presupposes an interest in all my concerns. My / family is but small: 3 in the parlour, and 3 in the Kitchen~ / In the parlour, my wife, Elizabeth Frank, and myself: in the / kitchen, a man servant, a house maid and a chamber maid, / the latter afsists my wife in sewing, her eyes not allowing her / to do much in that line. I keep a close Carriage and pair of / Horses from necefsity; and the above mentioned Man servant / drives, and / is my gardener.<sup>11</sup> I

<sup>10</sup> In Tuke’s will, dated 1819, it was stated: “my legal estate in certain copyhold lands, tenements and hereditaments situated at Holdgate, near York, now in the tenure and occupation of Lindley Murray, I do hereby give and devise all the said copyhold to my son the said John Tuke and my grandson Samuel Tuke” (Pressly 1945: 157).

<sup>11</sup> Wright (1995: 220n22) discovered that the name of Murray’s coachman was Joseph Hardy, who had become employed by Murray in 1800. She additionally observes that Murray “was able to employ several servants. At no time did he have fewer than two maids and sometimes he had three; he also employed a coachman **and** a

have a neat 3 storied house, and a pleasant / garden. My sitting room is pretty large, with a bow window at / each end, one looking into the garden, and the other towards a fine / verdant hill about two hundred yards distant. Our house is dry, / and the village we live in remarkably healthy, as it consists / of a gravelly soil. (Murray to John Murray, 1 June 1801; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F14)

Murray had written this letter in response to a request from his younger brother, as part of “a long letter of 40 pages”, who apparently had become impatient when, after about six years, he still had not heard any details about his older sibling’s English place of residence. Murray added the following description of Elizabeth Frank:

Our acquaintance commenced from her / living in lodgings at a neighbouring village for a time. / She often visited us; and, on finding her not satisfied with her / situation, we invited her to take up her residence with us. / She has two rooms to herself; and as she would not consent / to board with us, without some suitable acknowledgment, / we receive from her a yearly sum, as nearly as we can / judge equal to what we furnish, without any gain. This / satisfies her, and renders her continuance agreeable. After she / had been about a year with us, she went frequently to our / meetings, and at length altered her drefs, and requestd to be / admitted as a member of our society. In a suitable time / this was accomplished; and she continues steady and / orderly. Her father, mother, and sisters ~~fre~~ come / **occasionally** to see, and treat her and us with great / kindnefs and respect. (Murray to John Murray, 1 June 1801; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F14)

From the self-correction in the above passage it appears that Murray had first intended to write “frequently” but then changed his mind and decided on “occasionally”. Apart from the few details about Frank that

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gardener” (Wright 1995: 52–53, 226n12); Wright furthermore cites here the wages Murray’s servants received during the first decade of the nineteenth century and concludes that his “maids were comparatively well paid for their work”. One of these well-paid maids was named Mary Hollingsworth, likewise a Quaker, and one of her duties was “to bake with the household bread, large soft biscuits, so that beggars who came to Holdgate ... might never be sent away hungry” (Ogden Boyce 1889: 152).

Murray gave to his brother John in this letter (see also Section 2.1), her background still remains relatively obscure, also among Quakers. In the past, in the Notes and Queries section of several editions of the *Journal of the Friends Historical Society* calls for information about her were placed. One of these reads the following:

Elizabeth Frank. –This lady edited, in 1826, the ‘Life of Lindley Murray,’ the grammarian and Quaker. She also wrote several tracts for the edification of juveniles and domestic servants. Although she resided in York for many years, nothing more than her name is known. She was not a Quaker. Any reference to her will be esteemed. T.P. Cooper. (Cooper 1933: 43)

Murray’s letter to John suggests that, contrary to what the writer of this request thought, Frank had converted to Quakerism shortly after she had moved in with the Murrays. But Reibel mentioned how he found from a letter from Henry Tuke to Frank that this conversion may have been for appearances’ sake, and that Frank later seems to have had second thoughts about becoming a Quaker (email, dated 8 February 2011).

It appears that John had also asked for Murray’s opinion regarding certain interior decorating issues, because in a subsequent letter Murray replied:

As my Brother seems desirous to know my Sentiments respecti<sup>g</sup>l / Carpets and Floor Cloths, I may observe to him that I think a good / Floor very sufficient to walk upon; it is a commendable Simplicity, / and prevents the<sup>shew</sup> & Dirt of Carpets,<sup>12</sup> and the Unwholsomenefs of painted / Cloths. A naked Floor, tho’ it has much to be said in its Favour, / yet is so singular and plain in Appearance, that those who have it, / had need to be universally in the Simplicity. Then it woud, I am persuaded, / be seen and acknowledged to be beautiful, and good enough for any human / Being to walk or stand upon. (Murray to John Murray, 1 October 1792; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F11)

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<sup>12</sup> Very likely, in the context of plain Quakerism (see also Section 3.3), the word *shew* in “Shew & Dirt of Carpets” was used by Murray in the meaning of “Ostentatious display” (*OED*, s.v. “show, *n*6”).



Although Murray's house itself (and the building still stands) was in fact quite sizeable, as were its gardens, in the *Memoirs* Murray described it as "by no means a large or a showy one", and he added that his views with regard to property had always been "contained within a very moderate compass". This, as I have illustrated in Section 2.2, was a bit wide of the truth. The gardens of Holdgate, for instance, during the Murrays' occupancy became "increasingly famous as years went on" and were considered by some as rivals to those at Kew, according to Pressly (1945: 157). Moreover, as his letters testify, after he had left America, Murray still possessed extensive properties there, which he carefully managed from overseas. Two examples of such management are given in the two passages below:

In my last, I desired thee to put the Bond & / Mortgage in Father Dobson's [i.e. Hannah's father] Custody, sealed up; but I omitted / mentioning that thou shoud first shew them to him, as it / woud not be proper for him to take the Charge of such Papers, / without knowing their Nature and Purport. Thou wilt therefore / please to satisfy him in that Respect, and then seal them / with the Indorsements. I shoud also prefer Jn<sup>o</sup> Keese to / draw them, and request thou wilt apply to him for that Purpose. (Murray to John Murray, 20 February 1793; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F12)

PS. By the last Packet, I repeated my former Desire that none / of my Houses might be sold, as Real Estate was advancing, and as I / found Difficulty enough to know how to invest the personal Property / I already had. And as I had given such explicit Directions, I admired / to find my Brother had proposed the House we lived in, to the Tenant / for Sale. (Murray to John Murray, 20 February 1793; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F12)

Still, it appears that immediately after Murray moved into the Holdgate residence his outlook on life changed drastically. In the *Memoirs* he wrote that at this point

I determined that when I should acquire enough to enable me to maintain and provide for my family, in a respectable and moderate manner, and this according to real and rational, not imaginary and

fantastic wants, and a little to spare for the necessities of others; I would decline the pursuits of property ... (Murray 1826: 71)

A plausible explanation, confirmed in the *Memoirs* (see Section 2.2), for Murray's radical change of view is his physical condition that, apart from occasional brief improvements, slowly but steadily grew worse. When in the first few years after their move the Murrays still nursed hopes of being able to return to New York before long, the progressing weakness of his muscles, as Murray described it, soon proved to be too high a barrier to undertake the long voyage. Murray, who was often "so fatigued" (Murray to John Murray, 1 October 1792; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F11), wrote about these health problems and about his anxiety that accompanied them repeatedly and in great detail, both in the *Memoirs* and in his letters – especially in those to his brother John, but also to others, for instance Elizabeth Wheeler (née Tuke; 1760–1826), the daughter of his good friend William Tuke. A few examples of this are given in the four passages below:

The Debility [i.e. weakness of voice] seems to me of the same / Nature as the Weakness of my Limbs: like that it has come / on gradually, is stationary at a certain Point, is affected with / small Exertions, long in recovering from them, and seems to / be consistent with a tolerable, <sup>tho'</sup> delicate State of Health in other / Respects. (Murray to Elizabeth Tuke, 12 September 1792; HALS: D/ESe C20:13)

The weakness of my Limbs and Voice continues very / stationary: the latter appears to me to be of a nature / very similar to the former in many respects, and / I suppose has arisen from the same causes. I have / very little expectation that either of them will ever / be removed. (Murray to John Murray, 3 February 1794; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F12)

... I find that I am / more susceptible of taking cold. (Murray to John Murray, 31 [sic] September 1795; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F12)

My two last letters mentioned the increased / weakness in my limbs, and consequent confinement to / the house. This debility still continues, and rather in= / creases: it is often, in the course of

the day, attended with / a soreness of the muscles, which causes considerable un= / easiness. I am still able to rise about the usual time, / and to sit up in the parlour till bed time. How long / this privilege will continue is very uncertain: for so / much confinement, without any exercise at all, will / probably, before long, have an effect on my general health. / I have occasionally felt a day or two of giddiness or / swimming in the head; but this is, at present, nearly if not / altogether gone off. I sometimes apprehend that the / tone of the muscles is so far reduced as not to be / likely to be recovered, even in its usual small degree, and / that it may be still farther impaired. But this is, at / present, only supposition. (Murray to John Murray, 30 October 1809; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F17)

The last passage is taken from a letter written in 1809, when Murray had reached the age of sixty-four. It shows how his earlier hope of regaining his strength had all but left him at this point in time.

His “infirmities”, as Murray often referred to his physical disabilities, gave him, however, the advantage “that they might be made to conduce to [his] future and immortal interests” and therefore “it would have been impious to complain”. As he explained this outlook in the *Memoirs*,

I have, in the course of forty years, been visited with many illnesses, some of which have been very painful, and brought me near the gates of death. But I have always had the happiness to perceive, that they were a necessary and salutary discipline, replete with instruction of the most important nature, and better for me than if I had enjoyed a uniform tenour of health and strength. In reflecting upon them, I have been so fully convinced of their utility, that I view them as concealed blessings. (Murray 1826: 88–89)

In eighteenth-century British letter writing emphasis on physical suffering commonly underlined a person’s Christian values, as Brant (2006: 281–330) explains, or, put differently, it reflected “[t]he somatic nature of spiritual pain” (Brant 2006: 325), and the excerpt above is a perfect example of how Murray interpreted the Quaker belief, current at the time, that life on earth was merely intended to pave the way to a place in heaven (see also Chapter 3). The following two passages serve as examples of how Murray may have come to this insight sooner than some of his relatives who stayed behind in New York. The first is from a letter to

his father Robert, from 1785, written when Murray was still in the London area:

My dear Parent, I have strong Desires also that thou may /  
 continue to grow in his Favour, and labour now more earnestly /  
 in the Decline of Life for that Inheritance that is incorruptible / &  
 will never fade away: that so thy Sun may go down in Brightnefs /  
 and thy Children and Relatives, / tho' sorrowing for thy Lofs /  
 may / have to rejoice in thy Joy and the Happinefs of thy  
 Exchange— / This Event may be distant: if so, there are left a few  
 more Years / to fill up in strict Obedience and close preparation  
 for the Call / which must come at last – May we, dear Father, live  
 ever watchfull against those Evils which easily beset us ... (Murray  
 to Robert Murray, 3 March 1785; SC: *Lindley Murray papers*  
 RG5/198 S1 F10)

It is obvious from this passage that after his move to England, Murray had become concerned about his father's preparation for the next world.<sup>13</sup> The second example is taken from a letter to his brother John, from 1792:

Please to be particular in communicating my / very dear Love to  
 my three Sisters Mary, Beulah / and Susan, for whom I feel a  
 Brotherly Solitude / that they may be favoured to rise above  
 every undue / attachment to the perishing [*b* overwrites *l*] Things  
 of Time, and seek / and strive for an Inheritance incorruptible,  
 unedified, / and that never will fade away. Ah! dear Sisters, the /  
 Time will afsuredly come, when all worldly Enjoym<sup>ts</sup>: / will sink to  
 Nothing in your View; and when the smallest / Portion of Divine  
 Favour and Consolation will be of / <sup>λ</sup> *infinitely* more Value than all the  
 Pofsefsions, the Friendships and / Distinctions of this vain World.  
 How I long for you to be / weaned from these transient  
 unsatisfying Things, and to have / your Hearts fixed, permanently

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<sup>13</sup> Monaghan's (1998: 87–88) interpretation of this particular letter is a different one, based on Murray's use of the words "you" and "a gracious Parent", which Monaghan assumes refer to Murray's father. However, Murray's "you" comprised all American relatives and friends (see Section 3.4 for the use of plural *you* and singular *thou* among Quakers; see also Section 3.5.2); while "a gracious Parent" denoted God, and was commonly used as such in Murray's letters to other recipients as well (e.g. to Elizabeth Wheeler).

fixed, on the Things / that belong to your everlasting Peace.  
(Murray to John Murray, 2 July 1792; SC: *Lindley Murray papers*  
RG5/198 S1 F11)

This letter continues with twelve more lines directed to his three sisters on the same topic. Completely in line with Quaker principles (see also Wright 1995: 71), Murray observed in his memoirs that such lavish possessions and the increase of property should be accompanied by charity. Possibly to prevent from being misunderstood by his readers in general, and perhaps his own relatives in particular, he added that he did not mean “to cast any reflection on the prudent efforts of persons, who have large families to support and provide for .... I am, indeed, far from being disposed to censure or disapprove the exertions of such persons, in the steady pursuit of business, and the acquisition of property” (Murray 1826: 72). In a letter to his brother John we find further proof of Murray’s stricter adherence to the Quakers’ conviction that physical discomfort equalled divine suffering:

But / I desire to be thankful for all the Divine dispensations to me, whether of a pleasant or of an afflictive nature. / They are all of a merciful and gracious kind, and intended to bring me to his heavenly kingdom. And if / they serve, in any degree, to accomplish this happy end, they will prove blessings indeed.  
(Murray to John Murray, 2 April 1810; SC: *Lindley Murray papers*  
RG5/198 S1 F18)

Murray’s strong interest in health-related matters not only concerned his own body but also that of his wife Hannah, who occasionally suffered from “Rheumatism & Colic”, “the Gout” or “the Head-Ach” (Murray to John Murray, 31 [sic] September 1795; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F12) and whose state of health at a particular moment was often described in detail.<sup>14</sup> But he was also concerned for others. This is evident from a letter he wrote to his brother John upon hearing of the illness of his daughter Mary Perkins (1784–1829), who appeared to have suffered from consumption-like symptoms:

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<sup>14</sup> Such frequent references to a letter writer’s own health or to that of their loved ones are also found in letters from members of the Tuke family to Murray. Besides establishing their sufferings, a prerequisite to enter the next world, sickness was, as Brant (2006: 20) puts it, proof of “continued existence”.

My Hannah and myself are concerned to have / from thee so unfavourable an account of our dear niece, Mary Perkins. / Remember us to her affectionately. I am desirous of recommending to her / consideration, two prescriptions which it is not likely have been proposed / to her. My advice is of a simple nature, and will, I believe, do no harm, / if it does not prove useful. (Murray to John Murray, 30 January 1819; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F20*)

The first “prescription” Murray gave was “to en= / deavour to suppress, or at least to soften, the coughing, as much as she can”, while the second advice was

to use daily a certain exercise, which may be called Hoisting, and is / a motion of the arms similar to that which sailors use in pulling the / ropes. I do not mean the use of a cord over a pulley, with a weight at the / end of it: that might be too severe an exertion. But what I propose is, simply / to raise the arms alternately over, or nearly over the head, as if a rope were / pulled by the patient. The exercise might be varied by sometimes swinging / the arms backwards and forwards, and sometimes by the motion similar / to that of pulling a rope. This exercise expands the chest, gives motion to / the lungs and other vital organs, and tends greatly to strengthen / them. In particular, it disposes the lungs to throw off and disperse / the offending matter which oppresses and adheres to them, and which / prevents their free and natural operations. (Murray to John Murray, 30 January 1819; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F20*)

The latter exercise should be gradually increased, from one to two minutes at a time to eight to ten minutes, “or oftener”, and would be equally “well adapted to cure or relieve disorders of the Liver”. Unfortunately, it is not known whether these well-intentioned instructions resulted in the desired improvement of Mary’s health, but she did live for another ten years. Her father John also received medical advice from Murray. The following passage was apparently induced by Murray’s concern for John’s health in connection to his plan to undertake a trip into “the Indian country”:

I hope my beloved brother will see the / necessity of paying greater attention to his health, and / particularly of avoiding every

thing that occasions / much fatigue or exposure. I am entirely of the / opinion of those friends who recommend to thee a diet / that is nourishing and strengthening. Animal food / and wine should be used for this purpose. The due / quantum of each, thy own experience will soon / be able to ascertain<sup>+</sup>. Regular daily exercise is of / great importance: but it should<sup>always</sup> be of an easy and / pleasant nature. / I cannot forbear saying, that I have great / doubts whether travelling into the Indian Settlements / will not be too much for thee to bear to the greatest / advantage. It will, I think, be sometimes attended with / too much fatigue and exposure.

\* I think that a nourishing diet is particularly adapted to / produce a due quantity of blood in the system; the want of / which in the head often occasions dizziness, &c. / little and mixed enjoyments! (Murray to John Murray, 20 August 1809; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F17)

Closer to home, Henry Tuke's wife, Maria (1748–1815), at the age of fifty-one received suggestions from Murray about remedies against “excessive perspiration” via a letter to her husband. Since the list of advice is extensive, I have limited its reproduction to the highlights:

1<sup>st</sup>: The greatest benefit was a daily use of / rice baked in milk; and afterwards used / with new milk. This I found to be a gradual / and permanent tonic ....

(2<sup>nd</sup>) In the warm season, I avoided taking much / liquid of any sort, at a time. If I found it necessary, / I took oftener, but in small quantity ....

(3<sup>d</sup>) I found acids, such as oranges, Lemons, vinegar / with sallad [*sic*] &c, hurtful, unless in very small / quantities. Much juicy fruit also increased / the tendency to perspiration ....

(4<sup>th</sup>): I found a great advantage in not taking much liquid / at suppers, and in making these as distant from the / time of going to bed as may be, perhaps 3 hours. / Indeed, light suppers of every sort of food, was advantageous / when the body is warm in bed, and ~~oppressed~~ the / stomach rather full, and labouring to disadvantage / in that posture, great perspiration or fever must / be the consequence. Repletion, at that time, I found / greatly increased my sweating .....

(5) Rising early (at 6 oClock) in summer, was of great / advantage. The freshnefs of the morning air is pecu- / liarly bracing and invigorating. Perspiration is particu- / larly apt to increase in the morning, whilst in bed. On / this acc<sup>t</sup> persons with colds are advised by Physicians to / lie in bed an hour or more longer than usual, in the morning.

(6<sup>th</sup>.) I made it a rule, as much as pofsible, when / I found the tendency to sweating increase, to / avoid every disagreeable Idea. I turned my / thoughts to pleasant or to other things; and by this / means, gave a turn to the tendency. I found / nothing so much increasd the sweats, as Irrita= / tion or uneasinefs of mind. And I found I had / to guard more against little than great things. (Murray to Henry Tuke, 22 June, 1799; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)

The fact that Murray, who had not been trained as a medical professional, gave advice on health-related matters was not uncommon in those days. According to Brant (2006: 20), many ministers gave such advice – “[t]hose with cure of souls also looked after bodies” – and, as will be shown in Section 3.2, only a few years after the Murrays had moved to York, in 1791, Murray became a Quaker Minister.<sup>15</sup>

Murray’s determination to start devoting himself to more worthy causes was firmly supported by the Quaker community in York, of which Murray very soon became a valued member, and before long Murray was considered a leader of the Evangelical movement within York Quakerism (Wright 1995: 73). As Ogden Boyce (1889) describes it,

many a visit was paid to Holdgate by the Friends of York, who, coming out of their busy lives into the hush of the invalid’s room, with their minds full of benevolent projects, never failed to find there sympathetic interest, wise counsel, and generous aid. (Ogden Boyce 1889: 149)

Over the years Murray became heavily involved with charity work on both sides of the Atlantic, so that he could be “doing something that would be useful to myself and others”. A handful of examples of such doings of Murray are given here. In York, relationships between Quakers

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<sup>15</sup> Brant (2006: 324) observes how John Wesley (1703–1791; ODNB, s.v. “Wesley, John”), likewise, “took a deep interest in bodily sickness, diagnosing his correspondents’ ailments”.



and individual clergy of other denominations were generally harmonious and one result of such harmony was the York Dispensary, a joint Quaker-Evangelical Anglican venture (see Wright 1995: 88), to which Murray gave large donations. Another one was the York Female Penitentiary Society, intended to contribute to the solution of the problem of prostitution (Wright 1995: 74), to which he likewise generously subscribed. Additionally, Murray was active for the Anti-Slavery Society and supported several Clapham Sect organizations, formed around William Wilberforce among others, such as the missions to the Indians, and those to Africa and the East.

An example of Murray's interest in the fate of North American Indians can be seen in the following passage, taken from a letter to his brother John:

It seems to be proper for me to mention / to thee, that there are now in London, seven / Indians of the Seneca Nation, who were brought / over, on a contract as I understand, to exhibit them= / selves in this country. The contractors were / to pay them a certain amount in Land or / Dollars; or both, as it is said, and which / amount was, some how or other, supposed / to be secured to them.—They landed at Liverpool, / and were at York. We saw them at our house, / and shook hands with them, and felt inter= / ested in their welfare. / I think it will not be long before they / embark again for America, perhaps in a / month or two; and if they should land at / New York, I am inclined to think that the / Meeting for sufferings there, and other Friends, / would take some notice and care of them. / If you could be the means of assisting them / to secure the amount of their contract, and / to promote their instruction and improvement; / you would do them a service, which I believe / would afford you real satisfaction. Most, if / not all of them, have manifested a desire to / learn the English language; and they have / accordingly received some instruction, and made / some little progress, in this study. Perhaps / you may take some steps, that will induce / them to pursue this object, when they get to / their homes. It may lead to / important acquisitions, / in a moral and religious / point of view. (Murray to John Murray, 28 August 1818; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F20)

As illustrated above, Murray considered the possibility that once the Indians would have gained some knowledge of the English language, they could be instructed on moral and religious topics as well. Nevertheless, this was not the only reason for Murray to involve himself with their wellbeing, as the following two passages from a letter to his friend Samuel Tuke testify:

L. Murray wishes his friend, Sam<sup>l</sup>. Tuke, / to consider the following points, respecting the / subject of some Friends taking upon themselves / the charge of the Indians now at York. / Is not the measure likely to be attended / with much hazard and difficulty; and are / not the advantages proposed by it, rather precarious? / Is there not danger that, by such a measure, / the 2500 Dollars promised to the Indians, may / not be obtained? (Murray to Samuel Tuke, n.d.; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)

The lawyer in Murray goes on to explain on what ground the contractors might be able to refuse payment to the visiting Indians, thereby making those Quakers in York “who took charge of the Indians .... conscientiously bound to pay the money” to them. Instead, Murray argued, it would be much better

[i]f a young man fully competent for the / undertaking, were engaged to attend the Indians till / their embarkation for America, to teach them / the English language, and to read the Scriptures, / and give them other instruction, might not much / benefit be conveyed to them, without the danger / and difficulties attending the plan proposed? (Murray to Samuel Tuke, n.d.; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)

As concerns Murray’s activities for the anti-slavery cause, he had put his name to an electioneering pamphlet for Wilberforce’s campaign in 1807, together with two other prominent members of the Quaker community in York, William Tuke and Thomas Priestman (d1844), and he supported Samuel Tuke’s call for Quakers to financially and otherwise support Wilberforce’s efforts to be elected for Parliament (cf. Wright 1995: 102–103). Murray himself also gave financial assistance to the cause, as the following passage from a letter to Samuel Tuke illustrates:

Samuel Tuke will please to consider / L. Murray as a subscriber of Twenty / Guineas, to the fund set forward by Friends / at York, for promoting, in a manner consist= / ent with Friends' principles, the election of / William Wilberforce. (Murray to Samuel Tuke, 21 May 1807; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)

In the meantime, the desired outcome of their joint efforts was already partly delivered; on 24 February 1807 the Bill to abolish the slave trade was passed.

The Retreat in York, a mental hospital, was another major charitable project of Murray. It was founded in 1792 by William Tuke, and Murray had done his utmost to support Tuke's efforts to have a more humane system of treatment introduced. They were successful, because, as Dr Thomas Hancock wrote in 1812 in his account of the Retreat for the *Belfast Monthly Magazine*, the hospital "has no appearance of a prison, but rather resembles a large rural farm" (Hancock 1812: 256–260). Hancock included several quotations from a letter from Murray to Henry Tuke (1755–1814), for instance, "No coercion is used" and "The sound of chains is not heard in the house, no terrific apparatus is exhibited", which served to underline Murray's genuine interest in the patients' welfare. On top of that, Murray was a member of the Society for the Suppression of Vice (Wright 1995: 232), and, not surprisingly perhaps in view of his future activities as a grammarian, the education of the Quaker youth was another cause close to Murray's heart. Both he and his wife Hannah subscribed to several schools; in 1810, for instance, they donated to the "Blue Coat and Grey Coat Schools", aimed at providing education for York's poor.

But Murray's concern for his fellow-man showed also on a much smaller scale, as the following recording of a "trifling act of kindness" – which, as Ogden Boyce (1889) remarks, was long remembered in York – illustrates:

Within sight of his house, a footpath ran over some fields to the city. Lindley Murray kept this path in repair at his own expense, and placed seats upon it; and it gave him pleasure when, by the aid of a glass, he could see that these seats afforded rest to some tired wayfarer. (Ogden Boyce 1889: 149)

A further, striking, example of Murray's compassionate nature was found in a letter to Joseph Cockfield (c.1740–1816), who was a Quaker poet as well as a ship-owner (Radcliffe 1988–). The passage reads:

If any member of our society in straitened / circumstances,  
 should occur to my recollection, I intend, / agreeably to thy  
 desire, to mention such person to thee. / At present, I have no  
 individual of that description in / view. But I will just state, for  
 thy consideration, the / case of a person at York, whom I  
 conceive to be an object / well worth the attention of a  
 charitable and human heart. / Her name is Braint. Her father was  
 a member of our / society; but marrying out of it, this daughter  
 never was / a member, though she entertains a regard for <sup>the</sup>  
 society. / She is a respectable woman, of delicate feelings, and /  
 for several years has been in a feeble state of health. She / has 6  
 children. But the industry which her health admits / of, will not  
 support them comfortably. I believe that they and / she often  
 suffer great inconveniences, from this cause. Whatever / is given  
 to her is done with delicacy, so as not to hurt her / feelings. I do  
 not know whether such a case would come / within the views  
 which thou hadst when thou last wrote / to me. But I thought  
 the mention of it would not be / improper, leaving the matter  
 wholly to thy determination. / I believe that the woman's  
 husband is an industrious / man: but from some cause or other,  
 he failed in business / a few years since. He is now employed as a  
 journeyman / by a respectable person. But his wages are very  
 inadequate / to the comfortable support of a very weakly wife  
 and / a number of unhealthy children. (Murray to Joseph  
 Cockfield, 29 July 1811; LSFL: *Portfolio 4/21*)

Finally, besides being the author of a sizeable amount of textbooks and several other books of a more religious character, as well as a biographical sketch of his close friend Henry Tuke, published soon after Tuke's death (see Appendix A for an overview of Murray's publications), Murray edited works of others without expecting any returns for his efforts. This included the four works of this Henry Tuke, who was a Quaker preacher and writer, just like Murray. The following passage from a letter to Tuke serves as an example of his editing practice:

Some of the alterations which I have proposed, have / been done with a view to avoid the too frequent / recurrence of the words religion, piety, virtue, moral / and religious duties. .... After the introductory lines, / something more important is expected in the outset. / The first and the last of every literary piece (great or small) / should be important and striking: the weaker parts ~~may~~ / are best disposed towards the middle, if the subject will / admit of it. (Murray to Henry Tuke, 22 October 1807; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)

In this respect it is interesting to see how Murray went about writing the *Biographical Sketch of Henry Tuke* (1815), referred to above. It appears that he did not turn to punctuation matters until the final stages of editing:

On introducing a fresh paragraph into / a work, it is desirable that preceding and subsequent / paragraphs should correspond with the initiatory and / concluding parts of the paragraph introduced. / W<sup>m</sup>. Alexander has the Introductory papers / of the “Sketch”, for the printer to produce a / page or two, as a Specimen. S. Tuke may / see it, if necessary. / The Sketch, it is supposed, will comprise / two sheets, or more, Duodecimo, fine paper, / and open typography. / L. Murray has not yet completed the Punctuation / of the “Biographical Sketch”. (Murray to Samuel Tuke, June 1815; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)

Then there was a woman named Charlotte Richardson, who had written a poem on the occasion of the death of a friend. She had asked Murray’s advice, which he gave as follows:

... L. Murray thinks the sentiment is not / perfectly correct. To say, / “Who more than he with ev’ry virtue crown’d?” / implies that some persons might have more virtues / than every virtue, which is a solecism. / L. Murray therefore proposes, if C. Richardson approve / it, that the line should stand thus: / “Who more than he with christian virtues crown’d?” (Murray to anon., 14 June 1815; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)

The American Presbyterian Minister Samuel Miller (1769–1850; *ANB*, s.v. “Miller, Samuel”) was likewise offered assistance by Murray for his publications. Murray wrote to him:

I have at length the pleasure to inform my worthy / friend, D<sup>r</sup>: Miller, that the London edition of his “Retrospect”, is / published. It is in three proper-sized octavo volumes, printed on / good paper, and with a neat and new letter. I intend to examine the / correctness of the typography, as soon as my health and pressing avo= / cations will admit. (Murray to Samuel Miller, n.d.; PUFL: CO277(*series II*), *Box/Folder 11/20*)

In a follow-up letter Murray discussed corrections and alterations to be made in the revised English edition of Miller’s *A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century* (1804), and he added that in his opinion the author, in the Preface,

had expressed too much diffidence of his own abilities, and too great apprehensions / of the imperfections of the work. Modesty well becomes an author: but when he who / best knows the nature and merits of his production, and who may be supposed / to have a natural partiality for it, speaks disrespectfully of what he has pro= / duced, many persons will be disposed to admit his opinion, and spare themselves / the trouble of reading the book; and others will peruse it with little expectation, / perhaps<sup>λ</sup> with unfavourable prepossessions. To make a good impression at the outset, / is of consequence; and therefore the author should appear to possess proper confi- / dence in himself, and a proper sense<sup>λ</sup> both of the importance and the execution of / his undertaking. (Murray to Samuel Miller, 27 July 1804; PUFL: CO277(*series II*), *Box/Folder 11/20*)

With these words Murray allows us some insight into the motivation for his own style of writing. Murray’s extensive charitable activities are perhaps best summarized by the words of his teenage niece Mary:

It is now [i.e. 1814] about thirty years since he left America – he has employed himself in writing and has published a number of works .... My Uncle gives all the profits – arising from the sale of his books to the poor – and allows every year five hundred dollars to charitable institutions in New York; in addition to a long train of charities of which we know not the amount. My pen can never do justice to the character of my Uncle – from my childhood I

have been taught to revere him, and in later years my own observation has shown me, that it was but the just tribute to his worth. (Colden Wadsworth 1819: 30–31; NYPL: *MS, Ford Collection*)

In the summer of 1786 Murray's "dear and affectionate" father Robert died at the age of sixty-five, after a sick bed of four weeks. Murray received the news of this "great loss" from his uncle John Murray (1731–1798), who had taken care to add a report of his father's last few days. Although Murray in his *Memoirs* referred to his father's brother as "my worthy uncle", the reality is that the relationship between uncle and nephew became rather tense. As Monaghan (1998: 90, 106) observes, John Murray Sr, who had formed a partnership with Robert Murray and became a director of the Bank of New York as well as of the United States Bank, was extremely slow in handling the estate affairs after the death of Robert Murray. This provided cause for Lindley Murray to urge his brother John Murray Jr – who succeeded his father in handling Murray's affairs and would do so for more than twenty years – to remain keenly aware of developments, as the following two passages illustrate:

My Brother will be very attentive to my / repeated requests not to sell the House, till Uncle / has paid off the Mortgage and all Incumbrances. (Murray to John Murray, 3 February 1792; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F12*)

I am surprised to find, any debt, especially of £ 1000, remains unpaid / by Uncle, and I wonder how you can be easy with it. The Letter thou / wrote to Uncle was <sup>a</sup>all a sensible and spirited Remonstrance, except / the last clause, which I think spoiled the whole: as he may conclude / from that, that thou thought it necessary and proper, once in a while, to / revive the subject, for form sake, and to save appearances; tho' that was not thy / meaning. (Murray to John Murray, 31 [sic] September 1795; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F12*)

It can be seen that Murray's tone in the letters to his brother could be quite formal. Nevertheless, as the *Memoirs* testify, he deeply valued his brother's efforts to keep him and his wife informed about America: "We owe much of our relief and consolation, to his unwearied attention, and to the proofs he has given us of his esteem and love, during our long

residence in England”. A few years after Murray wrote these words, and after he had written the last of the six letters of the *Memoirs*, John Murray had a serious fall on an icy street from which he would never fully recover (Murray 1826: 157). He died in 1819.

The fifth letter in the *Memoirs* (Murray 1826: 83–112) is the longest one and mainly deals with Murray’s career as a writer. The overview starts with how he began to write, the first result being *The Power of Religion on the Mind* (1787).<sup>16</sup> For this book, Murray had not only targeted the members of the Society of Friends; instead, he had composed the book

... with the single view and hope of promoting <sup>^</sup>the general interests of <sup>^</sup>piety and / virtue, and particularly the spread of <sup>^</sup>genuine Christianity, / without the design of advancing the <sup>^</sup>partial interests of any one / religious profession. (Murray to Joseph Cockfield, 9 March 1811, LSFL: *Portfolio 4/21*)

As observed above, after his move to York and the subsequent death of his father, Murray had decided to engage in activities beneficial to others, within the limits of his “bodily infirmities”, which at the same time could “agreeably employ [his] mental powers”. The perusal of religious writing by “eminent and virtuous persons” had proved advantageous to his own state of mind, and he “supposed that it would be attended with similar effects on the minds of others”. He was soon proved right by an unexpectedly high demand for the book. The initial edition, comprising “only” 500 copies, was published anonymously and bound and distributed at his own expense, but Murray was soon “encouraged to print a new edition of the work, in London”. Next, “several other impressions appeared in different places”, while during the years following it was regularly corrected and enlarged. The fact that the proceeds of all these works were donated, in accordance with Murray’s wishes, to “charitable purposes, and for the benefit of others” (see also Section 5.3) does not mean that he was not concerned with sales numbers, on the contrary, as the following passage shows. The contents of the “Tract against the

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<sup>16</sup> In 1823 a French translation of the sixteenth English edition of this work was published in Geneva, by J.J. Luc Sestié, as *Influence de la Religion sur l’Esprit* [...]. One year later Murray received a copy of it from his friend Samuel Tuke, and he appears to have been very pleased “on perceiving that [his own] little book has been so much respected ... and so well translated” (Murray to Samuel Tuke, 2 September 1824; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*).



‘Entertainments of the Stage’ that Murray published in 1789 (see previous section) had originally been a part of *The Power of Religion on the Mind* (1787), but following up on a request for republication, Murray wrote:

I have / written to Darton & Harvey, and authorized them / to republish the Tract, with as great a number / as thy son and they may think proper: but that / it is to be printed anonymously ... I think it will be best to / print / from the copy which was published, in a Tract / by itself, and not from that at the end of the / former editions of the Power of Religion on the Mind”. / This separate Tract is more correct, if not / somewhat enlarged. / In the latter editions of the Power of / Religion, I omitted the Tract, because I / found that it excited some prejudices against / the former work, and contracted its cir- / culation. Since that omission, I have found / that the Power of Religion [*sic*] has had a much / more extensive sale. (Murray to William Forster, 28 November 1810; LSFL: MSS Box 100/25)

Murray then turned to writing textbooks: the *English Grammar* (1795) and its subsequent offspring, i.e. the *English Exercises* (1797) together with the *Key to the Exercises* (1797), and the *Abridgment* (1797) of the grammar in the same year, then the *English Reader* (1799), followed by a *Sequel to the English Reader* (1800) and an *Introduction to the English Reader* (1801), and next the *English Spelling-Book* (1804), intended to form “an easy and natural connexion between this book and the ‘Introduction to the English Reader’”. Curiously enough, Murray did not add his *First Book for Children* (1805) to his impressive list of publications. Murray additionally published two French-language books, *Lecteur François* (1802) and *Introduction au Lecteur François* (1807), and finally the two-volume octavo *Grammar* (1808); for a complete overview of Murray’s publications, see Appendix A. For all these books prominent publishers and printers were found. In York, for instance, they were initially Wilson, Spence & Mawman, while Murray’s first publishers in London were Darton & Harvey (for those of the *English Grammar* in particular, see Chapter 5). On the unexpected success of his initial publications, Murray wrote the following words to the Quaker Minister Rachel Wigham (for information about Quaker women in the Ministry, see Section 3.2), in 1802:

Being so much confined, I have believed it to be my duty to compose and publish a few books for the benefits of the rising genera-

tion, and particularly to inculcate on their tender minds the principles of piety and virtue. These endeavors have been attended with sweet success, far beyond my expectation; and I feel thankful to the Author of all good, that I am not an entirely useless being in the world. (Murray to Rachel Wigham, 1802; quoted by anon. 1861, in *Friends' Intelligencer* 1860–1861: 87)

How rapidly well-known and widespread the first few of Murray's textbooks became is confirmed by a biographical article on him in the *European Magazine* from June 1803.<sup>17</sup> Its introduction reads as follows:

This Gentleman's literary character, the extensive circulation of his works, and his solicitude for the guarded education and the happiness of young persons, will doubtless render some traits of his history interesting to the publick, especially to those who have derived benefit from his writings. (anon. 1803a: 35–37)

As will be extensively discussed in Section 5.4.2, the profits of all these works were put to use for charitable purposes. In the *Memoirs* the overview of his "literary productions" ends with Murray wrapping up his previous summary with the remark that "an author ought to terminate his labours, before the tide of favour begins to turn", to which he added that

I had, perhaps, pursued this mode of employment rather too closely; and that I wished for more leisure to prosecute other studies. Influenced by these various motives, I have closed my literary labours, for the present at least; and I shall not resume them, unless some special considerations should alter my views of the subject. (Murray 1826: 101)

The slow deterioration of his physical condition played a part in Murray's decision to stop writing textbooks, because he continued: "There will, I trust, still remain for me, other sources of employment, and some degree

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<sup>17</sup> In a footnote to the Preface to the *Memoirs*, Frank (1826: iii) observed how she considered this article in the *European Magazine* to be a "perfectly authentic" account, "and, in every particular, strictly consistent with the tenour of these Memoirs". It is noteworthy here that the contents of this two-page biographical article closely resemble the way it was formulated twenty-three years later in the same *Memoirs*.

of usefulness, better adapted to circumstances, and to my growing infirmities of body” (Murray 1826: 101–102). This last observation is followed by a lengthy reflection on the “importance of learning and knowledge to the human mind”, with emphasis on the religious aspects and the need for purification of some classical works to render them suitable for adoption in “our classical seminaries”. In this respect Murray’s letter to the Quaker educationist Joseph Lancaster (1778–1838; ODNB, s.v. “Lancaster, Joseph”) is of particular interest:

It is with pleasure, that I perceive / that Joseph Lancaster’s plan of education, is likely to / be extended to the poor of Ireland. This is a soil / which demands cultivation; and for which his method / of teaching will, doubtless, be found well adapted. / I willingly comply with his request; and desire he / would put me down as a subscriber for ten copies. / I sincerely hope he will meet with the success / which his ingenuity [*sic*] and industry merit. (Murray to Joseph Lancaster, 10 February 1807; UvA: *HSS-mag.*: 139 *Ad.*)

Joseph Lancaster, the author of *Improvements in Education* (1803), had developed a monitorial educational method, which by 1818 was already implemented at 140 schools in the United States. It appears that Murray was very taken by it.

The fifth letter in the *Memoirs* finishes with some words on the death of Murray’s youngest surviving sister Susannah – then Mrs Willett – in 1808, after an illness of nearly a year. She had been “beautiful-gay ... surrounded with admirers” according to his niece Mary (Colden Wadsworth 1819: 40–41; NYPL: MS, Ford Collection). Again to set an example to his readers, Murray extensively described how well prepared Susannah had been “to leave the world”, expressing his certain knowledge that she had exchanged “the sorrows of time for the joys of eternity”; however, we have seen in a letter from Murray, cited above, that until 1792 at least, to his mind neither Susannah nor her two sisters apparently had made a proper start with these preparations. His middle sister Beulah – Mrs Hoffman after her marriage – although “not handsome”, had been “grave and romantic”, according to their niece Mary (Colden Wadsworth 1819: 40–41, 47; NYPL: MS, Ford Collection). Although we also know from this niece’s sketch of the Murray family that Beulah had died eight years earlier, on 27 October 1800, after having been ill for several years (and symptoms of which apparently included loss of memory, as Murray wrote in a letter to Elizabeth Wheeler in

1798), her death is not mentioned in the *Memoirs*. The date of Murray's eldest sister Mary's death remains unknown. The contents of Murray's letters indicate that she might still have been alive in 1810 (see the passage below). Monaghan (1998: 111) describes how after Robert Murray's death in 1786 Mary had been the least well-treated of the five children, and it appears from Murray's letters that she and her husband had serious financial problems, which seems to have affected him. "How stands sister Mary's debt?", he asked John in 1800 (Murray to John Murray, 1 December 1800; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F13). And ten years later he wrote:

My dear brother has / several times mentioned to me, that sister Mary intended to pay off her last husband's debts: / but thou hast not expressed how much they were, how much they still are, and for what / amount she made herself accountable, and for how much she is still accountable. Was there / any propriety in making herself answerable for any part of her husband's debts? (Murray to John Murray, 2 April 1810; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F18)

Murray's obvious concern had caused him to arrange for several presents to Mary. "Get Sister Mary a plain Callico Gown, such / as she may chuse, and charge it to my Account", he wrote to John (Murray to John Murray, 1 October 1792; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F11); and "If thou think it useful, get a watch of five Guineas for Sister Mary" (Murray to John Murray, 31 [sic] September 1795; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F12). After his description of Susannah's final days, Murray ended this fifth letter in the *Memoirs* with announcing the next one, using the following words: "I have, at length, after many delays and interruptions, brought the Memoirs of my life to the present period, the spring of the year 1809; and I hope I shall be able to finish the work, in my next letter" (Murray 1826: 112).

The sixth and final letter (Murray 1826: 113–130) is relatively short and completely devoted to expressing his gratitude to the Lord, thereby counting both the "prosperous events" in his life and "his trials and afflictions" as his "choicest blessings". Murray (1826: 113–116) described how he regretted in his earlier years to have paid too much attention to "the allurements of the world", but at the same time he disagreed with the attitude of those people "of a serious and peculiar cast of mind, who declaim against the enjoyments of life ... as vanities which are not worth

our attention". After all, Murray (1826: 117) wrote, it is "Divine Providence [that] has graciously made, for our accommodation and comfort" and, therefore, this gift "should be received with gratitude". Murray himself also occasionally kept enjoying such small pleasures. Although he wrote to his brother John about their "frugal" living in Holdgate as follows,

We keep a frugal table. No delicacies, but plenty of good wholesome food. Our garden furnishes / ~~most of~~ our vegetables; and a field,<sup>of 3 Acres</sup> within 50 yards of our / house, grazing for the horses. This is our mode of living (Murray to John Murray, 1 June 1801; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F14),

this modest lifestyle apparently did allow for a few delicacies, such as chocolate and Madeira, as the two passages below illustrate:

Tuke, Waller, & Copsie, will please to send, / by the bearer, to L. Murray, / Six pounds of their best Caracca Chocolate, / in papers as usual. (Murray to T, W, & C., 28 October 1822; LSFL: *Portfolio* 24/60)

L. Murray wishes his kind friend, / Thomas Priestman, to send him, if he can [*sic*] spare / them, Eight or ten dozen of the Madeira Wine, / instead of six dozen, provided the whole be / well cleared from the Lees; with a Bill of / the same p<sup>r</sup> Post, when the wine is sent, in= / forming him of the same. (Murray to Thomas Priestman, 20 June 1825; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)

The ordering of such large quantities of chocolate and wine does not necessarily mean that Murray and his wife kept these for private use only. Because of Murray's frequent confinement to the house, the couple received many guests over the years, who "knew the hours most suitable to him", and of whose visits Murray wrote to his brother John:

My state of health does not admit of our / having but very little dining company. We, however, have / many friends who take tea, and spend the afternoons with us. / Few friends from other parts of the county come to York without / calling to see us; by which means, in the course of sixteen / years, we have formed an acquaintance with some friends in / most parts of the nation.

(Murray to John Murray, 1 June 1801; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F14)

Two of these visitors were the travelling Quaker Ministers, Deborah Darby (1754–1810) and Rebecca Young (1784–1821), who stayed at the Murrays several times: in 1796, 1799, and again in 1804 (Labouchere 1993: 224); another Quaker Minister who came to visit the Murrays in York in 1786 was the American Thomas Ross (1708–1786), a good friend of John Pemberton (1727–1795; *ANB*, s.v. “Pemberton, John”), one of the most influential Quakers of Philadelphia. While staying at their place, Ross fell ill and he “now lies at Lindley Murray’s near York, afflicted with some inward obstruction which occasions great difficulty at times in breathing”, as Pemberton wrote in a letter to America (Bailey 1908: 288). Pemberton remained near Ross until his death soon after.

About 1796 yet another Quaker Minister from Pennsylvania, by the name of Phoebe Speakman (1739–1828; Skidmore 2003), came to York with the purpose of visiting eight members of the Society of Friends who had been imprisoned in York Castle for non-payment of tithes. By all accounts, this imprisonment so late in the eighteenth century of Quakers for refusing to pay church taxes is highly unusual, and Murray, together with William Tuke and other Friends, had made frequent efforts on behalf of the release of these men (Thompson 1878: 18). One of these efforts was in the form of a letter, from which the following passage is taken:

I ask then whether our religious scruples against War, Tithes, Slavery &c. / are not known to the individual Representative, to the Legislature, & / to the nation? Have we not publicly declared them by our Books, / our Yearly Epistle, our petitions to Parliament, our Sufferings, and / our conduct? .... The only fair and just ~~representation~~<sup>interpretation</sup> / which our appointment of them can receive, is that, from a sense / of the Benefits of a free Government,<sup>with respect both to religion and morality,</sup> and the importance of promoting / the wiser and better sort of Rulers to the Legislature, we come forward / on our own behalf, and that of our fellow Citizens, to procure as much / good, and prevent as much evil, as we can to the Community. (Murray to anon., 30 May 1796; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)

During their visit to York, Speakman and a friend called at the Murrays several times, and after the first time she described her host as follows:

Lindley Murray has not been able to walk much more than two or three yards at a time, for about ten years past. He ... sits up the whole day, but is no more able to speak than to walk; as he can only whisper a few words at a time .... He is rolled in a chair with wheels, to his carriage, and thence to his seat in the meeting house. He is a comely, good-looking man, middling tall and well proportioned; but a wonder, by being so much deprived of the use of his bodily powers. (Comly 1835: 226–227)

A few of the more renowned guests at Holdgate were Stephen Grellet (1773–1855), a prominent French Quaker missionary who had sought refuge in the United States and who was “refreshed and edified” at their place in 1812 (Seebohm 1860: 197), and the American Quaker John Griscom (1774–1852), who held the chair of chemistry and natural history at the medical department of Queen’s (now Rutgers) College in New Jersey from 1812 until 1828. Griscom gave the following account of his visit in his memoirs, published by his son:

Among the social occurrences, which I shall remember with the most pleasure, is a visit this afternoon to our very estimable countryman, Lindley Murray, who still resides at the little village of Holdgate, about three quarters of a mile from the city. His increasing infirmity of body has latterly [i.e. February 1819] been such as to prevent him from receiving the visits of strangers. But coming from the city of his nativity, and acquainted with his nearest relations, he was induced to yield to my request, and grant me an interview. Though so weak as to converse only in a low whisper, and scarcely able to bear his own weight .... I have been informed, by persons who were his youthful cotemporaries, that he was possessed by nature of great vivacity of feeling, and passions not less difficult to control, than what falls to the ordinary lot of humanity. But the graces of the Christian have so effectually surmounted the waywardness of nature ... (Griscom 1859: 127–128)

Griscom additionally described how the temperature in Murray’s parlour had to be regulated “with great nicety” and that Murray had to keep a very moderate diet to balance his lack of exercise that, on the other hand,

had to be just enough to “support a frame of unusual debility, and to prolong to old age a life of great usefulness to *millions* of his fellow-creatures” (Griscom 1859: 128). Other names of guests at Holdgate that are mentioned are those of the Irish inventor Richard Lovell Edgeworth (1744–1817) and his daughter, the novelist and educationalist Maria Edgeworth (1768–1849), who, on their way home from Paris in 1803, dropped by “unexpectedly at Holdgate” (Ogden Boyce 1889: 149; see also Allott 1991: 41). And even the Earl of Buchan appears to have been a visitor to Murray and his wife in Holdgate (Ogden Boyce 1889: 149). Presumably this was David Steuart Erskine, the eleventh earl of Buchan (1742–1829; *ODNB*, s.v. “Erskine, David Steuart”), who was an antiquary and political reformer who supported the American colonists during the War of Independence.

Murray’s six letters in the *Memoirs* are followed at this point by the section entitled “Memoirs continued” (Murray 1826: 133–270) that was written by Elizabeth Frank. This part is subdivided into three chapters, illustrating the final years of Murray’s life, his character, and his publications respectively. By her own words, Frank (Murray 1826: 134) “introduce[d] a few circumstances, which, according to the strict order of time, should have been inserted in Mr. Murray’s own memoirs” (and which mainly concern Murray’s physical conditions, daily routine and meals, and “excellent” character), but since it cannot be considered autobiographical, this section is not included for discussion here, apart from several relevant quotations already provided. When Frank left the Murray household after some twenty years, for reasons unknown, she was succeeded by Hannah Richardson (b1783), who had “offered herself for this post” to the Murrays in 1814, “to read to them, to write for them, to superintend their household affairs, and to act to them the part of a daughter” (Ogden Boyce 1889: 137). Richardson stayed until Hannah Murray’s death in 1834.

More than once during the many years of his stay in Holdgate, Murray had given advice on and drawn up drafts of wills for his family and friends. Thus he asked his brother John in 1792: “Has my Brother a satisfactory Will by him. It is of Consequence to provide / wisely and timely” (Murray to John Murray, 1 October 1792; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F11*). And in 1816 he prepared a draft for the will of Samuel Tuke and sent it to him with the request to “give it any modifications he pleases”, adding the following words of advice:



As it is reasonable that the mother should / have some pecuniary influence over her children, / and as the circumstances of some of them, by the / time of her decease, may require peculiar attention, / it is proper to give her something at her own dis= / posal, by will, and yet limited to the children, or / some of them. (Murray to Samuel Tuke, 29 March 1816; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)

Murray was likewise regularly engaged in updating his own will. In this respect it was an unexpected discovery – since he had never travelled away from home after his move to Holdgate – that Murray also wrote to his wife Hannah on the subject, in 1816. The letter begins as follows:

I recommend to my dear Hannah, to be / careful in the Investment of any property, which / she may, at any time possess; to have it in= / vested in the Public Funds, and in her own / name, and to preserve the proper vouchers of / such investment. Private security is very / uncertain, and may fail, when least expected. (Murray to Hannah Murray, 13 September 1816; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)

Murray then described in detail the funds he had set aside for his wife, and how she should be careful not to give too much encouragement to relatives to expect financial support from her after his death. He finished the letter with:

I recommend also, if my dear Hannah should / continue to reside in the house at Holdgate, ~~that~~ / and should choose to have any other family in a / part of the house, that she be careful not to have / any persons who would be likely to incommode / her, on account of their infirmities, the number of / their children, or any other peculiar circumstances. / Her own increasing weaknesses may require much / quiet and indulgence. (Murray to Hannah Murray, 13 September 1816; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)

Just one year earlier, Murray had already altered a previous version of his will, of which his brother kept a copy, and he had given John the following instructions:

As I lately made some alterations in my Will, / and executed it afresh, so that the one in thy custody will / be of no validity, I

wish thee, the day thou receives this letter, / to put the said will in the fire unopened. And if thou / wouldst inform me that thou hast done it accordingly, / it would be a satisfaction to me. (Murray to John Murray, 19 April 1815; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F19)

Shortly before his death, in 1824, Murray made further preparations for his final will. The executors were three of his friends in York: Samuel Tuke, the Quaker bookseller William Alexander (1768–1841) and David Priestman. In a long letter to them, he specified what had to be done with his estate, in particular with his house in Holdgate and his publications. Always the lawyer, Murray wrote about his wishes regarding the house:

When my estate at Holdgate is to be disposed of, it / should be put into pretty good order and condition, so as to / produce an advantageous sale. Considering the rise in landed / property, and the improvements which I have made, since I pur= / chased the estate, and the price at which my neighbour Allanson's / house and premises were sold, perhaps the whole estate, / houses, garden, closes &c. may produce about Two Thousand / pounds. But times and circumstances must determine the / amount of the sale. You will please to advert to the cost and / improvements of this estate as they are contained in my Leger. (Murray to executors, 14 February 1824; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)

This means that, dissimilar to Hodgson's (2000: 4; see this section above) observation that Murray could not buy property in England in 1785, as well as to the conditions in Tuke's will of 1819 (see this section above, n10), at this time Murray did own the house and gardens at Holdgate.

Next, it took Murray more than two full pages to sum up his wishes concerning his publications. This detailed description to some extent contradicts Monaghan's (1998: 116) assumptions that Murray had already much earlier lost all interest in sending the latest versions of his publications to America. Murray specified that after his own death and that of his wife, all their nephews and nieces in America – twenty-five in all, and Murray listed them all by name – would receive a complete set of the latest editions of all of his publications. He then gave detailed instructions as to how the books were to be sent:

... that they be neatly and / substantially bound, in plain calf, with ample margins, and suitable / projections of the covers, and that the leather be of a prime quality. / Where I have particularly designated the editions of any of the Books, / I hope that care will be taken to procure those very editions. Before / they are packed up, the covers should be thoroughly dried, and the / Boxes or Chests be of well seasoned wood, completely dried. By these / precautions, the books will probably be preserved from stains, spots, / or injury, to which they might be liable, in the passage to America, / if these circumstances were not particularly regarded. The Chests, / or Boxes should be strong and substantial to prevent damage, and / each of them of a middle size. Perhaps the set of books given to each / of my own nephews and nieces, might be contained in one Box / or Chest, (which would be a convenient and appropriate division,) / and all that are given to my wife's nephews and nieces, in a single / Box or Chest by themselves. (Murray to executors, 14 February 1824; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)

Other sets of books had to be sent immediately after his own death, among others to his two brothers-in-law, Martin Hoffman (1763–1828) and Gilbert Willett, and to two of his nephews, both of whom had become “druggists”, as the profession of pharmacist was then called, in New York. Murray added furthermore that

If any of the books should be out of print, or not easily obtainable / by my executors in England, I wish that such deficiencies [*sic*] may be sup= / plied by them, or the survivor, by one or more of the books, of which I have / made a List for that purpose. (Murray to executors, 14 February 1824; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)

It is unfortunate that this particular list of books has not come down to us. Another, shorter, list of books from Murray is, however, extant. One year after he had written the letter to his executors, he apparently wrote a codicil to his will that was only recently rediscovered. It was attached inside the first volume of his own copy of Johnson's dictionary (see Garner 1997: 73). The codicil mentions five, mostly multi-volume, titles, including this “Todd's Johnson's Dictionary” from 1818, to be given to the third eldest son of Samuel Tuke, William Murray Tuke (1822–1903; Sessions/Sessions 1971). Additionally, Hannah Richardson was to re-

ceive two other multi-volume works, as well as his “writing / Desk, which I have made use of / for many years” (Murray to Samuel Tuke, 26 March 1825; private collection Bryan Garner; see Garner 1997: 73).

A copy of the final version of Murray’s “last Will and Testament” is stored at the Public Record Office in England (and can be downloaded through the website of the National Archives, *Access to Archives* (A2A)). The long, densely-written, document was drawn up in a handwriting that does not resemble the script in Murray’s letters, and the will was “proved at London 21<sup>st</sup> March 1826”. It states that, in addition to the proceeds of his properties in England and America, and among other items, Murray left “to my beloved Wife two thousand and six hundred pounds”, “household furniture all articles of family consumption all my wearing apparel and my books and papers”. The Murrays had no children, but numerous names are mentioned in the will as legatees, American relatives and English friends alike, as well as charities on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean, like the earlier-mentioned Retreat, and the Grey Coat school for Girls and the Blue Coat School for Boys in York, both Quaker institutions, the treasurers of which each received twenty-five pounds. In America, moreover, a sum of money was vested in trustees for the purchase and distribution of religious literature. Murray’s will shows that his English estate totalled £14,000,<sup>18</sup> while his New York properties were valued at \$42,000 (Wright 1995: 59). He was a wealthy man at the time of his death, despite the fact that he never kept a penny from the proceeds of his books to himself, as confirmed by Frank (Murray 1826: 226–227): “The profit which he derived from his various publications, was uniformly devoted to benevolent purposes”.

Towards the end of Murray’s life, in 1823, the Baltimore periodical *Niles’ Weekly Register* made the following announcement:

An edition of the abridgement of Murray’s English grammar, has been published, by Messrs. Collins & Co. of New York, at the steam-printing press of Mr. Jonas Booth. It is well executed, and being the first work ever executed at a press of that description in the United States, is worthy the public attention as furnishing evidence of the progress of the arts amongst us. (anon. 1823b: 256)

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<sup>18</sup> This means that in England Murray must have had other properties besides Holdgate, the value of which he had estimated two years earlier at about £2,000.

Regrettably, it is not known if Murray had been made aware of this new development in the realm of printing, but since he had been interested in science for most of his life, he might very well have appreciated the honour, albeit modestly. Lindley Murray died in the year he would have turned eighty-one, on 16 February 1826, after a short period of serious illness which confined him to his bed, and in the presence of his wife Hannah (Murray 1826: 172–176). Six days later, as the *Scarborough Collector* reported,

[o]n Wednesday morning, the 22nd of February, Mr. Murray's remains were interred in the burying ground of the Friends, or Quakers, in the city of York; amidst a large assemblage of individuals, many of whom had come from a considerable distance. From the stillness which prevailed, one might have thought only few persons were present. All were silent and serious; many deeply affected. (anon. 1828: 8)

### 2.3.1 Murray's illness and his departure for England

As remarked above, there has been much speculation about the origin of Murray's complaints and how his physical condition relates to his stay in England. Monaghan (1998), for instance, at one point suggests that Murray might have suffered from multiple sclerosis or muscular dystrophy, but then discards these suggestions because Murray lived "until the age of 81, had a healthy ruddy countenance, worked long hours on his books, had the dexterity to conduct a wide correspondence in a firm clear hand, had an excellent memory and was favored with excellent vision" (Monaghan 1998: 127). It is Monaghan's personal opinion that "[t]hese facts argue against multiple sclerosis or muscular dystrophy as a cause of Lindley's health problems" and he suggests that a "possible combination of causes may lie in arthritis of the spine exacerbated by frequent cases of the flu" (Monaghan 1998: 127). Barbour (1999: 163), on the other hand, suggests that Murray's complaints might have been caused by myasthenia gravis, an autoimmune neuromuscular disease. In this subsection I shall go into a full consideration of this matter.

