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THE EARLY QUAKER OUTLOOK UPON "THE WORLD" & SOCIETY

1647-1662

Hugh S. Barbour

A Dissertation Presented to
The Faculty of the Graduate School
of Yale University in Candidacy for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

1952

Department of Religion
Professor Roland H. Bainton

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HUGH BARBOUR: THE EARLY QUAKER OUTLOOK UPON "THE WORLD" & SOCIETY, 1647-1662

Summary of Results Reached

The Quakers in their first fifteen years showed a vitality of ethical and spiritual world-conquest, which differed in viewpoint as well as in energy from their more familiar later outlooks. Living in the time when Puritanism moulded English thought, Quakers kept the Puritans' sense of ethical struggle and the theocratic approach to Society. The Quaker movement arose, however, among the Dales and Fells of northwestern England, where church life and organization (whether Puritan, Anglican, Catholic or Baptist) had been neglected. In this region a tradition of social discontent had persisted among the tenant-farmers, who formed the nucleus of the early Quaker movement. Quakerism later spread through south-western England and among working people in Bristol and London. In all these areas, the mass meetings and intense emotionalism of the Quakers were similar to those in other religious Awakenings among the uncultured, the unchurched and the socially disinherited.

In intense conversion experiences fostered by fiery Quaker preaching, Friends commonly passed through bitter personal struggles centering upon personal conviction of sin, before finding peace. Self-surrender to the Spirit of God ensued, which saw the Spirit manifested simultaneously in the emotional "power" which seized Quaker groups, in the specific impulses of inward "leadings", and in the voice of conscience. The ethical norms established, were close to those of the Bible and Puritanism. But the inward Light of the Spirit demanded an implicit obedience which displaced the Wills and Reasonings of men. Quakers felt that they must depend upon the Spirit to provide specific ideas in all fields, and promptings to specific action in worship and daily life. Perfect obedience was the ideal and the ultimate criterion in ethics.

The early Quakers were thus ethically radicals, expecting the power within them to transform the world. The natural world, while created good and useful, was regarded as an instrument for God and his Saints. "The World" of sinful men, however, was seen to be in rebellion against God, and its ways and customs to be the fruit of human self-will. Quakers thus shared in "the Lamb's War" against "the World", which was fought equally against evil within the heart and against worldly customs in Society. Both suffering and prophetic preaching prepared the ultimate and certain victory of the Spirit.

Sharing many of the hopes and ideals of the Commonwealth rulers, the early Quakers regarded the State as God's intended instrument in enforcing justice and reforming Society. But their theocratic outlook always assumed the absolute autonomy of the Spirit, and on this basis Friends insisted upon religious liberty for men led by the Spirit. Quakers felt themselves led to perform acts of prophetic judgment which intruded upon the lives of other men. Quaker passive resistance was a creative solution to the ultimate impasse caused by absolutist religious claims.

While hostile towards most existing social institutions, Friends' own social conduct was intended as a Testimony to win men to obedience to the Light. In rejecting luxury and ceremony of dress and speech, Friends attacked the human pride which underlay them. The rejection of all oaths and bargaining in trade challenged dishonesty. Positive programs for mutual aid and reform showed Quakers' responsibility for the poor and unfortunate.

The persecutions of 1662-1689 ended Quaker expectations of world-conquest. Positive relationships with the non-Quaker world were maintained upon the more limited basis of common human reason and the relativized conscience.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"Behold, I will do a new thing; Now it shall spring forth;
Shall ye not know it? . . .
This people have I formed for myself; They shall show forth my praise."
Isaiah 43:19,21

"Thou, O Christ, convince us by thy spirit; thrill us with thy Divine passion; drown our selfishness in thy invading love; lay upon us the burden of the world's suffering; drive us forth with the apostolic fervour of the early Church. 'Speak to the children of Israel that they go forward.'"

John Wilhelm Rowntree

The Topic and the Sources

This paper studies the ethical and social outlook of the early Quakers. The Society of Friends has a special fascination for the student of Christian history. The lay mind, indeed, has given to the Quakers a place apart, and an admiration higher even than that given to monastic orders. This has been partly due, presumably, to the ideal of the Silent Meeting; it owes rather more to respect for Quaker integrity, and for the rejection by Quakers of ethical compromise in many aspects of life. This admiration by laymen has been still more due to the prominence of the Quakers in philanthropic projects of many kinds. This unique aura of sanctity was by no means accorded to the first Quakers in the earliest days; they were despised by the men most prominent socially and intellectually. Yet the Quaker movement in this early period showed a vitality and intensity of religious experience which stand in challenge to our modern churches. In this same early period were formulated most of the characteristic Quaker ethical teachings and social concerns; these, by their influence, have been issues of importance to students of Christian ethics and social reform since their time.

This paper seeks to find how far these Quaker ethical doctrines can be related to each other in a consistent pattern; how far the total outlook of early Quakers upon society and mankind is integrated and rooted in the direct religious

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experience of early Friends. The attempt to make such an inclusive correlation makes it hard to delimit the content-material of this study on a compact topical basis, (although purely devotional, personal, or organizational issues have on the whole been passed over). This difficulty in rigidly delimiting the field topically, makes it the more necessary to take narrow temporal limits for this study.

1647 has been taken as the opening date; in this year George Fox became the leader of a group of Nottinghamshire Seekers out of which grew gradually a new and independent movement. The use of this point of departure is a gesture of recognition that we are concerned with Quakerism from its beginnings, and in its relationships to its religious and cultural background. The earliest Quaker tracts, nevertheless, were not published until 1652;[1] in this latter year also the Quaker movement was given its decisive impetus by the winning of the Fell household and the nucleus of the groups in Westmorland and the Dales of Yorkshire. The closing date for this paper is 1662, since in that year the "Quaker Act" inaugurated the years of terrible persecution under the later Stuarts. These years changed the outlook of Quakers towards the world and Society in a thorough-going way. After 1662, moreover, there was considerable change in Quaker leadership. In 1660 had died James Nayler, after Fox the greatest preacher in early Quakerism. John Camm had died in 1657. Burrough died in prison in 1663, Hubberthorne in 1662; and Caton, Audland, Ames, Fisher and "George Fox the Younger" all died about this time.

[1] (A chronological table compiled at the Friends House Library in London shows that Thomas Aldam seems to have been virtually the only Quaker besides Fox to have published at this early time. Manuscript material is also scanty. (Braithwaite notes that there are one or two placards in the Devonshire House Collection, and a few letters from Aldam to Fox in 1651 were later included in the Swarthmoor Collection (begun in 1652), William C. Braithwaite: The Beginnings of Quakerism, (London, Macmillan, 1912,) pp. 50,72-3, etc). The evidence on this period from 1647 to 1652 is somewhat conflicting, and geographical factors have prevented any attempt to hunt down new manuscript material for this study.)

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The change to new leadership and new outlooks did not come overnight; nor is the subsequent period of Quakerism less interesting in its ethical and religious significance than that before 1662. Since, however, the mere quantity of published material makes it necessary to limit this study, the bulk of our attention will be given to the decade in which the growing movement established its characteristic ideas and won the largest proportion of its membership.

Few religious movements have been as well documented and studied as has early Quakerism. Early Friends, and Fox in particular, felt that their movement marked a turning point in history. Their journals were written and their letters were preserved with this in mind, although they regarded them as witnesses for an apocalyptic future rather than for denominational posterity; Paul's Epistles, the Book of Acts and Jeremiah's life by Baruch served as prototypes. In modern times, Friends have been fortunate to have produced a succession of historical works unusually thorough and well balanced, especially the series edited by the late Rufus Jones.[2] In these Quaker histories, especially in the perceptive and unprejudiced work of Braithwaite, many conclusions of later and more abstract study were foreshadowed.[3] But a wise concern for objectivity has led to the presentation of factual material with the minimum of interpretative patterning. What evaluation is present often represents the interpretation of the traditional Quaker ethical concerns from the standpoint of the religious experience of more recent times. Such religious experience is of genuine vitality and validity, but nevertheless differs at significant points -

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2) Rufus M. Jones: Studies in Mystical Religion, (London, Macmillan, 1923), Braithwaite: Beginnings, William C. Braithwaite: The Second Period of Quakerism, (London, MacMillan, 1919), Rufus M. Jones: The Quakers in the American Colonies, (London, MacMillan, 1909), and Rufus M. Jones: The Later Periods of Quakerism, (London, MacMillan, 1921; 2 Vols.)

3) There have been, in addition, shorter histories of Quakerism such as Elbert Russell: The History of Quakerism, (New York MacMillar., 1942), Henry Hodgkin & William C. Braithwaite: The Mission and Message of Quakerism, (London, 1912); these have as a rule been equally careful and fair; but since they are usually briefer, and present little new data, they need not receive special consideration here.

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(not always, of course, for the worse)- from the religious experience of early Quakers.[4] The Whig liberalism of many Quakers in the late seventeenth century, and Quaker mysticism in the eighteenth have found sympathetic understanding in Quaker writers of the last fifty years. There has been a tendency to assume this outlook as a frame of reference in interpreting early Quakerism also, stressing for instance the innate religious possibilities in the human soul.[5] It has been fully recognized that the outward life of the Quaker movement was drastically changed by the events of 1662-1689, and also that the zeal and urgency waned with which Friends before 1662 went out to transform the world. It has not always been clearly seen that this change of spirit changed also the meaning of basic Quaker ideas such as "the Inward Light". There remains therefore a need to see the ethical concerns of early Friends, not only in a systematic way, but in terms of the spirit of their own day.

New types of insight for such a study have been made available by recent German scholarship.[6] Since the work of Ernst Troeltsch, it has become possible to see ethical outlooks as patterns and types, and to think in terms of "sectarian" and "churchly" relationships between a religious group and

---

4) Examples of such re-interpretations would include not only the optimistic humanism implied in aspects of the interpretations of Rufus Jones, but also the equally vital outlooks of Caroline Stephen, (Caroline Stephen: Quaker Strongholds, (London, Headley Bros., 1907). Tuke, Rowntree and Gurney in an earlier day, and of Bartlett - Percy W. Bartlett: Quakers & the Christian Church, (London, Friends Book Center, 1942), and even Roger Wilson in our own century.

5) This tendency is most clearly in books intended for popular use, such as: Isabel Ross: Margaret Fell: Mother of Quakerism, (London, Longman's Green, 1949); L. V. Hodgkin (Mrs. John Holdsworth): Gulielma, Wife of William Penn, (London, Longman's Green, 1947); L. V. Hodgkin (Mrs. John Holdsworth): A Book of Quaker Saints, (London, MacMillan, 1922); and Ernest E. Taylor: The Valiant Sixty, (London, The Bannisdale Press, 1947).

6) Ernst Troeltsch: The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches, translated by Olive Wyon, (London, Allen N.Y. MacMillan), 1931 original: Die Soziallehren der Christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen, 1911.

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society at large.[7] Max Weber and Tawney[8] have indicated the way in which these relationships are tied up with economic groupings in society. More recently, Kühn and Freund[9] have used key theological conceptions as foci from which political and ethical patterns of outlook may often be better understood. Finally, Professor Bainton, while working out more fully some of these same lines of thought,[10] has showed the importance of human personalities and religious experiences in the origin of patterns of outlook. In terms of concepts and methods of approach, this paper will owe much to all these works. Their specific historical comments, moreover, on the early Quakers and other seventeenth century groups, have often been remarkably shrewd. Occasionally they have been handicapped by the use of material pre-selected for its relevance to the concern of Bernstein for economic classes, to that of Weber for the Puritan conception of calling, to that of Braithwaite and Jones for social liberalism. After all, authors of systematic treatises on an entire period or aspect of church-history cannot read or cite all the available primary sources omnivorously.

New understanding is also increasingly possible in terms of the relation of early Quakerism to its religious environment, especially to English Puritanism in both the orthodox and the more radical forms. Early studies have usually either implied that Quakerism was a new creation isolated from the religious

---

7) Max Weber: The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, translated by Talcott Parsons, with a foreward by R. H. Tawney, (New York, Scribners, 1930).

8) Richard H. Tawney: Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, Holland Memorial Lectures, 1922; (Pelican Edition, Penguin Books, Inc. 1947)

9) Johannes Kühn: Toleranz und Offenbarung (Leipzig, F. Meiner, 1923), Michael Freund: Die Idee der Toleranz in England der Grossen Revolution, (Halle Saale, Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1927)

10) Roland H. Bainton: The Travail of Religious Liberty, (Philadelphia Westminster Press, 1951); Roland H. Bainton: "The Struggle for Religious Liberty", in Church History, Vol. X, (March, 1941)

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and political life of its time,[11] or else they have attempted to trace the source of Quakerism in a single contemporary movement with similar ideas. These attempts[12] have usually been at least partly valid, but have always been too simple and have sometimes picked out supposed spiritual ancestors who could actually have had little contact with the founders of Quakerism; the reading back of scholars' own conceptions of the nature of Quakerism have also influenced their judgments of such spiritual origins The total picture of England in the seventeenth century is therefore important for the understanding of early Quakerism. This is true most of all in the field of religion. Outstanding contributions in this area have been the recent books of Knappen and Haller on Puritanism.[13] With regard to the Baptists and sectarian Puritans, the thorough factual histories of Burrage, Barclay, Underwood and Whitley,[14] have been supplemented by more specialized studies: Miss Brown on the Millenarians[15] is both detailed

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11) cf. Sir George Newman: Quaker Profiles, (London, The Bannisdale Press, 1946)p.10, 11, 16: Fox was oblivious to "a generation of the strongest and most masterly and most powerful intellects that England has ever known".

12) cf. William Tallack: Fox, the Friends and the early Baptiste, (1868); Robert Barclay: The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth, (London, Hadden & Stoughton, 1879); this Barclay is not to be confused with his seventeenth-century namesake; and Rufus M. Jones: Studies in Mystical Religion, (London, MacMillan, 1909)

13) Knappen: Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Idealism, (Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1939), and William Haller: The Rise of Puritanism, New York, (Columbia Univ. Press, 1938); Ralph Barton Perry: Puritanism & Democracy, (New York, Vanguard Press, 1944); while not the work of a scholar immersed in this field, (as was, for instance, Perry Miller), also gives useful insights.

14) Champlin Burrage: The Early English Dissenters in the Light of Recent Research, (1550-1641) II Vol., (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1912); Barclay: Inner Life, A. C. Underwood: A History of British Baptists, (London, Baptist Union Publication Dept. 1947), and W. A. Whitley: A History of British Baptists, (London, Kingsgate Press, 2nd edn. 1931).

15) Louise Fargo Brown: The Political Activities of Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men, (Washington, American Historical Association, 1912)

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and suggestive; Tindall, although he comes to bury Bunyan, not to praise him,[16] is comprehensive in bibliography and provides a useful analysis of the relationship between social strata and religious groupings and outlooks. Like Tindall's, Belasco's work[17] is somewhat hindered by his inability to take religious presuppositions seriously, but it also covers a wealth of material. In the areas of general political and economic history, the great books of Tawney, Gooch, Allen and Trevelyan[18] have blocked out the field. Jordan on religious liberty, and Schenck and Miss White on social ideals,[19] bring these areas into more direct relationship with early Quakerism.

Recent studies have reviewed portions of the great body of early Quaker literature in the perspective of such theological and environmental insights. A few have also been able to introduce fresh documentary evidence. The most suggestive of such books have been those of Geoffrey Nuttall on the Holy Spirit and Enthusiasm,[20] the most immediate inspiration for this present project in a parallel field. Tolles, by his scholarly and readable work on early Pennsylvania Quakerism[21]

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16 ("the remains of John Bunyan were interred... in Tindall's Burying Ground, better known as Bunhill Fields" -William York Tindall: John Bunyan, Mechanick Preacher,(N.Y. Columbia Univ. Press, 1934) p.214)

17 (Philip S. Belasco: Authority in Church and State, with a forward by G. P. Gooch; (London, George Allen & Unwin, 1928)

18 (Richard H. Tawney: The Agrarian Problem in the 16th Century, (London, Longmans Green, 1912)
(G. P. Gooch: English Democratic Ideas in the 17th, (Cambridge, University Press, 1927)
(J.W. Allen: English Political Thought,1603-1660, Vol.I,1603-1644; (London, Methuen, 1938)
(George Macaulay Trevelyan: England under the Stuarts,(N.Y. Putnam's, 1906)

19 (W.K. Jordan: The Development of Religious Toleration in England, 3 Vols.,(London, Geo. Allen & Unwin, 1938-Vol. III)
(W. Schenk: The Concern for Social Justice in the Puritan Revolution,(London, Longman's Green, 1948)
(Helen S. White: Social Criticism in the Popular Religious Literature of the Sixteenth Century,(N.Y. MacMillan, 1944)

20 (Geoffrey F. Nuttall: The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience,(Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1946) and Geoffrey Nuttall: Studies in Christian Enthusiasm illustrated from early Quakerism, (Wallingford, Pa.; Pendle Hill: 1948)

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shows, especially by his introductory discussion, that he also would be capable of carrying through this present study far better than the writer. To Tolles and Nuttall's works we must add Sippell's on the origins of Quakerism,[22] and the books of Jorns, Isabel Grubb and Emlen on Quaker business and mutual aid[23] activities. Like them, Beatty on William Penn,[24] and Arnold Lloyd on the organizational aspects of Quakerism, (which pick up the story characteristically where this study closes),[25] show the influence of the recent diversification of insights. Even more penetrating, although less thorough, have been two unpublished theses covering Quaker political activities in England and Pennsylvania after 1660, by Ruth L. Armsby of Birmingham, and Carl Hertz of Chicago.[26]

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21 (Frederick B. Tolles: Meeting-House & Counting-House; Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Va.; (Chapel Hill, Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1948) and Frederick B. Tolles: "Quietism vs. Enthusiasm: the Philadelphia Quakers and the Great Awakening"; in The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, (January 1945,) pp. 27-49.).

22 (Theodor Sippel: Werdendes Quäkertum, (Stuttgart, W. Kolhammer, 1937).

23 (Auguste Jorns: The Quakers as Pioneers in Social Work, translated by Thomas Kite Brown, (N.Y. MacMillan, 1931) original title: Studien über die Sozialpolitik der Quäker; (Karlsruhe, 1912); and Isabel Grubb: Quakerism & Industry before 1800, (London, Williams & Norgate, Ltd., 1930); and Paul Herman Emden: Quakers in Commerce, (London, Appleton Century, 1940.).

24 (Edwin Corbyn Obert Beatty: William Penn as Social Philosopher, (New York, 1939. Columbia University Press).

25 (Arnold Lloyd: Quaker Social History, 1669-1738, (London, Longman's Green, 1950.).

26 (Ruth L. Armsby: "The Early Quaker View of the State, its Nature, Powers and Limitations, with Special Reference to Isaac Pennington"; B.A. thesis for the University of Birmingham, 1932, used by courtesy of the Library of the Society of Friends, Friends House, Euston Road, London; and Karl Herbert Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth and Holy Experiment: A Study of the Relation between Theology and Politics in the Puritan and Quaker Colonies"; Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1948; by courtesy of the University of Chicago Library and Yale Library.).

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Rachel Hadley King on the "Inner Light"[27], while narrower in scope, provides authoritative thoroughness in a crucial area. Few of the more intensive of these studies have worked in the material from the opening decade of Quakerism, 1652-62, but they set a standard hard to live up to. Fortunately their place is assured, and still less likely to be displaced are the histories in the Macaulay-Trevelyan tradition such as the Braithwaite-Jones series. Yet alongside of, and casting light on these works, interpretative studies, such as this present one, may still find a useful place.

In the use of primary material, which has provided the bulk of the content-material for this study, the main emphasis has been upon published tracts. For it is in these that the relationship of Quakers to "the World" and Society is most explicitly stated, and its concrete implications argued. Journal material referring to this period has been read wherever possible, and has thrown valuable light on the personal religious experiences of early Quaker leaders.[28] Manuscript material has not been read, however,[29] and secondary sources

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27)Rachel Hadley King: George Fox and the Light Within, (Philadelphia, Friends Bookstore, 1940).

28)John Burnyeat: The Truth Exalted in the Writings of that Eminent and Faithful Servant of Christ John Burnyeat, (London, Thomas Northcott, 1691). John Banks: A Journal of the Life, Labours, Travels and Sufferings... of John Banks, London, (J. Sowle, 1712) Thomas Ellwood: The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood...written by his own hand, (London, 2nd edition, by the Assigns of J. Sowle, 1714) and of course, The Journal of George Fox, edited by Norman Penney, (Cambridge, University Press, 1911, 2 Vols.); this restores the older form of the journal, and retains the manuscript, spelling, etc. Most of these journals were written with a definite eye to publication, not only among Friends but for the inspiration of non-Quakers; cf. Tindal: Bunyan, Chapter II.

29)The famous Swarthmoor Manuscript collection, consisting especially of letters from early Quaker preachers to Margaret Fell at Swarthmoor Hall, is available on microfilm at Haverford College Library.

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have been relied on for most chronological data used. Similarly, the "Epistles", published by Friends for circulation among their own fellowship, have been read only where they seemed to bear upon social or economic issues. By these omissions, much of the gentler, warmer, and more rapturous elements in Friends' religious experience have inevitably been passed over. This stress upon love and unity within the fellowship of Quakerism, found in the Epistles and personal letters, must be borne in mind, insofar as the Quaker outlook upon the outside world, which this paper studies, seems harsh or ungenerous.[30]

Even in the material published by Quakers in the first decade, it has not been possible to read more than about half the publications which might be considered relevant to Quaker ethical outlooks. The 125 titles listed range from broadsides to collected "Works" in four volumes; but they represent a sampling, and insofar as any specific principle of choice has been involved, the attempt has been to cover thoroughly certain men of special significance. In the case of George Fox himself, besides the Journals,[31] the most valuable work was his compendium of controversial counter-blasts, "The Great Mistery".[32] It was possible to read those of Fox's other tracts which seemed to deal with ethical and social issues,[33] but not all of his writings, even in this decade.

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30)This more warm-hearted side of early Quakerism is in any case often studied, and sometimes is the only aspect presented; this study, only the ethical relationships, should not be considered as a fully-rounded presentation of early Quakerism as a whole.

31)Fox: Cambridge Journal, and George Fox: Journal, edited by Norman Penney, (London, J. M. Dent: Everyman's Library, 1924); this edition is abridged from the Bicentenary Edition (1891) of the Ellwood Text (1694), but also includes material from the Short Journal covering Fox's early life.

32)George Fox: The Great Mistery of the Great Whore Unfolded, (Phila. 1831, M. T. Gould).

33)George Fox: "The Doctrinals"; Vols. IV, V, V & VI of the collected Works, (Phila., 1831, M. T. Gould).

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However the works of James Nayler - who stands beside George Fox as the great leader of early Quakerism - were read in full, and likewise those of Samuel Fisher - ex-vicar and University man, and the best educated among the earliest Quakers.[35] The rather few printed works of Camm and Audland,[36] were also read complete; these men as Quaker preachers ranked among the first half dozen. Edward Burrough seems to have had a much deeper understanding than his contemporaries of the implications underlying Quaker demands for religious liberty; many of his tracts were unusually helpful.[37] Similarly, the most explicit assertion of the basically theocratic Quaker conception of the State seems to be given by the ex-Cromwellian soldier called "George Fox the Younger".[38] A selection of tracts were chosen from other key figures such as Howgill and Bishop,[39] and such tracts by other authors as seemed of special significance. The classic systematization of Quaker thought by Robert Barclay[40] dates from somewhat later than the period studied here; yet it retains more of the spirit of primitive

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34) James Nayler: A Collection of Sundry Books, Epistles & Papers written by James Nayler, (London, J. Sowle, 1716).

35) Samuel Fisher: The Testimony of Truth Exalted...in the Works of... Samuel Fisher, (n.p., 1679); the main part of this work is "Rustious ad Academicos", 1660: the hope that Fisher would prove to be the Quaker pioneer best able to throw light on controversial issues was only partly justified. More at home than most Quakers in the terminology of Calvinist opponents, Fisher's theological understanding was still somewhat shallow.

36) John Audland & John Camm: The Memory of the Righteous Revived, (London, Andrew Soule, 1689).

37) To have been able to have read in full the works of Burrough, of his colleague Francis Howgill, and of the more extravagantly "revivalistic" Dewsbury, would have given a more fully comprehensive basis for such a survey as this. To these one might add men like Farnworth and Crook representing regional tendencies in Quakerism.

38) George Fox "the Younger": A Collection of the Several Books and Writings Given Forth by that Faithful Servant of God and of his People, George Fox the Younger, (London, 1665).

39) Francis Howgill: The Dawnings of the Gospel-Day and its Light and Glory Discovered: (Works) n.p. 1676, and George Bishop: The Warnings of the Lord to the men of this generation (especially Oliver Cromwell), (London, M. Inman, 1660).

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Quakerism than do other writings of its time,[41] and has been appealed to when no other early source gave specific answers on obscure issues. Certain mass petitions from Quakers in the first decade throw light on Quaker outlooks;[42] The group of manuscripts on the beginnings of Quakerism in various counties[43] contains suggestive comments and remembered episodes.

In general, little informational material has been discovered that is totally new,[44] although one or two tracts may not previously have come to the attention of those able to most fully grasp their importance.[45] Some of the background material presented may not have heretofore appeared in direct connection with Quakerism. On the whole, however, all that can be hoped is that known material has been presented in new combinations and in a new light.

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40) Robert Barclay: An Apology for the True Christian Divinity, (Philadelphia, Kimber, Conrad & Co. 1805); Robert Barclay: The Anarchy of the Ranters, (republished under title of "A Treatise on Church Government"; Philadelphia, Solomon W. Conrad, 1822).

41) e.g. those of Penn and Penington, which have accordingly not been widely used in this study.

42) e.g. The Suffering Case of Some People called Quakers, presented to the Kings Justices of the Peace for the County of Middlesex, (London, 1683); These Several Papers was Sent to the Parliament the 20th Day of the 5th Moneth 1659, being above 7000 of the Names of the Hand maids and Daughters of the Lord and such as feels the Oppression of Tithes, (n.p., 1659).

43) collected for publication, but actually published only recently, under the title of The First Publishers of Truth, edited by Norman Penney, (London, Headley Bros., 1907).

44) In the field of early Quakerism it is perhaps more unlikely than in some other areas of study that much important new manuscript material will be discovered.

45) e.g. The Image of Jealousie Sought Out, (London, 1660), cf. Section X-A; Thomas Salthouse: A Candle Lighted at a Coal from the Altar, (London, 1660); cf. Chapter VII, etc.

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Primary works by Puritans, a background for Quakerism, were inevitably read less intensively. Scattered sermons and treatises by Hugh Latimer and William Perkins[46] have been exciting reading; Bunyan's "Grace Abounding"[47] has many points of contact with Quaker journals; the Fenstanton and Broadmead Records[48] show the daily life of the small separatist conventicle at the time when Quakerism arose. The works of Winstanley and Dell,[49] who of all radical and "spiritual" Puritans most closely foreshadowed Quakerism, were read complete. For other writers, such as Baxter, Saltmarsh, Owen, and the Fifth Monarchy men, it has been necessary to rely on secondary sources and the quotations from their works in Quaker controversial tracts.

The Quaker tracts, which form the nucleus of this study, are an impressively large and vigorous body of writing. With spoken sermons, they were the main Quaker weapons in their approach to the outside world. They are often

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46) 27 Sermons Preached by the ryght Reverende father in God and constant Matir of Jesus Christe, Maister Hugh Latimer, (London, John Day, 1562); and William Perkins: Works, (Cambridge, John Legate, 1604): Vol. II; includes the following: "A Salve for a Sicke Man", "How to Live, and that well", "A discourse of Conscience", "A Case of Conscience, the greatest that ever was, how a man may know whether he be a child of God, or no".

47) John Bunyan: Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners, in a faithful account of the Life and Death of John Bunyan: (in Works), (New Haven, 1830) Vol. I.

48) Records of the Churches of Christ gathered at Fenstanton, Warboys & Hexham, 1644-1720, (edited for the Hanserd Knollys Society by Edward Bean Underhill, London, 1854)

49) The Works of Gerrard Winstanley, edited by George H. Sabine, (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1941).
Select Works of William Dell, (London, John Kendall, 1773): includes the following: "Christ's Spirit the Christians Strength", "Uniformity Examined", "The Building, Beauty, Teaching and establishment of the Truly Christian & Spiritual Church", "Right Reformation", "The Stumbling Stone", "The Doctrine of Baptisms", "The Trial of Spirits", "A Testimony Against Divinity Degrees in the Universities", "The Right Reformation of Learning".

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startlingly personal and forth-right, yet they express not only the immediate ethical issues and challenges but the underlying assumptions as to the nature of the Quaker movement in relation to Society at large.[50] The study of them has been an interesting and rewarding experience.

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50) Not only do the number of these tracts run into many hundreds, but certain of them individually are major documents: Fisher's Rusticus ad Academicos runs to 900 folio pages of controversial writing: Fox's:Great Mistery is almost as long, and could equally well have been published as several dozen separate tracts. Nayler's tracts, while controversial, are more thorough and systematic than most of the others, and come closest to being organized treatises. It will be noted that before Penn and Barclay there were no purely Didactic or doctrinal works in early Quakerism; this is itself indicative of the temper of early Quakerism; moreover doctrinal ideas were mostly formulated in polemical situations.

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CHAPTER II

BACKGROUNDS OF EARLY QUAKERISM

"The preaching of the cross is to them that perish, foolishness, but unto us which are saved, it is the power of God... For ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called: But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; And base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to naught things that are".

I Corinthians 1:18,26-8

"O thou, North of England, who are accounted as desolate and barren, and reckoned the least of the Nations, yet out of thee did the branch spring, and the Star arise which gives light unto all Regions round about...and out of thee the terror of the Lord proceeded which makes the earth to tremble and be removed; out of thee Kings, Princes and Prophets did come forth in the name and power of the most High."[1]

Edward Burrough

Section II-A The Ethical Outlook of Puritanism

Early Quakerism was before all else a religious movement. It was also one in which religion and ethical concern were inseparably united. Both this union of religion and ethics, and the specific points of Quaker religious belief and ethical protest arose partly from the personal religious experience of early Quakers; but both also reflect the religious environment of the time, as perhaps all fresh religious experience is turned into the channels cut by the thought and customs of religious forebears. In England of the early seventeenth century, the overwhelmingly predominant movement of religious life was Puritanism. The relationship of Quakerism and Puritanism, as will be shown, was both positive and negative. But the conception of Quakerism as a revolt against Puritanism[2] tends to overlook the far more significant extent to which Quakerism was moulded and cradled by Puritanism, and continued always to share certain basic outlooks of the wider movement. As the most important single influence

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1)Edward Burrough & Francis Howgill: To the Camp of the Lord in England, (n.p. 1655).

2)Braithwaite: Beginnings.

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upon Quakerism, the Puritan outlook will be the first aspect of Quaker backgrounds to be examined, even though other aspects of their background have longer roots in historical age.

The rise of Puritanism has been excellently described by Knappen[3] and Haller,[4] who sketch the beginnings of English Protestantism under Henry VIII, and the injection of the strong Calvinist element brought back from Geneva by the Marian exiles. In the reigh of Elizabeth it was still a fairly cohesive, sharply demarcated movement, and there continued to be a fairly self-conscious group of Puritan ministers and gentry down to the time of the Commonwealth, forming the nucleus of the Massachusetts commonwealth and of the Presbyterian and Independent parties under Cromwell. But the impact and influence of the movement,-(as the usual and broader use of the name Puritan implies)- was by no means limited to the Puritan party in church and state. It was the wider aspects of this movement which were most significant for the setting of Quakerism.[5] It is this wider atmosphere and climate of Puritanism which, in its later outworkings, has concerned recent students of the Puritan economic ethos, such as Weber and Tawney:

> "The principle streams which descended in England from the teaching of Calvin were three: Presbyterianism, Congregationalism, and a doctrine of the nature of God and man, which, if common to both, was more widely diffused, more pervasive, and more potent than either... The third was Puritanism. Straitened to no single sect, and represented in the Anglican Church, hardly, if at all, less fully than in those which afterwards separated from it, it determined, not only conceptions of theology and church government, but political aspirations, business relations, family life and the minutiae of personal behavior... The growth, triumph and transformation of the Puritan spirit was the most fundamental movement of the seventeenth century."[6]

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3)Knappen: Tudor Puritanism.
4)Haller: Rise of Puritanism

5)cf. Tolles: Meeting House:"Quakerism as it arose in the middle of the 17th century cannot be understood unless it is seen as one of the variant expressions of the dominant all-pervasive Puritanism of the age...Although Friends believed that the substance of their ethical ideas was the product in each instance of immediate revelation, it is undeniable that in many respects the form and framework in which these ideas were expressed were those of Puritanism". (p.52).

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The heart of this wider Puritanism can be considered as an ethical movement, a radical outlook upon the nature of the world and human life from which followed dynamic and definite patterns of practical living. Allen attempts to locate its ethical focus as duty:

"Thought in the seventeenth century was more concerned with the idea of duty than with anything else whatever."[7]

So also the less unsympathetic Knappen is inclined to locate the heart of Puritanism in practical ethics:

"The mainspring of Puritan's mechanism was his moral consciousness. The beautiful and true were to him only the handmaidens of the good ... Even tough Calvinism was bent back theologically when it met... the Puritan conscience on issues of good works."[8]

In Puritan theology,

"they did not seek to eliminate all vestige of the doctrine of the atonement, but they made the atonement signify the appointment of the elect soul to join with Christ in the war against the common enemy"[9]

Haller has excellently pointed up the Puritan picture of Christian life as a lifelong ethical pilgrimage of "wayfaring and warfaring"[10], where the milestones of life were moral victories or failures[11]; yet human effort does not stand alone; the

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6) Tawney: Religion & Capitalism, p.165: "Archbishop Laud himself was a great man in the manner of his age. No Puritan surpassed him in resolute obedience to the Will of God or in his concentrated passion for making the will of God prevail, not less over his own weaknesses than over these of other men". Haller: Rise of Puritanism, 228; Haller interprets the Laudian reform as essentially moral, an attempt to recapture the moral leadership and the popular loyalty from the Puritan minority.

7) J. W. Allen: English Political Thought, 1603-1660, Vol. I, 1603-1644; London, Methuen, 1938, 304.

8) Knappen: Tudor Puritanism, 342.

9) Haller: Rise of Puritanism, 151.

10) Haller: Rise of Puritanism, 142.

11) Haller: Rise of Puritanism, 153.

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endless battle against evils and temptation was seen in the perspective of a cosmic war of God and his Elect against the world of evil.[12]

The battle-ground of this warfare, according to popular impressions, was found in the lives of the Puritan's luckless neighbours; the Puritan, to be sure, recognized his duty to the evil-doer, and that "in the meane season he must be admonished that he may amend".[13] But the Puritan felt the main battle to be that of each man against evil within himself:

"The manifestation of the new Adam was unsleeping opposition to the old. Thus there might be help for any man, but this help came only from God and worked only through a man's own self".[14]

The inward battle is not the once-for-all upheaval of a revolutionary conversion; conversion only begins a life-long struggle. Writing on "Christian Warrefare: concerning the right way of fighting in the spiritual battell", Perkins warns that "one temptation is to be looked for after another".[15] "The fatal thing was not to sin, but to tolerate and enjoy such delinquency"; the unpardonable sin was indifference to sin.[16] So the Puritan learned - somewhat at the expense of his sense of perspective - "to account no sinne light or small", and so far as possible to "avoid all occasions of sinne".[17] The inward

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12)Haller reports that Goodwin's favorite scripture passages were Is. 50: 10-11; Ephes. 6:11.

13)Perkins: Golden Chaine, 120.

14)Haller: Rise of Puritanism, 153.

15)Perkins: Golden Chaine, 154-5.

16)Knappen: Tudor Puritanism, 396.

17)Perkins: Golden Chaine, 160.

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conflict of the Puritans against evil was assessed in their diaries;[18] their outward conflict shaped the political history of Tudor and Jacobean England.

The constancy of the fight against evil, as much as the Calvinist doctrine of Election, led to a division of black and white, in men as well as motives. Certain aspects of this outlook were to be of particular importance for later Quakerism. One was the use of the phrase "the World" in the sense of a realm of moral evil and temptation (as it had been used also by the First Epistle of John),[19] rather than in the physically ascetic sense or in the ecclesiastical sense in which the term had been used in the Middle Ages.

Another result of this moral outlook was a break-down of the sanctity of clerical ordination. From the beginning, English Protestants judged their clergy from a moral point of view. It should be pointed out that this was at first a movement of self-criticism on the part of the ministry, as in the famous sermon of Latimer "ad Clerum":

> "Ye have oft sit in consultacio, but what have ye done? Ye have had many thynges in deliberation, but what one is put forth, whereby Christe is more glorified, or els Christes people made more holyer: I appele to your own conscience....how came this thus: because there were no children of light, no children of God amonges you, which setting the world at nought, would study to illustrate the glory of God, and thereby shewe them selfes children of lyght?"
>
> "The Children of this world be lyke crafty hunters, they be misnamed children of lyghte, for as much as they so hate lyghts, and study to do the workes of darknes....It is no mervayle that they go about to keepe other men in darknes, seeing they be in darknes...Whereas the children of lyght are thus minded, that they seke theyr adversaries health, welth and profite, with losse of their own commodities, and ofte tymes with jeoperdy of their life: The children of the world, contrary wise, haue such stomakes, that they will soner se them dead, that doth them good, then susteyne any loss of temporal thinges"[20]

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18) Haller: Rise of Puritanism, p. 38, etc.

19) cf. Richard Niebuhr : Christ and Culture, (N.Y. Harper 1951), pp. 45-55

20) Latimer: Sermons, 8-9 . Not only the outlook of this sermon, but several of its key phrases were to become quite characteristic of Quakerism a century later, though it is not provable, and in fact quite uncertain that they knew this sermon as such; ; it is to be remembered that all these are Biblical phrases, though often overlooked.

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It is to be noted here that both children of light and children of the world seem to be of the clergy, but it was hard to prevent the same radical and moral criterion of distinction from infecting the laity also . Puritans came accordingly to judge their clergy by moral and doctrinal criteria, with a judgment unfettered by their acceptance of membership in the national church.[21]

The Puritans judged lay Children of the World by the same criteria, and after Elizabeth's ecclesiastical reforms still "thought that the bulk of the nation had exchanged the Sins of Popery for the neglect of religion"[22] But judgment was not the most basic Puritan attitude, nor did they stand aloof from those they condemned. The Puritans, most of all the ministers, felt a tremendous pastoral concern, which embraced all England. Into pastoral work was also perforce channelled all the energy which they might wish to have expended through positions of power in church and state, had Elizabeth or James I been amenable. Both Knappen and Haller make clear the devotion of the Puritan ministers to their task: Greenham preached seven sermons a week, with pastoral calls, generous care for the poor and prisoners, and public action concerning food prices and farm conditions;[23] usually the ministers were school-teachers as well.

"They asked for nothing but freedom to preach the Word, and that.... they were given without serious interference, until it grew too late to stop them without wrecking everything".[24]

These ministers quietly transformed the social and ethical outlook of England,[25] although in some areas their pastorates were more prominent than others.[26] It is against this background of pastoral preaching and lay Puritanism that certain areas of Puritan thought take on special significance.

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21)cf. Knappen: Tudor Puritanism, p. 381.

22)ibid. p. 379.

23)ibid. p. 381.

24)Haller: Rise of Puritanism, p. 20.

25)cf. ibid p. 18.

26) cf. Appendix I & Map (end papers)

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Thus the Puritan teachings concerning Sin need to be considered in terms of their results among lay hearers, even more than in terms of their theological rooting. One effort of Puritan preaching, no doubt, was to convict their hearers of sin. Perkins "would pronounce the word Damne with such an emphasis as left a dolefull Echo in his auditours ears a good while after".[27] The greatest effect of the three generations of Puritan preachers in England was in the awakening and moulding of moral concern. Yet the negative and scarifying element in this preaching has been as much overstressed in their case as in that of Jonathan Edwards. Most pastoral work was done with those already converted, to whose special problems many sermons were addressed. Among Greenham's gifts, as also among those of Perkins and Ames, the "masterpiece was in comforting wounded consciences".[28] This involved the decision of practical issues,[29] and also more basic issues:

"In God's church, commonly they who are touched by the spirit and begin to come on in Religion are much troubled with fears that they are not God's children. Therefore they...are not quiet till they finde some resolution"[30]

This kind of problem was common and acute, since the Doctrine of Election, intended to free the Calvinist from anxious concern for self-salvation, led many sensitive consciences to feel that they had committed "the unpardonable sin":[31] these were reassured:

"The Elect cannot commit this Sinne; and therefore they who feele in themselves a sure testimonie of their election neede never to despaire....The excellencie, goodness and dignitie of conscience stands not in accusing, but in excusing....(the greatest)propertie of Conscience is an infallible certenty of the pardon of sinne and life everlasting".[32]

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27)Fuller: The Marrow of Ecclesiastical History, p. 90
Louis B. Wright: "William Perkins:Elizabethan Apostle of Practical Divinity": reprinted from the Huntingdon Library Quarterly,Vol.III#2,p.173

28)Knappen: Tudor Puritanism, 386

29) Ames: Conscientia

30)Perkins: Works:"Case of Conscience", p. 420

31)cf. Bunyan's experience in this respect.

32)Perkins: Golden Chaine, p. 197; Works: "Discourse of Conscience", pp. 530,534.

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This was as much as to say that what mattered was not perfect achievement but earnest effort. The aroused Conscience was itself God's evidence of forgiveness to man: "So long as Sin vexed him, he might know that God was with him".[32-b] This attempt, to prevent either over-conscientiousness or a false belief in having achieved perfection, was wise both pastorally and theologically. But such preaching raised further problems, especially in reassuring those who were not over- but under - anxious; these caused strong reactions in Quaker thought.

Hardly less important than the awakening and moulding of moral concern was the work of the Puritans in giving the Bible its central place in English literature and life. It was crucial for Puritan faith: "the first thing that (Satan) fought to overthrow in Adam was his faith in the Word of God".[33] It was also a book which, (despite the value of training in theology and the ancient languages for studying it), made Puritanism as deeply a life for laymen as for clergymen: it reached where the clergy were still untouched by Puritanism, and gave its own encouragement to literacy: "the study of the Bible was becoming the national education".[34] In Puritan churches, preaching and scripture replaced liturgy. One custom, of particular importance for Quakerism, was the development in certain Puritan churches of "prophesyings",[35] meetings which were at first

> "an exercise of the mynisters bothe of Towne and countrye about the interpretaton of scriptures; the mynisters speaking one after another doth handell some texte, and the same openly amonge the people".[36]

In due course they were forbidden in parish churches by Queen and Bishops; but these prophesyings were extended in Separatist Churches in both nature and scope.

32b) Haller: Rise of Puritanism, 153

33) Perkins: Works, I: "How to Live", 474

34) Trevelyan: Stuarts, 60.

35) cf. Jorns; Quaker Social Work, 52

36) Records of the Borough of Northampton II, 386f. ed. J. C. Cox. quoted by Geoffrey F. Nuttall: The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith & Experience (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1946) p. 76

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"permitting to any private man of the flock, or to any stranger whom they take to be gifted, publickly to expound and apply the Scripture, to pray and blesse the people"[37]

In turning to discuss doctrines of the Puritans, while it is those of the orthodox Calvinist group that are particularly in mind, one finds again that certain assumptions are (except for High-Churchmen) almost universal in England in the early 17th century: the authority of scripture, the nature of election and predestination, and the place of moral effort in the life of the Elect.

For even the greatest of the Puritan divines, as a matter of fact, theology was subservient to pastoral responsibility, "theory was the handmaid of circumstance"[38]. It was a matter of pride that they, "unshelling their controversies out of their hard school terms, made thereof plain and wholesome meat for the people"[39] Theological arguments are not bitter; it is moral exhortation that is afire. In abstract theology, no English Puritan compared with the continental reformers[40], and the most numerous as well as the most famous works were Biblical commentaries and treatises on cases of Conscience.[41] Puritan ministers themselves foreshadowed the Quaker unconcern for "school-logic" and "school-divinity".

The doctrines of theology themselves took on a somewhat different cast when their context was sermonic:

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37)R. Baillie, Dissuasive from the Errours of the Time, 1645, p. 118; q. Nuttall: Holy Spirit, 76.

38)Knappen: Tudor Puritanism, 375.

39)Fuller: The Marrow of Church History, p.90; q. Wright: "Perkins" Huntington Library Quarterly, III, p.173.

40)Knappen: Tudor Puritanism, 375.

41)cf. Wright: "Perkins": Huntington Library Quarterly, III, 171: William Perkins: Works; Ames: Conscientia, etc.

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"What the preachers as a whole believed was that heresy and schism should be firmly suppressed. But what they taught was that any man might be a saint and that the mark of the saint was that he obeyed his own conscience at any cost....What could it avail to insist that the elect were not many, when the many had been persuaded to hope that they might be elected"[42]. "We are all Calvinists when we pray, but all Arminians when we preach".[43] The Puritan ministers "spoke and acted...as though there were no conscience which could not be awakened".[44] It is not to be assumed, of course, that the Puritan preachers failed to preach predestination,[45] or spoke sympathetically of Arminianism: the latter grew up only as a by-product among laymen.[46] There was a tendency in the direction of a Covenant theology which would take the good works of a Christian into the pattern of election,[47] in terms of God's fore-ordination rather than of man's initiative. The attempt was made to distinguish, moreover between God's irresistible grace in directly operating in salvation, and his permission and foreknowledge in reprobation, (a return from double to single predestination).[48] These subtler distinctions in themselves perhaps reached few minds of laymen from the type of background represented by early Friends (who in any case rejected predestination as a doctrine).[49] The importance of this public presentation of Calvinism lay rather in the picture of God and of human nature it indoctrinated. The stress upon the sovereign will of God which made Luther's God, and Calvin's, a Deus absconditus[50] is somewhat modified. It is still dominant, especially by contrast to the outlook of Catholicism and Anglicanism,[51] and it gives to the faith of all groups in mid-17th century England a prophetic sense of an active God who works in history and in the providence which guides each

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42)Haller: Rise of Puritanism, 173,215.

43)Knappen: Tudor Puritanism, 392.

44)Haller: Rise of Puritanism, 169.

45)cf. Perry: Puritanism & Democracy, 101.

46)It is striking how many of the General Baptist clergymen, by contrast to the Particular Baptists, were untrained laymen; cf. Tindall: Bunyan.

47)cf. Welles: "Cotton", 168, etc.

48)Perkins: Golden Chaine; Welles: "Cotton", 164-8

49)v. inform. Chapter III

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life; He is God who takes the initiative, not only in salvation, but in the good works of his Elect. The outlook is modified between Calvinist Geneva and Puritan England, but this is not primarily the growth of a more rationalistic conception of God: (despite attempts to ease the intellectual shock of predestination, there is less attempt at strict logic than in Calvin). The concern is rather to stress God's justice, showing again the centrality of the Puritan ethical concern: so even Cotton writes of predestination:

"surely we are to conceive it as his primary aime and intent to be to glorify rather his grace and justice, than his power and soveraignty"[52]

This implies a picture of God which, except only for the doctrine of foreordination,[53] corresponds surprisingly closely with that of early Friends.

The Puritan conception of man is also a re-emphasis within Calvinism. There is no dodging of total depravity[54] and original sin, and even the stress upon natural conscience[55] and reason does not appear prominently before the mid-century. Nevertheless God's image in the will as well as in the mind of fallen man is recognized,[56] notably in man's freedom of choice. On the whole this plays an increasing, although never a decisive, role in the Puritan conception of life.[57]

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50)Weber: Protestant Ethic, 221

51)cf. Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", 54

52)A Treatise...Concerning Predestination, p.37, q. Welles: "Cotton",159

53)In the direction in which Friends' doctrine of God most clearly deserted Calvinism, in the doctrines of the Spirit, Nuttall has nicely shown how much this element was foreshadowed by even orthodox, as well as radical Puritanism; - this will be seen in detail in course of later discussion. Nuttall: Holy Spirit.

54)Perkins: Golden Chaine, 26

55)cf. Waldo Beach: "The Meaning and Authority of Conscience in Protestant Thought of Seventeenth Century England"; Ph.D. thesis for Yale Univ. 1944; used by courtesy of Yale Univ. Library and the author, 46.

56)Perkins: Golden Chaine, 29

57)cf. Perry Miller: "One of the most pronounced and widespread characteristics of Puritan thought in the 17th century is the constantly increasing emphasis put upon the remains of God's image in fallen man". (Orthodoxy in Massachusetts, p. 186, q. Beach: "Conscience", p. 45)

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More significant, probably, is the way in which depravity itself is interpreted in terms of concrete human problems, weaknesses, sinfulness, so that preachers such as Perkins "did not so much prove the doctrine of predestination as analyze and depict the human soul with the help of it".[58] They persuaded men to think of sin not only as a series of misdeeds, but as a basic set of heart and will, a condition never indeed to be totally overcome and forgotten, yet which could not be overcome at all without the grace of God. The human tendency to accumulate a bank-account of good deeds they called by a term which Friends were to borrow: Will-works of Will-worship. The poor starve, said Latimer, while the ritualistic clergy

> "preached these wylworkes that come but of our own devotion, although they be not so necessarilye as the workes of mercye, and the preceptes of God... as though now man's inventions and fancies could please God better than God's preceptes". Latimer: Sermons, 4.[59]

Latimer here not only contrasts obedience to Biblical commands and the churchly works of merit, but implies that good works are the result of the inner change wrought by the Spirit in election.

This inner change in the Elect was tied up with conscious experience:

> "the Holy Spirit will not barely say it but perswade";[60]

this experience involved the sense of sin, the impulse to strive against the flesh, but also experiences of "prayer and longing".[61] The protest against the traditional liturgy was not only against un-Biblical and amoral sacramentalism;

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58) Haller: Rise of Puritanism, 92

59) Latimer: Sermons, 4

60) Perkins: Golden Chaine, 210

61) Perkins: Golden Chaine, 210

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it was also a personal reaction "that liturgical, ceremonial and sacerdotal sacramentalism was somehow inconsistent with a vital personal religion".[62] One of the most frequently recognized differences between Genevan Calvinism and English Puritanism is the stress upon inward religious experience, particularly the experience of conversion. Such experiences were used as a test for church membership, along with godliness of life, in early Massachusetts.[63] The connection between the sense of sin, (and of ethical longing to overcome it), and the emotional experience of conversion is perhaps never completely absent, but in Puritanism it was particularly close. This also was one of the outlooks upon the religious life which entered into the background of Quakerism.[64]

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62)Allen: English Political Thought, 266

63)cf. Bainton: Travail of Liberty, p.209

64) The assertion sometimes made by modern Quakers that "the doctrine of the great Puritan churches -- the Presbyterians, Independents and Particular Baptists -- left little room for a first-hand spiritual experience of this kind" found among Friends is not borne out by Puritan sermons or diaries. "They held that God had spoken to man through the Scriptures", and in one sense "the day of immediate revelation was past". But despite the formalists and doctrinalists found in Puritan churches as in all others, a large place was given to experiences of the spiritual life both in theory and in daily life. Braithwaite: Beginnings, 35.

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Section II-B: Puritan Outlooks in Politics and Economics: Theocracy and Apocalypticism

The Puritan theocratic outlook upon politics and economics, which affected early Quakerism very deeply, was derived from Calvinism. Theocracy may mean the rule of a priesthood or a divinely appointed king - according to the channels of mediation through which God's rule is seen as working. In Calvinism, each individual Saint received his Election directly, and each Elect man is himself the mediator of God's rule in whatever work he does. Thus, although the mediating Bible plays a part as rule and guide, the significance of Calvinistic Theocracy lies more in the outlook upon life which it creates, than in any of the concrete systems of government and economics to which it led.

The Puritan faith was in a God whose work in the world and in history was active and had no limits:

"I find myself so affected with the Glory of my Lord Jesus Christ", wrote Cotton Mather, "that if I can be the Instrument of advancing His Glory in the world, and bringing others to acknowledge it, I am raptured with inexpressible Consolations".[1]

So Baxter writes, concerning nature:

"All the world are our servants that we may be the servants of God. The sun and moon and stars attend us with their light and influence; the earth with all its furniture is at our service: how many thousand plants and flowers and fruits and birds and beasts do all attend us! The sea, with its inhabitants, the air, the wind, the frost and snow, the heat and fire, the clouds and rain, all wait upon us while we do our work".[2]

Thus in the area of beauty, a Puritan poet like Milton could steep himself in the whole glory of the Renaissance, yet use only that part of it which he could devote to the glory of God.[3]

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1)Perry: Puritanism and Democracy, 322

2)cf. Allen: English Political Thought, p. 293;

3)cf. Bainton: Travail of Liberty, 186; Haller: Rise of Puritanism, 321, 308, etc.

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In other areas the same outlook came to bear. The ethical warfare of the Puritan was not only a private and inward struggle:

> His esteem for this code of virtue is...an expression of the puritan's belief that moral forces instead of operating in a separate realm of their own, govern nature and history. Through his moral will the puritan hoped to conquer evil not only in himself but through himself in the world at large...The puritan sailed his ship in the open seas. Despite his cult of moral vigor, he was not a moral introvert. He did not confine himself within his moral gymnasium, but used his strength out of doors, in the world.[4]

In its approach to Church and ethical affairs, Puritan theocracy meant that God's rule must cover details which were left as optional adiaphora by anglicanism:

> "For the Puritan there was only the alternative of divine will or earthly vanity. Hence for him there could be no adiaphora....Calvin's own view was different in this respect."[5]

(Freund points out the strength of this position, in avoiding the exclusion of areas of common life from the scope of religion).[6] For Puritans, even recreation, "which is an exercise joyned with the feare of God",[7] must find its place within God's purpose for life, even though by no means harmful in itself.

In economic life the effects of Puritan theocratic outlook can also be seen. The paradox of "Diligence in worldly businesses, and yet deadnesse to the world"[8] which so interested Weber and Tawney, was based on the basic concern that "the Christian must so manage his business as to avoid sin rather than loss".[9]

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4) Perry: Puritanism and Democracy, pp. 302, 268.

5) Weber: Protestant Ethic, p. 274.

6) Freund: Toleranz, p. 40: "Die Scheidung zwischen fundamentalen und nichtfundamentalen Wahrheiten trägt eine weitere wichtige Konsequenz in sich.. dass die Religion damit aus dem Komplex des vielgestalten Lebens hereausgez - ogen wird, da dafür die allgemeinen Grundwahrheiten keine Richtlinien und Masstäbe zu liefern vermögen. Die Religion wird entsozialisiert, sublimiert. und das soziale und Staatliche Leben säkulisiert".

7) Perkins: Golden Chaine, p. 98.

8) John Cotton: Christ the Fountaine of Life, p 110; quoted Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", p. 91.

9) Richard Baxter: Christian Directory, quoted in Tawney: Religion & Capitalism, p. 186.

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Even the Puritan praise of industriousness "expressed...the Puritan conviction that man was the proper ruler of the world" as vice-gerent for God.[10]

The Puritan outlook upon economic life as an implementation of the rule of God gave the strength and the peculiar character to the Puritan doctrine of vocation or Calling.[11] The individualism of this doctrine as it developed in England was perhaps due to the political history of the time more than to theology;[12] (the attractiveness of Puritanism to merchants, tradesmen and apprentices, which made it pre eminently a movement of city folk,[13] was probably due to its energy and austerity far more than to the incipient individualism to which it could lead.[14] The Puritan doctrine of Calling certainly made it harder for the Puritan than for the monastic to reject the results of industry in the form of prosperity,[15] but while the cutting edge of his faith remained he tried to be indifferent to these re wards.

> "Faith seekes to receive and enjoy an estate of prosperity, not so much by a legall right as by an heavenly, not so much by legall title, as by an Evangelicall."[16]

Only when faith dies out, is the doctrine of stewardship likely to be a fellow-

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10) Weber: Protestant Ethic, p. 157; (to be sure, less unselfish motives must have been intermixed in the Puritan horror of waste, especially waste of time (one major objection to Catholicism was that its holy days wasted 50 days a year). Tawney: Religion and Capitalism, p. 201.

11) cf. Troeltsch: Social Teachings, II, pp. 656-691; Tawney: Religion and Capitalism, p. 200; also Perkins: Works; Weber: Protestant Ethic.

12) cf. Grubb: Quakerism & Industry, p. 11: "When Calvinism was predominant, as in Geneva, it endeavoured to form a wholly Christian society by means of a stringent discipline, but where it was in the minority, it tended to assist the growth of economic individualism".

13) Tawney: Religion and Capitalism, pp. 92, 191.

14) Ibid. p. 92 15) Ibid. p. 191.

16) John Cotton: The Way of Life, p. 451; quoted in Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth" p. 113.

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casualty.[17] Early Quakerism, despite its deeper and more radical social concern, did not develop basically a different conception of the day's work than that of Puritanism.

It is in the political realm that the term theocracy is commonly used of Puritan outlooks: the rule of God and His work through the Elect affected inevitably the State also:

"Christ reigns among us in the commonwealth as well as in the church, and hath his glorious interest involved and wrapt up in the good of both societies respectively."[18]

The name theocracy was the Puritan's own:

"It is this Theocratical Policy or Divine Commonwealth which is the unquestionable reign of Christ on earth, which all Christians are agreed may be justly sought."[19]

"The Christian Commonwealth was, in fact, the political form in which man achieved the ends for which he had been created."[20]

The state and its rulers, therefore, had a religious duty, including the support of the ministry, the exclusion of "all Idolatrous and corrupt Assemblies"[21] and the enforcement of moral standards: in the ethical realm, "the Magistrate is custos of both the Tables of Godlinesse".[22] In this respect "it is the duty of the magistrate to take care of matters of religion".[23] There was implicit here the Mediaeval idea that Church and State were two aspects of a single community, though the role in this community of the Elect was quite different from that of

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17) cf. Tawney's gay comment: "Calvinism had little pity for poverty; but it distrusted wealth, as it distrusted all influences that distract the aim or relax the fibres of the soul, and in the first flush of its youthful austerity, it did its best to make life unbearable for the rich". Tawney: Religion and Capitalism, 115.

18) Urian Oakes: New England Pleaded With, p. 49, q. Welles: "Cotton", 71

19) Richard Baxter: Christian Directory; q. Perry: Puritanism & Democracy, 115.

20) Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", 24

21) Cotton; q. Welles: "Cotton", 276

22) Cotton: "A Model of Church and Civill Power"; q. Welles: "Cotton" 276

23) The Platform of Church Discipline of Massachusetts, q. Welles: "Cotton", 71.

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the Mediaeval Clergy:

"God...setteth up Theocracy in both, as the best forme of Government in the Commonwealth as well as in the Church....These things doe not undermine, but doe mutually mainteyne one another...authority in magistrates, liberty in people, purity in the Church".[24]

At the same time, there was a clear line of distinction between Magistrate and Minister. Ministers, though they preached Election Day Sermons,[25] did not vote or hold public office; and although magistrates in Massachusetts were required to be elected as Church members, excommunication did not depose them from civil authority.[26] The Puritans rejected the rule of the Church over the State. The Puritan ideal was not the rule of the Church but the rule of the Saints.[27] This ideal was taken over by radical Puritanism and Quakerism, with an added intensity insofar as the radical "Saints" were less often men who inherited hierarchical positions of clerical, political, or economic power.

The separation of the Church and its worship from State control was thus also rooted in Puritanism. The Baptists and radical Puritans sometimes introduced an element of "sectarian" withdrawal from participation in government as evil, in proportion as they were driven to feel that the Saints were a permanently outcast minority:

"as for those that are outwardly wicked, the magistrate is to keep them in order for the sake of the state, he having power over their persons, estates and lives."[28]

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24)Cotton; letter to Lord Saye & Sele, quoted Welles: "Cotton" 265,267: "this conception of the Christian Community was found also of course in the Anglican tradition in a different form, derived from the Conciliar Tradition of the Middle Ages. Archbishop Laud "had a vision of a State that was a Church, and of a Church that was a State: 'therefore when you sit down to consult you must not forget the Church, and when we kneel down to pray, we must not forget the State'" Works, I, 6; q. Allen: English Political Thought, 186.

25)cf. Welles: "Cotton", 268

26)Welles: "Cotton", 266

27)Insofar as marriage, education and moral and economic discipline were administered by State and not by Church authority, "the New England theocracy was, at its time, probably the most secular state in Christendom". Hertz:"Bible Commonwealth", p.104; in old England, while the minister wielded more authority within the congregation and sought power in political life also, the strong Erastian tradition in the country and in Parliament was even more effective in preventing the rule of the Church over the State.

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The radical Puritans wrote and campaigned actively for the separation of churches from national authority; the Baptists and Congregationalists fought actively in support of Cromwell's policy of toleration, but many went beyond his policy to attack Tithes and a national Church.[29] But this removal of church from nation was at bottom another form of the basic Puritan protection of the church from state control. It was an appeal for freedom for God and his saints, and did not prevent theocratic outlooks in politics.

Puritan ideas on the form and structure of civil government also need consideration. A distinction is sometimes stressed between conservative Puritan outlooks and the conception of the secular State in John Goodwin, Roger Williams and certain early Baptist tracts such as The Ancient Bounds.[30] In framing a constitution, however, even the Massachusetts Puritans passed over Cotton's proposal for a law-code based on Deuteronomy in favor of a more secular one.[31] Cotton felt that "the Word and scripture of God doe conteyne the...platforme, not onely of theology, but also of...ethicks, economicks, politicks, church, government, prophecy, academy', but there was a strong tendency to allow the Saints freedom to adapt their instrument of rule to practical needs.

This does not deny the fact that the attempt to set the State upon a natural basis, by Williams, Goodwin and a few other Baptists, is a considerable break with the idea of Theocracy. But "Nature" may have various meanings. On the one hand the State was based on economics and the family, and was regarded with indifference - although not with Anabaptist abhorrence - by Williams and others.[32] At the same time the law of Nature is a norm, with an objective and

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23) Select Works of William Dell, (London, John Kendall, 1773) p.139.

29) cf. Freund: Toleranz; Brown: Fifth Monarchy, etc.

30) cf. Freund: Toleranz p. 135, etc.

31) Framed by Rev. Nathaniel Ward, and called "The Breviate of Liberties"; cf. Welles: "Cotton", p. 269, etc.

32) cf. Freund: Toleranz, pp. 245, 253, 220, 221, 250; Jordan: Toleration p. 403; Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth" p. 138, etc.

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ultimately divine authority,[33] even in the Baptist tracts; the separation of Nature and Spirit, soul and body, need be no more an antagonism than in Mediaeval theories of the State.[34] With a few exceptions even the Baptists' approach to the State involved intense religious idealism.[35]

An interesting specific example of these relationships is the idea of Democracy. Early Calvinists had expounded theories of democratic government in the attempt to limit the authority of non-Calvinist monarchs in the sixteenth century.[36] In some cases even tyrannicide was advocated, although later orthodox Puritans preached non-resistance. Despite ideas of Social Contract, however, human depravity was always assumed: "that the people should have their way is not to say that the component parts may do and think as they will".[37] The theocratic spirit remained within the democratic form in Massachusetts, where it was possible to approximate a rule of Saints by a franchise based on Godliness. Cotton's dislike for democracy as an ultimate principle of government is well known:[38] but the theocratic basis is seen most clearly in the faith that "In one

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33) "For this is a rule; the law of nature supersedes institutions" The Ancient Bounds, p. 22, quoted in Freund: Toleranz, p. 142.

34) Though Freund says that Goodwin did not consider government "holy" and feels that Goodwin's theory excluded "natural rights", Haller cites Goodwin's defence of the Parliamentary cause after Edgehill, and his statement that government is divinely ordained, although resting upon popular consent of conscience. Freund: Toleranz, pp. 220, 245; Haller: Rise of Puritanism, passim.

35) cf. Freund: Toleranz, pp. 221, 250, 254.

36) cf. Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", p. 101; Gooch: Democratic Ideas, Ch. I, on Knox, Hotman, Buchanan, etc.

37) Ibid. p. 99, paraphrasing Rutherford: Lex Rex.

38) "Democracy, I do not conceive that ever God did ordeyne as a fit government either for church or commonwealth" (Letter of Lord Saye and Selle, quoted in Welles: "Cotton" p. 265; cf. Baxter: "I like not the democratic forms" "Holy Commonwealth" quoted in Gooch: Democratic Ideas, p. 263; cf. also Jones: Mysticism and Democracy, p. 146.

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and the same actinn, God, by the Peoples suffrages, makes such an one Governour or Magistrate, and not another".[39] Town government was considerably moulded by the forms of congregational Church government in New England; the structure remained pragmatic and free, but where tension arose it was felt "better that the Commonwealth be fashioned to the setting forth of God's house, which is his church than to accommodate the church frame to the civill state".[40]

Even more than orthodox Puritanism, the Leveller movement held democratic ideas.[41] A stronger place was given to human equality on a natural basis. But the motivation was still in large part religious. As in the older Puritan democratic theory, the rejection of the existing ranks and hierarchies of Society was partly a protest of middle and lower classes, but expressed also the faith that the Saints were equal in their Election and should be free to rule for God; (Social Justice is both a religious and a secular concern.) It was therefore no sudden conversion when many of the Levellers became Millenarians, and "spiritual Puritans" became Leveller leaders;[42] Harrington, Winstanley and a few others virtually equated democratic and religious ideas.[43]

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39)John Davenport: "A sermon preached at the Election of the Governour, at Boston in New England, May 19, 1669, p.6; q. Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", p.99

40)Cotton to Lord Saye and Sele; q. Welles: "Cotton", p. 265; cf. Perry: Puritanism and Democracy, p. 112. Cotton made it clear at the same time that he did not mean that the two should be one institution, or the church should rule the state; cf. Welles: "Cotton", pp. 265, 231, 267.

41)cf. Freund: Toleranz, 179-180; Gooch: Democratic Ideas, 155; cf. even Baxter: "What were the Lords of England but William the Conqueror's Colonels? or the Barons but his Majors?" Baxter: Life, p. 51 quoted Trevelyan: Stuarts, p.28

42)W. Schenk: The Concern for Social Justice in the Puritan Revolution, London, Longman's Green, 1948, p. 73, 71: e.g. Edward Harrison, Edward Barber, John Saltmarsh.

43)Freund: Toleranz, 102-4

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Thus although the relationship of State and Church might be seen in various lights, all shades of Puritans (with only a few exceptions) felt that religious ideals were appropriate in politics, and most felt that a rule of Saints was possible and desirable: these ideas will be found prominent also in Quakerism.[44] These outlooks took on a new and apocalyptic tone in connection with the Civil War.

The Commonwealth was a time of intense political concern; some 30,000 political tracts appeared in this period.[45] In a majority of them religious language was used,[46] and the same issues were presented in the pulpit. The hopes of victory found expression in the language of Biblical eschatology. The Puritans in Massachusetts might already feel that their government was "the nearest thing possible to what would be set up if the Lord Jesus were here himself in person";[47] the English Puritans could not feel so about Stuart rule. But in the Civil Wars, "the prevalence, among the leaders of the forces as well as among the rank and file, of the idea that they were fighting the battles of Christ, and preparing for his kingdom" led to the result that "soldiers and preachers alike considered the Parliamentary victories as victories of Armageddon".[48] Even in the second Civil War,

> "the bitter struggle between Presbyterians and Independents in England did not prevent men, to whom the whole idea of religious uniformity was fundamentally abhorrent, from drawing inspiration from the conception of a visible Christian society, in which...the Scripture was 'really and materially to be fulfilled'".[49]

It was in fact in this Second Civil War, where the religious and social concerns

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44) cf. Chapter VII

45) Trevelyan: Stuarts, p. 39

46) cf. Allen: English Political Thought, 353

47) Miller: Orthodoxy in Massachusetts, p.160, quoted in Welles: "Cotton", p. 279.

48) Brown: Fifth Monarchy, p. 14

49) Tawney: Religion and Capitalism, 99

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of the common people seemed more directly involved, that radical Puritanism entered political life:[50]

"most of the English sects in Cromwell's army were implicitly eschatological. They were inclined to regard the political and economic system from which they suffered as the final form of historical evil, and to hope, therefore, that victory over it would usher in the final period of social perfection."[51]

Millenarian writings had appeared in Baptist circles in 1642,[52] and continued in an increasing flood for a decade. In mild forms, these eschatological hopes moulded the political writings of the rationalistic Walwyn and the Independent classicist Milton,[53] and in fact were not absent from the writings of Massachusetts Puritans. There was a particularly strong upsurge of such hopes at the time of the Nominated Parliament of 1653 in the sermons of Morgan Llwyd,[54] John Owen, and Thomas Goodwin,[55] and of radical sectarians such as Muggleton.

These apocalyptic hopes took various forms. Llwyd and others calculated a specific date in 1656 or later when the Kingdom of Christ would come.[56] At the other extreme is the spiritualistic conception of Saltmarsh involving 3 stages of "the Progressive revelation of God through man",[57] in the style of Joachim of Floris, but with greater intensity. Tindall has pointed out the interrelationship of the New Jerusalem, the city of Mansoul and the Cromwellian Commonwealth in the allegories of Bunyan[58] and other Baptist writers. There was disagreement

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50)It is noteworthy that whereas only 2 Baptists held command in the Parliamentary army in 1648 (both Captains), by the end of the Commonwealth, Baptists included an admiral, 4 major-generals, 12 colonels, and many lesser officers; a similar emergence of Baptist members of Parliament has often been noted. cf. Brown: Fifth Monarchy, 14; A.C. Underwood: A History of British Baptists, (London, Baptist Union Publication Dept., 1947). Jordan: Toleration: passim, etc.

51)Niebuhr: Nature & Destiny, II, 178.

52)cf. Burrage: Dissenters, 279 on James Toppe, John Archer & Leonard Busher; Nuttall: Holy Spirit, 109 on Henry Archer & Robert Maton, all in that year.

53)cf. Schenk: Social Justice, 55-6; Haller: Rise of Puritanism, 356; Nuttall: Holy Spirit, 109

54)Nuttall: Holy Spirit, 109

55)Nuttall: Holy Spirit, 109

56)Nuttall: Holy Spirit, 109

57)Jones: Mystical Religion, 485

58)Tindall: Bunyan, 119

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whether Christ would rule his Kingdom in the flesh or through the persons of his Saints, but this did not represent a difference in intensity of expectation, for those whose attitude towards the Spirit of God was as vivid and concrete in implementation as their attitudes to Christ.[59] We shall accordingly find that Quakers in particular, while always emphasizing that Christ's coming was in the Spirit, did not until 1659 come to the conclusion that this ruled out the apocalyptic Reign of Christ in political life also.

With regard to the relationship of apocalyptic hopes to actual political activity, the dividing line between Millenarian and less stark forms of theocrat is often a matter of how literally symbols are interpreted:

"Christ is the only right Heir of the Crown of England...and he is now come to take possession of his Kingdom, making England first in that blessed work of setting up the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus"

in language this statement would be appropriate to any Fifth Monarchist, but it came from the comparatively orthodox John Eliot of Massachusetts.[60] (The distinction between "theoretical" and "practical" theocrats is more relevant[61] after the withdrawals from politics in 1653 and after).

To the "Parliament of Saints" in 1653, accordingly, came many shades of theocrat, with quite differing ideas of what might be achieved: they did in fact undertake to reform laws and prisons, poor relief, enclosures, and the Tithe system.[62] In the case of radical and "spiritual" Puritans such as Winstanley,

"much of the apocalyptic sentiment began to be channeled into a definite political program, (whereas) the Diggers represented a non-political variation of this general eschatological expectation".[63]

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59)The "spiritualization" of Millenarian expectations is therefore not simply to be equated with withdrawal from political revolutionism: cf. Nuttall: Holy Spirit, 110-111

60)in 1652 quoted by Whitley: Baptists, 84

61)Nuttall: Holy Spirit, 110 from Stoughton

62)Schenk: Social Justice; Jordan: Toleration III, passim; Freund: Toleranz, 131, etc.

63)Winthrop Hudson: Economic and Social Thought of Gerrard Winstanley, Journal of Modern History, March 1946.

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After the failure of the Parliament of 1653, the more conservative Puritans became the defenders of the revolution-in-being in England; the theocratic and apocalyptic phrases are much rarer in their writings, especially from the statements of Cromwell and those in power, who knew they had not achieved the Millennium, but maintained their course as that in which God was leading them. The radical Puritans, on the other hand became more concrete in their expectations:

"Cromwell's England was pervaded by Millenarian hopes, so general before 1653 that few of the godly escaped them, but after 1653 so extreme amont the Fifth Monarchy men and other theocratic Calvinists as to alienate the cautious....After the end of the Saints Parliament in 1653, except for a few cultured enthusiasts, most of the active millenarians were mechanicks".[64]

Hopes for a personal rule of Christ (inward or outward) were strong enough to prevent Cromwell from assuming the crown,[65] and milder theocratic attitudes remained common.[66] But specific planning of a military revolution for the sake of Christ's Kingdom was limited to fairly small groups, notably those called "Fifth Monarchy Men". Their principles remained the Calvinistic rule of the Elect,[67] and the Biblical standard[68] but were applied in the context of mechanick sainthood:

"As Christ was a tender Plant and Root out of dry ground, so may his Kingdom arise out of a poor, obscure, illitterate and (such as the world calls) Fanatick People".[69]

Like the Parliamentarians in the Civil War, they felt themselves called to put down "tyrants and oppressors of the civil state and of the Ecclesiastical state... greedy devourers, insatiable for covetousness, always desiring, but never delighting to work".[70] There was a moderate wing even among the Fifth Monarchy Men who

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64) Tindall: Bunyan, 118-119

65) Tindall: Bunyan, 138

66) cf. Canne to Parliament in 1658: "It is more important to give Jesus Christ his rights than to give the people civil rights;" Brown: Fifth Monarchy

67) cf. Haller: Rise of Puritanism, p. 269

68) William Aspinwall accordingly rejected the use of Juries in trials as unbiblical, cf. Schenk: Social Justice, 136-7

70) E. Rogers: Some Account of the Life & Opinions of a Fifth Monarchy Man, 1867, p. 39, 87; q. Schenk: Social Justice, 137

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expected to achieve such results by prayer and peaceful means, but "the Lamb's Military Officers" among the radical wing[72] aroused justifiable fear in the country at large[73] by certain of their statements:

"A glorious Evangelical inquisition shall be set up in due time, and the ministers of the Gospel shall be Gospel-inquisitors (I speak in allusion to the Spanish Popish Inquisition)...we shall have recourse to the word of Christ and what is found opposite or contradictory thereto, we shall discover it and reveal it openly"; "The Saints sitting in Counsel shall bring those Beasts to a judiciall Triall"[74]

In 1654 and 1655, Feake, Simpson, Harrison and other extremist Fifth Monarchy men were emprisoned by Cromwell; in this period John Owen, and the majority of the Baptists, who had previously had rather close relations with the Fifth Monarchy men, dropped away from them.[75] After a period of quiet and of more cordial relationships with Cromwell, the remnant of Fifth Monarchists became active again in 1657-8, when there were again arrests; their hopes were not finally broken until their revolt of 1661 which led to such harsh repression by the Cavalier Parliament. The Baptists, however, especially after 1657, placed their Millenial hopes in prayer and inward transformation, and the coming of Christ in the Spirit,[76] and even this mild Millenialism ceased to be universal.

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71)Brown: Fifth Monarchy; In 1654 they preferred to work through a new Parliament rather than work for the sudden overthrow of Cromwell; despite their apparent divergence from the Levellers, this wing of the Fifth Monarchists (e.g. Aspinwall) advocated annually elected civil officials and members of Parliament. Schenk: Social Justice;

72)cf. Schenk: Social Justice, 136, etc.

73)cf. Tindall: Bunyan, 122

74)Christopher Feake: The Oppressed Close Prisoner(1655) p. 105: William Aspinwall: An Explication and Application of Daniel 7 (1654) p.36, both quoted from Tindall: Bunyan, 160; all of these ideas, (including the reference to the Fifth Kingdom), were available for the Puritan Revolutionary in this chapter and in other Maccabaean Bible passages.

75)Brown: Fifth Monarchy, 192, etc.

76)cf. Tindall: Bunyan, 123: "In 1665...even Lodowick Muggleton...failed to draw millenarian conclusions from Revelation. The opinion shared by Knollys, Danvers & Bunyan was almost peculiar to Baptist enthusiasts"; Baptists were implicated in the Monmouth rebellion against James II, but apparently did not give it theocratic significance.

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To some extent this de-politicizing of millenial hopes went with a turning to "spiritual" expectations, and a considerable number of Fifth Monarchists joined Quakerism or other "spiritual" movements.[77] On the whole, nevertheless, theocratic outlooks remained in Quakerism as long as in any but a few Puritan groups. Despite many mutual friendships between members of the two groups,[78] there is no evidence that Friends were directly involved in the political and military strategies of the radical Millenarians and Fifth Monarchy men. Yet Friends shared the general sense of expectancy and eager anticipation of the millenial Kingdom. Quakers expected it to change not only individuals but the nation, as a fruition more especially, of course, of their own movement and ideals. And although this might be the last result rather than the first, it was assumed that Christ's Kingdom must change the State and civil government as fully as other aspects of life. The constant coming and going between the Fifth Monarch movement and both the Baptists and the Quakers shows that their varying political plans and hopes sprang out of a common sense of participation in a spiritual, moral and social revolution.

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77)cf. Nuttall: Holy Spirit, 111.

78)cf. Nuttall: Holy Spirit, 111

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Section II-C Puritan Conceptions of the Church: The Presbyterians, Independents, Separatists and Baptists

Most of the religious debates in England in the late 16th and early 17th centuries seem on the face of them issues of church organization and uniformity. Even among Puritan groups, the forms of church organization differed widely:[1] - the Presbyterian pattern was far removed from the Quaker. Nevertheless Puritans of all kinds tended to agree that the Church was limited to the Elect, - who could be distinguished visibly by religious experiences and outward good works, - and that this limited Church was nonetheless God's agent throughout national life. These assumptions were absorbed from the Puritan environment by the early Quakers, despite their unconcern for the abstract theology of Church and Covenant. This common basis of Puritan outlook upon the Church needs therefore to be examined, before studying the groups and distinctions within Puritanism; this common basis is perhaps clearer from the perspective of our time than it was to Englishmen then.

The tradition of Christian theology from the beginning has been that the true Church is one, and is not a creation of man but of God. There are, however, two aspects of this conception. The church represents the Grace of God at work among men; it may be identified with the means of mediating Grace, especially the sacraments. Or secondly, the Church may be regarded as the group of men who God has reached with his Grace, and through whom God works in the world.[2] In Roman theology, the Church centers in the Grace given by the Sacraments,

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1)cf. Allen: English Political Thought, p. 301

2)note the two uses of the term "Body of Christ" in this connection.

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and in the clergy necessary to administer these. Thereby the Grace of God which is "objective" (i.e. independent of man) from a metaphysical standpoint, makes the true Church objectively visible in Society.

The earliest Anglican conception of the Church, namely as the Nation united in prayer stressed the second aspect - the Church as a fellowship of men - in such a way as to relativize ecclesiastical institutions and organizations.[3] However the theologically "objective" element of the Bible and sacraments given to the nation was also present. This latter element was brought forward and identified with the Church by High-Church Anglicanism after the Restoration, and by the Oxford Movement: however in the time of the early Quakers Anglican theories of both kinds were in abeyance.

Calvinism stressed the Church as the community of believers; but also was clear that the Church was created by God, rather than by men.[4] The Genevan doctrine of the Church as the instrument through which Grace is received through the sacraments, and through the reading and preaching of the Word is overshadowed in Puritanism. In any case God grants the Grace of salvation not primarily through means of mediation, but by direct Election. As the community of those who have received this decisive Grace, the Church is for Calvinists just as "objective" in the sight of God as the Grace which creates it. Nevertheless, the group of the Elect is never surely known to human knowledge; it is the "Invisible Church". But Calvinism stressed with especial concern the duty of the true Church of the Elect to serve as God's instrument in the visible world, and sought a role in Society than any other more vital than in any other outlook. Calvinists were therefore driven to think out carefully the relation between the invisible Church and visible institutions, and especially with the visible community of churchgoers.

These links between Visible and Invisible communities were the inward

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3)cf. Richard Hooker: Laws of Ecclesiastical Policy

4)cf. Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", 323 on Jonathan Edwards

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religious experience and the resulting good works previously mentioned.[5] A conscious and transforming experience was considered strong evidence of Election.[6] In Massachusetts a conversion experience was used as a condition for Church membership. Nevertheless, the Church in principle included those who had not yet become consciously aware of the work of Grace upon them;[7] this fact guarded both the initiative of God and the humility of men. It was assumed that the work of God's Grace in Election might sometimes be gradual and unconscious, beginning in infancy:

"Infants are said to be regenerated onely in regard of their internall qualities and inclinations, not in regarde of any motions, or actions of the mind, will or affections. And therefore they want those terrors of conscience which come before repentance as occasions thereof,...that conflict and combat between the flesh and the spirit" (which we shall see played so great a part in Quaker experience.)[8]

Another clear fruit and sign of the work of God's Grace, most obvious perhaps in just such cases, was the moral improvement of life, the process of sanctification, which led to good works. The English Puritan theologians used the conception of a Covenant of Grace, whereby the works which man of himself was unable to do under the Covenant of Works and Law of Moses, were done by God's power in Election. Yet since God foresaw such works, they provided a basis for God's Election not purely arbitrary nor irrelevant to the ethical life of men.[9]

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5)cf. Section II-A

6)Perkins wrote: "May not the sonnes of God know whether they belong to the household of God? Yes surely, for this is that which will make them to love God". Perkins: Golden Chaine, 5: cf. Perry: Puritanism and Democracy, 280: "Doctrines such as predestination and election suggest that a man's salvation consists in having his name registered...by a sort of absent treatment of which the fortunate beneficiary is himself unaware. Nothing could be further from the truth as the Puritans saw it...He was saved by the Grace of God...irresistably, but not unwillingly or unwittingly."

7)This could be reassuring to those in spiritual doubt: cf. Perkins: Golden Chaine, 144.

8)Perkins: Golden Chaine, 138: Perkins is trying particularly to justify infant baptism, but he also apparently obviates the need of sudden or dramatic conversion.

9)cf. Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", p. 146ff; cf. also John Cotton: "We are dead to the Covenant of the Law, but not to the Command of the Law" The Way of Life, p. 236; q. Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", 146.

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The Godly, tormented by doubt, could be confident of their election.