Monaghan (1998: 127) considers the "hypochondriacal frequency" with which Murray discussed his physical condition sufficient reason to take his "excuse of health to explain matters ... with a grain of salt". In addition, he raises doubts about the nature of Murray's illness by saying

that “[t]he supposedly sickly Lindley, let us remember, lived to be 81”, and he claims that his complaints “seem more related to rheumatism or arthritis than other causes” (Monaghan 1998: 90). But as Murray’s letter to his father, cited above, illustrates, Murray had written to him already in the early part of 1785 that he felt better than when he was still in New York, but nevertheless experienced severe weakness “for several Hours” after having walked across the room a few times. Weakness of limbs in itself is not a symptom of either rheumatism or arthritis, and therefore Monaghan’s impression of matters seems to be a misrepresentation of facts. As I have furthermore shown above, such frequent discussion of health matters was, in fact, quite common practice at the time. Moreover, as Frank observed in the *Memoirs*, Murray was not even “in the slightest degree, hypochondriacal” (Murray 1826: 140), and there are numerous accounts of visitors who were genuinely shocked at seeing his physical condition, the first report dating from around 1796.

One particular argument Monaghan advances against the possibility of Murray having a serious medical condition is that “an American visitor described his face as ruddy and animated” (Monaghan 1998: 90), with which he repeats a remark made by Frank in the *Memoirs* (Murray 1826: 147). Monaghan, however, does not specify who this American visitor was, although Frank had added that it concerned the lawyer and chemist Benjamin Silliman (1779–1864; *ANB*, s.v. “Silliman, Benjamin”), who was one of the first professors of science at Yale College and founder of the *American Journal of Science*. During his travels to England and Scotland in 1805 Silliman made a visit to Holdgate and, while there, he was surprised to see how cheerful and serene Murray, was, considering “the painful circumstances” he was in (Silliman 1812: 249). The word painful clearly refers to Murray’s physical condition, because this phrase is immediately preceded by Silliman’s description of Murray’s countenance, as follows:

Being afflicted with a muscular weakness in his limbs, he, about twenty years ago, removed from New-York to England .... The expected benefit, he has not been so happy as to obtain; his debility still continues to such a degree, that he can walk only a few steps at once, and frequently not at all. I found him sitting on a sofa .... I was fortunate in finding Mr. M— able to converse with freedom, for, at times, he is unable to utter even a whisper, and is compelled to decline seeing his friends .... You would not judge from his appearance that he is an infirm man, for his countenance is rather

ruddy and fair, and it is animated with a strong expression of benevolence. His person is tall, slender, and well formed. (Silliman 1812: 249–250)

A possible cause for Murray's severe complaints may be the following. Recent medical studies have brought to light the existence of a disease termed postpoliomyelitis syndrome (PPS; see Horemans 2005). This syndrome is the result of an earlier experienced viral infection called poliomyelitis which mainly affects very young children (see Section 2.2 for how the *Memoirs* testify that Murray was an extremely weak and sickly toddler), and typically develops some thirty to forty years after the initial infection. The main symptoms of PPS (Horemans 2005: 11) are renewed or progressive muscle weakness, severe fatigue, and pain in muscles and joints. Less common symptoms include muscle atrophy, difficulties with breathing and swallowing, sleeping disorders, and cold intolerance. Many of these symptoms were experienced by Murray, as has become clear from his letters (see above). According to Horemans (2005: 11), with PPS the rate of decline in muscle strength is assumed to be extremely slow; data from longer term studies indicate a decline in strength of approximately 1–2% per year. This slow decline is likewise confirmed for Murray in his letters, and it would, moreover, account for the fact that he was able to reach the respectable age of almost eighty-one. Instinctively, and contrary to earlier advice he had been given (see Section 2.2), Murray did exactly what a present-day physician would prescribe in case of PPS (Horemans 2005): “the more I persisted in my exertions, the more painful was my situation .... This induced me to try the experiment of relinquishing all attempts at walking, and to keep my seat through the course of the day. The result was, in every respect, beneficial” (Murray 1826: 74).

Having discarded the possibility that Murray's physical condition was the reason for his stay in England, Monaghan (1998) extensively discusses alternative motives why Murray and his wife may have moved to England in 1784. He describes how American patriots had apparently pressurized Murray to leave his hometown New York, thereby pushing him into the role of scapegoat for the entire Murray family. Monaghan furthermore concludes that Lindley Murray, the son who took the punishment for the father because of the latter's age and infirmity, would “**surely** have traded all his renown to leave the precincts of York, England, his place of exile, and once again walk the streets of New York” (Monaghan 1998: 7; emphasis added). If so, this begs the question

why Murray did not do so after the American government had pardoned all but the most perfidious and cruel loyalists – to which categories the Murrays could not be counted – towards the end of 1788. As a result of this amnesty, as Norton (1972) describes it, it was “earnestly recommend[ed]” to the individual states “to restore property of those persons who had not borne arms for the king”, and the exiles now had the choice either to remain in England or return to the United States (Norton 1972: 223). In the latter case, Norton adds, they might have to “brave the lingering wrath of their rebel fellow countrymen”, but they would nevertheless be able to try and rebuild their former lives. And as the historian Sabine, whose book *Loyalists of the American Revolution* (1966) forms an important source for Monaghan’s discussion of the loyalist views of the Murray family, confirms, “former Loyalists became prominent in the political as well as in the business and professional fields in the years after 1783” (Sabine 1966: introduction). Moreover, not even the majority of Americans had by definition been revolutionaries; John Adams (1735–1826) estimated during his vice-presidency from 1789–1797 that “only a third of the Americans were wholehearted patriotic Whigs, a third were indifferent, and the remainder loyal Tories” (Callahan 1963: 7).

Sabine, by his own admission, was “one of the Whigs” (Sabine 1966: introduction), and his list of loyalists “is considered definitive”, according to Monaghan (1998: 8). It included the names of both Robert Murray, with only three-and-a-half lines of information, and Lindley Murray, with two pages, as entries to the list. Sabine’s information on Lindley Murray entirely derives from Murray’s *Memoirs* (1826), and nowhere in his book does Sabine specify on what grounds he included the two Murrays in his overview of loyalists. Another source for Monaghan’s speculations are the words of William Darby, an acquaintance of the Murray family. Monaghan, however, like Egle (1896: 533) before him, cites Darby incorrectly by saying that “Darby accuses Lindley of taking sides ‘with the enemies of our country’” (Monaghan 1998: 9). This unfounded accusation has since been repeated by quite a few scholars. Nothing is farther from the truth, however, because Darby actually wrote:

Dixon and Murray followed the irresistible currents of their souls. Dixon rushed to the battle-field; Murray retired from the strife, **not** to do as many others done, join the standard of the enemies of



his country, but *join the Society of Friends* and pass quietly along the stream of life. (Egle 1970: 51)

Darby's remark, although cited in full in this reprint by Egle (1970), is still misinterpreted here as that "*his [i.e. Murray's] influence was on the side of the Mother Country as against the land of his nativity*". However, since Murray was already a member of the Society of Friends at that time, a fact of which Darby was all too aware, Darby's observation must be understood as that Murray started to live in accordance to the organization's rules and therefore chose *not* to fight, *on either side*. This conclusion is completely in line with my findings as described above in this section.

Monaghan extensively and thoroughly discusses the wartime activities of the Murray family, which included violations of a nonimportation order in 1775 which "almost resulted in the expulsion of Robert and John Murray [Sr] from New York City" (Monaghan 1998: 51–52). Monaghan goes on to speculate here that "[i]t was also likely an important factor in the exile of Lindley Murray from New York a decade later". Monaghan (1998), furthermore, interprets Murray's letter to Jay and Jay's subsequent reply, as discussed above in Section 2.2, as proof of Jay's opinion that Murray also "had done wrong at the time of the Revolution", but that Jay forgave him (Monaghan 1998: 125–126). However, nowhere in his letter did Jay point a finger at Murray specifically, and Jay's remarks could have concerned the situation he was involved in as America's envoy, negotiating a treaty with England (Jay 1833: 344–346). Moreover, if it was indeed the advanced age of Robert Murray that by then had become an obstacle for his own exile, as Monaghan claims, would not his almost twenty years younger brother John, his co-conspirator in many of the condemned activities,<sup>19</sup> have been a far more obvious choice to take the blame than his son Lindley?<sup>20</sup> (This choice, we must bear in mind, was not for Robert Murray to make, but for the authorities.) And how could the son then have been able personally to hold on to his American properties (as also mentioned by Murray in his letter to his brother from 1793; see Section 2.3)?

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<sup>19</sup> Lacey (1997: 57) also wonders how then Murray's brother John could remain (and could actually increase his fortune) "in America with no apparent threat".

<sup>20</sup> Monaghan (1998: 64) assumes that John Murray, who had been heavily involved in the evasion of the nonimportation agreement, escaped exile because he had been also engaged in so-called "pro-patriot" activities. At the same time, Monaghan speculates that Lindley Murray more or less voluntarily stepped in for his father.

Monaghan further claims that the *Memoirs* was primarily “a book aimed at protecting Lindley’s reputation – and his family’s – in the United States”. If so, Murray’s full-page song of praise about England’s “general system of laws” combined with its “excellent government, life, property, reputation, civil and religious liberty” (Murray 1826: 67) – including his expression of the wish that providence might support “its political fabric, which has stood the test of ages, and [has] long attracted the admiration of the world” – will hardly have helped in ensuring a speedy forgiveness by his countrymen, quite the contrary. And why would the *Memoirs* then have been published after his death in 1826, when the sales of his readers and grammars had already taken such a gigantic flight? It needs to be questioned if Murray’s heirs and legatees really had anything to fear from serious “textbook rivals”, as Monaghan (1998: 8) suggests, by 1826.<sup>21</sup> After all, as will be illustrated in Chapter 5, in America, from 1800 onward Murray’s textbooks had gained huge popularity, despite his supposedly bad “reputation”; this is even stated by Monaghan himself (1996: 32): “[b]y 1810, the entire range of Murray’s textbooks were being published in nearly all the major cities of the United States”. In this light, and if Monaghan’s claim about the purpose of the *Memoirs* is accurate, the question arises whether the book actually needed to be published at all then. Moreover, Murray wrote the following words to his brother John:

Ah! if we were favoured to walk / about that York, which has been the scene of our early days, and / where our beloved Relations and friends reside, how comfortable! (Murray to John Murray, 31 [sic] September 1795; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F12)

Monaghan suggests that Murray’s wish to be able to walk the streets of New York once again, as expressed in the passage above, can only be interpreted as the longings of someone in exile, while, in fact, most people who have voluntarily emigrated experience similar feelings, if not continually, then *surely* on an occasional basis.

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<sup>21</sup> Monaghan (1998: 115–116) speculates again here by saying that the *Memoirs* might originally have been composed to guide Murray’s nephew Benjamin Perkins (d1810), who acted as one of his agents in America, but who suddenly died in October 1810.

In his journal – the first edition of which was published in America in 1810 and thus long before Murray’s own *Memoirs* would be published – the above-mentioned Benjamin Silliman spoke very highly of Murray, both as a person and as a grammarian. Silliman referred to him as an “eminently good man” (Silliman 1812: 248), and he wrote how at a dinner party in Edinburgh,

Lindley Murray and his excellent grammar were the subject of eulogium, and, after our host had committed himself, by pronouncing it the best grammar extant, it was remarked, that perhaps the English would now grant that Americans might write the language correctly, since one of them had actually given a grammar to England itself, which was confessedly the best that had ever been written. (Silliman 1812: 282–283)<sup>22</sup>

Silliman also mentioned how he had asked Murray during his visit if he “had relinquished the idea of returning to his country, and of observing the great changes which these things had undergone in a period of twenty years” (Silliman 1812: 249). Certainly, Silliman would not have asked this if there were (still) any political obstacles to prevent the Murrays from returning to New York. And in this respect, what does it mean that, as the *Edinburgh Annual Register* was able to record immediately after Murray’s death, “[a] tribute of respect was [...] paid to him by two literary societies in New York. In 1810, he was elected an honorary member of the Historical Society; and in 1816, of the Literary and Philosophical Society” (anon. 1826b: 82)?

If the above arguments are still not conclusive, the following letter of introduction to “Lindley Murray Esq” from New York’s Governor, and former presidential candidate, DeWitt Clinton (1769–1828; *ANB*, s.v. “Clinton, DeWitt”) will certainly be:

Sir / As a former inhabitant and / a native of this State, you will naturally / feel gratified in seeing a respectable person / from the same Country: and were this / improper, I have great pleasure in / introducing to you Mr Van Schaick of / this City a gentleman of

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<sup>22</sup> Silliman (1812: 283) continued here with “[t]he ingenuity of our host, however, extricated him from this dilemma; he replied, with perfect good humour, that Mr. Murray, during a residence of twenty years in England, had learned the language, and it was therefore no wonder that he should write it well”.

great worth / and who is anxious to exprefs to you / those sentiments of regard which are felt / by him in common with the Citizens / of this Country. / Sinc your friend / DeWitt Clinton. (Clinton to Murray, 14 March 1816; Courtesy of *Seaport Autographs*, Mystic, CT.)

This “Mr Van Schaack” in all likelihood was Peter van Schaack (1747–1832; *ANB*, s.v. “Van Schaack, Peter”), lawyer and close friend of Clinton. He had opposed the American Revolution and had been briefly banished from 1778 till 1785 (he had gone to England during that period), but upon his return in 1785 was welcomed in New York City by John Jay and Governor Morris, among others, who had looked after his interests during his exile.<sup>23</sup> Clinton was probably not aware that Murray and Van Schaack had both been members of the same debating club in New York (see Section 2.2) and that Murray therefore was already acquainted with Van Schaack. Clinton’s words, describing both his and America’s regard for Murray, cannot be misunderstood.

## 2.4 Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have added some perspective to the existing portrait of Lindley Murray, as painted by his biographers and by himself in the *Memoirs*. Partly due to Murray’s occasional failing memory when writing this book, his picture was far from complete and, as I have attempted to show, not always accurate. Murray’s portrait as it is now, with the addition of the information from his letters to the biographical information that was already available, is likely to be still incomplete, but I nevertheless believe that I have succeeded in filling it out in greater detail. To this purpose a few strokes painted by his contemporaries were put in as well. Some gaps and lack of clarity will, however, inevitably remain.

For all that, I have been able to disprove Monaghan’s claim that Murray was a hypochondriac. Whether it was PPS, which I believe is very plausible, or another severe illness that caused Murray’s physical complaints, Monaghan’s error of judgment in this respect is, however, perfectly understandable. Appearances, after all, can be deceiving, as Murray himself was all too aware, according to his *Memoirs*:

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<sup>23</sup> Van Schaack’s lands had not been confiscated, and within the next year his citizenship rights were restored. He was allowed to resume his legal practice, which he continued for the next thirty-five years (cf. *ANB*, s.v. “Van Schaack, Peter”).

I must, however, allow, that, in my own case, the appearance of general health, and the ease with which I moved on the board [which, as Murray had explained, was applied to help him get into the carriage by levelling the step from his garden gate], might very naturally induce a belief, that I was capable of greater exertions, and that the weakness existed more in the mind than in the body. If, under a change of circumstances, I had been the observer, instead of the person observed, I might very probably have formed a similar judgment. (Murray 1826: 75)

I have furthermore managed to invalidate Monaghan's assertion that political circumstances prevented Murray from returning to New York. Basing myself on the information provided not only by Murray himself in his letters and memoirs, but, no less importantly, on that by many of his acquaintances as well, I argue that even if it had been the wartime activities of the father that had sent the son to England, it was Lindley Murray's body that kept him captive there.

When discussing Murray's letters and the *Memoirs* I aimed to avoid acceptance of the latter "at face value", something which previous writers about Murray neglected, according to Monaghan (1998: 7). I have likewise attempted to avoid the pitfall of speculation that is often accompanied by the use of a word as "likely". It is my opinion that Murray wrote the *Memoirs* for the same reason that many Quakers did at the time: to serve as a model of proper moral and religious conduct for future generations of Quakers. Needless to say, improprieties, of any sort, could not be included in such a document. Therefore, Monaghan's observation that Murray ignored certain facts and actions because "he had something to hide" (1998: 8; see also Section 2.2) might be better formulated as "because it did not serve the purpose of the *Memoirs*". This conclusion brings me to Chapter 3, in which I shall give a detailed illustration of Quakerism in England and America, as well as, more specifically, in Murray's life.



### 3 Lindley Murray: Quaker

*L.M. was in principle a Quaker; & those who consider Quakerism, Deism, & Socialism, as nearly synonymes, would of course look upon him as a Socinian.*<sup>1</sup>  
(Joseph Crosfield to C. Tomlinson, 2 August 1842; LSFL: *Portfolio* 41/113)

#### 3.1 Introduction

Allott (1991: 55) discovered that in Lindley Murray’s textbooks the terms “Quaker” and “Friend” were studiously avoided. Two of the reasons Allott gives for this are that Quakers generally felt a sense of privacy concerning their religious beliefs, and that this avoidance may have been due to Murray’s natural reticence. Yet, and as already illustrated in the previous chapter, when reading Murray’s letters, the fact that he was a Quaker is impossible to overlook. The contents, the style, certain linguistic features as well as the date notations in his letters will immediately betray his religious conviction. To ensure that the contents of Murray’s letters may be fully understood, and before going into the letters and their contents, I shall provide a brief outline in this chapter of what it means to be a Quaker and, even more importantly, what it meant to be a Quaker in the United States and in England in Murray’s days, from the mid 1750s until the second quarter of the nineteenth century. I do not pretend it to be an exhaustive overview, since even for many members of the Quaker community their knowledge about early Quakerism is merely fragmentary and understood only within their personal frame of reference (Kuenning 2003). This outline, therefore, is intended to serve as the framework for Murray’s life and work as a Quaker, which is inextricably interwoven with his work as a grammarian, as the following passage illustrates:

When I sent thee a copy of “The English Reader”, / I did it with a view of receiving from thee some re= / marks by which I might improve it. I shall therefore / consider it as a favour, if thou wilt peruse it atten= / tively, and communi[c]ate freely, whatever occurs to thee / respecting the plan or execution. The inclosed paper, / the price of the Copy Right, and the sale of the work, / (it

<sup>1</sup> For Joseph Crosfield (c.1756–1830), one of Murray’s correspondents, see also Section 5.2 and Appendix B; the Socinians were a sect founded by Lælius and Faustus Socinus, two sixteenth-century Italian theologians who denied the divinity of Christ (*Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy Online*, s.v. “Socinianism”).

having already reached a 2<sup>nd</sup>: Edit, tho' the first consisted of / 2000 Copies,) show the opinion of persons not of our society: / but I wish to know whether it is likely to be answer my / original intention, namely, to furnish our youth with / an unexceptionable collection of pieces in prose and poetry; / and, at the same time, to improve them in a just and / correct mode of reading. (Murray to George Dillwyn, May 1799; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F3)

As Murray wrote to the prominent Quaker George Dillwyn, his originally intended audience for the *English Reader* (1799), as for all his other textbooks, were Quaker youth, and his first priority was to ensure that the book would be suitable and proper for their education. For the present chapter, the principal sources of information about Quaker life and ways in this period are Punshon's (2006) *Portrait in Grey. A Short History of the Quakers*, and the British and Philadelphia editions of the Quaker Book of Christian Discipline, published by the respective Yearly Meetings of the Religious Society of Friends, entitled *Faith & Practice* (2005 and 1997 editions respectively). A Book of Christian Discipline is a book outlining the Quaker church organization as well as all rules related to its membership.

Regarding one particular Quaker feature, unfortunately, no modern literature exists: the typical forms of address that were current practice among Quakers during Murray's life, with the exception, this is, of present-day studies into their exceptional use of the 2nd person singular personal pronoun *thou*. Quaker usage, however, is more extensive than that, covering, for instance, forms of address as well. As early as 1806, Murray's contemporary Thomas Clarkson (1760–1846; ODNB, s.v. "Clarkson, Thomas") wrote a detailed report on Quaker views on "Moral Education, Discipline, Peculiar Customs, Religious Principles, Political and Civil Economy, and Character", titled *A Portraiture of Quakerism* (1806). His observations proved to be an interesting contemporary account of Quaker customs in general, and of Quaker language specifically. What makes Clarkson's (1806) book an even more valuable resource for the present study and particularly with regard to Quaker language is that Murray was quite familiar with the book and praised its contents more than once. Thus he wrote to an unidentified addressee: "He [Clarkson] has certainly drawn a fine picture of us: I wish we all resembled it ... we must endeavour to be like it ..." (Murray to anon., 30 March 1807; HC: *Quaker Collection; MS 851*).



In Section 3.2 of this chapter I shall give a brief sketch of the history of the Quaker movement, together with an explanation of the names indicating the various Quaker bodies to which Murray referred in his letters. Section 3.3 continues with a description of the eighteenth-century Quaker “Tradition”, i.e. “what gave the eighteenth-century Society its roots, its cohesion and its sense of identity” (Punshon 2006: 156). Next, Section 3.4 deals with the expressions and forms of address that in Murray’s days were – and some even still are – so “peculiar” (Punshon 2006: 156), i.e. typical, for Quakers. In Section 3.5 I shall illustrate to what extent Murray himself used such “Quaker Speak” (Heron 2003: title). Finally, some concluding remarks will follow in Section 3.6.

### 3.2 The Quaker movement: historical overview

From 1647 onward, when he started to preach his message of a religion based on personal experience, George Fox (1624–1691; *ODNB*, s.v. “Fox, George”) worked towards the establishment in 1652 of the movement we now know as “Quakers” (see also Philadelphia *Faith & Practice* 1997: 1–2). The foundation of this religious movement was a reaction against the growing emphasis that was placed on outward ceremony by the established Church of England, and Fox, until his death almost forty years later, remained an avid preacher of his religious beliefs. Quakers, in effect, can be regarded as a specific type of Dissenters. Originally, the first Quakers called themselves “Children of the Light”. This title referred to the “inward light of Christ”, and it was believed that Jesus Christ had come “to teach his people himself” (Heron 2003: 17). Quaker worship was based on acceptance of this “Light of Christ”, which was sought through the silence of personal or corporate worship. Like that of many other religious dissenters, the life of a Quaker was not an easy one in the early days of their existence. The message that Quakers spread was considered heretical, an act of treason even, since their refusal to acknowledge the established church meant that they chose not to acknowledge the authority of the state. As a result, Quakers were frequently persecuted and subjected to imprisonment, and some even saw their meeting houses burned. Nevertheless, the movement flourished, and it is claimed that by the end of the seventeenth century Quakers constituted no less than ten percent of the British population (Philadelphia *Faith & Practice* 1997: 3).

During the centuries that have passed since its foundation, the movement has been known under quite a few different names. As the seventeenth century progressed Quakers gradually changed their organisation's initial name "Children of the Light" into "Friends in the Truth". By then the term "Quaker" had already come to be applied to the movement's members as a derisive term, which originally, according to Heron (2003: 38), was "related to the trembling sometimes experienced through spiritual experience". Another explanation for the origin of the name "Quaker" is given by Gillman (2006):

When in 1650 George Fox appeared before a judge on charges of blasphemy, he told the judge that he should "tremble at the word of the Lord". The judge then described Fox and his followers as "Quakers". The name has stuck. (Gillman 2006: 15)

Within a few decades, however, the name was adopted positively by the organization. Another expression that was sometimes used in the eighteenth century to describe its members was "Quietists", a term which implied that Quakers were inward looking and defensive, as Heron (2003: 42) puts it. At the end of the eighteenth century the title "Religious Society of Friends" first appeared, which name has now become the official one for the movement (for Murray's personal opinion on the new name, see Section 3.5.1). The alternative name, Quakers, is frequently considered by its members to be a more satisfactory one than "Friends", since there are nowadays many more organizations, charitable as well as commercial ones, which use this epithet as part of their name, such as Company of Friends, Festival of Friends, Circle of Friends, or Celebration of Friends. At the same time, Quakers are often unhappy with the suffix in "Quakerism" because they are increasingly diverse in terms of personal beliefs, and they would rather stress their way of life to reveal their common identity, which is, as they phrase it, belonging to "the world family of Friends" (Heron 2003: 41).

When analysing Murray's letters many typical Quaker words and expressions have surfaced. To facilitate the interpretation of his letters, I give below an explanation of some frequently used terms. Unless mentioned otherwise, I have turned to the 3rd British edition of *Faith & Practice* (2005) for the terms found:

*Discipline*: a generic name for Quaker religious principles, endorsed by *Britain Yearly Meeting* and recorded in the *Book of Extracts*

to which Quakers were expected to conform (Punshon 2006: 148, 157).

*Britain Yearly Meeting*: located in London; the body with ultimate authority for church affairs for Quakers. Nowadays this concerns only British Friends, but in the eighteenth century it was still responsible for all Quakers.

*Yearly Meeting*: central organizing body for Quaker meetings.

*Quarterly Meeting*: regional gatherings consisting of groups of neighbouring monthly meetings, established with the purpose to encourage and strengthen one another through worship, and to deal with matters of regional concern. They also kept the Quaker registers of births, marriages, and burials (Vann/Eversley 1992: 12).

*Monthly Meeting*: the Friends' Society is further organised into local meetings called Monthly Meetings. These are the Quakers' primary business meetings and are to be considered as a community which offers support, advice, or practical help, as well as opportunity for communal worshipping.

*Meeting for Business*: meetings that are held in the spirit of worship, and that deal with both spiritual and practical matters. Decisions are reached on the basis of consensus (Labouchere 1993: xii). In the eighteenth century all *Monthly Meetings* knew a separate *Meeting for Business for Women*.

*Meeting for Sufferings*: originally an executive committee installed to take action "over the distress caused by persecution" (Labouchere 1993: ix), later also active in aiding all who were in need of assistance. Today it is also known as *Representative Meeting*.

*Elder* and *Minister*: Quakers, both male and female, who wished to give pastoral care to the members of their Meeting could be appointed *Elder* or *Minister*, which were voluntary and unpaid positions (Labouchere 1993: xi).

It must be added here that the word Meeting in "Quaker parlance" is used both to refer to a meeting of worship and one that deals with Quaker "business affairs" (Labouchere 1993: ix). Finally, the terms *Yearly Meeting*, *Quarterly Meeting* and *Monthly Meeting*, as mentioned above, all denote the particular constitutional body, while referring to the frequency of its members' gathering as well (Heron 2003: 16).

### 3.3 Quakers in the eighteenth century

Punshon (2006: 126) explains that in the eighteenth century the Quaker organization could still be called a sect, which means that their ideology dictated a member's whole outlook on life via a system of controls. Each individual member was considered responsible for their fellow-members' adherence to the Discipline that was established by Britain Yearly Meeting; disownment, i.e. expulsion from membership, could be the ultimate consequence of failing to do so. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Quakers felt that as a distinct group of people they had a divine mission. Their testimonies, referred to as "peculiarities" (Heron 2003: 36), included their refusal to take oaths, to serve in the army,<sup>2</sup> to take off their hats as a mark of conventional courtesy, to pay taxes for the support of the established church in the form of tithes, to use formal speech, and "to dress like the 'world's people'" (Philadelphia *Faith & Practice* 1997: 3), adopting plain clothing which was "usually dark and without collar or other 'frills'" instead (Heron 2003: 36). Quakers met and worshipped openly, and were eager to defend their basic beliefs. Firm believers in equality, Quakers stressed women's rights to preach, which was an unusual point of view for the time. Wright (1995: 17, 31) notes how the role it gave to women was the most distinctive aspect of the Quaker organization, and that Quaker women, as Ministers, were essential as leaders and disseminators of Quaker beliefs; while Gillman (2006: 44) observes that with Quakers, women were fully accepted as having equal status. Separate Women's Meetings for Business were established, which offered female members an opportunity to use their skills in administration and decision making.

Quaker merchants were the first to adopt a fixed price system, which gained them the reputation of being scrupulously honest. This reputation for honesty was certainly one of the reasons that during the eighteenth century Quakers were gradually more accepted; in many cities Quaker communities were now established. As Vann/Eversley (1992: 10) find, "the assimilation of the Society of Friends to the population in general probably reached its apogee" in the last part of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth. And even King George III, according to Labouchere (1993: 290), "was always kind to the Quakers,

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<sup>2</sup> For all that, it appears to have been in the army garrisons that Quaker ideas spread most rapidly (Gillman 2006: 59); initially, many Quakers left the army for refusing to take an oath of allegiance to the King rather than for refusing to fight.

speaking to them individually if he met them personally”. This observation is confirmed in a letter by Murray:

I am also obliged to thee for the account / respecting Tho<sup>s</sup>. Shillitoe’s interview with the / King. His patient and respectful attention to / what Thomas had to exprefs, considering the length / of it, and the amusement from which he was / detained, is an instance of regard to our society, / and an homage paid to religion and virtue. / Perhaps, at some future time, it may be<sup>proper and</sup> con= / venient to thee, to communicate the substance / of what he delivered; and, at the same time, / give a relation of the circumstances respecting / the Interview of Sarah Harrifon with the King, / and the matter delivered; of which we have not / received a particular and satisfactory account. (Murray to Joshua Wheeler, n.d.; HALS: *D/ESe C20:20*)

Both Thomas Shillitoe (1754–1836; *OED*, s.v. “Shillitoe, Thomas”) from London and Sarah Harrison (1746–1812; Labouchere 1993) from Pennsylvania were travelling Quaker Ministers. The King’s interview with Harrison to which Murray referred must have taken place before or in 1799, when she returned to America.

After London, the city of York contained the second largest number of Quaker inhabitants in England.<sup>3</sup> By the time Murray moved to England, in 1785 (see Section 2.3), English Quakerism had grown into a predominantly urban, middle-class phenomenon with, especially in York, an increasingly large upper-class element (see also Fens-de Zeeuw 2009: 400). Clarkson (1808: xiii) remarked that Fox’s message appeared to have been “generally well received in the county of York”, and that it had convinced many people there. It appears that at the time that Clarkson wrote his book, more than a hundred years after Fox had died, this favourable religious climate in the area – which was in stark contrast to the situation in New York, as portrayed in Forbush’s (1956) biography of the Quaker Elias Hicks (see Section 2.2), for instance – continued to have its appeal, including on Clarkson’s contemporary Murray. When Murray

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<sup>3</sup> “The Friends of York”, as Ogden Boyce (1889: 146) noted in 1889, “have been for more than a century a very appreciable element in the population of that city. ‘Ah! Quakers are very good subjects; I wish I had more of them in my kingdom,’ was the exclamation of the King of Prussia when he distinguished persons in a quaint garb amongst the crowds who welcomed the Allied Sovereigns to London in 1814”.

lived in York he was no less “scrupulous about observing the testimony for plainness” (Forbush 1956: 52) than Hicks was, as Murray’s letters testify. The motives which governed this Quaker ideal of plainness were accuracy, clarity and absence of irrelevancy or flattery.

An additional reason for Murray to choose York as the place to settle may have been that, as Wright (1995: 25) observes, he was looking for a Monthly Meeting which would be receptive to his style of beliefs and where he would find like-minded members. As explained in Section 3.2, a Monthly Meeting is the primary business meeting of the Society, where membership is decided upon, and after his arrival in York, Murray, as a Quaker, had to apply for membership of York Monthly Meeting. Two of its members were William Tuke and his wife Esther, who had been “deeply oppressed” by the “period of cold formalism” and “deadness” that seemed to have “descended on Quakerism” in general, and who wished “to instill new and more enlightened ideas into the minds of the next generation” of Quakers in York (Sessions/Sessions 1971: 34). They would become the Murrays’ best friends (see also Chapter 4).

Already shortly after Murray and his wife Hannah had moved to York, they were both appointed Elders by York Monthly Meeting and soon after, on 25 October 1791, Murray was recorded as a Minister (York Monthly Meeting 1826: 13–14). When his health failed him too much to continue (see Section 2.3.1), he stepped down as such and worked as an Elder again. Elders, according to Gillman (2006: 71), had a particular responsibility for the spiritual life of the Monthly Meeting to which they belonged, which included the education of the whole Quaker community, adults as well as children. Elders also had the task to question or discourage what was considered inappropriate behaviour (Philadelphia *Faith & Practice* 1997: 216). As a Minister, Murray will have been expected to lead his “people into closer communion with God and to enable [them] to carry out those tasks which the Spirit lays upon [them]” (*Quaker Faith & Practice* 2005: 10.05). These almost immediate appointments indicate that Murray and his wife were highly respected by the other members of their Meeting.

It must be added here that Quakers have always made a distinction between “Friends” and “the World” (Punshon 2006: 153), or “non-Friends”. Nevertheless, as the eighteenth century progressed, Quakers who engaged in trade or other commercial enterprises preferred not to break their connections with the wider world, although for the majority of them these contacts remained limited to business-related matters. At

the same time, more and more Quakers had drifted from their original religious principles, openly flouting the Discipline; by 1798 they came to be known as “gay” friends, in opposition to “plain” friends who observed the regulations and had adopted plain dress (Punshon 2006: 150). As a reaction to this, with the more conservative members of the Quaker society plainness of speech became an obsession. An extensive overview of what this “plain speech” entails, now and in Murray’s days, will be given in Section 3.4, but it is important to mention at this stage that in the city of York at the time plainness was particularly celebrated (Wright 1995).

Quakers did not limit their ministerial activities to their home country but travelled to and from the continent, the Near East, and, which is of particular importance in the context of this study, the British colonies in North America. Quaker communities had been established in West Jersey and Pennsylvania by William Penn (1644–1718; *ODNB*, s.v. “Penn, William”), who had been granted the land that became Pennsylvania by King Charles II as repayment of a sizeable debt which the king had to Penn’s father. During the seventeenth century Pennsylvania had received shiploads of immigrants, the majority of whom were Quakers, originating mostly from the Midlands and the North of England (Crystal 1995: 93). These immigrants were followed in the early eighteenth century by Irish and Scots-Irish settlers, and it is thought that by the time America declared its independence from England, in 1783, one in seven of the population in and around Philadelphia was of Scots-Irish descent (Crystal 1995: 93). As described in Section 2.2, Murray’s parents had been among these descendants.

In the course of the eighteenth century, the Quaker communities changed from societies of zealous missionaries to close-knit orders, and many of their members increasingly withdrew from active public life and “sought to deepen their own spiritual lives and to hedge their Society about with distinctive rules and customs” (Philadelphia *Faith & Practice* 1997: 5). At the same time, the majority of Quakers became heavily involved in the abolitionist movement and, especially in the American colonies, in establishing philanthropic organisations and institutions that would benefit Native Americans. It was also during this period that requirements for membership were codified. What was considered “sound practice” for Quakers, according to Britain Yearly Meeting, was recorded in a “Book of Extracts” (Punshon 2006: 148) – later, around 1800, to be called “Book of Discipline” – which was frequently revised in the early

years after its initial publication.<sup>4</sup> This guidebook was intended to “define more precisely the code of Quaker conduct and to prescribe the means of enforcing this code on members” (Philadelphia *Faith & Practice* 1997: 5). In the eighteenth century uniformity of dress and behaviour among Quakers was much greater than nowadays, when it is virtually non-existent; and the Discipline, although published by the various Yearly Meetings, was dictated from London by Britain Yearly Meeting and meant to be followed worldwide. Murray’s letters from England indicate that he intended to adhere to the rules. While living in New York, these would be the ones published by New York Yearly Meeting – Murray belonged to Flushing Monthly Meeting, which was at the time a subdivision of New York Monthly Meeting – and even long after he had moved to York, where he had become a member of York Monthly Meeting, he wrote to his brother John to ask for a copy of their edition of the guide: “I wish my brother would send me a copy of the Discipline / of the Yearly Meeting of New York” (Murray to John Murray, 1 December 1800; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F13*).

*The Rules of Discipline of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, held in Philadelphia* (PYM 1806) is another early edition of the Book of Discipline.<sup>5</sup> As an illustration of how far the “system of controls”, as referred to above, went in Murray’s days, a few topics that are dealt with in this first edition of the Philadelphia Friends’ guidebook are given here, in order of appearance:

- Books
- Conduct and Conversation
- Convinced Persons
- Days and Times
- Defamation and Detraction
- Marriages
- Parents and Children
- Plainness

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<sup>4</sup> This *Book of Christian Discipline* still gets revised on a regular basis; every few years the Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends in Britain, for instance, publishes a new edition – currently called *Quaker Faith & Practice*. Their most recent revision dates from 2009.

<sup>5</sup> This book became known colloquially in later years as “The Old Discipline”, according to the website of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends. It has recently become available online: <<http://www.qhpress.org/texts/obod/index.html>>.



- Poor
- Schools. (PYM 1806)

The chapter on “Books”, of particular interest to the present study when it concerns Murray’s *English Grammar* (1795) and *Memoirs* (1826), begins as follows:

It being recommended to the meeting for sufferings to take the oversight of all writings proposed to be printed, which relate to our religious principles or testimonies; our members who may have any such publications in view, are to lay them before the said meeting, for its advice and concurrence. And it is the sense of this meeting that if any one shall print or publish any writing against the advice of said meeting for sufferings, or which tends to excite disunity and discord among us, such persons should be complained of to the monthly meeting they belong to, and if they cannot be convinced of the impropriety of their conduct, be testified against, as opposed to the peace and good order of the society. (PYM 1806: 12)

In accordance with this practice, and as became apparent from Murray’s letters, he had indeed sought approval of the “London Committee” (i.e. London Yearly Meeting), even before he made the decision to write his *English Grammar* (see Chapter 5).

Another change that took place in the eighteenth century (and which lasted from 1737 until 1960) was that the children of Quaker parents automatically became members of the Society at birth (Heron 2003: 16). Membership, however, was not necessarily for life: as also referred to above, Quakers could be disowned. Offences leading to disownment were, for instance, bankruptcy, immorality, persistent drunkenness, and (until 1860) “marrying out”, which meant marrying someone who was not a member of the Quaker Society (Heron 2003: 30).<sup>6</sup> The latter transgression could sometimes be restored. After membership of both partners had been established, they could make the marriage vows to each other in a special meeting for worship for marriage at a later stage. Before that could be arranged, however, God’s wishes in this respect had to

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<sup>6</sup> For this offence against the Society, disownment was *required* from the 1720s onward. Before that time, at first marrying out was merely *discouraged*, then disownment became *recommended* (Philadelphia *Faith & Practice* 1997: 5).

be made clear. Thus the PYM of 1806 states in the chapter on “Marriages”:

It is advised, that all young or unmarried people in membership with us, previously to their making any procedure in order to marriage, do seriously and humbly wait upon the Lord for his counsel and direction in this important concern ; and when favoured with satisfactory clearness therein, they should early acquaint their parents or guardians with their intentions ... (PYM 1806: 44)

Monaghan (1998) describes how initially the marriage of Lindley Murray and his wife Hannah, who were both Quakers, in 1767 would not have been performed according to the Friends’ discipline, which suggests that the Lord’s counsel and direction had not been obtained beforehand. This would have meant that their marriage was not recognized by the Society, which could have led to the couple running the serious risk of being disowned. Monaghan (1998: 45–46) speculates that only after Flushing Monthly Meeting had accepted Murray’s written apologies for this “violation of the Good rules and order” of the Society, Lindley and Hannah could be “remarried” on 22 June 1767. But Monaghan has the date notation of Murray’s letter of apology mixed up. It does not say “March 9, 1767”, as Monaghan assumes on the basis of the present-day American dating system, but “the 3:<sup>d</sup> of the 9:<sup>th</sup> Month: 1767” (Murray to Flushing Monthly Meeting, 3 September 1767; SC: *Minutes of Flushing Monthly Meeting*), which, as will be clarified in Section 3.4, indicates 3 September 1767.

Moreover, as Christopher Densmore, the curator of the Friends’ Historical Library at Swarthmore College, explained to me, the concept of remarriage would have been highly unlikely anyway. According to Densmore, “[a]s far as Quakers were concerned, the couple was married, whether it was done the way Quakers were supposed to conduct their marriages, or by a ‘Priest’ (non-Quaker minister), or a judge or however it was done. There was no reason for the couple to get remarried” (email dated 5 March 2009). Contrary to Monaghan’s (1998: 142) assumptions, Densmore found that there is no marriage certificate for Lindley Murray in the Quaker records, only this letter of acknowledgement from Murray, which was accepted by Flushing Monthly Meeting on 3 December 1767. It is Densmore’s opinion therefore that 22 June 1767 was the date of “their one and only marriage”, which confirms my observation above.

### 3.4 Quaker Speak

Murray's contemporary Thomas Clarkson (1808: 213) also commented on the Quakers' peculiar language use: "As the Quakers are distinguishable from their fellow-citizens by their dress ... so they are not less distinguishable from them by the peculiarities of their language". As touched upon in Section 3.3, it was in the seventeenth century that Quakers started to reject the use of formal language. By the eighteenth century, these typical language "peculiarities", collectively referred to as "plain speech", were firmly established as a testimony of equality, integrity, and simplicity, which included an element of directness, best illustrated by Fox's urging "that your yea be yea, and nay, nay, in all things" (anon. 1831a: 219). The most prominent and frequently referred to characteristic of the Quakers' speech policy is their refusal to use the 2nd person singular personal pronoun *you*, preferring *thou* instead, even when speaking to their so-called betters (for Murray's usage, see Section 3.5.2). By this, they wished to demonstrate that they had detached themselves from the ruling protocol of social etiquette (Görlach 1991: 85). In English, at the end of the sixteenth century, *you* had become the norm for both singular and plural forms of the 2nd person personal pronoun, and since the first half of the seventeenth century *thou* had been rapidly disappearing from the variety that developed into Standard English, although it continued to be used in plays and in religion (Görlach 1991: 85; Nevalainen 2006: 79). It also remained widespread in regional dialects, however, and, as observed above, among Quakers. The widespread use of *thou* in Murray's days is illustrated by Clarkson (1808: 215), who noted that "the pronoun Thou has come down so prominent in the speech of the Society, that its members are generally known by it at the present day". By then, however, this use had already lost its power to shock, according to Punshon (2006: 128).

Their exceptional use of *thou*, however, was by no means the Quakers' only linguistic "peculiarity". For present-day, recently joined, members of Quaker Meetings in Britain, the use of "plain" language is outlined in a booklet titled *Quaker Speak* (Heron 2003).<sup>7</sup> The criterion for inclusion of a peculiar term is described in the introduction as "[a]ny word, term or expression peculiar (or nearly so) to Quakers, that might cause a newcomer ... to exclaim 'What on earth is that?'" (Heron 2003:

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<sup>7</sup> The fact that Heron's booklet was reprinted in 1999, and revised in 1997 and 2003 may give an indication of the continuous need for such a guide until today.

4). As an example, Heron gives the following description under the heading “Peculiarities”:

The term used to describe some of the testimonies held in earlier times by the Quaker movement. These included the refusal to doff the hat as a mark of conventional courtesy [because all are equal]; the use of ‘Thee’ and ‘Thou’ in the place of ‘You’; and the adoption of plain clothing [usually dark and without collar or other ‘frills’]. (Heron 2003: 36)

But, and as discussed in Section 3.3, as early as 1735 the need was felt among Quakers for “regular, consistent and authoritative guidance in a comprehensive and accessible form” on matters such as those outlined here (Punshon 2006: 157), and a petition of Yorkshire Friends led to the publication in 1738 of the first abstract containing the rules that had been issued in the past. These also regarded the use of appropriate language, the importance of which was stressed in the chapter on “Plainness” in the various editions of the Book of Discipline, as for instance in PYM (1806):

Advised, that all Friends, both old and young, keep out of the world’s corrupt language, manners, vain and needless things and fashions, in apparel, buildings, and furniture of houses, some of which are immodest, indecent, and unbecoming .... We also tenderly advise, that Friends take heed, especially those who should be exemplary to others under their care, that they exercise **plainness of speech** without respect of persons, in all their converse among men; and not balk their testimony by a cowardly compliance, **varying their language according to their company**; a practice of very ill example, rendering those who use it contemptible, and looked upon as a kind of hypocrites, even by those with whom they so comply. (PYM 1806: 84–86)

In his letters, Murray usually obeyed this particular aspect of the rules, as we shall see in the sections to come; only very rarely did he not comply (see Section 3.5.3).

In 1806, Clarkson’s highly informative *Portraiture of Quakerism* was published as well. Chapter III of the section “Peculiar Customs” deals specifically with the “Quaker Language” (Clarkson 1808: 213–251), that was “adopted by their successors, and [is] in force in the Society at the

present day” (Clarkson 1808: 227). What follows below is an overview of contemporary Quaker terms of address that Clarkson registered, together with some “worldly” equivalents to be avoided:

- In addressing one another, either personally or by letter, Quakers make use of the word *friend* or, in the case of a family member, they may use, for instance, *sister*, or *father*;
- They may address each other also by their “real” names, by which they mean a first name, only adding a “sir-name” to distinguish a person from other people with the same first name, i.e. John Smith as opposed to John Baker;
- Quakers adopt the same mode of speech even when addressing the “world” as they call it: using either plain names, or the appellation *friend* or e.g. *neighbour*;
- Quakers reject the words *Sir* or *Madam*, as they consider them “remnants of ancient flattery derived from the papal and anti-Christian ages”, nor do they use the words *Master* or *Mister*, either “when they spoke concerning any one, or addressed any one by letter”;
- Quakers are extremely hesitant to use the standard eighteenth-century subscriptions in letters, such as: *your humble* or *your obedient servant*. They consider such forms to be untruthful, since no service is intended, and these formulas in their eyes are expressions of sinful flattery;
- For the same reason, Quakers avoid common address forms such as *My Lord*, *Your Excellency*, *Your Grace* or *Your Honour*.

To this list a few other notable “alterations in the language” may be added:

- An alteration that “took place very generally in the language of the Quakers” was the rejection of the word *saint* when speaking of the apostles or of “the primitive fathers”, since these were canonized by papal authority;
- It is unusual to use the words *lucky* or *fortunate*, since luck or fortune “have no power in the settlement of human affairs”;
- It is likewise uncommon “to beg ten thousand pardons ... for any little mistake”, since one excuse is considered to suffice;
- The expression “christian name” as the name “given to children in baptism”, is never used, because Quakers are never baptized;

- On meeting a person, Quakers “never say ‘good morrow’, because all days are equally good. Nor in parting with a person at night, do they say ‘good evening’ for a similar reason, but they make use of the expression of ‘farewell’”. (Clarkson 1808: 227–231)

The final “alteration” that can be added to this overview concerns the names of the days and months. The earliest advice to Quakers about “Days and Times”, which dates from 1697, is “[t]hat all friends keep to the simplicity of truth .... calling the months and days by scripture names, and not by heathen” (anon. 1783: 45). And, as Heron (2003: 24) observes, during Murray’s life the days of the week and the months of the year still had to be numbered “in order to avoid the use of names originating from pagan gods”. This practice is also described by Clarkson (1808), who wrote that, for instance, “Sunday had been so called by the Saxons, because it was the day, on which they sacrificed to the Sun” (Clarkson 1808: 227). He observed that as an alternative

[t]he numerical way of naming the days seemed to them [i.e. Quakers] to be the most rational, and the most innocent. They called, therefore, Sunday, the First day; Monday, the Second; ... and so on to Saturday, which was of course the Seventh. They used no other names but these, either in their conversation or in their letters. (Clarkson 1808: 228)

The names of the months were altered upon the same principles, so January became the first and December the twelfth month of the calendar year.<sup>8</sup>

Murray was very appreciative of Clarkson’s book (see also Section 3.1). The two men were well acquainted, since both were active members of the British anti-slavery movement and heavily involved in the creation of the African Institution.<sup>9</sup> Although Clarkson never became a member

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<sup>8</sup> In 1926, Watkins Tibbals published a survey of linguistic features of Quakers. She remarks how initially the notation “First second day after the second first day of fifth month” appeared a dating puzzle to her until she managed to resolve it as “Monday after the second Sunday in May” (Watkins Tibbals 1926: 193).

<sup>9</sup> The meeting at which the African Institution was created was held on 14 April 1807 (Ackerson 2005: 17). Its first president was the Duke of Gloucester, and other prominent members of the temporary abolition committee included William Wilberforce (see also Section 2.3), Zachary Macaulay (1768–1838; *ODNB*, s.v.

of the Society of Friends, he was strongly affected by Quaker principles. During the year following the publication of Clarkson's book, Murray wrote several letters to his brother John in New York in which he recommended it. Murray had apparently been given the opportunity to read at least part of the manuscript even before it went to the printer, because already earlier, in December 1805, he had written a letter containing words of praise for Clarkson's work:

In my last letter, I mentioned that I had perused / in manuscript the two first volumes of Tho<sup>s</sup>. Clarkson's / work on the Principles and Conduct of our Society. It is an excellent / work, and very likely to be of great use, both in and out of our society. / As it is committed to Robert Bowne's [i.e. the printer] care, I hope it will be printed and / sold on such terms, as will turn the greater part of the profits to his / benefit. He has expended much time and pains in the work, and he / certainly deserves a liberal recompense. (Murray to John Murray, 30 December 1805; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F15)

In two subsequent letters Murray told his brother that he thought it "a most interesting and useful work" (Murray to John Murray, 29 September 1806; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F16), and that it gave him "pleasure to find that Clarkson's Portra= / ture [*sic*] is so much approved in America" (Murray to John Murray, 2 November 1807; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F16). Whether Murray's high regard for Clarkson and his book influenced his own language use in his letters will be discussed in Chapter 4, more particularly in Sections 4.4.2 and 4.4.3, where I analyse Murray's letter-writing practices.

To conclude this section, it can be noted that plain speech served until well into the twentieth century as an outward symbol and reminder of the distinctive Quaker beliefs (Philadelphia *Faith & Practice* 1997: 219). To give an example of this, in the novel *Plain Language*, written by the Quaker author Barbara Wright (2003) and set in Colorado in the mid-1930s, a mother urges her son: "Jonathan, **thee knows** war is wrong" and "If **thee feels thee** must serve thy country, then work in an ambulance unit, help feed the refugees" (Wright 2003: 61; see also Section 3.5.2, for Murray's usage of *thou* and *thee*). In the book, whenever deep

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"Macaulay, Zachary"), and Granville Sharp (1735–1813; ODNB, s.v. "Sharp, Granville").

emotions are expressed or a strong moral conviction is reflected, the pronoun *thou* is used. By contrast, in all unemphatic dialogues throughout the novel the pronoun *you* is used between mother and son. Wright underlines this practice in the novel itself, with “She [i.e. the mother] never used Quaker plain language except in moments of extreme emotion, and it had a powerful effect” (Wright 2003: 61). This emotional element in the distinction between *thou* and *you* is still highly similar to what Crystal (1995: 71; see also Nevalainen 2006: 79) describes as apparent during the Renaissance, when *thou* commonly expressed special intimacy or affection, as opposed to *you* which held a more formal, polite, or distant meaning.

As another illustration of the survival of plain speech well into the previous century, Watkins Tibbals, for her 1926-survey of linguistic features of “plain friends”, was able to compile a list of “some thirty-five or forty” typical Quaker words and expressions “that still recur with almost equal frequency and apparently with little change of meaning, in the speeches heard in the Friends’ Meeting-houses today” (Watkins Tibbals 1926: 200). And although nowadays there is a tendency among Quakers to avoid “peculiarity” (Heron 2003: 24), some features of their plain speech have remained until the present day. Thus, the days of the week and the months of the year are still numbered instead of named. Gillman (2006: 55–56) asserts that presently Quakers no longer use *thee* and *thou*,<sup>10</sup> but that the testimony against titles continues to hold. He notes that Quakers still call each other by their first names and family names, “irrespective of age, material or social status” (Gillman 2006: 56). Also when communicating with non-Quakers, many still omit titles, using the appellation *friend* instead (cf. Gillman 2006: 56; see also Fens-de Zeeuw 2009: 405). In the following section I shall discuss these peculiarities together with a few others that can be observed in Murray’s letters.

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<sup>10</sup> Gillman (2006) continues: “...but are aware of the way they use language, especially recognizing the need for gender-free terminology. It has even been suggested that the modern equivalent of the old plain speech is inclusive language, where one does not presume the masculine form includes the feminine” (Gillman 2006: 55–56).



### 3.5 Murray as a Friend

#### 3.5.1 *On the use of friend and other forms of address*

A friend, according to the *OED* (s.v. “friend”, A1a), is someone “joined to another in mutual benevolence and intimacy” (a description which is identical to several that were found in eighteenth-century English dictionaries like, for instance, Johnson 1755), but, the explanation in the *OED* continues, the word is sometimes used “loosely in various ways: e.g. ... by members of the ‘Society of Friends’ adopted as the ordinary mode of address”; as such the word *friend* denotes a “member of the Society of Friends, a Quaker”. In their study into the pragmatics of address formulas in Early Modern English correspondence, Nevalainen/Raumolin-Brunberg (1995) describe how the noun *friend* is found in these formulas throughout the seventeenth century. They place *friend* at the level of “kinship terms” – such as *brother/sister* – along a sliding scale of politeness, close to the positive end (Nevalainen/Raumolin-Brunberg 1995: 557). Their scale is based on the model of politeness theory developed by Brown/Levinson (1987), who distinguish three main strategies of politeness: negative, positive, and off-record politeness. Nevalainen/Raumolin-Brunberg (1995: 585) claim that “[s]ocially equal friends rely on terms of positive politeness” (see also Fens-de Zeeuw 2009). The letters in my corpus all date from a period in which Quakers are said to have “become almost a clan of extended kinfolk bound together by patterns of commerce and religion” (Barbour/Frost 1988: 86). As argued in Fens-de Zeeuw (2009: 402), this justifies Nevalainen/Raumolin-Brunberg’s (1995: 557) decision to place *friend* at the level of “kinship terms”.

This suggestion of feelings of kinship is furthermore in agreement with the superscriptions and subscriptions, as well as the opening and closing formulas (cf. Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2003), that Murray chose to use in his letters. Table 3.1 below gives an overview of terms of address found in Murray’s out-letters. It shows how in the 262 collected autograph out-letters eighty-four of them contain the salutation *friend*, while in sixty-one letters other kinship terms such as brother, sister, or father are used; 117 letters contain no salutation at all (see also Fens-de Zeeuw 2009: 402).

| <i>type of salutation</i>   | <i># tokens</i>   |
|---|-------------------|
| Beloved Friend(s)   | 13                |
| Dear Friend(s) (+ first and/or last name, e.g. “Dear Friends, Sam <sup>l</sup> and Priscilla Tuke”) | 34                |
| Esteemed Friend(s)  | 11                |
| My dear Friend(s) (+ first and/or last name, e.g. “My dear Friend Henry Tuke”)                      | 25                |
| My good Friend  | 1                 |
| various “kinship terms”, i.e. brother, sister, father, cousin, nephew/niece; or first name          | 61                |
| no salutation (to either men or women)  | 117               |
|   | <b>total: 262</b> |

Table 3.1 *Terms of address in Murray’s out-letters.*

Murray’s frequent use of the appellation *friend* is, however, no measure of informality, as in the case of many other eighteenth-century letter writers. Instead, Murray’s usage can be understood to be meant as “solidary term[s] of address” (Bauman 1983: 60), and Murray carried this solidarity so far that even people whom he had evidently never met or written to before were addressed as “Friend” (Fens-de Zeeuw 2009). A striking example of this can be found in the following passage of a letter to the Quaker Minister Abigail Pim (1767–1821; cf. Forster 1829): “Esteemed Friend, / Though we are personally unknown to / each other, thy letter was very acceptable to me (Murray to Abigail Pim, 6 June 1803; LSF). By using the kinship term *friend* indiscriminately Murray indicated that he wished to see all his correspondents as belonging to his “Quaker” family, even if, in effect, they did not. This becomes apparent from a letter to Henry Tuke in which Murray described why he was not happy with the newly established name for the Quaker organisation, which included the word *friend*. Using linguistic arguments, Murray stated that within a Christian society all humans are to be considered friends and thus, as he explained:

The more I reflect on the title of “The / Christian Society of Friends &c the less I like it. / It supposes there may be a Christian Society that / are not friends: but as this cannot be; as they must / be friends, if Christians, it is tautological, improper, / and contains no definite description, or distinctive / appellation. (Murray to Henry Tuke, 13 June 1804; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)

Additionally, no instances of *Sir*, *Madam*, or *Mister* were found in any of the letters, neither in the formulas nor in the body texts of the letters.

The title *Master* and the adjectives *humble* and *obedient* as part of closing formulas form standard epistolary practice in letters from the eighteenth century, such as by John Wesley (Baker 1980), Robert Lowth (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2003) and Benjamin Rush (1746–1813; Fens-de Zeeuw 2006), and as illustrated by numerous eighteenth-century letter-writing manuals (see also Fens-de Zeeuw 2008). In Murray's letters, however, these words were only written when they bore a relationship to God or His will; and when Murray referred to himself as a servant, it concerned only service to God.

Although not falling under the category forms of address in the strict sense of the meaning, it is worth mentioning here that one appellation occurs in Murray's letters that according to Clarkson (1808: 229; see also Section 3.4) was considered inappropriate for Quakers to use at the time, i.e. *saint*. In three letters from Murray, addressed to three different people and all written within the relatively short period of sixteen months, we find the expression "saints and angels". In 1810 Murray wrote to Joseph Cockfield to console him with the loss of his "companion", and to express his faith that before long he would be reunited with her in the company of "saints and angels" (Murray to Joseph Cockfield, 27 November 1810; LSFL: *Portfolio 4/21*); In 1811 Murray added a section intended for his niece Mary to a letter addressed to his brother John, in which he offered her his sympathy with the loss of her husband. He added further, again, that he trusted that she and her husband would soon be reunited, together with "saints and angels" (Murray to John Murray, 30 May 1811; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F18*); finally, in 1812, in a letter to Elizabeth Wheeler, Murray emphasized how he and his wife Hannah cherished the recollections they had of her, once more adding his confidence that they would be united with her in the near future together "with saints and angels" (Murray to E. Wheeler, 1 March 1812; HALS: *D/ESe C20:31*). The reason for this brief period of use in Murray's letters of the among Quakers generally rejected word *saint* remains unclear, and it seems to represent only a short phase in Murray's life; although more letters of condolence preceded and followed these three, they did not contain the juxtaposition "saints and angels".