The covenant of Grace, moreover, provided an absolute and "objective" theological element in the Visible Church. It identified Election with "Visible Sainthood",[10] where the purer doctrine of predestination had left only a somewhat tenuous bond in Bible and sacraments between the Visible Church and God's saving Grace.[11] "Visible sainthood was the cornerstone of the Puritan community" in Massachusetts, and of the organization of the Puritan churches in England. For, despite the assumption that the Church as God's instrument was responsible for national life as a whole, there was in the Puritan outlook an increasingly explicit assumption that those who were visibly not Saints were not to be fully members of the Church.[12] Thus Cotton noted the characteristics of the Puritan church-order of Massachusetts, in contrast with the traditional Anglican and Presbyterian pattern:

"1. In the matter of their Churches; they would have none allowed but visible Saints. 2. In the exercise of church-censure, they leave that power to the Elders and Brethren of the same Church whereof the delinquent is a member".[13] Presbyterian critics might feel that "regardless of theory, the churches of New England number hypocrites among their members, and have excluded from membership many of those who will be saved",[14] but Cotton felt that the correlation was closer than would exist on any other system.[15]

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10)cf. Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", 57: "Covenants brought the experience of Grace into the realm of Nature: out of the invisible Saints, God created the visible Church".

11)Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", 58

12)Since the Church is built upon Grace, this implies that there is a closer correlation between Grace and ethical results, than between Grace and outward "means" and Sacraments.

13)The Way of the Congregational Churches Cleared: p. 27; q. Welles: "Cotton", 256, cf. p. 247

14)Robert Baillie of Glasgow, cit. Welles: "Cotton", p. 248

15)Welles: "Cotton" 257

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So far as the Church-order of orthodox Puritanism is concerned, it formed two distinct branches, Presbyterian and Congregational, (as Cotton had pointed out with regard to Church discipline); yet the transfer from one to the other does not seem to have been a major breach:

"As between Presbyterianism and Congregationalism, the choice of Puritanism was to some extent dictated by circumstance. Where it was possible for a time to organize Puritanism on a scale co-extensive with the secular State, the polity was Presbyterian. Wherever such a state-wide organization was impossible, owing to the division of sects, or to the remoteness of pioneer settlement, Puritanism tended to organize itself in individual congregations".[16]

Presbyterians believed in visible sainthood, although church baptism was not limited to saints' children; they spoke of the Covenant of Grace - God's free gift -, but they also used the pattern of Old Testament Covenants between God and his people as the model for a Solemn League and Covenant made by the chosen saints with God and each other. The formation of churches ordered on a Congregational basis was justified by assuming that, parallel to the invisible Covenant of Grace which was the ultimate bond of the Church, there could be a human Covenant within a smaller group:

"This Form is the Visible Covenant, agreement or consent whereby they give up themselves unto the Lord, to the observing of the ordinances of Christ together in the same society, which is usually called the Church-Covenant; for we see not otherwise how members can have Church-power over one another mutually."[17]

This human action Cotton can consider as inseparable from the divine Covenant, and as included within the total relation between God and his people in the whole Nation and World.[18]

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16)Perry: Puritanism and Democracy, p. 106

17)Cambridge Platform (1647), q. ibid., p. 339

18)The true Church is a "flock of Saints (1) called by God into the fellowship of Christ, (2) meeting together in one place, (3) to call upon the name of the Lord, (4) and to edify themselves in communicating spiritual gifts, (5) and partaking of the ordinances of the Lord". Cotton: "Letter to Samuel Skelton", quoted in Welles: "Cotton", p. 207; here human actions are the necessary and direct result of the divine action.

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Yet the place made within the orthodox Puritan outlook for a voluntary establishment of Church congregations made it possible for the same church-order to be taken over by groups who rejected the Puritan doctrines of Election and of the national church.

The distinction has often been made[19] between Separatist and Independent churches with the same Congregational church-order. The Independent churches, such as those of Massachusetts, or the church of Henry Jacob and its offshoots in London,[20] although organized as autonomous congregations, intended to be parts of a uniform national church, and were ready to urge upon the State the support of themselves and the banning of non-conformists. Separatist churches such as those of Browne and Barrowe, called the Independents "Idolators in their going to the parish assemblies",[21] (i.e. in maintaining communion with the unreformed Church of England),[22] and they rejected all "societie with infidells".

The principle of separation which distinguished Separatist from Independent was no hard-and-fast line, and its roots were in the Puritan tradition itself. Perkins had insisted that as regarded Catholicism "it is unlawfull to bee present at Masse or any idolatrous service....the Church of Rome (being) no better than an hereticall and apostaticall Synagogue".[23] Burrage thinks that the early congregation at Plumbers' Hall in London, and Richard Fitz' congregation at the same time,[24] should be considered Independents, since they intended their separation to be only temporary, pending reform of the national church. The churches of the Marian exiles had had this character of temporary separation, and it was in

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19)cf. Burrage: Dissenters, p. 314, etc; Jordan: Toleration III, p.355; Knappen: Tudor Puritanism

20)cf. Burrage: Dissenters, 317, etc. Beach:"Conscience", 187

21) q. Burrage: Dissenters, 314

22) Perkins: Golden Chaine, 61

23)Perkins: Golden Chaine, 59, 61

24)1567, cf. Burrage: Dissenters

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Geneva and Wittenberg that English groups first used a church covenant.[25] The Massachusetts churches intended to gain freedom to reform by separation in distance without separating in communion or in spirit from the Church of England.[26] Cotton wrote to a friend still in the Church of England:

"I know not how you can be excused from fellowship with their sins if you continue in your place. While you and some of my other friends continue with them I fear the rest will settle upon their lees with more security. The wise-hearted...did themselves and their Brethren more good service in going before their Brethren, as the goats before the Flocks,...than if they had tarried with them to the corrupting of their own ways".[27]

Thus the more orthodox Puritans laid the way for the Separatists:

"I believe", wrote Roger Williams, "that there hardly hath been a conscientious Separatist who was not first a Puritan; for...the grounds and principles of the Puritans against Bishops and Ceremonies...must necessarily, if truly followed, lead onto, and enforce a separation...to seek out the true way of God's worship".[28]

A basic issue in Separatism is the urge towards "Reformation without Tarrying for Anie".[29] In practise Separatists might go beyond the Puritans as a whole, and reject as Popery not only the altar, the vestments and the prayer-book, but the reading of prayers, the singing of hymns, and educational requirements for the ministry, but these were simply further applications of the same principle.

Behind the urgency for reform, however, is implicit a second motif, the necessity to avoid participation in evil, to "utterlie flee and avoide such like disorders and wickedness".[30] This motive of purification from contact with iniquity was sufficiently deeprooted in Puritanism to give it its name, but was held in

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25) Knappen: Tudor Puritanism, p.152 ; Burrage: Dissenters, I, p.76

26) after arrival, however, Cotton swung to a separation of congregational churches from the anglican, (though not from each other: Welles: "Cotton", 211

27) "letter from N. Eng. to friends at Boston (Lincs.) Oct. 5, 1635, q. Welles: "Cotton", 189

28) q. Beach: "Conscience", p. 86

29) The title of Browne's famous book of 1582, cf. Burrage: Dissenters

30) Covenant of Robert Browne's congregation in Norwich, 1580; q. Burrage: Dissenters, p. 19

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tension with the sense of responsibility of the Elect for carrying out the Will of God on a national scale. The changing pattern of Presbyterians, Independents and Separatists represents in part simply a shift in balance between these factors. The extreme separatist position of Williams and certain of the Baptists represents the acceptance of the impossibility of overcoming the spiritual evil in the world in organizational terms, and hence the separation of the religious life of the faithful into a small world of its own, "a garden in the wilderness"[31]:

"John Goodwin hat ein Gefühl für die Starre und Unbeweglichkeit der Welt gegenüber religiösen Mächten".[32]

Along with the urge to separate from evil and idolatry, which led the true Separatists to expect a permanent separation and the evil customs of the world, there ran a third strain in Separatism: the stress upon a pure Church of the Elect. This, as has been shown, was found throughout Puritanism (being implied in the Covenant-idea). But the orthodox Puritan expected to find the mass of the unregenerate not only under the political rule of the Saint but in his pews - although not at his Communion table.[33] From the spiritually aristocratic attitude of Calvin - "We see so much ignorance and stupidity among the vulgar herd of mankind"[34] - exclusivism increases through various forms of Puritan church discipline to the spiritual church of William Dell:

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31)Freund: Toleranz, 264

32)Freund: Toleranz, 215: "Williams' tendency was to separate the life of the Spirit, not into an isolated sectarian community, but into a church separated from the realm of political and economic life." Freund: Toleranz, 245 ff In any case, the Presbyterian plan of reform was for Baptists "to undertake to reconcile darkness with light, to settle a communion between Christ and Belial, to throw down the partition wall and make the wilderness of the world the garden of God". John Goodwin: Theomachia, p. 24, q. Freund: Toleranz, 214.

33)The Massachusetts General Court, in 1646, rejected, for instance, the petition of Dr. Robert Child asking for a more secularized state and a more inclusive church-order, (cf. Hertz:" Bible Commonwealth), p. 182 ff.

34)Institutes of the Christian Religion, Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1936.

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"Surely there was never newer doctrine than this, That the spiritual Church of the New Testament should be made up of all people that live in a Kingdom...for God...gathers his church out of every people, and kindred and nation.[35]

Since separation from the world is a voluntary and ethical act, it is at this point that the voluntary element in the Puritan church-covenant is taken up and emphasized:

"A Church is a company, consisting though but of two or three, separated from the world, and gathered into the name of Christ by a covenant made, to walk in all the ways of God known unto them....by voluntary profession without compulsion".[36]

With increasing concern for purity in the church went usually a concern for separating church and state, even among Puritan groups seeking theocracy in politics:

"the greater the emphasis on the membership of the preacher and all those that partook of the communion, in the elect, the more intolerable became the interference of the state in the appointment of the clergy". 37

These Separatist principles of reform, non-compromise, and pure membership became characteristic, not only of the churches called Separatist under Elizabeth and James I, but of all the English radical Puritan sects that will be studied. They will be found to play a large part in the Quaker outlook. At the same time there continued to exist right through the Commonwealth churches labelled Congregational rather than Baptist, etc., which were Separatist in outlook.

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35) Select Works of William Dell, London, John Kendall, 1773.

36) John Robinson: A Justification of Separation from the Church of England, (1610), p. 51 q. Allen: Political Thought, p. 152. The covenant is stressed in all the Separatist definitions of the Church (cf. Smyth, "Principles and Inferences", q. Burrage: Dissenters, p. 233; Robinson & Brewster, as quoted Perry: Puritanism and Democracy, p. 328). By contrast, although Church-covenants must have been involved in the formation of the Independent churches, which grew from half a dozen to about a hundred between 1641 and 1653, we hear little about these covenants, and much more about their political activities (cf. Jordan: Toleration, III, p. 355ff.)

37) Weber: Protestant Ethic, 242

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Concerning the Independent Congregationalists[38] who did not become Separatists it is also hard to draw clear-cut dividing lines and categories; these churches maintained in part the emphases of purity of worship and moral separation from evil which are found still more strongly in the Separatist Churches. The difference between Independents and Presbyterians in terms of Church-covenant and voluntary membership was of major importance in the struggle in Parliament and the nation for religious liberty between 1641 and 1649.[39] Independent churches are not distinguished in the name from those we have called Separatist after 1641. They maintained Calvinist theology against the growing Arminian tendency of the radical sects, and the few Independent congregations which represent an integrated body continued to be middle-class in character.[40] But the characteristic distinction of Independency must probably be looked for in terms of an attitude of inclusiveness. The ideal of a national faith remained strong, and the ideal of toleration within the bounds of national church for as many types of congregation as possible, seems to be the continuing thread underlying the policy of Independency from 1641 to 1660. By such a definition the term Independent might be applied in the 1650's not only to Cromwell and his

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38) Jordan records 100 congregations of Congregationalists listed in Cromwell's survey of 1653 and 120 who sent representatives to the Savoy conference in 1658, and estimates that there were 220 congregations in 1660. The difference between Independent and Separatist congregationalists was by this time no longer clearly marked, and both groups are probably involved here.

39) cf. Jordan: Toleration III, p. 437-450: "Independency began to disintegrate directly a tolerable degree of religious liberty had been achieved in England. Prior to 1649 Independency waged the war for religious toleration in England; In the following decade the leadership passed to the radical sectaries and the laymen....Independency did its work in a brief but momentous period of fifteen years. It was a movement of remarkable complexity and singular effectiveness, engendered as a broad coalition of defence against the mounting bigotry of Presbyterian demands". This Independent coalition included Puritan Erastians, secular Erastians and incipient radical Puritans, as well as Independents in the narrower sense as we have the used the term who formed the nucleus of the group.

40) cf. Jordan: Toleration III, p. 355: "As late as 1653 there were not more than 4 or 5 Congregational Churches in London which remained (Calvinist)... But the London leaders exercised a great influence".

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"Tryers and Ejectors"[41], but also to Richard Baxter,[42] and to "moderate Presbyterians" such as Gillespie, who wrote:

"we should be more ready to goe two miles in an accomodation (yea as many miles as the Word of God will suffer me) then one mile in a toleration".[43]

In actual practice, however, the attempts to establish an inclusive national church were never more than partially successful.[44] The radical sects were actually not greatly hampered from the beginning of the Civil War onward, and by 1650 Parliament was forced to allow toleration outside, as well as within, the national Establishment; and passed an "Act for the Relief of Religious and Peaceable People".[45] This result was due in part to the weakness and decline of the Presbyterians and partly to the need to accept unordained "gifted men" as ministers of the Establishment, "there being in many places a great scarcity of preachers".[46] More positively it was due to the energy and rapid growth of the Baptist churches.

The Baptists carried to its logical conclusion the principle of a pure Church of the Elect, entered by voluntary Covenant between visible Saints. The

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41) who included conservative -- mostly "Particular" -- Baptists.

42) Nuttall: Holy Spirit: points out that "Baxter is usually considered a Presbyterian, but in point of fact never was one." (p. 10) He believed in; an Established Church, but a most inclusiveone: "We have been given no liberty to impose unnecessary things upon the spirits of others...the Church must win men by the self-evident beauty and purity of the truth which it possesses". (q. Jordan: Toleration III, 340, 338). Even after 1660 he strongly opposed Separatism; his Worcestershire Association, (and the nation-wide movement which grew out of it after 1656) intended to be for "meer Catholicks"; it was Puritan in theology and ethics, but based on the old Parish organizations (cf. Nuttall: Holy Spirit, 10) and voluntary association.

43) q. Jordan: Toleration III, p. 326, cf. also John Hales, in this regard, as translated by Freund: Toleranz, p. 61.

44) cf. Jordan: Toleration III, p. 78: "An enlarging body of English thought had been persuaded by the hurried and confused course of historical development (since 1641) to view that National church should be erected as a pious hope, and as a gesture to tradition, but the sects must be permitted freedom and toleration".

45) cf. Jordan: Toleration III, 140

46) cf. Jordan: Toleration III, 140; The Moderate Intelligencer, No. 4, 1646, q. Jordan: Toleration III, p. 93.

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orthodox Puritan practice of Infant Baptism bore no clear relation to the doctrine of Election. The somewhat confused belief that parents "may beleeve both for themselves and their heires after them...(so that) within the Covenant are...all the seede of the faithfull"[47] tended to separate the Covenant from the Election.[48] Although the idea of Adult Baptism does seem to have a definite history and spread, this spread seems to have been among existing separatist Puritan congregations.[49] There were only 5 English Baptist churches in 1626, at the time of the great Puritan unrest (during Laud's persecution and the depression in the cloth towns); the next important groups were offshoots of London congregational churches.[50] Yet there is evidence that the Baptists grew from about eight churches in 1641[51] to 297 congregations in 1660, who met after 1655 in Associations.[52]

Virtually from the beginning,the movement was divided into Particular and General Baptists with little contact or communication between them.[53] In the main, the Particular Baptists, distinguished by a predestinarian Calvinist theology, were derived from former Independent groups; they seem to have continued the same patterns of worhsip and congregational life.[54] They attracted men of

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47)Perkins: Golden Chaine, 131, 130.

48) The slowness of orthodox Calvinism to pursue the logic of Predestination to the point of eliminating these vestiges of sacramental grace, represents an understanding that the black-and-white division of Election and Reprobation does not represent the whole story, the limit and boundary of divine Grace.

49) This was notably true in the groups under Smyth and Helwys after 1596, the first stable English Baptist congregations; cf. Underwood: Baptists; Whitley: Baptists, Burrage: Dissenters. The earliest Baptist conventicles, at Faversham and Bocking in 1547, and individual English Baptist martyrs earlier, may however have been the result of the direct influence of European Anabaptist influences upon English artisans. (cf. Burrage: Dissenters; Jones: Mystical Religion, 400 ff.)

50) cf. Jordan: Toleration III, 453

51) ibid., 437

52) Whitley: Baptists

53) cf. Whitley: Baptists, 87

54) ibid.

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wealth such as William Kiffin, and included University trained ministers such as the sober John Tombes.[55] The General Baptists, who were universalist in theology, were nevertheless more clearly marked by certain social and ethical outlooks: they won membership from Separatist groups and from many not previously members of Puritan congregations. The social composition and outlook of the Baptists was involved even in worship. Their worship, like that of other radical Puritans, was simply a modification of the Puritan "prophesying".

The Brownists met:

"for praier, thancksgiving, reading of the scriptures, for exhortation and edification, either by all men which had the gift, or by those which had a speciall charge before others....Againe it was agreed that anie might protest, appeal, complaine, exhort, dispute, reprove, etc...as he had occasion."[56]

Early General Baptist worship seems to have been similar:

"We begynne with a prayer, after reade some one or two chapters of the Bible gyve the sence thereof, and conferr upon the same; that done we lay aside oure bookes, and after a solemne prayer made by the .I. speaker, he propoundeth some text owt of the Scripture, and prophecieth owt of the same, by the space of one hower...After him standeth up A .2. speaker and prophecieth owt of the said text the like tyme and space some tyme more some tyme lesse. After him the .3. the .4. the .5. &c as the tyme will give leave, then the .1. speaker concludeth with prayer."[57]

What is remarkable here, (apart from the fortitude of Smyth's friends in enduring five hours of preaching on the same text), is the large part given to laymen in this worship. These groups were moreover made up mainly of working people. When an entire Barrowist congregation was arrested in London in 1593, the occupations of the 48 men in the group (mostly under 35 years of age) were listed by the court:

6 shipwrights, 4 each of tailors, servants, and "ministers", 2 carpenters, fishmongers, scriveners, haberdashers, "shoomakers", a glover, a cap-maker, a husbandman, an apothecary, a goldsmith, a joyner, a "scholler and souldiour", a cloth worker, a turner, a broadweaver, a coppersmith, a feltmaker, a leather-dresser, and a schoolmaster.

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55) cf. Nuttall: Holy Spirit, p. 13, etc.

56) "A True and Short Declaration", pp. 19-20, quoted in Burrage: Dissenters, p. 98

57) "Harleian Miscellanies", 360, folio 71, quoted Burrage: Dissenters, p. 236

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Wherever indications are available it would seem that the composition of Separatist and General Baptist congregations was of this kind.[58]

Direct connections between the Quakers and the General Baptists have often been discussed by historians Positive relationships there certainly were but of a complex kind, which can only be clearly evaluated in the light of other aspects of the Quaker backgrounds. These include regional considerations, and the strands of social radicalism and "spiritual Puritanism" which were part of the radical Puritan outlook of the period. These ideas are to be found also among the General Baptists, as is implied in the description just given of their worship and membership. But they were, like theocracy and apocalypticism, ideas not limited to any single group; they were ideas moreover with long and independent roots in the past.

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58) cf. Appendix II.

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Section II-D: Backgrounds of Quaker and Puritan Social Radicalism.

The Puritan movement incorporated traditions with deep roots in the Middle Ages.[1] The Lollard theology and biblical concern strongly influenced Protestantism under Henry VIII,[2] but it is needless to try to dissect this strand from the similar Calvinist ideas with which it blended.[3] In social outlooks, however, where radical and orthodox Puritanism took different lines, the Quaker ideas can be traced back more directly, not only to Lollardism, but to the mediaeval peasant outlook as a whole.

> The first legacy of the Middle Ages to the sixteenth century was the idea of religion as embracing all aspects of human life; (the second) (was) the functional view of class organization.[4]

The actual outlook of the Middle Ages seems not only to have envisaged the nation as an interdependent social organism, but to have felt very strongly the fellowship of the village.[5] "The Church sees buying and selling, lending and borrowing, as a simple case of neighborly or unneighborly conduct.[6] Even the most conservative of churchmen therefore took for granted the church's duty to supervise economic life and practices, although in practice they might not correct, or even see, certain basic injustices.

In the social protest therefore, of Piers Plowman, "the ideal society of which he dreams is not organized on a different plan from the one he knows". His combination of social protest and religious devotion is "in the main stream of a tradition of moral and social denunciation pouring from the pulpit itself".[7] This

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1) cf. Haller: Rise of Puritanism, p. 5.

2) cf. Knappen: Tudor Puritanism, Ch. I.

3) The attempt of Thomas Cuming Hall to show that the Lollard tradition remained entirely separate from Calvinism, re-emerging in radical Puritanism, does injustice both to concrete cases and to the diffusive nature of vital ideas.

4) Tawney: Rise of Capitalism, p. 27.

5) Wertenbacker: Puritan Oligarchy, p. 44, has shown how significant the village unity was, in Puritan Massachusetts in leading to the social and religious integration of the Town Meeting.

6) Tawney: Rise of Capitalism, p. 54.

7) White : Social Criticism, pp. 11-12.

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tradition of seeing economic and social issues in personal and religious terms remains down to the 17th century. By the time of the Quakers, this village communalism has broken down too far for there to be any conscious intent to return fully to it. Yet this communalism shapes social outlooks, not only in a few "communistic" sects and experiments, but in the relation of social outlooks and religion throughout radical Puritanism.

Mediaeval outlooks on certain specific issues also continued to Quaker times, (though sometimes modified). The mediaeval attitude to poverty was one relevant point of contact. In the middle ages there was a fundamental protest against the greed of the rich.[8] This was in part because of their injustice to the poor. At the same time there is no desire for unlimited material prosperity for the poor. Instead the plea for justice is joined with the glorification of patient poverty. This ideal is extended by Piers Plowman from the monk to the Ploughman: "Poure pacient is parfitest lif of alle".[9] A combination of asceticism with a stratified society demanded patience of the lower classes. But Luxury and Greed were regarded as basic evils in themselves. What is interesting for Puritan and Quaker outlooks is the beginning of the tendency to see luxury and greed as waste;[10]

> "Waste is revealed in the Luxury of the rich, but it is revealed also in the idleness of the poor, and the frivolity of the rascal. Worst of all is waste of time, clearly because waste of time is waste of opportunity to win immortal life."[11]

There appears already in Piers a distinction between the worthy and unworthy poor, not yet equated, of course, simply with the degree of industriousness in

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8) cf. the famous comment of Anatole France: "la misericorde de Dieu est infinie; elle sauvera meme un rich". Le Puits de Sainte Claire, quoted in Tawney: Rise of Capitalism, p. 11.

9) pass. XIV, I, 99 q. White: Social Criticism, p. 9.

10) Prof. John MacNeill (in class, summer of 1949), defines Puritanism as essentially a protest against waste, a move towards economy and simplicity in every field.

11) White: Social Criticism, p.6.

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daily work.

Another interesting element in this later mediaeval tradition is the tendency to combine social protest with an attack on the clergy:

"In general where the bitterer note of social protest is still to be heard in the Piers literature of the 16th century, it will usually be found that the social attack ends up in an onslaught on the Church".[12]

Miss White is referring to tracts issued often under the name of Piers, in the time of Henry VII and Henry VIII, which advocated the abolition of the monasteries because they were not fulfilling their function of relief for the poor.[13] The original poem of Piers Plowman seems, like Wyclif, to have been content to attack the greed and luxury of friars, bishops and abbots; the Plowman speaks prophetically, not as proletarian, but because he symbolizes Christ. Yet the symbol cuts deep, and is soon taken literally: the Piers tracts under Henry VIII defend lay preaching, and claim the "secret motyon of the holy goost" for their impulse to question churchly authority.[14]

In the literature under Henry VIII there arises a stronger and bitterer note of social protest because of the conditions of the time. The enclosure movement, and the inflation of prices due to the Spanish gold imports from America, were making paupers of many peasants:

"You thoughte that I would not requyre,
The blodde of all such at your hands,
But be you sure, eternall fyre
Is redy for eche hell fyrebrande.
Both for the housynge and the lande
That you have taken from the pore
Ye shall in hell dwell evermore" [15]

Reformation Church leaders themselves led in the protest:

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12) White: Social Criticism, 31.

13) cf. Henry Parker: Dives and Pauper (1493); Simon Fish: The Supplication of Beggars (1524); Henry Brinkelow: The Complaint of Roderyck Mors (1548); all as cited in White: Social Criticism; it goes without saying that these men were disillusioned with the actual results of the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII and his friends.

14) A Godly Dyalogue and Disputacyon betwene Pyers Plowman, and a Popysh Preest concernyng the Supper of the Lorde, (1550), cit: White: Social Criticism, p. 53.

15) Robert Crowley: Select Works, p. 116, q. Tawney: Religion & Capitalism 125; Tawney: Rise of Capitalism.

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"Neither the Church of Christ nor a Christian Commonwealth", wrote Martin Bucer, "ought to tolerate such as prefer private gain to the public weal, or seek it to the hurt of their neighbors".[16]

In England, Bishop Latimer led the "Commonwealth men" in an attempt to arrest the enclosure movement.[17]

"For wher as have bene a great menny of householders and inhabitaunce, there is nowe but a shepherd and hys dogge".[18]

What is of especial interest is to note Latimer's connecting of social concern with the Protestant attack upon the Catholics, who

"preached to the people that dead images...not onely ought to be couered with golde, but also...to be cladde with sylke garmentes, and those also lade with precious gemmes and jewels...here no cost can be too great, where as in the meane time, were Christes faithful and liuely ymages, bought with no lesse price with his most precious bloud, alas, alas, to be an hugred, a thurst, a cold, and to lye in darkenes, wrapped in al wretchednesse,... until death take away theyr miseries".[19]

In some of the "Piers" tracts, however, there is not only a protest against the suffering of the poor, but the implication of a radical attitude regarding property itself:

"If the impotent creatures perish for lack of necessaries; you are the murderers, for you have their inheritance and do not minister to them....the whole earth therefor (by byrth ryght) belongeth to the chyldren of men...indifferently by nature".[20]

"so it is mete, that Christen mens goodes should be comen unto everi mans nede, and private to no mans lust".[21]

This sense of the social responsibility of property, however, continues the

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16) De Regno Christi, q. Tawney: Religion and Capitalism, p. 61.

17) cf. ibid., 124.

18) The Fyrst Sermon, sig. D4; q. White: Social Criticism, 98.

19) Latimer: Sermons, Sermon ad Clerum, fol. 4.

20) Robert Crowley: An Information and Peticion agaynst the Oppressours of the Pore Commons of this Realme (1548), q. White: Social Criticism, p. 112; cf. The Praier and Complaynte of the Ploweman unto Christe (1531), cit. White: Social Criticism, p. 26.

21) Thomas Lever: A Fruitfull Sermon made in Poules Church, (1550), q. White: Social Criticism, 126.

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spirit of the mutual responsibility of the mediaeval manor; its communism is "the spontaneous doctrineless communism of the open field village".[22] Miss White draws a clear-cut contrast between this outlook and the Utopian Communism of Thomas More.[23] More's system, like that of Plato from which he admits such strong influence, is deduced from a pattern of philosophy.[24] The Piers tracts often rejected absolute or theoretical communism;[25] and it was the older tradition which so greatly influenced the Quakers and radical Puritans.

Yet the old conception of the organic, inter-dependent Society was more clearly formulated as an ideal in proportion as it began to break down in practice. Sometimes it is interpreted in a radical sense:

> Diggers & Dikers, Drudges, Carters, Swaines,
> Sheepheards, & Cowards, friend thee at they neede,
> The poorest persons works the richest gaines
> Thy Dropsie with Commodities to feede.
> Coblers & Carriers, Tinkers, Tanners all
> Support thy state, else would thy fortress fall.[26]

But during and after the reign of Elizabeth, the ideal of an inter-dependent society was appropriated by social conservatism. A message of "contentation"

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22) Tawney: Agrarian Problem, p. 313.

23) White: Social Criticism, p. 49ff; cf. Gooch: Democratic Ideas, p. 29.

24) "so God helpe me, I can perceave nothing but a certain Conspiracy of riche men procuringe theire owne commodities under the name and title ot the commonwealth"... "Where nothynge is pryvate, the commen affayres be earnestly loked upon", Utopia, sigs. S1,R7, quoted in White: Social Criticism pp. 51, 49; this was picked up by later tracts which discussed the theory of property but rejected communism. Cf. Thomas Starkey: Dialogue (1538) and John Hales: A Discourse of the Common Weal (1549), cit. in White: Social Criticism, p. 62.

25) cf. Pyers Plowmans Exhortation (cf. 1550), and Newes from the North, (1579), both cited in White: Social Criticism, p. 30ff.

26) Arthur Warren: "The Poore Man's Passions, (1605), p. 3, B4; quoted in White: Social Criticism, p. 250.

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is preached, which though it represses the social climbing of the nouveau-riche, aims especially to restrain the vagabond and the landless laborer. There is concern increasingly for law and order rather than for justice.[27]

Among the Puritan leaders equally with the Anglicans, the attitude to poverty, and to the poor as a group, changed under Queen Elizabeth.[28] Puritan pastors such as Perkins justified class distinctions in standards of luxury, and also slavery.[29] To be sure, many of the Puritan laymen were outstanding in their generosity to the poor, and it was in this period that the great Elizabethan Poor Law system was developed.[30] The emphasis, nevertheless, came to be upon Alms rather than justice, and "the zest went out of (even) Alms-giving along with the acrid odor of purgatory".[31]

With some exceptions, the social protests - by no means extinct - centered on acts of oppression; they could no longer claim the support of the idea of the organic society and no basic new theory emerged:

"Oppression and theft are both of them to bee accounted sinnes...yet in theft a man is wronged ignorantly that hee knoweth not of it; but in oppression he is wronged by violence; he knoweth it, and looketh on, and cannot tell how to helpe it....And therefore, oppression is a more grievous Sinne then theft" (for which the penalty was death).[32]

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27) cf. White: Social Criticism, p. 245, etc.

28) cf. Knappen: Tudor Puritanism, 410ff.

29) Ibid., pp. 414, 462.

30) v. infra, Section VIII-D.

31) Knappen: op. cit. p. 415.

32) Charles Richardson: Sermon at Paul's Cross, (1615), quoted White: Social Criticism, p. 211. By way of contrast, the radical conception of social responsibility stood out much more clearly in 1531, in "the Praier and Complaynte of the Ploweman unto Christe": "pore laborers geveth to these rych men more then they geven hem ageyn warde. For the pore man mote gone to hys laboure in colde and in hete, in wete and drye, and spende his fleach and hys bloude in the rich mennes workes upon gods grounde to fynde the rych man in ese and in lykynge, and in good fare of mete and of clothinge. Here ye a gret gifte of the pore man. For he geveth his own body. But what geveth the rych man hym ageynwarde? Sertes febele mete and febele drinke, and febele clothynge, What ever they seggen soch be her weres, and here ye litel love". (sig. E5v, q. White: Social Criticism, p. 26).

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In the pastoral sermons of the rising Puritans, however, certain specific social ideas and points of attack remained; some may have influenced Quaker thinking. For a while, the Puritans continued the long war of the Church against Usury, but the attack was given up by the 1640's,and found no echo in Quakerism.[33] The Puritan attack upon covetousness, however, must surely have encouraged Quaker prophets in this field. They attacked men who spent fortunes on luxurious building and clothing:

"And when by these meanes they have emptyed their cofers, they must coyne new money of their poor tenants' skinnes".[34]

"Seeking abundance is a fruit of diffidence in the providence of God".[34b] Amid the social conservatism[35] of orthodox Puritans was sometimes preserved the Mediaeval tradition of social responsibility. Baxter adjudged "it is not lawful to take up or keep up any oppressing monopoly or trade which tends to enrich you by the loss of the Commonwealth or of Many".[36] A prophet-motif, which emerged more fully in the Quakers and radical Puritans, was latent in the moral preaching of the Word of God in Puritan pulpits:

"Know you of Norwich, whose hearts run after covetousness...that one day...they shall know what prophets have been amongst them".[37]

Issues of social justice and social equality came again to the fore in the Civil Wars. Puritanism reached the lower economic classes by the 1640's.[38]

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33) "Usury is the burden of more sermons on social wrong of the time (of Elizabeth) than any other single factor". White: op. cit., p. 198; cf. Nicholas Sanders: "A Briefe Treatise of Usurie" (1568); Thomas Wilson: "A Discourse upon Usury" (1572); Philip Caesar; "A General Discourse against the Damnable Sect of Usurers", etc., (cit. White: op. cit., pp. 200,205,216, etc.) As early as Perkins, exceptions were made to the ban on usury for certain business ventures, and thereafter lines became too hard to draw. Perkins: Golden Chaine, p. 108 ff; White: op. cit., p. 205, etc.

34) Richardson: Sermon at Paul's Cross, quoted White, p. 211.

34b) Henry Smith: Works, II, 15 q. White: p. 229.

35) Perkins, for instance, feels quite in the most conservative tradition of Calvinism, that for each man "the calling in which he is: is the particular calling in which God would bee served of him". Perkins: Works, I, 149, cf. Haller: Rise of Puritanism, p. 125.

36) Christian Directory quoted Tawney: Rise of Capitalism, p. 184.

37) "Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of Norwich the XXI Day of Dec. 1589", quoted Knappen: Tudor Puritanism, p. 410.

38) In the Second Bishops' War, some of the "pressed men" forced their captains to sing Psalms to prove they were not Catholics: cf. Trevelyan: Stuarts, p. 192.

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The social concerns of Baptist and Separatist groups combined Puritan earnestness with the old agrarian tradition. Leonard Busher's early tracts included a plea for the poor and a list of specific reforms of criminal and civil laws and customs.[39] The tensions between social strata were heightened by the Second Civil War (although it cut across class lines).[40] These came to the fore in the Putney debates. The radical Puritans rejected both the assumptions of the Puritan Merchants and gentry who had led in the first civil War against the King, and also of Cromwell himself, namely that the body politic was based upon the freeholders.[41] In the economic depression which followed bad harvests in 1646-9, there had been attacks upon those who "buy large possessions in the earth and call their houses after their own names", by "the laborious Husbandman and Handicraftsman, and all kind of honest Tradesman".[42] (Somewhat similar conditions in 1656-9 produced riots and petitions in Leicestershire and Bedforshire[43] at a time when the Merchants were pressing for war against Holland.[44])

The pressure for concrete action to which the concern for social

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39) cf. Freund: Toleranz, p.225, citing "Religious Peace" (1614).

40) "As Cromwell discovered, there was no formula which would gather Puritan aristocrats and Levellers, landowners and Diggers, merchants and artisans, buff-coat and his general, into the fold of a single social theory". Tawney: Rise of Capitalism, p. 262; cf. Schenck: Social Justice, p. 30.

41) cf. Trevelyan: Stuarts 225: the Puritan squires "regarded their estates merely as assets in the money market, who had here no rest for the spirit, nor home for the heart"; cf. also Tawney: Religion and Capitalism, 214. The relationship between the Ellwood and Penn families and their servants and tenants, and particularly of northern families like the Fells, suggests that this was not always true, but the Peningtons do seem to have had more sense of social responsibility for fellow-Friends than for tenants on their various estates.

42) "The Moderate", July 3rd, 1649; Proposals on Behalf of the Poor (1653) p. 4; both q. Schenk: Social Justice, p.64.

43) Tindall: Bunyan, 109.

44) Under Cromwell, as under Charles II, "the merchants took much delight to enlarge themselves upon this argument: the infinite benefit that would accrue from a bareface war against the Dutch, how easily they might be subdued and the trade carried by the English". The Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon (1827 ed.) II, 23, p. 235, quoted Tawney: Religion and Capitalism, 267.

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equality led under such circumstances, found expression in the Leveller movement. This was in the main an attack upon political, rather than social inequality.[45] But many reforms requested were basically social or economic.[46] Besides universal suffrage, the Levellers' "Agreement of the People" advocated legal reform, proper payment of the army, also abolition of Tithes (a social as well as an economic issue because of impropriated Tithes), and of the University training required of the ministry.[47] While the movement based its arguments on Natural Rights and the "Saxon" tradition of Coke, the basic motivation was religious.[48] Not only was Lilburne deeply religious in his personal life from the start,[49] (so that his conversion to Quakerism was not a radical break), but the Leveller appeal for equality was based upon the sovereignty of God which rejects human pride.[50] Even apocalyptic hopes for "the end of the redemption by Jesus to restore all things",[51] were held by the leading Levellers. Lilburne's own concern for law, both Natural and Saxon, represented an awareness of the need for the restraint of sin, similar in principle if not in application to that of Ireton and conservative Puritans.[52] The greatest

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45) Schenk: Social Justice, p. 32; and cf. Section 2-f.

46) e.g. the abolition of the monopoly of the Merchant Adventurers which Parliament had re-instated in 1643 after abolishing the monopolies created for the friends of Charles I. cf. Schenk: Social Justice, p. 58.

47) cf. Freund: Toleranz: pp. 280 ff; Schenk: Social Justice, pp.70-71.

48) cf. Perry: Puritanism and Democracy, p. 358.

49) Schenck: Social Justice, p. 35.

50) Ibid., p. 32.

51) Light Shining in Buckinghamshire (1648) pp. 5, 12, quoted Schenk: op. cit., pp. 68-9, cf. ibid., pp. 20-28 on Lilburne's own identification of his cause with God's.

52) cf. Schenk: op. cit., p. 28, Gooch: Democratic Ideas, pp.136-140. Isaac Penington, before his conversion to Quakerism, seems to have held somewhat similar conceptions of the importance of popular suffrage as a restraint of the sin of the governor. Even Parliament was thefefore not to be all-powerful except in checking administrative autocracy. cf. Armsby: "Quaker View of State", pp. 76-78, etc.

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Leveller thinker, William Walwyn,[53] advocated a Biblical voluntary communism. He was a forerunner of the "Social Gospel" in applying the "Gospel of Love" to the economic and political needs of the poor.[54] Despite his desire for legal measures against Enclosures and prison conditions, he tended to consider all laws as only approximations to Christianity.[55]

The Leveller Movement centered in the Army. While it included thinkers like Walwyn and Overton, and men like Wildman who were primarily ambitious agitators, the bulk of the movement was made up of

"the hobnails, clouted shoes, the private soldiers, the leather and woollen Aprons and the laborious and industrious people in England".[56]

The Leveller movement was broken up when Sexby and others attempted an armed uprising against Cromwell at Burford in 1649.[57] But its ideas remained and gave focus to the social concern and equalitarianism of the radical Puritan sects. Thus the Ranters, who were religiously highly individualistic, and ethically antinomian, included many who had been members of the Leveller Movement.[58] The staider Baptists, like the Ranters, continued to include social equality in the messages of their sermons and tracts.[59] There is little doubt that such ideas were sufficiently current to have been part of the background from which many individual Quakers came.

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53) cf. Schenk: Social Justice 38-42.

54) cf. "The Power of Love" (1649) and "The Vanitie of the Present Churches" (1649), cit. Schenk: Social Justice, p. 30.

55) Schenk: Social Justice, 50.

56) Lilburne: "The Upright Man's Vindication" (1653) p. 15, q. Schenk: Social Justice, p. 64.

57) cf. Schenk: Social Justice, 16; Gooch: Democratic Ideas, 215-219.

58) Tindall: Bunyan, 99 mentions Coppin, Muggleton, Bauthumley, Tany, Clarkson, Ellis, and George Foster: often their social concern, when they had become Ranters, expressed itself in prophetic tirades against the upper classes rather than specific appeals for reform: "Howl, howl, ye nobles, howl ye honourable, howl ye rich men...bow downe, bow downe...before those poore,nastie, lousie, ragged wretches". Abeizer Coppe: "A Fiery Flying Roll" (1649), q. Tindall: Bunyan p. 97; Joseph Salmon urged the commoners to rise and destroy the gentry and nobility (1649), cf. Tindall: Bunyan, 98.

59) Tindall: Bunyan, p. 105 lists Benjamin Keach's Travels of True Godliness, (1684); Bunyan's A Few Sighs from Hell (1658); and William Erbury's A Scourge for the Assyrian, the Great Oppressor (1652).

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The most fascinating social protest of this time, which has been studied by modern scholars out of all proportion to its contemporary influence, was that of the Diggers under Gerrard Winstanley. Attempts to show specific influence upon Quakers even from Winstanley's religious ideas have been inconclusive, and this is still more true of his social outlooks. These were a more extreme version of those shared by radical Puritans. At one period he felt that the clergy were an instrument of oppression, a "black police" used by the rulers[60], and his ideas for compulsory universal education were unusual,[61] but his famous project on Kingston Common differs from agrarian unrest of earlier periods mainly in the more systematic philosophy with which he supplied it.[62]

Of much greater influence upon Quakerism than the economic and political ideas of the Levellers and Diggers, was the thorough-going belief among radical Puritans in social equality in the church, and the superiority of the religion of the working man and "mechanick".

Baptist and Separatist ministers were working men like their congregations:

"in stead of Orthodox Divines they set up all Kinde of Mechanicks, (such) as Shooe-Makers, Coblers, Taylers, & Botchers; Glovers,...Boxe-Makers, Coach-men and Felt-makers and Bottle-Ale sellers."[63]

For religious as well as social reasons, it is not surprising that these congregations rejected long-haired ministers[64] (the name had an opposite connotation then from its modern one!) Against the respectable, who thought these con-

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60) Freund: Toleranz, 272.

61) Freund: Toleranz, 223.

62) The famous Diggers' Song itself seems to have affinities with Mediaeval and Tudor social radicalism:

"The Gentry are all round,-stand up now, stand up now....
The Gentry are all round, on each side they are found,
Their wisdom's so profound, to cheat us of our ground, stand up now....
The Clergy they come in, - stand up now, stand up now ...
The Clergy they come in, they say it is a sin
That we should now begin, our freedom for to win;-
Stand up now, Diggers all.
To conquer them by love, come in now, come in now,....
To conquer them by love, as it does you behove,
For He is King above; no power is like to love;
Glory here, Diggers all".

q. Trevelyan: Stuarts, 283.

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gregations were "instructed by guides fit for them, cobblers, tailors, felt-makers, and such-like trash"[65], Bunyan was quick to retort:

"Was it not the act of the false apostles of old...to bespatter a man that his doctrine might be disregarded. 'Is not this the Carpenter?'... Neither is it high birth, worldly breeding, or wealth; but the electing love, grace and the wisdom that comes from heaven that those who strive for strictness and order in the things and kingdom of Christ, should have in regard and esteem".[66]

"Election" - "strictness and order"; - "the kingdom of Christ":--these were Puritan doctrines pushed to ultimate conclusions. The Grace of Election, the basis for all good works, and especially of godly preaching, was a universal Puritan belief. Latimer had asserted that "the poorest ploughman is in Christ equall with the Gretist prynce that is"[67]; Milton contrasted High Church aristocrats with "homely and yeomanly religion", the "plain and homespun verities of Christ is gospel".[68] Early Baptist tracts went on to a positive assertion that only the poor can find faith.[69]

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63) "The Schismatick Stigmatized" (1640), quoted by Haller: Rise of Puritanism, p. 263: Among the great Baptist leaders, Keach was a tailor, Bunyan a tinker, Kiffin a merchant, Belcher a bricklayer, Barber an upholsterer, Lamb a soapmaker, Henry Oakes a weaver, Thomas Palmer and Humphrey Rogers were bakers, Laurence Williams a nailer and Thomas Hinde a plow-wright. cf. Whitley: Baptists and Dictionary of National Biography under these names, also Tindall: Bunyan, esp. pp. 89ff.

64) Braithwaite: Beginnings, 20-21.

65) Parliamentary History II, 990, q. Jordan: Toleration III, 31.

66) "Differences in Judgment" (1673); Works II, 617-618, q. Tindall: Bunyan, 80.

67) Latimer: Sermons, quoted White: Social Criticism, p. 123.

68) "On Reformation in England", (1641) pp. 9-10, quoted Freund: Toleranz, p. 153.

69) cf. "Persecution for Religion judged and condemned" (1615), cited Freund: Toleranz, p. 153.

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To working congregations, Baptist preaching was emotional, direct, familiar, and based on the forms of the mediaeval homily (with much use of symbolic story material)[70]. Bunyan's followers

"expressed with no little vehemence their satisfaction with (his) familiar manner, his use of similitudes, and the emotional depth of his preaching".[71]

Among such men, the burden of proof was against ministerial training at Universities. Bunyan made it a boast that

"I never went to school, to Aristotle or Plato, but was brought up in my father's house in a mean condition, among a company of poor countrymen...For though I be poor, and of no repute in the world, as to outward things; yet through Grace I have learned by the example of the apostle to preach the truth, and also to work with my hands, both for my own living and for those that are with me".[72]

This contrast of true with "learned Protestants" in the ministry was present in the Baptist tradition from the beginning.[73] But even Milton, when "church-outed by the prelates", asked: "As for ordination, what is it but...an outward sign or symbol of admission? It creates nothing, it confers nothing".[74] Samuel Eaton, the "supermysticall Sectist...come over from New England...preached...that the very names of Parsons and Vicars were Antichristian", in rejecting the established[75]

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70) cf. Tindall: Bunyan, pp. 206-208.

71) Ibid., p. 170.

72) Works I, 495; II, 201, quoted Tindall: op. cit., pp. 85,87.

73) cf. "An Humble Supplication to the King's Majesty" (1620), cited Freund: Toleranz, p. 230.

74) "Animadversions": Prose Works, III, 78, q. Allen: English Political Thought, 330.

75) "The Brownists Conventicle" (1640) p. 3, quoted Burrage: Dissenters, p. 328.

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ministry. There was involved not only a preference for men of workingclass origin and emotional oratory, but a stress upon gifts of the Spirit.[76] Orthodox Puritanism had tied up the Grace of Election not only with human equality but with conscious religious experience. They had in essence insisted upon a "Converted Ministry", and it was this which the radical Puritans sought to maintain in stressing "The Sufficiencie of the Spirits Teaching without Human Learning".[77] Tindall describes with satire how among Baptists the vivid type of Conversion-experience was sought after, cultivated, and held up triumphantly for public acclaim. At any rate, the radical Puritanism of the working groups was a movement of tremendous earnestness and emotional as well as moral warmth.

The fervor of a converted ministry may help to explain the puzzling way in which it was among the "separatist" general Baptists, (rather than among the Particular Baptists) that the minister is called a Messenger or General Superintendent, and"came to be a regular officer, not of one church, but of a group of Churches".[78] It is apparent that these Messengers were in fact sent out as

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76) In 1641,John Taylor parodied Samuel How's message:

"Gainst Scholler and Learning he exclaim'd amain,
Tongues, Science, Logick, Rhetorick, all are vain,
And wisdom much unfitting for a Preacher,
The Spirit is the only Teacher....
For Christ chose not the Rabines of the Jewes,
No Doctors, Scribes, or Pharisees did chuse:
The poore unlearned Fisherman,...
And God still being God (as he was then)
Still gives his Spirit to unlearned men....
The Latine is the language of the Beast".

"A Swarme of Sectaries", p. 158, quoted in Tindall: Bunyan, pp. 72-3.

77) The Title of How's own tract (1639), cited by Haller: Rise of Puritanism. It is striking how the stress upon a Converted Ministry came forward under similar circumstances in the "Campbellite" Church of Christ during the American Frontier Awakening, and in the preaching of Davenport and Freylinghausen in the Great Awakening.

78) Whitley: Baptists, 88, cf. Fenstanton Records.

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evangelists, not only to churches too weak to support a full-time ministry (many ministers continued lay trades in any case), but also to regions where Baptist churches did not yet exist.[79] This Baptist mission applied, in a different area of life, ~~of~~ the Puritan conception of the Church as God's instrument in the world; more significantly, it is the sign of a rapidly spreading evangelistic movement among working-class people. There seems to be remarkably little written material from or on this movement, but Thomas Collier and Vavasour Powell spent several years in itinerant evangelism in Wessex and Wales. If one may judge by the writings of Bunyan at a later period, and by the rapidity of the spread of the movement, it must have been marked by emotional intensity as well as great moral fervour. In Wales the movement included mass meetings and ecstatic outbreaks, of the sort which will be found to have been characteristic of Friends;[80] elsewhere its characteristics probably resembled the quieter program of the "Church of God" in our own day.

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79) The Hexham Church sent Messengers to Cheshire, to Stokesley, Yorks, and to Scotland in 1653; Fenstanton Records.

80) cf. Sect. 2-b.

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Section II-E: The "Spiritual Puritans" and Seekers

The name "spiritual Puritan" is used in this study for the group of English Protestants whose outlook is sometimes called mystical, and who are sometimes linked with the "Spiritual Reformers" on the continent. Although the leading figures in this group have much in common, they were nevertheless a distinct religious fellowship over against others. Their ideas were simply the stressing of one strand in the common tradition of radical Puritanism.

Nuttall has shown the degree to which a stress upon the Holy Spirit was a common inheritance of Puritans of all shades.[1] Since, however, the leading "spiritual Puritans" came closest of any groups to sharing the ideas of early Quakerism, it seems worth describing these men separately before outlining the outlooks they shared. Some of these were essentially individual writers and preachers, others formed like-minded communities.

The oldest and most clearly defined of such groups in England were the Familists. The sect was founded by Henry Niclaes (born 1501), who "undoubtedly looked upon himself as a prophet of at least equal standing with any in the Scriptures, and always assumes that his new sect...is the only true church".[2] Niclaes was accused by his enemies of claiming to be "Christ, which was to come in the end of the world to judge the world".[3] More probably he believed that all men could be "godded" and participate in the life of the spirit-Christ as he did himself;[4] English colonies of the sect sprang up under Queen Elizabeth, and there is some dispute as to their strength;[5] in any case they were found in the areas

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1) Nuttall: Holy Spirit, Chs. I and II.

2) Jones: Mystical Religion, p. 439.

3) Edmond Jessop: A Discovery of the Errors of the English Anabaptists (1623), p. 88, quoted by Burrage: Dissenters, p. 213.

4) Jones: op. cit. pp. 434, 444.

5) cf. Knappen: Tudor Puritanism, p. 372: "In the middle of Elizabeth's reign the movement gained so much strength in the east counties that the council urged the Convocation of 1581 to take action against it; Burrage, on the other hand, feels (Dissenters, p. 212), that until 1600 the Family of Love can have attracted few converts."

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least connected with Quakerism, and no influence of Familists upon the Quakers has been shown[6]. Although Familists maintained many of the Anabaptist customs and beliefs, somewhat as Quakers did[7], in their hierarchical community organization, and especially in their attitude to Niclaes himself, the Familists were alien in ideas to both the spiritual Puritans and the Quakers.

Jakob Boehme, similarly, had points of kinship in his thought with early Quakers[8]. Yet the "Behmenists" in England were never a real sect, and although Boehme's books circulated in England, the translations were mostly unprinted manuscripts until after 1644[9]. It is just possible that Fox had seen one or more of Boehme's books, and somewhat clearer that some of his early followers read them[10].

A far stronger case can be made out for the influence upon early Quakerism of individual "spiritual Puritans" who were preachers within radical Puritan congregations or in Cromwell's army. The encouragement of lay preaching and emotional fervor among Baptists and the more strongly separatist Congregational churches, led many individuals to extremes[11]. But despite their tendencies to extravagance and self-expressionism, certain men had a real depth of experience and exerted a tremendous influence upon English thought. William Dell and John Saltmarsh were chaplains in the New Model Army; so were Walter Cradock and Peter

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6) Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 24; one Familist joined the Quaker movement somewhat later, and in the 1660's Familists acknowledged Friends as similar.

7) Jones: Mystical Religion, p. 445.

8) cf. Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 41.

9) Braithwaite: Beginnings, 40; cf. Giles Randall's preface to his translation of the Theologia Germanica in 1648: "the late wise and wary Hierarchie were then making it their affair to keep truth from the people", so that John Everards translation of 1628 "went up and down the city in Manuscript at deer rates, in clandestine, and private manner...never daring to crowd into the presse, fearing the rough use of those then in authoritie"., quoted Haller: Rise of Puritanism,207.

10) Thomas Taylor of Westmorland spoke admiringly of him, though this was in 1659; Braithwaite: Beginnings 40.

11) "As Puritanism developed it attracted to the pulpit a larger and larger number of imaginative, idealistic, self-centered, histrionic, articulate, Quixotic dreamers and talkers --half-saings, half-poets - fired by a passion for self-expression and equipped with an incomparable apparatus for self-justification". Haller: Rise of Puritanism, 174; cf. Freund: Toleranz, p. 120.

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Sterry and others whose ideas remained closer to conventional Puritanism.[13] These chaplains were mostly Oxford or Cambridge graduates but their religious outlooks combined those of the radical Baptists and those of the continental "spiritual Reformers". John Everard, (who of all the group came perhaps closest to Quakerism in his ideas)[14], translated into English not only the Theologia Germanica[15] but also works by Sebastian Franck and Nicholas Cusanus.

The "spiritual Puritan" who has most interested our own generation was also the least typical: Gerrard Winstanley. Coming from his birthplace in Lancashire to London about the start of the Civil War, he had by 1643 married, failed in his attempt to set up in business, and joined a Baptist congregation. He had already published most of his religious tracts, Before his famous project of "homesteading" upon St. George's Hill (Kingston) and Cobham Manor in April 1649, and the following autumn and spring, which gave the"Diggers" their name. Breaking free from Baptist patterns, he had propounded a conception of heaven and hell, God and the devil, as being all within man. Sabine feels that this outlook borders on Pantheism and rationalism,[16] but it had the emotional warmth and ethical intensity of Enthusiasm. Much modern interest has been aroused in Winstanley's concern for economic justice in his "labor theory of value" and in protest against war and centralized government as the instruments of the greed of the King and the rich.[17] But his religious concerns remained basic.[18] Even the "Digging" and economic preaching were intended as "Signs" against the background of an approaching Apocalypse.[19] Winstanley's last work (The Law of Freedom, 1652)

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12) Nuttall: Holy Spirit 12; cf. Jones: Mystical Religion, Jones: Mysticism and Democracy, Sippel: Werdendes Quäker tum.

13) Nuttall: Holy Spirit. 14) cf. Sippell: Werdendes Quäkertum.

15) Haller: Rise of Puritanism, 209. 16) Introduction to Winstanley:Works.

17) cf. Schenk: Social Justice. 18) Hudson: "Winstanley",pp.5,7,11.

19) cf. Hudson: "Winstanley", 5: "Winstanley had begun his propogandist career as an exponent of a chilastic mysticism and this interest constituted his chief significance in his own day".

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turned from economic and political to ecclesiastical authority as the root of evil;[20] he envisaged a theocratic "holy Commonwealth" in terms sympathetic to Cromwell's ideals and to the basic hopes of the Fifth Monarchists. Like early Friends, Winstanley made explicit the economic and social radicalism latent in the ethical intensity of the Puritans.

It has not been possible to show a direct influence upon Quakerism from Winstanley or any of the "spiritual Puritans". It is possible, as Hudson conjectures, that in the obscure period between 1643 and 1648 Winstanley had wandered preaching into the Midlands. The work of some one of these "spiritual Puritan" preachers may be involved when Fox speaks of the Truth having sprung up in Leicestershire in 1644, in Warwickshire in 1645, and in Nottinghamshire in 1646,[21] before the beginning of Fox's own preaching. Similarly Nuttall has pointed out the connections between early Friends and the "Grindletonians" gathered in Western Yorkshire by Roger Brerely and John Webster.[22] Clear connections with Dell, Saltmarsh, Everard and Winstanley are however missing. The books of these men were later much read by prosperous Quakers.[23] But Rufus Jones has doubted whether any of these men in any degree influenced Fox:

"Saltmarsh, Dell, Winstanley and Fox were all the product of peculiar social and spiritual conditions, and came independently of each other to quite similar views".[24]

Sabine shows that this follows the pattern of the period:

"This characteristic of indefiniteness and lack of personal attachment is typical of English thought in the mid part of the seventeenth century...The pulpit and a popular press of astonishing productivity...rapidly spread both religious and political thought to a multitude of obscure and uneducated men. And as the ideas traveled their individuality was worn off; by 1648 it is practically impossible to tell where any popular writer got his ideas...Winstanley asserted repeatedly that he derived his beliefs from no man and no book. It is obvious that this cannot be literally true, but it is certain that Winstanley was quite sincere in saying it."[25]

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20) cf. Hudson: "Winstanley", 15.

21) Fox: Epistles, 2, q. Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 42.

22) Nuttall: Holy Spirit, pp. 178-180. 23) Tolles: Meeting House, app.

24) Jones: Mystical Religion, 495, cf. p. 494 & Jones' introduction to Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. xxv.

25) Winstanley: Works, pp. 21,22,21.

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The same statement could apply equally to Fox.

This climate of spiritual Puritanism reached surprisingly widely, although it had to compete with both orthodox Presbyterianism and with Bible-centered radical Puritanism. It was prominent in the thought of Oliver Cromwell himself and of many of his officers,[26] and also of other prominent political leaders such as William Walwyn and Sir Henry Vane.[27]

The Seekers were the one religious group which it is entirely clear provided a seedbed for early Quakerism. About 1600, the three brothers Legate formed a sect which withdrew from the existing churches, and also from the sacraments until God should re-establish them in purity by a new apostolate. For somewhat these beliefs Edward Wightman was burned in "bloody" Lichfield in 1611,[28] and the following year Bartholemew Legate was burned as an Arian.[29] When, however, one reads the records of the Swaledale Seekers, who heard Fox,[30] they seem to be a quite isolated separatist congregation. Among these men, the Sacraments were apparently discontinued, but whether under any influence from other Seeker groups, or simply from an independent dissatisfaction with them, is not clear. They had apparently already begun the custom (for which Quakers were later noted) of going to churches to confront the minister.[31] Seeker ways of worship provided a pattern for later

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26) cf. George Arthur Johnson: "From Seeker to Finder: A Study in English Spiritualism before the Quakers", in Church History, Dec. '48 p. 307 on George Hassal, Joseph Salmon, Nicholas Couling, Robert Westfield, John Lewin, etc.

27) cf. Gooch: Democratic Ideas, p.262.

28) cf. Fox: Journal (Everyman Edn.) 40.

29) Jones: Mystical Religion, 454, 30) Braithwaite: Seekers, 5-6.

31) cf. Thomas Camm's Testimony concerning John Audland before his convincement to Quakerism: "many times he would have gone to Chappels or the Parish Steeple-house, where there was some Idle Scottish Priests, and there would have Preached, and abundance of People was taken and affected with him". John Audland and John Camm: The Memory of the Righteous Revived, (London, Andrew Soule, 1689).

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Quakerism:

"A few People were Gathered together from ye publique Worship of ye Nation, & oftentimes sat together in Silence".[32]

"Firstly they seek the mind of God in the Scripture, secondly they judge that prayer and alms are to be attended to, and for this purpose they come together on the First-days as their hearts are drawn forth and opportunity offers". [33]

Yet their characteristic worship sounds often like a simple extension of Puritan "prohpesying" and Baptist worship. The Bristol group, for instance,

"sat down sometimes in silence; and as any found a Concern on their Spirits, and Inclination in their Hearts, they Kneeled down, and sought the Lord; so that sometimes, before the day ended, there might be Twenty of us might pray, Men and Women and sometimes Children spake a few words in Prayer".[34]

There were evidently many such groups;[35] at the same time there is little connection traceable between one Seeker group and another.

Evidently the Seekers were not a sect but "more or less contagious movements or tendencies of thought, which affected groups of people in various parts of England without producing any unifying, cementing organization,"[36] or clear awareness of each other. At this period many individuals were spiritually orphans. 1 Edmond Jessop (who ended as a Baptist) went for long periods

"from one form of religion unto another, wandring up and down amongst the drie hils and mountaines, conceiving comfort, when alas I was far from it".[37]

Many did not join with any group: Isaac Penington wrote in 1650, before he had heard of the Quaker movement:

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32) The First Publishers of Truth, edited by Norman Penney (London, Headley Bros., 1907, 52-3.

33) John Jackson: A Sober Word to a Serious People, p.3. q. Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 461.

34) Christopher Marshall: Sion's Travellers Comforted, (q. Nuttall: Holy Spirit, 68; Braithwaite: Beginnings, 165).

35) e.g. Wigton, Cumberland (First Publishers of Truth, 52); Ross-on-Wye Hereford (Nuttall: Holy Spirit, 68), Kendal Westmorland (ibid); Maltby, Staythes & Liverton, Yorks (First Publishers of Truth 293-6; Nashsworth & Bristol in Gloucestershire.

36) Jones: Mystical Religion, 452.

37) q. Burrage: Dissenters, 266.

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"I can neither receive anything that is new nor return to anything that is old: but everything is darkness, death, emptiness, vanity, a lye...I am weary of all things, of Religion, Reason, Sense, and all the objects that these have to converse about: but yet there is somewhat instead of these that I would fain finde within, and somewhat...I would fain meet with without, which if once my spirit might be satisfied in, I should find some rest".[38]

In this sense, Roger Williams might most appropriately be called a Seeker in the last days of his life; Rufus Jones finds similar outlooks in the ideas of Ann Hutchinson,[39] including a "spiritual Puritan" stress upon "immediate revelation",[40] whereby "the Person of the Holy Spirit dwells in a justified person".[41]

To consider all such Seeker outlooks as a single movement is also misleading in other ways.[42] Many of the Seekers became antinomian Ranters. Another type of Seeker may be represented by certain members excommunicated by the Baptist church of Fenstanton; these men and women had stopped attending worship, and gave as their reasons, that

"I believe the manifestation of the Spirit is a sure rule to walk by, as the scriptures are for you", or that "God dwelleth in me, and I in him. And now I see that to love, to clothe the naked, and to feed the hungry is enough".[43]

Such statements are deceptively like the highest expressions of mystical religion. Yet any pastor has met such phrases as recurring rationalizations on the part of men who really are not interested in religion, - whose

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38) A Voyce out of the thick Darkness, pp. 19,20; (q. Schenk: Social Justice, p. 91.

39) Jones, Rufus M: The Quakers in the American Colonies, London, MacMillan, 1923, p.23.

40) Ibid., 18.

41) Winthrop: History of New England (1853 edn.) i, 239, (q. Jones: Quakers in American Colonies, 10). Ann Hutchinson's rejection of Sanctification is in sharp contrast to Seeker and Quaker outlooks.

42) cf. Bunyan: Grace Abounding, on a Ranter who would "pretend that he had gone through all religions, and could never hit upon the right till now..and would also...condemn me as legal and dark, pretending that they only had attained to perfection that could do what they would and not sin", pp. 21-2; cf. also section 4-c .

43) Fenstanton Records, pp. 43,47.

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"communing with God in spirit" is nowadays practised over a golf ball or the Sunday paper, as in the 17th century it was done over shuffle-board or bowls. The relevance of the Seeker groups for Quakerism was not so much any uniqueness of the ideas and organization which they spread, as the hunger with which they sought:[44]

> "I heard say", wrote Humphrey Norton, "that light was broken forth,.. what this light was I knew not...Then called I to question all that I ever had read or heard, to the last tittle of my old belief....My desire to live justly and to enjoy God, set me to inquire after this new Light,...I heard that it did convince of sin, and being believed in, obeyed and followed, led out of all manner of uncleanness. Then said I in my heart, if so it should not want following".

The relationship of Quakers to Seekers was negative as well as positive; what the significance for individuals of their change from Seeker to Quaker was, must be examined in a later chapter.[45] Meanwhile, it is clear that both in organization and in ideas important elements were contributed to early Quakerism by "spiritual Puritanism"; in general these ideas one may suppose came to both Quakers and small Seeker groups directly or indirectly from the outstanding preachers.

We must not assume that where many were Seekers, only the Quakers were Finders.[46] Other groups, not least the Baptist churches, also found a vital religious experience, and most notably the great "spiritual" preachers themselves did so. In an interesting way such a "Finding" was a part of the very message of "spiritual Puritanism", which must accordingly be studied more carefully for its relevance for Quakerism. These ideas explain the relationship of the Friends to both the Seekers and the "spiritual Puritan"

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44) cf. First Publishers of Truth, 302; Engign lifted, etc. pp.2-3, (q. Jones: Quakers in American Colonies, 52).

45) cf. Sections II-g, III-A.

46) cf. Johnson: "Seeker to Finder", Church History (Dec.1948) who lists among Seekers not only Samuel Gorton and John Webster, but Dell, Saltmarsh, Thomas Collier (the Particular Baptist) and others.

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preachers, and why the Quakers nevertheless insisted that they were a new movement.

Emphasis upon the Spirit, as might be expected, plays the largest part in the writings of the "spiritual Puritans". In the more dramatic writers such as Winstanley, the conception of the Spirit seems at first glance to transform all of theology into symbols for the immanent Spirit:

"Whither went the Spirit of Christ. Ans. to his Father; that is, entred into the spirit of the whole creation....As a bucket of water first taken out of the Sea, and standing alone for a time, is afterwards poured into the Sea again, and becomes one with the Sea....What is the devill? Ans. the flesh of man within, and the objects of the Creation without; under which the spirit within is for a time buried and lies silent,....because when it is King it leads the spirit of man into darknesse...for it drawes men to live upon the creation and to reject the spirit." The first Adam is the universal spirit of human Flesh, "that mighty power of flesh that leades flesh to live upon itself and not to live upon its maker....He hath filled the earth with himself....every man and woman in the world, that lives upon the objects of the creation, and not upon the spirit of the creation...are but branches of the first man....What is the Gospel? Ans. It is the Father himselfe, that is, the Word and glad tydings, that speaks peace inwardly to poore soules". [47]

From such an outlook it is not surprising that Winstanley feels that the trinity is simply a threefold name for the Spirit, "and this is Jesus Christ the second man", [48] although few of the "spiritual Puritans" would have gone so far in this respect. There are moments when all of these writers seem to imply a mystical pantheism. [49] Yet a real Pantheism destroys the ethical tension in Christianity, and implies that "God used events as symbols, not as second causes", [50] whereby "all visibles referre unto the invisible God" [51] because they have no independent significance. For the "spiritual Puritan",

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47) Winstanley: Works, ("Truth Lifting up its Head")pp.117,135,118,122.

48) Dell: Works. 49) cf. Everard, as quoted in Haller: Rise of Puritanism

50) Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth," 209.

51) Samuel Gorton: letter to John Winthrop,(quoted Hertz:"Bible Commonwealth", 211.)

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physical events were both symbols of the Spirit, and instruments, at least in an apocalyptic way, of God in history; "the second man has come on earth only as a servant, but now is coming to rule"[52]. Moreover despite the element of asceticism in Winstanley's thought, it is not the physical which is evil; the Spirit is a power for righteous life in the physical world:

> "What is Prayer? Ans...First, it is to pay the king of righteousness his due; and that is for every man...to do righteously to all fellow creatures, to do righteously to his own body...for the preservation of the health of it...to act righteousnesse to all fellow creatures...according to reason".[53]

This is still more clear in the less unorthodox writings of William Dell[54]. The Spirit enables both minister and layman to withstand the devil, temptation and persecution, it is a Spirit of Power, and a Spirit of Righteousness, as well as a Spirit of Knowledge, Wisdom and Truth.[55]

In the same way, the conception of the Spirit among "spiritual Puritans" is not to be identified with the idea of universal reason of Cambridge Platonism.[56] At times Winstanley evidently equates knowledge with the good and imagination with evil, but "reason" for him seems to mean sometimes the righteous conscience, and at other times the (to him) obvious or commonsensical as against the metaphysical.[57] The emphasis of "spiritual Puritans"

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52) Winstanley: Works, 121.

53) Ibid. 136-9; Winstanley continues: "Secondly prayer lies in the reasonings of the heart", i.e. self-examination of conduct; "Thirdly, prayer lies in word or utterance, but this is the remotest part of prayer".

54) Dell: Works, p.479.

55) ibid., pp. 40,23, etc. This inseparability of the Spirit from ethical conflict underlies Winstanley's interesting (and far from ascetical) conception of physical evil as derived from human wickedness:- "this first man flesh...his unrighteous breath corrupts the aire, and raises hurtfull winds and weather, and his unrighteous flesh corrupts the earth, and causes it to send forth hurtfull crops and poysonous Vipers". (Winstanley: Works, 119). cf. here Paul in Romans 8, and perhaps Genesis 3; it is an idea with clear Biblical roots.

56) for John Hales "'the Spirit...is nothing but reason illuminated by revelation out of the written world". (Works: I,69, q. Schenk: Social Justice, 83); whether Schenk is right in equating Hales with Cambridge Platonism may be a matter of degree, as the conception of reason in More, Cudworth, etc. seems to have been more mystical.

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on the immanence of the Spirit prepared the way for the development of rationalism after 1689. Yet in Commonwealth times it was clearly felt that the Spirit, though in man, was not of man. The Spirit, in fact is identified with the "direct inward and present religious experience"[58], and does not represent any basic difference of outlook separating "spiritual" from other radical Puritans. The early Puritan Separatists had insisted that prayer and preaching should be "in the Spirit", and for this as well as emotional reasons opposed "set Prayers":

"In the primitive churches the ministers were not so tyed to any forms of prayers invented by man, but as the spirit moved them, so they poured forth harty supplications to the Lord".[59]

There are many parallels, in radical Puritan experience, to Quaker "leadings" and "openings", in which the Spirit was felt to command or guide actions[60], Winstanley, Saltmarsh and Ann Hutchinson being notable cases.

It should also be pointed out that for the "spiritual Puritans" the Spirit was not only the source of "a spiritual perception analagous to the physical perception of the senses"[61], but a source of emotional warmth.

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57) e.g. regarding the Bible, he says: "let the Record be searched without drawing inferences from it....Let all men cease spending constructions upon the scriptures". Winstanley: Works, 144.

58) Beach: "Conscience", p. 87.

59) Perry: "Answer to 15 Slanderous Articles", quoted Burrage: Dissenters, II, 77; cf. also on all this discussion, Nuttall: (Holy Spirit,, Chapter IV, etc); Thomas Goodwin and Peter Sterry distinguished between the Spirit and both reason and conscience. (ibid., p. 38).

60) cf. on Ann Hutchinson: Jones: Quakers in American Colonies, pp. 16, 18; on Saltmarsh, cf. Sippell: Werdendes Quäkertum pp. 89-90 and Nuttall: Holy Spirit, p. 56. In Winstanley's case, not only the first command to "Work together, eat bread together, declare this all abroad" (which began the Digger experiment), but much of the material in his tracts came to him in this way (cf. Stephen: Quaker Strongholds, pp. 101,98.

61) Nuttall: Holy Spirit, p. 38.

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Winstanley, when asked "How doe you know that this is the Gospell?" answers:"I know it by the testimony that is within my selfe, and by the sweet peaceable and soule-satisfying rest, that I have through communion with the Spirit".[62] The spread of "spiritual Puritanism" seems to have been by group meetings on a wide scale, especially among the unchurched, in ways not very different from the spread of the General Baptists:

> "Where Christ sends the ministration of the Spirit", writes Dell, "there many young people are brought to Christ, as being most free from the forms of the former age, and from the doctrines and traditions of men... whereas, many old professors, who are wholly in the form, prove the greatest enemies of the power of godliness....Now this great and sudden increase of the faithful is that which doth so exceedingly trouble the world".[63]

This emotional intensity grew out of the Puritan insistence that the Spirit is a spirit of adoption, "by which we are inclined, by holy love to God and confidence in Him, 'to cry, Abba, Father', and to fly unto him...giving us that love to God which is the filial nature and our Father's image".[64]

The way in which such ideas of the Spirit were worked out in connection with Baptism and the sacraments, the Bible and the education of the ministry, were so similar to the Quaker ideas on these matters, that they will be taken up in connection with them.[65] It is worth noting, here, however, the way in which the "spiritual Puritan" conception of the Church grew out of the Puritan tradition. One would expect the True Church, for "spiritual Puritans", to be the Invisible Church, needing no outward bond of unity, and

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62) Winstanley: Works, 122.

63) Winstanley: Works, 75: "The Building, Beauty, etc., of the Spiritual Church". The phrase-antithesis of "form" and "power" of godliness will also be found to be characteristic and significant in Quakerism.

64) Richard Baxter: in J. Howe: Works, I, 11, q. Nuttall: Holy Spirit, 57, cf. pp. 58-9.

65) cf. Chapter IV.

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known fully only to God. Sometimes indeed this aspect is brought forward. But at other times a picture of the Church emerges not essentially different from radical Puritanism of other kinds:

"That we may obtain the Spirit we must first prepare ourselves to receive the Spirit....But only by the Spirit we prepare ourselves to receive the Spirit....He empties; and...he fills us with himself...." The means used by the Spirit to fill us are "1. the hearing the word preached... 2. Faith in the word heard....by faith we lay hold on Christ the word; and through our union with Christ we obtain the Spirit....3....to be much in prayer".[67]

The repeated insistence that the Spirit is necessary for true Ministry stems from the insistence upon a "called" ministry found in the most conservative Puritans,[68] and was interpreted in much the same way: without the spirit,

"ministers are unable to preach the word powerfully....It is cold, there is no heat in it...there is no fire in their preaching...It warms the hearts of none, it inflames the spirit of none, but leaves men still frozen in their sins".[69]

Moreover, the stress upon a "called" ministry meant for "spiritual Puritans", even more than for their Baptist contemporaries, freedom for any man to preach:

"Christ dwells in the hearts of believers...and if Christ...dwells in them, he will not keep silence....Everyone that is of God speaks God's word, and he that speaks it not is not of God".[70]

Like other radical Puritans the "spiritual" preachers emphasized the spirit of Separatism:

"Now the parish clergy by robbing the faithful of this power, and arrogating it to themselves, have...usurped to themselves superiority and authority over other believers, and have subjected the world to their opinion and judgment....to you who are true Christians, and have received an anointing from God, this is the word and charge of God, come out from among them,...have nothing to do with such prophets and ministers....It is better for you believers to assemble together among yourselves...and though you be but few, yet are you the church of the living God....What a ministry these poor nations have received from anti-Christ's ordination, when the chief doctors, the only Scribes and Pharisees among the Clergy do not know the first principles of the Gospel in any Spiritual Light....All the Clergy must be quite taken away ere the church of Christ can have any true Reformation".[71]

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66) cf. Dell: Works, 347, the ideas of Roger Williams, Saltmarsh and Ann Hutchinson.

67) Winstanley: Works, 49-53.

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Their separatism is not the mystic's withdrawal from distraction, but a moral separation which is based upon the inward moral power of the Spirit:

"As the power of the Spirit subdues the whole body of sin, so also it overpowers each particular strong corruption".[72]

There is no stress here on Perfectionism as in the early Quaker ideas of the spirit, nor upon the Antinomianism which went with the Perfectionism among the Ranters. The inward and Spiritual element in this intense morality is rather expressed in terms of the contrast of "Form" and "Power":

"the form of Godliness, when men are godly without God, and anointed without Christ....a semblance of Grace, retaining their old natures", men "whose inward nature is earthly, carnal, devilish...who love an outward form of religion and godliness whilst they are bitter enemies to the power of it".[73]

The division between Spirit and form is not always obvious: usually, however,[74] the distinction is in fairly straightforward terms of motivation:

"whoever, therefore, do profess or pretend to religion and godliness, and nevertheless live in the spirit of this world, and are swallowed up with the cares and comforts of this world, all such Christians are a fit prey for antichrist".[75]

The "spiritual Puritans", in attacking not only pretended virtue but even good actions apart from the Spirit, attacked cold-hearted-ness, and the scorning of conversion experiences.[76]

Since moral change must be in Power and not only in Form, the Reformation of the Church, like that of the individual, must be inward:[77]

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68) cf. William Perkins, cit. Haller: Rise of Puritanism, 93.

69) Winstanley: Works, 30; cf. pp. 28, 438, etc.

70) ibid. 332. 71) Dell: Works, 426, 457-8, 321.

72) Winstanley: Works, 44 73) ibid. 481, cf. p. 6, 15, 431, etc.

74) cf. ibid. 429-30: "false prophets are not so easily discerned as you think; for they seem to be true prophets, and godly, holy, learned, orthodox men, men of eminence and renown in church and state....having some gifts and enlightenings of the spirit and seeming more than ordinarily godly, religious, wise, holy, sober".

75) ibid. 479: cf. p. 474. 76) ibid. 474, 77.

77) ibid., 110.

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"Whenever the Gospel is preached in the Spirit and power of it, that is the true reformation," which is "the mortifying, destroying, and utter abolishing out of the faithful and elect, all that sin, corruption, lust, evil, that did flow in upon them through the Fall of Adam".[78]

Such reformation cannot be achieved by the State, nor by law,[79] nor by uniformity: "Now uniformity, what is it, but an 'unity of form'? and the form they mean...is the outward".[80] It will be noted how little stress there is upon reforming worship (and in fact despite attacks upon liturgy in the Puritan tradition, great variety was encouraged in "spiritual" worship;[81] the great division between the reformed and unreformed church is moral, in keeping with their conception of the Spirit.

In the writings of the "spiritual Puritans", therefore, ethical with metaphysical categories blend:

"labour to distinguish between these gifts that are connatural to thee, and flow from thy own spirit, and those gifts that are supernatural, and flow from God's spirit. In all the operations of thine own spirit, in all the natural abilities, parts, wisdom, learning, actings, there is nothing but ungodliness, deformity, darkness, death".[82]

This is a "spiritual" version of Calvinistic doctrines of depravity. There is a tension between the saints and the World, as in Calvinism between the Elect and the Reprobate.[83] "The World" is not physical and material, as in ascetic mysticism, but "by the world here is meant such people, who though they have an outward Christianity and religion, yet inwardly remain in their natural condition and corruption, without any true renewing through faith and the spirit... and love themselves and this world better than Jesus Christ".[84]

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78) Winstanley: Works, 112-113.

79) cf. Winstanley: Works, 138: "Would you have no law? Ans. Now laws in God's Kingdom but God's laws, and they are these three: the law of a new nature, the law of the spirit of life that is in Christ, and the law of love...But would you have no government? Ans: yes, but the government of Christ...where every member is placed by Christ and none by itself.... spiritual order and not a carnal".

80) ibid., 59; cf. ibid., 350. 81) ibid., 59 ff. 82) ibid., 87.

83) for further discussion of this term, in connection with Quaker use of it, cf. Section VI-A.

84) Winstanley: Works, 334, 343, 344, 34.

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Not only does the Spirit divide men absolutely, but the relationship of the Spirit and "the World" is one of enmity:

"All the world is offended at Christ, not only the common man, but the 'chief and choice men of the world',...and also the worldly and carnal church..."because the Word of God "discovers the wickedness of the world...because everywhere so few entertain it and embrace it....The World, of all things, cannot endure the reproof of sin, and the declaration of its evil ways".[85]

The world rejects not only the Spirit, but the "spiritual Puritan" preacher:

"As the world cannot endure God in himself, so neither can it endure God in the saints....He that knoweth God heareth us; he that is not of God, heareth not us...."[86]

The role of the Spirit, and of the spiritual man, is to judge the World, not to withdraw passively as from a distraction:

"Without this power of the holy Spirit, ministers are not able to reprove the world. For every man, by nature, seeks the amity of the world, and no man, by his good will, would provoke the enmity of the world against him."[87]

The power of the World warned Dell, will make the way of the Saints one of suffering.[88] There is a frequent stress upon the weakness and lowliness, as well as the smallness in numbers, of God's saints. Christ himself was rejected, not only "because in him was no human or worldly thing, which any natural or carnal man could possibly like of", but also because of "the meanness of his outward condition,"[89] and

"Christ's Kingdom...entertains not the rich, and full, and noble, and honourable of the world, and such as abound already,...but only the poor, and needy, and afflicted, and desolate".[90]

Like the General Baptist "Messengers", William Dell, despite his college education, found himself "much rather imbracing christian communion with poor plain husbandmen and tradesmen, then with the heads of universities, and highest, and stateliest of the clergy, who under a specious form of godliness, do yet live in true enmity and opposition to the gospel."[91]

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85) Winstanley: Works, 334,343, 344, 34.

86) ibid., 76,481, cf 484-5. 87) ibid., 33; cf. pp. 435,436.

88) "none but you will be contented to live only by faith, and to follow Christ in untrodden paths, and to undertake impossible works to flesh and blood; none but you all will be willing to have the residue of Christ's life and works and of his sufferings and death, fulfilled in your mortal bodies". ibid. 414.

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The "spiritual Puritan" preachers, therefore, often rejected the use of coercion against evil, because evil is to be fought inwardly above all, and also because the Saint must expect external suffering, and welcome it as a means of overcoming "the World":

"No man knows the grievousness and efficacy of tribulation, and the weakness and frailty of human nature, but they who had experience of both".[92]

This conception of "the Suffering Church", however, even more than the orthodox Puritan concept of life-pilgrimage from which it stemmed, must be seen in the context of a basic optimism of "spiritual Puritans", and an expectation of overcoming the world both inwardly and outwardly:[93]

"All they that are of God through a new birth, and are the true children of that heavenly Father, and do partake of his divine nature, and all his divine things, they cannot be overcome of anti-christ and his prophets, but they do mightily overcome them all, through that immortal seed of the true and living word of God, in which they are born, and in which they live and act".[94]

This represents a faith and confidence in the power of God and His Spirit; it led also, however, to concrete action in the national scene; this action, although in an apocalyptic setting, involved efforts to achieve social justice as well as to condemn the worldly:

"That which I have to request of you", said Dell to Parliament, "for this Kingdom, is, that you would regard the oppression of the poor, and the sighing of the needy; never was there mor injustice and oppression in the Nation than now".[95]

This concern never was presented as frequently or specifically by the "spiritual Puritans" (except Winstanley) as it was by Friends, but Quakerism made no radical break at this point. It is clear that the active expression of "the power" of the Spirit in both individual and social life justifies Kühn and Johnson[96] in setting up a "spiritualistic" ethos or outlook distinct from the mystical. This outlook the early Quakers shared.

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89) Winstanley: Works, 338,336. 90) ibid., 329, cf. 525.

91) ibid., 416. 92) ibid., 325.

93) Hudson: "Economic & Social Thought of Gerrard Winstanley," 6-7. Winstanley's social optimism...rested ultimately upon an expectation that human nature would be completely transformed".

94) Winstanley: Works, 466-7. 95) ibid.,139.

96) Johannes Kühn: Toleranz und Offenbarung, Leipzig, f. Meiner, 1923.