### 3.5.2 *On the use of thou and you*

It goes without saying that since the present study concerns the language of a man who lived the life of a plain Quaker for the bigger part of his

life, Murray's use of the 2nd person singular personal pronoun *thou* deserves particular attention (see also Section 3.4). In almost the entire corpus examined for the present study, with the exception of one of the earliest dated letters which will be discussed below, Murray chose to use *thou*, together with the oblique forms *thee* and *thy*, as well as *thysself* and *thine*, to address a single correspondent. In three other letters addressed to a non-Quaker he opted for an avoidance strategy instead. These three letters were intended for the Presbyterian Minister Dr Samuel Miller (see also Chapter 2), whom Murray consequently addressed by writing his full name or by using, for instance, "my friend" in order to avoid having to write *thou*. This can probably be considered as a token of politeness towards Miller, for whose work Murray had great respect, as the letters indicate.<sup>11</sup> As such, this is an example of "accommodative behaviour" (Bax 2002: 18–19; see also Giles et al. 1991), possibly adopted by Murray to avoid using the linguistic markers of his religious identity when communicating with the non-Quaker Miller.

At the same time, in his *English Grammar* (1795), Murray observed that *thou* was the proper pronoun to be used for the 2nd person singular. His explanation of the pronominal system – to a large extent copied verbatim from Lowth's *Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762) – includes the distinction between 2nd person singular *thou* and plural *you* (Murray 1795: 29–30). A quarter of a century previously, however, Lowth (1762) had proscribed in his grammar the use of *thou* for *you* (cf. Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006a: 554) with the words that "*Thou*, in the Polite, and even in the Familiar Style, is disused, and the Plural *You* is employed instead of it: we say *You have*, not *Thou hast*" (Lowth 1762: 48n2). Lowth, however, made an exception for those occasions where the "Solemnity of the Style would not admit of *You* for *Thou* in the Pronoun" (Lowth 1762: 49n2); his example indicates that these occasions concerned texts of a religious nature, in which, generally, the addressee was God.

Although Murray's letters often carried a solemn overtone (see also Section 3.6), his addressees were, of course, no deities. To illustrate Murray's use of *thou*, the following letter is quoted. In 1793, Murray wrote to his brother John to give him detailed instructions regarding his and his wife Hannah's estate in America. Apparently John had not al-

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<sup>11</sup> Samuel Miller (see also Sections 2.3 and 4.3) was the author of *A Brief Retrospect of the 18th Century* (1803) and Murray had been presented with a copy of this book, which Chinard (1953: 55–71) refers to as a "landmark in American intellectual history".

ways carried out Murray's wishes satisfactorily, and Murray reprimanded him for this, before writing:

- (1) I do hope that in Future, when any one proposes to **thee** / a Sale of my Estate, or when **thou** thinks that, or any other Measure, / may be for my Advantage, **thou** wilt previously just querie [*sic*] with **thyself** to the following / Purport ... (Murray to John Murray, 20 February 1793; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F12)

To ensure that John would obey his wishes in the future, Murray continued this very long letter by summing up all his desires, and he ended the overview with:

- (2) I wish to / know from the Nature & Buildings of all my Houses, what it woud cost / to insure the four; I mean, in Premiums? And what **thou** pays / for all **thine**? (Murray to John Murray, 20 February 1793; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F12)

A second letter illustrating Murray's use of personal pronouns is one to Samuel Tuke, the son of his best friend Henry Tuke, in which he appointed Samuel as the executor of his last will (see Sections 2.3 and 4.3; see also Sessions/Sessions 1971 and Wright 1995):

- (3) I have taken the liberty to appoint **thee**, / with entire confidence in **thy** abilities, integrity, and affection / for me, as one of my executors, and I trust **thou** wilt / not hesitate to accept the appointment, and take an / active part in the execution of my Will and Testament. / It is my particular wish, that **thou** wilt, on every ma / terial occasion, give **thy** judgment freely, and adhere / to it with that degree of steadfastness which the subject may / require. (Murray to Samuel Tuke, 16 August 1824; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)

In Murray's letters, we find quite a few instances of the plural pronoun *you* as well, but almost always with explicit plural meaning. The following letter which was addressed to his brother John contains a section intended for their sisters Mary, Beulah and Susan, which may serve to illustrate this plural meaning:

- (4) May He blefs **you**, & / strengthen and mature these Desires w<sup>ch</sup>: have often been raised / in **your** Hearts, is the earnest Breathing

of your affectionate / Brother LM. My Love is to **your** dear Husbands my Brothers. (Murray to John Murray, 2 July 1792; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F11*)

Another letter that unambiguously shows how Murray intended *you* as a plural pronoun was written to Thomas Priestman (d1844) and his wife Esther (1782–1857), who was one of Henry Tuke’s daughters. The couple, both Quakers, lived in York at the time of writing (see genealogical table in Sessions/Sessions 1971):

- (5) Dear Thomas and Esther, / We thank **you** for **your** present of Fruit,<sup>very fine fruit.</sup> To be affec= / tionately remembered by **you**, / is grateful to us. (Murray to T. & E. Priestman, 1 October 1824; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)

Analysis of the pronouns in Murray’s letters further reveals how, within one and the same letter, he might alternate between *you* and a form of *thou* to distinguish between plural and singular address forms; this can be seen, for instance, in the following letter to his brother John, in which Murray suggested that:

- (6) If my property in the New York Bank should / be judged by **thee** and our Uncle Murray, to be / unsafe, **you** know **you** have permission, given / long ago, to place it where **you** think it will / be safe. (Murray to John Murray, 2 May 1808; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F17*)

In (6) we can see that Murray very clearly distinguished between singular *thee* when referring to his brother and plural *you* when it concerned their uncle Murray as well. A second example is from a letter to his father Robert Murray:

- (7) It has given me Comfort to receive **thy** two / Letters – I read them with Pleasure – Indeed your great Distance / has endear’d **you** all to us – we sensibly know the Lofs of **you** / in this Land, where we have scarce any Relative, and not / many Acquaintances. (Murray to Robert Murray, 3 March 1785; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F10*)

In (7), Murray referred to his father with the possessive form *thy*, and the two instances of *you* clearly point to all family members that Murray and his wife had to leave behind in New York.

In only a handful of letters the distinction between singular and plural meaning is less clear. Most of these letters, however, as the address or salutation indicates, were addressed to more than one person, which provides an important clue to Murray's intention. For instance, in a letter to "Wilson & Sons / Booksellers / York" Murray wrote: "If **you** have / any remarks to make upon it, I shall be obliged / by **your** freely communicating them to me" (Murray to Wilson & Sons, n.d.; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F7*). Another example comes from a letter to the Committee of the Retreat, which starts with "Dear Friends!" and the body text of which contains the following passage: "I, / however, submit the consideration of it to **your** / judgment, not doubting **you** will decide..." (Murray to the Committee of the Retreat, 25 February 1799; YoUBI, *RET 8/10/13*). In both instances, the letter was addressed to more than one person, and *you* had a plural meaning.

This leaves very few instances where a singular addressee seems intended but a plural meaning cannot be completely excluded. With the exception of one letter, however, not one instance of unambiguous singular *you* was found. This one exceptional letter is the earliest one in my possession, written to Dr Thomas Parke (see also Section 2.2 on the relationship between Parke and Murray). It is dated "N. York Nov<sup>r</sup>. 16: 1773—" and it begins as follows:

- (8) My good Friend / With a great Deal of Pleasure I learn't [*sic*] / from some Acquaintance from **your** Place / that **you** were alive and well, and had not / entirely forgot or neglected **your** Frn<sup>d</sup>. L.M., w<sup>ch</sup>. / I find I was too hastily inclin'd to believe, before / I was inform'd that **you** had wrote me several Letters since **your** Return – (Murray to Dr Parke, 16 November 1773; HC: *The Quaker Collection, MS 851*)

Although in (8) the first three instances of *you* and *your* might appear ambiguous, the fourth one in "**you** had wrote" strongly points towards one single addressee (for Murray's usage of *wrote* and *written*, see Section 6.4.4). In a postscript to this letter Murray continued with:

- (9) My Hannah [*H* overwrites *W*] desires to be remembered to **you** / the hopes soon to hear **you** are married –

which definitively rules out all suggestions of ambiguity. The lady whom Dr Parke would indeed soon marry, i.e. in April 1794, was Rachel Pemberton, the daughter of James Pemberton. At the time this letter was written, however, Parke was still engaged in “innocent flirtations with the lasses of Philadelphia [which] were as gay as with those of London” (Bell 1949: 577), and it was only later that he became seriously interested in Rachel. Therefore, from (9) we may safely conclude that in this letter Murray’s references to the recipient as *you* were indeed intended as singular pronouns.

As a final remark on the subject of Murray’s usage of *thou* (for verb endings after *thou* in Murray’s letters, see Section 6.4.6), according to the grammarian Goold Brown (1791–1857),

[s]ome of the *Friends* (perhaps from an idea that it is less formal) misemploy *thee* for *thou*, and often join it to the third person of the verb in stead of the second. Such expressions as, *thee does*, *thee is*, *thee has*, *thee thinks*, &c., are double solecisms; they set all grammar at defiance. (Brown 1856: 73)

Murray, however, never misused *thee* for *thou* in his letters. He was consistent in his use of *thou* together with its oblique forms *thee* for dative and accusative, *thy* and *thine* for possessive, and *thysself* for reflexive. None of the forms listed by Brown were found in Murray’s letters; not one error was made in this respect. Such errors do occur, according to Tiekens-Boon van Ostade’s (1994: 225) findings about Quaker use of *thee* as subject pronominal in present times,<sup>12</sup> where formerly it was restricted to dative and accusative. However, this is not the case for Murray’s usage in the early nineteenth century.

### 3.5.3 On dating the letters

The final letter discussed in the previous subsection, from which passages (8–9) were cited, is exceptional in more than one way. The manner in which Murray dated this particular letter is no less remarkable, since this was entirely against the rules that were laid down in the Quaker *Book*

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<sup>12</sup> An example of the use of *thee* as a subject pronominal in present-day English comes from the usage of the editor of Quaker Heritage Press, Kuenning (2003): “I have sometimes said: ‘Look, there is no law against disagreeing with Fox .... *Thee* will not go to jail for saying this. *Thee* will not even be read out of meeting.’” Note also the verb endings “will” for *wilt*, which would have been the correct form after *thou*.



of *Extracts* published at the time (see also Sections 3.3 and 3.4), which specified that the names of days and months should not be used. This means that, instead of “N. York Nov<sup>r</sup>. 16: 1773–“, the date should be written in a format such as “16<sup>th</sup> day of 11<sup>th</sup> month, 1773”. As discussed in the previous chapter, Section 2.2, and this chapter, Section 3.3, although Murray was serious about observing the rules of his Quaker religion by the time he lived in York, he had regarded the discipline of the Society of Friends more loosely in the early 1770s. Yet, when he wrote at the top of the first page of the letter: “N. York Nov<sup>r</sup>. 16: 1773–”, he must have been aware that the Society would not consider this the appropriate way to date it. On the basis of this one letter of Murray, however, it seems impossible to explain why this particular date notation deviates so much from standard Quaker usage, which we do find in all subsequent letters. An example of this is “the 16<sup>th</sup>: of 8<sup>th</sup>: mo: 1824” (Murray to Samuel Tuke, 16 August 1824; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*). It must be noted here, however, that in one of his letters, i.e. to Dr Samuel Miller (see Section 3.5.2), Murray added the name of the month in parenthesis, like this: “York 26th: of 7m (July) 1804”. Here, too, we see an example of linguistic accommodation to his recipient; it is possible that Murray did so to ensure that the date would be understood correctly, but it may also have been a token of courtesy. Whatever his reason, it was not in agreement with the rules on appropriate Quaker language, which specified that language should not be varied according to “company” (see Section 3.4).

The one exceptional letter from which (8–9) were taken is the one but earliest dated letter in my corpus and since it is the only one in which the date notation differed, no conclusions can be drawn about how Murray used to date his earlier letters, or when he might have changed his usage and noted dates in accordance with the prescribed Quaker format. At the same time, I have illustrated in Section 2.2 how Murray had regarded the Quaker prescriptions more loosely in the years immediately prior to his writing this particular letter to Dr Parke. It is unfortunate that no other letters from the same period, i.e. around 1773, could be retrieved for comparison. The third earliest letter that I was able to recover dates from 1784 and was written from New York, where Murray still lived at the time. In this letter Murray had already completely conformed to the Quaker rules – with respect to date notation, as well as the use of *thou* – as he did in all letters that were written subsequently and sent from England.

### 3.6 Concluding remarks

Summarizing the present chapter, I have briefly outlined what being a Quaker entailed, particularly during the eighteenth century. All-embracing aspects were their notion of equality and focus on “plainness”, which originated from a desire to avoid irrelevancies or flattery. Since being a Quaker was such a crucial aspect of Murray’s life and had such major influence on his work, neither Murray’s grammar nor his letters can be studied without taking this deliberately chosen plain lifestyle into consideration. How Murray interpreted his Quaker beliefs is perhaps best illustrated by the following words: “Preserve me from all vain self-complacency; from seeking the applauses of men; and from all solicitude about what they may think or say of me” (Murray n.d., quoted from York Monthly Meeting 1826: 20). This quotation comes from a memorandum that was found stuck to the inside of Murray’s writing desk after his death, for him to look at while writing. It continues with:

May I be made truly humble, and of a meek and quiet spirit. If I have done any good to my fellow creatures, or in any degree promoted the will of my Heavenly Father, may I unfeignedly give Him all the glory; attributing nothing to myself, and taking comfort only from the reflection, that an employment in his services affords an evidence that his mercy is towards me – that I am not forsaken by Him – and that He is training me for an inhabitant of his blessed kingdom; there to glorify and serve my God and Redeemer for ever. (Murray n.d., quoted from York Monthly Meeting 1826: 20–21)

We know from Murray’s letters that he missed his hometown New York, but that he hoped that the climate of Yorkshire would better agree with his physical state. In York, a large settlement of “plain” Quakers had formed and it appears that if the weather in that northern English city at times may have been disappointing to Murray, the religious climate there perfectly suited Murray’s mental condition.

With the discussion of terms of address and date notations in the final section above I have arrived at the analysis of the physical and stylistic aspects of Murray’s letters. These will be further examined in detail in Chapter 4, and accompanied by a condensed overview of Murray’s social network and a description of the postal system at the time of writing. Before I come to that, however, one more striking

distinction between Murray's letter from which the above passages (8–9) were taken and all subsequent ones should be mentioned here. To this purpose, I cite below another passage from this letter:

- (10) Happy / Man! not content with the Affections and Admiration / of the pretty fair ones in **your** own Country, must / **you** also win the Hearts of my fair Country [.....]? / Indeed, when I am in the Company of certain / Ladie[s] of **your** and my Acquaintance, I find / myself totally incapable of manifesting by words / any Friendship or Attachment I have ... (Murray to Dr Parke, 16 November 1773; HC: *The Quaker Collection, MS 851*)

I compared these words with the following ones (11) from the third letter in my corpus, which dates from nine years later and was therefore written two years before Murray would leave for England:

- (11) ... as I have never received any answer to it from **thee**, I suppose it must have miscarried, and I have now set down to write again .... My heart had not forgot **thee**, nor my spirit lost its feeling remembrance of **thee**; though I have for a long season been without a line from **thee** .... and although in the gay pursuit of pleasure and the anxious engagement of businefs, we may lose sight of the great end of our Creation. (Murray to Rachael Wigham, 22 December 1782; LSFL)

As can be noticed, in (11) the light-hearted, almost exuberant, tone of (8–10), which, moreover, contained the pronoun *you* to address a single person, has been traded in for a graver, more solemn pitch and was accompanied by the substitution of earlier *you* with *thou*. This tone would continue to characterise Murray's letters that were to follow and was, as I have shown, far more befitting to the lifestyle of a plain Quaker. This change is quite notable, and since both letters were written years before Murray's alleged exile to England, his migration cannot have been the trigger. It appears safe to assume that Murray himself had changed, the reasons for which have been discussed in Chapter 2.



## 4 Lindley Murray: Letter Writer

*Though we have not lately written to thee, we have not been unmindful of thee,  
and of thy present interesting situation.*

(Murray to Elizabeth Wheeler, 19 December 1796; HALS: D/E.Se C20: 23)

### 4.1 Introduction

The present chapter deals with Lindley Murray's activities as a letter writer. As introduced in Chapter 1, the corpus collected for the present study contains 262 autograph letters and notes by Murray, varying in length from four short lines, to place an order for chocolate, to twelve densely written pages dealing with numerous subjects to keep his brother John updated. They were written within a time span of fifty-nine years, from 1767 till 1825 (see Appendix B for an alphabetical overview of names of addressees of the autograph letters, with dates and places of residence, number of letters for each of them, whether they were Quaker or not, and information about the letters' current locations). These manuscript letters can be ranged among the subgenre of "familiar letters", which according to Bannet (2005: 43) encompasses "letters of business and letters of news, as well as letters of friendship, family, amusement and courtship". Judging by their contents, Murray's letters come under both the categories of business letters (cf. Dossena 2008: 235–255) and letters of friendship and family – a category also referred to as private letters – and almost invariably they are a mixture of both. Letters to his friends William, Henry and Samuel Tuke, for instance, are examples of such mixed letters, because they contain discussions of business matters such as concerning the mental hospital The Retreat or the strategy regarding the candidacy of William Wilberforce for upcoming elections (see Section 2.3), but also of personal issues such as the writer's or addressee's health.

As regards the category of so-called private letters, these were not by definition private at the time, as Brant (2006: 5) notes; instead, they were frequently read aloud in company or passed along to others, a practice of which Murray was well aware, although it cannot be said if and how his usage reflected this. As an example of this awareness, in order to avoid a confrontation on certain matters with his uncle John Murray Sr, Murray wrote to his brother and asked him to keep an enclosure to the letter away from his uncle because he feared that his uncle might not like the contents and he did not wish "to encounter the Risk of his / Displeasure". He thus wrote: "On further Consideration

respecting the inclosed Letter, / I think it is best not to shew it to Uncle” (Murray to John Murray, 1 October 1792; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F11). Regrettably, the enclosed letter has not come down to us, because it would have enabled a comparison of styles, since the topics discussed in the two letters might very well have influenced this. Several of Murray’s letters were co-signed by his wife Hannah, and a few of these have some lines added by her, as the handwriting suggests. The following passage is an example of such an addition to a letter addressed to Murray’s father:

I take very kind Dear Father’s affectionate remembrance of me / and desire he will accept my greatfull acknowledgments / and sincere Love to him, from thy affectionate Daughter / Hannah Murray / Pleas to give my kind Love / to all my Sisters and both/ my Brothers. (Hannah Murray, in Murray to Robert Murray, 3 March 1785; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F10)

It becomes apparent from her grammar, punctuation and spelling in the above passage that Hannah was not such an experienced letter-writer as her husband (see, for instance, Fairman 2000 and 2003). One letter from Murray to Elizabeth Wheeler was written together with Mabel Hipsley (née Tuke; 1770–1864), Elizabeth’s stepsister, who was one of the teachers of the Trinity Lane School (see Section 5.3). Hipsley started the letter with two pages of writing about family and friends, after which Murray took over unannounced with the words: “Our dear Mabel has left me one side to fill up, which / I cheerfully do, having intended to write to thee these several / days past” (Murray & Hipsley to Elizabeth Wheeler, 7 April 1795; HALS: *D/Esse* C20:21).

In Section 4.2 I shall extensively discuss the postal system of the period, because it was in the eighteenth century, as Whyman (2009: 3) notes, that “the pen, the post, and the people became permanently connected to each other”, and letter writers at the time had to be aware of all obstacles involved with this pioneering stage of general postal services. For Murray especially, who kept matters related to the distribution and marketing of his textbooks closely in hand (see Section 5.6), in-depth knowledge of the postal system was essential. Communication lines, both within England and to destinations in America, had to be short and reliable to ensure immediate availability of the latest editions of his books, as well as prompt feedback about their reception. In Section 4.3 a few of the more prominent of Murray’s correspondents will be intro-

duced to provide some insight into Murray's extensive social network, and in Section 4.4 the letters themselves will be discussed: first their physical appearance and then several stylistic characteristics; for illustration, in Appendix C I have included two of Murray's autograph letters. Two stylistic features that are particularly remarkable in Murray's letters will be discussed in greater detail in this section as well, i.e. his use of the graphemic variant long <s>, and of personal pronouns when referring to himself and his addressees. Section 4.5 will contain the conclusions to the present chapter.

## 4.2 Murray and the postal system in the mail coach era

While reasonably efficient postal services did not start until the seventeenth century (cf. Baker 1980: 20), during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries methods of transport were continuously improved and new methods developed, ensuring a speedier and easier delivery of letters and parcels. In this respect, the introduction of the mail coach in England (see Section 4.2.1) in 1785 led Robinson (1953: 114) to refer to the period ranging from 1785 to 1835 as "the mail coach era", and quite coincidentally this time frame covers almost exactly the period under consideration for the present study. According to Whyman (2009: 3, 17–18), a "common pattern" in letters at the time was the endless talk about the services of the Post Office, and "a deep knowledge of postal practices" was essential if people wished to use the system efficiently, so it was therefore quite common to be well-informed at the time. This was likewise true for Murray, who continuously shipped boxes filled with textbooks, and who also repeatedly provided detailed instructions in his letters about the way letters and parcels addressed to himself had best to be sent, to his brother John especially, as the following passage illustrates:

I have not yet rec<sup>d</sup> the Packet from Rob: Jones; / for which we,  
and divers Friends here are much concerned. / If thou had  
signified the Ships and Capt<sup>s</sup>. Name, and Port bound to, / I could  
have sent for Enquiry to any Part of the Kingdom / , but this thou  
has not given the least Trace of. I employd / a Friend at Hull to  
enquire of all the American Vefels / there, but no such Parcel to  
be found. I believe they / are very valuable Papers, & woud have  
been an Acquisition [*sic*] / : but it is I think now too late to have  
them inserted / in the Work, as it is licensed for printing. Do be /

more careful and particular in Future; and my Brother / will send  
 Parcels too large for the Post, in a little Box, / directed to the Care  
 of W<sup>m</sup>. Pound at Hull, or Philip Sansom / at London for me, but  
to no other Port. Be assured / that if thou dost not put them in a  
 Box, I shall / have heavy Postage. I have paid this, since I  
 cautioned / thee before. And in such Cases let the single / Letter  
 by the Post, describe the Vessel, Capt<sup>n</sup>., Port, & / Contents of  
 Package. (Murray to John Murray, 30 April 1792; SC: *Lindley  
 Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F11*)

To place urgent directions like these in their proper context, I shall briefly describe the postal system of the period, focussing on York and New York in particular. Since practically all of Murray's letters were sent from York, either to addressees within England or in America, I refer to the British postal services as "domestic". For information I mainly relied on Robinson (1948, 1953 and 1964), Baker (1980) and Bannet (2005).<sup>1</sup> In addition, I drew upon a considerably older source, i.e. Joyce (1893).<sup>2</sup> Despite its age, this book's detailed research into the history of the postal system is particularly interesting and informative. It was, moreover, written in the very century that Murray lived and wrote many of his letters, which makes it an almost first-hand report, while it also served as a basis for the later studies by Robinson and Baker.

#### 4.2.1 *Domestic postal services*

Besides the country-wide postal services that were already in existence, in 1681 a postal system was developed in England by a man named Robert Murray (d1725?; *ODNB*, s.v. "Dockwra, William"), which was intended for local post and would be known as the penny post for more than a century. Within less than two years, however, William Dockwra (d1716) improved upon this idea and this "admirable" system, as Baker (1980: 21) calls it, became incorporated into the General Post Office. Most urban postal systems in England, or "town posts" as they were referred to, then became in fact penny posts. A distinctive feature of the penny post

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<sup>1</sup> Bannet (2005), likewise, relied on Robinson's (1948 and 1964) works, among others, as sources for her chapter on the eighteenth-century postal system (Bannet 2005: 9–20).

<sup>2</sup> For some additional findings I am grateful to Suzan Enzerink and Duygu Yilmaz, two Pre-University College students from Leiden University, who studied the dating on Murray's letters under my direction.



was prepayment, in contrast to payment at delivery for letters sent by the general post, but in 1794 the system was reorganized and changes in method of payment and tariffs were implemented (Staff 1964; see also Robinson 1948: 192–193). In 1801 the lowest charge in the London town area became 2d, and consequently the London penny post “was swept out of existence” (Joyce 1893: 331).<sup>3</sup>

Until 1785, post was distributed and delivered mainly by stage-coach. In that year, however, the mail coach – initially called “diligence” or “machine” (Joyce 1893: 215) – was introduced, bringing “something like a revolution in the carriage of the mails” (Robinson 1953: 102). Joyce (1893) notes how “[b]efore 1784 scarcely a week passed without the mails on one road or another being robbed”, but that eight years after this new method of transport – which is described by Baker (1980: 24) as “the greatest accelerator of all” – was introduced “not a single mail-coach had been either stopped or robbed” (Joyce 1893: 290). The introduction of this innovative mode of transport was initially facilitated by extensive road constructions, followed a few years later by the building of stretches of hard-surfaced highways. Mail coaches also took paying passengers, to a maximum of four inside and one outside, and they were accompanied by a mail guard who also kept time. To ensure that no time was lost at the various stops, he carried a horn (later replaced by a bugle) with which he announced the arrival of the coach. According to Joyce (1893: 187–209), by the mid-eighteenth century the average “speed of the post” had been six miles an hour. The new mail coaches, however, were intended to be able to reach eight to nine miles on average, a speed that was considered by some as “highly dangerous to the head independently of the perils of an overturn” (Robinson 1953: 107).

As early as 1792, sixteen mail coaches left from and arrived in London each day, according to Joyce (1893). Additionally there were fifteen so-called cross-country mail coaches. By 1811, already some 220 mail coaches ran in England, and towards the end of the mail coach era there were fifty-nine coach routes in all (Robinson 1948: 238). One of these routes was the Great North Road, which had opened in 1786. This route ran from London to Edinburgh via York and with a scheduled departure at 8pm, a mail coach could reach “York, 196 miles on, before

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<sup>3</sup> This penny post system should not be confounded with the uniform penny postage which included the use of prepaid stamps; the latter system, which is, confusingly, also commonly referred to as the Penny Post, was not introduced until after Murray’s death, in 1840 (cf. *ODNB*, s.v. “Dockwra, William”; see also Staff 1964).

5:00 P.M.” the next day (Robinson 1948: 238). Trow-Smith (1958) describes how the village of Stevenage in Hertfordshire was a very important intersection on the route from London to the north. As the eighteenth century progressed, the Stevenage turnpike road carried more and more of the coach traffic, and “[a]t the height of the coaching era, about 1800, no fewer than 21 coaches passed through Stevenage each day” (Trow-Smith 1958). Of these daily coaches at least four travelled from London to York and back. Murray was one of the people who preferred to send and receive his post by mail coach for reasons of speedy delivery. Evidence for this can be found in a letter he wrote to his brother John Murray:

As thou / desired Cropper, Benson &C°. to send the packet for me, by a private conveyance, / it will probably be much longer in reaching me, than if it had been desired, / as usual, to be sent by the Mail Coach. (Murray to John Murray, 30 September 1815; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F19*)

As an illustration of Stevenage’s importance to postal traffic, around that period the innkeeper of the Swan, a man called Thomas Cass, employed eight postboys – who sometimes were “no more than eleven years of age”, according to Robinson (1953: 110n1) – to maintain his forty-six horses in the stables, which in summer was still not enough to service the area.

According to Whyman (2009: 3), in the eighteenth century “a wise concern for cost” was essential, “so as not to incur double postage”; but finding out what would be the most economical way to send letters or parcels was by no means easy. Joyce (1893: 357–358) describes the tariff system and notes that by 1813 “complications were bewildering” and that, moreover, “there was not a single town in the kingdom at the Post Office of which absolutely certain information could have been obtained as to the charge to which a letter addressed to any other town would be subject”. Nevertheless, Murray tried his best to keep postage low, as can be read in the letter to his brother John, which was cited in the introduction to this section, as well as in the following passage from another letter to John:

Thou hadst regularly indorsed “To be forwarded / by the Mail Coach”: but as the parcel was not sent / to the care of any person at Liverpool, it went naturally / to the post office. The only way, in

future, to prevent / these extravagant charges, will be to indorse on / the parcel “To be forwarded by the Mail Coach, as / a parcel”; and then to inclose it ~~to~~[-] in another / paper, directed simply to Cropper and Benson, / or some other friend; and request them to be so kind / to forward it to me, as directed. (Murray to John Murray, 19 February 1805; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F15)

Once the mail coach had arrived at a designated stop along the route, the post had to be distributed further. To this purpose, some towns employed letter-carriers, or “bellmen” as they were also called (Joyce 1893: 195). These men collected post, too, going about to announce collection, while ringing their bells “on every night of the week, Sundays excepted” (Joyce 1893: 196). On Sundays, however, in some towns one could “call at the Post Office and receive mail from eight to ten in the morning, and for an hour in the late afternoon” (Joyce 1893: 212). Townspeople were entitled to “a gratuitous delivery at the door”; in general, there was a restriction of one carrier per town, although London had a whole “body of men whose duty it was to deliver from house to house” (Joyce 1893: 203; 197), which allowed for in-town deliveries six times a day. York, on the other hand, employed no “letter-carrier of its own” but only a postmaster and a single clerk (Joyce 1893: 293). Despite this meagre capacity of the local post office, as described by Joyce, Murray’s correspondence suggests that there were several deliveries a day in York. Alternatively, he had the option to have his letters hand-delivered by people belonging to his household or by other “friendly travellers”, a common practice at the time, as Baker (1980: 27) points out. Thus, in a letter to his friend Samuel Tuke, who lived in the centre of York, Murray wrote that he would “be pleased to see<sup>some of</sup> the friends / on the Committee, at 5 oClock this afternoon” (Murray to Samuel Tuke, 21 May 1807; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*), which indicates that he expected the letter to be delivered the same day; in another letter to Tuke Murray invited him “to call at Holdgate for a few minutes, / at Eleven oClock this morning” (Murray to Samuel Tuke, 1807; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*).

Joyce (1893) further describes how at the beginning of the nineteenth century mail coaches also functioned as “the great disseminator of news” (Joyce 1893: 401): they circulated newspapers, hand-bills (concerning official government issues), police notices, and so on. Still, much post was sent by stagecoaches as well, according to Robinson (1953: 104), although by then it had become an illegal practice that was usually

more expensive. What is more, mail coaches were often quicker because they were exempt from paying toll. Murray's letters do not indicate that he employed the stagecoach as an alternative for delivery of his letters, which is not surprising considering his "frugal" nature (see Section 2.3); he evidently thought this method of delivering post was too expensive.

#### 4.2.2 *Transatlantic postal services*

Until the end of the American Revolution, in 1783, control of the postal system in the American colonies was the responsibility of the postmaster general of England. Before the mid 1750s, according to Smith (1920: 29–30), "there had been no regular arrangements for the conveyance of the mails" between Great Britain and America. But from that time onward the British government started to employ packet boats. These packet boats, or "packets" as they were usually called (Robertson 1975: 140), were boats or ships travelling at regular intervals between two ports, originally for the conveyance of mail, later also of goods and passengers (*OED*, s.v. "packet boat"). In 1755 a Falmouth–New York service was set up to carry the post across the Atlantic Ocean. In these early years of service the packets sailed infrequently and, although a monthly schedule was intended, Robinson (1964: 44) finds that "only four voyages were made in the first two years". This was evidently not enough to satisfy the growing demand for overseas postal services, and therefore post was also carried by merchant ships and even war vessels. These letters were known as "ship letters" (Robertson 1975: 140). The ships' captains, under penalty of heavy fines, had to hand over to the post office all letters in their possession, for which they received one penny per letter. The local postmasters subsequently collected a shilling for each letter delivered. Needless to say, this system was an invitation to abuse, despite the "ruinous fine" (Smith 1920: 22) that would follow if these regulations were ignored. Many captains had private understandings with friends to deliver the post, so that the official postal system could be avoided, a practice that would continue for many years to come. Murray also used these captains' services, as the directions on the address leaf of one of his letters to James Pemberton illustrate:

paid

James Pemberton  
Philadelphia.

Ship Letter (Murray to James Pemberton, 6 October 1799; LoC: *Misc. MSS Coll.*)

The American Revolution (1775–1783) disrupted these postal arrangements, which had originally been set up from London. At first unofficially, but after the spring of 1778 openly, France had chosen the side of the colonials, so the English packet boats were in danger of being assaulted by American privateers as well as by French ships, “eager for revenge” (Robinson 1948: 173),<sup>4</sup> and before the war ended, nine packets on the transatlantic line were captured and seven more disabled. Despite these disruptive events, by the end of the 1780s the overseas services had become numerous, according to Robinson (1964: 60). Unfortunately, another long period of hostilities followed. During these so-called French Wars, which lasted from 1793–1815, there were again many engagements between English packet boats and French and American privateers, and the captains of the packets were instructed that if there was any danger of being captured by the enemy, the “mails were to be thrown overboard” (Robinson 1948: 174). The consequences of all these disruptions in the overseas postal delivery services were felt by Murray as well, as the following letter to his brother, who lived in New York, testifies:

If thou should think, that, on my part, the correspondence is not / so regularly supported as formerly, I hope thou wilt attribute it / to the true cause, namely, the failure of conveyance by the / Packets; for, agreeable to thy hint, I have ~~not~~ thought it almost / usefels to write by them, as thou wouldst scarcely receive,<sup>it</sup> in 5 / or 6 months: and with respect to other vefsel, I seldom know / when they are likely to sail. (Murray to John Murray, 31 [*sic*] Sep-  
tember 1795; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F12)

By this time, according to Joyce (1893: 328), it had become illegal practice for private ships to carry post out of England, but this illegal procedure nevertheless became general practice: post was frequently sent clandestinely and in English coastal towns and villages “there was hardly a place of public resort at which letters for America ... were not collected

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<sup>4</sup> Privateers were armed vessels owned and crewed by private individuals, and holding a government commission known as a “letter of marque”, which authorized the capture of merchant shipping belonging to an enemy nation (*OED*, s.v. “privateer”). This was common practice among seafaring nations, including the Dutch Republic, but on this particular route between England and the North East coast of America, and in this period, British ships had most to fear from American and French privateers.

for despatch by private ship. There was no concealment about the matter". According to Willcocks (1975: 69), an important reason for this was that "[b]y 1799 the Post Office packets were so slow, expensive to run, and overseas packet rates so high, that it was cheaper to send three letters by different ships to ensure arrival, than to send one by the Packet". Indeed, as can be seen in his letters, neither Murray nor his brother John apparently had any second thoughts about the practice either; they were among those people who sometimes preferred to send post to America by private ships. The names of these ships and their captains are frequently mentioned in Murray's letters. One of them was a certain Captain Watson (Murray to John Murray, 3 March 1785; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F10*), but Murray additionally sent letters or parcels by a ship called Friends, with Captain Broderick, by the Massachusetts with Captain Randall (Murray to John Murray, 20 April 1815; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F19*), and by the Amity with Captain John Stanton (Murray to John Murray, 27 July 1816; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F19*), to mention but a few of the ships' and captains' names involved. It was a matter of necessity to make the names of these ships known to the recipient, so that enquiries could be made and recompenses paid, if called for (see also below).

One of Murray's concerns was whether these captains were paid sufficiently by his brother after their arrival in New York. To illustrate this, it was remarked in a letter to his brother John that he had

frequently wished to know whether thou payest / any thing, and how much, to the Captains who take / parcels from Liverpool for thee. I think they ought to / be satisfied for their care; otherwise future parcels / may not go so safely. (Murray to John Murray, 1 April 1806; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F16*)

On another occasion he complained to his brother, apparently not for the first time, about receiving very few letters from him, either by packet boat, or by private ship:

I have again to observe, that it / is long since I received a letter from thee. Packet / after Packet arrives, and no letter for me: nor any / by private ships, via Liverpool. (Murray to John Murray, 31 May 1817; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198, S1 F20*)

Murray's letters, as already illustrated, frequently testify that he was a thrifty man, and it is therefore not surprising that with his letters he included letters from himself to others, to be forwarded by his correspondents. One example of this practice can be found in the following passage, in which Murray asked an unidentified recipient "to have / the enclosed letter for my brother, John Murray Jun<sup>r</sup>, / put safely into the Letter [L overwrites ?] Bag of the first vessel that may be intended for New York" (Murray to anon., 13 February 1819; SC: *Charles Francis Jenkins Autograph Coll.*). Murray usually wished to be kept informed about sailing procedures, and thus he continued this letter with:

Please to inform me of the names of the captain / and vessel, by which the enclosed letter will be conveyed. / Be so kind as also to say whether any money, and what / sum is paid at Liverpool, on putting a letter in the Bag / of one of your Liverpool Packets which sail monthly, / or in the Letter Bag of any other vessel, going from / Liverpool to New York. (Murray to anon., 13 February 1819; SC: *Charles Francis Jenkins Autograph Coll.*)

A further example of Murray's frugal nature we find in yet another letter to his brother:

My dear Brother, / This letter will be handed to thee, / by our friend, Jeremiah Thompson; who takes charge / of a Box directed for thee. It contains the represen= / tation of our house; the scene of our parlour; and a / section of our room, with the figures of its two inhabi= / tants. The whole is a present for our dear niece, Mary / Perkins; who will find a letter for her in the Box. (Murray to John Murray, 27 July 1816; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F19*)

This mutual "friend" Jeremiah Thompson (1784–1835; *ANB*, s.v. "Thompson, Jeremiah") was a cotton-merchant and ship-owner. Born in Rawdon, Yorkshire, he had moved to New York in 1798, but apparently had made a voyage back to England. To save on shipping cost Murray gave Thompson a letter together with a box destined for his brother John. The box in its turn was meant to be forwarded as a present to Murray's niece Mary Perkins (1784–1829) and also contained a letter for her.

Falmouth, on the south coast of Cornwall, was by far the most important English packet-port in the eighteenth century (Robinson 1953: 78). By 1787 the General Post Office employed thirty-six packets, twenty-one of which were stationed there (Joyce 1893: 239), while the main port on the North American continent was New York (Robinson 1964: 94). In 1780, a voyage from New York to Falmouth still on average took twenty-nine days (Robinson 1953: 84).<sup>5</sup> Already in 1815, when American liners had taken over the role of the British ships as the main means of communication, the trip from America to England could take less than three weeks. By then, scheduled sailings had been introduced. As the Falmouth packets had become too slow, Liverpool became the major port of entry, and a weekly service was established between Liverpool and New York, besides a fortnightly one to London, stopping at Portsmouth (Robinson 1964: 114–116). We find evidence of this changed situation in Murray's correspondence, too. Although between 1811 and 1819, as their address leaves indicate, at least nine letters to his brother in New York were still sent via Falmouth packets, towards the end of 1804 some of Murray's spelling-books that needed to be "speedily reprinted in different parts of America" were now sent to New York "by the way of Liverpool, p<sup>r</sup> the Cottonplanter, Cap<sup>t</sup>. Scorrell" (Murray to John Murray, 5 November 1804; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F15), and in 1807 Murray informed his brother that he "lately wrote to thee, by the way / of Liverpool" (Murray to John Murray, 3 August 1807; John Murray; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F16).

As a final remark to this section, in the period under consideration for the present study, the ships that carried Murray's letters and parcels to the North American continent in all likelihood were sailing vessels. Although the "first steamboat used for sea voyages" sailed as early as 1818 (Robinson 1953: 179), these boats were not yet employed for Atlantic travel. And it was not until the mid 1820s that steam packets owned by the Post Office were introduced (cf. Joyce 1893: 399). Murray died in February 1826 – and the latest dated letters in my corpus are from 1825 – so it is unlikely that he profited from these developments.

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<sup>5</sup> An analysis of the dates mentioned in Murray's letters has shown that around 1800 it still took between six and ten weeks for letters from New York to arrive in York. Within England it usually took no more than two days for a letter to reach the addressee, so this means that the forwarding procedure in America over land will have taken considerable additional time (see also Bannet 2005: 9).



### 4.3 Murray's addressees

Murray's letters in my corpus are unevenly spread across time; only three autograph letters from the period when Murray lived in America are extant. They were addressed to the Monthly Meeting of Friends in Flushing (see Section 3.3), to Dr Parke in Philadelphia (see Sections 2.2 and 3.5.2), and to "Duane, Ja<sup>s</sup>. Esq<sup>r</sup>. / Mayor of the / City of / Nyork" regarding "some observations / concerning the Institution, which my Friend Anth<sup>y</sup>. Benezet / was pleas'd to send me" (Murray, 10 June 1784; NYHS: *Misc. MSS*, reel 10B). As for the letters from the forty-one-year period after Murray had moved to England, i.e. from 1785 to 1825, the first one was directed to his father Robert Murray and was sent from Islington, near London, shortly after his arrival in that country. All subsequent letters were sent from his residence in "York, near Holdgate", as Murray's usual notation was; during this period Murray kept in touch with family, friends and acquaintances on the North American continent, but he also corresponded with quite a few people in Great Britain. Besides the letters of which the recipients are known, either because the part of the letters that contains the address information is extant, or because the addressees' names could be identified from the contents or from the relationship with an earlier letter, there are fifteen letters for which the name of the intended recipient could not yet be established with any amount of certainty.

As mentioned in Section 4.1, Appendix B gives an overview of all of Murray's autograph letters to persons and institutions, but a few of his correspondents, insofar as they have not yet been discussed in some detail in earlier chapters, will be given closer attention to here, either because they are to be counted among those people who were closest to Murray and his wife, or because they stand out for their achievements or other reasons. For several of these addressees only printed or copied out-letters were found. I shall begin with Murray's overseas' relatives, who were many. In America, his brother John as well as his sisters Mary, Beulah and Susannah all got married and had children. Monaghan (1998: 2) gives a genealogy of the family members, to which the names of two daughters of Murray's sister Susannah can be added: Alice Wadsworth and Mary Lindley (cf. a letter from Murray to his executors dated 14 February 1824; see also Section 2.3). My corpus contains letters to the following nine family members: George Bonne (cousin), John Keese (1755–1809; cousin), Catherine Murray (d1834; wife of John Murray Jr), John Murray Jr (brother), Robert Murray (father), Elizabeth and Robert

Pearsall (sister of Hannah Murray and her son), Alice Willett (niece), and Susannah Willett (sister). Table 4.1 below shows the names of additional American correspondents of Murray's who are worth mentioning here. They are given in alphabetical order, and for each of these people I have provided a short extract of the topics discussed in Murray's letters to them, in addition to a short biographical description.

| <i>name</i>   | <i>biographical picture / topics of discussion</i>  |
|---|---|
| <i>Samuel Bard</i><br>(1742–1821; <i>ANB</i> , s.v. “Bard, Samuel”)                       | -Physician and teacher in Philadelphia and New York, and co-founder of New York's first medical school at King's College, which was later renamed Columbia College. He was a friend of Benjamin Franklin and personal physician to President George Washington.<br>-In 1806, Murray wrote on the occasion of Bard's retirement from “the hurried and bustling scenes of life” and he discussed a new edition of his spelling book; in a later letter he extensively referred to both his and Bard's health situations.  |
| <i>Thomas Eddy</i><br>(1758–1827; <i>ANB</i> , s.v. “Eddy, Thomas”)                       | -Quaker reformer and philanthropist. Together with John Murray Jr, Eddy was involved in a mutual insurance company; he had also befriended John Jay and DeWitt Clinton (see Sections 2.2 and 2.4 respectively), among others.<br>-Murray discussed the modification of plans for the Wakefield Asylum; his brother John stayed at Eddy's place during a serious outbreak of yellow fever in New York around 1798.   |
| <i>Robert R. Livingston</i><br>(1746–1813; <i>ODNB</i> , s.v. “Livingston, Robert R.”)    | -Politician and Chancellor of the State of New York.<br>-Several times, with his letters to John Murray Jr, Murray included greetings or sent books for Livingston; in 1801, Murray sent him a set of books directly.   |
| <i>Samuel Miller</i><br>( <i>ANB</i> , s.v. “Miller, Samuel”; see also Section 2.3)       | -Besides being a Presbyterian Minister, Miller was a professor and a member of the New-York Historical Society.<br>-Murray sent him a copy of his “ <i>Octavo Grammar</i> , in 2 volumes” as a gift; he discussed the publication of the London edition of Miller's “ <i>Retrospect</i> ” (see Section 5.6).  |
| <i>Samuel Latham Mitchill</i><br>(1764–1831; <i>ANB</i> , s.v. “Mitchill, Samuel Latham”) | -Physician, scientist and legislator, “whose depth and breadth of learning astonished the world” (Smith 1919: 40); officer of the New-York Historical Society. Mitchill wrote books on political and cultural subjects.<br>-Murray was “obliged to him, for the kind interest which he feels in the credit and circulation of the books” of Murray in America (see also Section 5.6); and he wrote how the “improvements made in our city [i.e. New York] ... The police, trade, agriculture, arts and sciences, too, have made a progress, correspondent to the energies of a free and generous people”. |

| <i>name</i>   | <i>biographical picture / topics of discussion</i>   |
|---|--|
| <i>Jedidiah Morse</i><br>(1761–1826; <i>ANB</i> , s.v. “Morse, Jedidiah”) | -Clergyman and geographer living in the vicinity of Boston, who made an important impact on the educational system of America. Morse was the author of the first textbook on American geography.<br>-Murray expressed his gratitude for Morse’s “influence, in the circulation of some of” Murray’s publications (see Section 5.6); he referred to a sermon by Morse regarding the American policy of “war against Britain” (see Section 2.3).   |
| <i>James and John Pemberton</i><br>(see also Section 2.3)                 | -Both Quakers. James was the politician of the Pemberton family and a close friend of Benjamin Franklin (Hingston Fox 1991). John was a Minister and very prominent in both Quaker affairs and the Philadelphia business community ( <i>ANB</i> , s.v. “Pemberton, John”).<br>-To James, Murray frequently sent new editions of his textbooks (see also Section 5.6); additionally, he discussed the health of Thomas Ross, a mutual friend. To John, Murray wrote about their mutual friends such as the Tukes and the Dillwyns, and John’s trip through the British Isles. |
| <i>Isaiah Thomas</i><br>(1749–1831; <i>ANB</i> , s.v. “Thomas, Isaiah”)   | -American printer and newspaper man. Thomas was active in the American Revolution and performed the first public reading of the Declaration of Independence in Worcester, Massachusetts.<br>-In 1806, Murray sent him a list showing the latest editions of his “different publications” and remarked that if any of them should be wanted for new impressions at Worcester, he believed that they could be “procured from New York or Philadelphia, and, perhaps, from Boston”.   |

Table 4.1 *Selection of Murray’s correspondents in America.*

In addition to the selection of Murray’s American correspondents shown in Table 4.1, there are several of Murray’s English correspondents who deserve to be mentioned here. The most prominent of these were members of the Tuke family (see also Section 2.3). Judging by the genealogical table in *Sessions/Sessions* (1971), the Tuke family in York was no less extensive than the Murray family in New York. And Lindley and Hannah Murray, who were already close friends with William and Esther Tuke at the time of their arrival in York, were soon admitted in their midst (*Sessions/Sessions* 1971: 38). This intimate friendship was carried over to the two next generations of Tukes. First William’s children: Henry Tuke (1755–1814) – of whom it is known that “[h]e and Lindley Murray made a strong, true and lasting friendship” (*Sessions/Sessions* 1971:73) – and Henry’s wife Mary Maria (1748–1815); Elizabeth Tuke and her husband Joshua Wheeler (1755–1803); and Ann Tuke (1767–

1849) with her husband William Alexander (1768–1841), a bookseller in York; and then Henry’s son Samuel Tuke with his wife Priscilla Hack (1748–1828) followed. In addition to the names of these correspondents within the Tuke family, my corpus contains letters to the following: Mabel Hipsley (1770–1864; daughter of William Tuke), Esther Priestman (1782–1857; daughter of Henry Tuke) and her husband Thomas Priestman (d1844). In the table below I have listed several additional correspondents of Murray in England worth mentioning here.

| <i>names</i>  | <i>biographical picture / topics of discussion</i>  |
|---|---|
| <i>Jane Dawson</i><br>(1766–1825)   | -A deacon’s daughter; avid promoter of the welfare of the young, who “particularly valued the instructive pen of her esteemed friend Lindley Murray” (Dawson/Newton 1828: 123).<br>-Murray discussed the establishment of new “Female Seminaries” and the suitability of a proposed superintendent.   |
| <i>William Dillwyn</i><br>(1743–1824?)                                    | -Quaker merchant, born in Philadelphia; pupil and assistant to Anthony Benezet, the most prolific antislavery propagandist of the eighteenth century (1713–1784; <i>ANB</i> , s.v. “Benezet, Anthony”). Moved to England in 1774 to campaign against slavery and helped to set up an anti-slavery committee in London in 1787 (Gibson Wilson 1989).<br>-In 1799 and 1801, Murray discussed alterations to <i>The Power of Religion on the Mind</i> , adding greetings from and to mutual friends. |
| <i>John Fawcett</i><br>(1740–1817; <i>ODNB</i> , s.v. “Fawcett, John”)    | -Baptist Minister and theological writer. Author of the <i>Devotional Family Bible</i> (1811).<br>-On the occasion of the death of Fawcett’s father, Murray wrote about his warm feelings for him and Fawcett.  |
| <i>Joseph Jobson</i><br>(1738–1809; <i>ODNB</i> , s.v. “Johnson, Joseph”) | -Bookseller from London, who in the mid-1760s had begun a close association and friendship with another illustrious grammarian, i.e. Joseph Priestley.<br>-Murray expressed his gratitude for having received a copy of “Miller’s Retrospect of the 18 <sup>th</sup> : Century” (see also this section above and Section 5.6).  |
| <i>Priscilla Wakefield</i><br>(1751–1832)                                 | -Eldest daughter of Daniel Bell and Catherine Barclay, and a “gay” Quaker (for a definition of “gay” in the context of Quakerism see Section 3.3). Priscilla married Edward Wakefield, writer and philanthropist, in 1771. Her writings were educational and intended for children, and she was considered an authority on girls’ education. She published her  |

| <i>names</i>                      | <i>biographical picture / topics of discussion</i>   |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| Priscilla Wakefield,<br>continued | books with the London publishers of Murray's abridgement, Darton & Harvey (Robertson 2001), see also Section 5.6. <sup>6</sup><br>-Murray presented Wakefield with a copy of his spelling book, because he knew that she was "solicitous for the good education of young persons". |

Table 4.2 *Selection of Murray's correspondents in England.*

As Appendix B shows, my corpus generally contains no more than one or two letters directed to each of Murray's correspondents, but there are three and four letters to the brothers John and James Pemberton, respectively. The bulk of Murray's letters, however, are addressed to his brother John Murray Jr (forty letters) and, from the Tuke family, Samuel (forty-four letters), Elizabeth (thirty-eight letters), and Henry (twenty-eight letters).

As a final observation to this section, it should be noted that both Murray's uncle and his brother were called John Murray and lived in New York. These identical names possibly caused occasional confusion to the city's letter carriers who had to identify the addressee. Presumably to avoid this, when writing the address information for the letters intended for his brother John, Murray addressed his brother John adding the adjective *junior*, as in "John Murray Jun<sup>r</sup> ... New York", for all letters until 1809, so also after his uncle John Murray Sr had died in 1798. In all nine letters dated from 1809 onward until 1815, Murray then omitted "Jun<sup>r</sup>", for reasons unknown, while from 1816 on *junior* was added again. In this respect Murray's question to his brother in a letter from 1815 is noteworthy: "What is my brother's reason for signing his name, John / Murray Jun<sup>r</sup>.; when he is in fact *senior*?" (Murray to John Murray, 30 September 1815; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F19*). Slightly more than two months after this letter was sent, Murray addressed the next one to his brother, still without adding *junior* to John's surname. This makes sense, because by early December 1815 Murray cannot yet have had his brother's response to his question. But soon after this date he will have had a satisfactory answer (which, unfortunately, has not come down to us), because all following letters to John are once again addressed as "John Murray Jun<sup>r</sup> ... New York", the first one of these in

<sup>6</sup> This is another link of Murray's social network to that of the Barclay family; see also Section 2.2n6. Two of Wakefield's titles are: *Juvenile Anecdotes, Founded on Facts. Collected for the Amusement of Children*, Vols I and II (1798), and *Mental Improvement, Leisure Hours* [...] (published before 1798).

my corpus from 27 July 1816. Monaghan (1998), however, gives the following interpretation of Murray's question:

John the son began styling himself John Junior to distinguish himself from his uncle .... However, John Junior did not reveal the change in the style of his name to Lindley until decades later, perhaps fearing his brother's disapproval. One one occasion, John Junior made a slip and his brother reacted immediately. In a letter of September 30, 1815, Lindley asks peremptorily, "What is my brother's reason for signing his name John Murray Junr, when he is in fact senior?" [as also cited in this section above] Behind this complaint was a certain tension that seems to have arisen over the years between Lindley and his uncle John. (Monaghan 1998: 105)

Although Monaghan was able to base his conclusions on some of Murray's letters to John (see also Chapter 2), the importance of reading *all* available private documents when conducting research into a person's background has become clear. Contrary to Monaghan's earlier findings, we now see, for instance, that Murray's question bore no relevance to any "slip" whatsoever by his brother John, as Monaghan puts it. After all, for many years Murray himself had referred to John as *junior*, before he temporarily omitted the epithet. And after his mind was put at rest by his brother, Murray was quite satisfied to add *junior* again to John Murray's name when addressing him in future letters.

## 4.4 Murray's letters

### 4.4.1 *Physical and stylistic features of the letters*

Envelopes as we know it did not yet exist in Murray's days. By 1836 they became "in general use in France, but they caused much confusion and ill feeling when used for letters sent to Great Britain, as the letter was charged double postage for the two pieces of paper – the letter sheet and the envelope" (Robinson 1953: 136). According to Hamilton (1961: 46), it took until 1845 before they were widely used in England, and until then, therefore, a different solution had been used to display the address information: after a letter was written it was simply folded to a small size and then sealed with wax, in such a way that the outside leaf could be used to write the address (Baker 1980: 68–70). Baker discovered that, when folded, Wesley's letters "displayed many variations in size" (Baker 1980: 69), but in Murray's case, the size of the letter when folded was

almost invariably 12cm x 8.5cm (4.7in x 3.3in; for an example, see Appendix C). How this folding should be done and how the letter could subsequently be opened had to be learned. The early nineteenth-century letter-writing manual *The Fashionable American Letter Writer* (anon. 1823a), for instance, gives the following vague explanation about this technique:

In folding your letters, do it so as to conceal the wafer,<sup>7</sup> or display the seal intended for it; the folds ought to be strongly pressed with a proper instrument, or with the hand, so as to lie flat and make the corners sharp, that when they are sealed they may show a handsome shape. (anon. 1823a: xviii)

The majority of Murray's autograph letters appear to have been sealed. They show where the seals were originally placed, although these have all been torn or cut off, leaving a hole in the sheet so that occasionally parts of text got lost in the process. Figure 4.1 gives a photograph of Murray's red wax seal, depicting a bird stepping out of its cage, which is carefully preserved in the Mount School in York.



Figure 4.1 *Murray's seal, preserved at the Mount School, York.*

<sup>7</sup> A wafer was “a small disc of dried paste ... used for fastening letters” (*OED*, s.v. “wafer”).

Interestingly, in this respect, the above-mentioned manual added several “ironical instructions which lately appeared in print” (anon. 1823a: xviii). One of these was: “In folding your letter, do it in such a manner that the wafer or wax shall come exactly on some of the most important part of the writing, and tear it entirely away in opening” (anon. 1823a: xix). Another tongue-in-cheek instruction was: “Let your signature be such, that the person to whom you write, cannot discover your name; and if your letter is directed to a stranger, never add your place of residence to the date” (anon. 1823a: xix). It appears that the writer of the book was annoyed by what were considered violations against common courtesy; however, these did not apply to Murray. The majority of his letters are clearly signed with either his full name, i.e. “Lindley Murray”, or “L. Murray” (with or without punctuation mark), to which was sometimes added the name or initial of his wife Hannah. Only in three cases did Murray write his name as “LM”, twice to his brother and once to James Pemberton.

Murray’s salutations to the addressee, frequently including the word *friend* – a typical Quaker feature – have already been discussed in Section 3.5.1. Equally characteristically, Murray’s letters do not start or end with the conventional opening and closing formulas (see e.g. Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2003, Fens-de Zeeuw 2006, and Fitzmaurice 2008: 89–92), which could have given an indication about the relationship between him and his addressees; whereas, by contrast, in the eighteenth century closing formulas usually ranged from informal to close friends – in the case of Lowth (see Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2003), for instance, “Your’s most Affectionately” – to very formal when addressing sworn enemies – also in the case of Lowth, “Your humble Servant”. As Chapter 3 has illustrated, Quaker notions of politeness at the time did not necessarily include such conventional phraseology. As a result, formulaic opening sentences are absent from Murray’s letters, and his closing salutations are far less elaborate than was usual at the time. To give an example, Murray ended his letter to John Fawcett (see Section 4.3 and this section below) as follows:

- (1) My wife joins me in kind remembrance to / him and his wife. I am his sincere and obliged friend, / Lindley Murray. (Murray to John Fawcett, 26 January 1819; British Library: *MS 39577*)

The wording of Murray’s closing salutations does not get more formal than this. By comparison, he ended a letter to James Pemberton, a man



of equal standing to Fawcett, and a good friend, simply with the words: “from thy Friend Lindley Murray” (Murray to James Pemberton, 16 December 1785; SC, *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F1). This means that Murray’s letters – and, in all probability, that goes for all letters written by Quakers – cannot be used to classify them according to degree of politeness, unlike, for instance, in the case of Wesley (Baker 1980) or Lowth (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2003).

As regards address information of the addressee, much detail appears to have been unnecessary at the time (see also Baker 1980: 27), because even when they were shipped transatlantically, the directions on Murray’s letters usually contained no more than the name and the place of residence, while sometimes the addressee’s occupation was added. It is unfortunate that in many cases the address information was separated from the letter: from roughly one in five of Murray’s letters this is missing. This mainly concerns the shorter letters of one or two pages, of which only that half of the folded sheet has been saved that contains the body text; the other half, which will have borne the address, is then either cut or torn off. This may have been done by the recipient at the time, but it is also quite possible that this was done much later. At least one of Murray’s letters appears to have been damaged for reasons of profit, perhaps by a less-than-scrupulous autograph collector. A cut-off autograph signature of Murray, in the form of “L. & H. Murray / Holdgate, near York, / 12<sup>th</sup>: of 6<sup>th</sup>: mo: 1808.”, was put up for auction on eBay in July 2008. It may have been taken from a letter to Joshua Wheeler, of which I have a photocopy, but only closer examination of the original of the manuscript, which unfortunately has not yet become available to me, can confirm this. Figure 4.2 below shows this autograph signature.

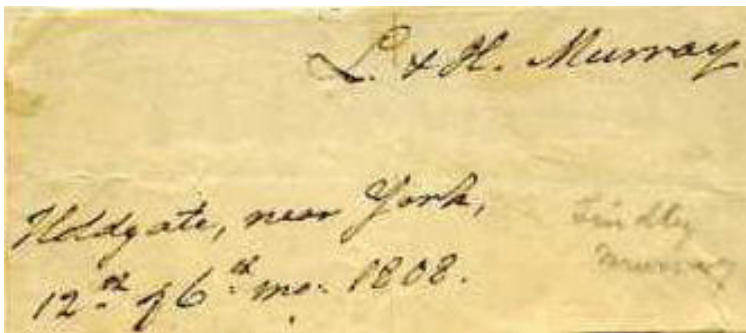


Figure 4.2 Image of Murray’s signature, showing the date of the letter as 12 June 1808 (eBay 2010).

The addition “Lindley Murray” in pencil, as seen in the lower right quarter, is one commonly found on Murray’s autograph letters, and may have been done by library staff. The signature was pasted on a piece of coloured paper.

On several other occasions, a signature of Lindley Murray, which even from a distance has all the appearance of a forgery, was put up for auction via eBay, the last time in March 2010. The signature seems to be traced (i.e. first drawn in pencil and then gone over in ink, cf. Hamilton 1961: 51). As Figure 4.3 illustrates, compared to Murray’s usual autograph signature, the handwriting is unusually shaky (see for instance the “d” in “Lindley”), and every character seems written with “exaggerated legibility”, both of which are typical features of forgeries (Hamilton 1961: 51). Furthermore, the capital “L” and the elaborate flourish of the “d” are typically not according to Murray’s usual style when writing his signature (see also Appendix C).

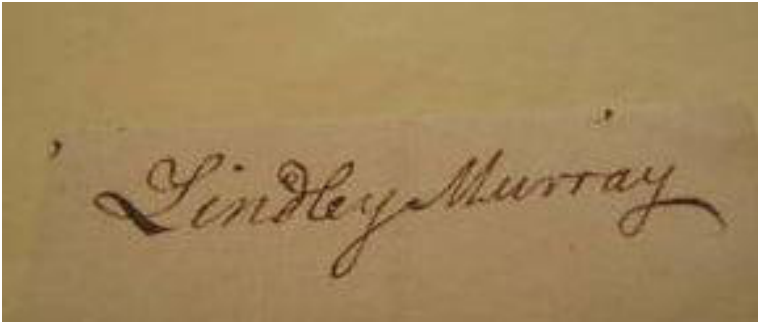


Figure 4.3 *Image of a signature, presented as Murray’s (eBay 2010).*

Those letters of Murray that have remained intact in many cases show a note on the page that is usually referred to as the address leaf (see e.g. Hamilton 1961: 46; Battestin/Probyn 1993: 30). These notes, in most instances written upside down from the address information, appear to have been made by the recipients and give information about the sender and sometimes about the contents, for instance as follows:

Lindley Murray. Holdgate / 5 mo: 1799 – / recd – 19<sup>th</sup> — /  
 anfw’r’d, 10mo: / with some remarks on the use of Fiction / as a  
 mode of Instruction. (Murray to George Dillwyn, May 1799; SC:  
*Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F3*)

On other occasions, it was recorded how the letter had travelled and how long it had taken for it to reach the recipient. An example of such a note can be found on the address leaf of a letter addressed to James Pemberton in Philadelphia. Entirely written in what appears to be the same hand, the somewhat cryptic note reads:

York – 16.12mo 1785 / from Lindley Murray / Recd. 5mo17.1786  
/ London 3<sup>d</sup>.1Mo1786. / Forwarded by thy Friend / John Eliot  
(Murray to James Pemberton, 16 December 1785; SC: *Lindley  
Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F1*)

Such notes frequently occur on both Murray's rather businesslike letters and on entirely private ones.

The size of the sheets that Murray used was almost invariably quarto, about 20cm x 28cm (8in x 11in), a size that was popular in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Hamilton 1961: 48–49). A sheet was folded in half so that four equally-sized pages were formed, whereby the fourth was used for the address. This exact centre folding is unlike that of Wesley's letters, of which the centre fold was "about 1 in. to the right of the centre", according to Baker (1980: 68). Longer letters contained several of these sheets, whereas for a short letter of one page of text the sheet was occasionally cut in half. Around 1800, all paper was still made by hand from rags (cf. Gaskell 1972: 214), and the quality of paper that Murray used appears to have varied considerably, as did the quality of the ink. As a result, several of Murray's letters have become extremely difficult to read because the ink that was used soaked through the sheet, so that, when Murray had written on both sides, either side was hard to decipher. A few other letters are hardly legible because the ink has faded considerably over time.

Murray's handwriting, on the other hand, did not present many difficulties. He wrote a clear, round hand without flourishes or superfluous strokes, which did not markedly change over the years. The characters are joined together and his script is slightly sloped, while the lines generally tend to go upwards towards the right-hand margin. At times, two adjoining words are linked together, perhaps because this speeded up writing. This was common practice until well into the nineteenth century, according to Dury (2008: 122); I have not reproduced this in the quotations presented in this study. Furthermore, Murray invariably used underlining for emphasis. The way Murray sometimes filled out the lines by adding one or more dashes appears to be the result of his legal train-

ing. The lengths of these dashes varied considerably, but I have transcribed them as “-” throughout. When he needed to break off a word at the end of a line he used a hyphen, either in the form of - or of =. Occasionally, this sign was repeated at the beginning of the next line to indicate the continuation of the word, which was common practice for some writers of the period (Fitzmaurice 2008: 87). Examples of Murray’s handwriting and several of the accidental features discussed here are shown in the letters included in Appendix C.

When Murray ran out of space, he wrote the last few lines written perpendicularly in the right-hand margin, or he squeezed them in at the top of the page containing the address. In longer letters, particularly those to his brother John, we can see how Murray sometimes tried to prevent having to do so by first reducing the space between lines, and next between words. An alternative solution was the use of a smaller size script. To visualize how variation in size of Murray’s script could considerably influence the amount of text that fitted on one line, as well as to illustrate how he occasionally broke off words, I have used a forward slash in my quotations, wherever Murray’s letters showed a line break. He also made use of abbreviations, such as superscript *t* at the end of a shortened word, as in *Acc<sup>t</sup>* (“account”), *Merch<sup>t</sup>* (“merchant”), *ab<sup>t</sup>* (“about”), as well as in names, for instance *Rob<sup>t</sup>* (“Robert”). A few other examples of short forms that Murray commonly used are *w<sup>th</sup>* (“which”), a quite conventional one (cf. Fitzmaurice 2008: 85), but also *w<sup>b</sup>* for *which*, and the routinely abbreviated forms of *M<sup>r</sup>* and *D<sup>r</sup>* for *Mister* and *Doctor*, respectively. A more remarkable one found in Murray’s letters is *Dau<sup>r</sup>* (“daughter”).

Overall, the abbreviations that Murray used are fairly transparent, but some names form an exception. For example, I was able to establish that both *Jn<sup>o</sup>* and *Jon<sup>t</sup>* stand for “Jonathan”, only because the names of the persons referred to were written in full elsewhere in Murray’s letters. Also quite conventionally (cf. Fitzmaurice 2008: 86), Murray marked his abbreviations sometimes with a colon, especially those in date notations, e.g. “30<sup>th</sup>: of 4<sup>mo</sup>: 1792”, which stands for 30 April 1792 (see also Section 3.5.3). As is the case with the lack of formulaic salutations, Murray’s use of abbreviations cannot be applied as an index of politeness, a technique proposed by Tiekens-Boon van Ostade (2006c: 229–247), because also in this respect Murray makes no distinction among his addressees. In most cases the abbreviated forms were not applied because Murray noticed at a certain point that he ran out of space, so he may also have done so simply to reduce writing space in general or to minimize effort. In view

of his physical condition, as described in Section 2.3, this seems very plausible.

Murray commonly started his letters by writing the date, sometimes preceded by “York” or, more usually, by “Holdgate, near York”, but occasionally the date is found at the end. In this respect, a popular mid-eighteenth-century letter-writing manual entitled *The Art of Letter-Writing* (anon. 1762) stated: “As to the Date, it is a Matter of Indifference whether it be set at Top or Bottom of the Letter, though it is reckoned more polite to give it a Place opposite, or under the Subscription, especially when we write to Persons of Quality” (anon. 1762: 18). It is impossible to say whether Murray rigidly followed this distinction: letters to his brother John or Elizabeth Wheeler, for instance, occasionally ended with the date; on the other hand, letters to men of merit, like Thomas Clarkson, whom Murray highly regarded (see Section 3.1), Dr Jedidiah Morse (see Sections 4.3 and 5.6), and John Fawcett (see Section 4.3), all ended with the date. However, with no more than one or two letters to each of these alleged “Persons of Quality” we cannot be certain.

When analysing Murray’s letters further, the remark made by Ogden Boyce (1889: 152) that during his final years Hannah Richardson, household companion to the Murrays for many years (see Section 2.3), conducted his correspondence with his family in America cannot be corroborated by the actual evidence, as in Murray’s earlier and later letters the handwriting always appears to be the same. Nor is it confirmed by their contents. In a letter dated from less than a year before Murray died, he actually wrote in a postscript to a letter to Thomas Priestman: “P.S. If H.R. knew of L.M.’s writing, she would doubtless send / her love” (Murray to Thomas Priestman, 20 June 1825; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*). “H.R.” may safely be identified as Hannah Richardson, because Murray commonly referred to people belonging to his “extended family household” (Tadmor 2001: 18) by their initials,<sup>8</sup> even when it concerned himself (see also Section 4.4.2). Thus the name of his wife Hannah often became “H.M.”, that of his former assistant Elizabeth Frank “E.F.”, and his own name was shortened to “L.M.”, “LM”, or, in the case of the passage cited above, “L.M”. Moreover, the handwriting of this letter to Priestman appears to be identical to that of Murray’s earlier ones, dating from before the time that Hannah Richardson joined the Murray household. Ogden Boyce’s (1889) comment may therefore be discarded.

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<sup>8</sup> For information on the concept of the “household-family” at the time, see Tadmor (2001: 18–43).

In all likelihood Murray wrote several of his letters on the portable writing desk that he left to Hannah Richardson and that is now in the possession of the Mount School in York (see Allott 1991: 41, and Section 1.2.1). Its sloping writing surface is currently covered by a black felt, and the space above it provided room for quills and various pots of ink and sand. Although the locations of the archives where I found Murray's letters, as well as their being folded, suggest that the autographs had indeed been sent and can therefore be considered final versions – in the case of draft versions they would very likely have surfaced in or around York, Murray's place of residence – they quite often give evidence of self-corrections; as a matter of fact, among Murray's letters there are very few instances of versions without any corrections or alterations. These self-corrections could be in the form of, sometimes lengthy, supralinear insertions, indicated by a caret mark below the line (i.e.  $\wedge$ ), which William Cobbett (1818: 83), in his *Grammar of the English Language*, referred to as a "blunder-mark". Alternatively, one or more characters were overwritten, but also letters, words, or even longer parts of a sentence might be struck through, with the version that Murray considered correct added next to them. Only rarely did Murray rub out a word or passage and overwrote the replacement text in the same place.

With respect to self-corrections, Auer (2008a: 215) classifies letters into four categories: orthographic corrections; style changes; grammatical corrections; and other changes (i.e. revisions, deletions of duplications, as well as altered punctuation). Three of these four categories are commonly found in Murray's letters. Following Auer's (2008a: 215) model, in Table 4.3 below I show examples of each of them. The majority of self-corrected passages in Murray's letters were alterations for content and, what Fairman (2008: 202) calls, alterations "for style". As a result, these self-corrections, as the examples demonstrate (see also the passage from a letter to John Murray about Webster's accusations of plagiarism, cited in Section 5.4.2), are illuminating when it concerns Murray's line of reasoning when writing. They provide, however, very little insight into the influence of his own prescriptive grammar (see Auer 2008a: 214).

| <i>category</i>          | <i>examples</i>  |
|--------------------------|--|
| Orthographic corrections | I find that our cousin, Joseph Lindley [ <del>e</del> overwrites <del>y</del> ], has at last been removed / from this state of probation.  |
| Style changes            | <p>It afforded my dear Hannah / and myself much satisfaction, to find, by thy accep=<br/>table letter, that your health had already improved / by your new residence; and that a good degree of / peace of mind <del>attended</del> accompanied you on the review / of it .... Though the burnt child dreads the / fire, he should recollect that it warms and cherishes, / as well as <del>consumes</del> destroys .... it / seems incumbent upon<sup>^</sup> me, to avoid <del>an unjust imputation</del>, <sup>the</sup> charge of inconsistency / to inform thee ...</p> <p>This was at that Time / so different from Uncles Judgment, and so dis/satisfactory / to him, that he protested [<del>p</del> overwrites <del>ar</del>] against it, and declared he / never woud abide by it.</p> |
| Other changes            | the difficulty of meeting with such as are / precisely adapted to every purpose of information; and the / <del>and the</del> unimpre/sive manner in which they are gene=<br>rally related; together with the frequent nece/sity of con=<br>veying instruction unobserved, are among the number / of these circumstances.   |

Table 4.3 *Categories of self-corrections in Murray's letters.*

Self-corrections in the fourth category as described by Auer (2008a: 215), i.e. grammatical corrections, are very rare. This is not to say that Murray did not make any grammatical mistakes at all, but where he did, they simply were not corrected, as can be seen with the word *vessel* in the following passage from a letter to his brother:

- (2) If it had been mentioned in / thy letter, with the Captain's and **Vessels's** names, I might / have rec<sup>d</sup>. it long since. (Murray to John Murray, 20 August 1809; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F17)

At the same time, with the exception of stylistic alterations that concern capitalization – and which will be discussed in Chapter 6 – the self-corrections in Murray's letters have not been helpful when analysing his attitudes towards linguistic correctness. The techniques that Murray applied for these self-corrections, on the other hand, were commonly used at the time (see e.g. Auer 2008a: 213–234 and Fairman 2008: 198–208).

#### 4.4.2 Long <s> versus short <s>

The graphemic variant known as long <s> is another feature observed in Murray's letters, and because his usage of this allograph is remarkable in several ways it is reproduced in my transcriptions. This variant will be analysed in detail in the present section instead of in Chapter 6, which deals entirely with the rules in Murray's grammar. In printing, until the end of the eighteenth century initial and medial long <s>, together with final short <s>, had become "the almost universal rule" (Mosley 2008), but then printers decided to discard the long <s> in their publications. The earliest to do so in England was the London printer John Bell (1745–1831; *ODNB*, s.v. "Bell, John"), in 1788. Typesetters developed modernized letter types, which excluded *f* and *f* from their character sets. As a result, by the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century this character had been almost totally eradicated from English printing, according to Williams (1979: 98). Mosley's (2008) weblog on typesetting claims that after its disappearance from printed works the use of long <s> in the combination *ss*, i.e. *f**s*, continued in handwriting long into the nineteenth century.

When I examined Murray's letters to see what his practice was concerning this long <s>, in any combination or position within a word, the results were striking, to say the least (a comparison to Priestley's usage is done in Fens-de Zeeuw/Straaijer submitted; see also Straaijer 2011: 287–288). First, I analysed his usage of the combinations *f**s* and *ss*. Some 2000 words that were spelled with either the combination *f**s* or *ss* were found in 215 of the 262 letters.<sup>9</sup> Insofar as the dates of these 215 letters could be established, they range from the period 1773 to 1825. The following passage is taken from a letter to Henry Tuke and shows three instances of *f**s*. Tuke had sent Murray a draft of a letter to a mutual friend, to comment on Tuke's remarks to this friend in connection with the latter's proposed text for publication, and Murray's reply reads:

- (3) As therefore more may / be made of thy **concefsion**, than thou wouldst be willing to admit, / I think it would be best not to insert this **pafsage**. It is well / to remember that "Nescit vox **mifsa** reverti". (Murray to Henry Tuke, 7 July 1800; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)

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<sup>9</sup> Slightly fewer than half these tokens are instances of *f**s*. However, since *f**s* and *ss* do not occur in the same period, with the exception of the year 1803 as discussed in this section, this figure has no relevance for my analysis.



With one exception, which will be discussed below, Murray's last letter that contained instances of *fs* dates from 1803, while the earliest instance of modernized *ss* is found in that very same year. Table 4.4 lists all instances of *fs* and *ss* found in Murray's letters from 1803, to show what happened with these two graphemic combinations in that particular year, which is the only year in which both of them are found. The dates that are given between square brackets had to be deduced from the contents of the letters.

| <i>date</i>             | <i>fs</i>  | <i>ss</i>  |
|-------------------------|--|--|
| 30 January 1803         | exprefsing; pafsed; doubtlefs;<br>goodnefs; submifision;<br>happinefs; countlefs; exprefsed;<br>lofs | –  |
| 6 June 1803             | thankfulnefs; goodnefs;<br>pafsages; chastenefs; kindnefs;<br>uneasinefs; darknefs                   | less [2x]; passages; addressed;<br>passions; impressions;<br>unimpressive; passion; dissipate;<br>expressly; expressions [2x];<br>necessary; issue |
| 5 September 1803        | lofs; Glafs; businefs  | –  |
| 10 October 1803         | doubtlefs; glafs   | –  |
| December 1803<br>[1803] | expref; Disfenter; necessary<br>reasonablenefs; exprefsed;<br>weaknefs; haughtinefs; prefs           | doubtless<br>submission  |
| [1803]                  | –  | Dissertations  |
| [1803]                  | –  | less   |
|                         | <b>total: 29</b>   | <b>total: 18</b>   |

Table 4.4 *Instances of fs and ss in Murray's letters from 1803.*

Table 4.4 shows that from the eight letters written by Murray in 1803, three contain both *fs* and *ss*, three contain only *fs* and two contain only *ss*. The table further illustrates how during the course of 1803 Murray started to use *ss* alongside *fs*. As mentioned above, and apart from the one exceptional letter already hinted at that will be discussed below, by the end of 1803 Murray had replaced *fs* by *ss*. Although, as observed in this section above, cases of self-correction are quite commonly found in his letters, not one instance of self-corrected long <s> was among them. This transition period coincides almost exactly with the practice of Murray's printers of the various editions of the *English Grammar* in my possession. While until 1804 all editions still showed long <s> throughout, in the American Hartford, CT-edition from 1805 this allograph / had been replaced by regular short <s>, and in 1806 his printers in York followed this example when typesetting the 15th edition of the grammar.

In addition to the combination *fs*, Murray's letters contain instances of words that begin with a single *f*, such as *seems*, *some*, *strengthened*, *selfish*, and *slave*, although there are no more than twenty-two of them in total, against as many as 7,404 words beginning with single *s*. (4), taken from a letter to Dr Thomas Parke, shows two instances of initial *f*, i.e. *fbort* and *fo*, as well as one instance of the combination *fs*:

- (4) In **fbort** I meet / with **fo** many elegant and high Wrought Encomiums / upon my Friends amiable Accomplishments, that / I forbear my Sentiments, lest the **Plainness** of my / Approbation shou'd Diminish the Splendor of his [i.e. Dr Parke's] / Reputation. (Murray to Dr Thomas Parke, 16 November 1773; HC: *The Quaker Collection*, MS 851)

To further illustrate the rareness of Murray's use of initial *f*, we find only one instance of *seems* in one of Murray's earlier letters, against sixty-seven instances of *seems* throughout the entire period of writing. Additionally, my corpus contains a mere four words that were written with single medial *f*, namely the word *retrospect* as well as the names *Hartfbore*, *Harrison*, and *Yorkshire* (against more than 30,000 instances of single medial *s*). Single *f*, whether initial or medial, disappeared from Murray's letters in 1794, i.e. a few years earlier than the combination *fs*, with, however, again that all too familiar exception to the rule that I shall now discuss.

It was a quite unexpected discovery that after four years of having exclusively used the modernized combination *ss*, in one letter dating from July 1807 Murray suddenly reverted to using the combination *fs*, with five instances; in addition, the letter contains three instances of single *f* at the beginning of a word. In this particular letter not a single instance of modernized *ss* is found. The letter in question was addressed to Thomas Clarkson, a man whom Murray held in high esteem (see also Chapter 3). It is the only one in my corpus to him, and it deals with a book that Clarkson wrote on the abolition of the slave trade, an accomplishment which Murray greatly admired. As (5) taken from this letter illustrates, the content is of a particularly elevated and religious nature:

- (5) to say that I have read it with pleasure, would / but faintly **express** my feelings of approbation .... Very gratifying to rational curiosity it must / be, to have the rise and **progress** of events [*e* overwrites *E*] which / bear upon the great question .... Every attentive [*-ve* overwrites ?] rea- / der will perceive, **in** the commencement, the

/ **progreſs**, and the conſummation of the great work of / the abolition, the hand of divine providence—. (Murray to Clarkſon, 8 July 1807; LSFL: *Portfolio 8/160*)

(5) shows three of the five instances of *ſ* in this letter. The combination of addressee and nature of the contents might offer an explanation for Murray's abrupt but temporary fall back, in the sense that traditional topics would have required a more formal style of writing (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2002). Although unlikely because it was located in a London library, another explanation might be that this was a draft letter, since it contains several self-corrections and these would be out of place in a formal letter like this, according to Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2008d: 55–57). At the same time, and as also discussed in the present section, self-corrections are quite commonly found in Murray's letters, even in the most formal ones, making it occasionally difficult to establish whether they were drafts or final versions. Whatever Murray's reason may have been, this letter remains a curious exception in an otherwise very straightforward and sudden transformation from long <s> to short <s>.

#### 4.4.3 *Personal pronouns: 1st, 2nd and 3rd person*

The typical Quaker peculiarities found in Murray's letters have been discussed in Chapter 3 on Murray the Quaker. This included his usage of the 2nd person singular pronoun *thou* (see Section 3.5.2), and I have demonstrated that the degree of solemnity in style of a particular letter did not influence Murray's use of this particular grammatical feature; without distinction, and whatever the topic discussed in the letters was, his correspondents were always addressed with *thou*. As an informal genre, private letters are generally of an involved and intimate nature, and as a result they usually report on personal experience in 1st person singular or plural (cf. Taavitsainen 1997: 247–248). But how Murray uses these personal pronouns, i.e. 1st person *I/we*, deviates from this convention, and this usage, as well as the way he uses the 3rd person pronouns *he/she/it/they*, is no less remarkable than his use of *thou*, and therefore needs to be dealt with here. In contrast to the substantial amount of literature that is available on the prescribed use of *thou* for Quakers (see also Chapter 3), I have come across no studies that deal with the use of 1st and 3rd person singular personal pronouns when it concerns Quaker usage. Moreover, the Society of Friends gives no directions whatsoever on the subject to Quakers (see also Fens-de Zeeuw 2009: 391–408), so

Murray's peculiar usage may not have been typical Quaker usage. Nevertheless, as I shall illustrate, on several occasions Murray's choice of pronouns in his letters deviates from what his *English Grammar* (1795) prescribed as the correct use of personal pronouns:

there are three persons which may be the subject of any discourse: First, the person who **speaks**, may **speak** of himself; secondly, he may **speak** of the person to whom he addresses himself; thirdly, he may **speak** of some other person .... The persons speaking and spoken to, being at the same time the subjects of the discourse, are supposed to be **present**; .... but the third person or thing spoken of being **absent** and **in many respects unknown** ... (Murray 1795: 29–30)

This overview of the pronominal system in Murray's grammar agrees with the generally accepted use of personal pronouns, as can be found in present-day reference grammars of English, such as Quirk et al. (1985: 339–340): pronouns in the 1st person concern the speaker(s), in the 2nd person the addressee(s), while excluding the speaker(s), and in the 3rd person they exclude both the speaker(s) and the addressee(s). In the context of private letter writing, letters can be considered as written evidence of such interaction between speaker and addressee, as investigated by Fitzmaurice (2002), so in the above passage from Murray's grammar we may read *write/writes/writing/written to*, as well as *writer*, for *speak/speaks/speaking/spoken to* and *speaker*. It is of further interest to note that Sairio (2005) examined the level of involvement for Samuel Johnson with several members of the Thrale household, basing herself on the hypothesis that usage of 1st and 2nd person pronouns is an indicator for ego and interpersonal involvement, respectively. Her hypothesis may have held for Dr Johnson, but as I shall illustrate, it does not hold for Murray.

Before I turn to Murray's usage of the 1st and 3rd person personal pronouns in his letters, it will be of interest to consider his use in the *English Grammar*. Throughout the Introduction Murray refers to himself in the 3rd person, with either a 3rd person NP (cf. Wales 1996a: 55), as in "[t]he compiler of this work", or a simple *he* in "he has endeavoured to avoid a plan..." (Murray 1795: iii). Arguably, this was quite common practice at the time; other grammarians, such as Priestley, some thirty-five years earlier, and Comly, almost forty years later, likewise referred to themselves in this fashion in their introductions (Priestley 1761: v; Comly

1834: 3). But Murray also adopted this practice in his private letters, and this is less common. In 1822, for instance, he wrote to a man named John Thornton, who was at the time the treasurer of the African Institution. This institute had been founded in 1807 for the “admirable” purpose of “instructing and civilizing Africa” (anon. 1827: 306), and among its members were royalty, prominent lawyers, and Members of Parliament (Ackerson 2005). Quakers in general, and Murray in particular, were usually highly interested in matters related to Africa and involved themselves with the anti-slavery movement (see also Chapter 3, Sections 2 and 3), and Murray was one of the institution’s benefactors. His one-page letter begins thus:

- (6) On the 7<sup>th</sup>: Inst. **L. Murray** wrote to the / Treasurer of “The African Institution”, John / Thornton Esq<sup>r</sup>: ... **He** observed, at the same time, / that **he** would be obliged by early information of / the Draught’s having been received. (Murray to John Thornton, 12 September 1822; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F5)

Throughout the letter Murray referred to himself as “he” and “L. Murray”, avoiding “the obnoxious pronoun” *I* as he himself referred to it in the *Memoirs* (Murray 1826: 2). Allott (1991: 55) notes that the avoidance of *I* in autobiographical writings was a feature of the times, since people preferred to write allusively rather than directly, but it seems unlikely that this would equally apply to letter writing. The example in (6) is far from unusual for my corpus. In another, undated, letter to his very close friends William and Henry Tuke, father and son, Murray wrote:

- (7) The inclosed Bill<sup>for £ 350</sup> being due the 21<sup>st</sup>: Inst, / **LM** sends it to W<sup>m</sup>. & Henry Tuke .... The remaining £ 50, / after deducting Judith’s Quarter, **LM** will not / want till the 21<sup>st</sup>: Inst. when **he** supposes it / will be convenient to W & H Tuke to let / **him** have it. / Agreeably to W<sup>m</sup>. Tuke’s proposal **LM** has / no objection to the Investment standing thus in the / Books and publications. (Murray to W. and H. Tuke, n.d.; YoUBI: RET 8/10/13)

Throughout this letter Murray again referred to himself in the 3rd person as “LM” or with the pronouns *he* and *him* instead of *I* and *me*, in contrast to what he had specified in the grammar. We can further see that Murray addressed the recipients of both letters in the 3rd person as well, i.e. in (6) with “John Thornton Esq<sup>r</sup>.” and in (7) with “W<sup>m</sup>. & Henry Tuke”,

“W & H Tuke” and “W<sup>m</sup>. Tuke”. If letters are indeed a form of conversation, however, Murray must consider both himself and the addressees as *present*, in the light of his discussion of pronouns in the grammar. Therefore, according to his own grammatical rules, he should have used 1st and 2nd person pronouns in the letters. It is striking, to say the least, that he did not do so, using 3rd person NP’s or 3rd person pronouns instead.

Both letters from which passages (6) and (7) are taken have the typical appearances of notes (or “billets” or “cards of compliments” as these typically short messages were also referred to), which would often make for a plausible explanation for the use of these 3rd person references (Fens-de Zeeuw et al., in progress). For all that, other much longer – and often very personal – letters contain the same feature, which is highly unusual. Moreover, Murray alternated between using 1st and 3rd person pronouns when referring to himself, as well as between using 2nd and 3rd person pronouns when referring to his addressees, in one and the same letter, sometimes even in one and the same sentence. The following example from a letter of consolation to Elizabeth Tuke illustrates this:

- (8) I feel / very unfit to hand the Bread of Encouragement to you, / being a poor, feeble, Creature **myself**: but I felt / a Desire you might not doubt or droop in your Spirits ... (Murray to Elizabeth Tuke, 31 October 1792; HALS: *D/ESe C20:14*).<sup>10</sup>

Two pages down, Murray continued:

- (9) H M is pretty well, tho’ now & then, poorly with the / Head-Ach. **L M** no better in **his** Voice at the best Times, / & often more affected when **he** takes any slight Cold. **He** is / still disposed to unnatural Perspiration, so that **he** is obliged / to ride alone, tho’ sometimes **he** tries it with **his** dear H M. / This<sub>λ</sub><sup>Tendency to</sup> Perspiration, with the continued Weakness of Voice, added / to the general Debility brought on by the last trying Spring / & Summer, have produced such a Susceptibility of Injury / from very slight Occasions, that **I** cannot in this State think / it safe or prudent to venture to sit with **my** dear Friends / at Meeting.

<sup>10</sup> *You* in this passage was intended as a plural form of address; earlier in this letter, Murray had written: “Be encouraged then, dear Pilgrims ...”.

Perhaps the Time may come, when **I** may / be favoured with Strength sufficient for it; and then / **I** hope **I** shall be ready thankfully to embrace it. (Murray to Elizabeth Tuke, 31 October 1792; HALS: *D/ESe C20:14*)

A salient example of this alternating practice is found in a twelve-page letter addressed to his brother John in which Murray instructed him with the following words:

- (10) **My brother** will be particular in observing that the paper delivered is / only to be considered as furnishing materials for the Reviewer's man- / agement, and which I & J Swords are desired to be careful to mention. / If **my brother** thinks proper, **he** may copy the hints, with any additional / observations that may occur to **him**. (Murray to John Murray, 1 June 1801; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F14*)

He continued only a few lines further with the 2nd person:

- (11) It seems proper for **thee** to apply to I & J / Swords, as proposed, a few days after delivering them the parcel / which I now send, together w<sup>th</sup>. the Sequel w<sup>ch</sup>. **thou** wilt take. / From the use which I am enabled to make, in this instance, of / the information **thou** hast given me of what was published / respecting the Grammar, in "The Monthly Magazine and American / Review", **thou** wilt perceive the propriety of giving me an acc<sup>t</sup>., / from time to time, of whatever may be published, or transacted / concerning any of my books.

Next, he switched again to *he*:

- (12) I believe it will be [*b* overwrites ?] of use, if **my brother** would convey / one of these **B**Lists of books and characters to the Bookseller / **he** corresponds with, at New Haven; and ~~one~~<sup>some</sup> to other / booksellers.

Then he used *thee* again:

- (13) I send **thee** a copy of a small pamphlet,

followed by:

- (14) I entirely agree with **my dear brother** that **he** has / a right to know any particulars respecting my family, which **he** / is desirous of knowing. (Murray to John Murray, 1 June 1801; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F14*)

Murray's irregular use of these personal pronouns appears highly exceptional. In view of his explicit ideas on the subject as noted in his grammar, it is remarkable that his private usage of this particular linguistic feature so obviously contrasted with what was commonly prescribed in the grammars of the time, including his very own. As can be deduced from the texts in passages (8–9) and (10–14) above, Murray's pronominal usage does not appear to correlate with formality of style or other sociolinguistic factors, in contrast to what may have been the case for other letter writers at the time (cf. Palander-Collin 2006). Moreover, there is clearly no indication of any lack of involvement on his part. In general, as Palander-Collin (2006: 340) notes, the use of 1st and 2nd person pronouns in correspondence “overtly bring[s] the writer and the addressee into the communicative situation”, but this does not apply to Murray's communications. Possibly, the topic of a letter plays a role here, because whenever Murray discussed matters related to his own health, for instance, the number of 3rd person pronouns and NP's when referring to himself increased, almost as if he wished to create an image of detachment. Further analysis of this phenomenon, in relation to that of other letter writers of the period, including Quakers, seems called for.

#### 4.5 Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have described how sending post and parcels in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, especially transatlantically, was a complicated affair, which Murray appears to have tried and handle as best he could. Furthermore, from his letters it becomes clear that despite all the disruptions due to hostilities between America and Britain Murray managed to utilize the postal system in such a way that he could keep in touch with a wide variety of correspondents, preferably at minimal cost. As became evident from previous chapters as well, the letters also confirm that Murray's interests were equally diverse and that he tried to be kept informed as best as possible. Additionally, I have shown that certain pragmatic features in Murray's letters, such as techniques for self-correc-



tion or the use of abbreviations, agree with those found in correspondence from his contemporaries, and can therefore be considered conventional. Due to the fact that Murray was a Quaker, however, the occurrence of self-corrections and abbreviations could not be used as a means to measure the degree of politeness of his letters. After all, Quakers had to take care not to “balk their testimony by a cowardly compliance, varying their language according to their company” (PYM 1806: 84–86; see Section 3.4). Also in other respects, for instance when it concerns salutations and epistolary formulas, or the use of personal pronouns, Murray’s usage greatly differed from that of the average letter writer at the time, and in the latter case we may even find that it was idiosyncratic. Further noteworthy linguistic and stylistic features from Murray’s letters will be brought to light in Chapter 6, where a comparison will be made between the language of his letters and the rules that he compiled for his *English Grammar* (1795). Before I turn to this, however, in the next chapter I shall analyse the process by which Murray’s grammar came into being – which includes initial planning, reception, marketing and distribution, sales numbers, as well as the revision process.



## 5 Lindley Murray: Grammar Writer

*The author of these volumes was not less influenced, by a desire to disseminate the great principles of virtue and religion, than by a wish to facilitate literary instruction.*

(Murray to Jedidiah Morse, 1806; YaUL: *Morse Family Papers, Box 4 f.108*)

### 5.1 Introduction

“This is a great little volume, and one which would still be of great use to those seriously interested in grammar – not like the volumes you see now days!” (*quailstreetemporium* 2008). With these words of recommendation an 1862-edition of Lindley Murray’s *English Grammar* was offered for sale. For Murray, such praise was anything but unusual in the decades following the publication of the first edition of the grammar book in the beginning of 1795. Already quite soon after its initial appearance this textbook – together with its grammatical offspring, the *Abridgment* (1797), the *Exercises* (1797), the *Key to the Exercises* (1797), and the two-volume *English Grammar* (1808) – became a huge success, resulting in numerous editions and reprints. As if to illustrate this achievement, Murray himself observed in a letter to George Dillwyn: “... as / an additional proof that the works meet with public ap= / probation, that, in four years, there have been printed / of Abridgments, Grammars, Exercises and Keys, in the whole, / Forty one thousand copies.” (Murray to George Dillwyn, May 1799; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F3*).

In the present chapter I intend to paint a picture of the life cycle of Murray’s *English Grammar*, of its birth and development until its inevitable, yet late, retirement. The results of my research for this chapter may also be of interest to book historians. I shall begin by giving some figures that will illustrate the enormous success of Murray’s enterprise. For most of the information in Section 5.2 I drew on Alston (1965), Monaghan (1996; 1998), and Tiekens-Boon van Ostade (1996c). Next, in Section 5.3, I shall analyse Murray’s intentions for writing his grammars and the restrictions that were imposed on him if he wished to publish any of his books. To give an indication of whether Murray’s intentions were met by his public, Section 5.4 deals with the reception of the grammar. It contains reactions from Murray’s contemporary users and portrays the diverse kinds of criticism the grammar received over the centuries that have passed since the publication of the very first edition. In Section 5.5 a few of Murray’s peers and competitors will be brought into the limelight and Section 5.6 will show how Murray occupied himself with the marketing and distribution of the various editions of his grammar

books. In Section 5.7 I shall add several of Murray's own observations, taken from his letters, related to the revision process of his textbooks. Finally, the conclusions to the present chapter will be briefly summarized in Section 5.8. For this chapter, too, I am able to base my analysis to a large extent on Murray's letters, in which he frequently and extensively discussed his textbooks. In no fewer than forty-six of his letters Murray occupied himself with either the publication or distribution of his own books, with the publication – either intended or realised – of similar works by other textbook writers, and with the contents, revisions or improvements of his many published editions. When considering the amount of text involved here, a rough calculation shows that this makes up about 7.5% of the total amount of text that my corpus of Murray's letters comprises. For the present study I have therefore restricted myself to a careful selection of the most relevant extracts.

## 5.2 A vocation turns into a career: some figures

In 1842, the master of a seminary at Hartshill, named Joseph Crosfield (c.1756–1830; anon. 1831b: 69), wrote that a “glance at the great number of his [i.e. Murray's] publications would be interesting to lovers of statistics” (Crosfield to C. Tomlinson, 4 August 1842; LSFL: *Portfolio* 41/115). It may well be interesting to lovers of linguistics as well. During the initial few years following the birth of Murray's *English Grammar*, as well as of its *Abridgment*, the *Exercises* and the *Key to the Exercises* – all of which Murray referred to in the letter which was cited at the beginning of Section 5.1 – each new edition “consisted of / five or six thousand copies” according to Murray (Murray to Samuel Latham Mitchill, New York, 30 September 1800; YaBL: *Uncat MS Vault* 764, *Acc* 2002). In the subsequent period, between 1801 and 1840, in Britain an estimated 15,000 copies sold of each edition of the *English Grammar* alone. As for the figures for the United States, after an initially slower start – the first American edition of the *English Grammar* was not published until 1800 – the pace of Murray's collected publications soon quickened, with ten editions already printed in that single year 1800 (for example in Philadelphia and Boston, while in New York Murray's official publisher Collins alone printed three editions; Monaghan 1996: 31, see also Shipton/Mooney 1969: 547). On both sides of the Atlantic Ocean all these textbooks were immensely popular, and in 1824 the *Abridgment* – with print runs of 12,000 copies for each of the approximately ninety editions and

reprints published until 1826 at least<sup>1</sup> – was even hailed as “the most perfect English School Grammar that has yet been written” (Martin 1824: 270). The results from a survey conducted in schools in Kildare and Leighlin, Ireland, in 1824, indicate that both the *English Grammar* and the *Abridgment* were in widespread use in this region as well, as Brenan (1935: 177–602) found, and he assumes that this will have been the case throughout Catholic Ireland. Two additional textbooks, *The English Reader* (1799) and the *Sequel to the English Reader* (1800), both dealing with other subjects than grammar, were in no less demand. As regards the immediate success and initial sales figures of Murray’s *English Spelling-Book* (1804) and his *First Book for Children* (1805), we have the following information from a letter by Murray:

About three weeks ago, I wrote / to thee, and mentioned, that the Spelling-book was / then published, and might, in a few days, be had from / Longman &C<sup>o</sup>.. Since that time considerable demand / has been made for the book: and the proprietors have / ordered a second edition. This is to consist of 10,000 / copies of the Spelling-book and 5,000 of The First Book, / (The first edition consisted of 6,000 of the former). (Murray to Joseph Crosfield, 31 October 1804; MALS)

Monaghan (1998: 133–135) argues that Murray was very likely the most widely sold author of literacy textbooks in the United States in the early decades of the nineteenth century. He further calculates, based largely on Frank’s addendum to Murray’s *Memoirs* (1826), that in roughly the same period in Britain another four million of Murray’s ten different textbooks were sold. Monaghan’s estimates are underscored by earlier words of the grammarian Gould Brown, whose *Institutes of English Grammar* (1823) gradually replaced Murray’s *English Grammar* in many American academies after 1835 (Downey 1982: v). Nearly ten years after the initial publication of his grammar, however, Brown still had to admit that “[t]here are, upon the subject of English Grammar, no publications more extensively known, than those of Lindley Murray” (Brown 1832: 557).

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<sup>1</sup> See the *Edinburgh Annual Register* (anon. 1826b: 87) for an overview of the size of print runs until 1826; see *A Descriptive Catalogue of Friends’ Books* (Smith 1867: 201) for an overview of English editions of Murray’s books.

The *English Grammar*, with already fifty-two editions published in Britain alone by the year 1832 (Monaghan 1996: 39), made up a large proportion of the publications referred to by Brown (1832: 557), and in total at least sixty-nine numbered editions of this textbook were published there. Worldwide, by 1850, of the *English Grammar* possibly two million copies had been sold, which number includes a special edition for the blind, with embossed characters, published in Boston in 1835 (see Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1996b: 17);<sup>2</sup> in India specifically, by that time Murray's grammar had become "almost standard, certainly equally popular" as it was in England and America, both in full English and diglot versions (Smith Diehl 1986: 205). Not including the many reprints and translations published outside Britain and the United States<sup>3</sup> – a list which comprises even a Japanese version translated from an earlier Dutch translation (Fuami 1996: 125) – according to Monaghan (1996: 27–44), the sum of all of Murray's publications sold together equals some fourteen million copies. Additionally, the *English Grammar* was referred to in foreign textbooks and textbooks of English for foreigners. As a striking example of such references, and as early as 1800, the German grammarian George Noehden (1770–1826) gave three examples from the *English Grammar* of the "accurate Grammarian, Lindley Murray" (Noehden 1800: 61) in his *German Grammar, Adapted to the Use of Englishmen* (1800) to describe grammatical features of the German language (i.e. Noehden 1800: 39, 61, 309). In all fairness it must be added here that in this grammar Noehden also referred to two earlier grammars, viz. once to the grammar section prefixed to Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755; Noehden 1800: 40) and twice to Lowth's *A Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762; Noehden 1800: 231, 232). Unlike in the case of Murray, Noehden did not, however, give any value judgement on either of these two men or their grammars. Another one of such foreign editions is a parodied "Dutchified" version (Noordegraaf 1996: 112), titled *De Vermakelijke Spraakkunst* ("The Comic Grammar"), by Jacob van Lennep (1865). And for his *Grammar of the New*

<sup>2</sup> For extensive information on the publication history of Murray's *English Grammar* see Tieken-Boon van Ostade (1996c).

<sup>3</sup> An overview of reprints and translations of Murray's *English Grammar* (1795) is given in Tieken-Boon-van Ostade (1996a: 9–25). In all likelihood this list is not exhaustive. To the list of languages into which the book was translated, provided by Alston (1965: 96), at least one more can be added, which is Gujaratee; see Bahramjee's *A Translation of the 32<sup>nd</sup> Edition of Mr. Murray's Grammar into The Guzratee Language* (1822).

*Zealand Language* (1842) – which was only the second Maori grammar to appear in print, according to Tomalin (2006: 303) – Robert Maunsell (1810–1894) based his grammar on the model provided by Murray’s *English Grammar*, and repeatedly referred to it in his text (Tomalin 2006: 313; Murray was, however, not the only source that Maunsell used – according to Tomalin, Lowth’s grammar was likewise frequently drawn upon).

Other grammarians tried to get a piece of the pie of Murray’s popularity by having textbooks published that further explained Murray’s grammatical rules to those who might not fully understand them. Linking of texts to established grammars was common practice at the time (cf. Percy 2009: 91), and one of these derivated textbooks was, for instance, *Grammatical Questions, adapted to Murray’s Grammar* (Bradley 1810). For those who still remained at a loss after studying Murray’s simplified *Abridgment*, there was to be had Alden’s *Practical Questions on English Grammar, to be answered by those, who study Murray’s Abridgment* (1808). Moreover, as late as 1842, a female grammarian named Charlotte Kennion judged it necessary to give her interpretation of Murray’s grammar in *The Etymology and Syntax of Murray’s English Grammar Systematically Arranged* (1842). Furthermore, textbooks appeared in which Murray’s grammar was included. One of these books was a posthumously published edition of John Entick’s (c.1703–1773; ODNB, s.v. “Entick, John”) *New Spelling Dictionary* (1812), to which was prefixed Murray’s abridgement. And around 1799 a schoolmaster named Adam Taylor (d1832; Shefrin 2009: 166–167) made an “etymological chart, exhibiting, at one view, just definitions of all the parts of speech”, including inflections, rules, and explanations of appropriate terminology, which was particularly adapted to Lindley Murray’s *English Grammar*, and designed to resemble a family tree. Others, again, blatantly attempted to trick the public into thinking they were purchasing Murray’s work, while in fact they were not. One of these “tricksters” was for instance someone named W.M.E. Russell, who with *An Abridgment of Murray’s Grammar* (1818) attributed Murray’s efforts to himself. As if all this was not enough, in 1857 John Betts produced an educational board game entitled *A Journey to Lindley Murray* “complete with chequer board, teetotum, and coloured markers” (West 1953: xxxiii).<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> As I was kindly informed by Jill Shefrin, the game was printed on a sheet, measured 45.3 x 57.5, and could be folded to 21.3 x 17.4 (all in centimetres); a slipcase had been added. A teetotum is a four-sided spinning top.

In view of all these achievements, the epithet “father of English Grammar” (Johnson 1904: 365), that appears to have been bestowed on Murray in the very early years of the twentieth century, therefore seems a well-earned one.<sup>5</sup> According to Allen/Mackinnon (1998: 395), his grammar was used in English Quaker schools for fifty years. Sales figures indicate that the work was used beyond the confines of Quaker schools as well; Murray’s grammars were purchased by small private schools as well as by private tutors and governesses. An example is found on an announcement for an evening of “Recitations By the young Gentlemen of the Grammar School Scarborough, Conducted by the Reverend T. Irvin”, on 11 December 1818, which mentioned that “The young Gentlemen of this establishment are systematically taught the English Language according to the plan of LINDLEY MURRAY”. Nevertheless, after about 1840 the sales of Murray’s books declined, as by then academies had started to replace his grammars by other textbooks (Lyman 1922: 83). Yet, this decline was a very slow one. Downey (1982: vi) notes, for instance, that until 1841, at least, Murray’s grammar was still used in the schools of Massachusetts. Although Alston (1965: 96) records that the last, i.e. 65th, British edition of the *English Grammar* appeared in London in 1871, according to Tiekens-Boon van Ostade (1996b: 13), at least a sixty-ninth edition was still printed in London in 1891, which indicates an average of one reprint every five years towards the end of the nineteenth century. Alston (1965: 96) further gives the year of the last-known printed edition of the *English Grammar* in the United States, i.e. in Philadelphia, as being 1867. Based on her analysis of the publication history of Lowth’s English grammar Tiekens-Boon van Ostade (2008c: 116–117), however, argues that Alston’s bibliography is very likely incomplete. This is indeed true for Murray’s grammars, too, because at this moment I have in my personal possession two editions of the *Abridgment* and four of the *English Grammar* which are not listed in Alston.<sup>6</sup> Alston’s bibliogra-

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<sup>5</sup> Almost sixty years after Johnson made this observation, Nietz (1961: 110) repeated his remark that “Murray has been referred to as the ‘father of English Grammar’”. Like Johnson before him, Nietz unfortunately omitted to mention the original source of the citation. Fries (1927: 221) varied on this theme of parenthood with “Lindley Murray is looked upon as the ‘father’ of our school grammars of the last century”; see also Chapter 1.

<sup>6</sup> These editions are: of the *English Grammar* a 19th edition printed in York (1809), a 27th edition printed in York (1813), a 56th edition printed in London (1847), and an edition from 1858, printed in Philadelphia, PA; of the *Abridgment*: an edition from 1802, printed in London, and an edition from 1804, printed in Albany, NY.



phy, however, was published well over forty years ago and it is in need of being updated, a task which, for the eighteenth century, is presently being undertaken by Rodríguez-Gil/Yáñez-Bouza (2009: 153–182).<sup>7</sup>

As discussed in Section 2.4, it has been suggested that the composition of Murray's *Memoirs*, starting in 1806, was intended to promote the American sales of his textbooks (Monaghan 1998: 8; see also Ticken-Boon van Ostade 2004). Yet, as illustrated in this section, they hardly needed promotion. That all of Murray's textbooks became extremely popular in the United States from 1800 onward, despite the fact that the *Memoirs* remained unpublished until after his death in 1826, is a case in point. We may safely assume that Murray's textbooks are currently no longer used to teach grammar in academies, and yet, a surprisingly large number of facsimile reprints of them, in wide-ranging formats, are published nowadays, with publishing dates as late as 2011.<sup>8</sup> To what purpose this frequent reprinting is done, however, is not entirely clear.

It appears therefore that the overwhelming sales numbers presented above fully justify the words of praise bestowed upon the *English Grammar*, which were cited in the introduction to this chapter. And still, this recommendation remains a quite remarkable one because it was not written in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century, nor even in the later ones, or in the century following. Instead, it was part of an advertisement on eBay on 3 August 2008, offering for sale the "English Grammar, adapted to the Different Class [*sic*] of Learners; with An Appendix, containing Rules and Observations for assisting the more advanced students to write with perspicuity and accuracy. By Lindley Murray. London: William Tegg 1862". The seller, using the alias of *quailstreetemporium*,<sup>9</sup> was from St Helens, Tasmania, in Australia. It is easy to imagine that Murray will not have anticipated at the time of writing his *English Grammar* that more than two centuries after he wrote the book it would still be considered "of great use", by some people at any rate.

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<sup>7</sup> In December 2010, Rodríguez-Gil and Yáñez-Bouza launched a pilot version of the electronic database Eighteenth-Century English Grammars (ECEG), containing bibliographical information about eighteenth-century grammars and biographical information about the grammar writers.

<sup>8</sup> This reprinting of Late Modern English textbooks and usage guides appears common practice nowadays, as I found, because Lowth's *Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762) is another example of frequently reprinted grammars of the period.

<sup>9</sup> The opening bid for this edition of the *English Grammar*, dated 1862, was AU \$5.00.

### 5.3 The “plan” of the *English Grammar* (1795)

That his grammar would become useful to at least a few students of English grammar was, however, already quite evident to Murray at the time of writing it, in 1794. In that year Ann Tuke, Mabel Tuke and Martha Fletcher, three teachers of the Trinity Lane School near York (which was an undertaking of the Tuke family, see Chapter 4) approached him with a request to write a grammar with the words:

That they & their sister professors at Suir Island, having ... suffered great inconvenience from the want of a complete English Grammer [*sic*] with examples & Rules annexed, proper for this and similar Institutions .... His petitioners being well assured of the incomparable abilities of their able preceptor, do humbly solicit the digesting of his materials for a work so important ... (A. and M. Tuke, and M. Fletcher to Murray, n.d.; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F8)

These three teachers taught at a girls' boarding school for young women of roughly between the age of twelve and fifteen. On average the students would stay there for two years. The school was a Quaker institution and its principal objects regarding the girls' education were that it should reflect “[s]implicity of manners, and a religious improvement” of their minds (Sturge 1931: 10), as another teacher at the school, Sarah Grubbs, described them. As a result, no books that might be inconsistent with the rules on “plainness” were studied, but “a knowledge of useful history and geography” in addition to “reading, writing, and the English grammar” was encouraged. Also according to Sturge (1931: 14), Murray had apparently taken “a great interest in the school, and was often consulted as a literary oracle by his friends there”. Prior to the teachers' petition he had already instructed them on the subject of grammar, so that they would be able to teach their pupils.

From his answer in a letter to the teachers it appears that, at first, Murray hesitated to comply, for two reasons. The first one was that he feared he was “not competent to compile a grammar for publication”, and the second that he thought “that the London Com<sup>ee</sup> have employed some person on this business” already (Sturge 1931: 15).<sup>10</sup> But Murray

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<sup>10</sup> By “the London Com<sup>ee</sup>” Murray referred to Britain Yearly Meeting. For an explanation on this Quaker body and their instructions for submitting publications for approval, see Section 3.3.

apparently had enquired “at London” and obtained their approval, so he subsequently consented and “purpose[d] to make some essay to comply with your desires”, provided that his “little labours will be confined to the schools of York & Clonmel [i.e. the Suir Island sister school in Ireland]”, as he wrote to them (Sturge 1931: 15–16). It appears that the other obstacle was likewise overcome – Murray’s fear must have disappeared – because, as he mentioned to the Quaker George Dillwyn (1738–1820), he had “guardedly written” the book, making sure that “considerable instruction” would be “mixed with grammatical Matter” (Murray to George Dillwyn, May 1799; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F3*).<sup>11</sup> Thus, in his memoirs Murray was able to describe the subsequent birth of his first grammatical textbook in the early months of 1795 as follows:

I was often solicited to compose and publish a Grammar of the English language, for the use of some teachers, who were not perfectly satisfied with any of the existing grammars. I declined, for a considerable time, complying with this request, from a consciousness of my inability to do the subject that justice, which would be expected in a new publication of this nature. But being much pressed to undertake the work, I, at length, turned my attention seriously to it. I conceived that a grammar containing a careful selection of the most useful matter, and an adaptation of it to the understanding, and the gradual progress of learners, with a special regard to the propriety and purity of all the examples and illustrations; would be some improvement on the English grammars which had fallen under my notice. With this impression, I ventured to produce the first edition of a work on this subject. It appeared in the spring of the year 1795. (Murray 1826: 90–91)

It further appears that with regard to the structure of the *English Grammar* Murray clearly defined his intentions at the outset: no attempts at innovation would be made, he merely wished “to **facilitate** the labours of both teachers and learners of English grammar” by making “some **improvement** on the English grammars which had fallen under [his] notice” (Murray 1826: 91). And indeed, the overall structure of the *English Grammar* followed the tradition of earlier eighteenth-century grammars (cf. Vorlat 2007; see Section 6.2). As Murray explained to the

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<sup>11</sup> The words “considerable instruction” refer to instruction on Quaker morals.

Quaker physician Dr Joshua Walker (1746?–1817; Taylor 1865: 264) in Leeds, his

plan in composing the work was, to adopt such a system of / positions, rules, observations, and arrangement, as were most consistent / with the general principles of language, and conformable to the most approved English / Grammarians, and English writers. (Murray to Dr Walker, 18 June 1801; YaBL: *Osborn MS files "M" #9393–10688*)

Murray claimed in the *Memoirs* that he was likewise “persuaded to compose” both the *Exercises* and the *Key to the Exercises*, and he indicated that these books were “designed for the convenience of teachers, and for the use of young persons, who had left school, and who might be desirous, at their leisure, to improve themselves in grammatical studies and perspicuous composition” (Murray 1826: 92). Murray further stated that his purpose in writing these two additional textbooks had been:

not only to exercise the student’s ingenuity, in correcting the sentences; and to excite him to the study of grammar, by the pleasure of feeling his own powers and progress; but to introduce, for his imitation, a great number of sentences, selected from the best writers, and distinguished by their perspicuity and elegance; and to imbue his mind with sentiments of the highest importance, by interweaving principles of piety and virtue with the study of language. (Murray 1826: 92)

As regards the different target groups for his *English Grammar*, *Abridgment*, and *Exercises*, Murray clarified in the letter to Dillwyn that although “they are all connected”, these textbooks were perceived by “friends” (i.e. Quakers) as adapted to suit the educational needs of different age groups:

The Abridgment ... is cal= / culated for the younger clafs, and those who make but / a short stay, at Ackworth; and the Gram<sup>r</sup> & Exercises / are suited to the upper clafs, and those who finish / their education there. (Murray to George Dillwyn, May 1799; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F3*)

Ackworth School was established in 1779 for the education of Quaker boys and girls. It still exists today, though nowadays the majority of students come from non-Quaker families. In 1799, fifty copies of the *English Reader* were purchased by Ackworth School, and in 1804 Murray's *Spelling-Book* was introduced there (Thompson 1879: 94, 103; see also Section 5.7.2), but, as will be illustrated in Section 5.6, it took a few years for Murray's plan for the *English Grammar* to be appreciated by Ackworth's School Board. Once that hurdle had been taken in 1805, however, the grammar proved very successful for introduction at other Quaker schools (after Ackworth followed e.g. Sidcot, Wigton, Penketh, and Rawdon; Stewart 1971) where the study of the vernacular had always been considered of great importance, albeit that emphasis was still laid on the fundamental skills of reading. In 1800, for instance, both boys and girls were to have at least one hour's spelling a day (Stewart 1971: 111). To this purpose, Murray's grammar proved to be "manageable for young and comparatively unskilled teachers" and it supplied a "parallel to the classical grammarian's exactness, linked to objective facts", according to Stewart (1971: 112), who adds that as a result Murray had become "[t]he doyen of the study of grammar in Quaker schools". And so, only a few years after the first editions of these books were published Murray was already content to be able to conclude that his approach concerning his "little literary labours for the benefit of / the rising generation" (Murray to Samuel Latham Mitchill, 30 September 1800; YaBL: *Uncat MS Vault 764, Acc 2002*) were met with approval by many, and he wrote to Dr Walker: "It affords me much satisfaction, to find that this / work has been approved by many persons whose favourable opinion / is real praise ..." (Murray to Dr Walker, 18 June 1801; YaBL, *Osborn MS files "M" #9393-10688*).

#### 5.4 Contemporaneous and current comments

Were the three Quaker teachers in all likelihood among the ones who were taken with Murray's *English Grammar*, "[t]here may have been some truth in the jest of his friend John Dalton (1766-1844) the chemist" as Fell-Smith (1894) wrote. This joking remark made by Dalton went as follows: "[O]f all the contrivances invented by human ingenuity for puzzling the brains of the young, Lindley Murray's was the worst" (John Dalton, in Reibel 1996b: xviii). Like Murray, his friend Dalton was a Quaker. With his good-humoured joke he tells us that not all of Murray's contemporary or later generations of students were equally convinced of

the excitement and pleasure that involved the study of his grammar. On the other hand, there was the editor of *The Eclectic Review* who confirmed the opinion of the teachers of the Trinity Lane School and was pleased to be able to remark that “[o]f the present generation, a large portion of all classes have grown up with an early reverence for the name and authority of Lindley Murray” (anon. 1826a: 481–482). In addition, in 1803, the *Guardian of Education* had praised the adequate combination of “religious and moral behaviour with the elements of scientific knowledge”, which words of praise Murray included in the characters to an edition of the *English Grammar* from 1808 (Smith 1984: 9, 9n11).