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Section II-F: The Regional Background of Quakerism in the North of England

The relation of early Quakerism to its background in the thought of radical and "spiritual" Puritanism can only be understood in light of a careful study of regional outlooks and relationships. Quakerism arose in the first instance as a North-country movement, although this has been somewhat obscured by the fact that Fox himself came from Leicestershire, and within ten years his movement had spread across England and the world. But it was in Westmorland, Furness, and the western Dales of Yorkshire in the summer of 1652 that Quakerism took distinctive shape as an independent movement; (how this came about will be studied in detail later)[1]; from there the movement spread southward. Of the "Valiant Sixty" (really 66) who became the first active preachers of Quakerism, 59 were men and women from the North-West. Out of a sampling of 198 Quaker leaders covering the first generation,[2] 90 came from the territory north of the Don, which contained, even in 1688, only one-seventh of the population of England.[3] After the Quaker movement had spread southward in 1654 and 1655, the northern counties still contributed the majority of the funds for support of the travelling preachers and their publications.[4] Friends were outspokenly proud of their northern origin. Edward Burrough, writing at this time from the south, exclaimed:

"O thou North of England, who are counted as desolate and barren, & reckoned the least of the nations, yet out of thee did the branch spring and the star arise which gives light unto all the regions round about....out of thee kings, princes and prophets did come forth in the name and power of the most high".[5]

It is therefore important to understand the regional background of the North.

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1) v. infra, Section II-H. 2. cf. Appendix I for details.

3) cf. W.E. Blomfield & others: The Baptists of Yorkshire, (Bradford, Wm. Byles & Sons, ltd. 1912) p.58; this area represents the Archdiocese of York, and includes several areas not strongly influenced by Friends.

4) cf. Fox: Cambridge Journal, I, 267: "ye north att first boare ye charges of all ye printinge for severall yeeres but when ye Lords (truth) spreade over ye nation & people came to bee turned to Christ then they was eased."

5) Edward Burrough: Works, (London, E. Hookes, 1672) p.66.

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Until General Wade and the railroads, the North was isolated from the rest of England. The roads were mud-tracks, worse than ever after the dissolution of the monasteries (it was only in the reign of Mary Tudor that national legislation made the upkeep of roads a parish responsibility). Lord Howard of Naworth entered into his account book: "March 22, 1626: Hewing the way for the coach beyond Gelt Bridge: 2s. 3d."[6] With isolation went regional pride and loyalty and also provincialism of outlook, as the Pilgrimage of Grace showed.[7]

The North was also Border country, famous for its raids and exploits; these immortalized the Percy and the Douglas, but usually resulted in the burning of cottages and the rounding up of the farmers' cattle. After Flodden, Lord Dacre wrote proudly home from across the Scots border:

"I have and has caused to be burnt and distroyed sex tymes moo townys and howsys within the West and Middill Marches of Scotland in the same season then is done to us".[8]

The Scottish "Kinmount Willie"[9] was at least as destructive against the English. To the southerner, Northumberland was "chiefly noted for swift horses and sea coals, a rough country and hardly tilled, inhabited by a fierce people",[10] and "Lancashire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, and such other like barbarous countries" were little different.[11]

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6) Daniel Scott: Bygone Cumberland and Westmorland, (London,1899); There were no public carriages until 1649: Ernest E. Taylor: The Valiant Sixty, (London, The Bannisdale Press, 1947).

7) cf. Madeleine & Hope Dodds: The Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536-7 & the Exeter Conspiracy, 1538, (Cambridge University Press, 1915) p. 159.

8) Victoria Country History of the County of Cumberland, edited by James Wilson, (London, James Street, 1905), q. p. 268.

9) Willie Armstrong of Kinmount, a border baron kidnapped to Carlisle Castle by the English in 1575 and rescued by the Scots; cf. Richard S. Ferguson: History of Cumberland, (London: Elliot Stock: 1893)p. 253.

10) Harleian MSS 3812, q. M. St. Clare Byrne: Elizabethan Life in Town and Country, (London, Methuen, 1925), 93.

11) Knappen: Tudor Puritanism,pp. 29, 258.

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Defence of the Border, and forays across it, were led by the local nobility; the King's direct appointees, even the Captain of Carlisle, were the butt of border ballads.[12] In the north, therefore, the feudal household remained after it had passed elsewhere;[13] agricultural tenants were valued as the basis of military security. In the sixteenth century, the tenant-holdings remained more equal in size than elsewhere in the country,[14] and a higher percentage of the northern tenants held their land by Copyhold.[15] These conditions, however, led to agricultural conservatism, and also to a lack of political awareness.[16]

It is noteworthy, moreover, that the largest feudal households,[17] with their libraries and domestic clerics,[18] and well-kept manor farms were mostly in central Yorkshire and Durham, or on a smaller scale in the border "Keeps" of Northumberland and north-east Cumberland. The rest of Cumberland, however, and Westmorland and the Yorkshire Dales, were mostly estates and sheep-farms of the absentee Cliffords and Nevills (who lived in Yorkshire), or of the great abbeys until their dissolution. The absence of the personal bond of tenant to nobleman which endured in Northumberland down through the Civil War,[19]

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12) Ferguson: Cumberland, passim.

13) The custom of the Manor was still used in deciding inheritance rights into the 19th century; grain tolls taken by the Manor at Cockermouth to 1830, etc., Scott: Cumberland, 80-84.

14) Tawney: Agrarian Problem.

15) 91% in the north, as against 61% for the country as a whole; cf. Tawney: Agrarian Problem.

16) A freeholder in the south, who voted for Parliament and sat on juries would take more concern than equally rich copyholders "who had no right to know at night what they should do on the morrow". Bracton, q. Tawney: Agrarian Problem, p. 122.

17) The Duke of Northumberland (the Percy) kept about 165 retainers in his household; Lord Howard of Naworth had 65 in 1640; cf. Paul Van Brunt Jones: The Household of a Tudor Nobleman (Cedar Rapids, Ia; the Torch Press, 1918).

18) There were 6 priests in the Percy household; but the lesser gentry could often not read and write; cf. Dodds: Pilgrimage of Grace, p. 184.

19) Tawney: Agrarian Problem, 350 cf. p. 322.

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made the tenants of Westmorland and the Dales individualists before their time.

The Border was partly pacified by Henry VII, who married his daughter to James Stuart of Scotland, and more completely so by treaties after the battle of Pinkie in the mid-sixteenth century.[20] However the tenants suffered as well as gained by peace:

"The tenants of Cumberland and Westmorland during the long period of border warfare had held their lands on condition of rendering military service....The necessity of this obligation ceased with the Union of 1603" - and it had been declining since Flodden - "The baronial owners assumed that the rights of the tenants were also terminated and that the lands had reverted to themselves. It was a distressing period for the corn age tenants"[21]

Feudal tenure was not legally ended until 1662, but throughout the 16th and 17th centuries landlords whenever possible turned copyholds into short-term leases. They were under the pressure of the inflating currency, and where copyhold tenure continued landlords in effect doubled the rent by "fines" and "gressums".[22] Landlords were under constant temptation to turn their lands from farming to the more profitable sheep-rearing by enclosing common land and even arable;[23] the Cliffords were particularly notorious as enclosers.[24]

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20) There was a final Scots raid in 1603, and, of course, damage done by the Scots armies in the Civil War, but in this period the North does not seem to have suffered more severely than the rest of the country.

21) Victoria History of Cumberland, 285; (cf. Tawney: Agrarian Problem, p.188).

22) The fine or ingressum paid by the heir upon taking over his father's copyhold was not, like the feudal dues or rent, fixed by the custom of the manor. There was an increasing tendency to commute feudal obligations into cash payments, although coin was so short in the north that some estates had to return to payment in kind. Tawney: Agrarian Problem; the small tenant in the north, who was somewhat protected against competition by the lack of transport, also failed to benefit proportionately by the rise in prices.

23) cf. Tawney: Agrarian Problem, p.323.

24) Yorkshire was one of four counties with the greatest enclosures. ibid. p.188; while the actual percentage of the land enclosed was small, it seems to have been in crucial enough places to lead to the dispossession of 30-50,000 people in the 16th century. ibid; still others would be turned out, as tenant-farms were consolidated and demesnes became "home-farms" (cf. ibid.)

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The enclosures led to constant protests, agrarian petitions and revolts.[25] Leaders in the national government, particularly Bishop Latimer and the Duke of Somerset under Edward VI, saw the danger of enclosures, and tried to enforce laws to prevent it. The local gentry usually combined to make this ineffective, and in any case reforming efforts rarely reached as far as Cumberland and Westmorland.[26]

Detailed information on life and conditions in Westmorland and Cumberland under the Tudors and early Stuarts seems unusually hard to find. General statements are rather damning: "At the time of the Reformation, the Border was probably the most ignorant and barbarous district in England";[27]

"the whole of the Northwest of England was in a backward state. Cumberland was the poorest county in the country, Durham, Westmorland, Lancashire and Yorkshire coming next in this order".[28]

But rural areas produce little self-conscious literature or local history.[29] The only clear glimpse we have is in connection with the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536-7.

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25) "The years between 1500 and 1650 are the last great age of the peasant uprisings....and hardly a generation in that stormy period elapsed without one", (Tawney: Agrarian Problem, 318;) the first levellers got their name from pulling down the palings and hedges of enclosures.

26) Archbishop Grindal intervened in at least one case, because enclosures were seizing land needed for "draught-oxen and milch-kin" of poor tenants, but it is not clear that he was successful. (Strype: Life of Grindal Oxford, 1821). This may be the petition to Cecil given in Victoria History of Cumberland, p.70 (from Lands MS, VI, 81): "I have offte thoughte to make a generall sute to you for regard for that litle Angle wher I was borne, called Cowplande, parcell of Cumberlande, the ignoranteste part in religion and most oppressed off covetouse landlordes off anie one parte off this realme....I...only praye you...nott to leave the poor tenantes suiecte to expilation off these countrey gentlement".

27) Scott: Cumberland, 131.

28) Taylor: Valiant Sixty, 46; when Charles I demanded his Forced Loan in 1625, Cumberland, claiming to be too poor to pay, sent a token gift of L 320.

29) Cumberland and Westmorland were not entirely agricultural: Whitehaven had a fishing fleet and tanneries; there were small salt works, lead, iron and black lead mines at Keswick and in Cumberland, and trading centers developed at Carlisle, Appleby and Kendal; but the area was overwhelmingly rural, and in the background of Quakerism, agricultural conditions are those of real significance. On all this, cf. Victoria History of Cumberland, Ferguson: Westmorland, etc.

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The Pilgrimage of Grace was a rebellion of the entire North[30] against Henry VIII and his ministers.[31] It took, however, different forms in different areas.[32] Religion was the nominal bond of unity of the rebels, and the spark which ignited the revolt was the dissolution of the lesser monasteries.[33] The secular clergy took a more active part than the monks, however, and in the Dales the abbots of the great abbeys remained aloof or hostile to the revolt.[34] In central Yorkshire, Durham, and more reluctantly in Lincolnshire, the nobles and gentry (except for the great Earls) rose along with their tenants, though for somewhat different purposes.[35] What is interesting for the background of Quakerism is that in the north-west the movement was a revolt solely of the Commons. The previous year had seen agrarian riots in the Yorkshire Dales: Craven, Dent, Sedbergh, Wensleydale.[36] When word was received of the rising in 1536 at Lincoln and York, the tenants of Richmond, Swaledale, southern Durham, Kendal, north Westmorland and western Cumberland, rose without leadership from gentry or clergy:[37]

"up to this point the rising had shown all the features of an agricultural riot....The Commons wandered about the country in aimless bands",

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30) Tawney: Agrarian Problem, 318.

31) In complexity as well as size, the Pilgrimage of Grace was a greater conflict than any single campaign of the Civil War; Aske, the leader, a common lawyer from the Inns of Court, had 40,000 men at Doncaster alone (The combined Scottish and Parliamentary forces at Marston Moor were only 20,000 and the Royalist army much smaller.) Cf. Trevelyan: Stuarts.

32) "the parishioners of Kendal declared that the priest must bid the beads in the old way, praying for the Pope and the Cardinals" Dodds: Pilgrimage of Grace II,30.

33) cf. Dodds: Pilgrimage of Grace I, 58, 156.

34) The Abbot of Jervaux was nearly lynched for forbidding his tenants to rise; most of the abbots managed afterwards to make good bargains with the king in exchange for surrender of their abbey lands and property, e.g. the abbot of Furness Abbey near Swarthmoor Hall.

35) The gentry wished Parliament to meet at intervals at York; the younger Percys were jealous of the power of Thomas Cromwell's appointed agents; religion and regional loyalty were also involved. But the tenants, who were rising because of agrarian grievances were always eyed with some suspicion, and the five great Earls of Northumberland (Percy), Cumberland (Clifford), Westmorland (Nevill), Derby and Dacre all remained loyal to the King. (On all this, cf. Dodds: Pilgrimage of Grace, an excellent and thorough study.)

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barns were pulled down, and enclosures broken through.[38] "The commons showed no particular zeal for the churches and treated the clergy with little respect";[39] they asked for the removal of Tithes along with Enclosures:

"1. (For removal of non-resident priests): yet we may putt in yair roumes to serve God, oder yet would be glad to keep hospytallyte.
2. All ye tythes to remayn to every man his own doyng. (i.e. voluntary)....
4. All ye intakes yet noyscm for power (poor) men to be layd downe. ...That the lands in Westmorland, Cumberland, Kendall, Dent, Sedberg, Furness and the abbey lands in Mashamshire, Kyrkbyshire, Netherdale, may be by tenant right, and the lord to have, at every change, 2 years rent for the gressum.... This to be done by Act of Parliament....and all enclosures and Intacks since the fourth year of Henry VII to be pulled down, except mountains, forests & Parks".[40]

The agrarian basis of this rising was entirely self-conscious.[41] When Robert Aske and the Yorkshire gentry signed a truce with the King's representatives in the name of the entire Pilgrimage of Grace, the men of the Dales abandoned only with great reluctance their sieges of Sawley Abbey, Skipton Castle and Carlisle.[42] They remained restive and rose in a pathetic uprising the following year, stirred up by Thomas Clifford's plundering moss-troopers.[43] The Duke of Norfolk, who hanged 72 of these poor farmers beside the walls of Carlisle, felt mainly pity for them:

"the spoiling of them now, and the gressing of them so marvelously sore in times past and with the increasing of the Lords' rent...which as I and all other here think was the only cause of the rebellion".[44]

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36) Dodds: Pilgrimage of Grace I, 207.

37) only two minor secular priests joined the movement; the leaders took the collective name of "Captain poverty".

38) Dodds: Pilgrimage of Grace I, 208; II, 105: cf. Victoria History of Cumberland, 272.

39) Dodds: Pilgrimage of Grace I, 225.

40) L & P Henry VIII, XI,1080 & 1246; quoted by Dodds: Pilgrimage of Grace I,370-371 and Tawney: Agrarian Problem, 334 respectively. cf. Dodds: Pilgrimage of Grace I, 217.

41) "All commons stick ye together, rise with no great man till ye know his intent, Keep your harness in your hands, and ye shall obtain all your purpose in all this North land..."Gairdner: L & P Henry VIII, Vol. XII, Part I, p. 163, q. Tawney: Agrarian Problem, 324.

42) cf. Victoria History of Cumberland. The Victoria County History of the County of Lancaster, edited by William Farrer, and J. Broomhall, (2 Vols. London, Archibald Constable, 1908).

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The significance for Quaker Backgrounds of the Pilgrimage of Grace lies, in the lack of other insights into popular thought in this period, in what it shows of attitudes to the gentry and to the Church and to tithes. More specifically, the areas where the commons rose without religious or upper-class leadership are precisely the areas where Quakers established their early footholds: Richmond, Sedbergh, Wensleydale, the Pendle-Hill-area in Lancashire, Kendal and Cockermouth. Quakerism made no strong headway in areas where gentry and commons rose together in 1536.[45] Moreover in the wildest regions of all, northumberland, Durham and northeastern Cumberland, where the border Earls maintained more personal and direct feudal relationships, neither the Pilgrimage of Grace nor the early Quaker movement won many followers.

Conversely, in the "Rising of the Earls" against Elizabeth in 1569, in which the retainers of the Percys, Nevills and Dacres penetrated to the midlands, Westmorland and southwestern Cumberland seem to have remained quiet. In feudal revolts the tenants of the Dales were not concerned. In the century between the Pilgrimage of Grace and the rise of Quakerism the only clear evidence of agrarian outlooks seems to show little change.[46]

The somewhat fragmentary evidence seems to indicate that the farmers of the Dales were disinherited in relation to the Church as well as in relation to their social superiors. In terms of religions, Westmorland and Cumberland seem to have been a stagnant backwater throughout most of the two centuries before Fox.

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43) Dodds: Pilgrimage of Grace I, 110.

44) L & P XII, Part I, p. 478, q. Dodds: Pilgrimage of Grace I,121.

45) The only exception is a district in South Yorkshire, the Holderness area north of Hull, which was Aske's home, was influenced by Quakerism, but not as strongly as Cleveland to the north; cf. Braithwaite:Beginnings Chapter III.

46) A meeting was held in January 1620/21 in the Chapel at Stavely to protest the action of James I in taking over Crown lands regardless of tenants' rights, which thereby "encouraged the Lords of Adjacent Manors to break the tenant right...in the most high-handed way".Local Chronology: Being notes of the Principal Events Published in the Kendal Newspapers since their Establishment,

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In the Black Death more than a third of the clergy had died and the monasteries retrenched to the point where their neighbors regarded them as a social rather than a religious resource.[47] Three-fourths of all local churches were impropriated to abbeys and foundations, and Thomas Cromwell handed them over to lay control at the Dissolution. The Yorkshire Dales were added to the new diocese of Chester, which ignored the area,[48] and a debased popular Catholicism probably continued.[49] Grindal found

"among the people...many remnants of the old...Pixes, Paxes, Crosses, Chalices, handbells, Censures....They keep holy days and fast abrogated; they offer money, eggs, etc., at the burial of the dead; they pray beads, etc., so as this seems to be as it were another church, rather than a member of the rest."

This however, is not to be confused with the resurgent Catholicism maintained by "seminary Priests" from Douai, which won the devotion of those noble families who could protect chaplains. It is rather a survival of mediaevil religion among the poor.[50]

This Mediaeval survival is even more clearly found in the Diocese of Carlisle, consisting of Cumberland and northern Westmorland: "Their clergy were probably the most ignorant, and the people were probably content with them".[51] The clergy accepted the Edwardian changes with outward pliability.[52]

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47) cf. Dodds: Pilgrimage of Grace, passim.

48) It was only under violent protest that the Bishop of Chester could be persuaded to risk a visit even to Lancashire: cf. Robert Halley: Lancashire, its Puritanism and Non-conformity, (Manchester, Tubbs & Brook, 1872).

49) Even in the seventeenth century, "round Masham, & Kirby Malzeard, and in Wensleydale and Swaledale, Papists were numerous", as well as in "the whole area of Barnard Castle, Aldborough, Stanwick and near Richmond". cf. The Victoria History of the County of Yorkshire, edited by William Page, (London Archibald Constable & Co., 1913); 3 Vols. Vol. III.

50) "the Cleveland recusants were principally of the poorer classes, fishermen and laborers.,,.tradesmen...and pewterers...Companies of players, apprehended under the Vagrancy Act, were suspect of popish tendencies; ibid., III, 60.

51) Ferguson: Cumberland, cf. Tawney: Agrarian Problem, pp. 63-4.

52) Dean Sawkeld of Carlisle resigned, but no others. The reforming Bishop Best remained convinced "that the preistes are wicked ympes of Antichrist, and for ye most parte very ignorante and stubborne, past measure false and sotle; only feare maketh them obedient". Victoria Hist. Cumberland, p. 67, cf. p. 58.

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In practice, the old ways changed little, and popular feeling was so strong "that a layman (was) set in the stocks for having an English psalter".[53] In a few rural regions, reforming bishops succeeded in slipping in private chaplains, who were not always harshly received:

"the poorer sort (were) generally willing to hear, but withal they were pitifully ignorant of the foundations of Christianity, of the corrupt state of man, of the justice of God against sin, the grace of Christ, and the resurrection of the dead...many of them were...adulterous, thieves, murderers. The chief spring of all this wofulness came principally of the weakness and carelessness of the clergy...the far greatest number is utterly unlearned, unable to read English truly and distinctly." [54]

The impossibility of obtaining enough and suitable parish vicars remained the basic difficulty right down to the Civil War.[55] Over the county-line in Furness and northern Lancashire the picture is identical when an occasional earnest and energetic clergyman took stock:

"I found a very large spacious church, scarce any seats in it; a people very ignorant, yet willing to learn; so as I had frequently some thousands of hearers, I catechised in season and out of season. The churches were so thronged at nine in the morning, that I had much to do to get to the pulpit"; yet the people sometimes admitted not knowing who Jesus was.[56]

Although liturgical changes imposed on ignorant clergymen from a distance probably only added to confusion,[57] these examples show that the local people probably welcomed any really vital religious ministry, Puritan or otherwise. To some extent the rejection of the established Church by the commons of the

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53) Dodds: Pilgrimage of Grace, I, 67. Holm abbey church was salvaged from the Dissolution for parish use; Kendal grammar school was founded in 1525, and the Kendal free grammar school built in 1592; there was an active little Puritan group in Kendal, centering around the Parr family from whom came Henry's queen: (cf. Local Chronology: Being Notes of the Principal Events Published in the Kendal Newspapers Since their Establishment, compiled by the editors of and reprinted from, the "Kendal Mercury" and "Westmorland Gazette", (London, Hamilton Adams, 1865)pp. vi, vii; The Boke of Recorde of the Burgh of Kirkby Kendal, edited by Richard S. Ferguson, (Kendal, 1892) p. 221, Victoria History of Cumberland, p. 78.

54) Bishop Henry Robinson to Robert Cecil, 1599; q. Victoria History of Cumberland, p. 76.

55) cf. ibid., p. 89: "the wretched stipends of the benefices forced (the bishops) to admit mean scholars rather than have none". Even "the living of Kendal was apparently not an attractive one, and the early seventeenth-century vicars were men of so little distinction that beyond their names we know little of them and practically nothing of their theological position"; Francis Nicholson & Ernest Axon: The Older Nonconformity in Kendal (Kendal, Titus Wilson, 1915).

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Dales, which finds such a striking expression in the Seekers and Quakerism, was due to the linkage of the Church with an intolerable social system.[58] Yet it seems at least plausible that if the tenants of the Dales had grown up under three generations of dedicated Puritan preachers, of the sort who transformed the religious thinking of southern England, Quakerism would have been very different, and perhaps would never have developed as a new and separate movement. This is borne out in a most striking way when an attempt is made to establish a geographical relationship between Puritan and Quaker areas of strength.

Quakerism was strongest in areas of Puritan weakness, and vice versa, as will be seen from Appendix I. Next to the North-west, the area of greatest Quaker strength was the region from Dorset west and north-west into Wales. Except for Bristol,[59] this was also an area of weakness for orthodox Puritanism. The Puritan strength was in towns, and they felt "that the cities, the seat of the middle class with its rational business activities, are the seats of ascetic virtue".[60] The early Friends, despite winning many in London and Bristol,[61] were mainly country folk.[62] Northern opponents "saide ye Quakers would not come Into noe great toundes, but lived in ye ffells like butter flies".[63] It was not

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56) John Shaw of Cartmel (and later of Rotherham), 1625, in his MS "Life", quoted by Disraeli: Curiosities of Literature, q. Kendal Local Chronology, p. vii.

57) cf. Victoria History of Cumberland, 89.

58) cf. Haller: Rise of Puritanism, - p. 260.

59) A regional study of the south-west might lead to results as interesting as those suggested by this brief glance at the North. The hatred of the Cornish commoners for the gentry was shown at Blackheath and in the Prayer-book revolt under the Tudors, and apparently in the defeat of the Parliamentary army at Lostwithiel in the Civil War. Quakerism seems to have spread continuously here in the 1660's. Whereas Appendix I lists only 4 Dorset Meetings, in 1668 Fox met Friends from 16 Meetings.

60) Weber: Protestant Ethic, p. 262.

61) cities where, as to Imperial Rome, all sects converged.

62) cf. Section II-G.

63) Fox: Cambridge Journal, I, 310.

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for lack of vigorous Quaker preaching in the Puritan strongholds that Friends won few followers in Warrington and Manchester, Danbury and Northampton, Norwich and Haverhill. Similarly in Scotland, despite frequent efforts, few were convinced beyond the rosters of Cromwell's garrisons.[64]

The same pattern (Quaker strength in areas of Puritan weakness) is shown still more clearly in certain local distributions, notably within Lancashire. From the time of Elizabeth until the Civil War, Lancashire had a reputation as "the very sink of Popery".[65] What this turns out to mean in particular, however, is that Anglicanism gained no real foothold there.[66] The really vital Catholicism was among the gentry and farmers of south-western Lancashire, from Liverpool north to Preston.[67]

Lancashire did, however, also develop a strong Puritan movement, producing outstanding preachers,[68] and leaders such as Richard Mather for New England. This Puritanism was mainly limited to the towns of south-east Lancashire, especially Manchester and Bolton,[69] although "King's Preachers" itinerated from the collegiate Church of Manchester.[70] By the time of the Civil War,

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64) cf. Braithwaite: Beginnings, 228-31; Barclay, of course, is a notable exception.

65) "where more unlawful acts have been committed and more unlawful persons (i.e. Catholic Priests) holden secret than in any other part of the realm" (Letter, Privy Council to Lord Derby 1574 in Victoria History of Lancashire II, 55); "Lancashire was regarded throughout the reign of Elizabeth as the most Catholic county of England; Halley: Lancashire Puritanism, 61; cf. Victoria History of Lancashire II, 58.

66) Halley: Lancashire Puritanism, 242, Victoria History of Lancashire, 63; cf. p. 38.

67) 20 out of 25 Justices of the Peace were Catholic in 1562. (Victoria History of Lancashire, 50-52).

68) cf. Appendix I.

69) cf. Victoria History of Lancashire II, 88; Halley: Lancashire Puritanism Chs. V-IX.

70) Halley: Lancashire Puritanism, 35; cf. Victoria History of Lancashire, p. 59: there were 21 Lancashire Puritan ministers in 1604.

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Puritanism was nearly as strong as Catholicism.

But neither Puritanism nor post-Trent Catholicism were strong in northern Lancashire in the areas where Quakerism later grew: Pendle Hill, the Yealand-Kellet region, and Furness. There was, of course, much residual Catholicism, and the whole county adopted a nominally Presbyterian system in the 1640's, but neither movement seems to have been vital.[71] In the areas where Puritanism or Catholicism were strong, Quakerism made remarkably little headway in Lancashire.[72]

The same essential picture of the geographical relationship between Puritanism and early Quakerism is shown within other northern counties. As they had outwardly accepted the many Tudor changes in Church-Order, so the majority of the ministers accepted the Solemn League and Covenant, and later returned to Episcopacy in 1660, with little expectation of being disturbed by either.[73] A few of the clergy of the West Riding of Yorkshire were deprived for pluralism and immorality in 1643, but in northern Yorkshire the reforms drove out few.[74]

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71) Bishop Pilkington of Durham complained, like Best of Carlisle, of "the Popery, immorality and scandalous ignorance of the Lancashire clergy". (Halley: Lancashire Puritanism, p. 62). The old mediaeval tradition seems to emerge in a Petition presented to James I at Lancaster in 1617, "signed by great numbers of Lancashire peasants, tradesmen and servants", which resulted in the famous "Book of Sports" legalizing Sunday games. Following the Westminster Assembly, a Classis of ministers was set up for each of the nine districts of Lancashire: the lack of records seems to imply that only the Classes of Manchester and Bolton ever met. (Halley, op.cit. p. 248). "The Harmonious Consent" (a petition for exclusive Presbyterianism in Lancashire), included the signatures but perhaps not the active collaboration of the ministers of Cartmel and Ulverston in Furness. In any case the Classis system broke down with the failure of the Westminster Assembly. The 70 ministers ejected in 1660-62 were mostly in the southeastern part of the County. (cf. Victoria History of Lancashire, p. 66).

72) cf. Ibid. p. 73.

73) cf. Victoria History of Cumberland, pp. 94, 97, etc.

74) The Victoria History of the County of Yorkshire, edited by William Page, (London, Archibald Constalbe & Co., 1913); 3 Vols, Vol. III, p. 61.

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In Westmorland, despite the commonness of pluralities, only 8 ministers were deprived. Cromwell's "Tryors and Ejectors" did a more thorough job in the 1650's,[75] or rather they attempted to[76] for it would seem that once again suitable replacements were not available.

"Most of the preachers admitted by the commissioners were not ministers at all, not even according to the religious conceptions of the period".[77]

On the whole the Quaker indictment against the clergy of the North seems therefore to be justified, and to have been applicable at any time between 1539 and 1660:

"For I bear testimony against them", wrote Camm, "that they are cruel Oppressors, greedy devourers, caterpillars, who have done no good at all, but kept the People in blindness and ignorance, making them light and vain, strengthening their hands in iniquity".[78]

This indictment of the northern clergy, of course, is by no means to assert that the Puritan reformation did not reach those who were to become Quakers. On the contrary, the study of the background of general Puritan ideas has prepared us to expect to find a very great degree of influence upon individual Quaker leaders.[79] A study of the religious backgrounds of individuals will show how clear the evidence for this is. What is on the whole also clear

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75) his commission of 1654 includes the same group who had attempted, apparently without fruition, to form a Classis at Kendal in the 1640's. It included Gervase Benson, and Miles Bateman (both later Quakers). cf. Nicholson: Nonconformity, pp. 12-15, 20, 27.

76) cf. Nayler's accusation: "whereas you denie that the late commission did ever pretend to put any in the office of a minister, here all the North may witness against you....Did not you and those that were Commission call them before you, and examined and appointed whom you would, and denied whom you would at will and pleasure?" (James Nayler: A Discovery of the Man of Sin (London, Giles Calvert, 1655).

77) Victoria History of Cumberland, p. 94.

78) Camm & Audland, op. cit., 311.

79) v. infra. Section II-G.

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is that this Puritan influence was not exerted mainly through organized media; and particularly that in the parish churches, the energetic and strongly Puritan clergymen were the exception.[80]

Likewise we do not find much evidence of Baptist or Independent congregations as centers of influence. The earliest Independent congregation recorded in Cumberland began at Cockermouth in 1662. Many Baptist congrega - tions must have been formed of which there is no record, but those at Stokesley, Yorkshire,[81] and Hexham in Northumberland[82] are the only ones listed for the period when Quakerism arose. Although many former Baptist congregations from Mansfield southwards seem to have come over to Quakerism, there is no clear record of this further north.

When an attempt is made to trace the path of Puritan influences upon Quakerism, one is reduced to intangible factors: the indirect influence of the Puritan pastors who did hold scattered pastorates in the north; tract literature; influences in the army (for some individuals determinative, but reaching, of course, only a few). The place of the English Bible in thousands of homes unreached by the clergy must be reckoned as important a factor as any. Yet it will be clear that under the circumstance, even in those elements most clearly derived from Puritanism, Quakerism came to many North-country men and women as essentially a new movement .

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80) It is clear, of course, that the list in Appendix I by no means includes all the Puritan ministers, least of all in outlying areas: even in London, whereas 57 Puritan ministers were deprived in 1566 alone, only 22 pastorates for the whole generation have been listed in Appendix I.

81) W.E. Blomfield & others: The Baptists of Yorkshire, (Bradford, Wm. Byles & Sons, Ltd, 1912), 57,61.

82) "there are comparatively few references to Anabaptists in Lancashire prior to 1672" (Victoria History of Lancashire, II, 71); "almost all licenses for preaching houses in Cumberland were taken out by persons of presbyterian or congregational persuasion" in 1672 (Victoria History of Cumberland, 98); of 297 Baptist churches recorded in 1660, only 9 were in the 6 northern counties. (Whitley: Baptists).

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The immediate background of Quakerism was the Civil War. The gentry of the North-west were almost entirely Royalist,[83] and despite Parliamentary fines and distrainments, the gentry started revolt after revolt[84]. In some areas, such as southwestern Lancashire, their tenants joined them. Under the Commonwealth a rather small number of Puritan gentry had to serve on almost all political, military and ecclesiastical commissions.[85] The Presbyterians in the Manchester area, on the other hand, were among the most active fighters in the Parliamentary cause in the first Civil War. They were unsympathetic, however, with Cromwell, although they managed to remain neutral in the second Civil War.[86] The orthodox Puritans here, and in Yorkshire,[87] and also those few Presbyterians who were found in Kendal and other northwestern towns, were fairly openly royalist throughout the 1650's.[88]

It seems possible, however, to distinguish a third faction in the Civil War in the north-west, which was particularly strong in the areas where Quakerism first developed. On the border of Lancashire and Yorkshire "the sturdy churls of the two forests of Pendle and Rossendale resolved to fight it out rather than their beef and fat bacon should be eaten by papists";[89] From Wigton, Cockermouth and Holmcultram in western Cumberland, a "Rascall rout" attacked the royalist garrison at Carlisle, and were beaten off by the bulk of

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83) Royalism and Catholicism were closely connected; cf. B. Dew Roberts: Miter & Musket: John Williams Lord Keeper & Archbishop of York, (London, Oxford University Press, 1938).

84) Westmorland rose for the King in 1643; Sir Philip Musgrave in 1648.

85) Ferguson: Westmorland, 221, 216; Nicholson: Nonconformity, 12-14 etc. In 1650 Parliament banned all non-royalists as JP's, aldermen, etc. Nicholson: Nonconformity, 22.

86) Halley: Lancashire: Puritanism, I, 64, XIV.

87) Victoria History of Yorkshire III, 67.64, etc.

88) cf. Nicholson: Nonconformity, p. 45 ff.

89) Civil War Tracts, q. Haller: Rise of Puritanism, 193. Their stand meant fighting in 1643 with the Manchester Puritans against the squires of west Lancashire, but is closer in spirit to the "clubmen" and other groups essentially neutral in the first Civil War. cf. Gooch: Democratic Ideas, 95.

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the county gentry; although 6 Puritan gentry led the insurgents,[90] this again sounds more like the spirit of the Pilgrimage of Grace than of the levied Parliamentary armies of the south.[91] In Westmorland itself the situation is more obscure; in the Civil Wars, Kendal changed hands several times, though the royalists were beaten both in 1643 and again in 1648.[92] Royalist gentry in the area who collected troop levies among the tenants of this area, considered them disaffected and unreliable.[93] How much the commoners of these areas understood of national affairs is far from clear. In the Second Civil War they were considered to be on the side of Cromwell, and Fox was hooted in the streets of Carlisle with the cry "Down with thee Roundhead rogues", in 1653.[94]

The early Quakers were considered by their conservative enemies as arch-Cromwellians: and as individuals, some had actually fought in the New Model Army.[95] Similarities between early Quakerism and the radical Puritans within Cromwell's government have been and will be shown. Nevertheless Quakers never shared in administration under the Commonwealth. It is clear that the third faction described in the north-west is not identical with the Independent-Baptist circles elsewhere, and that this difference is in considerable measure

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90) Ferguson: Cumberland.

91) This area had already the reputation of being "full of Puritans and fanatics", and to the grievances of the tenants against the hated Countess of Pembroke were clearly added religious ideas brought in by reforming clergymen at Cockermouth. A leader, Atkinson of Malberstang, also led the Kaber Rigg plot against Charles II in which several ex-Quakers were involved; cf. Richard S. Ferguson: A History of Westmorland (London, Elliot Stock, 1894), 212.

92) Nicholson: Nonconformity, 45; Kendal Local Chronology, passim.

93) Sir Thomas Glenham, 2. Ferguson: Westmorland, 212, cf. p. 216; Ferguson: Cumberland, p. 258, etc.

94) Braithwaite: Beginnings, 117.

95) v. infra, sect. 2-i.

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to be tied up with the social and economic background of Westmorland, Cumberland and the Yorkshire Dales. The attitudes of the Dalesmen towards the Civil Wars seems always to have remained more negative than that of "Roundheads" elsewhere. In the south of England there were active radical Puritans, such as Penington and Lieut. Col. Jubbes, who became disillusioned with war and violence.[96] Nevertheless, the combination of social radicalism with aloofness from war and government which is found in Quakerism, though it appealed to these men, did not originate from them. Its first soil was the outlook of the commoners of the north-west.

This period from 1600 to 1650 is more obscure economically in the north-west even than it is politically, but it was on the whole a period of depression.[97] In 1649 the harvest was bad, and the plague spread north from Manchester. In Cumberland:

"The distress of the whole country is described as lamentable, and no less than 30,000 families are said to have been without seed or bread or corn or money. Parliament ordered a collection to be made for them, but the amount raised was quite inadequate for their needs".[98]

After 1651 the situation improved, and the tenants were less desperate. Some

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96) Thus Penington, before ever becoming a Friend, concluded that the essential change and reformation was a change "not of the outward form of government, but from unrighteousness to righteousness". (q. Ruth L Armsby: "The Early Quaker View of the State, its Nature, Powers and Limitations, with Special Reference to Isaac Penington"; B.A. thesis for the University of Birmingham, 1932, used by courtesy of the Library of the Society of Friends, Friends House, Euston Road, London, p. 72). Jubbes resigned his commission in 1648, saying: "Truly I do not know how to distinguish whether the spirit of God lives in me or no, but by mercy, love and peace; and on the contrary, whether the spirit of Antichrist lives in me, but by envy, malice and war". (q. Woodhouse: Puritanism and Liberty, pp. 99-100, q. Schenk: Social Justice p. 175).

97) Throughout the country as a whole, this was the period which "fastened pauperism on the English labourer". Thorold Rogers. q. Jorns: Quaker Social Work p. 56. During the Civil War, meat prices rose 50%, bread prices 100% and by the reign of Charles II, one-fifth of the English population were paupers. Jorns: Quaker Social Work, 56.

98) Victoria History of Cumberland, p. 291.

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of the early Quaker preachers may have gone out over the country driven partly by lack of hope for secure life at home; yet out of the north-west came somehow the financial backing for the early phase of the Quaker movement. The record of events and outlooks in this area seems to show that before the Quaker movement reached them, the tenants and farmers of this region already felt themselves disowned both economically and socially. They felt no bonds to social superiors who were often absentee and extortionate, nor to a church which was usually visible in the person of an ignorant curate, rather indifferent to all churchly affairs except for his Tithes. This general and regional background must be borne in mind, in turning now to study the individual backgrounds of the Quaker pioneers who were often leaders insofar as they were individually neither poverty-stricken, provincial, nor religiously illiterate.

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Section II-G: Individual Backgrounds of Early Quaker Leaders.

Early Quakerism belongs in the main stream of radical Puritanism,' many of whose ideas it shared. At the same time it grew first and most strongly in regions where these ideas had not actively reached through institutional means. The link was provided by more informal procedures of contagion. The individual early Quaker leaders, who themselves did so much to popularize these ideas, are also useful case studies to show how the Puritan ideas came into Quakerism. The Journals of these men also afford a more careful documentation of the economic and educational backgrounds from which the Quaker movement arose.

The leadership of early Quakerism, quite as much as rank and file membership, was drawn predominantly from the North.[1] Hard and fast lines cannot be drawn. Many of the Quaker leaders had travelled about the country before becoming Friends: this was true, not only of Fox, but--in the army or outof it--of Nayler, Dewsbury, and various others. In an age of confusion, the proportion of Quaker rolling stones was probably no higher than that among Baptists and Independents; but it is unwise to think in terms of purely regional influences operating upon these leaders, as would be true of the rank and file.

The economic background of early Quaker leaders is discussed in Appendix II. In relation to regional considerations, it will be clear that the northerners among the early Quaker preachers were fully half husbandmen and yeomen. While these northern leaders included some tradesmen and schoolteachers, and others who combined farming and home craftsmanship, there is a striking contrast between this largely rural group and those national leaders of Quakerism who came from the south-east and even the south-west of England.

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1) cf. Section II-F and Appendix I: There were other leaders, such as William Edmundson, who were convinced by Quakerism during visits to the North of England. In a few cases leadership - or hospitality for travelling Quaker preachers - was provided by northerners who had come south before hearing of Quakerism. Thus in Sussex the first to receive Quakers was "Bryan Wilkason, who liued in a park at Sidgwick Lodge...(and) came out of the north of England not long before". (First Publishers of Truth, p. 235).

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Where evidence is available, these were largely city men and engaged in trade or as craftsmen.[2] Some of the most outstanding leaders, notably Fox and Nayler, made a strong impression of rusticity on cultured hearers: Ellwood's first impressions are often quoted:

"As for Edward Burrough, he was a brisk young man, of a ready tongue (and might have been, for ought I then knew, a Scholar), which made me the less to admire his way of reasoning. But what dropped from James Nayler had the greater force upon me: because he looked but like a plain simple country-man, having the appearance of an Husbandman, or a Shepherd".[3]

It is presumably indicative of Quaker backgrounds that, like the Baptists, they fought bitterly for the rights of lay and "mechanick" preachers,[4] and that they fought so constantly against the Tithe. The comparison in Appendix II would suggest that Quaker leadership came from the common people even more than did that of the Baptists.

There are clear exceptions to this: some of the Quaker merchants had become notably prosperous before 1689,[5] and Quakers included four former members of the Nominated Parliament "of the Saints";[6] at least four had been justices of the Peace. Nevertheless in solidly royalist or Presbyterian areas, Justiceship or membership in Cromwell's Parliaments did not mean more than

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2) Thus in London, John Giles was a tailor, Elson a carpenter, Bolton & Bache were goldsmiths, Byllinge a brewer, Roberts a cooper, Strange a comb-maker, Crane a distiller, Bayly and Meade merchants; in the south-west, apart from Bristol city people, Anderson of Bridgwater was a goldsmith, Wastfield and Budd ex-ministers, William Bayly a shipmaster (all these Braithwaite: Beginnings, passim).

3) Ellwood: Life 50: it may be added that Ellwood came soon also to feel "the love I had particularly to Edward Burrough", (ibid., p. 73).