#### 5.4.1 *Some characterizations*

Whether positive or negative, the number of references to his grammar books in periodicals, literature and competitors’ textbooks is overwhelming; Murray’s name even became a synonym for them (see also Reibel 1996b). For this section I must therefore limit myself to the mentioning of only a few that stand out. Murray’s grammar even featured in a theatrical play: in Oxenford’s (1839) farce *Dr Dilworth* quite a few references are made to the book. As an example, one of the characters, named Syntax, exclaims in the opening scene:

Now to my studies. What delightful reading is in Lindley Murray’s Grammar---‘I might, could, would, or should have loved. Thou mightest, couldst, wouldest, or shouldest have loved.’ Ah, intense interest! What are play books and story books, compared to this? The most of them are only the verb ‘To love,’ conjugated not half so scientifically! .... Oh, Murray, Murray, how beautiful you are! (Oxenford 1839: scene 1)

The above satirical passage confirms Dalton’s opinion that not all judgements of Murray’s *English Grammar* were quite as appreciative as that of the three teachers, far from it. A fair number of observations were neutral remarks, merely relating to the fact that “Lindley Murray” had been used in schools or elsewhere, and illustrations of how his name had indeed become “a household word for ‘Grammar’” (Wales 1996b: 209). Jones (1983: 34), Reibel (1996b: xi) and Tieken-Boon van Ostade (1996b: 18), among others, show that such allusions to Murray’s grammar were made by well-known authors in their novels, such as Harriet Beecher-Stowe in *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, George Eliot in *Middlemarch*, and

Charles Dickens in *The Old Curiosity Shop* and *Nicholas Nickleby*. A further reference by Dickens to Murray can be found in *Sketches to Boz* (1839: 322): “Mrs. Bloss, with a supreme contempt for the memory of Lindley Murray, answered the various questions in a most satisfactory manner ...”. One particularly neutral comment, for instance, was made by the educationist Robert Spence Watson (1837–1911; *ODNB*, s.v. “Watson, Robert Spence”) about the poet Joseph Skipsey (1832–1903) and this was referred to by Oscar Wilde (1854–1900) in his column “Miner and Minor Poets” in the *Pall Mall Gazette*: “When sixteen years old he was presented with a copy of Lindley Murray’s Grammar, by the aid of which he gained some knowledge of the structural rules of English” (Wilde 1887). Moreover, as Hayes (1995) points out, Edgar Allan Poe (1809–1849; *ANB*, s.v. “Poe, Edgar Allan”) grew up with at least two of Murray’s textbooks at home, and as a grown man, in 1835, Poe used Murray’s grammar as a touchstone when reviewing a novel by T.S. Fay, who was an editor for the *New York Mirror* at the time, by writing that the author would “never [have] seen an edition of Murray’s Grammar” (Hayes 1995: 40). Less famous writers can be added to the list of people referring to this “household” object. Thus, a few years after Wilde wrote the column referred to above, a certain Miss Anna Morgan wrote an article about elocution. To clarify her views on the topic, she made the following comparison:

What Lindley Murray was to English grammar, such was Delsarte to the art of expression .... Thousands of good actors will live and do without bothering about Delsarte, just as Robert Burns sang without troubling himself about grammarians, but this reasoning is no argument either against Lindley Murray or François Delsarte. (Morgan 1894: 597–599)

The latter half of the nineteenth century is also the period in which Murray’s grammar was frequently satirized, for instance in *The Comic Lindley Murray; or, The Grammar of Grammars* (anon. 1871), the *Comic English Grammar* (1840),<sup>12</sup> and *The Pictorial Grammar* (Crowquill 1842; see Reibel 1996b). In addition, the satirical magazine *Punch* published a series of brief columns on “grammatical defects” (anon. 1859: 66) en-

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<sup>12</sup> For speculations on how this parody might have formed the basis for Van Lennep’s *De Vermakelijke Spraakkunst* (1865) as mentioned in Section 5.2, see Noordegraaf (1996: 117–118).

countered in English society at the time, entitled: “[...] and Lindley Murray”. These columns bore titles as: “Law and Lindley Murray” (1854: 7), “Londonderry and Lindley Murray” (1854: 23), “Ladies’ Maids and Lindley Murray” (1859: 66), and “A ‘Rider’ and Foot-note to Lindley Murray” (1894: 48). According to Noordegraaf (1996: 114), the author of the *Comic English Grammar*, Percival Leigh (1813–1889), worked for *Punch* at the time, so it is quite thinkable that he also wrote the columns. In the same period *Harper’s Weekly* published various jokes, anecdotes and cartoons, in which Murray’s grammar played the central role. An example of such a joke is the following:

In some English town – the exact location of which the report does not state – a company of Spiritualists met one evening to hold communications with unseen worlds. A gentleman was asked if he should like to call a spirit. “I should,” the gentleman replied. “Whose?” asked the medium. “Lindley Murray’s”. Lindley Murray’s ghost appeared erect right through the table. The gentleman shuddered. All trembled. The medium was visibly affected. “Are you the spirit of Lindley Murray?” asked the gentleman, astonished at his own courage in addressing a visitant of the lower world. “Yes, I are!” boldly responded Lindley Murray’s ghost. Poor Lindley Murray! (anon. 1866: 427)

And towards the end of that nineteenth century, in 1897, the travel writer Mary H. Kingsley apologised in advance for any mistakes she might make in her book *Travels in West Africa* with a reference to Murray: “I have asked several literary friends to write one [i.e. an apology] for me, but they have kindly but firmly declined, stating that it is impossible satisfactorily to apologise for my liberties with Lindley Murray and the Queen’s English” (Kingsley 1897: vii).

More than a century after Murray’s death, as late as 1932, the novelist Sir Hugh Walpole (1884–1941; *ODNB*, s.v. “Walpole, Sir Hugh Seymour”) in *The Fortress* reached back to “Lindley Murray’s *English Grammar*” as the tool with which a nineteenth-century governess named Elizabeth educated two little girls that were in her care (Walpole 1932: 220). By contrast, someone who was less convinced of the usefulness of Murray’s grammar was the English artist and satiric novelist Samuel Butler (1835–1902; *ODNB*, s.v. “Butler, Samuel”). In his *Essays on Life, Art and Science* (ed. Streatfeild 1904), Butler first observed that “[w]e care most about extremes of importance and of unimportance; but ....



Extremes of unimportance cannot hurt us, therefore we are well disposed towards them” (ed. Streatfeild 1904: 37). He then used this supposed “tendency of our natures” to explain the strategy of compilers of almanacs, who find it necessary to provide us with such information as that

Lindley Murray, grammarian, died January [a mistake for February] 16, 1826. This is not because they could not find so many as three hundred and sixty-five events of considerable interest since the creation of the world, but because they well know we would rather hear of something less interesting. We care most about what concerns us ... so little that practically we have nothing whatever to do with it. (ed. Streatfeild 1904: 37–38)

Finally, to conclude this overview, I wish to add two more references to Murray dating from as late as the twentieth century. The first was found in a review of William Taylor Harris’s (1904) *Advanced English Grammar*.

Why this book should be called an advanced English grammar is not easy to see, for of the advance in English philology within the last quarter of a century there is not the slightest trace. It is rather a reversion to the Lindley Murray type, commonly supposed by the optimists to be well-nigh extinct. (Allen 1904: 435–437)

The second one is a characterization of Murray from a lecturer on Afro-American Studies at Harvard University, who introduced her paper on bidialectalism with: “... there was a really deep dude by the name of Lindley Murray ...” (Smitherman 1973: 774; see also Chapter 1).

#### 5.4.2 *The critics, then and now*

As we have seen, novelists and poets were generally rather mild in their judgements of Murray’s *English Grammar*. Some reviewers and a few of Murray’s peers, however, could be more cynical and some were even downright offensive (for more examples, see Jones 1996 on the reception of Murray’s *English Grammar*). It appears that Murray was well aware of these critiques, but he felt that they came with the job and therefore could not be prevented. As an example, he wrote to the earlier-mentioned Dr Walker in response to objections “to some parts of the Grammar” that the latter apparently had made earlier:

I believe, however, there is no system which could have been devised and pursued, / in a work of the size of *The English Grammar*, which would not / have been liable to objections from ingenious men who had studied / the subject. I know that every division, and all the definitions, in / my book may have specious objections laid against them. It would / have been great presumption to suppose I could preclude them. (Murray to Dr Walker, 18 June 1801; YaBL: *Osborn manuscript files "M" #9393–10688*)

In the second half of the nineteenth century the American journalist Charles Congdon (1821–1891; Stephen 1886, s.v. “Congdon, Charles Taber”) wrote a series of newspaper columns, entitled “Studies in Autobiography”.<sup>13</sup> One of these dealt with Lindley Murray:

My elder readers who muddled themselves over his book in those dreary days of school-going which it is customary to speak of as delightful, may not remember Lindley Murray with feelings of Christian gratitude. They may have forgotten his rules which they learned by rote without in the least understanding them ... but they ought really to be grateful to him, for he was the first to simplify and methodize a branch of knowledge which, whether useful or not, children were then obliged to study. (Congdon c.1860)

As an example of such harsher opinions, Congdon cited in this column *Blackwood's Magazine's* remark that the book “was full of atrocious blunders”.

Of course, with respect to all this criticism, we must not lose sight of the fact that many of Murray's contemporary critics were at the same time his rivals in the field of grammar writing. One of these critical competitors was, as Finegan (1980: 36) refers to him, the “devout Anglophobe” Noah Webster, a fellow countryman of Murray's. Webster's *Grammatical Institute of the English Language* (1783) had been the most popular grammar in America until Murray's grammar was introduced

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<sup>13</sup> I found the newspaper article in question glued to the back of Alice Colden Wadsworth's diary (courtesy of the New York Public Library; see also Chapter 2). Very likely, and as suggested by his biography, Congdon wrote this series of columns for the *New York Tribune*. I have not been able to establish the exact date of this particular column, but the contents strongly suggest that it was around 1860.

there (Nietz 1965: 542). In an attempt to turn the tide, Webster launched a campaign against Murray with accusations that his grammar contained errors and that his philological knowledge was too limited to detect them (Ikeda 1996); furthermore, he wrote that Murray's grammar was not original and that he had been plagiarised by Murray (see this section below for Murray's response to this allegation). Another rival, "that learned but cantankerous Yankee pedagogue", as Moody (1976: 36) describes Goold Brown, was likewise a compatriot of Murray's. Brown's *Institutes of English Grammar* (1823) is scattered with unfavourable allusions to Murray's grammar. In the Preface to a revised edition of it, Brown (1856) remarked that Murray "in original thought and critical skill ... fell far below 'most of the authors'" to whom his grammar was indebted, i.e. "Harris, Johnson, Lowth, Priestley, Beattie, Sheridan, Walker, Coote, Blair, and Campbell" (Brown 1856: x). Additionally, according to Downey (1982: xiv), Brown frequently belittled Murray and accused his work of being "dull".<sup>14</sup> A third American grammarian who was heavily opposed to Murray's work was the polemic journalist William Cobbett (1763–1835; *ODNB*, s.v. "Cobbett, William"). Cobbett was even convinced that the *English Grammar* was not merely boring or scattered with mistakes, but that Murray had a more sinister agenda besides. He accused Murray of trying to "inculcate passive obedience and softly promote the cause of corruption" with his texts (Smith 1984: 9).

On top of that, in 1809 an anonymous "Member of the University of Oxford" devoted the complete contents of his book entitled *Lindley Murray examined* to the linguistic investigation of Murray's *English Grammar* and *Abridgment* (see also West 1955: 289). The "ill-mannered" author (Jones 1996: 73) very politely introduced his study with an apology – but he "must beg leave to enter my protest" against all kinds of innovations presented by "Mr. Murray and others" (anon. 1809: 3–5); however, he soon adopted a less respectful tone when discussing the "principal absurdities, contradictions, and errors in Mr. Murray's grammar" (anon. 1809: 9). These faults, according to the author, were all caused by the circumstance that Murray, "fearful of an attack", had "endeavoured to please all parties [which] left the poor boys in a labyrinth of terms" (anon. 1809: 10). Some other pejoratives the author employed

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<sup>14</sup> In his *Institutes of English Grammar* Brown (1856) not only criticised the grammarian Murray, he also criticised Quakers in general for not sticking to "their customary mode of forming the verb in connection with the pronoun *thou*, in familiar discourse" (Brown 1856: 72). See also Section 3.5.2.

when referring to Murray's grammatical instructions are "embarrassing", "inconsistent", and "ridiculous".<sup>15</sup> Sixty years later, George Washington Moon (1823–1909), in his book *The Bad English of Lindley Murray and other Writers* (1869), attempted to expose Murray's inability (and that of other grammarians) to follow his own grammatical rules, but according to Reibel (1996b: xx), although the volume was certainly "entertaining reading", Moon "pushes the principles of strict grammatical construction to even more ridiculous limits than did Cobbett".

One observation from the early nineteenth century about Murray's textbooks that is still frequently expressed these days is that they are characterised by moralism and conservatism. Smith (1984: 8), for instance, notes that Murray associated formal language and grammatical skills with moral virtue. She exemplifies how in Murray's texts portrayals of sin are used to illustrate cases of "bad grammar", whereas "[c]orrect grammar" is illustrated by portrayals of "socially prescribed behaviour" (Smith 1984: 9). This view is repeated by Hodson (2007: 13, 15), who refers to Murray as being "judgemental" and remarks that "his work is peppered with moral precepts". Garner (2002: 213) has even called Murray's phraseology "pedantic". When studying Murray's textbooks, most of these accusations cannot be denied. However, when expressing their judgements, critics, with the exception of Gould Brown, seldom took into full account that Murray was a Quaker, if they referred to the fact at all.

Yet, as I have stated above, if we wish to evaluate Murray's writings to the full extent, we must recognize that his religious background is a crucial factor and should therefore be taken into consideration first and foremost. For Murray, being a plain Quaker, the "special regard to the propriety and purity" of the contents of his books was essential (Murray 1826: 91; see also Section 5.3), not in the least because he had to submit all his writings intended for publication to the Friends' Meeting for Sufferings for approval from "the London Committee", as shown in Chapter 3 (see also Section 5.3). Reibel (1996b: vi), on the other hand, is of the opinion that an exception was made for Murray's *English Grammar*, so that it did not "have to undergo the scrutiny to which it would almost certainly have been subjected had it been part of an official Quaker educational enterprise". I could not establish, however, on what grounds

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<sup>15</sup> It is perhaps not very surprising that the anonymous author used the occasion of this book to promote his own grammar, "Lately published by the same Author" (anon. 1809), i.e. *The Essentials of English Grammar on a Practical Plan*.

Reibel based this assumption. He adds, however, that Murray nevertheless must have “succeeded in writing a text that seemed to raise no objections on that score” (Reibel 1996d: 7), so even if Murray had not submitted this particular manuscript for approval, he will have regarded the Society’s regulations anyway. After all, as also shown in Chapter 3, failure to do so might have resulted in testimonies against him, which was something no Quaker wished for.

In addition, as Allen/Mackinnon (1998: 392) point out, for Quaker schools at the time religion played a key part “in determining what would be taught and by whom”. As discussed in Section 5.3, Murray therefore had to make sure that his book would meet the standard set by the organization by implementing “considerable instruction” on Quaker morals. One way of doing this, for instance, was via the Introduction to the *English Grammar* (1795: v), where Murray wrote that his interest had been “to promote the cause of learning **and virtue**” and that he had intended to introduce many examples that had “a moral and religious tendency”. This focus is unsurprising, because both “virtue and learning were the acknowledged ends of education in the eighteenth century”, and their children’s moral upbringing, especially that of girls, was the principal concern of parents, according to Percy (2009: 82). This will certainly have applied most strongly to Quakers. I have further shown in previous chapters that Murray, already before he moved to York, had changed his way of life completely. From being a relatively gay member of the Society of Friends, Murray had reverted to the strict lifestyle of a plain Quaker (see Section 3.3 for an explanation on the notion of “gay” versus “plain” Quakers), adhering to the rules and guidelines that accompanied such a way of life. As Belok (1977: 293) confirms, Murray had become “a moral man – pure and simple. He could not have produced any other type of book”. In this respect, we should also not overlook the fact that initially the *English Grammar* was meant to instruct young Quaker women, for whose education the knowledge of moral standards would have been at least equally important as that of the standardised English language. In all fairness, therefore, it must be noted that the grammarian Murray was a conservative and moralist by default.

Another frequent critical remark about Murray has been that his primary concern for writing the grammar would have been commercial (Moody 1976: 35; Hodson 2007: 18). The contents of Murray’s letters, however, take the edge off of this remark. Besides establishing the reason for writing the grammar in the first place in the *Memoirs* (1826), Murray also explained in a letter to George Dillwyn, dated four years af-

ter the first edition of the grammar was published, that his “motives in writing” had been “pure and disinterested”, and that he refused to profit financially from his success. The publishing house Longman & Rees in York, Murray continued this letter, had

thought / so well of the works, that they offered me £ 700 for the / Copy Right of Grammar & Exercises, £ 100 for that of the / Abridgment, and £ 350 for that of The English Reader: / all which I have thought it best to sell to them at those prices (Murray to George Dillwyn, May 1799; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F3*),

but, Murray went on,

I have appropriated the whole £ 1150, / to the use of others, without applying any of it to my private use / ... my motives in writing are pure and disinterested. (Murray to George Dillwyn, May 1799; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F3*)

The figures, mentioned by Murray in this letter, are confirmed in the records of Longman & Rees. In this respect, the following passage from a letter from Murray to the York publishing and printing house Wilson & Sons is equally informative:

you will perceive that I again make / an offer to Longman & C<sup>o</sup>. of the copyright of the Selection. / But before I send the letter to the office, I think it / proper to let you know my intention. If you have / any remarks to make upon it, I shall be obliged / by your freely communicating them to me ... (Murray to Wilson & Sons, n.d.; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F7*)

It appears that Murray valued the opinion of his publishers in York on the matter. The amount of £1150, as mentioned in the above letter to Dillwyn, was quite substantial, but whether it was a reasonable sum or not, appeared not much of a concern for Murray. “The small sums originally given for valuable copyrights ... form a standing topic of pathetic complaint”, wrote the editor of *The Eclectic Review* (anon. 1826a: 490), “[b]ut Mr. Murray ... took the proper business like view of the transaction ... with him pecuniary considerations were not an object”. In agreement with the same writer’s obituary on Murray, Belok (1970) notes

that instead of pursuing financial gain, Murray “devoted his life to humanitarian deeds” (Belok 1970: 210).

Murray’s explanation in his memoirs (cited in Section 5.3) further establishes that from the outset his sole purpose for writing a grammar was to select and adapt from existing grammars in order to compile a textbook that could make the grammatical rules more understandable to the young female students of Trinity Lane School in York. He did so “in the hope of contributing to the proper and / guarded education of youth”, as he wrote to the Committee of the newly established mental hospital The Retreat (Murray to the Committee of The Retreat, 25 February 1799; YoUBI: *Retreat Archives RET 8/10/13*; for information about Murray’s involvement with The Retreat, see also Section 2.3). From this letter it becomes apparent that Murray indeed refused to “apply any part of the produce to [his] private benefit”; one of the beneficiaries of the proceeds was this institution in York. Another one was the above-mentioned Trinity Lane School, the Proprietors of which had received from Murray the “produce of the Copy Rights of the Abridgement of my Grammar ...” and were promised an additional “£46.00 a year for about eight years” (Murray to the Proprietors, 23 March 1800?; YoUBI: *Mount Archives 1/1*). Murray might have been willing to donate even more, but of course, as he had explained to the proprietors earlier, it “had been necessary to expend a very considerable sum in advertising the Books, according to the custom of Booksellers” (Murray to the Proprietors, 24 March 1798; YoUBI: *Mount Archives 1/1*). It is clear from the above quotations that any suggestion that Murray’s fortune “increased substantially by writing grammars” (Moody 1976: 35) is far from the truth.

As regards Murray’s strategy, referred to above, of selecting and adapting from existing grammars, he strongly felt that he was justified to do so, provided it was done “with propriety” (Murray to James Phillips, 13 April 1789; HC: *The Quaker Collection; MS 851*). In the year that his booklet titled *Extracts from the Writings of Divers Eminent Authors [...]* (1789) was published, so several years before he started working on the *English Grammar*, Murray apparently felt it necessary to explain his views on the subject of compiling from the works of other authors to the London bookseller James Phillips, and he wrote:

I am entirely of thy Opinion, that on republishing / old Authors, or Extracts from them, professedly as such, their own Language / shou’d be preserved without any Alterations that are not really

necessary. / But in the Compilation of Facts, tho' the historical Narration shoud be / scrupulously adhered to, yet the Reflections on those Facts may, I apprehend, / with Propriety, be in Part adopted, or varied altogether .... That there is any Thing exceptionable in this Mode of / Compiling, I have not yet been able to perceive .... I have ... simply, / and professedly, collected from various Quarters, a Number of Facts and / Observations; which, I apprehend, I had a Right to do in any Language that / might be judged proper. It is not produced as an original Piece, but express<sup>ly</sup> / the Reverse. The Compiler claims no Merit on the Occasion: he knows that / none is due to it. His sole Motive for publishing was a Hope that it might, / in some small Degree, be useful to others. (Murray to James Phillips, 13 April 1789; HC: *The Quaker Collection*; MS 851)

This remark of Murray concerned *The Power of Religion*, but it is clear that Murray considered all his future books likewise to be mere compilations for which no credit could be claimed, because ten years later he wrote to James Pemberton (see Sections 2.3 and 4.3), announcing a shipment of his books: "I took the liberty very lately of sending thee, by the / way of New York, a set of my **compilations**; namely, "The Power / of Religion &c": English Grammar: English Exercises with the Key: / The English Reader: and the Abridgment of the Grammar"" (Murray to James Pemberton, 6 October 1799; LoC: *Misc. MSS Coll.*).

When considering the publishing figures mentioned in this chapter, Section 5.2, it cannot be denied that Murray's stratagem with respect to the composition of his *English Grammar* proved to be a highly successful one, a fact of which he was fully conscious as the *Memoirs* testify:

I will not assert, that I have accomplished all that I proposed. But the approbation and the sale which the book obtained, have given me some reason to believe, that I have not altogether failed in my endeavours to elucidate the subject, and to facilitate the labours of both teachers and learners of English grammar. (Murray 1826: 91)

Murray's understated remark is another example of an expression of self-conscious modesty, with which his *Memoirs* is filled. Nevertheless, despite, or perhaps even because of this long-lasting success, Murray's grammars have often been criticised for that very concept of selection and adaptation. Soon after the *English Grammar's* first appearance, accu-



sations of plagiarism were already uttered, accusations of which Murray became quite aware – and by which he was “probably greatly shocked”, as Tieken-Boon van Ostade (1996c: 89) put it – as will be illustrated below. According to Reibel (1996b: xxii), Murray “never intended that the users should think that the *Grammar* was wholly original”. On the other hand, Murray must also have known that even in his days it was considered that “[a] man’s reputation and character, and writings, are as much his property as his land” and that it would have been a token of “correct morality” to acknowledge any borrowings, as an anonymous reviewer of “*Webster’s Dictionary of the English Language*” argued in the *Dublin Literary Gazette* (anon. 1830: 327–328). But then again, it is most likely that Murray considered acknowledgement of his sources superfluous for the first edition of the *English Grammar*, since it was only to be studied by a handful of young Quaker women (see Section 5.3). Its unexpected success will then have forced Murray to add the names involved in the editions that followed. Yet, considering the fact that not all of his sources were immediately added to the second edition (cf. Vorlat 1959: 108; Mugglestone 1996: 148) – and only in general terms – this still leaves room for questioning just how much unacknowledged conscious borrowing Murray considered still to be “proper”.

Notwithstanding Murray’s justifications on the subject (see also Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1996c), quite a few of his contemporaries were convinced that he had crossed a line here. As illustrated in this section above, one of Murray’s early critics was his fellow-countryman Noah Webster, who also accused Murray of plagiarizing his own grammar. In a letter to his brother John, Murray tried to invalidate Webster’s earlier allegations by saying: “Whoever writes a / Grammar, must,<sup>in some degree,</sup> make use of his predecessors’ labours: and / I think I have made an ample apology for so doing, in the / Introduction to my Grammar: I have applied two paragraphs / on that subject” (Murray to John Murray, 2 December 1815; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F19). It is noteworthy that Murray inserted the words “in some degree” only as an afterthought. In addition to Webster’s accusations, Gould Brown (see also above) wrote that Murray,

to avert the charge of plagiarism, disclaim[ed] almost everything in which any degree of literary merit consists; suppose[d] it impossible to write an English grammar the greater part of which is not a compilation; acknowledge[d] that originality belongs to but a small

portion of his own; persuade[d] himself that it is scarcely necessary to tell whence he took any part of the rest. (Brown 1832: 562)

Additional names of Murray's contemporary critics who accused him of unauthorised copying are given by Vorlat (1959), but she adds the note that in this respect he must simply be considered as "the typical grammarian" of that period, "which saw a flourishing of plagiarism ..." (Vorlat 1959: 124). The names of Murray's unacknowledged sources are, according to Vorlat (1996: 165; see also Sundby et al. 1991), "Robert Lowth, John Ash (see also Navest 2011), James Buchanan, Joseph Priestley (see also Straaijer 2011), George Campbell, James Wood, Hugh Blair, Lewis Brittain and others". Both Blair's and Campbell's writings, however, are acknowledged by Murray in the first edition of the *English Grammar* as the basis for his "Rules and Observations respecting Perspicuity" (Murray 1795: v), and he further referred to "Doctors Lowth, Johnson, Priestly [*sic*], &c" (Murray 1795: 28) as names of grammarians whose authority he initially acknowledged as "sufficient to decide" the point that the English language knows only two cases (for a discussion of this, see Section 5.7.1). In his introduction to the third edition of the *English Grammar* of 1797 Murray gives as additional sources the names of Harris and Beattie, "to whom the grammatical part of this compilation is principally indebted for its materials" (Murray 1797: 7), while Sheridan and Walker are added in 1799 (Murray 1799: 7), and Coote in 1805 (Murray 1805: 5).

In Murray's letters, on the other hand, the names of only two of these men, James Beattie and Hugh Blair (1718–1800; *ODNB*, s.v. "Blair, Hugh"), are mentioned in relation to grammatical issues, besides an indirect reference to Lowth in a letter to his friends Samuel and Priscilla Tuke. As regards the latter grammarian, Murray had sent the Tukes a poem of which the author was the daughter of a certain "Dr Vardill, clergyman of the Church of England", and this father, as Murray wrote, "was a much respected friend of Bishop Lowth" (Murray to S. & P. Tuke, 11 April 1812; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*). In addition to the names of Beattie and Blair, those of a few grammarians, as well as titles of grammars or spelling books were referred to by Murray in his letters, and these will be discussed in the following section.

## 5.5 An eye for competition

As Murray's letters show us, he kept a keen eye on any form of competition for his grammar. In 1797, for instance, he asked his friend Henry Tuke to inquire with his London publishers Darton & Harvey, as well as with other publishing houses, whether Thomas Coar's *Grammar of the English Tongue* (1796), published one year previously, was selling well and what grammars were used by Quaker schoolmasters. The manuscript letter shows comments in another hand, which is possibly Henry Tuke's, as a comparison with one of Tuke's letters suggests. These comments appear to be answers to Murray's many questions, and I have inserted them between square brackets, in italics, in the following passage (see Section 5.6 for another passage from this letter):

Perhaps he [i.e. Henry Tuke] may learn from D&Harvey, or from others, / how T Coars Grammar sells? [*Very little*] Whether there is<sup>a</sup> <sup>intended</sup> a 2<sup>nd</sup>. Ed<sup>n</sup>. / & whether there is any intention of altering it & publishing / in another form? Or whether any other friend has a / view of forming one? And whether T Coar's is used by / any friend that is a Schoolmaster? [*Think no*] What Grammars / does — Rogers make use of? (Murray to Henry Tuke, n.d.; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)

Thomas Coar was a Quaker, too. Although Tuke assumed that no Quaker teachers used Coar's textbook, it appears that by 1800 Coar's grammatical ideas were appreciated by at least one Quaker institute, viz. Ackworth School in Yorkshire. In that year Murray's publishers in York, Wilson & Spence, printed *The following Essay towards an English Grammar for Ackworth School* (1800) written by Jonathan Binns and Thomas Coar (Smith 1867: 272). And it is about this Binns that Murray expressed his concerns to Tuke in the lines following the ones cited above:

As J Binns appears to look a little towards intro= / ducing the Grammar at Ackworth, H T will probably / have an opp<sup>y</sup> and opening to promote the object in / his mind, by various considerations w<sup>ch</sup>. may occur to him. / Reasons and recommendations at such a time, have / peculiar force. Perhaps it would be best not to say / any thing of our proposal so soon to begin a 3<sup>d</sup>. Edition; nor / to let him know the plan of the Abridgment, till he / sees it. If he knew the plan before he returns

from London, / he may be oppose[d] to it, [---]or be more ready to unite at London / with those who may propose something of this kind. (Murray to Henry Tuke, n.d.; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)

In spite of Murray's attempts to prevent Binns's collaboration with Coar, this was exactly what did happen within three years, resulting in the "essay" mentioned above. It is interesting to note here that only a few years later, in 1805, Murray's *English Grammar* was introduced at Ackworth School as the successor to Coar's grammar (Stewart 1971: 112n3).

It seems that the Quaker John Comly (1774–1850; Comly 1853) was another competitor whose work Murray followed closely. Apparently Murray had ventilated his criticisms on Comly's *English Grammar*, the first edition of which appeared in 1804, to his brother John who had probably repeated Murray's words to others. Murray was not amused by his brother's actions, was worried about the impression his remarks would make, and whether these would have reached Comly. He thus told John Murray:

As I find, by thy letter, thou didst not / exactly conceive my views, in conveying to thee some strictures / on John Comly's grammar, I have fully explained myself, in the / enclosed letter.<sup>16</sup> I have made it a distinct letter, that thou mayst / show it to all the persons, who know of my remarks. By this means, / they will acquit me of any improper views, and see precisely what / I intended, and how unexceptionable those intentions were. I should / be sorry that any persons should have received unfavourable impres= / sions: and, therefore, I doubt not that, in justice to me, and in / compliance with my particular request, thou wilt produce the / enclosed to all who were acquainted with the contents of my letter / and criticisms. But, by no means, give any written extracts from / the letter which I now enclose. It would also afford me satisfaction, / to receive from thee the names of the persons, to whom thou hadst com= / municated any part of the strictures; to be informed whether any / extracts were made, and to whom; and whether John Griscom or John / Comly knows any thing of the Criticisms. (Murray to John Murray, 30 December 1805; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F15)

<sup>16</sup> Unfortunately this letter, to which Murray referred, has not come down to us, nor the letter from his brother John on the subject.

A further grammar that we know Murray had noticed is the “Eng. Gram<sup>r</sup>. taught by example &c which I have seen” (Murray to Joseph Cockfield, 19 February 1811; LSFL: *Portfolio 4/21*), which Murray attributed to John Fell in this letter to Joseph Cockfield. Fell’s (1735–1797; ODNB, s.v. “Fell, John”) authorship of this particular grammar is debatable, however, because he had died fourteen years earlier, in 1797, while his *An Essay towards an English Grammar* had been published as early as 1784, and was never reprinted, according to Alston (1965: 72). The *Grammatical Institute of the English Language* (1783) by his rival Webster was particularly interesting to Murray, it appears, since he specified in a letter to his brother John exactly which edition he wished to see: “Please to send me Noah Webster’s Grammar of that edition, which / was published since 9<sup>th</sup>: mo: 1802: **no other**” (Murray to John Murray, 5 September 1803; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F15*). Five years later, Murray apparently wished to compare it to a later edition, because again he asked John to arrange for a copy to be sent to him: “I shall be much obliged / to Benjamin to forward, by the first ship to Liverpool, another / copy of Noah Webster’s New Grammar” (Murray to John Murray, 2 November 1807; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F16*). One more textbook that Murray apparently could not wait to see was Picket’s *Union Spelling Book* (1803). Albert Picket (1771–1850) was a pupil of Noah Webster and his spelling book offered serious competition to Webster’s speller, according to Monaghan (2002). The first and second editions of Murray’s own *English Spelling-Book* appeared in 1804 and that same year Murray impatiently asked his brother John: “I wish thou wouldst send me soon “The Union / Spelling-book, by A. Picket” (Murray to John Murray, 5 November 1804; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F15*).

In the United States international copyright was ignored throughout most of the nineteenth century (cf. Epstein 2001: 97),<sup>17</sup> which enabled James Abercrombie, director of the Philadelphia Academy, in 1807 to publish an edition of Murray’s *Abridgment* “with additions and elucidations” (Abercrombie 1807: title page). Through a friend Murray received a copy of the book. It is easily imagined that Murray was not too happy with this unauthorized publication, and he remarked in a letter to his brother John on Abercrombie’s future plans:<sup>18</sup> “I hope that D<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> The American Copyright Act that regulated this was not established until 1891.

<sup>18</sup> It is not clear how Murray had found out about Abercrombie’s intention to publish a pirated edition of Murray’s octavo grammar in America.

Abercrombie has declined publishing / his intended edition of the larger Grammar; and that / there will be an end of this mode of obtaining copy rights / in America” (Murray to John Murray, 3 August 1807; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F16). This was not to happen soon, however, because in 1824, the Boston School Board announced that it had decided that another unauthorized version of one of Murray’s grammars would be an official English grammar for all public schools in Boston: “At a meeting of the School Committee, held at the Mayor and Aldermen’s Rooms, May 5th, 1824, it was *Voted*, That Alger’s Abridgment of Murray’s Grammar, Boston Stereotyped Edition, be introduced into the publick Reading and Grammar Schools of this city” (Alger 1828: ii). The *American Journal of Education* (anon. 1826c: 332) shows that in addition to Alger’s abridgement, the regulations of the School Committee of the City of Boston stated that for their nine English Grammar Schools the following books by Murray were required “in the English Grammar department of these schools”: for the “Fourth Class” the “Spelling book”; for the “Third Class” the “Introduction to his English Reader”; for the “Second Class” “Murray’s English Reader” and “Murray’s English Grammar”, the latter as an alternative for “Alger’s Abridgement of the same work”; and for the “First Class” “Murray’s English Grammar and Exercises”.

Occasionally, Murray was asked to give his opinion on grammatical works by others. In a letter to an unidentified woman Murray reviewed James Giles’s *English Parsing* (1803) with the words:

As it is thy wish to have my opinion of / the work on Parsing, I may observe that / I think it shows an accurate knowledge / of the language, and is likely to be useful. / If it has any defect, it is that of not exactly / following the plan of the grammar which / it professes to follow [i.e. Murray’s own *English Grammar*]. I sincerely wish / the author may meet with that success which / his industry and talents deserve. (Murray, September 1806; LSFL: *Portfolio* 4/23)

The woman is probably Tabitha Bevans, to whom Murray’s second letter about *English Parsing*, see below, was addressed. Although *The Monthly Mirror* (anon. 1803b: 263) wrote that “Mr Giles use[d] Lindley Murray’s *grammar* and *English exercises*, he has taken all the rules from his syntax, with as little variation as possible”, it appears that Murray himself was of a different opinion. And in a follow-up letter concerning a revised edi-

tion of *English Parsing*, Murray admitted that he found it “improved in many respects”, only to add two full pages of suggestions for further improvement because, as he wrote, it still did not “meet [his] ideas” (Murray to Tabitha Bevans, 13 November 1810; LSFL: *Portfolio 4/25*).

Murray not only gave advice on the subject of grammar, but also received opinions and suggestions from others. As he wrote in the *Memoirs*, his assistant Elizabeth Frank was one of them, but Murray also received “from a number of [his] literary correspondents, many very useful suggestions and criticisms” with respect to the *English Grammar* and other publications (Murray 1826: 98). These correspondents included educated men, one of whom was the earlier-mentioned Dr Walker. In a very long return letter to him Murray reacted to “the free and friendly / manner in which thou hast stated thy objections to some parts of the / Grammar” (Murray to Dr Walker, 18 June 1801; YaBL: *Osborn MS files “M” #9393–10688*). He valued Walker’s suggestions enough to send him another letter a few years later, containing references to Murray’s octavo grammar, first published in 1808. Murray invited him to give his opinion again, by saying:

As the work to which these References relate, will probably / fall under the notice of my worthy friend, D<sup>r</sup>: Walker, I take the / liberty of sending the paper to him. He will be enabled, by con= / sulting it, to examine, without much inconvenience, the / principal additions and alterations made in the Octavo Grammar. / When he has fully examined the work, I shall be obliged by his / free and friendly sentiments on the plan and execution. (Murray to Dr Walker, n.d.; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F6*)

Another man who was consulted by Murray on grammatical issues was Joseph Crosfield (see Section 5.2). When the second edition of his *English Spelling-Book* (1804) was about to be printed, Murray invited Crosfield to give his comments with the following words:

But / as the new edition is just begun to be printed, I can / yet avail myself of thy remarks, (respecting the greater / <sup>part</sup> of it at least,) if thou wouldst favour me with them soon. / I hope thou wilt be perfectly free, as I wish to have the / book as little liable to objection as may be. Thy opinion / of the plan and execution, of the reading and spelling / lessons, / of the practical part as well as

of the rules and / principles, is very desirable. (Murray to Joseph Crosfield, 31 October 1804; MALS)

We can see that to try and prevent any criticism, Murray's invitation was intended to cover all possible imperfections in every field imaginable.

As discussed in Section 5.4.2, two of the authors that Murray did immediately acknowledge as sources for his *English Grammar*, James Beattie and Hugh Blair, are referred to in his letters as well. Azad (1989: 213) shows how Beattie, in his *Theory of Language* (1783), claimed that inflected languages such as Latin and Greek were simply more harmonious and more elegant forms of analytical languages. Murray, however, preferred a different approach. In the letter from 1801 to Dr Walker (see also Section 5.7.3 and Appendix D), he discussed "the subject of the Tenses", and about Beattie's grammatical ideas on the topic Murray commented as follows:

It is the learned D<sup>r</sup>. Beattie's opinion that some of the / prefixes and terminations of the Greek verbs, are contractions of the auxiliary / verbs; and which were originally applied to them as ours are, but which / succeeding refinements incorporated into the principal verb. This is / an ingenious conjecture, and is not destitute of plausibility. But we / must reason on more solid grounds. (Murray to Dr Walker, 18 June 1801; YaBL, *Osborn MS files "M" #9393-10688*)

The other person mentioned in Murray's letters is the philosopher Hugh Blair. Enclosed with one of the many letters to his brother John was a copy of a letter from Blair, an extract of which had been "published amongst the Reviewers' characters" (Murray to John Murray, 1 June 1801; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F14*). Murray mentioned in the accompanying letter how the executor of Blair's will "had heard his Uncle, D<sup>r</sup>. Blair, speak ~~in high~~ very highly" of his grammar books. Murray did not, however, make any references to Blair's books or views on grammar.

As a final addition to this section, I mention Vorlat (1999), who investigated Murray's so-called prescriptive canon to establish his criteria of grammaticalness. In order to do so she compared two of his sources, Robert Lowth's *A Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762) and John Ash's *Grammatical Institutes* (1763), with a number of other grammars from which Murray had not copied. She found that Murray's canon



contained no criteria which were not found in those works as well. As far as I was able to establish, neither Coar's nor Comly's grammar, both written by Quakers and discussed in this section as having caught Murray's attention, were considered by Vorlat or others as possible influences for revisions to later editions of Murray's *English Grammar*. Although outside the scope of the present study, a comparison of both grammars to the various editions of Murray's textbooks might nevertheless be a worthwhile future undertaking, and results might then be used for further analysis along the lines of Vorlat's (1999) above-mentioned investigation.

## 5.6 Marketing his own grammar

In 1710 the British publishing world obtained the *Act for the Encouragement of Learning*, which confirmed statutory protection for copy-ownership. It acknowledged "the existence of rights in copies": all existing rights were confirmed as the property of their current owners for a period of twenty-one years, whereas new copies were protected for fourteen years with the possibility of adding another fourteen years thereafter (Feather 2006: 55). By the end of the eighteenth century this Act, referring to authors as well as booksellers and printers, was commonly known as the Copyright Act or the Statute of Anne. It recognised that books originated with authors, not booksellers, and that the latter were merely the purchasers of a property which an author had created (Feather 2006: 55).

Although Murray had sold most of his copyrights for England to Longman & Rees in York (the total sum involved for all copyrights sold equals £5,450) and his brother John obtained the rights for America,<sup>19</sup> he continued to occupy himself energetically with the distribution of his works, both in Britain and in America. This then cannot have been for reasons of profit, far more likely it was because he wished people to use them, instead of other grammarians' books. His letters reveal that Murray simply did not wish to leave such an extremely important matter as the circulation of his textbooks entirely in the hands of his publishers. Moreover, the proviso he had made in this respect, to have the results of his work limited to the Quaker school in York (see Section 5.3), was seemingly soon forgotten, because Murray wrote in the *Memoirs*:

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<sup>19</sup> An overview of all copyrights that Murray either sold or gave away can be found in the *Edinburgh Annual Register* (anon. 1826b: 86).

In a short time after the appearance of the work, a second edition was called for. This unexpected demand, induced me to revise and enlarge the book. It soon obtained an extensive circulation. (Murray 1826: 91)

According to Frank (Murray 1826: 187), the study of grammar “did not particularly engage his attention, until a short time previous to the publication of his first work on the subject”, but it is apparent that afterwards Murray immediately took professional pride in the book’s popularity. After the first edition of the *English Grammar* was printed in York for regional distribution only, its instant success brought about that the second edition was already meant for much wider distribution than his hometown alone. It was advertised, for instance, in November and December 1796 by the *London Chronicle*, with the address of the Quaker publishing house Darton & Harvey specified as the seller, and the title page of the fourth edition that appeared in 1798 likewise shows that, although it continued to be printed in York by Wilson, Spence & Mawman, the book was to be sold in London also, still by the same Darton & Harvey. Moreover, the title pages of the first editions of both the *Abridgment* as well as the *Exercises* illustrate that they were immediately printed for the London market in 1797 (albeit initially still by Wilson & Co. in York).<sup>20</sup> Murray was eager to be kept informed about the London sales and obviously intended to make certain that his distributors Darton & Harvey would have an ample supply of his books, so when his friend Henry Tuke planned to go there in 1797 (see also Section 5.5), Murray asked him to do the following:<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> This means that, although Murray’s textbooks were still printed in York, they were widely available in London from as early as 1797 at least. It is very likely due to increasing demand there that Darton & Harvey started printing for Murray in 1800, since they had already been active at selling the grammar for a few years, as sales figures corroborate. This is an indication that conquering the London market was important for Murray (cf. Tiekens-Boon van Ostade 2008: 122), but also that Murray did not experience too many difficulties marketing his grammars in London before the year 1800.

<sup>21</sup> See Section 5.5 for another excerpt from this letter and an explanation about the comments in italics, inserted between square brackets. From the contents of the letter it appears to have been written shortly before Murray published his *Abridgment* (1797) but after the publication of Thomas Coar’s grammar (1796) and the 1st and 2nd editions (both appeared in 1797) of Murray’s *Exercises*. The letter also mentions that the 3rd edition of his grammar was intended to be published in York as well as in London.

H T will please to inquire of Darton & Harvey, what / Number of the Grammars they have on hand? [*Ab' 100*] Whether the / Exercises sell? [*They do*] and whether they wish to have more / Grammars sent? [*No*] The Abridgment, and the proposed 3<sup>d</sup> / Ed. of the Gram: had better not be mentioned to them. / Please to ask them whether they have sold all, or nearly all, / the little tracts ag<sup>t</sup>: Theatrical Entertainments: [*Many left ab/2*] and whether / they have<sup>^</sup> <sup>thought of</sup> reprinting [-*ing* overwrites -*ed*] it? / If he can collect from Darton & Harvey any hints or / remarks respecting the Gram: or Exercises, which may be usef[ul] / to L M to know, he will please to attend to them. [*Nothing*] (Murray to Henry Tuke, n.d.; YoUBI, *Tuke Papers*)

Murray's list of questions is much longer than appears from the passage shown here.<sup>22</sup> We can deduce from the remarks inserted by Tuke that the newly published *Exercises* already sold well. We also understand that his publisher had about one hundred copies of the *English Grammar* in stock, which must have been the second edition because Murray advised Tuke not to mention that a third edition was already planned. The publication of another textbook was scheduled at the time, i.e. the *Abridgment*, the plans for printing of which Murray was apparently still able to withhold from his publishers. Quite possibly Murray feared that if word got out about the plans for these two books, the second edition of the *English Grammar* would remain on the shelves. Some ten years later, in 1808, when Murray thought that a twenty-second edition of the *Abridgment* was about to be printed, he wrote to Darton & Harvey to inquire about their plan, as follows: "please / to say, at what time the 22.<sup>nd</sup> edition of the / Abridgment will probably go to press; and / what number of the 21.<sup>st</sup> was struck off" (Murray to Darton & Harvey, 28 June 1808; PP).

"[W]e never heard of any objection being made against the introduction of the works of Lindley Murray into any school, on the ground of his Quakerism", wrote the editor of *The Eclectic Review* (anon. 1826a: 482). Yet, it was at a Quaker institute, Ackworth School, that Murray experienced opposition from at least several people, as was also shown in Section 5.5. Murray, however, was very keen to get his *English Grammar*

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<sup>22</sup> It is quite tempting to imagine Tuke entering the publishing house of Darton & Harvey with this sizeable "shopping list" in hand, ready to note down the replies to Murray's enquiries.

introduced there as part of the curriculum, so in 1799 he wrote, somewhat frustrated it appears, a long letter to George Dillwyn on the subject, in which he argued that

the opposition which / a few persons have made to the admision of my / Grammar at Ackworth School, ~~is not~~ <sup>cannot be</sup> founded on any / just objections to it, as a regular and proper Gram=<sup>r</sup> / matical Performance. And if my friend has perused / the Gram<sup>r</sup> and the Abridgment, as well as the Exercises, / I believe he will find that it is, in all respects, suited / to the Members of our Society .... What therefore can be the views of certain persons in / objecting to thy countryman's work; and taking the / trouble and expense, of making a new Grammar, <sup>for the Institution,</sup> which / after all may have its imperfections, is best known to / themselves: but many friends think the Grammar / well suited to Ackworth School; and peculiarly so, as / the Abridgment, The Grammar, The Exercises, and / The English Reader, are all connected, and might be / used to advantage .... I believe that far the greater / number of friends' Schools have adopted the Books; and / I know that they are used in a great number of Schools, / kept by Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Moravians. / It seems therefore strange, that it is not, by some, thought / good enough for Ackworth School. (Murray to George Dillwyn, May 1799; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F3)

A number of Murray's friends, such as the Tukes or Priscilla Wakefield (see Section 4.3), received several revised editions of his textbooks from him, but Murray apparently also personally took care of larger shipments of books that had been ordered, as well as responsibility for types and sizes of paper and binding, all accompanied by "a bill of particulars" (Murray to Joseph Cockfield, 21 March 1811; LSFL: *Portfolio* 4/21). Thus, in 1811 and 1812 at least five shipments with the latest editions of Murray's textbooks were sent to Joseph Cockfield in Upton near London, as illustrated in the following two passages: "Yesterday the books which thou hadst / ordered, were sent by the Waggon ..." (Murray to Joseph Cockfield, 21 March 1811; LSFL: *Portfolio* 4/21); "Agreeably to thy request, I forwarded / by the Waggon, the 25<sup>th</sup>: inst: directed, <sup>for thee,</sup> ..." (Murray to Joseph Cockfield, 29 July 1811; LSFL: *Portfolio* 4/21). All shipments contained the latest editions of a number of Murray's books, including the *English Grammar*, while the one referred to

in the second passage above additionally contained the octavo edition of the grammar that, as Murray put it, was “calculated / for those who have not strong sight”.<sup>23</sup> The latter book, according to Murray, might also be had “from the Proprietors at a very / reasonable price .... But / it would affect the respectability of the book, if it were / printed in a smaller size, and on inferior paper” (Murray to Joseph Cockfield, 21 March 1811; LSFL: *Portfolio* 4/21). Less than a year later another set of books was shipped to Cockfield, as ordered. In the accompanying letter Murray wrote: “The binding not being / mentioned, I had them put in extra boards” (Murray to Joseph Cockfield, 23 January 1812; LSFL: *Portfolio* 4/21), and he added in a post scriptum: “P.S. I hope thou wilt not, at any time, hesitate to / send thy orders for books, when thou mayst wish / to have any from York” (Murray to Joseph Cockfield, 23 January 1812; LSFL: *Portfolio* 4/21).

In addition to the books’ distribution, Murray occupied himself with their promotion. As a reply to a Friend’s questioning of the propriety of the inclusion of some of the “characters” (i.e. short texts promoting other publications, usually added at the end of a book), Murray wrote:

With respect to thy wish that the Reviewers opinions of the / works, placed at the end of the books, may in future be discontinued, / I may inform thee, that the copy rights of the books are not mine; I / always sell them <sup>wholly</sup>, as soon as the works are finished. The proprietors of / the copy-rights publish the characters, both in the News Papers and at the end of / the books, at their own expense, and for their own benefit. They think (and I am / of their opinion) that it is a great advantage to the sale of their books, to have the / characters presented to the reader collectively, in one point of view; and they / consider this as a cheap and permanent mode of advertising and recommending / their publications. I do not therefore think the proprietors would be willing to / discontinue a practice, which themselves and other booksellers have long / adopted, and which so evidently promotes their interest: and it would scarcely / be deemed reasonable in me to desire them to abandon this advantage. I have / seen the characters alluded to, in several other books of Longman & Rees.

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<sup>23</sup> The octavo edition of Murray’s grammar, first published in 1808, was printed in a larger type.

In / some of them the characters of my books are exhibited with those of other books; / in other instances, the characters of mine are given separately and alone. I / mention this to show that they attach the idea of considerable advantage to the / insertion of these characters. In the latter editions of my writings, the character[s] / are considerably abridged; and probably, ere long, many of them may be disconti[nued] / as the books become sufficiently known. Thy observation on the subject of the / characters induced me to examine them attentively; and as I perceive there / are some expressions, here and there, of a personal nature, I have con= / cluded to desire the proprietors to omit, in future publishing these ex= / pressions. Though these personal approbations may indirectly reflect a / credit on the books, yet they are not necessary, and may be properly / omitted. If these are the parts that have given thee uneasiness, thou / wilt be relieved, in this respect, with my hearty concurrence, and wit[h] / my thanks for thy kind and friendly intimations. (Murray to Abigail Pim, 6 June 1803; LSFJ)

The lengthy passage above is highly illuminating regarding the publishers' practice at the time of adding such short promotional texts. Further insight into English printers' and publishers' influence on the actual contents of books is given in a letter from Murray to the American Samuel Miller (see Section 2.3):

I hope the English edition of "The Retrospect will not be long delayed. / But Johnson [i.e. the printer] is far advanced in life, and I believe is not anxious to push business. / When the work will appear is very uncertain. Conceiving that it would be / agreeable to the author to know when the book would be reprinted here, I desired / a friend of mine, in London, to apply to Johnson, and say, that a gentleman, / [w]ho had seen a copy of the American edition of "The Retrospect"; and who had / understood / that the book had been sent to him for republication in England, wished to / know, whether it would certainly be printed, and when. The answer / was, "M<sup>r</sup>. Miller's Retrospect is received, and is preparing for the press". / My correspondent<sup>who is a bookseller,</sup> understood, by this answer, that some time would / elapse before the work would actually go to press. Preparing for the / press seems to imply, that some alterations are making, or that / some passages are to be

struck out. As this can scarcely be consistent / with the author's views, or conformable to the directions which Johnson / received when the book was sent to him, the author will judge whether / it is proper to express his sentiments on the subject, more decidedly. / If this be not done, I think it is probable that some alterations will be / made. At any rate, it would be proper that no variation should take / place without the author's previous consent. (Murray to Samuel Miller, 26 July 1804; PUFL: CO277(*series II*), *Box/Folder 11/21*)

Murray's London publishers Darton & Harvey were expected to give a quarterly account of his book sales, and Murray asked them in a letter to do so "as accurately" as they could, adding that he was pleased that they had "consented to advertise the 10:<sup>th</sup> ed. of the Key immediately and extensively".

With respect to the United States, if we consider that copyright protection for overseas publications was still non-existent there at the time,<sup>24</sup> it seems plausible that this forced Murray to get even more actively involved with the marketing of his textbooks in his home country than he was in Britain, albeit from a distance (see also Murray's letter regarding Abercrombie's grammar in Section 5.5). Reibel (1996b: xi) notes that Murray's textbooks "were widely pirated and reprinted, sometimes in carefully-produced typographically accurate clones, sometimes in the form of ugly imitations that have nothing to do in the matter of appearance with the originals". Murray appointed his brother John to oversee the printing of his American editions, and Quaker printers involved were Isaac Collins in New York and the Johnsons in Philadelphia (Garner 2002). According to Monaghan (1996: 31), for the American market John Murray had copyrighted the *English Grammar* as well as the *Exercises* on 4 December 1798, but he notes that the first New York edition of the *English Grammar* did not appear until 1800, and of the *Exercises* not until 1801 (see also Section 5.2).<sup>25</sup> Monaghan (1996: 31) further believes that the fact that American printers were exempt from paying royalties to Murray would have boosted sales considerably. Another incentive was

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<sup>24</sup> The first international agreement for protection of the rights of authors was not adopted until 1886, with the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works (WIPO 2005: 4).

<sup>25</sup> According to Monaghan (1996: 31), the first textbook by Murray printed in the United States was the *English Reader*, in 1799.

that in the colonial era as well as “for a time afterward” schoolbooks were extremely scarce in America, and that therefore in those days almost any book a teacher possessed might be put to use as a textbook (Carpenter 1963: 15–16).

The first letter illustrating Murray’s attempts to win the American market dates from 1794 and accompanied a box containing a “new Edition (the 6<sup>th</sup>:) of ‘The Power of Religion on the mind &c’, which I have thought it my duty to compile and publish”, as Murray wrote to his brother John (Murray to John Murray, 10 February 1794; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F12). He added that he had improved it and “made so many enlargements, and Additions of new / Characters, especially female ones, that it is almost a / new Work”. In the same letter Murray more or less urged his brother to promote the book, using the following words:

If my Brother should think this Book likely to be of / Use amongst you, perhaps he will not think it too much / trouble to propose it to one of your respectable Booksellers, after / reading the Book, to <sup>re</sup>print it on his (the Bookseller’s) own account. / I once before requested this matter of thee; but perhaps thou / thought the Work would not sell. However, in its present state, / it may be that some one of them, after reading it over, might / think it for his Interest to republish, as I find it has been done / by Joseph Crukshank, of Philad<sup>a</sup>. without my application. Thou / wilt excuse my troubling thee again on this subject. It is a little / Concern / which I have for several years been desirous of promoting. (Murray to John Murray, 10 February 1794; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F12)

Another letter intended for conquering the American market is from 6 October 1799, when Murray wrote to James Pemberton in Philadelphia that he had lately sent him a set of his “compilations; namely, ‘The Power of Religion &c’: English Grammar: English Exercises with the Key: The English Reader: and the Abridgment of the Grammar” (Murray to James Pemberton, 6 October 1799; LoC: *Misc. MSS Coll.*; see also Section 5.4.2). Pemberton must have read earlier editions of the volumes, because Murray expressed the hope that he would find the new ones improved. Murray furthermore remarked that he had added some reviews to the set of books in the form of “opinions of the public Reviewers of this country [i.e. England] .... They have been the means of



giving the work an extensive circulation". Finally, in a post scriptum to this letter, Murray urged him:

P.S. If any of the books should / be reprinted in Philadelphia, I hope / the Printer will copy from the last / editions: viz. 2<sup>th</sup>: of The <sup>λ</sup>P<sup>ower</sup> of Religion: 5<sup>th</sup>: of The Grammar: / 4<sup>th</sup>: of The Exercises and Key: 2<sup>nd</sup>: of the English Reader: / and 3<sup>d</sup>: of the Abridgment of The Grammar. (Murray to James Pemberton, 6 October 1799; LoC: *Misc. MSS Coll.*)

The letter to Pemberton dates from 1799, which is one year before the first American *English Grammar* was printed. From this letter it becomes clear that Murray wished to control the publication of the first American editions as much as possible, and he tried to do so by indicating which British editions, being the latest ones, should be used for the American market. By having only the latest, revised and improved, editions distributed, Murray hoped to prevent negative criticism as much as possible, so his brother John also received explicit instructions on this subject:

If any of the grammars, Exercises, Keys, Abridgments, or / Readers, which I formerly sent to thee for distribution to printers / and booksellers, should happen to be still on hand, I would wish / thee to lay them aside; and send none, for new editions, but / those which are now sent to thee. It is a<sup>my</sup> particular wish / that no new editions may go forward in America except which / are not taken from the latest and most improved <sup>λ</sup>English editions. / By printing from the most correct copies, the credit of the books / is better supported, and objections and criticisms may be pre= / vented. (Murray to John Murray, 1 April 1806; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F16*)

It appears that James Pemberton acted as Murray's intermediary in Philadelphia, because in a later letter to him Murray discussed omissions by the printer of the "Philadelphia edition of the spelling-book" that Pemberton had sent him, as follows:

The Philadelphia edition of the spelling-book, / a copy of which thou wast so kind as to send to me, is very / neatly executed, and nearly resembling the English edition. / I observe that the printer has omitted the last paragraph / of "The Workhouse Boy", a piece

which is given as a specimen / of Manuscript letters: that paragraph is material to the / effect of the piece. (Murray to James Pemberton, 1 September 1805; HC: *Charles Roberts Autograph Collection, MS 130*)

Murray continued with:

I am pleased to find that the book began to circulate / so early. Perhaps the edition may be nearly disposed of, when / this letter reaches thee. The expectation that it may be sold, / induces me to send thee a copy of the fourth English edition. / This is enlarged more than 20 pages; and I hope it will be / deemed considerably improved. On this ground, I could wish / that all the American editions may be printed from this / 4<sup>th</sup>: edition. The Paper of References to the pages which con= / tain the alterations and additions, will enable thee readily / to judge in what respects the work is ameliorated. As I / have maturely considered the matter and arrangement of this / new edition, I feel very desirous that, in reprinting it, no / omissions, or variations, may be allowed. (Murray to James Pemberton, 1 September 1805; HC: *Charles Roberts Autograph Collection, MS 130*)

One year later Murray continued his efforts to maximise American sales with a letter to the New York physician Samuel Latham Mitchill (see Table 4.1 in Section 4.3), in which he expressed his gratitude to the latter for his support with the following words:

I am much obliged to him, for the kind interest / which he feels in the credit and circulation of the / books. That interest cannot fail to have an extensive / effect in bringing the works into notice in America, / my native country, where, I own, it<sup>would</sup> afford me<sup>a</sup> particular / gratification to know they are approved and adopted. (Murray to Samuel Latham Mitchill, 30 September 1800; YaBL: *Uncat MS Vault 764, Acc 2002*)

And in 1806 Jedidiah Morse (see also Table 4.1 in Section 4.3.1) received a box of books with the purpose to promote them. Murray's accompanying letter specified:

The books which accompany this note, lately / received new editions, in which the author hopes there / will be found some improvements. He requests that / D<sup>r</sup>: Morse will be so obliging as to accept them, as a / small testimony of the author's respect and gratitude. / He takes the liberty of sending duplicates of some of them, / that if D<sup>r</sup>: Morse should incline to promote American im=  
/ pressions, he may do it the better from having the latest / editions, / revised and corrected by the author. The extensive / republications of his books, in his native country, has / afforded him peculiar satisfaction. (Murray to Jedidiah Morse, 1806; YaUL: *Morse Family Papers, Box 4 f.108*)

Murray not only gave instructions about which editions were to be used, he also wished to see with his own eyes that these directions were carried out accordingly. To this purpose he wrote to his brother John in December 1800:

How does Isaac Collins Ed. of The Grammar / get forward? Does he print the characters at the end [*sic*]? I should / be pleased to receive from thee, in a Box, one of each of the / different Editions of Gram<sup>r</sup>. Ex. Abridgm<sup>t</sup> & Eng. Readers that / have been printed in America. (Murray to John Murray, 1 December 1800; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F13*)

John Murray seems to have been responsible for the New York sales, and the correspondence between the two brothers reveals that he received many boxes of books from 1800 onward. As Monaghan (1998: 114) remarks regarding the sales figures, by now "Lindley's concern had the aspect of a religious crusade". John was also expected closely to follow the reviews of his brother's textbooks, and reviewers were subsequently rewarded for favourable comments, as can be read for instance in the following letter that John Murray received from his brother:

The parcel directed to I & J Swords, 99 Pearl Str: for the author / of the Magazin [*sic*] & Review, contains a present of <sup>one</sup> of the new edition [*sic*] of "The Power of / Religion on the Mind", with my acknowledgments to him for the favourable / account which he has given in that Review, of The Grammar &c. Thou / wilt be so kind as to deliver this thyself. Perhaps the Reviewer himself does not / choose to be known: in that case, thou wilt desire I or J

Swords to deliver it / to him .... From the use which I am enabled to make, in this instance, of / the information thou hast given me of what was published / respecting the Grammar, in “The Monthly Magazine and American / Review”, thou wilt perceive the propriety of giving me an acc<sup>t</sup>., / from time to time, of whatever may be published, or transacted / concerning any of my books. As I wrote them from pure / motives, I believe I shall not cease to endeavour to support / their credit, and extend their circulation, whilst I am possessed / of any means to accomplish those ends. (Murray to John Murray, 1 June 1801; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F14*)

Murray, in his turn, sent British reviews to his brother John to be inserted in the American editions to further sales. As an example, within weeks after its appearance in the *Imperial Review* in 1804, Murray copied the following “character” for John’s information, adding the suggestion to publish it widely:

I think it would very much open the way for the Spelling-book, / <sup>and preclude objections,</sup> if thou couldst have the following character of it published pretty extensively. / “An English Spelling-Book’ from the author of the / “English Grammar”, will undoubtedly excite considerable / expectation from those who have been in the habit of using the / latter; and we doubt not that, in process of time, the Spelling-Book / will have as many admirers as the grammar has already / obtained. We are glad to see that M<sup>r</sup>. Murray has been careful / in the right division of the syllables in his spelling; and that / he has not followed the example of others, by introducing into his / book a mass of irrelevant matter.” / *Imperial Review*, October, 1804. (Murray to John Murray, 5 November 1804; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F15*)

Murray went on by saying: “This character, besides circulated in<sup>the</sup> papers and periodical works, should be / printed at the end or front of the American editions of the Spelling book.” (Murray to John Murray, 5 November 1804; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F15*).