4) cf. sections 2-g, 8-c, etc: "were not many of the Prophets and Apostles tradesmen", wrote Edward Cooke (Edward Cooke & Charles Collins: For each Parliament Man now Sitting at Dublin (London, Robert Wilson, n.d.) "which were despised by the wise-men of the world? Were they not such that gave forth the Scriptures as like to be known by such now, as then?"

5) in the reign of James II, Quaker sergemakers of Plymouth employed 500 workers, one merchant in Suffolk employed 200, and the Gurneys of Norwich, nearly as many; (Grubb: Quakerism and Industry, 115, etc.) many of these, however, may have been poor in 1660, and all were south-of-England men.

6) two being "Scots" were possibly Cromwellian officers.

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moderate wealth or local prominence. Those of the gentry who did become interested in Quakerism were inevitably at once pushed into prominent positions in providing hospitality and leadership for the movement. None, on the other hand, became active Quaker preachers, even Ellwood and Penington preferring to serve with their pens.

A more difficult problem concerns the economic status of the yeoman or "Statesmen" among the leaders from the Dales. Ernest Taylor states that "yeomen" included both copyhold and customary freehold tenants, the latter as "statesmen" owning their land outright.[7] Many Quaker leaders were, he feels, "statesmen", and he lists nine as "gentlemen",[8] four farmed their own land and were described by the men of Worcestershire as,[9] "accounted by theire neighbours in theire owne County yeomen or Gentle men". Taylor's primary example of a Quaker yeoman is John Camm, who was

"one of the most substantial farmers in the district...(and) came of a family which had inhabited their beautifully situated home for many generations, and is described as having enjoyed the delights, pleasure, wisdoms and riches of the world above any of his degree".[10]

Camm evidently lived securely (although not in wealth by Texas standards.[11] So also did Gervase Benson,[12] and Burrough (until his father disowned him),[13] and

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7) Taylor: Valiant Sixty 49.

8) including Gervase Benson, a justice, George Bewley, Thos. Goodaire, and Richard Farnworth. Harrison, Kilham, Rawlinson, Lawson & Fell did not. (ibid., p. 53).

9) First Publishers of Truth, 275, of Farnworth & Goodaire.

10) Taylor: Valiant Sixty, 22-3.

11) Camm is in fact described in similar terms by his son: "he was a Wise man in worldly matters, having at that time great concerns and dealings therein; and the world seemed to smile on him, and the riches and glory of it had exceedingly encreased". Camm & Audland, op. cit.: Testimony of T. Camm. Taylor records that he ploughed four acres and pastured about a hundred. Taylor: Valiant Sixty, p. 53.

12) "being an example of Humillety in all things, Notwithstanding ye height and glory of the world yet he had a great share of, soe yet none was more plained in Aparell & furniture of his house, Comformeing to the simplicety of ye Truth...he generally stiled himself Husbandman, Notwithstanding yet he had bene a Collenell, a Justice of peace, Mayor of Kendall, etc." First Publishers of Truth.

13) cf. Elizabeth Brocklebank: Edward Burrough, a Wrestler for Truth 1634-1662 (London, Bannisdale Press, 1949).

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in the south of England the Peningtons, Crooks and Ellwoods.[14] The Fells of Swarthmoor, moreover, kept a full-scale manor house, the only one recorded among early Quakers.[15]

This data seems to indicate that early Quakerism, at least in the north, was partially a social cross-section. While most of the gentry were Catholic, and the leading citizens of Kendal were Presbyterian, some who were restless could only find rest in Quakerism. Nevertheless, this handful of freeholders and gentlemen are few in proportion to all those who were reached by the Quaker message. It was not a movement of the respectables, nor is a region in which Camm and Farnworth were pillars to be considered a prosperous one. The emigrants to Pennsylvania were probably driven by poverty as well as idealism and the pressure of Tithes.[16]

In other parts of England, the Quaker rank and file were also poor, although more often artisans and tradesmen than rural copyholders. While they were sometimes considered as "made up of the dregs of the common people..." "such as neither Magistrate nor Minister ever speak to",[17] it is clear that they were mostly self-supporting and hard-working, and probably were not the very lowest stratum of society. In Bristol, for instance, the poorest and richest

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14) cf. Ellwood: Life, 34: "What my Father Possessed (which was a pretty Estate in Lands, and more, as I have heard, in Monies,) he received from his Grandfather, Walter Gray".

15) cf. Isabel Ross: Margaret Fell: Mother of Quakerism, (London Longman's Green, 1949).

16) Thomas Camm was distrained of his brassware and pewter, grain, a cart, 14 ewes, etc. It was however the younger Quakers whom he noticed as emigrating, and the big exodus from the Dales came in the 1680's. (cf. Taylor: Valiant Sixty, pp. 31, 37; Tolles: Meeting House, p. 34). Even the Quaker preacher, such as Christopher Hutton, might at first remain silent at home as a tenant farmer, "untill he was minded to give over farming and goe to his own". (First Publishers of Truth, p. 299).

17) Pagitt: Heresiography (1661) p. 244; Henry Stubbe: A Light Shining out of Darkness. (London, 1659) p. 88; both q. Gooch: Democratic Ideas, 230.

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strata were Royalist in the Civil War; it was the "middle rank, the true and best citizens" who were parliamentarian.[18] There are records of conflict between Quakers and "the rude people", mobs who doubtless were ready to make sport of an unpopular group of any social origin, but who seem to have been felt by Quakers to be socially beneath them; in Bristol before the Restoration:

"the prentices with the rude people were up, running with naked swords...up and down in the streets, so throng that it were hard to pass through them...some beating their masters and not suffering the shops to be opened, threatening Friends who opened theirs, not regarding the mayor or any of his officers".[19]

Fisher the University man was particularly anxious to distinguish Quakers from such rabbles:

"our way...is so far from any real Rudeness, that however those who are...disdained by the supercilious school-men, because they are Poor and Illiterate (as to secular Sciences) though of Honest Hearts, embrace and own it, yet such is the Guise and Humour of the Rude and ignorant Rabble, aforesaid, of the Baser sort, that if their Mouthes be not held with Bit and Bridl they tumultously fall upon us with Stones and Brick bats, Swords and Staves... So there's little need by Penal Laws to subject us more to their Wrath and Malice".[20]

With a few exceptions,[21] however, these mobbings seem to have occurred after the Restoration had become popularly expected, so that one cannot be sure that the lowest groups socially were against Quakerism at the start.

We gather the general impression that the Quakers were drawn from classes and areas which had once felt themselves thoroughly disinherited, but

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18) S. Seyer: Memoirs of Bristol, II, 314, q. Tawney: Religion & Capitalism, 169. There is some evidence that this was true in London and elsewhere. (Baxter: Rel. Bax. p. 30, q. ibid., p. 169).

19) Swarthmoor MSS, IV, 134 q. Braithwaite: Beginnings, 470: references to "rude people" in London and Cambridge are less certain evidence, since these included "rude scholars" (Brocklebank: Burrough, 63). Moreover it is clear that the Quakers, however hard going they found it, used regularly to preach to such "rude people", who constituted the bulk of their mass meetings: (cf. Letter of Burrough to Margaret Fell, cit ibid., 63).

20) Samuel Fisher: "Ettiskottos Attoskottos...An Answer to Dr. John Gauden, Bishop of Exeter", 1662, in Works, (n.p. 1679) 41.

21) e.g. Fox's treatment in Fenny Drayton; (cf. Fox: Cambridge Journal I, 154)

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which had risen above the bottom. This is perhaps often the way in revolutions, that it is when the tide has begun to come in, and hope begins to rise, that the energy is found for a radical movement, whether religious or political.[22]

The same essential pattern would seem to hold in the matter of education. The early Quakers were, comparatively speaking, "unlearned and unstable men of low parts and small capacities"[23]; and the Friends themselves wrote proudly as "Rusticus ad Academicos"[24], and as "the countryman against the learned Baptists"[25]. Even by comparison with the Baptists, the Quakers had a markedly lower proportion of members who had attended University.[26] At certain points Quakers made an explicit rejection of the value of education.[27] Nevertheless the leaders, at least, among early Friends, were by no means illiterate. The young Fells seem to have been well educated[28] (the girls as well as the young men) and we may suppose that Gervase Benson, Anthony Pearson and others had attended good schools. Several of the Quaker leaders had been schoolteachers (though of varying degrees of literacy). Others had served as local ministers ranging from lay preachers to parish clergy.[29] Even the freehold yeo-

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22) cf. Crane Brinton: The Anatomy of Revolution, N. Y. City, W. W. Norton & Co. (1938). Similarly, in both the Great Awakening and the frontier revivals in the United States, the settlers had been established from 25 to 75 years before the revival broke out, and had achieved a measure of financial security.

23) Bishop Gauden in Fisher: Episkopos. 24) Fisher: Works.

25) Rebecca Travers, referring to Nayler, q. Braithwaite: Beginnings, 288.

26) Out of the 192 early Quaker leaders listed in Appendix I, I have only record of one (Fisher) as having attended University. Of the General Baptist, Particular Baptist and "spiritual Puritan" groups listed in the same Appendix, three in each group were recorded as University men; of the Independents 17 attended, and of the few early Separatists, 4; while of the Puritan preachers of more orthodox outlook, virtually the whole group, (specific information being available on 136 of them) were University men. In each group, of course, there are men for whom there is not sufficient evidence to be certain of the life-history; yet the proportions are probably fairly indicative.

27) cf. Chapter IV. 28) cf. Ross: Margaret Fell, passim.

29) Besides Fisher from Kent, William Britten of Bristol had been a clergyman of the Establishment and Thomas Parish and army chaplain; Thomas Taylor and William & Humphrey Smith had been independent or Baptist ministers, and Ambrose Rigge, Thomas Lawson and John Banks had been schoolmasters.

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man might have a substantial library of his own. Banks describes his own limited but sound schooling:

"I came of honest parents...in Sunderland, in the paris of Isell, in the County of Cumberland; and my Father, having no Real Estate of his own, took land to Farm; and by Trade was a Felmonger and Glover....And though my Parents had no much of this world's Riches, yet they brought me up well, and in good Order. I was put to School when I was Seven Years of Age, and kept there until I was fourteen, in which time I learned both English and Latin, and could write well....And when I was fourteen, my Father took me from School, and took me to teach School at Mosser-Chapel. I read the Scriptures also, to People that came there on the first Day of the Week, and Homily as it is 31 called, and sung Psalms and prayers. But I had no liking to the practice".

This would perhaps serve as a typical background picture for early Quakers, with some experience of both schooling and the church, but not enough of either to be satisfied, or to think too highly of either. Finally, of course, it is clear that, where books were scarce, the early Quakers had steeped themselves in the Bible. Those of them, including Fox himself, who were rather lower in educational background and literacy, were particularly likely to know it by heart.

The religious background of early Quakerism, as has been seen, involves converts mainly drawn from regions where neither the Anglican establishment nor the Puritan ministry had been strong, and where active Catholicism was mainly limited to the gentry. Baxter describes the Friends as coming from the unchurched groups:

"very few experienced, humble, sober Christians that ever I heard of that turn to them; but it's the young, raw professors and women, and ignorant, ungrounded people that were but novices and learners in the principles, and such as are notorious for self conceitedness and pried, being wise in their own eyes. And most of these that ever I heard of were Anabaptists or the members of some such sect that by their division and error were prepared before".[32]

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30) cf. George Macaulay Trevelyan: English Social History (New York, Longman's Green, 1942) referring to W. Notestein: English Folk, pp.250-251.

31) Banks: Journal, 2-3.

32) One Sheet against the Quakers (1657), p. 11; q. Braithwaite: Beginnings, 194.

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This positive "preparation" from radical Puritanism along with the negative religious illiteracy is implied in various other attacks on early Quakers:

"they are a sect", wrote Bishop Cousin, "lately bred as vermine out of the ...corruptions of former times, out of that Spawn and Filth which other Factions cast forth, beginning from the very rubbish and dregs of Uncatechised, Undisciplined, [illegible] people in England"[33]

This was most true in the South, where the Baptists had been actively at work, and in the midlands, the Severn area and Wales, (where 7 former Independent, 2 Seeker, and 3 former Baptist congregations came over bodily). Even in the north, however, some influences had prepared the way. Not only Puritan, but after 1650, occasional Baptist clergymen had served parish churches.[34] Probably such men were active enough to start others thinking and to arouse dissatisfaction with the existing somnolence and apathy of the churches, but no really strong movement had arisen to capture loyalty. Of the 192 Quaker leaders mentioned in Appendix I, I have only been able to find record of the religious "pre-history" of about 35, and in many cases among these leaders, and still more of the rank and file, there had perhaps been no very definite religious commitment until Fox began to preach.

In the lives of enough individuals to form a leaven, however, there had been not only dissatisfaction with the existing religious order, but positive efforts at personal religious discipline. Often such concern was purely individual, and what group expression developed, as among the Seeker groups of Preston Patrick and Sedbergh, was of a very tentative sort. Nevertheless autobiographical comments show the intensity of this search:

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33) Fisher: Beginnings, 58; cf. George Fox: The Great Mistery of the Great Whore Unfolded, (Philadelphia, M.T. Gould, 1831) p. 185.

34) of the Baptist who served as priest at Grayrigg, (Fox: Cambridge Journal I, 107), and who must surely have had far more influence on the soon-to-be Quakers than is often mentioned.

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"Thomas Bewlys of Haltelif hall,...whose former days had been spent in true Retirement and thoughtfullness of his latter end...was formerly Dissatisfied with the Nationall minstrey that Plead for the Continuing of sinn, and did not beleiv that there were the Called of God; he (had) ceaced to use their Ministry....when he With his family heard the truth Plainly and Profoundly borne Testimony to by (George Fox)".[35]

"About ye latter part of ye year 1652 did Richard Hubberthorn fro Yealand in Lancashire,...Come to Wensladale, to ye house of Richard Robinson, who gladly received him, being already Convinced of ye Blessed Truth, for he had been under Deep Travell of Spirit after ye Substance of Religion some years before, & hearing (at a Distance) what G. Fox preached for Doctrine, he joyned with it in his mind, & went abroad to some meetings, where he heard the truth Declared & was fully satisfyed".[36]

Thomas Camm's Testimony to Audland shows that Bible reading and godly life were often part of this private preparation and hunger:

"About the Age of seventeen...the Lord inclined his Heart to Sobriety, and reading the holy Scriptures, and to be very religious in what was then manifested...and having a large understanding and great Memory, he became able in the Knowledge of the Scriptures: and could largely discourse of things relating to Religion, and the Duties thereof; in so much, that he became an eminent Teacher".[37]

That such "seeking" men had formed occasional groups is clear not only from such references, but from their knowledge of each other:

"It is now about seven years", wrote Burrough in 1659, "since the Lord raised us up in the north of England and opened our mouths in this his Spirit; and what we were before is well known to that part of the country; that generally we were men of the strictest sect, and of the greatest zeal in the performance of outward righteousness, and went through and tried all sorts of teachers...and for one I may speak, who from a child ..set my face to seek and find the saviour....And after long seeking the Lord appeared... and broughte by his power...to know...that God hath given us...a Light".[38]

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35) First Publishers of Truth, p. 48.

36) ibid., 307.

37) Camm & Audland, op. cit.; cf. Burnyeat's opening to his autobiography: "he was born at Crabtree back in the Parish of Lowewater; his parents were of good repute, and his Education according to his Parentage. The Lord visited him in his young and tender Years, and inclined his heart after good things: whereupon he gave himself to Reading the Scriptures,... and going from one man to another, who were counted men of experience, yet found no true Satisfaction until it pleased the Lord to send his ministers to turn his Mind to the Invisible Word of Life".(Burnyeat, op.cit., 3).

38) introduction to Fox: Great Mistery, p. 12.

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Some of the Quaker leaders, in fact, had been active members of Strong Baptist or Independent congregations[39]: some had been ministers, and others like Ellwood and Mary Penington perhaps received real strength from Puritan ministers and from the reading of their sermons.[40] Of the 192 Quaker leaders, at least 10 had been members of Independent and Separatist congregations, 9 had been Baptists, 5 who called themselves Presbyterians or Puritans had probably been church members, and 4 had gone from the established church through Independency and the Baptist movement on the way to Quakerism.

Besides these direct influences from radical Puritan congregations and ministers, must be mentioned the strong if informal religious contagion of the New Model Army. Many of the early Quaker leaders had been in the army and had mustered out, before becoming Friends, and must have there been strongly influenced by the radical Puritan ideas of the chaplains.[41]

Once again, therefore, it is clear that Quakerism did not arise out of the utmost depth of religious illiteracy. It is notable that Northumberland and north-east Cumberland, which religiously, economically and educationally stood even lower than the Dales, did not respond to the Quaker message. It is

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39) e g. Fisher, Britten, Parish, Boys of Cleveland (Fox: Cambridge Journal, 129.)

40) cf. L. V. Hodgkin (Mrs. John Holdsworth): Gulielma, Wife of William Penn, (London, Longmans Green, 1947) Ch. 1.

41) The list of those who had been in the army largely overlaps those who had been members of the Baptist and Independent congregations as civilians: among them were John Whitehead, (cf. John Whitehead: The Enmity Between the Two Seeds, (London, J. Sowle, 1703), p.22, who became a Quaker while still in the army but soon left; Will Wilson, who had been in the royalist army, (Fox: Cambridge Journal II, 51); also Nayler, Dewsbury, Hubberthorne, Stubbs, Ames, Edmondson, and George Fox the Younger. It is noteworthy that these were none of them from the Westmorland area, although Nayler and Hubberthorne were Dalesmen. But Quakers were able to appeal later to the government of the commonwealth as those who had "born a Part with you in the Sufferings with the Nations in the Heat of the Day". (Howgill: Works, 25). cf. Section 6-a. Friends later found that in some areas, (notably Ireland and Scotland), but also in Bristol, for instance, the first and fullest response to their message was among the Cromwellian garrisons. (cf. Braithwaite: Beginnings, 217,195,228.)

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only natural that at least the first pioneers of a religious movement should have come from environments where religious influences had worked upon them.[42] Nevertheless, few came from areas where the parish clergy or even the Baptist congregations could be really satisfying to a deeply religious spirit. We must therefore turn next to consider the first outburst of Quakerism as a movement, attempting to interpret it in terms of an Awakening or revival of vital religion in an area where vital religion of other kinds hardly reached.

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42) Of those who had already become Quakers before the religious outburst of 1652, almost all the leaders had been in fairly extensive contact with Baptist and/or separatist groups: Fox himself, Nayler, Dewsbury, Elizabeth Hooton, etc.

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Section II-H: The Genesis of the Quaker Awakening.

The leading ideas of the Puritan tradition which dominated England in the 1640's and 1650's, have been set down in the sections preceding. The fullness with which the early Quakers shared these ideas, and the changed which Friends made in them, will be shown in future chapters. The brief regional survey of the north has shown that, while local traditions prepared the way for Quaker social radicalism, the regions of Quaker strength were among those least touched by organized Puritanism. The links, therefore, by which the Puritan world outlook came into Quakerism have been shown to include informal spread through literature, scattered preachers, and above all through the contacts of individual Quaker pioneers with sectarian groups and with the Cromwellian army. Clearly, however, this process of transmission should not simply be taken for granted. It is in itself interesting to trace in detail the ways in which religious ideas are handed on. In addition, early Quakerism was clearly not just a second-hand movement. It had a vitality and gained a loyalty which are not to be explained in terms of Puritanism as such. Still less can this outburst of energy be accounted for by new ideas introduced by the early Quakers. Quaker ideas themselves can only be adequately understood in the light of the actual growth of the Quaker movement as a religious Awakening.

The early Quakers thought in terms of religious revolution and rebirth:

"God hath appeared...in the North Regions of the World, and hath made the mountains melt before him, and the trees of the forest to shake... O nations under the whole face of Heaven,...none shall stop his way...He is bringing a handful out of the North Country who have been eye-witnesses to his power, and though but a handful, yet they are blessed, and his increase shall be great...for they shall be his witnesses to the ends of the earth....And then shall the Restorer be seen who shall restore the earth into its first purity. Then shall the earth enjoy her rest, and the nations their sabbath. For the Lord of Glory hath listened to the cry of the poor and of the oppressed."[1]

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1) Francis Howgill: Grey Ridge (the book of Francis Howgill (compiled by Will Hayes. Meophamgreen, Kent. The Order of the Great Companion, 1942).

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This sense of a totally new beginning sounds like a denial of what Friends owed to the movements that had gone before them. Friends shared far more in ideas and practices than even the basic outlooks which have been discussed.[2] In particular, in the case of the Baptists, Quakers shared with them theological peculiarities, such as their universalism, and their Christology.[3] They also shared in common certain practical concerns regarding Dress, opposition to oaths and warfare, and the structure of congregational organization,[4] even perhaps attitudes towards the Puritan sabbath.

To some extent, early Quakers and Baptists were parallel, rather than successive movements. While, in 1654 and 1655 "the General Baptists went over almost in a body to the Friends, taking many of their own ideas and

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2) cf. Tindall: Bunyan, p. 5.

3) cf. Sections III-D, III-E; on these certain influences from Continental Anabaptists can probably be traced: cf. John Payne's report on English & Dutch Baptists in Holland in 1597, (quoted Burrage: Dissenters, p.224). Also see Underwood on the Baptist Confession of 1610, whose Christology was borrowed from the Mennonites. On the other hand attempts to trace direct derivation of Quaker outlooks from the Dutch Mennonites have failed (cf. William Hull in Howard H. Brinton (editor): Children of Light (essays) in Honor of Rufus Jones, (N.Y. MacMillan, 1938) p. 196-8); although Friends recognized a kinship of ideas, attempts by Ames, Caton, and Crisp to win Dutch Mennonites to Quakerism were so unsuccessful as to lead to efforts to keep Quakers out of Holland.

4) Quaker attitudes in these matters, see Chapters IV and VIII. Besides the general agrarian dislike of the legalistic sabbath, some influence may have entered Quakerism from the "Seventh-Day" outlooks among Baptists, etc. Seventh-Day sabbatarians seem not to have been a single or united fellowship. A congregation of seventh-day Independents had met at the home of Madam Springett, the sister-in-law of Mary Penington's aunt by whom she was brought up (cf. Hodgkin: Gulielema Penn, 25). This tenet may be involved in Fox's attack upon the sabbatarian Scots: "for upon ye Saboth day (which is ye 7th day of ye weeke)...which was the commande of God, they kept marketts and faires". At Newcastle, wrote Fox, the local priest "begann to plead for ye saboth day: and soe I tolde him they kept marketts and faires on it for ye day which Christians meets on now was ye first day of ye weeke". (Fox: Journal, I, 295 & 311. Friends worship, although it might be on any day, was nevertheless most commonly on "First Day". The use of numbers instead of names for days and months was clearly borrowed from Baptist traditions. (cf. Tallack: Friends and Baptists, p. 71 .)

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practices with them"[5], the years of Quaker growth were also great years of renewed Baptist expansion. There was a spate of Baptist literature following 1656, (although it shifted to devotional material in lack of dynamic intellectual leadership)[6], Bunyan's great work, for instance, belongs to this time of Baptist regrowth.[7]

The fact that the two movements began in different areas, and subsequently remained separate, does not obscure the close relationship between them, both in ideas and membership. At least thirteen Quaker leaders of the first decade had been Baptists, and three Baptist congregations at Mansfield (Yorks.) Skegby (Notts.) and Radnor became Friends as a group. Friends took over bodily many small congregations of separatists and Seekers, as well as Baptists. Perhaps a majority of the early hearers of Friends had no such connections. Yet enough did to invalidate any picture of Quakerism as a totally new movement. At Chester, Hubberthorne

"was moved of the Lord to visit a people who Sometimes met att the house of one Rich. Yarwood,... (whose Custom was when met together neither To Preach nor pray vocally butt to Read the Scriptures and Discourse of Religion, Expecting a further Manifestation)...& many of them were Convinced"[8]

In Yorkshire, "in and about Malton a remnant was gathered in ye Light to wait upon God... and about Staithes and Liverton, a People was also gathered" when Dewsbury first came to them[9], and the groups which received Fox in the Sedbergh-

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5) Gooch: Democratic Ideas, p. 229.

6) cf. Belasco: Authority, p. 27; Jordan: Toleration III, 458.

7) Friends and Baptists carried on, of course, bitter combat over their common ideas. A series of Baptist confessions after 1652 (cf. Whitley: Baptists) distinguished Baptist beliefs from Quakers. Friends for their own part accused Baptists of imitating Quakerism, although this was hardly fair, except perhaps regarding oaths and war. (cf. Whitley: Baptists: also Fisher: Works, 587.

8) First Publishers of Truth, pp. 18-19.

9) ibid., pp. 295-7.

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Brigflats region have often been studied.[10] Fox seems to have made it a regular custom, on his travels to new towns, to "enquire for such as feared ye Lord and whoe was worthy....and to invite ye sober people to ye meetinge", held, often enough at a Baptist home or meeting house.[11] In the South of England, it was generally in the areas which were already "a Microcasm of heretical opinion",[12] (rather than in Presbyterian groups and strongholds), that Friends won their following, although they quickly reached beyond these limits.

This recurring record of the convincement of existing groups to Quakerism, seems to belie the Quaker insistence on the originality of their movement,[13] especially as the dependence of Quakerism on radical Puritan ideas is seen.[14] Quakers themselves had individually often reached "Quaker" outlooks before the movement reached them, and sometimes explicitely dated the rise of Quaker "truth" to a time before there is any record of Quaker preaching.[15]

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10) cf. Braithwaite: "Seekers". First Publishers of Truth, 243. So in Nailsworth a group of "puritants or Independents, aseeking people...came to here Humphrey Smith" First Publishers, 106. In Ross Quakerism took hold among a group "who had for some time before separated yemselves from ye Publicke worship of ye world, who did see ye End of ye Preists Teachings, who did often before meet together by ymselves & would many times sitt in silence &...each of ym did speak by way of Exhortation as had freedom". (First Publishers, 124) At Leominster, the nucleus was "A meeting of the people called Independents...at ye hous of Coll. James...all being silent" (ibid., pp. 115-115).

11) Fox: Journal, I, 201, on his Dorset mission.

12) Braithwaite: Beginnings, 201 of Reading, cf. ibid., 169, etc.

13) cf. ibid., 131. 14) cf. Section III-A.

15) Hudson: "Economic Thought of Winstanley", lists a number of such cases, deducing from them that Fox claimed as his own the religious movement of 1645-48 in Nottinghamshire of which he was only one among several leaders. This gradual emergence of Quakerism in the Midlands is therefore used to challenge Fox's claim to originality. Once again the fallacy would seem to lie in the attempt to differentiate Quakerism mainly in terms of ideas. Even in Westmorland (where Fox is usually conceded complete priority) Hubberthorne dates a rising of the "truth" five years before Fox's arrival: In 1660 "one of the Lords asked, how long we had been called Quakers", to which he replied that "there were some that lived in this truth before we had that name given unto us...It is near twelve years since I owned this truth according to the manifestation of it". Richard Hubberthorn: Something that Lately passed in Discourse between the King and R. H. (London, Giles Calvert, 1660), p. 3. In Kelk, Yorkshire, the "Truth" was by Quakers entirely equated with existing Seeker outlooks: "Many were convinced and did believe the Truth, and Divers did no longer Joyne with the

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In spite of this, Quaker messages so full of certainty of a new religious awakening, a new outpouring of the divine Spirit, must be taken seriously. Before the movement spread to those not previously touched by "spiritual Puritan" ideas, it first transformed the small existing gatherings with a sense of new life and vitality. The meaning of this sense of transformation can only be understood by studying the records of the early meetings themselves.

The accounts of Fox' crucial convincement of the Seeker congregations in the Dales, are too terse, both as to events and message, to present an adequate picture,[16] although certain important aspects of it will become clearer from the autobiographical records of the hearers.[17] At Preston Patrick, the Seeker group met in

> "silent waiting upon God about half an hour...After the said silence and waiting G.F. stood up in the mighty power of God, and in the demonstration thereof was his mouth opened to preach Christ Jesus, the Light of Life, and the Way to God, and Saviour of all that believe and obey Him, which was delivered in that power and authority that most of the auditory, which were several hundreds, were effectually reached to the heart, and convinced of the truth that very day, for it was the day of God's power."[18]

But this record, (really fairly indicative), must be interpreted by others, and the brief note that at Grayrigg the Quaker message was brought by Richard Farnworth who "in the dread of the Lord declared against all hierling preachers that deceive the people",[19] does not on the surface indicate a deep or original Gospel.[20]

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15) cont'd. priests of the world in their publick wors'pp, yet we had no Settled or Appoynted Meetings....In the Tenth month (1651), William Dewsbury...settled a Meeting," (First Publishers of Truth, p. 292). (In terms of ideas Quakerism was certainly not a radically new movement.)

16) cf. First Publishers of Truth, p. 243.

17) cf. Section III-A.

18) First Publishers of Truth, p. 244, cf. Braithwaite: Beginnings, p.86

19) First Publishers of Truth, p. 243.

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The fullest account we have of the early Quaker movement as it arose comes from Bristol: Camm and Audland

"came to the City of Bristol in the 5th month, 1654, and first they came among a seeking people, who kept one day in the week in fasting and praying, waiting for a breathing in Spirit...and among us they spoke the powerful Word of Life in the dread of his Name that lives forever: and we were seized on, and smitten even to the Heart; and that Day, and the Visitation of it over took us....Some Meetings we had before the more general gathering in and about the City, which began on this wise:....Trembling, J.A. said, let us go into the City. So we came to the Street called Broadmead, to a house where were several People met together. John Audland... said Is there any one that has any interest in any Field? An ancient man said, I have a Field pretty near: notice being given to the People in the house, they came forth; and as we went along, people in the Streets went also....John Camm began to speak tenderly, and in great zeal, directing to the heavenly Grace of God, and testifying against Sin and Iniquity fervently....J. Audland, who very much trembled, after dear John Camm stood down...stood up, full of dread and shining brightness in his countenance, lifted up his Voice as a Trumpet, and said, I proclaim spiritual War with the Inhabitants of the Earth, who are in the Fall and Separation from God, and Prophesie to the fourt winds of Heaven,....and so went on in the mighty Power of God Almighty, opening the ways of Life. But oh, the seizings of Souls, and prickings at heart, which attended that season; some fell on the ground, others crying out under the sence of opening their States....At this Meeting many were effectually convinced, and from Darkness to Light turned, after which our Meetings grew larger and larger....Oh the strippings of all needless Apparel, and the forsaking of superfluities in Meats, Drinks, and in the plain self-denying Path we walked; having the fear and dread of God on our Souls, that we were afraid of offending in word or deed, our Words were few and savory, our Apparel and Houses plain, being stripped of superfluities; our Countenance grave and Deportment Weighty;....Indeed we were a Plain broken-hearted, contrite spirited, self-denying people...for our great concern night and day was to obtain through Jesus Christ the great work of Salvation...Our Meetings were so large that we were forced to meet without doors, and that in Frost and Snow....We were right glad, although when the Lord discovered our states he laid Judgment to the Line and Righteousness to the Plummet, and gave us the cup of Trembling, in which was the wine of Astonishment. Which was in mercy to our poor souls, that could not be redeemed but by Judgment poured on the nature that had separated us from God".[21]

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20) That there was a much deeper note linking the attack on the ministers with the Quaker Awakening-experience is suggested by one curious episode. At Firbank Chapel, wrote Fox: "John Blayklinge and others came to mee and desired mee not to reprove ym publickely for they was not parish teachers but pretty sober men; butt I woulde not tell ym whether I would or noe though I had litle in mee to declare publickely against y^m but told y^m they must leave mee to the Lords moveings". Fox: Journal I, 43.

21) C. Marshall's "Testimony" in Camm & Audland, Op. cit. (cf. Braithwaite: Beginnings, Fox: Journal I, 256). This series of Mass Meetings continued for two years, and drew up to 10,000 to each meeting. "When J.A. did grow weaker by his ....Lungs wasting, he would often say: Ah! those great Meetings in the Orchard at Bristol I may not forget". Thos. Camm's "Testimony" in Camm and Audland: op. cit.

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This fascinating account includes almost every characteristic feature of the Quaker religious Awakening. The beginning, as has been seen, was usually among a small group prepared for Quaker ideas.[22] Mass meetings would be developed[23], often in the open air.[24] These often lasted many hours and were highly emotional.[25] They centered, not on silence, but upon the fiery preaching of repentance by Quaker speakers. Often, as in London, (where the same pattern of development unfolded as in Bristol),[26] the size of the public meetings made it necessary to develop small Meetings of those convinced, for discussion and silent worship, while mass meetings continued for "threshing and plowing and stamping upon the heathen".[27]

The emotional impact of the Quaker preaching is implied in the descriptions of their mass meetings. "I was struck with more terror before the preaching of James Nayler than I was before the battle of Dunbar", reported James Gough;[28] George Canby of Selby (Yorks) reports his challenge from William

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22) There were, of course, areas as well as individuals, for whom such ideas were quite new. Fox also preached it as a new Gospel, (cf. Fox: Journal I, 28 and 306.)

23) Attendance figures given run in the neighborhood of 1,000 for London, Bristol, Colchester, etc. and up to 3,000 for one in Cheshire. (cf. First Publishers of Truth, 96, Braithwaite: Beginnings, 182, 349, etc.)

24) cf. First Publishers of Truth, 104 on Fellton, Gloucestershire and the continuing traditions at Grayrigg and Pardshaw Crag, etc. in the north-west.

25) cf. Braithwaite: Beginnings, 371, etc.

26) "Howgill had great service...in visiting the Professors at their meetings, viz. the Independents, Baptists, Seekers, and others,.. and many came off from amongst them to receive the blessed Truth....There was a Report spread about y^{e} City y^{t} went by ye name of Plaine North Cuntry Plow men, who did differ in Judgmt to all other People, who...(met) Robert Drings house... till A Publicke meeting was appointed". First Publishers of Truth, 158, 163.

27) Epistle of Burrough, (1654), quoted in Brocklebank: Burrough, p. 54: "we cannot get any separation for the multitude, so Friends do not much know one another, nor we cannot conveniently get any place to meet in that Friends may sit down". (ibid., cf. Ross: Margaret Fell), Large Public meetings such as that at the "Bull and Mouth" were known as "Threshing-floors" (cf. Ross: Margaret Fell, 52). One is reminded of the techniques of Wesley and the early Methodist "class Meetings". cf. also First Publishers, 292, Braithwaite: Beginnings, 183, etc.

28) Memoirs (1781) p. 56, q. Braithwaite: Beginnings, 61.

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Dewsbury:

"The Power of God was mightily upon William, and fixing his Eyes upon me,,he Declared what the Lord putt in his heart, that I fell down in the House floor as Dead to all Appearance as any Clogg or Stone...my Beastiall Will at that time got a deadly wound that through the loveing Kindness of the Lord was never healed to this Day".[29]

Such descriptions of the Quaker preacher would suggest that Burrough was not called "the Son of Thunder" for nothing:

"John Audland was...filled with the excellent bright sparking glorious Power of the Lord God everlasting, in which he appeared many times so filled that immortallity shined in his Face, and his Voice was as Thunder, therein dreadful in the strength of the Lord of Hosts against the Man of Sin and those in Covenant therewith: terrible in the dread of God against the Workers of iniquity: but livingly tender to the sensible Travellers and poor in spirit".[30]

Such fiery preaching was not limited to the Quakers,[31] nor were its dramatic effects found only in Quaker meetings.[32] Evidently the Quakers were one among a number of intensely emotional religious movements of their time, but the presence of similar manifestations among the early Separatists and other radical Puritan groups,[33] should not make us ignore the Quaker references to "The Power of the Lord". This "Power" is usually to be understood not

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29) First Publishers of Truth, pp 290-291.

30) C. Marshall's "Testimony" in Camm and Audland: op. cit.

31) Vavasor Powell preached in the same spirit: "mist or smoak would issue from his Head, so great an agitation of Spirit he had" (quoted in Tindall: Bunyan, p. 9 .)

32) Cradock reported that "the Gospel is run over the Mountaines between Brecknockshire and Monmouthshire as the fire in the thatch". (Glad Tydings from Heaven, p. 50, quoted in Nuttall: Holy Spirit, p. 85.)

33) cf. the Separatists of 1588, (described in Nuttall: Holy Spirit, p. 66:) "In y^{r} prayer one speketh, and the rest doe grone, or sob or sigh, as if they woulde wringe out teares,"

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metaphorically or theologically, but physically.[34] Robert Barclay described in straightforward terms the experience of Quaker Meetings:

"The Lord often times doth in...compassion cause his power to break forth in a strong and powerful manner...there will be such a painful travail found in the soul that will work even upon the outward man, so that...the body will be greatly shaken, and many groans and sighs and tears, even as the pangs of a woman in travail, will lay hold upon it: yea...sometimes the power of God will break forth into a whole meeting, and thereby trembling and emotion of body will be upon most, if not upon all, which, as the power of truth prevails, will from pangs and groands end with the sweet sound of thanksgiving and praise".[35]

Often the outburst of emotion might be of joy, as in

"ye province of Munster's meettinge...where ye power of ye Lord was soe great y^{t} friends in the power and spiritt of y^{e} Lord brake out into singeing many together with an Audable voice, making mellody in their heart".[36]

More often the intensity represented either contrition or earnestness in prayer, taking the forms still found in many Pentecostalist groups.

The connection between "the Power" of the Lord and Quaker preaching has been noted,[37] and Quakers themselves mention "speaking with Tongues". The Quaker message, delivered "in the power" might be a wild outburst:

"Elizabeth Tomlinson was made to goe out into the Streets in the mighty power of y^{e} Lord, which carryed her almost of her feet, and her Testimony was 'Repent! Repent! for the Day of the Lord is at hand'".[38]

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34) In one or two cases Fox does use the phrase to refer to God's providence, quite as a Puritan would: "they called, lett us have him in to y^{e} stockes; but y^{e} Lords power was over y^{m} and they was not suffered to putt me in". (Fox: Journal I, 37; cf I, 34; I,38, etc.) The phrase might also be used of the power which healed in sickness (cf. Fox: Journal I, 204) or even of the spiritual strength of Convinced Friends (cf. George Fox: A Short Epistle to Friends to keep in the Power of God (1678, n.p but signed Swarthmore; bsd.). But no line was drawn between such uses and the commoner, more physical aspect of "the Power".

35) Robert Barclay: An Apology for the True Christian Divinity (Philadelphia; Kimber, Conrad & Co. 1805), pp. 372-3; cf. First Publishers of Truth, 294-7, etc.

36) Fox: Journal, II, 141.

37) First Publishers of Truth, 291.

38) ibid., 290.

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But the action of "the power" in inspiring Quaker preaching is usually linked with its effect upon the hearers. Fox

"hearde of a great meetinge of ministers at Ulverstone...and... went into y^e^ steeplehouse in y^e^ dreade and power of y^e^ Lorde: which was as a hammer and a fire amcngst them...and y^e^ mighty power of y^e^ Lorde was soe over all y^t^ priest Bennett said y^e^ steeplehouse shooke and he was afraide y^e^ steeplehouse would fall on his head".[39]

Some physical effects of "the Power" have been cited in the Bristol account. Fox did not deny that "many at their meetings are strangely wrought upon in their bodies, and brought to fall, foam at the mouth, roar, and swell in their bellies".[40] In some cases a Friend entered a sort of trance:

"I, Jane Withers, was moved of the Lord to go to the Steeplehouse of Kellit, to speak to priest More these words Thou are the beast that all the world worships and wanders after; the plagues of God must be poured upon thee. When these words came to me, the power of the Lord seized upon me, but the deceit prevailed so over me that I did not obey at the first movings; but the power of the Lord seized on me again, that I was bound above the middle as if I had been bound with chains, and it was said to me, That if I went not I should repent it... and in the afternoon I was forced to go, and as I went in at the (Church) door, I should have said the plagues of God must be poured upon thee, but I did not speak the words then: and then the power of the Lord came upon me: but in that priest Moor sayes, I was in a trance, it is a lye, for I was as sensible all the while as ever I was".[41]

Such physical effects of mass emotion, although most common in the North, and in the early years of Quakerism, occurred at least as late as 1669, and in all parts of the country;[42] they seem to have been most common at meetings addressed by Fox, Nayler, and especially Dewsbury.[43] It was such outbreaks of "the Power" which gave the Quakers their name.[44] Although Fox, (who hated the name), tried to ascribe it to an occasion when he had bidden Judge Benson

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39) Fox: Journal I, 54.

40) George Fox: Saul's Errand to Damascus (London, Giles Calvert,1653) pp. 1-2.

41) Nayler: The Man of Sin, 45.

42) cf. Fox: Journal I, 226; I,36: II, 141.

43) John Whitehead: Two Seeds, 79, etc.

44) It had been used briefly of "a sect of women (they are at Southwarke) come from beyond the sea...and these swell, shiver, and shake, and when they come to themselves,...they begin to preach what hath been delivered to them by the Spirit". (Clarendon MSS #2624, quoted by T. Edmund Harvey: Quaker Language (Philadelphia, Friends Historical Society, 1928).

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tremble before the Lord,[45] Nayler, Fisher and even Barclay, readily accept the derivation of "Quaker" from the physical effects in their meetings.[46] They defended the phenomenon by Biblical parallels referring to any kind of trembling, shivering or shaking.[47] Friends recognized that the Devil might imitate the "Power of God" so that the deluded might also tremble;[48] nevertheless "Quaking" was properly a badge of Election, "imposed by God himself, as their proper right, on his own People, and distinguishes from all other People that are found Quaking and Trembling at the Word of man, which his Saints have ceased from".[49] More practically, such emotional outbursts might play a more significant role than the ideas of the Quaker message, in the process of conversion:

> "this power...hath often-times laid hold upon our adversarys and made them yield unto us, and joyn with us, and confess to the Faith, before they had any distinct and discursive Knowledge of our doctrines".[50]

The inward experiences which led to such outward seizures will be clearer in studying the autobiographical records in the next chapter. Clearly in any case such outbursts were related to the ethical effects of Quakerism. Fox

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45) Fox: Journal I, 58.