Some well-known Americans who received from Murray “a set of” his textbooks were: his friend and fellow law-student – and the future first chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court – John Jay (see Sections 2.2

and 4.3), who more than once appears to have been presented with some of Murray's books (see Jay 1833: 342–344); the Chancellor of the State of New York, Robert R. Livingston (see Section 4.3) in 1801; and the scientist Benjamin Silliman in 1806 (Silliman had visited the Murrays at Holdgate only the year before, in 1805; see Section 2.3.1). To the latter, who was Professor of chemistry at Yale College, Murray subtly suggested that: "he will be so obliging as to let the Professor, or the / Teacher, of Language, in the University, have a sight / of them" (Murray to Benjamin Silliman, 1 April 1806; NYHS: *Misc. MSS, reel 10B*).

Another recipient of Murray's books was the earlier mentioned Samuel Latham Mitchill, who in 1804 received a further letter from Murray to accompany a copy of the latest edition of the *English Grammar*. Murray described to Mitchill how much the book's reception in America pleased him:

I have just completed a new edition of my grammar; and as / I fancy it is not a little improved, I cannot deny myself the pleasure / of presenting a copy of it to my friend, for his inspection and opinion. / A few copies are struck off on finer and larger paper. This gives the / work a better appearance, though it will not conceal its imperfections. / I am gratified in perceiving that my publications have so much / credit, in my native country; and, in particular, that they are adopted / in Yale College, and the college of Nassau Hall; and, I believe, in / other Universities. It would be very pleasing to know that in the / college of New York, they were also received. In this country, the sale / of them all, particularly the grammatical works, continues to increase. / They have, indeed, a circulation which, (I may say,<sup>it</sup> without the affectation / of modesty,) I could not, at first, have supposed to be possible. (Murray to Dr Mitchill, 26 March 1804; LoC: *Misc. MSS Coll*)

There appears to be some discrepancy between the contents of these last two letters to Silliman and Mitchill, respectively: was the grammar adopted at Yale in 1804 or not, one might wonder. In any case, a few years after he sent the letter to Mitchill, Murray was able to thank him for being instrumental in "the extensive circulation of [his] grammar in his native country" (Murray to Dr Mitchill, n.d.; Mitchill 1826: 66–67).

Murray's nephew Benjamin Perkins was employed with the printer Isaac Collins and as his agent was put in charge of the distribution of Murray's books in parts of America after the pace of sales had

picked up (cf. Monaghan 1998: 116). Figure 5.1 below shows Collins's list of available publications of Murray, around 1815. Murray wrote to his brother John that he considered Perkins to be sufficiently "well qualified, / in point of judgment, connexions, and disposition, to promote / the credit and circulation of my books in America" (Murray to John Murray, 1 April 1806; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F16*). So now, after John Murray, Perkins also received boxes filled with books on a regular basis, to be dispersed across several areas in the state of New York to replace earlier editions, while John was asked by Murray to concentrate on other regions in the nation: "As Collins, Perkins, &C<sup>o</sup>. have them now sent by me, it will / be proper for thee to forward them to different printers or / Booksellers, at Philad<sup>a</sup>. Boston, Albany, New Haven, &c. &c / who reprint the books" (Murray to John Murray, 1 April 1806; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F16*).

| <i>LINDLEY MURRAY'S BOOKS.</i>  |                 |                  |                      |       |
|---|-----------------|------------------|----------------------|-------|
|   | WHEN PUBLISHED. | NUMBER OF PAGES. | WHAT LONDON EDITION. | D. S. |
| A First book,   | 1811            | 27               | 4th.                 | 6     |
| An English Spelling-Book,   | 1811            | 165              | 9th.                 | 25    |
| Stereotype English Grammar,   | 1815            | 330              | 25th.                | 75    |
| English Exercises to the Grammar,                                     | 1814            | 218              | 17th.                | 6.½   |
| Key to the English Exercises, with a valuable index, now first added, | 1814            | 260              | 12th.                | 6¼    |
| Abridgement of the Grammar,   | 1812            | 108              | 20th.                | 20    |
| An English Grammar, 2 vols. 8vo. bound in one,                        | 1814            | about 700        | 2nd.                 | 3 00  |
| Introduction to English Reader,                                       | 1814            | 250              | 9th.                 | 62½   |
| English Reader,   | 1814            | 348              | 10th.                | 75    |
| Sequel to the Reader,   | 1815            | 399              | 3d.                  | 1 00  |
| Lecteur François,   | 1812            | 269              | 2nd.                 | 1 25  |
| Introduction au Lecteur François,                                     | 1807            | 252              | 1st.                 | 87½   |

N. B. All the above works of L. Murray, The Spelling Book and the Abridged Grammar excepted, are handsomely bound and lettered, and contain the author's latest improvements.

Figure 5.1 *Collins's list of publications of Murray (Collection of the New-York Historical Society).*

In 1808 Murray wrote to his brother John to announce that his newly published two-volume edition of the grammar was on its way to Perkins, and he added an explanation on the reason for its publication:

I intend soon to send him a copy of the / Grammar, Exercises and Key, in two volumes Octavo, with / a new consolidated Title. The proprietors have proposed / this form of the work, for the use of Libraries: and I have / embraced the opportunity to enlarge the work with about / Ninety new pages of matter. The additions chiefly / consist of discussions, in support of, <sup>elucidating</sup> the principles

of the work, / and in vindication of its positions against objectors. (Murray to John Murray, 3 October 1808; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F17)

It appears that even after all his previous successes Murray was still concerned about the reception of his work.

Other family members, such as his niece Alice and his nephew and namesake Lindley – both of whom, at the time, would have been too young to be involved in the type of marketing activities described above, but who had already reached the age to profit from the contents, according to Murray – were advised by Murray to study his *English Grammar* “to form an accurate style” (Murray to Alice, 2 June 1805; YaUL: *Knollenberg Collection*, B6 f.488), and to steer away from other grammars, with the following words:

In referring to my Nephew Lindley’s progress in learning, I omitted to / mention, that I much regret he should be confined to an Epitome of grammar / for his knowledge of the principles of the English language; especially as that / Epitome is on a different plan from the grammar and exercises, which pursue / the subject more extensively, and which I should wish him to study attentively. (Murray to John Murray, 5 November 1804; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F15)

Details concerning this “accurate style” as shaped by their uncle Lindley will be discussed in Chapter 6.

## 5.7 The revision process of the grammars

Although he did not specify which edition he used, Van Winkle, in his *Printers’ Guide* (1818: viii), cited from a revised version of Murray’s *English Grammar* to illustrate “the extent and the importance” of proper punctuation; the wording of this particular section had only been included in the *English Grammar* sometime after 1799 (but before 1805). Murray continuously worked on revising his textbooks, and it was not a task that he took on by himself; as his letters testify, he asked and received input from many “friends”, either educators or other well-educated people (see also Section 5.5). “I indulge / a hope that the book will be generally approved, especially by those who know / the difficulties of every system”, Murray wrote to Dr Joshua Walker when he was about to

publish a revised edition of the *English Grammar* (Murray to Dr Walker, 18 June 1801; YaBL: *Osborn MS files "M" #9393–10688*). But Murray also appreciated uninvited criticisms, as documented by Frank in the *Memoirs*:

I not only feel myself very much obliged to my friends, for their kind and judicious private remarks on my grammatical works; but I owe something to the public criticisms of several persons who are not very friendly to these publications. Their strictures have enabled me sometimes to correct a real error, and often to remove doubt, and prevent misapprehension. (Murray 1826: 216)

In his letters, Murray frequently described how he had gone about when revising his grammars, giving reasons for doing so. In the present section I shall give examples to illustrate Murray's opinion on those "difficulties", and I shall show how he discussed linguistic matters with others. From these passages Murray generally appears quite confident about the prescriptive comments he presented in the textbooks. At the same time, the passages will confirm what I demonstrated in Section 5.4.2, i.e. that he was aware of at least some of the "inconsistencies" in his grammars that he was accused of, and during the thirty years following the first edition of his *English Grammar* Murray remained actively involved in correcting and improving them. In the *Memoirs* (1826: 93) he wrote the following about this process:

As these books, except the Abridgment, were reprinted at York, I consented to correct the press; by which, I presume, they appeared with a greater degree of accuracy, (a point of considerable importance to books designed for schools,) than if they had not received the author's inspection. This circumstance contributed to occupy some of my leisure hours; and, for a time, afforded a little amusement. Inconvenient as the employment afterwards proved, when it increased much beyond my expectation, I still continued it, with a hope that it would be productive of good effects. My examination of the new editions, gave occasion to many corrections and considerable enlargements; which I flatter myself, have improved the books, and rendered them less unworthy of the extensive patronage which they have received. (Murray 1826: 93)

Such revisions not only concerned grammatical rules, but also printing errors, and according to the *Edinburgh Annual Register* these last-



mentioned efforts were quite successful: “Mr Murray corrected the press, which occasioned them to appear with a greater degree of accuracy (a point of considerable importance to books designed for schools) than if they had not received the author’s inspection” (anon. 1826b: 82).

The passage that follows is taken from a letter to Murray’s brother John and serves to illustrate Murray’s editorial practice for the two-volume octavo edition of the *English Grammar* as well as for the one-volume duodecimo edition of it:

I am now preparing a number of corrections / and improvements for the English Octavo Grammar, which I / purpose, when it is printed, to send to Tho<sup>s</sup>. Collins &C<sup>o</sup>: that they may / print their new edition from it .... Please to request Tho<sup>s</sup>: Collins to alter the following words in their / Stereotyped edition of the Duodecimo Grammar. At page 166, Lines 26 / and 27, instead of the words, “in haste”, and “hastily”, print, “in common”, / and, “commonly”. And at page 338, Line 2 from the bottom, instead / of the word, “finally”, print “finely”. — At the bottom of page / 34, there is a whole line omitted. — I have as yet examined the / Stereotyped Grammar of Collins &C<sup>o</sup>., but slightly. (Murray to John Murray, 2 December 1815; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F19)

Murray thus first intended to correct any “imperfections” in the octavo edition, as he had put it in a letter to George Dillwyn (see Section 5.6), that were still present in the English edition, before sending the revised grammar to his American printers. With respect to the regular edition, Murray had already discovered some textual imperfections, although he had not yet finished his editing. In the following subsections of the present chapter, four linguistic features will be dealt with that are discussed in Murray’s letters as either subjected to revision or in need of explanation or justification: 1) the number of cases of nouns that were to be distinguished; 2) what he called “adjective pronouns”; 3) tense; and, finally, 4) word division.

#### 5.7.1 On “the supposed three cases”

Although Murray did not properly acknowledge *all* his sources, in his first edition of the *English Grammar* Murray did already acknowledge the influence of three of the most authoritative grammarians, Lowth,

Johnson and Priestley (see also Section 5.4.2), on several grammatical issues. In the section on “Case”, for instance, Murray wrote:

In English, substantives have but **two cases**, the nominative, and possessive or genitive .... For the assertion, that there are in English but two cases of nouns, and three of pronouns, we have the authority of **Doctors Lowth, Johnson, Priestley, &c.** names which are sufficient to decide this point. (Murray 1795: 27–28)

He elaborated on this particular subject in 1801 in a long letter to Dr Walker. Because this letter deals extensively with the revision process of the *English Grammar*, the greater part of it is supplied in Appendix D under A. For the present discussion, the following passage is of particular relevance:

With regard to the cases of nouns, I am / inclined to think thou wilt be satisfied that I could not properly have / admitted more than two, when thou hast perused what I have advanced / on the subject, in the sixth edition of the Grammar, pages 36, 37, 38. / But, to accommodate those persons who think a third case necessary, / I have, in that edition, given the declension of a noun in the supposed / **three cases**. (Murray to Dr Walker, 18 June 1801; YaBL: *Osborn MS files “M” #9393–10688*)

The sixth edition of the *English Grammar* to which Murray referred in the passage above was printed in York in 1800. This edition has been unavailable to me for comparison, but the fifteenth edition, issued six years later by the same publishers, reads: “In English, substantives have **three cases**, the nominative, the possessive, and the objective” (Murray 1806: 53).<sup>26</sup> This indicates that by 1800 Murray felt that the authority of “Doctors Lowth, Johnson, Priestley, &c.” was no longer sufficient and had to give way to a revised opinion, to “accommodate those persons” who considered that a third case should be added. About half a century later, William Barnes (1801–1886; cf. Jones 1983), whose “particular obsession was ‘case’ as traditionally understood”, according to Jones

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<sup>26</sup> Murray not only extensively revised the sixth edition of 1800, but also several editions following, such as the ninth (1804). It is therefore not entirely certain if the passage above from the 1806 edition is identical to the one in the sixth edition that Murray discussed with Dr Walker.

(1983: 31), published *A Philological Grammar* (1854), in which he commented on instances where he believed that Murray had “gone astray” when dealing with case. His opinion was that “Murray and other grammarians are wrong while they hold it [i.e. the English language] has **three [cases]**” (Jones 1983: 32). The third case distinguished by Murray in his *English Grammar*, i.e. the objective, was in all aspects the same as the nominative case, so, in effect, his altered opinion will not have had any consequences as far as the implementation of the rules is concerned.

### 5.7.2 On the “adjective pronoun” or “pronoun adjective”

A few years later, in 1807, Murray wrote to a certain Richard Wallis that once again he had finished “a new edition” of his grammar. The addressee may very well have been the Richard Wallis who was superintendent at Ackworth School at the time of writing; Murray’s *English Grammar* had been introduced there in 1805 (see also Section 5.6). Murray presented him with a copy of this latest edition and expressed his hope that Wallis would approve of the alterations that he “deemed improvements”. Murray then explained:

I flatter myself that, with respect to the declension of / English nouns, the nature of the English verb, and of / the English Subjunctive Mood; the explanations and / reasonings contained in the latter editions of the / grammar, will, in general, be considered as satis= / factory. On these points, please to turn to pages ... (Murray to Richard Wallis, 25 April 1807; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F21)

What follows in the letter are no fewer than twenty-eight page numbers to direct Wallis to pages to be “perused”, and Murray concluded this letter by inviting Wallis’s comments as follows:

I will thank thee for any observations or criticisms, which / may occur to thee, on any part of the work: and the / freer they may be made, the more acceptable they / will be to thy sincere friend. (Murray to Richard Wallis, 25 April 1807; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F21)

Of further interest, in the same letter to Wallis, Murray defended his reason for using the phrase “adjective pronouns” in his grammar for

a pronoun functioning as an adjective, such as, for instance, in “*these* books”. He used the following words to do so:

With regard to the phrase, “adjective pronouns”, / I think I am justified in using it, from similar modes / of expression adopted by established writers. (Murray to Richard Wallis, 25 April 1807; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F21)

It is curious therefore that the use of the phrase “adjective pronouns” varied in the different editions of the *English Grammar*. In the first edition from 1795 we find “pronoun adjective” (Murray 1795: 106), while in the edition from 1799 as well as later ones we see “adjective pronoun” (e.g. Murray 1799: 139; Murray 1809: 156). While this particular type of pronoun was not discussed under a separate heading in the first edition, it was in the second edition of 1796 and later ones, and the content for this subject was substantially expanded; from half a page in 1795 to almost six pages in 1806. A large part of this expansion, however, dealt with the use of *by this means* (which will be discussed in Section 6.4.5).

### 5.7.3 On “the subject of the Tenses”

The earlier mentioned long letter to Dr Walker (Sections 5.5 and 5.7.1; see also Appendix D) contains a sizeable section “[o]n the subject of the Tenses”, which will be dealt with here. It was a subject on which Murray wrote that he was not “able to / say much more, to prove that an English verb includes the principal / verb with its auxiliaries, than I have expressed in the ninth section / on Etymology” (Murray to Dr Walker, 18 June 1801; YaBL: *Osborn MS files* “M” #9393–10688). Despite his inability to say anything further on the subject, Murray continued with a lengthy explanation, of which the following extract has been taken:

On a reperusal of that section, I think thou wilt / perceive that I have at least plausible grounds for making the auxiliaries / part of the verb .... As thou hast admitted that there / is a future tense belonging to the English language, and that the auxiliaries / shall and will are necessary to exprefs it, I think thou wilt find it / difficult to support the position, “that, in the future tense, an auxiliary / forms part of the verb; but that in the <sup>im</sup>perfect, perfect; and pluperfect tenses, / the auxiliary cannot properly make any portion of it.” .... I think, therefore, it may be asferted

with propriety, that our English tenses / are mostly composed of principal and auxiliary; that these parts put together / form but one verb; and that we have six distinct tenses. (Murray to Dr Walker, 18 June 1801; YaBL: *Osborn MS files "M" #9393–10688*)

Murray explained here that he considered auxiliaries as parts of the verb to express future tense, as well as past and present tense. In the *English Grammar* Murray had likewise stated:

Tense, being the distinction of time, might seem to admit only of the present, past, and future; but to mark it more accurately, it is made to consist of six variations, viz. the Present, the Preterimperfect [i.e. preterite], the Preterperfect [i.e. present perfect], the Preterpluperfect [i.e. past perfect], and the first and second Futures. (Murray 1795: 41)

But William Barnes's opinion (see also Section 5.7.1), fifty years later, on the subject of the tenses would be in strong disagreement with Murray's. As an instance of "Barnes *contra* Murray" as Jones (1983: 33) describes it, Barnes wrote:

Murray says that 'tense is the distinction of time, and is made to consist (in English) of six variations'; but if he means by 'variations of tense' time forms of the verb, six are more than we have; and if he takes time formulae for variations of tense, six are less than those known in English ... (Jones 1983: 33)

Jones (1983: 33) further notes that Barnes's observation is nowadays "a commonplace", and indeed, a present-day reference grammar such as Huddleston/Pullum (2002) gives two systems of tenses, i.e. preterite vs present and perfect vs non-perfect – with the term "tense" being understood as a system "where the basic or characteristic meaning of the terms is to locate the situation ... at some point or period of time" (Huddleston/Pullum 2002: 116); additionally, there is a system of aspect, i.e. progressive vs non-progressive, and a system of mood, consisting of modal and non-modal. This adds up to either four systems or eight terms, in contrast to Murray's six variations of tense. Murray, however, appears never to have changed his mind. As late as 1819 his *English Grammar* showed the originally mentioned six tenses: "present tense"; "imperfect tense" (in 1795 referred to as "preterimperfect tense");

“perfect tense” (1795: “preterperfect tense”); “pluperfect tense” (1795: “preterpluperfect tense”); “first future tense”; and “second future tense” (Murray 1819: 87–88).

#### 5.7.4 On “the division of tion, &c.”

The following passage is taken from a letter written by Murray to his friend Henry Tuke. It concerns Murray’s *English Spelling-Book* (1804) and deals entirely with the division of words into syllables. In the letter Murray vividly described how he consulted his friends, and it appears that there had been some disagreement between Tuke and himself about the topic of word division and the discussion of it at Ackworth School. An excerpt is given below, but because of the valuable linguistic information the letter offers, it is reproduced in almost its entirety in Appendix D under II.

The division of words into syllables was originally an / embarrassing circumstance. I found that the new mode / was gaining ground, though the majority of spelling-books / are against it. I perceived many<sup>strong</sup> objections to this new mode, / and yet I was apprehensive that my book would not be / so well received, if it adhered to the old method, however right / it might be. After balancing the subject a good deal, I / concluded to retain the old mode, in every thing but the / terminations tion &c: in these I adopted the new method. / The book had been printed but a little time, when I perceived / that there was an inconsistency in retaining tion &c. and rejecting / the other parts of the new plan: for the rule “spell as you / pronounce”, or, which is the same thing, “as you read”, requires / that tion,<sup>&c</sup> should be joined. I therefore re-examined these / tion, science, &c. and the result, in my own mind, was .... [that] I could / see nothing so proper, as to correct my error, and / divide tion<sup>&c</sup>; thus making<sup>the parts of</sup> my book consistent, and / as I thought, proper. (Murray to Henry Tuke, n.d.: YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)

From this passage we learn how Murray had consulted many other spelling books, before writing his own, and how he had weighed the pros and cons of adopting new views on word division.

This letter further shows how Murray, after careful deliberation, had decided to stick to what he called the “old mode”, with the

exception of “tion &c.”, which, as he found, then clashed with similar word divisions. For the second edition of his *Spelling-Book*, therefore, he had decided “to correct [his] error” in favour of consistency, and to return to the “old method of division”: in future editions “tion &c” would be divided in “ti on, ti al, sci ence, &c”. His main concern in all this seems to have been the reception of his spelling book by the “public”. We can further see that it appears to have been extremely important to Murray that his friend Tuke would understand and approve his motivation for the alterations. It is to be expected that Murray will have acted in a similar way when he compiled his *English Grammar*. And as we have seen above, Dr Walker and Richard Wallis were among the friends that Murray extensively consulted to this purpose. Since the focus of the present study is on the *English Grammar*, the contents and structure of Murray’s *English Spelling-Book* will not be discussed any further here, but an extensive analysis of this textbook, together with Murray’s *First Book for Children* (1805), will be presented in Fens-de Zeeuw (in progress).

## 5.8 Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have demonstrated how the analysis of Murray’s letters has been essential for an understanding of how his *English Grammar* came to be. Moreover, Murray’s letters give us insight into how strongly he involved himself with the publication and marketing of his books, in England as well as in America; much more so than for instance his predecessors Robert Lowth and Joseph Priestley had done (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2008c: 101–124; Straaijer 2011). For all that, Murray refused to keep the profits to himself, contrary to what has been suggested. Accusations of plagiarism and excessive moralism in the grammar have been discussed and given additional perspective. Murray’s letters furthermore show us that he considered all his books as compilations, and how strongly he was aware of his competitors’ work where it concerned grammar writing, but also that he was quite willing to give or receive advice on the subject.

A separate section dealt with observations that Murray made in his letters regarding the contents and revision process of his textbooks. These observations demonstrate how he remained keenly involved in this process, not only when it concerned grammatical issues, but also printing errors. Four linguistic features that received particular attention by Murray have been discussed here in detail, to illustrate how Murray

appealed to the authority of others to justify the grammatical rules compiled in the *English Grammar*, and how he tried to explain the decision-making process involved. It becomes apparent that he thoroughly studied methods applied in earlier authoritative grammars when writing his own. For all that, the question still remains to what extent Murray's revisions were based on a concern that departing from conventional methods would compromise the success of his *English Grammar*.

I have further illustrated in this chapter how Murray's *English Grammar* (1795) – together with the *Abridgment* (1797), the *Exercises* (1797), and the *Key to the Exercises* (1797) – became a major bestseller almost overnight, and subsequently developed into what might be described as a genuine hype. As Garner (2009: 604) puts it, even by today's standard "it's astounding to think that any book could sell that well. Even Stephen King would be envious of that kind of record". Sales numbers were by no means hindered by the fact that he was a Quaker or, from the American viewpoint, a suspected loyalist. Countless textbook authors, reviewers, novelists, as well as poets have referred to "Lindley Murray" until into the twentieth century.

England's status as a world power had been rising since the early 1700s and towards the end of the eighteenth century the English-speaking world started to grow rapidly (cf. Rix 2007: 553). This coincides with the use of Murray's textbooks around the world, from Germany to Japan, and from India to the Netherlands, which means that in all likelihood Murray contributed significantly to the spreading of English as a global language. After all, as observed by Tiekens-Boon van Ostade (2000: 886), Murray's grammar "served an important purpose abroad in the study of English as a second language". As happens with any hype, this immense popularity attracted all kinds of reactions: for many decades, the book was plagiarized and imitated, and together with its author it was praised and parodied, causing rapture and ridicule in the process. It is, furthermore, quite remarkable to see how often Murray's grammars (as well as his other books) can still be bought in newly reprinted form. In view of the fact that the book concerned is merely a grammar book, Murray's "little labours", as he referred to his grammars himself, whether in spite of or thanks to all invited "criticisms" (see Section 1.3.1), are therefore an amazing achievement by all accounts.



## 6 Lindley Murray's letters and *English Grammar* (1795) compared

*I have employed a considerable portion of my leisure time in endeavouring to facilitate the acquisition of the English language, and in some degree, to regulate it.*  
(Murray to Dr Bard, 6 June 1806; McVickar 1822: 197)

### 6.1 Introduction

In his twelve-volume facsimile edition of the educational books of Lindley Murray and scholarly works on Murray's publications, Reibel (1996b: xix) introduces Murray as someone who, as said to be "well known, could not himself write English in strict conformity with his own rules". In addition to my analyses in earlier chapters of linguistic features in the contexts of Murray's Quakerism and his letter-writing practices, in this chapter I shall answer to the challenge by comparing a selection of his "own rules", outlined in his *English Grammar* (1795), with his own usage, based on an analysis of his private letters. Since Murray's grammar was in fact in itself a compilation of rules of others, but also for practical reasons, I looked at two existing lists of grammatical strictures for relevant linguistic features. The first one is Crystal's (1995: 194) "Grammatical Top Ten", which includes the ten most frequently complained about grammatical strictures according to a survey by the BBC in 1986; the second one contains Lowth's proscriptive comments, found in the footnotes in the first edition of his *Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762), and listed by Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2006a: 553–555). Lowth's grammar was chosen because it was one of the main sources for Murray's *English Grammar*, according to Vorlat (1959; see also Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2002: 460). To a list of eighteen proscriptions thus acquired, two non-grammatical linguistic features have been added for analysis in this chapter on comparing Murray's usage and rules, the use of extra initial capitals and the spelling variants *shew* and *show*.

The comparisons in this chapter have been done with the help of Mike Scott's (2008) concordancing program WordSmith Tools, which allows for frequency analyses. First, however, in Section 6.2, I shall discuss the structure of the *English Grammar*. Then, in Section 6.3, the grammatical features of Crystal's Top Ten will be dealt with, followed by Lowth's proscriptions in Section 6.4. Next, in Section 6.5 Murray's rules on capitalization will be compared with his own usage, the results of which will prove quite remarkable; and in Section 6.6 I shall analyse

Murray's usage of *shew* and *show*. Some concluding remarks are made in Section 6.7. My analyses in this chapter will show whether Murray lived up to his own standard of correctness, as might perhaps be expected from a prescriptive grammarian, or whether in his own language use he indeed ignored the grammar rules that he prescribed to others, as Reibel (1996b) claims.

## 6.2 The structure of the *English Grammar*

As discussed in Section 5.3, the structure of Murray's *English Grammar* is comparable to that of many earlier eighteenth-century grammars (cf. Vorlat 2007); it consists of four parts, "viz. Orthography, Etymology, Syntax, and Prosody", as Murray (1795: 1) specified. Vorlat (2007) explains that orthography deals with sounds and letters, and gives rules about their pronunciation; etymology mainly deals with parts of speech; syntax treats government, concord and word order; and, finally, prosody concerns stress placement, figures of speech, and style, among others (Vorlat 2007: 504). To these four sections Murray added the subjects of "Punctuation", "the Apostrophe, Caret, Hyphen, &c.", "Paragraphs" and "the Use of Capitals" (Murray 1795: viii), as well as an Appendix, which was added to the main text "for promoting perspicuity" (Murray 1795: title page), both "with respect to Words and Phrases" and "with respect to Sentences" (Murray 1795: viii). Murray recognized nine parts of speech: the article, the substantive or noun, the pronoun, the adjective, the verb, the adverb, the preposition, the conjunction, and the interjection (Murray 1795: 19). In doing so, he adopted a fairly conventional system (cf. Michael 1970: 48–53). The *English Grammar* represents a mixture of teaching and theoretical grammar, a form, which had become popular earlier in the eighteenth century, according to Vorlat (2007: 501), whereby the size of print varied: larger print was used for the parts that constituted the teaching grammar, while the parts in smaller print were intended for the teachers and advanced students. To give an example, in the part on etymology Murray defined a verb as follows:

The Verb signifies to be, to do, or to suffer; as, I am, I rule, I am ruled.

A verb may be distinguished by its taking any of the personal pronouns, or the word *to* before it, and making sense; as, *I* walk, *he* plays, *they* write; or, *to* walk, *to* play, *to* write. (Murray 1795: 20)

Such additions to the basic definition of a part of speech could be lengthy, as in the case of the article, for instance, which is followed by a page-long explanation (Murray 1795: 22–23). In the Preface to the *English Grammar* Murray explained this technique of “exhibiting the performance in printed characters of different sizes” as follows:

[t]he most important definitions, rules, and observations, and which are therefore the most proper to be committed to memory, are printed with a larger type; whilst rules and remarks that are of less consequence, that extend or diversify the general idea, or that serve as explanations, are contained in the smaller letter. (Murray 1795: iv)

By doing so, Murray (1795: iv) decided against “[t]he use of notes and observations, in the common and detached manner, at the bottom of the page”, which was the strategy that Lowth (1762) had used, because Murray imagined this would less likely “attract the perusal of youth”.

According to Reibel (1996c: xiv), the method of instruction that Murray adopted for his *English Grammar* was a combination of the grammars of Ann Fisher (1719–1778) and Robert Lowth. For instance, Murray followed Lowth’s system of syntax in *A Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762), but adapted his formulations by “taking out all improper language” (Reibel 1996c: xv), so that the *English Grammar* would be more acceptable to his intended audience (see Section 5.3), while he kept the general overview of the contents quite similar to Fisher’s *New Grammar* (1745?).<sup>1</sup> Both Fisher and Lowth included examples of false syntax, the first in the form of exercises, the second in numerous footnotes, and Murray pursued their example, because, as he wrote, he felt that this methodology of giving instances of “faulty composition” would be “more instructive to the young grammarian, than any rules and examples of propriety that can be given” (Murray 1795: iv).

### 6.3 Crystal’s Grammatical Top Ten

For my comparison of the language in Murray’s letters with his grammar I shall start by citing the complaints in Crystal’s (1995: 194) Grammatical Top Ten in Table 6.1 below. Some of these usage issues raised for the

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<sup>1</sup> See West (1953), reprinted in Reibel (1996), for an extensive critical analysis of Murray’s use and treatment of the sources for his *English Grammar* (1795); see also Vorlat (1959 and 1996) and Section 5.4.2.

BBC survey in 1986 go back several centuries, and yet, when present-day speakers of standard English discuss what they feel that this standard should entail, emotions can still run high (Crystal 1995: 194). In this overview of grammatical complaints I have indicated whether a particular stricture is dealt with in Murray's *English Grammar* (the corresponding page numbers are given in parenthesis) and if it has relevance to Murray's private letters, in the sense that instances of it can be found. If this is true for both cases, the stricture will be discussed in this section.

| <i>complaint</i>   | <i>discussed in<br/>Murray's<br/>English<br/>Grammar?</i> | <i>found in<br/>Murray's<br/>letters?</i> |
|--|---|---|
| 1 <i>I</i> should not be used in <i>between you and I</i> . The pronoun should be <i>me</i> after a preposition. | yes (p. 121)  | no  |
| 2 Split infinitives should not be used.  | n.a.  | n.a.                                      |
| 3 <i>Only</i> should be next to the word to which it relates.  | yes (p. 118)  | yes                                       |
| 4 <i>None</i> should never be followed by a plural verb  | yes (p. 35)   | yes                                       |
| 5 <i>Different</i> ( <i>ly</i> ) should be followed by <i>from</i> and not by <i>to</i> or <i>than</i> .         | yes (p. 124)  | no  |
| 6 A sentence should not end with a preposition.  | yes (p. 122)  | yes                                       |
| 7 People should say <i>I shall/you will/he will</i> when they are referring to future time.                      | yes (pp. 44, 55–6)  | yes                                       |
| 8 <i>Hopefully</i> should not be used at the beginning of a sentence.  | n.a.  | n.a.                                      |
| 9 <i>Whom</i> should be used, not <i>who</i> , in object position (objective case).                              | yes (p. 33)   | no  |
| 10 Double negatives should be avoided.   | yes (p. 121)  | no  |

Table 6.1 *Crystal's (1995: 194) Grammatical Top Ten and Murray's usage.*

Of the complaints in Crystal's Grammatical Top Ten as cited in Table 6.1, I have disregarded strictures 2 and 8, the split infinitive and the disjunct *hopefully*, for my comparison, since neither of them was an issue yet at the time, nor were any instances found in Murray's letters. Strictures 1, 5, 9 and 10 are dealt with by eighteenth-century grammars, but I did not come across any instances of them in the letters either. That leaves only strictures 3, 4, 6 and 7 to be discussed in the sections below.

### 6.3.1 *The proper placement of only*

The third complaint on Crystal's list reads: "People should not say *I only saw Jane* when they mean *I saw only Jane*" (Crystal 1995: 194). The reason

for this is that ambiguity may arise as to the function of the adverb *only*: as a clause modifier or to modify the direct object to the verb. In this respect, the rule in the section on syntax in Murray's *English Grammar*, dealing with the placement of adverbs, states that "[a]dverbs, though they have no government of case, tense, &c. require an appropriate situation in the sentence, viz. for the most part before adjectives, after verbs active or neuter, and frequently between the auxiliary and the verb" (Murray 1795: 118). Under this rule Murray did not single out the restrictive focusing modifier *only* (cf. Huddleston/Pullum 2002: 587), stating instead that in general "it appears that no exact and determinate rule can be given for the placing of adverbs on all occasions"; our chief regard, Murray added, should therefore be "the easy flow and perspicuity of the phrase" (Murray 1795: 119); in other words, he considered their usage as variable. (1) and (2) below illustrate such variable use from the grammar itself:

- (1) The indefinite article can **only** be joined to substantives in the singular number. (Murray 1795: 23)
- (2) Some nouns ... are used **only** in the singular. (Murray 1795: 26)

In (1) *only* is placed *before* the verb phrase while it seems intended to modify only its direct object; by contrast, in (2) *only* *follows* the main verb.

In Murray's letters we see the same kind of variation regarding the position of *only* in a sentence: seventy-seven instances of sentences with the modifier *only* were found, and in nine of these, *only* was not placed directly next to the word or words it modified (12%); examples are given in (3) and (4) below:

- (3) I **only** / wished him to know, that I am happy. (Murray to Samuel Latham Mitchill, 30 September 1800; YaBL: *Uncat MS Vault 764, Acc 2002*)
- (4) ... the paper delivered is / **only** to be considered as furnishing materials for the Reviewer's man- / agement. (Murray to John Murray, 1 June 1801; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F14*)

In (3) *only* seems intended to modify *know, that I am happy*, but is placed adjacent to *wished* instead; in (4) *only* appears intended to modify *as furnishing materials*, but in its actual position it may be taken to modify the

entire predicate *is to be considered as furnishing materials*. Murray's usage confirms his attitude in the *English Grammar* towards the modifier *only*; this seems to indicate that he considered (3) and (4) examples of easy-flowing sentences. At the same time, it is quite likely that he was completely unaware of his own usage in this respect.

### 6.3.2 None to be followed by a singular verb

While Crystal (1995: 194) notes that by 1986 the general consensus was that “[*n*]one should never be followed by a plural verb”, some 200 years earlier Murray had claimed that the “definitive pronoun” *none* “is now used in both numbers; but as it literally signifies *not one* or *no one*, it was formerly confined to the singular” (Murray 1795: 34–35). So, if originally *none* had to be followed by a singular verb, and in Murray's time could be followed by either a singular or a plural verb, while, according to Crystal (1995: 194), today the consensus is again that *none* should be followed by a singular verb, it appears that the general opinion on this particular grammatical feature has come back to square one. Notwithstanding Murray's claim that either a singular or a plural verb form could be used following *none*, in his *English Grammar* not one of the eight instances of *none* is followed by an exclusively singular or plural verb form to underline this view. In his letters, three of the six instances of the determinative NP (cf. Huddleston/Pullum 2002: 390) *none* in subject position are followed by a verb form used for both plural and singular, i.e. *came* and *might*, in the past tense, which does not provide a clue about which of the two options was intended. On two other occasions Murray used the singular verb form *is*, and in one instance he used the plural verb form *are*. In a letter to his brother John we find an instance of both *is* and *are* after *none* within the same, brief, section, as shown in (5):

- (5) I hope that **none** / of her principles **are** adopted by any of our society at New York .... **None** of them **is** more dangerous ...  
(Murray to John Murray, 3 August 1807; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F16)

This completely agrees with Murray's observation that *none* could be used “in both numbers”, but with so few instances found, no further conclusions can be drawn.

### 6.3.3 Preposition stranding

In her detailed analysis of the history of preposition stranding in Modern English, Yáñez-Bouza (2007) defines preposition stranding as

the syntactic construction whereby (i) a preposition is not *immediately* followed by its complement, (ii) the prepositional complement can be recovered from somewhere *before* in the construction, and if not explicit it is understood, and (iii) the preposition is placed at some convenient place in the *latter part* of the sentence or clause, but not necessarily in last position. Under these three circumstances, the preposition is said to be *stranded*. (Yáñez-Bouza 2007: 17)

When following this definition, an example of a stranded preposition is *to* in “the man I was talking *to*”. Preposition stranding was generally harshly criticised in the eighteenth century and “ever since, end-placed prepositions have been frowned upon in grammar books and usage guides”, as Yáñez-Bouza (2006) puts it. Crystal (1995: 194) comments on the stricture in the Grammatical Top Ten how the notion that a sentence should not end with a preposition probably dates from the seventeenth century and that it is illustrative of the influence of Latin grammar; “in formal English” he adds, “the prescriptive rule tends to be followed”. And although it has been a common pattern in usage both in the eighteenth century and the present one, according to Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2000: 885), nowadays people still “know it is ‘wrong’ to end a sentence with a preposition”. This means that they believe that the example sentence given above ought to be “the man *to* whom I was talking”, a linguistic construction that is known as pied piping: fronting the preposition together with its object (cf. Yáñez-Bouza 2007). A present-day usage guide, Burchfield (1996: 617), on the other hand, describes the notion that prepositions belong *before* the words that they govern as a “most persistent myth” in English. Lowth (1762) is often cited as a grammarian who heavily opposed preposition stranding. In reality, however, Lowth made a stylistic distinction between usage in formal and informal writing:

The Preposition is often separated from the Relative which it governs, and joined to the Verb at the end of the Sentence, or of some member of it .... This is an Idiom which our language is strongly

inclined to ... but the placing of the Preposition before the Relative is more graceful, as well as more perspicuous. (Lowth 1762: 127–128; see also Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006a: 545–546 and 2010a: 79)

Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2005: 150) demonstrates that in his private letters Lowth was indeed a “frequent user of stranded prepositions”.

Contrary to Garner’s (2009: 581) claim that Murray never “wrote such nonsense” as that a sentence should not end with a preposition, in the section of the *English Grammar* dealing with the syntax of the preposition, Murray was similarly specific when explaining its proper placement. Parts of his explanation were even copied verbatim from Lowth:

The preposition is often separated from the relative which it governs; as, “Whom wilt thou give it **to**?” instead of, “**To whom** wilt thou give it?”... This is an idiom to which our language is strongly inclined; it prevails in common conversation, and suits very well with the familiar style in writing: But the placing of the preposition before the relative is more graceful, as well as more perspicuous, and agrees much better with the solemn and elevated style”. (Murray 1795: 122)<sup>2</sup>

An interesting difference with Lowth’s grammar is that where Lowth appears to have made a joke when he used a stranded preposition, as Tieken-Boon van Ostade discovered (2006a: 551), with “This is an Idiom which our language is strongly inclined **to**”, the humour of it was lost on Murray, who corrected Lowth’s text into: “This is an idiom **to** which our language is strongly inclined”. In addition to Murray’s description cited above of the use of the preposition, he wrote in the Appendix that, as a “rule for the strength of sentences ...”, “... *concluding them with an adverb, a preposition, or any inconsiderable word*” should be avoided (Murray 1795: 208).

For this analysis I followed Sairio’s (2008: 149) example and chose eleven “high-frequency prepositions” to be examined in Murray’s letters for their occurrence in stranded position, i.e.: *at, by, for, from, in, into, of, on, to, upon, and with*. Of these eleven prepositions, eight were found in stranded position in Murray’s letters, i.e. *by, for, in, of, on, to, upon* and *with*.

<sup>2</sup> See Yáñez-Bouza (2007: 262–263) for additional illustrations of the “censuring” of preposition stranding in Murray’s books.



They are listed in Table 6.2, together with their counterparts found in pied-piped position.

| <i>preposition</i>                             | <i># tokens stranded</i> | <i># tokens pied-piped</i> |
|--|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>by</i> (+ <i>whom</i> )                     | 1                        | 1                          |
| <i>for</i> (+ <i>which</i> )                   | 8                        | 9                          |
| <i>in</i> (+ <i>which</i> )                    | 2                        | 49                         |
| <i>of</i> (+ <i>which</i> )                    | 15                       | 18                         |
| <i>on</i> (+ <i>which</i> )                    | 3                        | 10                         |
| <i>to</i> (+ <i>which</i> )                    | 12                       | 18                         |
| <i>upon</i> (+ <i>which</i> or + <i>whom</i> ) | 2                        | –                          |
| <i>with</i> (+ <i>which</i> )                  | 5                        | 17                         |
| <b>total</b>                                   | <b>48</b>                | <b>122</b>                 |

Table 6.2 *Preposition stranding versus pied piping in Murray's letters.*

Instances of stranded prepositions can be found throughout the period in which the letters in my corpus were written, and it appears that the publication of Murray's grammar in 1795 did not influence occurrence. Examples in Murray's letters are shown in (6–13):

- (6) ... I receiv'd that Inform= / =ation from the pretty Mefengers you sent it **by**. (Murray to Dr Parks, 16 November 1773; HC: *The Quaker Collection*, MS 851)
- (7) ... you have, indeed, much to en= / courage you, much to be thankful **for**. (Murray to Esther and Maria Tuke, 28 November 1815; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)
- (8) ... I admired / to find my Brother had proposed the House we lived **in**, to the Tenant / for Sale. (Murray to John Murray, 20 February 1793; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F12)
- (9) I coud have sent for Enquiry to any Part of the Kingdom / , but this thou has not given the least Trace **of**. (Murray to John Murray, 30 April 1792; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F11)
- (10) I am pleased to find, that after thy proposal / respecting purchasing a farm for Brother and sister / to reside **on**, ... (Murray to John Murray, 19 February 1805; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F15)

- (11) The / Alterations in the Introduction, and the Insertion of the Case from Dr. Young / instead of the present “Conclusion”, will not, I suppose, be objected **to**. (Murray to James Phillips, 13 April 1789; HC: *The Quaker Collection; MS 851*)
- (12) Then it [i.e. an uncarpeted floor] woud, I am persuaded, / be seen and acknowledged to be beautiful, and good enough for any human / Being to walk or stand **upon**. (Murray to John Murray, 1 October 1792; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F11*)
- (13) But having done what you did, for the best, you / will have nothing to reproach yourselves **with**. (Murray to Henry Tuke, 22 September 1805; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)

Since the type of syntactic constructions as shown in (6–13) was commonly characterized as “incorrect” for formal language use in the eighteenth century, the alternative, pied piping, would have been the proper choice here and, according to both Lowth (1762: 127–128) and Murray (1795: 122) himself, would have “agreed” much better with the generally “solemn and elevated” style of Murray’s letters.

As Table 6.2 indicates, prepositions in pied-piped position are found in Murray’s letters as well. The following seven sentences or partial sentences (14–20) show examples of syntactic constructions with the same prepositions as in (6–13), but with the relative pronoun placed immediately after the preposition, i.e. in pied-piped position. No instances of pied piping for *upon* were found, either with *which* or with *whom*.

- (14) I am encouraged to believe, from the very / favourable and ~~respectable~~<sup>commendatory</sup> characters, which / have been given of the Institution, by several / well-informed and impartial persons, **by whom** / it has been visited and minutely examined. (Murray to Samuel Tuke, March 1813; YoUBI: *Tuke papers*)
- (15) It was an act of kindness, **for which**, as well / as for many other favours of the kind, I feel grateful / to him. (Murray to John Murray, 3 August 1807; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F16*)
- (16) The form **in which** the extract is published, / is precisely that which the proprietors of the copy rights chose. (Murray to John Murray, 1 June 1801; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F14*)

- (17) I shall find the greatest / happiness **of which** my nature may be capable. (Murray to John Murray, 4 July 1808; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F17)
- (18) With regard to the subject, **on which** thou / hast requested my opinion (Murray to George Dillwyn, May 1799; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F3)
- (19) I shall therefore esteem it a particular kindness, if thou wilt point / out the passages **to which** thou hast alluded. (Murray to Abigail Pim, 6 June 1803; LSFD)
- (20) The motives which / produced it, and the friendly spirit **with which** it was written (Murray to Abigail Pim, 6 June 1803; LSFD)

Table 6.2 further indicates that in general Murray seems to have favoured pied-piped prepositions over stranded ones. For some prepositions, however, i.e. *by*, *for* and *of*, the difference in frequency between the two options is non-existent or minimal. Furthermore – and unlike in Lowth’s letters (see Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006a: 546; 2010a: 79), where preposition stranding is found only in the letters to his wife and his closest friends – as illustrated by examples (6–20), here, too, the recipient and degree of formality of Murray’s letters do not appear to have been decisive factors in his choice for either option; nor can we say that passages (6–13) represent examples of “the familiar style in writing”, as Murray put it (1795: 122), which would have excused Murray’s use of a preposition in stranded position, according to his *English Grammar*.

#### 6.3.4 Shall/will/will

Traditionally, according to Crystal (1995: 194), *shall* is prescribed for the 1st persons singular and plural to indicate the future, and *will* for 2nd and 3rd persons singular and plural. This standard usage goes back as far as John Wallis’s *Grammatica Lingua Anglicanae* (1653: 94–95). Crystal comments on the late twentieth-century complaint that people do not make that distinction, with the words that “[t]raditional grammars have tried to regularize the use of these auxiliary verbs since the 18th century”. This traditional viewpoint is indeed also what we find in Murray’s *English Grammar*, and in the section “of the Tenses” (Murray 1795: 41–45) the “first Future Tense” is introduced as follows:

The first Future Tense represents the action as yet to come, with or without respect to the precise time when; as, “The sun **will** rise to-morrow;” “I **shall** see them again.” (Murray 1795: 44)

A few pages further down, Murray added:

*Will*, in the first person singular and plural, intimates resolution and promising; in the second and third person, only foretells; *Shall*, on the contrary, in the first person simply foretells; in the second and third persons, promises, commands, or threatens; (Murray 1795: 55–56; cf. Lowth 1762: 58–59)

It is therefore somewhat surprising to find in Murray’s letters instances of the auxiliary *will* for 1st person when he intended to “foretell” future events. There are, however, only few such instances. Besides the 142 instances of *I shall/we shall* I counted a total of sixteen instances of *I will* and none of *we will*, which amounts to 11%. The following two sentences contain examples of the use of *I will* for what appears to be future time reference in Murray’s letters. The first one is taken from a letter written to Henry Tuke:

- (21) As I may not see my dear Friend H T before his return / from the present engagement, **I will** just bid him Farewell, / and say that his concern to visit Friends in the parts proposed, / is peculiarly grateful to my mind. (Murray to Henry Tuke, n.d.; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)

The second passage, (22), taken from a letter to William and Henry Tuke, is quite interesting:

- (22) I hope you will not have the least hesi- / tation in supressing it. **I shall** not / be hurt: or if our friend Gray, or / Graham, or Russel, should not think / it expedient, **I will** be entirely satisfied / with its being returned to me, without / reading it. / If, however, you conclude to have / it offered to the Meeting, and you think / that it will not be too great an exertion / for Samuel Tuke to read it, **I shall** be / obliged to him for this friendly office. (Murray to William & Henry Tuke, 28 January 1812; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)

It appears that all three instances in (22) imply future time reference, yet Murray did not distinguish between *I shall* and *I will* here. What is more, the first instance of *I shall* might readily be understood as a promise, which would then require the form *I will*. Several other instances of *I will* that were found in Murray's letters are ambiguous, in the sense that they can be interpreted as either referring to future time, or as an intimation of resolution, such as in (23) below:

- (23) How far the / Corrections throughout may be just, **I will** not pretend to determine. (Murray to James Phillips, 13 April 1789; HC: *The Quaker Collection; MS 851*)

Based on the *English Grammar*, the instances of *I will* in passages such as (21) and (22) above were definitely “not translated according to the distinct and proper meanings of the words *shall* and *will*”, as specified by Murray himself (1795: 56), because they do not appear to express “resolution and promising”. Additionally, I counted 955 instances of *will* for 2nd and 3rd person reference, but no instances of *shall* for 2nd or 3rd person, unless in a legal or religious setting, as in (24–25):

- (24) ... and the survivor to take the whole fifteen / pounds a year, so long as **he shall** live. (Murray to the Committee of the Retreat, 25 February 1799; YoUBI; *Retreat Archives RET 8/10/13*)
- (25) ... Lindley Murray is bound in / Law to pay the same to them or their Afsignee / regularly as **he shall** receive the same: provided / **the said School or Institution shall** be so long / supported. (contract signed by Murray on 9 October 1799; YoUBI: *MOU1 1/1*)

Examples such as those in (24–25) appear not to be in accordance with Murray's grammar rules. They were and still are, however, common practice in legal and religious types of texts, in which archaic usage is applied, and as such they can be considered as intimations of promise. An example of the first is from a contract with the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, dated 5 May 2009: “**He shall** receive a housing allowance amounting to ...” (anon. 2009). In a biblical setting we find, for instance: “... **he shall** be like a tree planted by the rivers ...” (*The Bible* 1998, Psalm 1:3). So, with Murray being a lawyer as well as a devout Quaker, these instances are therefore as expected and

can be considered proper usage, despite the suggestion that they do not conform to his grammar.

#### 6.4 Lowth's proscriptive comments

The derivative nature of Murray's *English Grammar* (cf. Vorlat 1959, 1996; see Section 5.4.2) can be considered an open invitation to a comparison to its source material, to establish to what extent Murray based his grammar on those of his predecessors. For this reason, and because Murray based his system of syntax on Lowth's *Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762) in particular, I have chosen to analyse several of Lowth's proscriptive comments. The majority of the more than forty items in the overview as presented by Tiekens-Boon van Ostade (2006a: 553–555) have no relevance to Murray's own usage, in the sense that no instances could be found. Of those strictures on the list that did occur in Murray's letters, eight more grammatical items for which my corpus could provide useful data will be discussed here. These eight features are listed in Table 6.3 below (the relevant page numbers for both grammars are shown in parenthesis). A ninth stricture, preposition stranding, has already been discussed in Section 6.3.3. The numbering in Table 6.3 follows the order in which they are arranged by Tiekens-Boon van Ostade (2006a: 553–555).

| <i>proscriptions in Lowth's Short Introduction to English Grammar (1762)</i>            | <i>discussed in Murray's English Grammar (1795)?</i>         |
|---|--|
| 1 Adjectives used as adverbs (pp. 124–125)  | yes (p. 103)   |
| 2 <i>-ing</i> form: <i>the sending to them the light</i> (i.e. the gerund; pp. 111–113) | yes (p. 117)   |
| 3 <i>Lay</i> for <i>lie</i> (p. 76)   | both in list of irregular verbs; no elaboration              |
| 4 Past participle forms (pp. 86–88)   | no   |
| 5 <i>This means/these means/this mean</i> (p. 120)                                      | yes (p. 102)   |
| 6 Verb forms: <i>Thou might</i> for <i>thou mightest</i> (pp. 97, 136)                  | list of appropriate verb endings; no elaboration (pp. 45–61) |
| 7 Verb forms: Subjunctive verbs in the Indicative (p. 52)                               | yes (pp. 44; 128–129)  |
| 8 <i>Whose</i> as the possessive of <i>which</i> (p. 38)                                | yes (pp. 33; 98)   |

Table 6.3 *Lowth's proscriptions (1762) and Murray's grammar (1795).*

In the following sections I shall go through these strictures separately, and compare them against Murray's own usage in the letters.

6.4.1 *Adjectives used as adverbs*

Huddleston/Pullum (2002: 526) define the lexical categories of adjectives and adverbs as follows: “The words used to modify nouns are typically **adjectives**, and the words that similarly modify verbs are **adverbs**”; additionally, they state that “[m]any of the adverbs that modify verbs can also modify adjectives and other adverbs”. In the eighteenth century, however, Lowth (1762: 125n8) had already observed that “Adjectives are sometimes employed as Adverbs; improperly, and not agreeably to the Genius of the English Language”. Some thirty years later, Murray (1795: 103) wrote: “Adjectives are sometimes improperly applied as adverbs”. Although they are rare, in Murray’s letters we find instances of such “improperly applied” adjectives, for example in (26–28):

- (26) Thy last letter gave us the satisfaction / of knowing that thou had arrived **safe** to thy Home / and Family at New York. (Murray to John Murray, 3 February 1794; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F12*)
- (27) As it may be had **separate**, and may be printed / **separate** ... (Murray to John Murray, 1 June 1801; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F14*)
- (28) ... but if Will<sup>m</sup>. / Alexander pays the whole, it will fall **heavy** upon him. (Lindley & Hannah Murray to the proprietors of Mount School, 22 June 1812; YoUBI: *Mount School Archives MOU1 1/1*)

In all three instances the adverbs in question should have ended in *-ly* (i.e. *safely*, *separately*, *heavily*). Such usage, however, is found very infrequently in Murray’s letters; in the majority of cases where an adverb was called for, an adverbial form was indeed used.

The following three instances, all containing *exceeding*, make for an interesting case in themselves:

- (29) Let us, for our encouragement, bear in mind, how / inconsiderable are all the troubles of this life, and how immensely / great the rewards of another world. “These light afflictions, which / “are but for a moment, are not worthy of being compared with that / “**exceeding great** and eternal weight of glory”. (Murray to John Murray, 2 April 1810; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F18*)

- (30) ... then all our trials and / afflictions will one day be considered, as light and momentary, com= / pared with the **exceeding great** reward, which a merciful and / gracious Lord is pleased to give. (Murray to John Murray, 16 February 1814; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F18)
- (31) ... and / finally reward their faith and patience, with an **exceeding / great** and eternal weight of glory. (Lindley & Hannah Murray to Henry Tuke, 19 June 1814; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)

It appears that to Murray the combination *exceeding great* was a typical collocation. All three instances in (29–31) occur in a religious setting, and one of them, i.e. in (29), is part of a biblical citation, albeit not literally (the citation was taken from the New Testament, 2 Corinthians 4.17, and reads: “For our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding *and* eternal weight of glory”; *The Bible* 1998: 225). In the *English Grammar* Murray gave the following example sentences to illustrate the proper use of *exceeding/ly great* in particular:

Adjectives are sometimes improperly applied as adverbs; as .... “Thy **exceeding great** reward:” When united to an adjective, this word is spelled with *ly*; as “Exceedingly dreadful; **exceedingly great**, good,” &c.: but when it is joined to an adverb, the *ly* is omitted; as, “Some men think exceeding clearly, and reason exceeding forcibly.” (Murray 1795: 103)

With this explanation Murray followed Lowth’s opinion, who had remarked the following about the linguistic problem in relation to this particular adverb/adjective:

... *exceeding*, for *exceedingly*, however improper, occurs frequently in the Vulgate Translation of the Bible, and has obtained in common discourse. (Lowth 1762: 126n8)

Yet, for Murray, perhaps subconsciously, this biblical usage influenced his own language when his private letters dealt with religious matter, because in addition to the three instances of *exceeding* combined with *great* in (29–31), there are four instances of *exceedingly* in Murray’s letters. These four adverbs were likewise “united to an adjective”, i.e. *exceedingly difficult*, *exceedingly infirm*, *exceedingly careful* and *exceedingly fearful*, but as can be seen,



they were not collocated with the adjective *great*, and here the subject matter discussed had no direct relevance to religious affairs.

#### 6.4.2 *The gerund*

Lowth (1762: 111,112n8) wrote in his grammar: “The Participle, with an Article before it, and the Preposition *of* after it, becomes a Substantive ...”, and he believed that “there [were] hardly any of our Writers, who have not fallen into this inaccuracy”; Murray (1795: 117) formulated this rule as follows: “... the present participle, with the definite article *the* before it, becomes a substantive, and must have the preposition *of* after it”. To illustrate the “violation” of this rule, he wrote: “By the continual mortifying our corrupt affections:’ It should be, ‘by the continual mortifying of” (Murray 1795: 117). Huddleston/Pullum (2002: 83) classify this construction as a “gerundial noun”.

In Murray’s letters we find only one instance of the “inaccuracy”, as Lowth (1762: 112n8) called it, in which the preposition *of* is omitted:

- (32) We feel obliged to thee for the kind office of hinting / to dear Mother **the dictating a Salutation** to us. (Lindley & Hannah Murray to Elizabeth Tuke, 22 May 1790; HALS: *D/ESe C20:9*)

If judged by both his own standard, as well as by that of Lowth beforehand, this gives only one instance of “violation” of this particular rule in Murray’s letters, against thirteen instances where the rule was correctly applied, as in the following sentence, found in a letter to his brother:

- (33) How is it consistent with **the drawing of the two aforementioned Bills** / upon me? (Murray to John Murray, 30 January 1819; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F20*)

The exceptional instance in (32), however, occurs in a letter containing several self-corrections, which suggests that this had merely been a careless slip of the pen by Murray, instead of a true case of faulty composition.

#### 6.4.3 *Lay for lie*

Another frequently made mistake, according to Lowth (1762: 76n8), was to confound the “Neuter Verb” *to lie* together with its conjugations, i.e. *lay* and *lain* or “lien” – a category of verbs which is classified by Huddle-

ston/Pullum (2002: 170–171) as stance verbs, denoting a state – with the transitive verb (cf. Huddleston/Pullum 2002: 53) or, as Lowth called it, “Verb Active” *to lay* together with its conjugations for preterite and past participle, i.e. “*layed*, or *laid*”. The risk of confusion between the two verbs seems to have been less of a concern to Murray, because, although both verbs and their conjugations are listed among the 168 irregular verbs in the *English Grammar* (Murray 1795: 68–73), he does not elaborate on any possible confusion between *lie* and *lay*. It was therefore the more surprising that in Murray’s letters I found two instances where he appears to have been confused about their proper use after all:

- (34) Many have unprofitably given Way to Deprefision, & / found that it has sown their Way over with more / Thorns than [*sic*] **lay** in their ~~Way~~<sup>Road</sup>. (Murray to Elizabeth Tuke, 9 April 1790; HALS: D/ESe C20:8)
- (35) In particular, I recommend it to thee not to suffer / thyself to **lay** under any Obligation to Uncle ... (Murray to John Murray, 20 February 1793; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F12)

In (34) *lay* is interpreted as the present form of the verb *to lay*, as indicated by the contents that follow this passage: “When unavoidable / Difficulties occur in our Lives, our Businefs is not to / dig at the Sore, or give up all for lost; but, bearing our / Burdens with Patience and Resignation, act our Parts / faithfully and firmly”. The entire section is indicative of a present state. As can be seen, both letters date from before Murray’s first grammar was written. In addition, there is one instance where Murray did not “confound” the two verbs, found in a letter dated four years after the publication of the *English Grammar*:

- (36) On / this acc<sup>t</sup> persons with colds are advised by Physicians **to / lie** in bed an hour or more longer than usual, in the morning. (Murray to Henry Tuke, 22 June 1799; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)

With only two instances of *lay* for *lie*, and one instance of correct usage, however, no definite conclusions can be drawn about any influence that the writing process of the grammar may possibly have had on Murray’s usage of these two verbs.

#### 6.4.4 The past participle form *wrote* versus *written*

Still on the subject of lexical verbs, Lowth (1762: 86–88) disapproved of “the Participle being used instead of the Past Time” and “much more frequently the Past Time instead of the Participle”, and he commented that he found that this “abuse has been long growing upon us”. Murray, on the other hand, merely defined irregular verbs as verbs “which do not form their preterimperfect tense, and their perfect participle, by the addition of *ed* to the verb” (Murray 1795: 67). He distinguished six classes of irregular verbs (cf. Oldireva Gustafsson 2006: 107), and included “a tolerably complete list”, as he put it (Murray 1795: 68), of these irregular verbs, with their forms for the present, the “preterimperfect” – nowadays commonly referred to as “preterite” (cf. Huddleston/Pullum 2002: 85) – and the “perfect participle” – now called “past participle” (cf. Huddleston/Pullum 2002: 50). Among the 168 verbs in Murray’s list, there are fifty-nine which show alternative forms – for either preterite or past participle forms, or for both – without allusions to possible “inexcusable” and even “barbarous” customs that, as Lowth (1762: 89–90) had put it earlier in this respect, “our ears are grown familiar with”, such as the levelled form *I have wrote* instead of *I have written*. In this respect, Murray’s grammar differs from Lowth’s. Murray (1795: 73) wrote how some of these verbs could be “conjugated regularly, as well as irregularly”; Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2002: 461, 463) observed that contemporaneous grammarians often noted it in a similar way as Murray did, but that in Lowth’s time *wrote* for *written* was still a characteristic of the language of many authors.

Some thirty years after Lowth, Murray (1795: 73), in his *English Grammar*, for *write*, nevertheless, listed only *wrote* and *written* as the proper verb forms for the preterite and the past participle forms, respectively (of the six classes, all verbs with *-en* past participles, such as *write*, are categorized as Class 5 in Murray’s grammar; Oldireva Gustafsson 2006: 107, 111). In Murray’s letters, however, we find four instances (10%) of *wrote* for the past participle of the verb *to write*, against forty-two of the form *written* that was listed as correct in his own grammar. The four instances are:

- (37) ... I was inform’d that you **had wrote** me several / Letters since your Return .... I must tell you that I have / never received a Line from you, nor knew of any / having **been wrote** to me ... (Murray

to Dr Parks, 16 November 1773; HC: *The Quaker Collection, MS 851*)

- (38) ... she **has wrote** very little since thou left us / not finisht her second Book and at present writes / worse than she did ... (Murray to Sarah Dillwyn, 16 August 1787; HC: *The Quaker Collection; MS 955, Box 11*)
- (39) Thy dear Mother receivd a Letter two days since / from our dear RJones, most of it **was wrote** on Shipboard ... (Murray to Elizabeth Tuke, 8 December 1788; HALS: *D/ESe C20:6*)

(37–39) show the only four instances in which Murray used the preterite form of an irregular verb for its participle form. All four were found in letters that were written several years before Murray even considered writing a grammar book. Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2002) noted how Lowth, despite his condemnation of *wrote* for *written* in his grammar, had likewise “confounded” the two forms in his private letters. For Murray, however, by the time that his grammar was published, showing only the variant *written* as preferred in the majority of contemporaneous grammars (see Oldireva Gustafsson 2002: 270), *written* had likewise become the only variant in his letters.

#### 6.4.5 By this means/these means/this mean

“[s]ome of the Pronominal Adjectives”, as Lowth (1762: 119–120) called them, “... have the Plural Number: as, *these, those, and they*; which must agree in Number with their Substantives”. As a clarification he added that this meant that either both demonstrative and noun in *by this means/by that means* should be singular, i.e. *by this mean/by that mean*, or plural, i.e. *by these means/by those means*; either way, “the Pronoun must agree with its Noun” (Lowth 1762: 120n5). This comment was largely copied by Murray (1795: 101–102), who wrote that “[t]he pronominal adjectives *this* and *that*, &c. and the numbers *one, two, &c.* must agree in number with their substantives ...”. As regards *by this means/by that means*, however, Murray must have imagined that after more than thirty years time had caught up on Lowth’s opinion, because he added:

The phrases, “By this means,” “By that means,” are in such general and approved practice, that it would appear awkward and affected

to use the singular number, and say, “This mean,” “That mean;” however proper it might have been formerly to write in this manner. But *this* and *that means* should be used only when they refer to what is singular; *these* and *those means*, when they respect plurals. (Murray 1795: 102)

In a later edition of the *English Grammar* (1806; see also Section 5.7.2) Murray added the following remark in smaller print:

Lowth and Johnson seem to be against the use of *means* in the singular number. They do not, however, speak decisively on the point; but rather dubiously, and as if they knew that they were questioning eminent authorities, as well as general practice. That they were not decidedly against the application of this word to the singular number, appears from their own language: “Whole sentences, whether simple or compound, may become members of other sentences by *means* of some additional *connexion*.” – Dr. Lowth’s *Introduction to English Grammar*. (Murray 1806: 158)

To underline his argument, Murray additionally observed that it was “remarkable that our present version of the Scriptures makes no use, as far as the Compiler can discover of the word *mean*”. In this 1806-edition of the *English Grammar* Murray had also altered the text from the first edition, cited above, as follows:

The word *means* in the singular number, and the phrases, “*By this means*,” “*By that means*,” are used by our best and most correct writers; namely, Bacon, Tillotson, Atterbury, Addison, Steele, Pope, &c. (Murray 1806: 156)

In a footnote on the same page Murray added example sentences for each of the “correct writers” mentioned. It appears that he wished to stress the acceptability of the construction; the change may have been induced by criticism on his treatment of the subject.

As for Murray’s own usage, I found indeed instances of *by this means* in his letters, but no more than three. One of these occurs in the following passage:

- (40) **By this / means** the whole presents itself at one view, without the trouble, / and break, of turning a leaf. (Murray to James

Pemberton, 1 September 1805; HC: *Charles Roberts Autograph Collection, MS 130*)

No instances of *by these means* or *by this mean*, which Lowth (1762: 120n5) would have preferred, are found in my corpus; nor did I come across any instances of “*this and that means*” or “*these and those means*” (Murray 1795: 102), which unfortunately excludes corroboration of this aspect of Murray’s directions on the subject by his actual usage.

#### 6.4.6 *Verb endings after thou*

On the subject of verb endings Lowth (1762: 97) wrote in his grammar: “... the verb agrees with the Nominative Case in number and person”, and one of the errors in relation to this rule that he discussed in a footnote was, “[t]hat *Thou might* fortune to thy side engage ... ought to be ... *mightest*” (Lowth 1762: 97n8). In Murray’s *English Grammar* the section “of verbs” comprises no less than thirty-seven pages (Murray 1795: 37–74). Murray introduced this part with the definition of a verb, and he explained here among other things that “[t]here are five moods of verbs”, i.e. “the Indicative, the Imperative, the Potential, the Subjunctive, and the Infinitive” (Murray 1795: 38–39). Murray’s elaborate overview of the five different moods of verbs includes the appropriate verb endings to go with 2nd person singular *thou*. Table 6.4 below shows what these endings look like in the *English Grammar* for the various tenses of the indicative, imperative, potential and subjunctive moods, with respect to the auxiliary verbs *to have* and *to be*, and for the lexical verb *to love*, as well as for the modals applied to form these moods (Murray 1795: 45–61; see also Section 5.7.3 for Murray’s comments on the subject of tenses). As can be seen, with respect to verbal agreement for the “preterimperfect” tense, and contrary to Lowth’s prescribed morphological form *mightest*, cited above, Murray preferred the form *mightst*, for the attestation of which the *OED* does not give any information.

| <i>mood</i>            | <i>to have</i>                           | <i>to be</i>                           | <i>to love</i>                           |
|------------------------|--|--|--|
| <i>Indicative</i>      |  |  |  |
| present tense          | thou <i>hast</i>                         | thou <i>art</i>                        | thou <i>lovest</i>                       |
| preterimperfect tense  | thou <i>hadst</i>                        | thou <i>wast</i>                       | thou <i>lovedst</i>                      |
| preterperfect tense    | thou <i>hast</i> had                     | thou <i>hast</i> been                  | thou <i>hast</i> loved                   |
| preterpluperfect tense | thou <i>hadst</i> had                    | thou <i>hadst</i> been                 | thou <i>hadst</i> loved                  |
| first future tense     | thou <i>shalt</i> or <i>wilt</i><br>have | thou <i>shalt</i> or <i>wilt</i><br>be | thou <i>shalt</i> or <i>wilt</i><br>love |

| <i>mood</i>            | <i>to have</i>  | <i>to be</i>   | <i>to love</i>  |
|------------------------|---|--|---|
| second future tense    | thou <i>shalt</i> or <i>wilt</i><br>have had  | thou <i>shalt</i> or <i>wilt</i><br>have been  | thou <i>shalt</i> or <i>wilt</i><br>have loved  |
| <i>Imperative</i>      | <i>have</i> thou, or <i>do</i><br>thou <i>have</i>  | <i>be</i> thou, or <i>do</i><br>thou <i>be</i>   | <i>love</i> thou, or <i>do</i><br>thou <i>love</i>  |
| <i>Potential</i>       |   |  |   |
| present tense          | thou <i>mayst</i> or <i>canst</i><br>have   | thou <i>mayst</i> or <i>canst</i><br>be  | thou <i>mayst</i> or <i>canst</i><br>love   |
| preterimperfect tense  | thou <i>mightst</i> ,<br><i>couldst</i> , <i>wouldst</i> , or<br><i>shouldst</i> have     | thou <i>mightst</i> ,<br><i>couldst</i> , <i>wouldst</i> , or<br><i>shouldst</i> be        | thou <i>mightst</i> ,<br><i>couldst</i> , <i>wouldst</i> , or<br><i>shouldst</i> love       |
| preterperfect tense    | thou <i>mayst</i> or <i>canst</i><br>have had   | thou <i>mayst</i> or<br><i>canst</i> have been   | thou <i>mayst</i> or <i>canst</i><br>have loved   |
| preterpluperfect tense | thou <i>mightst</i> ,<br><i>couldst</i> , <i>wouldst</i> , or<br><i>shouldst</i> have had | thou <i>mightst</i> ,<br><i>couldst</i> , <i>wouldst</i> , or<br><i>shouldst</i> have been | thou <i>mightst</i> , <i>couldst</i> ,<br><i>wouldst</i> , or <i>shouldst</i><br>have loved |
| <i>Subjunctive</i>     |   |  |   |
| present tense          | if thou <i>have</i>   | if thou <i>be</i>  | if thou <i>love</i>   |
| preterimperfect tense  | if thou <i>had</i>  | if thou <i>wert</i>  | if thou <i>loved</i>  |
| preterperfect tense    | if thou <i>have</i> had   | if thou <i>have</i> been   | if thou <i>have</i> loved   |
| preterpluperfect tense | if thou <i>had</i> had  | if thou <i>had</i> been  | if thou <i>had</i> loved  |
| first future tense     | if thou <i>shall</i> or<br><i>will</i> have   | if thou <i>shall</i> or<br><i>will</i> be  | if thou <i>shall</i> or<br><i>will</i> love   |
| second future tense    | if thou <i>shall</i> or<br><i>will</i> have had   | if thou <i>shall</i> or<br><i>will</i> have been   | if thou <i>shall</i> or<br><i>will</i> have loved   |

Table 6.4 *Verb endings for thou prescribed in Murray's English Grammar (1795: 54–67; all italics mine).*

As discussed in Chapter 3, Murray's letters contain numerous instances of the 2nd person singular pronoun *thou*, which raises the question if the verb endings involved will always match the forms prescribed in his *English Grammar*, as presented in Table 6.4 above. The following observation by Gould Brown in a footnote to this particular subject in his *Institutes of English Grammar* (1856) leads to the expectation that this may not be the case:

The writings of the *Friends*, being mostly of a grave cast, afford but few examples of their customary mode of forming the verb in connection with the pronoun *thou*, in familiar discourse. The following may serve to illustrate it: "To devote all thou *had* to his service .... The writer has met with thousands that use the second person singular in conversation, but never with one that employed, on ordinary occasions, all the regular endings of the solemn style. The simplification of the second person singular, which, to a

greater or less extent, is everywhere adopted by the *Friends*, and which is here defined and explained, removes from each verb eighteen of these peculiar terminations;<sup>3</sup> and, (if the number of English verbs be, as stated by several grammarians, 80[?]0,) disburdens their familiar dialect of 144,000 of these awkward and useless appendages. This simplification is supported by usage as extensive as the familiar use of the pronoun *thou* .... With the subject of this note, those who put *you* for *thou*, can have no concern; and many think it unworthy of notice, because *Murray* has said nothing about it. Many persons who are not ignorant of grammar and who employ the pronoun aright, sometimes improperly sacrifice concord to a slight improvement in sound, and give to the verb the ending of the third person, for that of the second. (Brown 1856: 72–73)

And indeed, this expectation was fulfilled. Eighty-three of the 450 instances in Murray's letters, or slightly more than 18%, of indicative verb endings following *thou* do not agree with the prescribed forms. They concern both present tense and preterite verb forms of a great variety of verbs, auxiliaries as well as lexical verbs. Below are six examples (41–46) of such verbal disagreement, when judged against Murray's overview (see Table 6.4 above): four in the indicative mood with forms of the auxiliaries *to have* and *to be*, and of the lexical verbs *to think* and *to leave*, and two in the potential mood with forms of *will* and *may*. The first of these examples was found in a letter to his brother John:

- (41) I coud have sent for Enquiry to any Part of the Kingdom / , but this **thou has** not given the least Trace of. (Murray to John Murray, 30 April 1792; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F11)

The second one comes from a letter to John Pemberton:

- (42) It was very pleasing to understand, / by thy Lettr to Wm. Tuke from Edinboro, that / **thou was** on thy Way to England. (Murray

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<sup>3</sup> For this observation Brown calculated eighteen "terminations", while the overview taken from Murray (1795; see Table 6.4) shows only seventeen; this means that perhaps Brown had included the infinitive as well, although, obviously, this "mood" does not have any conjugations.



to John Pemberton, 9 October 1786; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F2)

Next is an example from another letter to his brother John, in which Murray asked to be sent a particular pamphlet written by DeWitt Clinton (see Section 2.4), who was at that time the Governor of New York City:

- (43) At the same time, / please to send any other books thou **thinks** interesting. (Murray to John Murray, 2 December 1815; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F19)

In this context it is of interest to refer to Pietsch (2005), who notes that in the *Survey of English Dialects* (SED) *thou* is attested in a large area in the North of England (including York, where Murray lived), and that in those instances this pronoun almost invariably commands agreement with *-s* forms and rarely with *-st* forms. This phenomenon, however, does not fall under what is known as the “Northern Subject Rule” – a grammatical pattern, in which present tense verbs may take the verbal *-s* suffix when they are not directly adjacent to a personal pronoun – according to Pietsch (2005: 76). Although beyond the scope of the present study, Murray’s usage begs further investigation with both the survey and this rule in mind.

Other irregular examples are the following. One occurs in a letter to a daughter of his friend William Tuke:

- (44) My dear Hannah and myself continue / nearly in the same state as to health,<sup>as that</sup> in which / **thou left** us. (Murray to Elizabeth Tuke, 13 May 1794; HALS: *D/ESe* C20:18)

The example in (45) was found in an earlier letter to Elizabeth Tuke, in which Murray referred to the state of health of his wife Hannah:

- (45) She keeps steadily to the / bathing with Brandy. **Thou woud** hear she got to / Ackworth, and that I have survived the Separation. (Murray to Elizabeth Tuke, 15 August 1793; HALS: *D/ESe* C20:15)

And a final example is from another letter to John Pemberton, in which Murray discussed the feeble health of a mutual friend:

- (46) ... and [he] exprefs'd / a Hope that if he shou'd go soon, **thou might** be within / Reach of Notice so as to be at the Funeral—  
(Murray to John Pemberton, 22 January 1786; SC: *Charles Francis Jenkins Autograph Collection*)

As can be seen in (41–46), these irregular verb forms are found in letters dated as early as 1786 and as late as 1815, addressed to his brother John but also to the non-Quaker John Pemberton. In the following table I have listed the number of tokens in Murray's letters for each of these six irregular verb forms, together with the number of instances of "correct" verb endings. I have added both morphological variants for *might*, the one that Lowth preferred, i.e. *mightest*, and the one that Murray favoured in his grammar, i.e. *mightst*.

| <i>regular verb form</i>   | <i># tokens</i> | <i>irregular verb form</i> | <i># tokens</i> |
|----------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|-----------------|
| thou hast                  | 82              | thou has                   | 3               |
| thou wast                  | 16              | thou was                   | 2               |
| thou thinkest              | 1               | thou thinks                | 2               |
| thou leftest               | –               | thou left                  | 9               |
| thou woudst                | 1               | thou woud                  | 2               |
| thou mightest/thou mightst | –/2             | thou might                 | 3               |

Table 6.5 *Verbal agreement and disagreement in Murray's letters.*

As can be seen, verbal disagreement in Murray's letters occurred with both present and preterite forms. With nine instances, *thou left* is the one that was most recurrently found in my corpus. As illustrated in Table 6.4 above, if Murray had followed the rules in his own – and Lowth's (1762) – grammar to the letter, he should have used the verb forms *hast*, *wast*, *thinkest*, *leftest*, *wouldst*, and *mightst* in examples (41–46), respectively (see also Table 6.5). Murray had every interest, as a grammarian, to write correct verb endings and, as a Quaker, especially after *thou* (see Section 3.5 on the preferred use of *thou* among Quakers). Yet, with such a large number of verb endings after the 2nd person singular pronoun *thou* in disagreement with these rules, it appears that this particular construction did not come naturally to him. Possibly, as Brown (1856: 73; see above) suggested, Murray merely followed the custom among Friends to simplify these verb endings after *thou*, on occasion. Analysis of all verbs individually in his letters, taking into account the backgrounds of his addressees, may provide similar wide-varying results, and further comparison to Quaker correspondence could result in interesting findings.

### 6.4.7 The inflectional subjunctive

With regard to the inflectional subjunctive, in his grammar Lowth (1762: 52n4) asked the rhetorical question if for the 2nd person singular pronoun *thou* the past tense *wert* should really be allowed “to be the same with *was*”. Additionally, he remarked that “Hypothetical, Conditional, Concessive, and Exceptive Conjunctions” all require the subjunctive mood (Lowth 1762: 140–141). Murray, in his *English Grammar*, wrote rather extensively about the subjunctive mood, which “represents a thing under a condition, motive, wish, supposition, &c.” (Murray 1795: 39); with respect to choosing the proper combination of conjunction and mood, he noted that:

Some conjunctions require the indicative, some the subjunctive mode, after them; others have no influence at all on the mode. The conjunctions *if*, *though*, *unless*, *except*, *whether*, &c. generally require the subjunctive mode after them .... as a general rule, that when something contingent or doubtful is implied, the subjunctive ought to be used (Murray 1795: 128).<sup>4</sup>

In Table 6.6 these five subordinating conjunctions that require the indicative, arranged according to Murray’s observation above, are shown, as found in his letters. The conjunctions introduced clauses with the 2nd person pronoun *thou* in subject position.

| <i>conjunction</i>             | <i>subjunctive</i> | <i>indicative</i> | <i>total</i> |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| <i>if</i>                      | 11 (32%)           | 23 (68%)          | 34 (100%)    |
| <i>though</i>                  | –                  | 1 (100%)          | 1 (100%)     |
| <i>unless</i> (+ <i>when</i> ) | –                  | 1 (100%)          | 1 (100%)     |
| <i>except</i>                  | –                  | –                 | –            |
| <i>whether</i>                 | –                  | 5 (100%)          | 5 (100%)     |
| <b>total</b>                   | 11 (27%)           | 30 (73%)          | 41 (100%)    |

Table 6.6 *Distribution of verbs forms according to conjunction in Murray’s letters.*

According to Auer (2008b: 149), the use of the subjunctive as an inflectionally marked verb had started to decline in ME times. However, if the nineteenth-century language user tried to be formally correct, conjunctions such as *if* still required the subjunctive. And this striving for correctness is what we might expect of a prescriptive grammarian such

<sup>4</sup> For an extensive comparison of the treatment of the subjunctive by various eighteenth-century grammarians, see Auer (2004).

as Murray is said to have been. Nevertheless, when he applied the subjunctive mood for 2nd person singular *thou* in his letters, Murray appears to have been even less rule-abiding than with the indicative (see Section 6.4.6). Of the thirty-four instances where he chose to use a conditional clause beginning with *if*, only eleven agree with his own paradigm, as for example the two instances that were found in the following passage from a letter to his brother John:

- (47) If **thou should think**, that, on my part, the correspondence is not / so regularly supported as formerly, I hope thou wilt attribute it / to the true cause, namely, the failure of conveyance by the / Packets; .... If **thou think** it useful, get a watch of five Guineas for Sister Mary. (Murray to John Murray, 31 [*sic*] September 1795; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F12*)

The two instances in (47) form a remarkable case. In one and the same letter Murray used both the regular subjunctive construction *if thou think* and the modal auxiliary form *if thou should think*. According to Grund/Walker (2006: 92), it has been argued that these two constructions are not semantically equivalent, the latter form being more specific in meaning. And, as illustrated in Table 6.4, the construction *if thou should think* was not included in Murray's overview of verb endings. There is, however, no way of telling if this distinction was perceived by Murray. This leaves as many as twenty-three instances of subjunctive verb forms with *thou* that do not agree with those Murray himself prescribed, which is a staggering 68%. Without exception, in these instances he used the indicative form instead, as for example in another letter to his brother, in which Murray mentioned his concern that his long-time friend John Jay might not have received a set of books that he had sent him earlier:

- (48) If **thou shouldst** meet with him, or have any other opportunity / to know certainly, it would be a satisfaction to me, to be / informed of it (Murray to John Murray, 1 June 1801; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F14*),

or in a letter to George Dillwyn, a Quaker from Philadelphia, in which Murray discussed the publication of the latest edition of his *English Reader*:

- (49) I shall therefore / consider it as a favour, if thou **wilt** peruse it atten= / tively. (Murray to G. Dillwyn, May 1799; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F3)

Equally remarkable is the fact that Murray's letters contain eight instances of *when* as a conjunction in hypothetical conditional clauses with 2nd person pronoun *thou* in subject position, where *if* seems to have been called for. In these clauses not a single verb form agrees with the prescriptions in Murray's grammar for the subjunctive mood; Murray simply used the indicative form instead, for instance in the form of *thou art* (see Table 6.4 above), as in (50):

- (50) Packet / after Packet arrives, and no letter for me: nor any / by private ships, via Liverpool. I believe I must / request the favour of thee, in future, to write regu= / larly by the packets, unless **when thou art** sending / a parcel to me, by the way of Liverpool .... **When thou art** so much engaged, / or indisposed, as to render it inconvenient to send / me a letter by the packet, I hope my dear niece, / Mary Perkins, will be disposed to do it for thee. (Murray to John Murray, 31 May 1817; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F20)

This use of the conjunction *when* in (50) is fairly peculiar, because it implies taking the occurrence of events for granted (cf. Huddleston/Pullum 2002: 191). But Murray did not refer to actual occurrences; he had no knowledge of his brother's future intentions to send him parcels, via Liverpool or any other port, nor was he aware of his brother being "indisposed"; if anything, he could expect that his brother would keep him updated on his affairs, because that was so arranged; there was simply no excuse for being too busy. In other words, in (50) the two conjunctions *when* introduce suppositions, and *if* should have been used here. On the other hand, it seems appropriate that Murray did not use the subjunctive form *be* here, because the conjunction *when* is not normally associated with the subjunctive. In Grund/Walker (2006: 99), for instance, the overview showing the distribution of the verb forms (i.e. subjunctive, indicative, or modal auxiliaries) in nineteenth-century usage gives twenty different conjunctions that require the subjunctive, but the list does not include *when*. It must be said, moreover, that for some instances of the conjunction *when* found in Murray's letters it is difficult to assess with certainty whether his intention was subject to "condition, motive, wish,

supposition, &c.” (Murray 1795: 39). But the contents of the passage quoted in (50) strongly suggest that Murray did have serious doubts about whether his brother had sent any letters to him lately and, for that reason, there and in similar sentences *if* plus inflectional subjunctive would have been in closer agreement to the rule in his grammar. What is more, in four of the eight instances of hypothetical conditional clauses introduced by *when*, the verb endings do not agree with the *subject* in 2nd person singular either. This is for example the case in a letter to his brother John, in which Murray discussed possible strategies in the event that he wished some of his overseas property to be sold:

- (51) ... **when thou thinks** that, or any other Measure, / may be for my Advantage, thou wilt ... (Murray to John Murray, 20 February 1793; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F12)

In (51) the verb ending would have agreed with a subject in 3rd person singular. As can be seen in (51) as well, the conjunction *when* is used subjunctively because it has a hypothetical meaning (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 77), which means that Murray should have used “if thou *think*”, according to the rule in the *English Grammar* (see Table 6.4 above). Again, and similar to my findings in the previous subsection, Murray appears to have been less than comfortable with the choice for the appropriate verb endings after *thou*, which includes the subjunctive mood.

#### 6.4.8 Whose as the possessive of which

“*Whose* is by some authors made the Possessive Case of *which*, and applied to things as well as persons; I think, improperly”, Lowth (1762: 38n4) wrote on what he considered the incorrect use of the relative pronoun *whose* for *of which*. Thirty years later, Murray, in the *English Grammar*, wrote the following about the use of the possessive pronoun *whose*:

... *whose* is sometimes used as the possessive case of *which*; thus, “Is there any other doctrine whose followers are punished?” (Murray 1795: 33)

Several pages further down, he provided an explanation:

The word *whose* **begins** likewise to be restricted to persons, but it is not done so generally, but that good writers, and even in prose,

use it when speaking of things. The construction is not, however, generally pleasing; as we may see in the following instances. "Pleasure, *whose* nature," &c. "Call every production, *whose* parts and *whose* nature," &c. (Murray 1795: 98)

Although Murray admitted that the use of *whose* for *of which* started to become inappropriate, he still considered it quite acceptable to do so. After all, "good writers" used it, too, and not only in their poetry. Therefore it is not unexpected to find that Murray used this construction in his grammar as well as in his letters. In the *English Grammar*, discussing the conjugations of the irregular verb, he wrote, for instance:

Such [i.e. verbs] **whose** present and preterimperfect senses, and perfect participle, are the same. (Murray 1795: 68)

And in his letters we find the following instances, the last one dating from 1819:

- (52) ... it would be rather premature / to set forth the benefits of a measure **whose** propriety and / principle is disputed. (Murray to anon., 30 May 1796; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)
- (53) And they / are blessings **whose** effects have not passed away. (Lindley & Hannah Murray to Esther & Maria Tuke, 28 November 1815; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)
- (54) ... and / will likely diminish pain, promote sleep, increase appetite; and tend to tran= / quillize and invigorate other parts of the system, **whose** well being depends on / a good state of the Lungs. (Murray to John Murray, 30 January 1819; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F20*)

These are the only three instances of *whose* for *of which* out of a total of eleven similarly constructed sentences in my corpus. The remaining eight have a construction with *of which*, as for instance in (55):

- (55) We shall, especially, be deeply sensible of our guilt; the remem= / brance **of which** will fill us with shame and confusion ... (Murray to Henry Tuke, n.d.; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)

With respect to the use of the “pronoun relative *who*” (Murray 1795: 97), an additional observation can be made here. In the *English Grammar* Murray specifically stated that its use

is so much appropriated to persons, that there is generally harshness in the application of it, except to the proper names of persons ... A term which only implies the idea of persons, and expresses them by some circumstance or epithet, will hardly authorise the use of it; as, “That faction in England *who* most powerfully opposed his arbitrary pretensions.” It had better have been “That faction *which*,” and the same remark will serve for ... “France, *who* was in alliance with Sweden.” (Murray 1795: 97–98)

Nevertheless, the apparent “harshness” was disregarded on two occasions by Murray himself. The first instance of such application of *who* for “the idea of persons” is:

- (56) The design and regulations of the Institution, are / most judiciously executed and supported, by a stated / committee **who** meet monthly ... (Murray to Henry Tuke, 6 January 1810; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)

In addition, in a letter to his brother John, in which Murray announced that the British government had decided to abolish the slave trade – a subject that, as has been illustrated in Chapter 2, was very close to Murray’s heart – we find the following passage:

- (57) Thus after 4 Years Stirring of the Subject amongst / the People of England<sup>and Scotland</sup>, is the Trade resolved to be put / an End to, tho’ they had long been used to think that / the Welfare of the British West Indies depended upon / its Continuance: a Lefson this to America **who** has / had this Subject under Consideration these 90 Years, / and still in many Parts retains it! (Murray to John Murray, 30 April 1792; SC: *Lindley Murray papers RG5/198 S1 F11*)

The letter containing this passage was written three years before the *English Grammar* was published, but Murray wrote the letter containing (56) fifteen years after the publication date of 1795, so it appears that his involvement with grammar writing did not specifically influence this particular stricture.



## 6.5 Murray's usage of capitals

As concerns the use of capital letters, by the time Murray started to work on his *English Grammar*, the English language, according to Osselton (1985: 49), had “settled down to something near the English practice which obtains today, with initial capitals sparingly used, save with proper nouns and at the beginning of sentences”. This had been partly the result of printers’ practice; after all, capital letters required more space on a page, as shown in a printer’s manual of the period (e.g. ed. Foxon 1965: 50). The same manual also stated that capitals “in the present day” (i.e. 1808) needed to be used “only to distinguish proper names of persons, places, &c.” (ed. Foxon 1965: 60–61). The directions that Murray formulated in the *English Grammar* on the subject of capitalization are the following:

It was formerly the custom to begin every noun with a capital; but as this practice was troublesome, and gave the writing or printing a crowded and confused appearance, it has been discontinued. (Murray 1795: 174)

By 1795, however, according to Murray, the use of capital letters was restricted to the first word of any “piece of writing”, as he put it, and the first word after a period, of a quotation, of an example, or of every line in poetry, while capitals were additionally used for “Appellations of the Deity”, proper names of, for instance, persons and places, and adjectives deriving from these, words of particular importance (such as “The Reformation”), and for every noun in the titles of books as well as for the pronoun *I* and “the interjection *O!*”. In addition, Murray stated that other words could be added to the list, provided that “they are remarkably emphatical, or the principal subject of the composition” (Murray 1795: 174–175). This largely agrees with the instructions to printers and authors in Stower’s early nineteenth-century printer’s grammar on the use of capitals:

The use of capitals has been considerably abridged of late years .... They are considered, in the present day, as necessary only to distinguish proper names of persons, places, &c. There are however, some particular works, in which authors deem it essential to mark emphatical words with a capital .... The method [for the author] of denoting a capital, or words of capital letters in

manuscript, is by underscoring it with three distinct lines. Capitals ... look well in titles, inscriptions, &c but it requires taste and judgment in the compositor to display them to advantage. (ed. Foxon 1965: 60–61)

Earlier, eighteenth-century spelling-book compilers, on the other hand, had tried to set up rules for defining contextual conditions for capitalizing nouns – as in the case when a word was related to the main subject discussed – although, because context often depended on the understanding of the reader, they could never be “entirely successful”, as Osselton (1985: 58) suggests.

Turning again to Murray’s letters, I found that throughout the period they covered, i.e. 1767 to 1825, the categories of nouns that were specified in the first edition of the *English Grammar* as needing an initial capital all occur with a capital. In his earliest letters, however, written between 1767 and the early 1790s, there is a fairly high incidence of additional words that were capitalized. This agrees with the point made by Osselton (1985: 52) that no “rigid or purely mechanical system for initial capitals [was] ever universally established”, while, as he adds, in those days the reader was “constantly aware that the initial capitals mean something, though he may be at a loss to define precisely what it is they do mean”. In Murray’s letters, with only very few exceptions, these “extra” initial capitals are all found with nouns. To give an example of how Murray consciously deliberated with himself whether an initial capital was essential, the following passage is provided, taken from a letter that was written to a friend overseas who appears to have asked Murray for details about mutual acquaintances in England:

- (58) It is pleasant to have it in my Power to render thee any / , even the smallest Services; & I desire thou may make **Use** [*U* overwrites *u*] / of me freely in any Matter which<sup>st</sup> may be in my Ability / to afsist thee. (Murray to anon., 16 January 1786; NYPL: *Emmet Thomas Addis Collection, no.11185*)

As can be seen, Murray capitalized all nouns in this passage and he even corrected the initially written lower case *u* in *Use* into a capital *U*.

From about 1793 the practice of capitalizing most nouns changed in Murray’s letters, however, and fewer and fewer nouns were written with an initial capital. This transition did not occur overnight, but took a few years, and in the mid to late 1790s quite a few of Murray’s letters

show a mixture of initial capital and lower case letters for nouns. To illustrate the transition process, I have selected letters from the period 1792–1800, addressed to one recipient: Murray’s brother John. By selecting a single addressee I have tried to eliminate the possibility of a biased outcome as a result of possible accommodation to various recipients, which could influence a person’s use of extra initial capitals. Admittedly, the possibility of accommodation by Murray in this respect is extremely slight, because at the time of writing these letters, he was a plain Quaker, which entailed the principle of equality and excluded the practice of varying ones language according to their recipients, as pointed out in Section 3.4. Murray’s letters selected for analysis date from 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795 and 1800, and apart from being selected according to year written they were randomly chosen. In approximately equally sized amounts of text (some 700 words each) I counted the total number of nouns and the total number of capitalized nouns. I disregarded all names, legal and financial terminology and titles, including appellations referring to God, as well as first words of sentences and the pronoun *I*. For further comparison I added the last letter in my corpus to John Murray, which dates from 1819. The results of this analysis are shown in Table 6.7 below:

| <i>letter no.</i> | <i>month-year</i> | <i># of nouns</i> | <i># of capitalized nouns</i> | <i>% capitalized</i> |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| I                 | Sept 1792         | 176               | 176                           | 100                  |
| II                | Febr 1793         | 160               | 157                           | 98.1                 |
| III               | Febr 1794         | 161               | 89                            | 55.2                 |
| IV                | Sept 1795         | 138               | 39                            | 28.3                 |
| V                 | Febr/Dec 1800     | 191               | 13                            | 6.8                  |
| VI                | Jan 1819          | 124               | 4                             | 3.2                  |

Table 6.7 *Capitalization in Murray’s letters.*

Table 6.7 illustrates that, although Murray’s use of extra initial capitals had already decreased very slightly in 1793, the obvious turning point took place during the years 1794 and 1795. This coincides with the period in which Murray became interested in teaching and eventually writing a grammar. This transition is best illustrated in letter III from Table 6.7, which is dated early 1794, where we still find *Letter* but also *letter*, and *Months* as well as *months*. Nouns such as *Parcel*, *Journey* and *Manner* are still capitalized, but other nouns, for instance *conveyance*, *years* and *consequences*, have lost the initial capitals. The next passage, taken from letter III, serves to illustrate this mixed usage:

- (59) Thy last **letter** gave us the **satisfaction** / of knowing that thou had arrived safe to thy **Home** / and **Family** at New York, after, I trust, a **Journey** attended / with **peace** and comfortable **Recollection**. The **Letter** / which thou wrote to me from Baltimore has not yet reached me. (Murray to John Murray, 3 February 1794; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F12)

In letter IV from Table 6.7, dated 1795, the majority of the words with an initial capital relate to illness (e.g. in *Rheumatism & Colic*), relatives (such as *Brother* and *Uncle*), and education (e.g. *Tutors*, *Branches of Education*). With respect to this last topic, several words that from the contents appear to be focal points are initially capitalized. They are shown in (60):

- (60) And I shall be pleased / to be informed by thee: Whether you mean it a **Charity School**, or partly so? / Whether the number of **Children** is to be limited [*sic*], or to be accommodated / to the demand? What **Branches** of **Education** are to be taught? / What prospect you have of **Tutors**? Whether it is for both **Boys & Girls**? / What **Limitations** as to **Age**? What **Subscriptions**? What **Estate** purchased? / I consider the **Education** of youth as of great importance. (Murray to John Murray, 31 [*sic*] September 1795; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F12)

Judging by the contents of this letter, in which Murray discussed details regarding the establishment of a boarding school in New York, many if not all of the nouns in (60) must be considered as having “particular importance” (Murray 1795: 175), as is also confirmed by Murray’s words in this particular passage. As such their capitalization agrees with Murray’s rules cited above, since they were “the principal subject of the composition”. This then leaves very few extra initial capitals in letter IV, such as *Model* or *Remonstrance*, more or less unaccounted for, which makes Murray’s capitalization practice in 1795 very close to the rules in his own grammar. In letter V from 1800, with the exception of *Coat*, all instances of initial capitalization relate to either relatives (i.e. *Sisters*, *Brother*, *Aunt*, *Cousin*, and *Children*), or to physical discomfort (i.e. *Rheumatism* and *Friction*, the latter word underlined for emphasis). By comparison, a letter to Dr Walker from roughly the same period, i.e. 1801, see Appendix D, does not contain nouns in either of these two categories; it also does not contain instances of extra initial capitals.)

Finally, in letter VI from 1819 all four extra initial capitals relate to physical organs and exercise (i.e. *Liver*, twice *Lungs*, and *Hoisting*), as can be seen in the following passage from a letter in which Murray gives “two prescriptions” for his niece Mary Perkins, who appears to have been in poor health at the time:

- (61) The **Lungs** may thus, by degrees, become less irritated and torn .... The second recommendation which I offer to my niece, is, / to use daily a certain exercise, which may be called **Hoisting**, and is / a motion of the **arms** similar to that which sailors use in pulling the / ropes. (Murray to John Murray, 30 January 1819; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* – RG5/198 S1 F20)

By contrast, in the same letter VI many instances of nouns denoting body parts, organs and disease, such as *chest*, *lungs*, *cough*, *consumptions* and *arms* – an example of spelling of the latter word can also be seen in (61) above – no longer received a capital.

The change that took place in Murray’s use of extra initial capitals for the most important part occurred in the period when the earliest editions of Murray’s grammar books were published. As indicated, there are a few typical categories of nouns, however, for which Murray continued to use initial capitals longer than average. They include words indicating body parts and diseases, like *Limbs* and *Voice* (1794), *Head-Ach* (1794), *Yellow Fever* (1798) and *Rheumatism* (1800), and numbers, such as *Three hundred* (1799), *Sixth* (1799) and *Twenty one* (1822). Nouns denoting relatives, such as *Sister* (1815) or *Nephew* (1816), are another long-lingering category; possibly, he saw these as titles. To illustrate that the capitalization of this type of noun was a conscious decision on Murray’s part, as in the case of (58), in a letter to his brother John he corrected himself as follows:

- (62) I have not yet receivd a letter from / either my **Nephew or my Niece** [N overwrites n] Perkins, though / it is very near six months since they were mar= / ried. (Murray to John Murray, 29 September 1806; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F16)

Remarkably, in (62) above Murray corrected *niece* into *Niece*, but in the following passage from a letter that was written less than two years earlier, also to his brother, he did not change *sister* into *Sister*, although it shows a similar construction:

- (63) I am pleased to find, that after thy proposal / respecting purchasing a farm for **Brother and sister** / to reside on, ... (Murray to John Murray, 19 February 1805; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* RG5/198 S1 F15)

In the absence of more combinations analogous to those in (62) and (63), it seems unlikely that gender played a role here. The difference in capitalization – corrected in (62) by Murray, perhaps because his Quaker beliefs did not allow him to make that distinction – is probably purely coincidental.

In Murray's letters, none of the extra initial capitals discussed above seem to indicate emphasis, nor do the words concerned belong to any of the categories discussed in the *English Grammar* that required an initial capital. On the other hand, it might be argued that perhaps Murray implicitly emphasized words in the categories body parts and diseases, since his own physical wellness, or absence thereof, was a recurring theme in his letters. If he wished to indicate stress, Murray underlined words (see also Section 4.4.1 for Murray's practice of underlining for emphasis), as in the case of *Hoisting* in (61). Osselton (1985: 56), too, notes a certain amount of "selective capitalization according to semantic category" at the time, which often varied from writer to writer, and he includes a few categories of nouns that according to writers of spelling books of the period occasionally "qualified for an initial capital", such as names of arts, sciences, virtues and their opposites, materials for housekeeping or used for a trade, and, somewhat surprisingly perhaps, names of certain dishes of meat. The categories in Murray's overview, as listed above, however, are not among those mentioned here by Osselton (1985), and his private preference to capitalize these nouns lingered on well into the nineteenth century, which is somewhat longer than Osselton (1985: 59) suggested was the case for this particular habit in letter writing.

## 6.6 "Shew or show"

Murray needed more than five pages in the *English Grammar* to give "a tolerably complete list of the irregular verbs", and the 168 verbs concerned are alphabetically arranged from *abide* to *write* (Murray 1795: 68–73). "In the preceding list," Murray (1795: 73–74) wrote, "some of the verbs will be found to be conjugated regularly, as well as irregularly .... There is a preference to be given to some of these, which custom and

judgment must determine.” Murray thus did not give a preferred alternative for all of the irregular verbs that could be conjugated regularly as well as irregularly. Some, such as “shew *or* show”, equally allowed for two different spelling variants, according to Murray, so he exemplified this as follows: “shewed *or* showed, shewn *or* shown” (Murray 1795: 72). The *OED* (s.v. show) likewise gives both options for *show* for the period, indicating that the spelling *shew*, although currently obsolete, was prevalent in the eighteenth century and not uncommon in the first half of the nineteenth century. As regards printing practice at the time, in the first edition of Murray’s *English Grammar*, for example, only instances of *shew* are found, except for two occasions of *show* where it concerns a citation from a poem (Murray 1795: 157). Eleven years later, in the fifteenth edition of Murray’s *English Grammar* from 1806, however, all instances of *shew* had been replaced by *show*. When comparing this practice to Murray’s own usage, we can see that it is in complete agreement to these developments; the results of this comparison are given in the following table:

| <i>spelling form</i>     | <i># tokens<br/>until 1799</i> | <i># tokens<br/>in 1799–1800</i> | <i># tokens<br/>from 1801 onward</i> |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>shew/shewed/shewn</i> | 9                              | 1                                | –                                    |
| <i>show/showed/shown</i> | –                              | 3                                | 23                                   |

Table 6.8 *Spelling forms for shew and show in Murray’s letters.*

It appears from Table 6.8 that Murray developed a preference for the variant *show* over a very short period of time: until 1799 we find nine instances of *shew* and none of *show*; in the period from 1801 onward we find twenty-three instances of *show* and none of *shew*. Again therefore, though the figures are only small, we can observe a very clear transition period, which took place between 1799 and the end of 1800, in which period we see three instances of *show* as well as one of *shew*. This transition will be illustrated in the following two passages. The first one (64) contains the last instance of *shew* that was found in my corpus, which is from a letter to Murray’s brother John dated February 1800; the second, in (65), contains the first instance of *show*; it derives from a letter to the American Quaker George Dillwyn, dated May 1799:

- (64) **Shew** the paper to J Collins. (Murray to John Murray, 3 February 1800; SC: *Lindley Murray papers* – RG5/198 S1 F13)

- (65) The inclosed paper, the price of the Copy Right, and the sale of the work ... **show** the opinion of persons not of our society ... (Murray to George Dillwyn, May 1799; SC: *Lindley Murray papers – RG5/198 S1 F3*)

Murray's usage, as shown in Table 6.8, agrees with the above observation in the *OED* regarding the prevalence of the spelling *shew*. In the light of all this it is interesting to see that he commented on the pronunciation of the verb in a letter to his friend Samuel Tuke, who appears to have been preparing an appeal to one of the Quaker Meetings. Murray advised him on some aspects of presenting the case properly, and he further recommended to Tuke

... that it will be very proper to attend to the accurate pronunciation of words, and give them their established accentuation. In particular, the word shew should have the full sound of show.<sup>5</sup> (Murray to Samuel Tuke, 19 May 1816; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)

Murray's observation also agrees with the remark in the *OED* that *shew* represented an obsolete pronunciation, as indicated by rhymes like *view* and *true*, down to the *beginning of the eighteenth* century. But it is noteworthy that Murray felt the need to advise Tuke on the pronunciation of the word at the *beginning of the nineteenth* century, because this seems to indicate that, at the time of writing, the process of change was still not fully completed; Murray apparently assumed that for Tuke the modernized pronunciation was not yet self-evident. Finally, it may be remarked that none of the other thirty-two irregular verbs on Murray's list that equally allowed for variants of either the "preterimperfect" or the "present participle", such as for instance *break* ("brake *or* broke") or *ride* ("rid *or* ridden"), showed any variation in Murray's letters.

## 6.7 Concluding remarks

For my analyses in this chapter on Murray's usage and his grammar I have focused on grammatical strictures that were the subject of many eighteenth-century grammars, in particular the one by Lowth. A few have been complained about until today, as Crystal's (1995: 194)

<sup>5</sup> Murray added here another observation on pronunciation: "The word afterwards, should have the accent on the first syllable, not the last.— But these are little matters".



Grammatical Top Ten shows. My analyses concerned the lists of late twentieth-century grammatical strictures, compiled by Crystal (1995: 194), and of eighteenth-century proscriptions, formulated in Lowth's (1762) grammar and listed by Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2006a: 553–555), to which I added Murray's practice of capitalization, as this was a topical issue at the time (Osselton 1985), and his usage of the spelling variants *shew* and *show*, which illustrates the process of spelling change that this verb underwent. I have illustrated that Murray's usage did not always agree with the rules that were laid down in his own *English Grammar*, while at the same time the rules in Murray's *English Grammar* did not always agree with the rules in Lowth's eighteenth-century grammar, which was the most influential one of the grammars that Murray had consulted to compile his own. Several of these rules, too, are still observed by present-day native-English speakers. Analysis showed that from the ten complaints on Crystal's list, only four were relevant in connection with Murray's usage, i.e. "the proper placement of *only*", "*none* to be followed by a singular verb", *preposition stranding*, and *shall/will/will* (see Table 6.1). Of these four strictures, Murray's use of the first two was in agreement with his own grammar, while his use of *preposition stranding* and *shall/will/will* was not. At the same time, Murray's opinions on the use of *only* and *none*, as worded in the *English Grammar*, did not agree with what was formulated in Crystal's list, while Murray's notions on *preposition stranding* and *shall/will/will* were in agreement (for an overview of the results for all strictures compared, see Table 6.9 below). This means that for only two of the four strictures compared in Section 6.3, Murray's usage might still raise an eyebrow today.

As for my comparison to the selected proscriptions of that other "icon of English prescriptive grammar" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006a: 541), Robert Lowth, for six of the eight grammatical items analysed it can be said that Murray's usage did not always agree with the rules in his own grammar. These six strictures are: adjectives used as adverbs; the gerund; *lay* for *lie*; past participle form *wrote* versus *written*; verb endings after *thou*; and the subjunctive verb in the indicative. But such disagreement was not at all unusual in the eighteenth century. As Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2006a: 546) showed, Lowth's usage was likewise "in conflict with the grammatical rules in his own grammar" because his own preferences often differed from those rules, nor did Lowth base his grammatical norm on his own language (see also Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2002: 460). What differs from Murray's case is that Lowth's language use varied according to the degree of formality of his

letters; due to the fact that he was a Quaker, Murray, as a rule, did not accommodate his usage in this respect. (That does not mean that Murray did not occasionally adapt his style to the recipient, as I have illustrated, for instance, in Sections 3.5.2 and 3.5.3; in his letter to Dr Miller, Murray avoided the use of *thou* and clarified the Quaker format of the letter's date).

Of the remaining two strictures analysed in Section 6.4, i.e. *by this means* and *whose* as the possessive of *which*, I found that Murray's use agreed with his own prescriptions but not with Lowth's. In this respect I have further shown that, although in many cases he had simply copied Lowth's proscriptions, Murray on several occasions considered his predecessor's grammar with a critical eye: where Lowth (1762: 120n5) proscribed the use of *by this means* and considered the application of *whose* for the possessive case of *which* improper (Lowth 1762: 38n4), Murray wrote in his grammar that the use of both constructions was in fact perfectly acceptable; and where Lowth (1762: 76n8) was concerned about confounding *lie* with *lay*, Murray was not. The following table gives an overview of the results of my comparison of Murray's usage with the twelve grammatical strictures:

| <i>Murray's usage;</i><br><i>agreeing to:</i> | <i>Murray's</i><br><b>English</b><br><b>Grammar</b> | <i>Crystal's</i><br><b>Top Ten</b> | <i>Lowth's</i><br><b>Short</b><br><b>Introduction</b> |
|---|---|------------------------------------|---|
| the proper placement of <i>only</i>           | x   | —                                  |   |
| <i>none</i> to be followed by a singular verb | x   | —                                  |   |
| preposition stranding                         | —   | x                                  |   |
| <i>shall/will/will</i>                        | —   | x                                  |   |
| adjectives used as adverbs                    | —   |                                    | —   |
| the gerund                                    | —   |                                    | —   |
| <i>lay</i> for <i>lie</i>                     | —   |                                    | —   |
| <i>wrote</i> versus <i>written</i>            | —   |                                    | —   |
| <i>by this means</i> , etc.                   | x   |                                    | —   |
| verb ending s after <i>thou</i>               | —   |                                    | —   |
| subjunctive verbs in the indicative           | —   |                                    | —   |
| <i>whose</i> for <i>of which</i>              | x   |                                    | —   |

Table 6.9 *Murray's usage of twelve grammatical strictures compared to Murray's English Grammar (1795), Crystal's Grammatical Top Ten (1995: 194) and Lowth's Short Introduction to English Grammar (1762).*

I have furthermore shown that with regard to two of the proscriptive comments from Lowth (cf. Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006a: 553–555) it can be said that Murray's usage changed over the years. This

concerns the confusion of the verbs *lay* and *lie*, as well as the levelling process for the verb *to write* (*write* – *wrote* – *wrote*). Although both features are discussed in Murray's *English Grammar*, neither of the two changes appears to bear any relevance to the writing process involved. After all, we have seen that *lay* for *lie* disappeared from Murray's letters in 1793, while the past participle form *wrote* was last found in 1788. However, the first edition of Murray's first book, *The Power of Religion on the Mind*, was published in 1787. From that year on, Murray kept revising this and all his later books on a regular basis, also as a result of comments and suggestions from others, whether requested or not (see also Chapter 5). Arguably, the revision process of that first publication may already have compelled Murray to consider his own usage critically. This is a phenomenon that was not uncommon in the eighteenth century – as Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2002: 467) found, the language of various authors of the period was not static, but responded to outside influence. On a purely speculative note, perhaps this revision process of Murray's first book even triggered his interest in the English grammar in such a way that it led to his instructing the young teachers of Trinity Lane School on the subject and, eventually, to the compilation of his *English Grammar* (see also Chapters 2 and 5).

The relevance of Murray's use of another linguistic feature to the writing process of the *English Grammar*, however, i.e. that of the capitalization of nouns, appears to be more definite. The most remarkable outcome of my analysis has been the abruptness of the transition from heavy use of capitalized nouns to a degree of capitalization close to present-day usage. This change took place in the period 1794–1795, which coincides with the period in which Murray occupied himself with the writing and presumably proofreading of the *English Grammar*. This may mean that, in the process, Murray became more conscious of his own usage in this respect, which resulted in a use of initial capitals more closely matching the pattern in the printed version of the grammar.

All changes in Murray's usage that have been discussed here took place within a limited time frame. The changes of two grammatical features, *wrote* to *written* and *lay* to *lie*, were completed in 1788 and 1793 respectively. As for another linguistic feature, his use of the graphemic variant long <s>, which was analysed in Section 4.4.2, here, too, we saw a remarkably abrupt transition from long <s> to short <s>, which was by and large completed in 1803. From the changes observed in Murray's letters, this was the last one to be completed. The analysis in Section 6.6 of *shew* and *show* furthermore provided data related to a fifth abrupt lin-

guistic change. Table 6.10 presents an overview of these changes, in chronological order.

| <i>period</i> | <i>feature</i>                     | <i>grammar or spelling related</i> |
|---------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1788          | <i>wrote</i> versus <i>written</i> | grammar                            |
| 1793          | <i>lay</i> for <i>lie</i>          | grammar                            |
| 1794–1795     | capitalization                     | spelling                           |
| 1799–1800     | <i>shew</i> or <i>show</i>         | spelling                           |
| 1803          | long <s>                           | spelling                           |

Table 6.10 *Transitions of linguistic features in Murray's letters.*

To conclude, it must be said that the results of my analyses in this chapter have to be considered with the fact in mind that, in general, the number of instances found in my corpus of all strictures analysed was relatively small. With fewer than five tokens for several of them, as in the case of *lay* for *lie* (see Section 6.4.3) and *wrote* versus *written* (see Section 6.4.4), observations about specific patterns of usage must be understood with these limited numbers of instances in mind. For all that, to give more nuance to Reibel's claim (1996b; see Section 6.1), I have been able to show that on occasion Murray could and did write in "conformity with his own rules", and even more so as he grew older.

## 7 Conclusions

*... there was a really deep dude by the name of Lindley Murray.*  
(Smitherman 1973: 774)

Thomas (1991: viii) writes in his foreword to Allott's biography on Lindley Murray, "Perhaps no textbook writer is a hero to the pupils of his day", and it was likewise the fate for many eighteenth-century normative grammarians to become the subject of much prejudice (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006a: 542). With this study I have shown that Murray's fate was no exception. Although from a distance of about 200 years and more it would be impossible to represent Murray's life without a flaw, during the past few decades, when Murray and his grammar were subjected to detailed research, certain historical, sociological and religious aspects have been under-exposed. The most significant of these aspects is the fact that he was a Quaker, and with this study I have met Lacey's (1997: 57) wish to examine Murray's Quaker roots properly. As I have also shown, this examination has produced several remarkable results.

For a start, as found in Chapter 2, the contents of Murray's *Memoirs* (1826) and his out-letters, together with Monaghan's (1998) perception of the purpose of these memoirs, needed to be re-evaluated against Murray's Quaker background. As a result, the current opinion that he remained in England because the loyalist sympathies of his family and himself prevented him from returning to America should be reviewed. The present study has revealed a plausible diagnosis for Murray's physical complaints, and it has become apparent that his staying in England was indeed for reasons of bad health, as Murray wrote himself, and that he was by no means the hypochondriac that he has often been assumed to be; he simply did not feel well enough to undertake the long voyage to his country of birth. On the other hand, we cannot be certain if Murray really wanted to go back and stay in America. His illness had changed him, religion had come to play a bigger part in his life, and in York he had found a Quaker community with likeminded friends. It has furthermore become clear that Murray did not write his memoirs to protect his own and his family's reputation or to justify his past actions in order to advance the sales of his books, as has been suggested in previous publications, but simply because it was Quaker practice to do so. This will have applied even more to the memoirs of a man like Murray,

whose opinion – first of all, because his textbooks were widely used in schools, and second, because for many years he had been an Elder and Minister – must be considered as very influential on adolescents, the main target group within the Quaker society for such autobiographical writings, as illustrated in Chapter 2.

Although Murray was geographically mobile – he lived and worked in America and England, as a wealthy merchant, lawyer and grammarian – he moved within the boundaries formed by the close-knit Quaker community. Therefore, his exposure to linguistic norms other than that of the Society of Friends, where social status did not play a role, will have had only limited influence on his usage. For all that, in Chapter 3, I have shown that during the period of his first stay in London, this influence may have been greater, resulting in a different style of letter writing. Because it had such all-encompassing influence on Murray's life and writings, I elaborated extensively on his Quaker background. I have additionally illustrated how several stylistic features in Murray's usage must be considered as typical – or “peculiar”, as Quakers themselves call it – Quaker speak, such as the frequent inclusion of the word *friend* in superscriptions to the letters, the consistent use of *thou* as a singular pronoun instead of *you*, and the way his letters were dated. Murray's choice to use these stylistic peculiarities resulted from the Quakers' preference for “plain speech”, which was characterised by a desire to eliminate any irrelevancies and flattery, as well as to include a sense of equality and avoid any heathen references. I have demonstrated that as a consequence of all this Murray's letter-writing style deviates significantly from the ruling eighteenth-century letter-writing practices.

When I studied Murray's letters further, in Chapter 4, it came to light that Quaker influence reached farther than the linguistic features already referred to above. The absence of the kind of epistolary formulas that are typically found in letters of the period was another example of adherence to the Quaker principle of rejecting what they saw as tokens of flattery. In addition, I found that the degree of politeness of his letters could not be measured by the occurrence of self-corrections and abbreviations, a technique proposed by Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2006c: 229–247) in order to establish an index of politeness for letters of the period, for the very simple reason that Murray did not distinguish between his correspondents in this respect. He was, after all, a Quaker. Murray's use of the pronominal system, on the other hand, appears to be highly idiosyncratic. It deviates considerably from letter-writing conventions at the time, in that he haphazardly, as it seems, alternated between 1st and 3rd

person pronouns when referring to himself, and between 2nd and 3rd person pronouns when addressing his recipients; no correlation with standard sociolinguistic variables, such as formality of style or degree of involvement, could thus be detected.