46) James Nailor (Nayler): An Answer to a Book Called the Quaker's Catechism...by Richard Baxter (London, 1655); Fisher: Works, 258; Frederick B. Tolles: "Quietism vs. Enthusiasm: the Philadelphia Quakers and the Great Awakening"; in The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, January 1945, Inc., 1947, p. 36; cf. even Fox: "Quaking and Trembling we own though they in scorn calls us so, and the salvation wrought out with fear and trembling we witness". Fox: Great Mistery, 61.

47) References to Ezekiel, Habakuk, Isaiah, and Paul might still seem valid to modern Biblical scholars; Moses, Daniel, Ephraim and others were less appropriate. (cf. Nayler: Answer to Baxter, 35; Fox: Great Mistery 162; Fox: Works, IV, 256; Fisher: Works, 210ff, etc.)

48) Fisher: Works, 211, 258; Fox, moreover, indignantly denied such concomitants as implied insanity, e.g. foaming at the mouth. Fox: Great Mistery p. 162.

49) Fisher: Works, 210.

50) Barclay, Apology, quoted Harvey: Quaker Language, p. 25.

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stated this as a matter of doctrine:

"All who own the word of God, that reconciles to the Father, and hammers down, and brings out of the fall, and cuts down, and burns up, must know their salvation wrought out with fear and trembling....Before sin is condemned in the flesh,...you must know trembling....And of that power, that in all ages threw down that nature that captivated the seed of God...ye have showed your ignorance".[51]

The dramatic ethical results which accompanied the outburst of religious emotion are evident in the description of the Bristol meetings. Equally drastic was the great bonfire of laces and luxuries which followed the preaching of Dewsbury in Malton, Yorkshire.[52] At Alloughton, where

"ye Power of ye Lord wrought mightily in us....those that were patient, loved one another fervently out of a pure Heart, soe y^{t} nothing was Lacking to any, for self denyall, the true simplicity of y^{e} Gospell, and Charity which thinketh no evill, flowed amongst us".[53]

A stranger reported that Friends were

"persons of most examplar regular course of life, free from almost all debauchery or almost all other offence to their neighbours, yet extremely strict to the rules of their profession".[54]

Quakers in their preaching asserted that the power of the Spirit in their movement made it possible to live by the ethical standards which other sects also felt desirable:

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51) Fox: Great Mistery, 215, 162.

52) cf. Victoria History of Yorkshire, p. 8; Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 72.

53) First Publishers of Truth, p. 298.

54) Lord Langdale (in Yorkshire), 1661, Extracts from State Papers, II, 124, quoted in Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 486.

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"ye have sought, some with one sect, and some with another... and yet ye have not been satisfied in your minds...whether that was the Truth that ye contended for or not, for doubtings have oftentimes arose in your minds, and you have been struck with fears, and then you have sometimes in tenderness desired that you might know the way of God aright; and ye have been...brought somewhat down, and then you have been afriad to run into those evil Practices which formerly you have acted and delighted in: yet this hath been but for a time...; this being in your wills, you have not found Power to resist the Temptations...and so have run into the same wickedness again, and then some of you have been ready to despair". [55]

That this represented the real experience of many individuals, the next chapter will show, and also that there was an inner connection between the Quaker experience of emotional religious experience and the ethical and theological ideas which Friends held. Meanwhile it is clear that, continuing many ethical ideas of Puritanism, the Quaker movement gave them an emotional impact making them effective in new areas.[56] No doubt a lower-class group would be less inhibited in emotionalism, less introspective to see subtleties of sin and virtue, than the culture-bred orthodox Puritans.

We may at any rate see early Quakerism as the fusion of a group of religious ideals, most of them part of the common Puritan tradition, into a new and vital movement, by the group experience of religious emotion shared by those whose background in such ideas had been slight. This religious experience was shared by some whose background had prepared them for radical Puritan ideas; but the fact that the Quaker movement took hold in areas where most of the common people were unchurched made it possible for it to be, not a sect, but a region-wide movement. At a time and in an area where the cultured and the aristocratic groups did not dominate social patterns, this religious movement could unleash the unreflecting fervour of unsophisticated people. As a region-wide, ethically explosive movement, Quakerism inevitably saw their movement as an outpouring of the Spirit, an eschatological event.

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55) George Fox "the Younger": A Collection of the Several Books and writings Given forth by that Faithful Servant of God and of his People, George Fox the Younger (London, 1665).

56) Elwood, himself a Puritan, reports hearing Nayler: "I drank his words with Desire: for they not only answered understanding, but warmed my heart with a certain heat, which I had not till then felt by the ministry of any man" quoted in Brocklebank: Burrough, p. 113.

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The Quaker movement seems to have swept Cumberland and Westmorland so that Fox "in a few years, was almost universally accepted as the sovereign pontiff of Cumberland".[57] The few Congregationalists and Presbyterians there were driven towards despair.[58] Others were more favorable: "The Earl of Carlisle actually told Charles II that the Quakers had done more to suppress lawlessness along the Border than all his troopers could do".[59] Henry Stubbe, a spiritual Puritan but not a Quaker, defended them against the charge of overthrowing magistracy, since

"it is undenyable that they do the Magistrate very good service in reclaiming such as neither Minister nor Magistrate ever speak to, from their wicked wayes unto more wholesome Moralls, and of this there is very good experience in the Northern Counties".[60]

The question arises at once whether, like "Revival" meetings elsewhere, the upsurge of religious emotion which was brought by the Quakers, was a transient outburst. The record of the continuing Quaker movement and its uncompromising standards for generations refutes this, at least in part. The ethical results did not pass. Spiritual vitality also continued in many forms. Nevertheless there is evidence that from an emotional point of view the upsurge was temporary. Even before the great persecutions, many who had come into the

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57) Victoria History of Cumberland, p. 95.

58) "the Churches met at Bridskirk, when they solemnly made confession of their faith, and renewed their covenant with God, beggin the Lord of His Grace and strength that they might stand against that deluge of errors that had overflown the country" (Victoria History of Cumberland, from Lewis: History of the Congregational Church of Cockermouth, pp. 17-18).

59) quoted in Armsby: "Quaker View of State", p. 102; cf. First Publishers of Truth, p. 63: "Jno Grave, being much overcome in asense of the Love of God to the people in the Country (county),...would tell the Earle of Carlile that he might now take away his Gallows, for truth had gott an entrance in the borders of England, and would make them honest men."

60) Henry Stubbe: A Light Shining out of Darkness: (London 1659) p. 88.

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movement had "run out":

"a Generall Meeting at Hythe (Kent)...was Continued for some Yeares ....and Friends grew as y^e Garden of ye Lord...But in time...The Fowles of ye Aire pickt up the Seed in some, and the Thornes choaked it in some, ...so that that Scripture came to be fullfilled. Many called Few chosen ...But Glory be unto the LORD for euer, Can a Remnant say".[61]

This was particularly true in the north:

In 1665, "Westmorland...was full of Quakers who had been disowned by, or who had seceded from, the society of Friends, for in those days of religious excitement men roamed rapidly from one religion to another".[62]

In 1678 and 1679, on the other hand, there seems to have been a fresh outburst of religious enthusiasm, and "it pleased God to Visit Afresh many parts of this County with a Clear spring of truth and Uisitation of his heavenly life, and many were Convinced, and the rest greatly strenthned".[63]

It is such signs as these of a massive and powerful wave of religious emotion in the first years of Quakerism that seem to justify speaking of the Quaker Awakening. Similarities between this movement and the American Great Awakening, and the frontier Awakening of 1797-1813 will be clear to the reader. Parallels with the early Methodist movement, certain phases of the Anabaptist beginnings, or of more recent religious movements in Scandinavia, etc., will also be evident, despite the differences caused by the character and outlook of the leaders. In each case, an old Christian tradition could be appealed to; in most of these instances there were individuals whose religious thinking had already centered on repentance and rebirth. Like the Quaker movement, most of these movements took hold in regions or groups which were unchurched, so that there was no competition with organized churches. The main group of those reached were socially dislocated;

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61) First Publishers of Truth, p. 145.

62) Ferguson: Westmorland, p. 223.

63) First Publishers of Truth, p. 50.

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in the case of Quakerism they were poor, although not in hopeless poverty.[64] Most of these movements were marked with emotional extravagance; an emphasis upon Enthusiasm and moral Perfectionism seems often to go with this emotionalism.[65]

Ethical zeal and the preaching of repentance seem nevertheless to have been involved in most of these movement. Heightened ethical standards and increased religious devotion were usually the permanent fruits of such religious outbursts.[66] In the case of the early Quakers the emotional outburst and the moral reform were in fact two aspects of one experience,[67] and this may have been true also in many parallel movements. In any case these movements did not in the main set out to teach a new morality, but appealed to the latent Christian tradition, and to the Bible as the accepted authority. It is for this reason that the term "Awakening" is here used: (there being no equivalent adjective, "revivalistic" will have to be used in its place, in spite of its disreputable connotations in modern speech).

Whether or not the early Quakers, the Methodists and the American Awakening have enough outlooks in common to justify the defining of a recurrent "Awakening-type" of Ethos the writer lacks adequate knowledge to judge. It is clear at any rate that the traditional "types" of Outlook of "Sect", "Church" and "Mystic" will none of them precisely fit early Quakerism.[68] It is also

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64) here, however, there is obviously considerable variation between the struggling but successful farmers who joined the Great Awakening in America, and Wesley's destitute miners.

65) This was notably true among the Anabaptists and the early Methodists; rather similar developments in quite different economic settings have marked the "Oxford Group", and study of them might lead to more precise understanding of the nature of the social dislocation and estrangement from the Church which seems to be involved in such movements.

66) "Thoughts on the Revival in New England," Works of President Edwards: (NYS. Converse, 1829-30, 10 vols. Vol. III, pp. 297, 421 ff.)

67) v. infra, Section III-A.

68) cf. Troeltsch: Social Teachings.

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CHAPTER III

THE SPIRIT AND THE INWARD LIGHT IN EARLY QUAKER LIFE AND THOUGHT

"There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit. For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death....because the carnal mind is enmity against God; for it is not subject to the law of God....But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ he is none of his....For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God. For ye have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father. The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God... Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities: for we know not what we should pray for as we ought: but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered."

Romans 8: 1,2,7,9,14-16,26.

"The Ministration of the Spirit...gives perfect Knowledge of Sin, and perfect Redemption from it...which the law without could not, and the same Spirit doth testifie it perfectly in the conscience, which the Letter cannot, though the Letter may show a Man his Condemnation, yet it cannot give Life; it can show the Duty, but not give Power to perform it".[1]

Section III-A: Religious Experiences of the Quaker Pioneers

The Quaker outlook upon the World and Society was rooted in the personal religious experience of the early Quakers. No simple patterning of a Weltanschauung is adequate; - the complex origins of many Quaker concerns and concepts must be sketched out. Since early Friends were neither systematic theologians nor scholars of history, the religious experience which they shared provided the vitality, and what unification is present, in their outlooks.

The religious experience itself which Quakers shared had many aspects. The modern reader is often familiar with the mystical elements, the spiritual rejoicing which swept up the group in Silent worship. In later periods this became the characteristic and dominant phase of Quaker religious experience. While limitation of the subject has led to perhaps undue minimizing of this aspect of Quaker experience in this paper, nevertheless the crisis-experience

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1) James Nayler: Works, p. 342.

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of soul-searching, self-condemnation and repentance was certainly at least as prominent in the earliest years as were the experiences of sweetness and light. These conversion experiences are more clearly and crucially related to the Quaker ethical concerns.[2] Moreover, these experiences of moral upheaval were by no means unrelated to the warmth and joy of the resulting spiritual fellowship: the Light which shows a man evil is also the Light which brings into unity, and which gives joy of Spirit.[3]

It is probable that Quaker spiritual autobiographies have been somewhat "standardized" by the influence of each other, just as Baptist accounts of conversion, whether spoken or written, tended (by emphasis and phraseology) to approximate a pattern, (thereby authenticating the Regeneration and Calling of the autobiographer).[4] Nevertheless there is enough obvious sincerity and individuality in the Quaker accounts to make study and generalization valuable. Howard Brinton has studied a group of 100 Quaker Journals,[5] to formulate a pattern of "Stages in Spiritual Development". His findings are entirely supported by these sketchier researches, but most of Brinton's examples are from the 18th Century, so that the changes in the whole relationship of the Quaker to the World and the Quaker community would prevent the using of his results as a description of the first decade.

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2) Attempts to derive the Quaker Concerns from the experience of Silent communion, in our own day, while valid for modern pantheists, have little relation to the original basis for such Quaker concerns, as they arose historically.

3) These aspects of the Light within, which are described clearly but unrelatedly by Rachel Hadley King (Light Within), this paper will attempt to interrelate in terms of Quaker religious experience.

4) cf. Tindall: Bunyan, pp. 34-8: he lists about a dozen, besides the Quaker examples, mostly among more radical sectarians. Bunyan, he says, "made it clear...that a conversion of unusual frightfulness was an honor of which few were accounted worthy by the Lord, who tested and purged the strong" such as Bunyan himself.

5) cf. Children of Light, pp. 383-406.

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It would be interesting if there were any way of knowing how many of the hearers of the Quaker message had had no serious contact with religion until that time. Most of the leading Quakers, the writers of Journals, were notable as boys for unusual moral earnestness. Most had been called Puritans or Independents,[6] and had gone the rounds of preachers and churches. John Camm,

"from his Childhood, was inclined to be Religious, and sought after the best things; and...was one that joyned in society with them that were the most strict and upright in the performance of religious Duties, and ordered their lives most according to Holiness and Righteousness. He, having seen beyond the national Priests...with many others met together among themselves".[7]

Many who later became Quakers had already gone through a deep experience of sinfulness, and had accused themselves of having committed "the unforgiveable sin".[8] Some (such as Howgill) were brought to Quakerism under this burden of Spirit. Others had previously found temporary rest and forgiveness. John Whitehead's spiritual adventures were as complex as Bunyan's:

"In the days of my Youth, I lived without the fear of God...yet was I outwardly restrained by the education of my parents, who feared God, from grosser evils, as swearing, lying, cursing...and Instructed in the strictest Profession of Religion, that then was called by the World Puritanism. Yet notwithstanding I lived without any true sense of my fallen & lost estate, until I was about fifteen years of Age, about which time I had a Day of Visitation...and (God) did let me see that my Heart was full of Corruption...whereby my conversation became blameless as to the World, but of true Knowledge, where to wait upon God for Redemption...I was ignorant...but hearing Sermons, reading the Scriptures,...I much frequented....until I was about eighteen years Age (about which time I went into the Army), and...followed Men zealously whom the World called Godly Ministers, who did speak much of Faith in Christ and of God's Free Grace, and of Free Justification: which things I did apprehend in my understanding,...But this Faith was Outward,...for the Root of Evil still did remain. In this unsettled State I continued until I was about nineteen...

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6) e.g. George Fox: Everyman Journal, pp. 1-11; John Whitehead: Two Seeds, pp.4-7; Nayler: Works, pp. 4-7; Howgill: Gray Ridge, pp.61-3.

7) Memory of the Righteous: "Testimony of Thos. Camm".

8) cf. Howgill: Gray Ridge; Whitehead: Two Seeds. The fact that Fox himself never had so vivid a conviction of sin seems to have obscured the commonness of the experience for other Quakers. This same experience had been common among Puritans of many kinds. (cf. Bunyan: Grace Abounding)

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...and then the Lord let me see that the Kingdom of God was not in outward Observations, but that it was within, and was in Righteousness, Peace & Joy: and that all the Children of the Lord was taught of the Lord Christ:... and by his Spirit he showed me, Barrenness, Dryness, Hypocrisis & Confusion, in the most Eminent Teachers of the World, and I was weaned to him alone for teaching...and I had many Openings in the living Truth, and the Eternal Love of God...witnessed to my soul. But I being ignorant of the daily Cross of Christ, the Serpent beguiled me...and said unto me that I was now made Partaker of the Love of God...and said the best of the Saints did commit Sin; and that I could not be set free from it while I was here on Earth... and then my Will got strength and run forth into Pleasures and Wantonness...Yet a Seed there did still remain, that did secretly reprove me...And then... the Wisdom of the Serpent...told me, the Saints had liberty to take Pleasure and delight in the World...and that tho I did act Sin, yet God did not impute it to me...And as I here lay in the House of Bondage, the Lord in his Love sant...Wm. Dewsbury...and when I heard it declared, and the Cross of Christ preached, the Witness of God arose in my Conscience,... In this Day of my Visitation, I sunk down into the Power of the Spirit, that convinced me of Sin & of Judgment and did receive in the Power of it to return unto him, against whom I had sinned. And no sooner did I return, but in his Love did he receive me, and put his fear in my heart, which caused me again to depart from all manner of Evil...and I was separated from my former Companions, and from Conformities of the world to wait upon God".[9]

More typical than the specific sequence of John Whitehead's conversions, were certain elements in his story: "legalism, antinomianism, and experiences of "Leading" . Before first meeting Quakerism, many of the pioneers experienced what they felt was the Word of the Lord: Nayler was called from behind the plough and sent to preach;[10] Howgill had "many things opened" his "mind was turned to the Light" by "pure openings". As a result of these he also "went up and down preaching against all the ministry".[11] It has been shown that several of the First Publishers had discovered the truths of Quakerism before entering the movement: Nayler, Dewsbury, Farnsworth and Aldam came into the new movement with no sense of radical change.[12]

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9) John Whitehead: Two Seeds, pp. 4-10.

10) cf. Nayler: Works, pp. 12-14.

11) Gray Ridge, p. 63. Occasionally these took the form of scriptural openings, like Bunyan's Grace Abounding, p. 57, sometimes of guidance to specific actions, as was typical of Ranters and the later Quakers. Most often they were probably "openings" of religious truth or comfort.

12) cf. George Arthur Johnson: "From Seeker to Finder: A Study in English Spiritualism before the Quakers", in Church History, Dec. 1948, p. 308.

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In most cases, however, entry into the Quaker movement came by a searching and terrible experience of conversion, however pious the individual's background.

"But all laid down in sorrow when the Day of the Lord was made manifest", said Howgill of his own experience: "for I was overthrown, and the foundation swept away, and all my righteousness and unrighteousness was judged and weighted, and all was found too light. And immediately, as soon as I heard one declare the Light of Christ in man was the way to Christ, I believed the eternal word of Truth (his own previous ideas had been similar). And then my eyes were opened, and all things were brought to remembrance that I had ever done....The Ark of the Testament was opened, and there was thunder and lightning...and the dreadful power of the Lord fell upon me... fear and terror, sorrow and pain...All that I had ever done was judged and condemned....Mine eyes were dim with crying: my flesh did fail of fatness; ....for the indignation of the Lord was upon me....All was overturned, and I suffered less of all....And as I bore the indignation of the Lord, something rejoiced...the captive came forth out of the prison, and the new man was made. And so peace came to be made, and so Eternal Life was brought in through death and judgment".[13]

This experience of complete self-rejection seems to have been common "John Audland ... came to see the emptiness of his great Profession, and...that all his own Righteousness was but as filthy Raggs, Dross & Dung";[14] Anthony Pearson describes in equally typical phrases his convincement that "all my religion was but the hearing of the ear...my justification and assurance have forsaken me".[15]

It is obvious that the outward effects of "the power" were secondary results of such inward upheavals. Audland was "made to cry like a woman in travail", and "sat down in astonishment, like Job, for many daies...he did Mourn and Weep bitterly, biding adieu, adieu to all the world".[16] Quaker preachers urged the sensitive not to slide out from under this judgment:

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13) Gray Ridge, pp. 64-5.

14) Memory of the Righteous: "Testimony of Thomas Camm".

15) Swarthmore MSS III, 33 & I, 87, quoted by Braithwaite: Beginnings, pp. 112-113.

16) Letter to Burrough (1654) quoted Braithwaite: Beginnings, 465n; Memory of the Righteous: "Thomas Camm's Testimony".

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"Start not aside from the judgments of the Lord, for...thou art brought as low as Hell, yea, if thou some to say there is no hope...a way will be made beyond thy understanding, for the deliverance of the oppressed, for the freedom of his chosen. Abide in that which judgeth; do not labour to get peace....He that comes to the world's end, comes to his Wits end; before that World be known which never shall have end".[17]

Peace came in the end after such periods of struggle: Burnyeat describes the experience of a group who underwent it together:

"In the year 1653 it pleased the Lord in his Love and Mercy to send his faithful servant George Fox...with the eternal power of his Word... in the wisdom and power of which he proclaimed the Day of the Lord unto us, in this County of Cumberland...through which deep Judgment did spring in my Soul and great Affliction did grow in my Heart, by which I was brought into great Tribulation and Sorrow, such as I had never known before in all my Profession of Religion....For God...let me see the body of Death and power of Sin which reigned in me, and brought me to feel the guilt of it upon my Conscience....For all my high profession of imputative Righteousness...I came to see...there was need of a Saviour to save from Sin, as well as the blood of a sacrificed Christ to blot out Sin...And then seeing all my works confounded,....I began sometimes to fear that I was undone for ever.. and so the Day of God...brought my Soul to a deep Lamentation.... O the woe that overtook me! O the distress that seized...O the poverty and want that my Soul saw itself in through the springings of the discovering Light....And as this Light did spring...sin became exceeding sinful, and the load and burthen of it became exceeding grievous, and all the pleasure of it was taken away...and the Fire and Sword that Christ brings upon the Earth,...had reached us, yet we knew not from whence it came, though the Burning and the Judgment thereby was begun which the Filth was to be taken away. And now...we often assembled together, as the Lord's Messengers had exhorted us, and minded the Light of Christ in our Hearts....We valued not the world, nor any Glory nor Pleasure therein, in comparison of our Souls redemption out of that State and that horrour and terrour under the indignation of the Lord...and yet came to know that there was no other way, but to dwell in these Judgments, and...that we must be redeemed with Judgment...We were stilled, bowed down in Spirit, and afflicted and tossed in Soul....And after we had met together for some time,...the wonderful Power from on High was revealed amongst us, and many Hearts reached therewith and broken, and melted, before the God of the whole earth, and great dread and trembling fell upon many, and the very chains of Death was broken thereby... and many Souls eased and set at liberty...and some taste of the Oyl of Joy to be witnessed, and a heavenly Gladness entered the Hearts of many who in the Joy of their Soul broke forth in Praises unto the Lord, so that the tongue of the Dumb...began to speak and utter the wonderful things of God, and great was the Dread and Glory of that Power, that one Meeting after another was graciously and richly manifested amongst us...O the joy, Pleasure and great Delight that our Hearts was overcome with many times in our reverent and Holy Assemblies. And now unto them that had known the Night of Sorrow, was the Joyful Morning come".[18]

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17) Audland in Memory of the Righteous, pp. 89-90 This must be linked with the praise of "Holy Desperation" by orthodox Puritan preachers; cf. Knappen: Tudor Puritanism, p. 393.

18) Burnyeat, op. cit. pp. 1-11.

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It is as the sequel of experiences such as this that we must understand both the physical forms of emotionalism, and also some of the more sunny passages of Quaker "mystical" writing:

"While I was waiting out of all visible things", wrote Howgill after describing a similar "dark night",..."The Lord opened the Springs of the Great Deep, and quite overflowed my whole heart with Life and Love, and spake unto me in a full fresh, living Power,"[19]

The emergence from darkness might be by no sudden experience, as in Ellwood's case. Sometimes the struggle might last for years, and occasionally approached a mental breakdown.[20]

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19) Gray Ridge, p. 65.

20) cf. the experience of John Banks: "I being Sixteen Years of Age...in...1654, it pleased the Lord, and that Effectually, to reach my Heart and Conscience...whereby I received the knowledge of God and the way of his blessed Truth, by myself and alone in the Field, before I ever heard anyone called a Quaker preach....But the first Day that I went to one, which was at Pardshaw...the Lord's Power in the Meeting so seized upon me, that I was made to cry out in the Bitterness of my Soul, in a true Sight and Sense of my Sins...And the same Day at Evening, as I was going to a Meeting...I was smitten to the ground with the weight of God's Judgment for Sin and Iniquity, that fell heavy upon me, and I was taken up by two Friends: and Oh, the Godly Sorrow that did take hold of me...that Night in the Meeting...So a Friend,...being touched with a sense of my Condition...read a Paper in the Meeting....which helped me a little....I being very much bowed down and perplexed, my Sins being set in order before me and the time that I had spent in....Vanity, Sport and Pastime....Neither did I satisfie myself that I was reached unto by the Power of God: But by...watchfulness and Fear I came by one little after another to be sensible of the Work thereof in my Heart and Soul, in order to...wash, Purge and Cleanse me inwardly from Sin and Corruption....But before I came to witness that Work effected, Oh the days and Nights of godly Sorrow and spiritual Pain for...some years....The exercise I was under did bear so hard, both upon my Body and Mind, that I was made to leave off...teaching of School...and did betake myself to learn ...something of Husbandry....The Enemy of my Soul...did what in him lay.... to perswade me to despair of my Condition, as though there was no Mercy for me....And Oh, the Days and Nights of Comfort and Divine Consolation we were made Partakers of in those Days together. .and Feeling of the Lord's Power and Presence with us, we enjoyed one another....But it was through various Trials and Exercises, with Fear and Trembling, that on this wise we were made Partakers. Blessed and Happy are they that know what Truth has cost them, and hold it in Righteousness....So that about six Years after I had received the Truth...I came to be settled in the Power of God and made weighty in my Spirit thereby; sot that I had some openings in and by the Power and Spirit of Truth. And...the Lord opened my Mouth with a Testimony ...and with Fear and Trembling I spoke in our blessed Meetings". Banks: Journal, pp. 4-10.

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The central fact of Quaker religious experience was of moral challenge and upheaval. It was the experience of the Hebrew prophets:

"Thou hast heard of God only...by hearsay...but when thine eye comes to see him...who in Sin can abide? and who in iniquity can stand before him? Thou shalt Abhor thy self before him".[21]

The ethical impulse might come in part after the wonder of God's Spirit had been seen, in the effort[22] to be worthy of it. Such conversion experiences might even lead to a life which would be seen in retrospect as legalistic. Thus Ellwood reported that

"Satan....humouring the warmth and zeal of my Spirit, put me upon Religious Performances, in my own Will, in my own Time, and in my own Strength; ...I read abundantly in the BIBLE, and would set myself Tasks in Reading... and appointed myself certain set Times to Pray at".[23]

Yet much of the impetus for moral reform was given before ever spiritual comfort was received; the "sinfulness of sin" made the old evil ways unthinkable. Thus Audland

while still "in great lamentations would say we must forsake the World and all its Glory; its all Vanity and vexation of Spirit: 'tis a Saviour that I long for; "tis that my Soul pants after".[24]

Looking back, Banks and Burnyeat had seen the Power of God working to purify them in the midst of their travail.

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21) Fisher: Works, 165.

22) cf. Burnyeat: "O the pleasant dread that dwelt upon my Spirit, which filled it with living Joy....Then did I endeavour to keep down my Spirit to the meltings of it, and great was the care of my Soul, that I might no ways ruin nor abuse this Power, nor let up a wrong thing into my Mind to be betrayed thereby...for its the humble the Lord teacheth". Truth Exalted, p. 18.

23) Journal, pp. 59-60.

24) Memory of the Righteous: "Ann Audland's Testimony".

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Their own experience makes clear why the early Quakers preached the wrath of God as much as the love of God. Nayler was explicit: "The love of God casts not out the fear of God; blessed is he that feareth alwaies, but thou art cursed who hath cast (fear) out".[25] Fisher spells it out more fully:

> for many a one can tell you much of the terribleness of God's wrath, and that talk may be a bug-Bear to terrifie your Hearts, howbeit that terrour will wear out after a while...(but I am) one that hath witnessed it and been made in some measure to know the power of his Wrath, and feel the weight of his Hand in my own Conscience,....to the affrightment of me for all my old Sins....Therefore no marvail if there be so much trembling in the true church as now there is,....for it is the day of his trouble and travel out of which yet ere long he will be saved.[26]

The ethical impact of the Quaker religious experiences must be born in mind in understanding the Quaker insistence that non-Quaker ministers "have...the form of Godliness but not the power".[27] For the "power" which the Quaker preacher communicated to his hearers was not only emotionally exciting, but ethically effective.[28] The Quaker contrast of a "religion of

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25) Nayler: Answer to Baxter, 33.

26) Fisher: Works, 16, cf. pp. 581-2, etc. This gives point to the Quaker distrust of laughter, (which they shared with most Puritans). Fox describes one encounter: at Lanncestón a "Captaine was ye fattest merryest cheerefulest man and ye most given to laughter y^{t} I ever mett with, soe y^{t} I several times was moved of ye Lord to speake to him in ye dreadefull power of ye Lord; and yett still hee woulde presently after laugh at any thinge y^{t} hee sawe: and I still admonished him to sobriety:...and ye man came to bee convinced, and became a serious and good man and dyed in ye truth". Journal, I, 203; cf. Nayler: Works, pp. 263-4.

27) Edward Burrough: Trumpet of the Lord Sounded out of Sion, (London, G. Calvert, 1656), p. 22.

28) This emphasis upon form and power with this meaning was not the invention of Friends. It was part of the Puritan tradition. John Preston preached before James I that "spiritual rebirth is not an emptie forme of godliness, but an effectuall prevalent power, that puts not upon us onely the washy colour of a good profession, but that dies the heart in graine,...(and) changeth the whole frame of the heart". (Sermons Preached before his Majestie pp. 44-5, quoted by Haller: Rise of Puritanism, p. 167.) Preston obviously did not have Quaker manifestations of "the Power" in mind: (The phrase itself is - like so many others in Puritan England - Biblical). But emotional effects like those among Quakers occurred in all radical Puritan groups: The Baptist tailor John Mowlin, "being at work on his table, there fell from above (according to his own phrase) a power upon him, and...he being wel and strong in his joynts, was cast into great depth of mourning, in so much that tears did abundantly gush from Him; as he sewed by his wife". (The Divell in Kent (1647) p. 12, quoted in Tindall: Bunyan, p. 14.

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notions" with a "religion of experience" represents the same feeling that without such a deep ploughing up of the soul true repentance was not possible.

The Quaker religious experience was thus always in the background when the early Friends described in more abstract terms what they meant by the Spirit, the Light, and the nature of man and of Christ himself:

> The power of the Lord God cometh to shake down that nature which prisons the soul, and sets it free...Where the power of God is, there is Christ, and Christ is ye power of God...where ye power of God is received and felt, Christ is received and felt, and where ye power of God speakes, Christ speakes.[29]

The Quaker experience of conversion underlies their conception of the Spirit, often almost equated with the Power of God. It is involved in the Quaker insistence that religion must be personal, based on the Spirit within each individual:[30] the contrast between a message heard and the Power felt in conversion was expressed in terms of inwardness: "the Gospel, the power of God.. none hear but they that hear within".[31]

Election, for Friends meant therefore thorough repentance:[32] and it assumed that the change was a conscious change: "He that doth not know he hath any faith, may thereby know assuredly that he hath not any".[33] In these directions Friends simply strengthened the Puritan tendency to emphasize conscious conversion and emotional change of Will.

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29) Fox: Great Mistery, 140; Fox: Cambridge Journal I, 265.

30) "The New Man worships a God at hand...and thus the Holy Men of God always knew him; for Abraham did not know him by what he had spoken to Noah". (Nayler: Works, p. 74.)

31) Fox: Great Mistery, 94 . 32) cf. ibid. 60.

33) Fisher: Works, 562.

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The Quaker experience, however, also makes it clear why the Spirit was felt to work through the group at least as much as through individuals: "the Power" was an experience in which the group shared, and usually must have shown the mutual reinforcement of mass emotions. Finally it is clear that for Friends the experience of the Spirit was something overwhelming, which came to them "from outside". The Spirit was in but not of man, and the individual's response was of self-surrender to it. In these respects Quaker thinking took lines diverging from the Puritan tradition. The next Section of this study, therefore, examines these most characteristic parts of Quaker theory, recognizing that they cannot be separated from the life of the Quaker movement.

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Section III-B: Quaker Concepts of Human Nature, the Spirit, the Light, and the Seed.

To understand what Friends meant by the Spirit and the "Light Within", and their place in Quaker ethical outlooks, it is necessary to study the Quaker view of Man, and of the elements which go to make up the total person: soul, spirit, reason and Will.

Contrary to the outlook of recent liberal Friends, the early Quakers regarded human nature (in the absence of the divine Spirit) as pessimistically as did the Puritans:

> The nature that the world (excepting the few Saints) is found in while in the Fall...is a Nature...that (does) only Evil, Vanity & Deceit; for whatever is good, holy, true and just, is written in man by the Law, by the Light and Spirit of the living God....The Nature and Image which the Nations are now universally Degenerated.. into...is that of the Devil, by which all are children of wrath.[1]

God indeed first made man upright, so that "all sinners who are in the Deeds of Darkness...are said to do things contrary to Nature".[2] Friends knew the Calvinist distinction between "the State Adam was in In the fall", and "the State Adam was in before he fell".[3] But once man's nature was corrupted,

> every Desire that Springs from this Root defiles the Man...and that which should give the Knowledge of God (is) buried, and...Man becomes past feeling, utterly dead in Sins....He lost the Will that was free to wait upon God.[4]

Fallen Man is nevertheless capable of contact with God through his Soul. It is perhaps impossible to expect early Friends to produce a clear and systematic theory of the relation of spirit, soul and body.[5] There was

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1) Fisher: Works, pp. 814, 813, cf. p. 672.

2) Ibid. 670, cf. pp. 668-9, 849-850, and George Fox: A Letter from George Fox to Lady Claypool (n.d,n.p.; the letter was written about 1658, cf. Fox: Journal, I, 432)

3) Fox: Journal I, 223, 224. 4) Nayler: Works, pp. 362,237-8.

5) Even Barclay's great treatise only touches on this problem, in passing; he does equate rather fully "human nature" with man's Fallen nature. cf. Barclay: Apology, pp. 111,114,116.

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probably some divergence between Quaker writers at this point. The Soul, for Fox, seems to be not only independent of the body, but divine rather than human:

> God breathed into man the breath of life, and he became a living soul... And is not this that cometh out from God, which is in God's hand, part of God, and goes to God again?....Is not the earthly and human of the ground? and is not that mortal? and is that which is immortal human?... And where doth the scripture...tell of people of a human soul?[6]

For Fox, consequently, it seems to be the human spirit which is the link between the divine soul and the human body; the "spirit" seems to be the "locus" of personality:

> The soul is in the death in transgression, so man's spirit is not sanctified, while soul is in death. And fancy, appetite, anger, pleasure,...are they that war against it....The soul being living and the spirit sanctified...the counsel of God is stood in, his voice heard...that the soul comes up into, that comes from God; that is living and immortal, and gives a creature its feeling, and sensibleness to divine things....And then that birth of the new creature is known whereby the spirit of man is sanctified....The light being turned to, man receiveth the spirit of God,...whereby his spirit body and soul are sanctified.[7]

Samuel Fisher, on the other hand, seems to reverse the role of Spirit and Soul (he had no doubt read Aristotle in University): "The Soul, which is by Christ stiled the man's self...is scituated (naturally) between...the outward earthly body and the inward heavenly Spirit of Man, which do lust, in fallen Man, one against the other". Fisher, like Fox, is somewhat vague regarding "the spirit of man",[8] but it is apparently (like the Soul, for Fox) only active where the Spirit of God is in command:

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6) Fox: Great Mistery, 181, cf. p. 134.

7) Ibid. p. 168.

8) Fisher: Works, 847. He does indeed say that "the Spirit of God, the Spirit of the Devil, and the Spirit of Man are three distinct spirits". (ibid. p. 846)

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> The Spirit of Man "is essential, that is, pertaining to the very Being of...that Man of God, which was of God's first creating,... It is Spirit in itself, and so not natural....It is immortal, as it stands in Union with that immediate and incorruptible Seed of God, which is of that living Word which is said to be made flesh, and to be...ingrafted or put into mans Heart....And howbeit the body and the Soul both may perish, as they separate from this Divine Spirit, yet it lives forever....And men who separate themselves from it in their Sensual or Animal understanding, so as not to have the Spirit, must... know themselves to be but Beasts, and men by the halves; this Spirit of a Man returns to God that gave it...while the Soul that lived in Sin...lies tormented among all Evil Spirits forever".[9]

It is interesting to note this tendency to reduce unregenerate man to being "meer animal men"[10], so that "the Wisdom from beneath, which, only, the Soul is capable of without the said Spirit, is said to be...Earthly, Sensual, i.e. Animal and Devillish"[11].

Reason, in the Quaker view of man, plays no very prominent place. Barclay recognizes "the rational spirit of man"[12] which may correspond to the human soul[13], but it is incapable of adequate knowledge of God[14].

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9) Fisher: Works, p. 849. Concerning Quaker ideas of the afterlife, see Section VI-C; Quakers were accused of rejecting immortality (as had also Overton, Wightman, Milton, and other radical Puritans). "To such Busie Minds who are saying, How are the Dead raised..." Nayler replied that "the Mystery is sealed with the Sons of God, nor can any ever know... but who comes to the Flesh of Christ, and discerns his Body,...the Sons of God...believe, and in measure understand the incorruptible Body that shall never wax old" (Works, p. 359). Camm wrote to Westmorland Friends, shortly before his death, that "death cannot be able to separate us, for in that love there is Union for evermore". These seem to imply that the essential immortality is that of the Spirit, and of the souls united with it (cf also Fox: Great Mistery, pp. 93,220). Apparently "those bodies that are dust, shall turn to dust" (Fox: Saul's Errand, p. 17), and the Soul will go naked to its Judgment, though receiving at the Last Judgment Day a "spiritual body" (Fisher: Works, p. 853; Nayler: Works, etc.). But the decisive feature is eternal life in the present: "thee who cannot witness the first Resurrection within themselves know nothing of the second" (Fox: Saul's Errand, p. 17; Great Mistery, p. 93). Physical death is relatively unimportant in this picture, for those who have so searingly "died to the world".

10) Fisher: Works, 564. 11) Ibid. p. 849.

12) Barclay: Apology, p. 116. 13) Ibid. p. 37.

14) Ibid. p. 182.

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> Dwell not in reasoning, said Penington; take not up thy religion in reasonings of mind; but pass through them, pass beyond them into a light of a higher nature....Our religion stands in a principle which changeth the mind, wherein the Spirit of life appeareth to, and witnesseth in the conscience.[15]

There is among early Friends a tendency to identify natural reason with the Senses since "the Senses and Faculties are carnal, and contrary to the true light".[16] God is directly known, sensed, tasted by the soul.[17] The reduction of unredeemed man to "animal", and the minimizing of reason must be understood, of course, not only in light of Quaker educational and social backgrounds, but of the passive relationship of the individual to experiences of the Spirit and "the Power".[18]

Despite their scorn of the "sensual" and the "animal", Quakers did not regard the physical as evil. "The natural body, which is flesh, blood and bone, is not the body of sin".[19] While the Quaker conception of the working of the Spirit did not fully comprehend either the height or the depth of human nature, the Spirit was nevertheless not contemplated mystically, but obeyed in daily conduct. The real contrast remains that between sin and redemption, between the redeemed and the unredeemed, and between man's will and God's.

For Quakers, therefore, evil was centered in the Self,[20] but not in the Self in its finiteness or physical nature, but in the Self as Will. This approach was set out most clearly by Nayler:

> All that is against Perfection is Self....Who abides in..... Righteousness, abides in that which denies Self, and the World, and... is contrary to Mens wills....In the Cross to his own Will is he born who hath the Will of God,...the Mind of God, as in measure he it forms in the Creature.[21]

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15) Works, II, 59. 16) Nayler: Answer to Baxter, 15, cf. 11, 8.

17) Barclay: Apology, p. 57, cf. p. 44. 18) cf. Section V-A.

19) Fox: Great Mistery, 220. 20) Children of Light, p. 406.

21) Works, pp. 266, 357.

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Unlike Augustine, Nayler does not hope for the conversion of the human Will (there remains to the end a conflict of "two Motions of the two Wills"):[22] the human Will is not free to turn to the good.[23] The human Will must be crushed and replaced by the Divine Will:

> who is it that acts not after the determination of his own Will?...those who knowes the Crosse of Christ, and the power of it; and something in them above nature...nor is anything born of God but is contrary to the Will of man".[24]

Since the human Will and the "Carnall Mind" are evil, and in bondage to the Will of the Devil,[25] the act of conversion is not so much an inward transformation, as the acceptance of something from outside: the Light, the Spirit, the Power. This is disturbing to the philosopher today, but expressed at least the truth that religious re-birth involves an act of surrender, and the rejection of self-will, not simply a new concept of the Good and the Desirable.[26] This act of self-surrender to an imperious Spirit must, once again, be thought of in terms of the experience of the Quaker communities: the overwhelming "Power" which demanded repentance.

The ways of the Spirit's workings will be more fully studied later.[27] Since the Spirit comes from outside a man, although it underlies all that is of God in man and nature, further discussion of it here can be postponed.

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22) Works, p. 356.