What is more, any linguistic variation found in Murray's usage proved to be irrelevant to the degree of formality of his letters, although it can be added that Murray's letters generally have the appearance of great formality and solemnity. This is partly due to his frequent use of the 3rd person pronoun. Although his letters were addressed to recipients of different class, rank and background, they do not show any distinction, either in grammar or in spelling, that reflects these differences. Having said that, Murray was sufficiently aware of their backgrounds to adapt his style on occasion, as his letter to Dr Miller shows, where he consequently avoided the word *thou*. It must be mentioned here that, as a writer of grammatical textbooks especially, Murray may well have been more language-conscious than many of his contemporaries. Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2011: 228), when studying Lowth's letters, likewise observed a similarly heightened "linguistic awareness" once Lowth had started on his grammar.

It is this general lack of correlation with the relationship with his recipients that makes Murray's usage highly unusual, because, just as it does today, the language of eighteenth-century people varied "depending on the formality of the situation, the topic wrote about, and the relationship they had with their correspondents" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006b: 250). As a Quaker, however, Murray belongs to a different category of writers; his usage was fully compliant with the rules on "plainness" as prescribed by the Religious Society of Friends: Quakers should not vary "their language according to their company" (PYM 1806: 84–86). Further research into eighteenth-century correspondence by Quakers and members of related evangelical sects, therefore, seems called for.

My analysis of Murray's letters proved equally worthwhile when I evaluated his career as a grammarian in Chapter 5. There, I described how the *English Grammar* came into being, and how strong Murray's involvement with the publication and marketing of his own grammars was, which included a high awareness of the writings of other grammarians. I have been able to illustrate the formidable sales numbers and the equally formidable amount of criticism, "whether for or against", as Murray put it (see Section 1.3.1), that the grammar evoked. Moreover, some critiques, such as accusations of plagiarism, of excessive moralism

and commercial objectives, were given additional perspective. A further result from analysing Murray's letters is that information was obtained about printers' and publishers' practices of the period, which might be beneficial for further research in this field. "I have employed a considerable portion of my leisure time in endeavouring to facilitate the acquisition of the English language, and in some degree, to regulate it", Murray wrote in a letter to Samuel Bard (Murray to Dr Bard, 6 June 1806; McVickar 1822: 197). This portion of "leisure time" was evidently well spent indeed and Murray's pedagogical grammar, which was initially intended for a very small target audience, in the end turned out to contribute significantly to the spreading of English as a lingua franca.

In Chapter 6, grammatical rules in the *English Grammar* were compared to Murray's own usage as found in his out-letters. To this purpose, I based my analysis on two lists of grammatical features, i.e. Crystal's (1995: 194) "Grammatical Top Ten" and Tieken-Boon van Ostade's (2006a: 553–555) overview of proscriptive comments found in the footnotes to Lowth's (1762) grammar, and I selected eighteen grammatical strictures from these lists. I added two non-grammatical features to my analyses, i.e. capitalization and the spelling variants *shew* and *show*. The first of these two was analysed because Murray's usage in this appears to have borne immediate relevance to the writing process of the *English Grammar*, the second because both variants occurred in Murray's letters, while he discussed its pronunciation in one of them. The results of all analyses showed that Murray did not always write according to his own rules, which, in their turn, were not always in accordance with Lowth's proscriptions, despite the fact that Murray had been heavily influenced by Lowth. I also found that with regard to two of these proscriptive comments, *wrote* for *written* and *lay* for *lie*, Murray's usage changed over the years. These changes, however, were unrelated to the writing process of the grammar, although they may have been triggered by that of his first book, *The Power of Religion on the Mind*, which was published in 1787.

A remarkable outcome of my comparisons was that all linguistic changes appeared to have taken place very suddenly; no transition period of any significance could be observed. This observation also holds for the disappearance from his letters of the spelling form *shew* in favour of *show*, and of the extra initial capitals in nouns, which was a change that was diachronically related to the period that Murray was involved with writing the *English Grammar*, as well as for another linguistic feature that was analysed in Chapter 4, i.e. the spelling of words with a long <s> (e.g.



in *submifsion* and *seems*). Several other remarkable non-grammatical changes were observed in his letters, e.g. related to punctuation and the spelling of prefixed and suffixed words, but since these changes do not have an immediate relationship to the *English Grammar* they have not been analysed for the present study. They will, however, be dealt with elsewhere.

It further became clear that, although Murray copied Lowth's rules in many cases, on two occasions, i.e. the proscriptions of *by this means* and of *whose* for *of which*, he had decided not to follow this predecessor. Lowth was, however, not the only grammarian whose grammar Murray had consulted. Murray's letters testify that he had relied on the authority of others for his own grammars, including for the many revisions that followed their first editions. This revision process was keenly managed by Murray, both when it concerned grammatical issues and printing matters. He consulted well-educated men, such as Crosfield, Walker and Wallis, and he was aware of the publication of new or revised textbooks by fellow grammarians as, for instance, Coar, Picket and Webster. Combined with the fact that Murray consistently referred to his *English Grammar* as a compilation, this illustrates that, in terms of the Social Network Analysis model as briefly referred to in Chapter 1, Murray's *English Grammar* and subsequent editions by his hand cannot be considered linguistic innovators, but should rather be described as followers.

In 1826, the year of Murray's death, an anonymous editor of the British periodical *The Eclectic Review* wrote:<sup>1</sup> "It has often been remarked as a singular circumstance, that ... the English Grammar which has obtained the widest circulation [in England], should have been composed by an American Quaker" (anon. 1826a: 481). The gigantic and ever growing popularity of the *English Grammar* was the result of Murray's frequent and continuous consultation of other grammars. As discussed in Section 5.7, he distilled and weighed the views of his peers before including or discarding them in the first edition of his own grammar, as well as for the many other textbooks and revised editions that followed, with a view of its reception by the "public". This public initially consisted of Quakers, but the grammars were soon spread among a much wider public. The popularity of a book says more about its readers

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<sup>1</sup> *The Eclectic Review*, aiming at highly literate readers of all classes, reviewed books in many fields. Although founded by Dissenters, it adhered to a strict code of non-denominationalism (cf. Wikipedia, s.v. "Eclectic Review").

than about its author, and it appears that Murray and his publishers knew perfectly well how to read the wishes of his audience.

Murray's letters give evidence that, as is the case for the *English Grammar*, their author was a follower, too, who faithfully adhered to the language norm of the Society of Friends. And, as I have shown in Chapter 3, Murray not only followed their rules concerning language use, but he also adopted their principles of modesty. In view of this, Murray would, in all likelihood, have felt highly uncomfortable with all the attention that surrounded him personally – and still does, almost 200 years after his death. After all, his *grammars* needed promotion, not his person. Notwithstanding his desire to remain humble, however, Murray was “far from the quiet, bland figure we have known” (Lacey 1997: 57), as his letters have also testified – quite the contrary, in fact. His activities and initiatives with respect to the education of North American Indians, the anti-slavery campaign, the reform of the treatment of mental patients, to name but a few charitable causes, together with the expressions of respect for Murray's opinion on a wide range of matters, heard from the many visitors to his home, are illustrative of a man of strong convictions, who was well-read and not afraid to voice his concerns, especially when he felt that this would be beneficial to others. At the same time, Murray was firmly aware of the ruling opinion on the Quaker principles of peace, and when his friend Henry Tuke intended to publish a pamphlet against the preparations of England to go to war against Napoleon Bonaparte, he warned him that this would “not be / well taken, and may raise, or increase, a spirit of resentment / against us” (Murray to Henry Tuke, 10 October 1803; YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*).

Murray's letters have been a major source of information for the present study. Nevertheless, only a minor part of their contents could be cited and analysed here, which leaves many interesting facts and events unmentioned or underexposed. As a follow-up to this study it is therefore my intention to publish an edition of Murray's out-letters. Such a publication may serve as an additional biography of Lindley Murray, indispensable for those who wish to study aspects of his life. It will also serve as a tool for further systematic sociolinguistic analysis of his language use. As this study has made clear, the letters deal with a broad range of subjects that are related to many facets of Murray's life, and I am confident, therefore, that such a volume will additionally assist scholars in various other disciplines, such as history, religious studies, book and publishing studies, and probably even gender studies, in their research. His letters can serve as a basis for many future research pro-

jects. A comparison of his own spelling to the rules given in his spelling books has already been mentioned, and to this could be added the spelling rules in the grammars. This would also provide insight into how variable or unusual Murray's spelling actually was. A social network analysis is called for, if only because of Murray's Quaker background and the influence that being a Quaker appears to have had on language use in the eighteenth century. In the present study, the analysis of one of these typical Quaker features, verb endings after *thou*, has already been performed for a limited number of verbs, but ideally this analysis should be extended to all endings of verbs following the 2nd person pronoun *thou* in Murray's letters, and compared for all of his correspondents. The outcome could then be compared to the usage of other eighteenth and nineteenth-century Quakers, as well as to the results for *thou* in the north of England, from the *Survey of English Dialects* (*SED*; see Pietsch 2005, and Section 6.4.6).

Monaghan (1998: 6), in his biography of Lindley Murray, appropriately asked for "scholarly reconsideration of his importance", and with the present study into the life and work of this influential grammar writer I hope to have contributed to a fuller view of this interesting man. I have found that his life as a grammarian was subordinate to his life as a Quaker and that the epithet "Quaker Grammarian" fails to mirror this accurately. A more adequate characterisation of Murray's achievements would be "Quaker *and* Grammarian", so this became the title of my dissertation. As a final remark to this study, I would like to add that in the summer of 1900 a list of 234 nominees was submitted to the judges for inclusion in the Hall of Fame of New York University (*New York Times*, 18 August 1900).<sup>2</sup> Among those names, in the category "Educators", was that of Lindley Murray, but he did not make it to the final 100, despite the fact that he was one "of the era's most notable writers" (see Chapter 1). In my opinion, based on his undeniable accomplishments, he should have made it.

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<sup>2</sup> As mentioned on their website, this New York landmark institution, currently referred to as The Hall of Fame of Great Americans, was founded in 1900 to honour prominent Americans who have had a significant impact on America's history (<http://www.bcc.cuny.edu/halloffame>).



## Appendices

### Appendix A: Overview of Murray's publications: first editions; chronologically ordered<sup>1</sup>

- Murray, Lindley (1787). *The Power of Religion on the Mind, in Retirement, Sickness, and at Death; exemplified in the Testimonies and Experience of Men distinguished by their Greatness, Learning, or Virtue*. York: Lucas Lund.
- Murray, Lindley (1789). *Extracts from the Writings of Divers Eminent Authors, of Different Religious Denominations; and at Various Periods of Time. Representing the Evils and Pernicious Effects of Stage Plays, and other Vain Amusements*. Sheffield: J. Gales.
- Murray, Lindley (ed.) (1792). *Some Account of the Life and Religious Labours of Sarah Grubb. With an Appendix containing an Account of the Schools at Ackworth and York [...]*. Dublin: Printed for R. Jackson.
- Murray, Lindley (1795). *English Grammar, Adapted to the Different Classes of Learners. With an Appendix, containing Rules and Observations for promoting Perspicuity in Speaking and Writing*. York: Wilson, Spence & Mawman.<sup>2</sup>
- Murray, Lindley (1797). *An Abridgment of L. Murray's English Grammar. With an Appendix, Containing an Exemplification of the Parts of Speech. Designed for the Use of the Youngest Class of Learners*. York: Wilson, Spence & Mawman.
- Murray, Lindley (1797). *English Exercises, Adapted to The Grammar; lately published by L. Murray; consisting of Exemplifications of the Parts of Speech; Instances of false Orthography; Violations of the Rules of Syntax; Defects in*

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<sup>1</sup> For extensive information on Murray's publications, see Reibel (1996a).

<sup>2</sup> By 1806, Murray had changed the subtitle of *The English Grammar* into *Adapted to the Different Classes of Learners. With an Appendix, containing Rules and Observations for Assisting the more advanced Students to Write with Perspicuity and Accuracy*.

*Punctuation; and Violations of the Rules respecting Perspicuity and Accuracy. Designed for the benefit of Private Learners, As well as for the Use of Schools.* York: Wilson, Spence & Mawman.

Murray, Lindley (1797). *A Key to the Exercises; Adapted to L. Murray's English Grammar.* York: Wilson, Spence & Mawman.

Murray, Lindley (1799). *The English Reader: or Pieces in Prose and Poetry, selected from The best Writers, Designed to assist young Persons to read with propriety and effect; to improve their language and sentiments; and to inculcate some of the most important principles of piety and virtue. With a few preliminary Observations on the principles of good reading.* London: T.N. Longman & O. Rees; Darton & Harvey; York: Wilson, Spence & Mawman.

Murray, Lindley (1800). *Sequel to the English Reader: or, Elegant Sections in Prose and Poetry. Designed to improve the Highest Class of Learners in Reading; to establish a Taste for Just and Accurate Composition; and to promote the Interests of Piety and Virtue.* York: Wilson & Spence.

Murray, Lindley (1801). *Introduction to the English Reader, or a Selection of Pieces in Prose and Poetry; Calculated to Improve the Younger Classes of Learners, in Reading; and to Imbue their Minds with the Love of Virtue.* York: Wilson & Spence.

Murray, Lindley (1802). *Lecteur François, ou Recueil de Pieces en Prose et Vers Tirées des Meilleurs Ecrivains.* York: Wilson & Spence.

Murray, Lindley (1804). *English Spelling-Book, with Reading Lessons: Adapted to the Capacities of Children in Three Parts; Calculated to Advance the Learners by Natural and Easy Gradation, and to Teach Orthography & Pronunciation together.* York: Wilson & Spence.

Murray, Lindley (1805). *A First Book for Children.* York: Thomas Wilson & Son.

Murray, Lindley (1807). *Introduction au Lecteur François.* York.

Murray, Lindley (1808). *An English Grammar: comprehending The Principles and Rules of the Language, illustrated by Appropriate Exercises. In Two*

*Volumes*. Volume I, Grammar, and Volume II, Exercises and Key. York: Thomas Wilson & Son.

Murray, Lindley (1812). *A Selection from Bishop Horne's Commentary on the Psalms*. York: Thomas Wilson & Son.

Murray, Lindley (1815). *A Biographical Sketch of Henry Tuke*. York: Alexander & Son.

Murray, Lindley (1815). *A Compendium of Religious Faith and Practice designed for Young Persons of the Society of Friends*. York.

Murray, Lindley (1817). *The Duty and Benefit of a Daily Perusal of the Holy Scriptures in Families*. London: Longman & Co.

Murray, Lindley (1822). "Extract From Lindley Murray's *Introduction to his Compendium of Religious Faith and Practice*". In: *Selections Affectionately Addressed to Young Persons of the Society of Friends*. Stockport: J. Lomax.

Murray, Lindley (1826). *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Lindley Murray: In a series of letters, written by himself. With a Preface, and a Continuation of the Memoirs, by Elizabeth Frank*. York: Thomas Wilson & Sons; London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, & Green; Harvey & Darton.





## Appendix B: Overview of Murray's autograph letters and corresponding addressees;<sup>1</sup> alphabetically arranged

| <i>addressee</i>             | <i>date(s)<br/>of letters</i> | <i>residence</i>                         | <i># of<br/>letters</i> | <i>Quaker<br/>yes/no</i> | <i>repository</i> |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|-------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|
| Alexander, Ann<br>[née Tuke] | 1814                          | York, UK                                 | 1                       | y                        | YoUBI             |
| Alexander, William           | 1818                          | York, UK                                 | 1                       | y                        | YoUBI             |
| Bevans, Tabitha              | 1810                          | London, UK                               | 1                       | y                        | LSFL              |
| Bonne, George                | 1801                          | New York,<br>USA                         | 1                       | ?                        | NYHS              |
| Clarkson, Thomas             | 1807                          | UK                                       | 1                       | n                        | LSFL              |
| Cockfield, Joseph            | 1809–1811                     | Upton near<br>London, UK                 | 11                      | y                        | LSFL              |
| Crosfield, Joseph            | 1804                          | Hartshill near<br>Atherstone,<br>UK      | 1                       | y                        | MALS              |
| Darton & Harvey              | 1808                          | London, UK                               | 1                       | y                        | PP                |
| Dawson, Jane                 | 1803                          | Waldcliffe Hall<br>near Lancaster,<br>UK | 1                       | n                        | HC                |
| Dillwyn, George              | 1799                          | Philadelphia,<br>USA                     | 1                       | y                        | SC                |
| Dillwyn, Sarah G.            | 1787                          | Philadelphia,<br>USA                     | 1                       | y                        | HC                |
| Dillwyn, William             | 1799–1801                     | Waldhamstone<br>near London,<br>UK       | 2                       | y                        | NLW               |
| Duane, James                 | 1784                          | New York,<br>USA                         | 1                       | n                        | NYHS              |
| Fawcett, John                | 1819                          | London, UK                               | 1                       | n                        | BL                |
| Forster, William Sr          | 1810                          | Tottenham,<br>UK                         | 1                       | n                        | LSFL              |
| Fothergill, Eliza            | 1817                          | unknown                                  | 1                       | y                        | HC                |
| Hipsley, Mabel               | 1814                          | Hull, UK                                 | 1                       | y                        | YoUBI             |
| Jepson, George               | 1805                          | York, UK                                 | 1                       | y                        | YoUBI             |
| Johnson, Joseph              | 1805                          | London, UK                               | 1                       | n                        | PUFL              |
| Keese, John D                | 1810                          | Philadelphia,<br>USA                     | 1                       | ?                        | UoP               |
| Lancaster, Joseph            | 1807                          | London, UK                               | 1                       | y                        | UvA               |

<sup>1</sup> This overview does not include the printed or copied letters from Murray that I found.

| <i>addressee</i>                  | <i>date(s)<br/>of letters</i> | <i>residence</i>     | <i># of<br/>letters</i> | <i>Quaker<br/>yes/no</i> | <i>repository</i>          |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| Livingstone,<br>Robert R.         | 1801                          | New York,<br>USA     | 1                       | n                        | NYHS                       |
| Miller, Samuel                    | 1804–1805                     | New York,<br>USA     | 3                       | n                        | PUFL                       |
| Mitchill, Samuel L.               | 1800–1804                     | New York,<br>USA     | 2                       | n                        | YaBL;<br>LoC               |
| Monthly Meeting of<br>Friends     | 1767                          | Flushing, USA        | 1                       | y                        | SC                         |
| Morse, Jedidiah                   | 1806                          | Charlestown,<br>USA  | 1                       | n                        | YaUL                       |
| Murray, Catherine                 | 1820                          | New York,<br>USA     | 1                       | y                        | SC                         |
| Murray, Hannah                    | 1816                          | York, UK             | 1                       | y                        | YoUBI                      |
| Murray, John Jr                   | 1792–1819                     | New York,<br>USA     | 40                      | y                        | SC;<br>YoUBI;<br>EBOR      |
| Murray, Robert                    | 1785                          | New York,<br>USA     | 1                       | y                        | SC                         |
| Parke, Thomas                     | 1773                          | New York,<br>USA     | 1                       | y                        | HC                         |
| Pearsall,<br>Robert & Elizabeth   | n.d.                          | New York,<br>USA     | 1                       | y                        | NYPL                       |
| Pemberton, James                  | 1785–1805                     | Philadelphia,<br>USA | 4                       | y                        | SC;<br>LoC;<br>NYHS;<br>HC |
| Pemberton, John                   | 1786–1787                     | Stockton, USA        | 3                       | y                        | SC;<br>HC                  |
| Phillips, James                   | 1789                          | London, UK           | 1                       | y                        | HC                         |
| Pim, Abigail                      | 1803                          | London, UK           | 1                       | y                        | LSFD                       |
| Priestman,<br>T. and E.           | 1824                          | York, UK             | 1                       | y                        | YoUBI                      |
| Priestman, Thomas                 | 1825                          | Hull, UK             | 1                       | y                        | YoUBI                      |
| Proprietors of<br>Friends' School | 1799–1812                     | York, UK             | 4                       | y                        | YoUBI                      |
| Robinson, Elihu                   | 1800                          | Eaglesfield,<br>UK   | 1                       | y                        | LSFL                       |
| Scattergood,<br>Thomas            | 1800                          | Philadelphia,<br>USA | 1                       | y                        | HC                         |
| Silliman, Benjamin                | 1806                          | USA                  | 1                       | n                        | NYHS                       |
| Tallcot, Joseph                   | 1820                          | Scipis, USA          | 1                       | y                        | HC                         |
| Taylor, Joseph                    | 1808                          | Scarborough,<br>UK   | 1                       | y                        | SC                         |
| The Committee of<br>The Retreat   | 1799                          | York, UK             | 1                       | y                        | YoUBI                      |

| <i>addressee</i>                                       | <i>date(s)<br/>of letters</i> | <i>residence</i>       | <i># of<br/>letters</i> | <i>Quaker<br/>yes/no</i> | <i>repository</i>     |
|--|-------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| The girls of Suir<br>Island School                     | 1817                          | Ireland                | 1                       | y                        | LSFD                  |
| Thomas, Isaiah   | 1806                          | Boston, USA            | 1                       | n                        | HC                    |
| Thornton, John   | 1822                          | unknown, UK            | 1                       | n                        | SC                    |
| Tuke, E. and M.  | 1815                          | Hull, UK               | 1                       | y                        | YoUBI                 |
| Tuke, Esther   | 1814                          | UK                     | 1                       | y                        | YoUBI                 |
| Tuke, Henry <sup>2</sup>                               | 1790–1814                     | York, UK               | 28                      | y                        | YoUBI;<br>YoRA;<br>PP |
| Tuke, John and<br>Samuel                               | 1823                          | unknown, UK            | 1                       | y                        | YoUBI                 |
| Tuke, Maria <sup>3</sup>                               | 1791–1815                     | York, UK               | 6                       | y                        | YoUBI                 |
| Tuke, Samuel   | 1804–1825                     | York, UK               | 41                      | y                        | YoUBI;<br>GWL         |
| Tuke, Samuel,<br>Esther & Maria                        | n.d.                          | York, UK               | 1                       | y                        | YoUBI                 |
| Tuke, Samuel &<br>Priscilla                            | 1810                          | York, UK               | 1                       | y                        | YoUBI                 |
| Tuke, Samuel,<br>William Alexander,<br>David Priestman | 1824                          | unknown, UK            | 1                       | y                        | YoUBI                 |
| Tuke, William  | 1795/6–<br>1814               | York, UK               | 3                       | y                        | YoUBI;<br>HA          |
| Tuke, William and<br>Henry                             | n.d.–1812                     | York, UK               | 2                       | y                        | YoUBI;<br>YoRA        |
| Tuke, W. & M.  | 1813                          | unknown, UK            | 1                       | y                        | YoUBI                 |
| Tuke, Waller &<br>Copsie                               | 1822                          | York, UK               | 1                       | ?                        | LSFL                  |
| Tweedy, John   | 1819                          | unknown, UK            | 1                       | ?                        | YoPL                  |
| Wadsworth, Alice<br>[née Willett]                      | 1805                          | unknown, USA           | 1                       | ?                        | YaUL                  |
| Wakefield, Priscilla                                   | 1805                          | Tottenham,<br>UK       | 1                       | y                        | YoPL                  |
| Walker, Dr [Joshua]                                    | 1801                          | Leeds, UK              | 2                       | y                        | YaBL; SC              |
| Wallis, Richard  | 1807                          | near<br>Pontefract, UK | 1                       | ?                        | SC                    |
| Webster, Noah  | 1803                          | Connecticut,<br>USA    | 1                       | n                        | NYPL                  |
| Wellbeloved,<br>Charles                                | 1812                          | York, UK               | 1                       | n                        | YoMLA                 |

<sup>2</sup> One of the letters was addressed to Henry Tuke and his wife Maria.

<sup>3</sup> One of the letters was addressed to Maria Tuke and her children.

| <i>addressee</i>                        | <i>date(s)<br/>of letters</i> | <i>residence</i> | <i># of<br/>letters</i> | <i>Quaker<br/>yes/no</i> | <i>repository</i> |
|---|-------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|
| Wheeler, Elizabeth<br>[née Tuke]        | 1787–1825                     | Hitchin, UK      | 37                      | y                        | HALS;<br>YoUBI    |
| Wheeler, Joshua                         | n.d.                          | Hitchin, UK      | 1                       | y                        | HALS              |
| Willett, Susanna                        | 1805–1807                     | USA              | 2                       | y                        | NYPL              |
| Wilson & Sons                           | 1812 or<br>later              | York, UK         | 1                       | y                        | SC                |
| Wrangham, Francis                       | 1803 or<br>later              | unknown, UK      | 1                       | n                        | HC                |
| unidentified<br>addressees              | 1786–1824                     |                  | 15                      |                          |                   |
| <b>Total # of<br/>autograph letters</b> |                               |                  | <b>262</b>              |                          |                   |

## Appendix C: Two autograph letters by Murray<sup>1</sup>

### I. One-page letter to an unidentified cousin, dated 14 February 1809:

471 +  
 York 14<sup>th</sup> of 2<sup>nd</sup> mo. 1809.

Dear Cousin,

By the Mail Coach of this night, I send a parcel for thee, directed to the care of Gosper & Benson Messrs. Liverpool - Carriage paid - And I write this, that, as the time may be critical, thou shouldst have it in thy power, to make inquiry at the Coach Office and procure it, if it should not be regularly delivered at Gosper & Benson's. When thou received the parcel thou wilt find a letter in the contents, which will explain the design of it, &c.

I am thy affectionate cousin

Lindley Murray

<sup>1</sup> Both letters are in my private possession.

II. One-page letter to Henry Tuke, n.d. (c.1812), including address leaf:<sup>2</sup>

L. Murray is of opinion, that the apprehensions of our mutual friend, Rob<sup>t</sup>. Foster, respecting the expediency of T. Clarkson's Life of William Penn, are not sufficiently founded, to warrant his being discouraged in the progress of that work. - The subject alluded to may be well and honourably cleared up, and Tho<sup>s</sup>. Clarkson is very capable of doing it. He will, doubtless, submit the Life in ms to some Friend in London; who will take care that every thing is fairly and satisfactorily stated. As there are publications, of modern as well as ancient date, which reflect on W<sup>m</sup>. Penn's character, it is the more necessary, that it should be vindicated: and a more favourable opportunity than the projected Life by T. C. can scarcely occur, for the purpose.

Besides other views of the subject, Archbishop Tillotson's acknowledgment of W<sup>m</sup>. Penn's innocence of the charges against him, <sup>if L. M. recollects rightly,</sup> is conclusive proof in his favour; as to the most material of those charges.

<sup>2</sup> The verso page of this letter forms the address leaf, and it shows how Tuke had forwarded Murray's letter to Robert Foster, while adding comments on the contents of the letter for Foster. It further illustrates how the letter was folded. A small piece of red wax is still visible on the part of the letter where it had been sealed.

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Mr. Mackay, on receiving Mr. Brown's (of Perth) letter, thought he had to send it back, very firm in his  
 he has received his answer which corresponds with all the sentiments of the other subject  
 His friends that day by his expectations are so mixed with apprehensions of things & otherwise  
 or that Mr. Mackay had the separation of them is more, in fact, desirable, & if it were otherwise, it  
 remains considerable grounds, considering the day on which they are claimed, which  
 should be considered for a year or two, & they then  
 with both of you 1812 — His is just what they offer to London

~~Robert Mackay~~  
 near Leith

Robert Mackay  
 Henry Mackay  
 Henry Mackay  
 Henry Mackay





## Appendix D: Transcription of parts of two of Murray's letters on subjects related to grammar and spelling

### I. *Letter to Dr Walker on the subjects of nouns, tense and mood of verbs (as discussed in Sections 5.5, 5.7.1 and 5.7.3):*

... With regard to the cases of nouns, I am / inclined to think thou wilt be satisfied that I could not properly have / admitted more than two, when thou hast perused what I have advanced / on the subject, in the sixth edition of the Grammar, pages 36, 37, 38. / But, to accommodate those persons who think a third case necessary, / I have, in that edition, given the declension of a noun in the supposed / three cases. /

On the subject of the Tenses, I am not able to / say much more, to prove that an English verb includes the principal / verb with its auxiliaries, than I have expressed in the ninth section / on Etymology. On a reperusal of that section, I think thou wilt / perceive that I have at least plausible grounds for making the auxiliaries / part of the verb. It is the learned D<sup>f</sup>. Beattie's opinion that some of the / prefixes and terminations of the Greek verbs, are contractions of the auxiliary / verbs; and which were originally applied to them as ours are, but which / succeeding refinements incorporated into the principal verb. This is / an ingenious conjecture, and is not destitute of plausibility. But we / must reason on more solid grounds.— As thou hast admitted that there / is a future tense belonging to the English language, and that the auxiliaries / shall and will are necessary to express it, I think thou wilt find it / difficult to support the position, “that, in the future tense, an auxiliary / forms part of the verb; but that in the  $\lambda^{\text{im}}$ perfect, perfect; and pluperfect tenses, / the auxiliary cannot properly make any portion of it.” Either the English / language has no future tense, or, that future tense is composed of the auxiliary / and principal verb. If the latter be true, then auxiliary and principal con= / stitute a tense in one instance; and, from reason and analogy, may well / be supposed to do so in other instances, where the  $\lambda^{\text{minuter}}$  divisions of time render / it necessary or useful. Why may not a whole, in this case, as well as in / other cases, be considered as composed of various parts, or, of principal and / adjuncts. Many a whole consists of larger and smaller parts, of a similar / nature; and there seems to be no reason why a principal verb and an auxiliary / should be excluded from union: there is nothing in their nature heterogeneous. / I

think, therefore, it may be asserted with propriety, that our English tenses / are mostly composed of principal and auxiliary; that these parts put together / form but one verb; and that we have six distinct tenses. /

Thy remarks respecting the Potential Mood appear to be / chiefly founded on the idea, that the verb is not composed of principal and / auxiliary; and, consequently, the same observations which I have made on / the preceding article will apply to this head. I am perfectly of thy opinion, / “that Grammar should be rendered as simple, and as little complex, as is / “possible”: but thou wilt doubtless agree with me, that this end is better / accomplished, by separating into parts a combination which is obscure, / than by retaining it as a whole, for the sake of its unity. The subjunctive / and potential forms of expression, when united in one Mood, appear to me / to contain so much complexity, as to be less intelligible to the learner, / than when their distinct nature and parts are displayed. /

My reasons for not making the Participle a distinct / part of speech, but ranking it under the verb, are unfolded at pages / 54, 55, and 82, of the Sixth edition of the Grammar. Perhaps / thou hast not seen those observations. A participle does indeed partake / of the nature of a verb, of an adjective, and sometimes of a noun: but this / capacity of admitting a new application does not destroy its original nature. / A verb is often used as a noun; and a proposition, as an adverb: but it would / scarcely be proper, on that ground, to make these versatile words distinct parts / of speech. They have an original nature, by which they must be classed, though / they are sometimes pressed into a different service. (Murray to Dr Walker, 18 June 1801; YaBL: *Osborn MS files “M” #9393–10688*)

II. *Letter to Henry Tuke on the subjects of spelling and pronunciation (as discussed in Section 5.7.4):*

When I requested my dear friend, Henry Tuke, not to mention / at Ackworth the subject of the division of tion, &c. I had no other views, / than to prevent the subject being much discussed, till my reasons were / published, and ~~I could plead~~ the reader could judge of them. As my book / had lately been introduced there, and perhaps stood yet on slippery ground, / I simply wished to avoid being judged, before my defence appeared. / But it is very probable the hint to thee, was unnecessary, as I know / thou hast been, and art, kindly solicitous to promote the credit / and success of my little book, and of all my books. I have no / idea of any contest between my friend and myself, which might / prompt either of us “to get the start of the other”. When I / consulted thee on the “Reasons in support of my plan”, it was, / as it often has been between us,<sup>^</sup><sup>simply</sup> to see what could be advanced / by thee, in objection, and to modify, and even if proper, to reject / the scheme adopted. I did the same to other judicious friends. / I sent “The Reasons” to I.P – J.C – and J.T. and requested also / of them, that they would keep the subject to themselves, till the / justification should be published, if I published it at all. / From all of them I have received great encouragement to publish / the reasons: and from my friend, Henry Tuke, I have derived help, / because I am better able to modify so as to prevent or answer / similar objections. I take all these remarks from my friends / very kindly, and when I consult them, I pay an attentive and / respectful consideration to what they offer, even when I cannot bring / my mind to think in a similar manner with them. The subject / in question is not of great importance: but it is of some consequence. / It may not be improper to mention to thee how I proceeded in it, / from the first; which will show thee the difficulty of my doing / otherwise than I have done. / The division of words into syllables was originally an / embarrassing circumstance. I found that the new mode / was gaining ground, though the majority of spelling-books / are against it. I perceived many<sup>^</sup><sup>strong</sup> objections to this new mode, / and yet I was apprehensive that my book would not be / so well received, if it adhered to the old method, however right / it might be. After balancing the subject a good deal, I / concluded to retain the old mode, in every thing but the / terminations tion &c: in these I adopted the new method. / The book had been printed but a little time, when I perceived / that there was an

inconsistency in retaining tion &c. and rejecting / the other parts of the new plan: for the rule “spell as you / pronounce”, or, which is the same thing, “as you read”, requires / that tion,<sup>&c</sup> should be joined. I therefore re-examined these / tion, science, &c. and the result, in my own mind, was that / these terminations ought to be divided, not only because it was / consistent with my plan, but because it was, in every / respect proper and necessary. With this persuasion, / what ought I to have done, in the second edition? I could / see nothing so proper, as to correct my error, and / divide tion<sup>&c</sup>; thus making<sup>the parts of</sup> my book consistent, and / as I thought, proper. I was sorry for the circumstance / of the first edition: but as all of those copies were sold off / in about two months, and few of them in that time ~~were~~ / could be adopted in schools, I supposed the inconvenience / would not be great. Besides, I thought that it would / be very easy for teachers who join tion &c, to direct their / scholars to join them in sound, though they were sepa / rated in the book: but that if I joined these letters, those / teachers who think they should be separated, could not / so well make their pupils separate them. On the / whole, I thought I could do no better than I did: and / I now feel it incumbent upon me, to advance my / reasons, in support of the old method of division. / What effect ~~it~~<sup>they</sup> will have, I must leave to public / decision. If that should be against me, I must submit. / But I am encouraged to hope that I shall be supported[, / both from the full persuasion of my own mind,<sup>and</sup> the opinions / of judicious schoolmasters. [at this point appr. 6 lines of writing are erased and overwritten] /

There are several new clauses in my reasons; since / I showed them to thee; two of them I shall transcribe. /

“But how would the advocates for dividing according to / the pronunciations, divide the words, business, colonel, / victuals, sevensnight, moved, stuffed, devoured, abused, / and many others of a similar nature? In a vocabulary or / spelling book, they must be divided in some manner. / A rule, which, at best, is so inconvenient, and which, in / many instances, cannot be reduced to practice, does not seem / to merit support.” /

“On the whole, we think that the old plan, whilst<sup>it</sup> possesses / ~~it~~ possesses so much superiority as ~~we think~~ has been shown, / is liable to no inconvenience. Even pronunciation is as readily / acquired by it, as by the new plan. The learner cannot know that / tion sounds like shun, tial like shal, science like shense, &c. / till his teacher directs him to this

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pronunciation: and the same / direction will teach him, that ti on, ti al, sci ence, &c have the / same sounds. Much therefore is lost, and nothing gained, by the / new division.” (Murray to Henry Tuke, n.d.: YoUBI: *Tuke Papers*)



## Appendix E: Chronology of events in Murray's life

| <i>year(s)</i> | <i>event</i>  |
|----------------|---|
| 1745           | Lindley Murray, born in Swetara, Lancaster, PA (i.e. in the American colonies), on 27 March.  |
| 1756           | Murray is enrolled at the English Department of the Academy of Philadelphia.  |
| c.1757         | Murray's family move to North Carolina.   |
| c.1758         | Murray's family move to the city of New York.   |
| c.1759         | Murray apprenticed at his father's counting house.  |
| 1760           | King George III (1738–1820) succeeds to the British throne.   |
| c.1763         | Murray starts his law studies at the law office of Benjamin Kissam (1728–1782).   |
| 1767           | Murray called to the bar.   |
| 1767           | Murray marries Hannah Dobson (1748–1834) on 22 June.  |
| 1768–1771      | Murray and his wife join his father in London, England.   |
| 1771           | Murray resumes his law practice in New York; a few years later moves to Long Island. In this period he describes how he experiences initial symptoms of an illness.   |
| 1775           | American Revolution/War of Independence (–1783); founding of the US Army.   |
| 1776           | Signing of the American Declaration of Independence on 4 July; British troops land on Long Island on 22 August.   |
| c.1778         | Murray and his wife resettle in New York and Murray sets up as a merchant.  |
| 1780           | Murray's mother, Mary Lindley, dies.  |
| 1783           | American Independence declared; around this time Murray is able to retire from business and he and his wife move to Bellevue, on the banks of the East River. Murray describes the first "severe fit of illness". |
| 1784           | Quaker girls' school established by Esther Tuke in Trinity Lane, York, England.   |
| 1784           | Murray and his wife leave for England.  |
| 1785           | Murray and his wife settle in "Holdgate, near York".  |
| 1785           | Introduction of the mail coach in England.  |
| 1786           | Mail coach route from London to Edinburgh via York, i.e. the "Great North Road", opened.  |
| 1786           | Murray's father, Robert Murray, dies at the age of sixty-five.  |
| c.1786         | Murray and his wife appointed Elders by York Monthly Meeting.   |
| 1787           | Murray publishes his first book: <i>The Power of Religion on the Mind</i> .   |
| 1787           | Signing of the US Constitution.   |
| 1789           | George Washington (1732–1799) elected 1st President of the United States of America (–1797).  |
| 1791           | Murray installed as Quaker Minister in York.  |

| <i>year(s)</i> | <i>event</i>   |
|----------------|--|
| 1792           | Murray involved in the foundation of the mental hospital The Retreat in York.  |
| 1793           | France declares war against Britain.   |
| 1793–1815      | French Wars.   |
| 1794           | A commerce and navigation treaty is signed by the US and the UK.   |
| c.1794         | Elizabeth Frank (c.1773) joins the Murray household as their companion and assistant.                                  |
| 1795           | Murray publishes the <i>English Grammar</i> , his first textbook, to be used by the Trinity Lane School in York.       |
| 1797–1801      | John Adams (1735–1826) President of the United States of America.  |
| 1800           | First edition of the <i>English Grammar</i> published in the United States.  |
| 1800           | Murray's sister Beulah dies.   |
| 1801–1809      | Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) President of the United States of America.  |
| 1808           | Murray's sister Susannah dies.   |
| 1809           | Murray finishes writing his <i>Memoirs</i> .   |
| 1809–1817      | James Madison (1751–1836) President of the United States of America.   |
| 1810           | Murray elected honorary member of the New-York Historical Society.   |
| 1814           | Hannah Richardson (b1783) succeeds Elizabeth Frank.  |
| 1815           | Napoleon Bonaparte defeated at Waterloo.   |
| 1816           | Murray elected honorary member of the New York Literary and Philosophical Society.                                     |
| 1817–1825      | James Monroe (1758–1831) President of the United States of America.  |
| 1819           | Murray's brother John dies.  |
| 1820           | King George IV (1762–1830) succeeds to the British throne.   |
| 1823           | Murray's <i>Abridgment</i> is, allegedly, the first book in the United States to be printed at a steam-printing press. |
| 1823           | Murray edits his <i>Memoirs</i> .  |
| c.1825         | First steam packets used to carry post across the Atlantic Ocean.  |
| 1826           | Lindley Murray dies at home in Holdgate, on 16 February.   |



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## Samenvatting in het Nederlands

### Lindley Murray (1745–1826), Quaker *en* Grammaticus

#### *Inleiding*

De achttiende-eeuwse Quaker Lindley Murray (1745–1826) heeft zijn sporen vooral als grammaticus nagelaten. Hij was een bestseller-auteur; alleen al van zijn eerste grammaticaboek, de *English Grammar* (1795), zijn miljoenen exemplaren verkocht over de gehele wereld, en zijn schoolgrammatica's en spellingboeken zijn door meerdere generaties bestudeerd en door menigeen verguisd. Maar Murray was bovenal een Quaker, en dit feit is tot nu toe onderbelicht gebleven. Dat is onterecht, omdat deze levensvisie een enorme invloed heeft gehad, niet alleen op zijn leven, maar zeker ook op zijn werk.

In dit proefschrift probeer ik allereerst antwoord te geven op de vraag: *wie* was Lindley Murray? Hiertoe is de inhoud van bestaand biografisch materiaal vergeleken met gegevens zoals gevonden in zowel Murrays persoonlijke correspondentie als in secundaire bronnen. Uit deze analyse komt de veelomvattende reikwijdte van het Quakerisme in de achttiende eeuw naar voren. Vervolgens heb ik geprobeerd om het mogelijke effect van deze religieuze ideologie op Murray te analyseren: wat was de mate van invloed op zijn leven en werk? Daarbij heb ik Murrays eigen taalgebruik geanalyseerd aan de hand van zijn persoonlijke brieven, en vervolgens vergeleken met de regels zoals voorgeschreven in zijn *English Grammar* uit 1795. In onderstaande paragrafen worden de resultaten van deze analyses weergegeven.

#### *Murray's leven en carrière*

Lindley Murray werd geboren op 27 maart 1745 in Swetara, een klein plaatsje in Pennsylvania, in de Verenigde Staten. Hij was de oudste van twaalf kinderen, van wie er slechts vijf de volwassen leeftijd bereikten. Ten tijde van zijn geboorte waren zijn beide ouders Quakers, en bezat zijn vader Robert een goedlopende meelfabriek, maar diens ambitie zorgde er al spoedig voor dat hij een zeer welarend man werd, met uitgebreide belangen in uiteenlopende zakelijke ondernemingen. Murray groeide op in de stad New York. Na zijn schoolopleiding trad hij in dienst als advocaat-in-opleiding bij het advocatenbureau dat de belangen

van zijn vader behartigde. In 1767 volgde zijn beëdiging en ging hij aan het werk als onafhankelijk advocaat; in datzelfde jaar trad hij in het huwelijk met Hannah Dobson (1748–1834). Murray was echter niet onafhankelijk van zijn vader. Op diens verzoek verbleef hij enkele jaren in Londen, deels vergezeld door Hannah, om hem te assisteren bij zijn commerciële belangen aldaar. Murray gebruikte deze periode eveneens om een aantal toeristisch attracties in de Engelse hoofdstad te bezoeken. Tegen het eind van 1771 reisden Murray en zijn vrouw weer terug naar New York. Korte tijd later, als gevolg van “politieke onrust”, zoals hij dat zelf omschreef, verhuisden zij naar Long Island, maar na vier jaar, aldus Murray, noodzaakte zijn financiële situatie hen om terug te verhuizen naar New York. Daar hield hij zich gedurende een vijftal jaren bezig met handelsactiviteiten, die dermate lucratief bleken dat hij vervolgens kon rentenieren. Rond die tijd openbaarden zich de eerste verschijnselen van een ernstige ziekte, waarover veel is gespeculeerd. Uit mijn huidige onderzoek blijkt dat deze symptomen mogelijk werden veroorzaakt door het post-poliosyndroom. Een geraadpleegde arts adviseerde Murray uiteindelijk een verandering van klimaat, en dat werd gevonden in Noord-Engeland, en wel in Holdgate, bij York.

De verhuizing naar York, waar Murray de tweede helft van zijn leven zou doorbrengen, markeert een ommekeer in zijn leven. Van advocaat en ondernemer werd hij nu schrijver en filantroop. Murray en zijn vrouw werden direct na hun vestiging aldaar opgenomen in de Quaker gemeenschap van de York Monthly Meeting, en spoedig daarna werd Murray benoemd tot “Elder”, korte tijd later tot “Minister”. Zijn eerste boek verscheen in 1787, kort na de dood van zijn vader. Het was, zoals bijna alle volgende werken van zijn hand, een compilatie van eerder verschenen werk, getiteld: *The Power of Religion on the Mind*. Murray hield zich intensief bezig met veelzijdige vormen van liefdadigheidswerk. Zo was hij betrokken bij activiteiten ten behoeve van de afschaffing van de slavernij, bij de oprichting van een humanere inrichting voor geesteszieken, The Retreat, en bij de educatie van Noord-Amerikaanse Indianen. Hij redigeerde tevens een groot aantal werken van vrienden.

Enkele jaren na het verschijnen van Murrays eerste boek volgde in 1795 het eerste grammaticale werk: de *English Grammar*. Het gigantische succes van dit boek, eveneens een compilatie, en van alle volgende grammaticale en niet-grammaticale werken (zie bijlage A voor een overzicht) werd overschaduwd door zich steeds frequenter en heviger openbarende ziekteverschijnselen, die Murray uiteindelijk aan huis gekluisterd hielden. Deze symptomen konden Murray er echter niet van weerhouden

om talloze gasten uit binnen- en buitenland te ontvangen, die zonder uitzondering geschokt bleken door zijn fysieke toestand, maar tevens hun bewondering uitspraken voor de wijze waarop hij dit kruis droeg. Murray overleed op 16 februari 1826, op de leeftijd van bijna 81 jaar.

### *Murrays Quakerisme*

Zodra men Murrays brieven leest, wordt duidelijk dat het een Quaker betreft. Dit is bijvoorbeeld af te leiden van zijn gebruik van de enkelvoudsvorm *thou* in plaats van *you*, de wijze waarop de brieven zijn gedaateerd, en het ontbreken van titels in de aanhef van een brief. De religieuze Quaker organisatie werd rond 1652 opgericht door George Fox (1624–1691). Na vervolgingen in voorgaande tijden, werd in de achttiende eeuw het Quakerisme, een levensvisie die gebaseerd is op het gelijkheidsprincipe, steeds meer geaccepteerd. York was een van de bolwerken van het zogeheten “plain” Quakerisme, een stroming die zich strikt hield aan de oorspronkelijke principes. Dit hield onder andere in dat men er zeer hechtte aan deze traditionele uitingen, zoals ook gevonden in Murrays brieven, alsmede aan een traditionele wijze van kleden: donkere kledij zonder versiering. Dit was in tegenstelling tot de situatie destijds in New York, waar de overwegend “gay” Quakers de regels, zoals vastgelegd in het *Book of Discipline*, minder strikt in acht namen.

Zoals hierboven reeds aangestipt, ontwikkelde Murray zich in York tot een zeer gewaardeerd *plain* Quaker, hetgeen tot uiting kwam in zijn benoemingen tot “Elder” en “Minister”. In deze onbezoldigde functies was hij onder meer verantwoordelijk voor zowel de pastorale zorg aan, als de educatie van de gehele lokale Quaker gemeenschap. Murrays overtuiging zoals deze zich manifesteert in zijn brieven heeft echter als gevolg dat bij de interpretatie van zijn taalgebruik geen gebruik kan worden gemaakt van de gebruikelijke socio-linguïstische technieken. Zo kunnen bijvoorbeeld geen verschillende niveaus van beleefdheid worden afgeleid van het gebruik van diverse aanspreekvormen, omdat Murray geen onderscheid maakte op deze wijze: al zijn correspondenten werden aangesproken met *friend* of met de eigennaam, of de aanspreektitel werd simpelweg achterwege gelaten.

### *Murrays brieven*

Naast Murrays autobiografie in de vorm van zes brieven, getiteld *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Lindley Murray* (1826), wordt de basis voor mijn taalkundig onderzoek gevormd door een corpus van 262 autografische

brieven van Lindley Murray. Deze manuscripten, geschreven tussen 1767 en 1825, heb ik voornamelijk weten te traceren in archieven in de Verenigde Staten en Engeland. De brieven zijn zo diplomatisch mogelijk getranscribeerd, teneinde elektronische zoekopdrachten te kunnen uitvoeren en een zo getrouw mogelijke weergave ervan te kunnen geven in dit proefschrift. Deze brieven bieden een rijkdom aan informatie over zeer uiteenlopende onderwerpen. Zo geven zij bijvoorbeeld inzicht in hoe Murray omging met het, vaak complexe (transatlantische) systeem van postbezorging. Ook Murrays uitgebreide sociale netwerk wordt aan het licht gebracht, een netwerk dat bestond uit zowel Quakers als niet-Quakers.

De stilistische aspecten van Murrays brieven blijken niet minder interessant. Sommige, zoals de afwezigheid van conventionele aanhef- en afsluitingsformules, zijn een bevestiging van zijn Quaker-achtergrond. Dat geldt ook voor de wijze waarop Murray zijn brieven dateerde. Quakers vermijden het gebruik van “heidense” namen, en dus ook de namen van dagen en maanden, die daar immers een afgeleide van zijn. In plaats van de gebruikelijke vorm dag-maand-jaar schreef Murray de datum bijvoorbeeld als: “30<sup>th</sup>: of 4<sup>mo</sup>: 1792”, hetgeen betekent de dertigste van de vierde maand in 1792, oftewel 30 april 1792. Andere, pragmatische, aspecten, alhoewel niet minder opvallend, zijn niet onmiddellijk toe te schrijven aan zijn religieuze overtuiging, maar lijken daar toch mee samen te hangen. Dat is bijvoorbeeld het geval met het veelvuldig gebruik van afkortingen, waarbij Murray eveneens onderscheid tussen correspondenten achterwege laat, en het frequent voorkomen van zelf-correcties, ook in de meest formele brieven.

Twee taalkundige kenmerken, namelijk Murrays gebruik van de grafemische variant “lange <s>” en van persoonlijke voornaamwoorden in de 1e, 2e en 3e persoon, behandel ik uitgebreider vanwege het uitzonderlijke karakter. De lange <s> gebruikte hij uitsluitend, en zonder uitzondering, tot aan het jaar 1803, terwijl na dat jaar, dat beschouwd kan worden als een overgangsjaar, nog slechts de variant “korte <s>” gebruikt werd. Deze zeer korte overgangperiode valt samen met het verdwijnen van de lange <s> uit Murrays gedrukte werken. Murrays keuzes met betrekking tot het gebruik van de persoonlijke voornaamwoorden *I*, *thou* en *he* lijken naar een idiosyncratisch verschijnsel te wijzen; de verwijzingen naar zichzelf in 1e dan wel 3e persoon enkelvoud lijken lukraak gekozen, evenals de vele verwijzingen naar de geadresseerde(n) in 2e dan wel 3e persoon.

*Murrays grammatica's*

Murrays grammaticaboeken waren verreweg de succesvolste van de laatmoderne tijd. Het waren ware bestsellers, zelfs naar de maatstaven van de huidige eeuw, met zeer indrukwekkend verkoopcijfers. Dit succes ging gepaard met veel kritiek. Er waren beschuldigingen van plagiaat, winst oogmerk en excessief moralisme. Deze beschuldigingen hebben in dit proefschrift enig perspectief gekregen. Zo is aangegeven dat deze schoolgrammatica in eerste instantie werd samengesteld op verzoek van drie leraressen aan een Quaker school voor jonge meisjes in York, die bij hun lessen behoefte hadden aan ondersteuning op dit gebied. Murray verzamelde daartoe dat materiaal van zijn voorgangers, dat volgens hem het meest effectief zou zijn, waarbij hij echter de oorspronkelijke bronnen niet expliciet vermeldde. Pas bij de tweede en volgende edities, die bestemd waren voor een veel breder publiek, werden deze toegevoegd. Een hoog moreel gehalte van alle onderwijsmateriaal was vanzelfsprekend essentieel bij de educatie van deze doelgroep. De kritiek van winst oogmerk, tenslotte, kan eenvoudig worden weerlegd. Murray heeft zijn verdiensten als grammaticus niet voor eigen gebruik aangewend; alle inkomsten gingen naar liefdadige of educatieve instellingen.

Murray hield zich ook persoonlijk intensief bezig met de marketing en distributie van zijn boeken, zowel voor de Engelse als de Amerikaanse markt. Dit laatste zeker ook om zoveel mogelijk de uitgave van piraten edities aldaar te kunnen voorkomen, aangezien het Britse kopijrecht er destijds nog niet erkend werd. Maar de verspreiding beperkte zich niet tot Engelstalige landen. Zijn boeken werden vertaald en als voorbeeld gebruikt in vele landen en talen, van Duitsland tot Japan en van Gujarati tot Maori. Zij werden echter ook bekritiseerd en geparodieerd; de “ver-nederlandste” versie *De Vermakelijke Spraakkunst* (1865) van Jacob van Lennep is een goed voorbeeld van dat laatste. Murray hield tevens de publicaties van zijn concurrenten nauwlettend in het oog en hij herzag zijn grammatica's continu; enkele voorbeelden ervan zijn aangegeven. Dit alles vond plaats in een periode dat Englands status als een wereldmacht steeds duidelijker vormen begon aan te nemen, en het resultaat van al deze inspanningen van Murray is dan ook dat zijn tekstboeken naar alle waarschijnlijkheid een belangrijke bijdrage hebben geleverd aan de verspreiding van het Engels als wereldtaal.

*Murrays taalgebruik en grammaticaregels vergeleken*

In hoofdstuk 6 kijk ik naar hoe Murrays eigen taalgebruik, zoals gevonden in zijn brieven, zich verhiel tot de grammaticaregels die hij voorschreef. Voor deze vergelijking is hoofdzakelijk gebruik gemaakt van de eerste editie van de *English Grammar* uit 1795. De analyses in dit deel van het proefschrift zijn voornamelijk van kwantitatieve aard en worden uitgevoerd met behulp van het concordantie-programma WordSmith Tools (Scott 2008). Ik heb daartoe een lijst van achttien grammaticale afkeuringen, zoals geobserveerd in de achttiende eeuw, opgesteld, aangevuld met twee niet-grammaticale taalkundige aspecten. Dit overzicht bevat zowel enkele voorbeelden uit een hedendaagse opsomming van taalfouten (Crystal 1995: 194), die dus reeds in Murrays tijd de gemoederen bezighielden, alsmede een lijst van proscripties uit Murrays voornaamste bron, de grammatica van Robert Lowth (1762; zie Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006a: 553–555).

De resultaten van deze analyses tonen aan dat vier van de tien foutieve constructies op Crystals lijst relevant waren voor Murrays taalgebruik, en dat van slechts twee daarvan Murrays eigen gebruik overeenkwam met zijn grammaticale voorschriften. Wat betreft de vergelijkingen aan de hand van Lowths grammaticale regels, het overgrote deel van de meer dan veertig proscripties op de oorspronkelijke lijst is niet relevant voor Murrays taalgebruik. Van zes van de acht uiteindelijk onderzochte proscripties blijkt dat Murrays taalgebruik afwijkt van de regels zoals hij deze zelf had opgenomen in zijn *English Grammar*. Een overzicht van de resultaten van de analyses van de twaalf constructies is te vinden in Tabel 6.9. Hierbij moet worden opgemerkt dat dergelijke afwijkingen van het eigen taalgebruik van de norm niet ongebruikelijk waren in de achttiende eeuw; zoals Tieken-Boon van Ostade aantoont (2006a: 546) was dit ook het geval bij Lowth.

Wat wel ongebruikelijk lijkt is het feit dat Murray, ook in het geval van grammaticale normen, geen onderscheid maakte tussen correspondenten, zoals Lowth dat wel deed, al naar gelang het formele niveau van een brief. Dit valt echter te verklaren aan de hand van het feit dat Murray een Quaker was, en dus per definitie zijn taalgebruik niet mocht aanpassen aan de status van de geadresseerde. Verder wordt het duidelijk dat, hoewel Murray zich grotendeels baseerde op Lowths grammatica, hij deze regels zeker niet allemaal klakkeloos overnam. Hij bekeek diens voorschriften kritisch en besloot in een aantal gevallen hiervan af te wijken of er een kanttekening bij te plaatsen.

De spellingsaspecten kapitalisatie en het gebruik van *shew* dan wel *show* worden eveneens geanalyseerd in dit hoofdstuk. In het geval van kapitalisatie is te zien dat er een verband lijkt te bestaan tussen het verdwijnen uit Murrays brieven van extra hoofdletters aan het begin van zelfstandige naamwoorden, en de praktijk van de drukkers van zijn grammatica om deze hoofdletters te vervangen door kleine letters. Deze verdwijning vindt namelijk praktisch gelijktijdig plaats. Waar het de plotselinge verdwijning van de spellingsvorm *shew* ten gunste van *show* betreft lijkt er geen verband met de publicatiegeschiedenis van de *English Grammar* te bestaan, omdat hierin geen voorkeur voor een van beide vormen wordt uitgesproken.

We zien tenslotte nog dat Murrays taalgebruik in een aantal gevallen veranderde, zodat hij zich in feite conformeerde aan de grammaticale voorschriften in zijn *English Grammar*. Deze veranderingen vonden zonder uitzondering abrupt plaats (zie Tabel 6.10). Bij de conclusies in dit hoofdstuk moet echter in aanmerking worden genomen dat het aantal *tokens* over het algemeen zeer klein is.

### *Conclusies*

In dit proefschrift is getracht het reeds bestaande beeld van Lindley Murray te complementeren. Zijn achtergrond als Quaker is hierbij als allesoverheersende factor naar voren gekomen, en ik heb geprobeerd aan te tonen dat zijn memoires, brieven en tekstboeken niet bestudeerd kunnen worden zonder dit cruciale aspect te beschouwen. In termen van sociale netwerkanalyse onderscheidt Milroy (1987) taalkundige trendsetters, vroege aannemers en volgers. Eveneens in deze context kan gesteld worden dat Murray leefde binnen het extreem gesloten netwerk van de Quaker gemeenschap en zich conformeerde aan de daarbinnen geldende regels voor taalgebruik. Het gevolg hiervan is dat de brieven-schrijver Murray kan worden beschouwd als een van de volgers van de vigerende normen binnen zijn eigen netwerk. Ook zijn grammatica kan als zodanig gezien worden, omdat Murray beproefde methodes van zijn voorgangers als uitgangspunt nam, en deze methodiek continu evalueerde. Het enorme succes dat zijn werk opleverde was een direct gevolg van deze strategie.





## Curriculum vitae

Lyda Fens-de Zeeuw was born on 14 July 1954, in Rotterdam. Initially, after receiving her secondary education diploma from the MULO in Krimpen a/d IJssel in 1971, she set to work in a variety of jobs, from nursing to secretarial, and from teaching first-aid practice to typing and shorthand. She subsequently obtained a VWO-certificate English in 1979, and successfully completed courses in corporate management and marketing management at the Open University in Heerlen, between 1988–1993.

From 2000 to 2006, Lyda studied English Language and Literature at the University of Leiden, which resulted in an MA degree. Immediately following, as a PhD candidate she joined the NWO-funded research project *The Codifiers and the English Language: Tracing the Norms of Standard English*, supervised by prof.dr. I.M. Tiekens-Boon van Ostade, and thus became attached to the Leiden University Centre for Linguistics. Her focus was on the eighteenth-century Quaker grammarian Lindley Murray and his language use, which resulted in the present dissertation.

During the course of this project Lyda and her husband emigrated from the Netherlands to Canada, where she now lives and contributes as associate editor to the electronic database *Lexicons of Early Modern English (LEME)*, at the Lexical Analysis Centre of the University of Toronto.