23) Ibid. p. 355; Nayler therefore arrives at a doctrine of Predestination: "Man is not saved by his own Works, neither hath he free Will for love the Light of himself, but God hath first loved Man, that in his free Grace he hath given him a measure of Light, and by his Grace the Love to the Light begotten, and Mans own Will denied",(John Whitehead: Two Seeds,17)

24) Works, 10; cf. Nayler: Answer to Baxter, 38.

25) Humphrey Bache, A Few Words in true love Written to the old long sitting Parliament, (1659); Nayler: Works, p. 355.

26) Thus Penington attacks the natural man who "loves onely himself; and so much as is of self in anything, so much he loves....And thus he loves God...as a preserver of himself, as a saviour of himself...but this is not the love of God but self-love". (The Great and Sole Troubler of the Times, (1649), p. 19, quoted by Armsby: "Quaker View of State", p. 73)

27) cf. Sections IV-A, V-A, etc.

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The "Light", and the "Seed", on the other hand, though not of man were felt to be in man, and are important for this analysis.

At first sight, Quaker conceptions of the Seed are as complex and confusing as those of the Soul. There are passages in which Friends write of a Seed that seems almost synonymous with the Puritan conscience:

> If thou findest something in thee, that in all these worldly delights cries Vanity and Emptiness, and can find no satisfaction therein, nor can conform to this world...that cannot plead for Sin, but cries woe to thee because of thy Wickedness, and mourns because of the abominations of thy Times...if such a Seed thou find in thee, though it be the least of all Seeds in thee, yet that is the Seed of the Kingdom.[27b]

At other points this Seed is equated with the Soul or Spirit,[28] which God breathes into the regenerate as the principle of religious life:

> The Spirit in Man...is that Incorruptible Seed of God which whoever comes to witness himself brought forth into the likeness of, is said to be born of God...that spark of Life from his who is the Eternal Word, which lusteth against corrupt Flesh...that strengthens such souls as stay by it to mount upward with Wings as Eagles, towards him from whom it comes.[29]

There are, thirdly, places where the Seed is spoken of as synonymous with "Christ within".[30]

There are cases, however, where two Seeds are referred to, and these are in absolute conflict with each other:

> who is born of the Spirit, with such he is well-pleased, the Testimony of their Conscience bearing them witness in the sight of God that they are his Children...and their Envy, & Reproach, and Suffering from the World, for testifying against the deeds thereof, are as a Cloud of Witnesses that they are not of it (the world)...and so the Enmity is seen, put between the Seeds: that of the Serpent (and)...the Seed of God.[31]

27b) Nayler: Works, p. 333. 28) Ibid. p. 259; Fisher: Works, p. 848.

29) Ibid. p. 348

30) Fox: Journal, I, p. 224, p. 34. Nayler tries to prevent contradiction by saying that "the Seed is mentioned in a twofold sense: the Seed Christ who redeems, and the Seed of Abraham whom he redeems. The Children of the Promise are counted for the Seed". (Nayler: Works, p 334, margin)

31) Nayler: Works, p. 316.

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The significance of the Seed is therefore not to be found only in Growth, or in an inner, hidden root of religious groth. It seldom refers to an inner Mustard Seed; usually the term seems to echo Genesis 3, and the curse upon the seed of Eve and the Seed of the Serpent, beloved of Catholic theologans:

> All friends every where know ye seed of god which bruseth ye seed of ye serpent and is a top of ye seed of ye serpent, which seed sins not but bruseth ye serpents head which tempts to sin and doth sin. [32]

Seed in this sense means offspring, and the term may therefore be used of the Quakers as a whole, as an outward visible congregation, insofar as they are truly inward as well as outward, in connection with New Birth: [33]

> There is the Old Man and a New Man...That which is of the Earth, Earthly, Fleshly, Carnal and Corrupt, this is the State of the Old Man... But that which is Born of the Heavenly, is Heavenly, Spiritual, Eternal, and incorruptible,....And so he that is born of this Seed is born of God; and all who remain in this Seed, and it in them...pass from the Death to the Life.[34]

Whereas for Nayler the starker antagonism of the divine Seed with human darkness is maintained, Fisher is able to dissociate man equally from both Seeds, placing both equally within man, if not of him:

> whichever way soever the man in medie is swayed, whether by the lustings of the flesh to covetousness, Pride, Envy, Hatred,...etc., to mind and walk after the flesh, or by the lustings of the spirit, to Love, Peace, Purity, etc., whether by the Spirit of God from above, or the Spirit of the Devil from beneath...and consequently whose Child soever he is at any time of the twain, which is according to the Prevalency of this or that Seed in him, viz. the Seed or Word of God, or that...Seed of the Serpent,...yet it is sure...that he that abides in that which is of God sinneth not.[35]

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32) Fox: Journal I, 142; cf. Nuttall: Holy Spirit, p. 158; Ross: Margaret Fell, p. 120.

33) cf. Fisher: Works, 708.

34) Nayler: Works, pp. 71, 313-4; cf. the identification of the Seed of Satan with "the Old Man", by Robert Barclay: "This Seed of Sin is frequently called Death in the Scriptures,...therefor its Seed and its product is called the Old Man, the Old Adam, in which all Sin is". Apology p. 317, quoted by J. Philip Wragge: The Faith of Robert Barclay (London, Friends Home Service Committee, 1947)

35) Fisher: Works, 716

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The conception of the Seed, therefore, by no means does away with the radical nature of the New Birth. Nevertheless, in terms of the Seed -- or rather the two Seeds, of God and of the Devil -- the New Man is no less a self-directing individual, than is the Old Man. By contrast to this, the conception of the Light stresses the initiative of that element which is beyond the individual, divine rather than human. Along with the Seed of Sin, the Seed of God also remains in each man, however, "emprisoned" or "buried" under sin, but ready to be freed by the Spirit of the Gospel: so Audland hoped

> that we might see the fruit of our Labours, and the disires of our souls answered, which is the Freedom of the Righteous Seed in every one of you, that so the Eternal God my be honoured.[36]

The "Light Within" is perhaps the most familiar phrase in Quaker language.

> The Light of Christ in you...is a more sure Word of Prophesie than that the Apostles did hear on the Mount...If you take heed to this Light, to obey and love it, then it will shew that to you which no outward Declaration of Man can shew you. It will let you see all your sins done in secret, and whom you have wronged, and how you have spent your time, and will bring you to repentance.[37]

This was the message which Fox characteristically preached, "turning them from the darknesse to the light, that with it...they might see themselves and there sinns and Christ their saviour that saves them from there sinns".[38]

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36) Memory of the Righteous, p. 281; cf. Calvin's own use of the term: "in reprobate man, that seed, which it is impossible to eradicate, a sense of the existence of a Deity, yet remains; but so corrupted as to produce only the worst of fruits". (Institutes, I, 62). In this sense, the Seed may be spoken of as growing, (in ways to suggest the Mustard Seed analogy so often drawn by liberals, yet no obscuring the non-human nature of the Seed): "The Seed of God suffers under all this Death and Dark-ness... ...But as the Mind is staid in the Light...so it is raised out of the Grave, and appears above the Earth, to receive from the Father the Dew of Heaven....And as Man beholds the Seed growing, so he comes to see the New Creation". (Nayler: Works, pp. 259-260)

37) Ibid. p. 37; cf. Fisher: Works, 698.

38) Fox: Journal, I, 28.

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The Light is a giver of knowledge, rather than of mystical rapture,[39] but it is especially knowledge of sin and redemption, not of God's created world.[40] It's point of contact within man is the Conscience (though it is not identical with Conscience),[41] and its message is personal: Qaaker preaching directed hearers to

> the Light of Christ in their own Consciences, which if minded, they would find as a sharp, two-edged sword in their hearts, and as a fire and a hammer, that would knock against and burn up all that carnal, gathered, natural stuff.[42]

Since the Light gives knowledge, all natural knowledge is sometimes considered as the gift of the Light;[43] but primarily, as Rachel Hadley King has shown, the Light gives knowledge of evil. It is involved in the ethical tension of the Quaker experience.[44] It is the ethical focus of the Light which makes it the guide and awakener of the Seed of God within the individual:[45]

> until you join to that Light (that reproves of Sin) you cannot be one with that Seed but hate it. Thou feeling in thee the moving of that which is Holy, bearing witness against that which is contrary to Holiness, and condemning it, and thee for joyning with it...I say, in that believe, and believing and following it, thou willt feel it making a separation in thy inward Man, betwixt that which Christ comes to save, and that which he comes to destroy....then thou wilt be changed into his likeness by his mighty Power working in thee...which will make thee able to answer a good Conscience and give lasting Peace.[46]

> The Light is though in men, yet of God, and no less than his own Law in their own Hearts...and is not any meer Natural Faculty...that is natural to men, as his Mind itself is; it is not a constitutive element in man, but by way of immediate infusion...into the Mind and conscience (which of itself is a dark place,...and destitute as to the Knowledge of God).....as a thing distinct and separable from the man in whom it is, and a witness against him.[47]

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39) cf. Edward Grubb: What is Quakerism: An Exposition of the leading Principles and Practices of the Society of Friends as based on the Experience of the "Inward Light", (London, Geo. Allen & Unwin, 1917 - reprinted 1942), p. 211.

40) cf. Wragge: Barclay, p. 40. 41) cf. Fox: Journal I, 337.

42) Barclay: Apology, p. 195.

43) cf. Fox: Great Mistery, 126, and v. infra Section IV-A.

44) cf. Burrage: Dissenters, 109. It is false to both groups to set in antithesis the Quaker inward Light and the early Baptist doctrine of Original Sin.

45) Rachel Hadley King: George Fox and the Light Within,(Phila. Friends Bookstore, 1940)

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This insistence that the Light was divine, not of men, was in part a desperate effort on the part of early Quakers to rule out the claim of their opponents that the "Quaker Light" was but a natural light, "man's own Wisdom, Counsel, Thoughts, Conceits" to which they replied that "no men in the world call men more out of these things so plainly, so earnestly, so constantly, as the Quakers do".[48] But in part the insistence on the divine nature of the Light was, once more, bound up with the Quaker experience of self-rejection:

> there's no man in the world can be said truly to be low, emptied of self, mean in his own Eyes, to trust in the Lord with all his Heart.. and depend on him alone for teaching...till he betake himself to that which God says and shows in him by the measure of the Light wherewith God shines into his conscience.[49]

It was in the experience of the Inward Light that Friends found power to overcome Self, and, as they felt, found guidance towards moral purity. The relation of the Light to Quaker Ethics, and the basis and nature of Moral Action as Friends saw it, we must presently study.[50] First, however, it seems worth turning aside to discuss more specifically the early Quaker ideas on the nature of Christ, and his relation to the Seed, the Spirit and the Light by which man was seen to be regenerated.

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46) Nayler: Works, 316, 367-8.

47) Fisher: Works, 37; 609; cf. Jones: Quakers in American Colonies, p. xxv; Wragge: Barclay, p. 43. Both friends and opponents of modern Quakerism have misunderstood this. cf. Reinhold Niebuhr: The Nature and Destiny of Man, (2 Vols., N.Y., Scribner's, 1941 & 1943), II, 172, 176.

48) Fisher: Works, 689; cf. 684, 19.

49) Ibid. 689.

50) cf. Section V-A.

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Section III-C: Early Quaker Christology.[1]

In the vehement pamphlet-duels in which Friends were so often involved in the Puritan period, their opponents frequently insisted that Quakers were not Christians.[2] This charge might be due to prejudiced antagonism, or arise from Quaker rejection of Bible and Sacraments; most often the charge seems to have meant that the Quaker idea of Christ denied the significance traditionally given to the historic Christ.[3]

We have seen above that Friends often equated the Seed of God or the Spirit of God within man with Christ; on many other occasions they spoke of Christ Within. In his unawareness of theological problems, Fox could even say: "Christ is not distinct from the Father, 'for he and the Father are one',...and the Father and the Son dwell in the saints".[4] Fisher and later Barclay, being better trained, could make distinctions:

> though we affirm that Christ dwells in us, yet not immediately, but mediately, as he is in that seed which is in us; whereas he, to wit the Eternal Word, which was with God, dwelt immediately in that holy man Jesus.[5]

Fisher again explains:

> we do not affirm Christ himself to be in all men, who yet is known to be in all men that are not Reprobates.[6]

Fox's main insistence was that:

> none know Christ nor his suffering, but with the spirit of God within; for with the spirit of God in the prophets and holy men they knew Christ that was come to suffer...with the same spirit of God within people, they now come to see him, and enjoy him, and receive him, the same that did suffer, which none know that are out of the spirit.[7]

In other words, the same experience of the personal and inward spirit was

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1) Edward Grubb: The Historic and the Inward Christ (London, Headley Bros., 1914), for further discussion of this topic.

2) cf. Thomas Ellwood: A Fresh Pursuit (bsd,n.p. 1674), and Fox: Great Mistery, pp. 114-115.

3) Bunyan: Grace Abounding, 38-39. 4) Fox: Great Mistery, 243-4

5) Barclay: Apology, q. Grubb: Historic & Inward Christ, 41-2.

6) Fisher: Works, 783. 7) Fox: Great Mistery, 49, 50-51.

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often interpreted in terms of the Risen or Eternal or Inward Christ: Fox said that vicarious Atonement made Christ absent from his Church; that Christ's resurrection was the rising within the heart.[8] Christ is spiritual and universal:

> Where Christ is revealed and known, he is known to be spiritual, and not carnal, not limited to one Place, but filleth Heaven and Earth;... but not seen by the carnal...neither can they hear his Voice.[9]

All this can be matched with Biblical parallels, more especially from Paul and the Fourth Gospel: yet it tended to make the Word of God synonymous with the Inward Word. Accordingly, the logic of their outlook forced them into corners. The Word of God in orthodox theology is also the agent of Creation: we shall see that for early Quakerism the natural world was thought to be in a totally dependent relation to the Spirit experienced inwardly. The Word of God in traditional belief was uniquely incarnate in Jesus; without rejecting the historical Jesus, early Quakerism never arrived at a very clear or positive understanding of his significance.

Despite occasional charges,[10] Friends never denied the historical life of Jesus of Nazareth, or that Jesus was the Christ:-[11] "I challenge... you all", writes Nayler, "to produce...a letter of my writing...where Christ which died at Jerusalem is denied for salvation". Though Quakers sometimes allegorized the events of Christ's human life "it is one thing to say Christ is a figure or example, and another thing to say...<u>all he did and suffered was but a figure</u>".[12] So Fox presented the Assembly of Barbados with a creed in traditional and orthodox language.

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8) Fox: <u>Great Mistery</u>, 49-50-51.

9) James Nayler: <u>Works</u>: "A Discovery of the Wisdom which is from Beneath" (1653), p. 81.

10) e.g. Bunyan: <u>Grace Abounding</u>, 38-9.

11) it was their conceptions of the relation of the divine spirit and the human body (of which more later), that led to this misunderstanding.

12) Nayler: <u>The Man of Sin</u>, 20; cf. Fisher: <u>Works</u>, 696; Keith: <u>The Light of Truth</u>, p. 17 as quoted by Wragge: <u>Barclay</u>, p. 46.

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But the salvation through Christ is carried out inwardly through the Light or the Spirit; Quakers could speak of the necessity of Christ for salvation because they made Christ and the inward Light synonymous.[13] "Christ himself while he was on Earth...speaking then audible to the outward Ear, through that Voice he then used, preach't himself indeed, preach't himself... as a Light in men".[14] We shall see later the important and positive relationship between the outward preaching of the Light-Christ, and the inward experience of Him. Friends followed Puritanism in saying that "None know the atonement of Christ but by the Light within",[15] but seemingly they rarely realized that this was not the same as to speak of the possibility of salvation by the Light apart from the historic Christ, a confusion leading to frequent crossed purposes in debates with opponents.[16] The difference, of course, lies in the connection between the Atonement and the historical life of Jesus.

The early Quaker conceptions concerning the Atonement are hard to pin down with certainty. On the one hand, Fisher for instance, denies "that God can be known in or by any other Light, in which Christ first is not known";[17] meaning apparently the historic Christ. And both Fox and Whitehead speak of atonement by Christ's death:

> without the Sufferings of Death of Christ at Jerusalem, no Man can be saved, justified or sanctified, though we say that it is not an Historic Knowledge and Belief of what Christ said and Suffered at Jerusalem... that can or doth save any Man, without feeling of his Spirit, Power and Life made manifest within.[18]

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13) "He it is that is now Come and hath given us an understanding... and to rule in our hearts, even his Law of Love and of Life in our inward parts...by whose blood wee are clensed and our Consciences sprinkled from dead works to serve the Liveing God".(Fox: Journal: creed of Ass. of Barbados, 1671.)cf. Fisher: Works, 686.

14) Ibid. 691. 15) Fox: Great Mistery, 121, cf. p. 116.

16) cf. Fisher: Works, 696. 17) Ibid. 608.

18) John Whitehead: A Manifestation of Truth in the Written Gospel - Labours of ...John Whitehead , (London, T. Sowle, 1704), 134-5; cf. Fox: Great Mistery, 127.

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This statement protects the objective character of Christ's Life and death and significance for mankind, and Friends' constant attacks on a purely external or vicarious atonement can be considered orthodox in this light. Traditional Christianity has always insisted, (with varying emphasis) on the necessity of both historic and inward atonement and redemption.[19]

On the other hand a case could be made for regarding many of these statements on the atoning work of the historical Christ as mere traditional expressions.[20] It is not so much that they are not common, nor that their meaning is never analyzed or interpreted -- these being no easy problems even for trained theologians. The problem is the failure to distinguish the historic from the inward Christ, and the use of historical terms in ways[21] that seem purely symbolic:

> faith is in the blood of the seed, not of the first Adam, nor the beasts, but...the precious blood which is the life of the saints...which...whosoever...drinks, hath life in the Son of God...And this is wrought within.[22]

Here the Catholic identification of the historical and the sacramental blood of Christ has been taken one step further, and both are made synonymous with a purely inward process and experience. So again:

> can any be obedient to the spirit within and to Christ a worker and a lawgiver (within)....Can a man know all these things, and yet not know Christ to be a saviour?[23]

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19) We shall see that the work-righteousness which a doctrine of Vicarious Atonement is concerned to exclude, is also in its own way guarded against in Quaker statements on Justification.

20) cf. Fox: Journal, II, 180. 21) Fisher: Works, 153.

22) Fox: Great Mistery, 268.

23) Ibid. 116.

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Finally, the problem of the historical Jesus is seen most clearly in considering the early Quaker suggestions about the relation of Divine Spirit and Human body in Jesus. Here again the problem is of almost inexhaustible subtlety theologically; yet one's basic approach cannot help affecting all beliefs about the meaning and work of Christ, and about his resurrection. Traditional theology has always felt that the divine and the human in Jesus Christ were so united that the divine element shared and was involved in human suffering and death, and the human element - and through Christ, all human nature - could share in the power and redemption represented by the Resurrection. Christ's human nature should involve Jesus as a whole man: body, mind, spirit.[24]

We find, on the other hand that the early Friends "distinguish... between that which is called Christ, and the bodily garment which he were. The one was flesh, the other spirit. The flesh profiteth nothing...the spirit quickeneth....The body of flesh was but the veil".[25] Thus divine and human are not really united: Fox asks, regarding "Christ's human nature, where doth the Scripture speak of Human?...Now we do not deny that Christ, according to the flesh, was of Abraham, but deny the word human. Christ's Nature is not human, which is earthly, for that is of the first Adam".[26] Thus his distrust of fallen humanity leads Fox to separate divine and human as far as possible in Christ, even to the point of obscuring his distinction, made elsewhere,[27] between the "flesh" and the physical.

As a result of this conception, the man Jesus is not thought of as basically transformed; he is merely used. But human nature is not transformed, the earthly life of Jesus becomes simply the example of what may happen when

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24) cf. on this point the "Tome" of Leo of Rome and the writings of Athanasius in the early Church.

25) Penington, Works, I, 360, q. Grubb: Historic & Inward Christ, 34.

26) Fox: Great Mistery, 140 . 27) cf. Fox: Great Mistery, 220.

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other human lives are similarly taken over:

> Christ "took upon him the form of a Servant and was made in the likeness of Men...that he might become a living Example to all Generations which no creature could be, the whole Creation being in the Fall."[28]

> "Christ in his people is the substance of all figures, tipes, and shadows", but Christ in history "is their example or figure...that the same things might be fulfilled them that was in Christ Jesus".[29]

This involved problems about Christ's resurrection; apparently Friends' opponents were correct in saying that Quakers denied the crucified Christ Jesus to have risen or ascended into heaven;[30] at any rate Friends denied that his human body could be in heaven.[31] The only resurrection which they stressed was the resurrection of Christ's spirit within the believer.[32] This is no easy problem for us today to solve. Yet the Quaker approach tended to destroy any unique character in Christ's life, and any direct connection between his death and the Resurrection experience; it denies that Christ's death was an Event with any objective significance (other than as all men die).

The obverse to the secondary role given to Christ's human body is the repeated insistence that Christ's soul was not human:[33]

> for you say that Christ had a human soul, and is not human earthly? and hath a human body, and is not a human body an earthly body....And is not the soul immortal?[34]

This represents, of course, merely an extension of the wider Quaker belief that the spiritual soul was of God and not man. But sharpens up the problem raised in that connection. We think of man as a unity: body, mind and spirit. To Quakers, on the other hand, the human body was regarded as a tool and the human mind and will as to be superseded by a divine soul or spirit. The regenerated person is thus not truly a person, but something "indwellt" or

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28) Nayler: Works, p. 347. 29) Fox: Saul's Errand, p. 9.
30) Bunyan: Grace Abounding pp.38 9.
31) Fox: Great Mistery, pp. 269, 32) Ibid. p. 269.
33) cf. Ibid pp. 185 220, 201.
34) Ibid. p. 180.

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"possessed" by an external spirit. Grubb has pointed out the similarity between the early Quaker conceptions of Christ and of other men in this respect.[35] Early Quaker Christology may be influenced by that of the General Baptists, (whose thinking is said to have been partly moulded by the Hoffmanites on the continent);[36] Saltmarsh's Christology was similar, and Fox agrees warmly with William Dell's ideas at this point.[37] Here again, however, one notes the way in which the religious experience of the early Quakers made a severe break between the life of the "old man", the human but fallen nature, and the new life "in Christ"; and one sees that the Quaker experience was of an overwhelming nature seeming not so much to change and transform the will as to lay hold on a man, yet by an emotional inward Spirit rather than by relationship to a historical event.

The "impersonality of the Inward Christ" of which Grubb speaks,[38] is perhaps also to be connected with this experience of the surrender of self to the Spirit which is within, yet impersonal and collective. This seems to underlie the Quaker attitude to the Trinity, and their interfusing of Christ, the Spirit and God:

> The Father, the word, and the spirit,...are not they all one? How then are they distinct?....As for the word Trinity, and three persons, we have not read it in the Bible, but in the common-prayer-book, or mass-book, which the Pope was the author of. But as for unity we own it, and Christ being the brightness of the Father's glory.[39]

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35) Barclay denied that Quakers were Apollinarian and Eutychean, and indeed their radical distinction between the divine and human natures in Christ comes closer to Nestorius than to Apollinaris, though in minimizing Christ's human mind the Quakers were also close to the Apollinarian weaknesses: the attempt to separate radically the divine and the human is always in danger of one or other outcome.

36) Wragge: Barclay, etc. 37) cf. Fox: Great Mistery, 201.

38) Grubb: Historic & Inward Christ, 152.

39) Fox: Great Mistery, p. 180.

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Quaker Christology had one further troublesome offshoot which we shall see became at one time the focus of a major conflict of religious toleration.[40] The Quaker claim to be indwellt by Christ, stemmed from the identification of Christ with the Holy Spirit and the minimizing of the human Jesus.

To modern Quakers; often regarding God as a diffuse, pervasive spirit or Power, operating through human nature and the personalities of individuals; such an approach seems to present no problems. For the Puritans who heard the early Quakers, God was a Person and Christ likewise, and the claim that he indwellt individuals was startling. We have seen that even for Quakers, with a somewhat more impersonal conception of God and Christ, the idea at this time meant a partial displacement of human nature and individual personality, a sort of "spirit-possession".

Extravagant language used in praise of Quaker leaders thus took forms which shocked Puritan beliefs; early Quakers were often accused of claiming to be equal with God or Christ. Fox's own explanation was that

> That was not so spoken that I was equal with God, (but) He that sanctifieth and he that is sanctified are all one, they are one in the Father and the Son, and His flesh and of His bone; this Scripture doth witness, and ye are the sons of God, and the Father and the Son are one.[41]

Nayler's reply to this same accusation was

> that Geo. Fox was denied as dust, but the Spirit that spoke in him is equall with God...(As) to the calling George Fox the Son of God; you know nothing of this Son of God as he was revealed in the Apostles.[42]

To quote Fox again:

> if God dwells not in the saints as a personal union....How come the saints then to eat of his flesh, and to be of his flesh and bone?...and to have unity with the son and the Father?[43]

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40) cf. Fox: Great Mistery, 134.

41) Fox: Saul's Errand, 5-6; cf. Braithwaite: Beginnings, 107; cf. Fox: Saul's Errand, p. 7.

42) Nayler: The Man of Sin, 15.

43) Fox: Great Mistery, 182.

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Despite the use of many familiar phrases and ideas from the Bible and Christian tradition, Quaker conceptions of the nature of God's Spirit, and its relationship to the converted individual differed from the orthodox pattern. Though not completely original (being found in the "spiritual Puritan" tradition) they led to distinctive results in ethical outlooks and patterns.

The relationship to the divine Spirit, in any case, which led Quakers to use seemingly blasphemous language about themselves, was not intended to set apart the Quaker leaders.[44] The Quaker assertions that the Light and the Spirit might indwell all men universally must be the next topic of this study.

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44) Nayler, when asked "art thou the Son of God, replied: "I am the Son of God, but I have many brethren...the Lord hath made me a sign of his coming". (quoted in Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 253)

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Section III-D: The Universalism of the Spirit.[1]

The divine Light was believed by the early Quakers to be present with all men. Though not an innate part of human nature (nor as specifically centered within the individual as is the Seed), the saving Light stands in the same relation to all men universally:

> The Light in all manifests or gives, (as heeded) to discern in some measure the things of God and the Spirit....According to the measure of it in men, and their attendance to it, it leads gradually into all Truth.[2]

This universalism included those men who had never known the Bible or historic Christianity:

> What is that in them, who have no outward Scripture, that makes them to see, that they behold and approve of better things while they practise worse? Is it not the same Light and Spirit within?[3]

The favorite Bible-verse in this connection (then as now) was John 1:9, on Christ who "lighteth every man".[4]

Universalism, rejecting the Calvinist doctrine that God from the beginning intends only certain men for salvation, was the special tenet of the General Baptists in England, from whom so many of the early Quakers were drawn. There are many reasons why the doctrine of Universalism should have appealed to both groups. Men have always found it hard to reconcile themselves to believing that God has from before Creation selected certain men for eternal punishment.[5] So the Quakers insisted that it was to impute tyranny to God as

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1) on this topic, cf. Nuttall: Holy Spirit, Chapter X.

2) Fisher: Works, pp. 603,605.

3) Ibid. p. 578; cf. Fox: "the light which doth enlighten every man that cometh into the world...was before natural conscience was, or natural light either....And many of the Indians do shew forth more in their conversations of the light then you do". (to Baxter: in Great Mistery, p. 185; cf. Nuttall: Holy Spirit, p. 160).

4) cf. Fox: Great Mistery, 104, etc.

5) Even Bunyan, who speaks occasionally of the predestination of the Elect, rarely applies the possibility of reprobation to anyone but himself; cf. Bunyan: Grace Abounding.

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well as narrowness, to limit his Grace:

> Sects are of so narrow and a pinching spirit as that you would shut up the Universal Love of God unto all mankind in a narrow corner, and monopolize the free Grace of God that hath appeared unto all men... you would limit the Holy One, and stop the wind from blowing where it listeth....It is God's will that all men should come to the knowledge of Truth. Every man...is capable of fulfilling the will of God.[6]

> And was not Christ a propitiation for ye Sins of ye whole Worlde for ye reprobates as well as ye Saintes.[7]

To deny universal Grace makes God's promises hypocritical:

> yea it is against the very Nature of choice, to lay two things before a man, saying, Chuse which of these two thou willt, and yet leave him under a necessity of taking the worst.[8]

Quakers, like Baptists, were demanding that men make ultimate choices in religion. Both Baptists and Quakers were at this time expanding and expansive groups, by nature reaching out, in their main attention, beyond themselves, and beyond those groups formerly connected with organized churches.[9] It has often been pointed out that movements of mass religious repentance are likely to assume that all men to whom they appeal are capable of repentance.[10]

The Quakers, of course, did not assume that all men actually would be converted or saved. In pressing Universalism, wrote Fisher:

> our Question...was not at all about the measure of the Light, whether all have the same measure of it or not, for we affirm not that, but whether all have some measure of that same Light that shines from Christ... For we own...that some are in the Darkness and Ignorance of the Gospel, though the Light is in them, that is able to bring them to know the Gospel, which they disobeying, and not liking to retain God in their knowledge, are Blind unto.[11]

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6) Howgill: Gray Ridge, 100; cf. Fisher: Works, 627-631; Fox: Great Mistery, 103.

7) Ibid. I, 293; cf. Fisher: Works, 623.

8) Ibid. 624, cf. 629; cf. the arguments of Pelagius, in Niebuhr: Nature & Destiny, I, 245-8.

9) e.g. by K. S. Latourette: History of the Expansion of Christianity, and by W. W. Sweet in connection with the American Frontier Awakenings.

10) Starting often from Calvinism (perhaps because of the centrality given by Calvinism to God's power to convert the individual, and the ultimate significance of such ethical conversion), they repeatedly have given way to Arminianism. The Quaker leaders, though, derived most directly from Arminian groups such as General Baptists and Seekers, mostly as individuals started as Calvinistic Puritans.

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It is worth noting here that the saving Gospel does not here seem to involve the New Testament or the historical Jesus; even in leading men "into all Truth", the Light seems to be regarded simply as teaching the dictates of conscience and the inward message of Quakerism:

> "Though the Heathen do not know Christ", writes Howgill, "or the Spirit, by the name of Christ and Spirit, yet knowing that which accuseth and excuseth, that which condemneth and justifieth, they have the thing."[12]

At this point Quaker conceptions differed from the General Baptists', being closer to those of "Spiritualists" such as Dell and Saltmarsh.[13] When asked "If the world have sufficient light, what need they your teaching?", Nayler replied, "to exhort them to that light"; "though Christ was the light before the world was, yet (he) came into the world to open the eyes" of men.[14][15]

Clearly this Quaker conception gives ethics a central place in Salvation; like all Arminians, Friends suspected Calvinism of making moral zeal unnecessary:

> for the most of our hypocritical churls...care not how few men be saved, provided that their ever-sinning selves be not damned, but elected to be saved in their sins.[16]

Fox thought the Calvinists

> had frightened people with the doctrine of elecion and reprobation, and said yt ye greatest part of men and women God had ordained...for hell, lett ym pray or preach or doe what they coulde....And God had a certain number which was elected for heaven lett ym doe what they woulde[17]

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11) Fisher: Works, 594, 597; cf. p. 678.

12) Howgill: Gray Ridge, 83.

13) cf. also John Goodwin: "Men may be saved who have never heard the name of Christ", q. Jordan: Toleration III, 410.

14) Nayler: Answer to Baxter , 21.

15) Ibid. 40; so Nayler replied to Baxter's question "whether this light be sufficient to leave men without excuse; or is it sufficient to salvation? I say both....If so is not the Gospel needless? I say, all that believed in him to come, had sufficiently of his light to guide them in what God then required; but when he was come, then the Gospel was preached to every Creature under Heaven, then all was called to repent." (ibid. p. 21)

16) Fisher: Works, 131. 17) Fox: Journal I, 293.

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That Fox misunderstood Calvinism (especially in the form of the Covenant theology by which good works were not only the fruit, but the pre-ordained concomitant of election), is really not important. What is really significant is that for Fox and the early Friends the consciousness of sin was the central requirement for salvation. Puritans and Quakers argued constantly about whether the Light was natural or supernatural.[18] The Quakers were starting with the universal consciousness of sin, which the Calvinist called "natural".[19] Unlike the Calvinists, the Quakers assumed that this consciousness was also sufficient for salvation, if followed:

> Is there any Law in the World that, (being broken) brings Penalty, ...or Condemnation upon the Transgressors that does not as well hold Guiltless, Acquit, Clear, Justifie, and save from the Said cursing and condemnation its obeyers and observers?[20]

The act of deliberate self-renunciation was crucial:

> if the Light which is in some measure in the Conscience of all men, be sufficient to make known God savingly, why do not all come to be saved? ...I answer, because they give not up to be guided by it, and come not to it.[21]

Friends always assumed, from the intensity of their own experiences, that to realize "the sinfulness of sin" would drive a man to renounce sin. Baxter pinned down the essential dispute:

> whereas (the Quakers) say the Light within is sufficient, if obeyed, our Question is, whether it be sufficient to make man obey it, etc. tis the Grace we are speaking of that causeth man to hearken, believe and obey, for Faith is not of yourselves, but is the gift of God.[22]

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18) cf. e.g. Fisher: Works, 603.

19) certain Quaker sayings do indeed seem to identify creation and redemption, natural and supernatural: "This generation hath confused people's minds, saying there is a two-fold Grace; first that which is common to all men; secondly, that which hath only appeared to the Saints....He that causeth the sun to shine and the rain to fall...and that discovereth sins to man, the same is he who is the Life of the soul, the same is he that sanctifies and purifies. (Howgill: Gray Ridge, 78)

20) Fisher: Works, 662.

21) Ibid. 675; cf. 603; Nayler: Answer to Baxter, 39-40.

22) Fisher: Works, 694.

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For the Quaker "the choice is always ours"[23]. For the Calvinist, (as for Paul and Augustine and Luther) there was a gulf between knowing right and doing it: "the evil that I would not, that I do". Like Paul, the Calvinists recognized that conscience was universal, and that so far as knowledge of evil was concerned, its Light was sufficient; on this basis the reprobates were justly damned. But they spoke of its Light as "natural" precisely because in their own experience, while it showed the good, it did not give power to perform it. They found they were dependent upon the further Grace of God for power to transform their own wills. This experience the Quakers, after such costly victory over their own wills, never really understood. Fisher's long dispute with Baxter shows this very clearly:

> As for us called Quakers, we judge God hath done well for us, in working in us to will and to do, i.e. the Power, and hath, (though not in R.B's compulsive way caused us) put us into a capacity to work it out, and left us...to work out our own Salvation with fear and trembling... if ever we believe in his Light to our Life, that Faith is his Gift, though our act, as tis his gift that we have power either to sit or stand... God puts men into capacity to come to the Light,...yet all men..are not saved by it,....because they will not come to that Light of God.[24]

Thus Friends had a true feeling for the centrality and necessity of the Grace of God; yet they thought of it in perhaps too shallow and external a way. This deficiency is to be tied up, once again, with their inadequate understanding of the human will and of the significance of individual personality in both man and Diety.

Since human rejection of God was regarded simply as wilfulness, by the early Friends,[25] Election and Reprobation are reduced to general principals:

> Election and Reprobation are in the two Seeds, that after the Flesh, and that after the Spirit...and as every one is found in these, so is God's purpose touching them.[26] Election stoode in ye second birth and reprobation stoode in ye first.[27]

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23) Nayler: Works, 365 . 24) Fisher: Works, 695.

25) cf. e.g. Fisher: Works, 600 . 26) Nayler: Works, 310.

27) Fox: Journal I, 27; cf. II, 151.

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Predestination is therefore reduced to foreknowledge, or rejected[28] entirely.[29] God's governance of individual events was by no means rejected, but it was conditioned quite clearly by man's response to the Light. As to evil in general, and the Seed of Sin in men, Nayler retained from his early Presbyterian background a somewhat Calvinist theodicy:

> and for this purpose is that Seed (of Evil) raised up and prepared, that he may shew his Power upon him who doth not retain the Knowledge of God that they all might be damned, who take pleasure in unrighteousness.[30]

Friends, while not dualists about the Created-world, felt such an intense sense of ethical polarity that they rarely attempted to couple God and evil on any basis.

Along with the element of human decision in Election, the Quakers stressed that the Elect are conscious of Salvation. Thus was answered the problem of the Puritans who found that "Predestination leaves every man unsure of his own salvation, no matter how much the minister may reasure".[31] Those who "helde there doctrine of particular election in Esaus, Cains and Exhmaells nature...must be borne againe before they enter ye kingdom of God."[32] In the light of their own intense salvation-experience, it is small wonder that Friends made such conscious rebirths normative.[33]

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28) Fisher: Works, 155. 29) cf. Ch1 VI.

30) cf. the Calvinist position, as in Perkins: Golden Chaine, p. 18; also Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth". Nayler: Works, 311.

31) Fisher: Works, 630; this was the same problem which Ames and Perkins sought to meet by the "Covenant of Theology".

32) Fox: Journal I, 203.

33) This did not mean that all with religious experience were Elect: it is the Quakers' "Light...which...doth reveal the Election and Reprobation and without it, none know who is Elected or Reprobated"; - with that Light, Quakers need not worry if outsiders denied their Election. (cf. Nayler: Works, pp. 312-313).

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The single exception to the universal offering of Grace and Salvation lay for those whom Friends felt had "passed their day of visitation".[34] The Light is universal, but

> some men not turning to it, (are) deprived of it at last, for not improving the measure of it.
>
> If you reject the Light of his Son in your Consciences, which he hath given you...then will those desires which are yet in you towards the living God soon die, and you will grow more dark,...and your hearts will become hard, and you will...grow fit for the Plagues and Judgments of the righteous God.[35]

This Biblical conception the Quakers found pleasantly relevant to certain of their more persistent opponents:[36] More soberly, Nayler divides men into three sorts;

> those who have received the light. 2. such as in their hearts are convinced with the light of Christ of the way of truth, but finding it straight to their carnal pleasure and profits...will be glad...to take occasion thereby to cast off the yoak wholly. 3. such as have a simplicitie in them and a love to the truth...and would walk in it, did they know, but are yet kept in blindness and darkness by their blind guides.[37]

For this third group there was hope; the Quaker universalism went hand-in-hand with their world-wide preaching mission: "In compassion to their poor Souls", the Friends sought out especially places where were "a people where the gospel hath not been preached nor no man hath laid a foundation to build upon, but are all alines and strangers to the life of God."[38]

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34) Nayler: Works, p. 311.

35) Fisher: Works, 609; Fox the Younger: Works, p. 9; cf. Fisher: Works, pp. 689,675; Barclay: Apology, p. 150, etc.

36) So Fox addressed Priest Lampert: "who art of ould ordained for condemnation...this is the word of God to y^{t} in thy conscience I do speak which shall witnes me eternaly & yee condemn...y^{e} woes remaines upon y^{ee} eternaly & from it thou canst never com". (Journal, I, 188)

37) James Nayler: The Foot Yet in the Snare, in an Answer to John Toldervy, (London, Giles Calvert, 1656); cf. Martin Luther: Treatise on Christian Liberty)

38) Arthur J. Eddington: The First Fifty Years of Quakerism in Norwich (London, Friends Historical Society, 1938), p. 7; Hubberthorne, (Swarthmore MSS IV, 235) as quoted by Braithwaite: Beginnings, 163; cf. Bunyan: "My greatest desire in fulfilling my ministry was to get into the darkest places of the country, even amongst those people that were farthest off of profession". (Bunyan: Grace Abounding, p. 76)

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CHAPTER IV

THE AUTHORITY OF THE SPIRIT IN WORSHIP AND KNOWLEDGE

"I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever; Even the Spirit of truth; whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him: but ye know him; for he dwelleth with you and shall be in you...And when he is come, he will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness and of judgment....I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit when he, the Spirit of Truth is come, he will guide you into all truth...and he will show you things to come."

John 14:16-17; 16:8, 12-13

"I was sent to turn people from darkness to the light, that they might receive Christ Jesus...in His light....I was to direct people to the Spirit that gave forth the Scriptures, by which they might be led into all Truth, and so up to Christ and God, as they had been who gave them forth. I was to turn them to the grace of God, and to the truth in the heart, which came by Jesus; that by this grace they might be taught, which would bring them salvation, that their hearts might be established by it, and their words might be seasoned".

George Fox[1]

Section IV-A: Worship in the Spirit

The authority of the Spirit was central in early Quaker ethics. The role of the Spirit in ethical outlooks was most crucially seen in its inward Leadings. Nevertheless the Spirit's authority can best be understood in the light of its role in other areas, notably in Worship and in human knowledge, and in relation to the Bible and the Ministry. To some extent this chapter must be by way of interlude, digressing into areas where the ethical tension of the central Quaker experience is relaxed; it is simpler to elaborate here, rather than later, upon the relevant parts of Quaker views on the Bible, the sacraments and education, at the points where it is necessary to discuss them in their relation to the Spirit. In each of these areas, the inward experience and authority of the Spirit played a crucial role, but other factors were also involved.

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1) Fox: Journal (Everyman Ed'n, p. 20)

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In Quaker Worship, one can see most fully the meaning of the Quaker effort to leave full initiative to the Spirit. Moreover, the experience of the Spirit in worship was more fundamental for Friends than their experience of the Spirit in intellectual areas. In worship the unity of the Spirit with ethical concerns was more clearly evident. Even in worship, however, the Spirit was involved in certain issues that were not primarily ethical.

The basic connection between Quaker and Puritan ideas of the Spirit has been excellently discussed by Nuttall.[2] He shows how the experience of "sonship" to God as a loving Father was a point of leverage for the Protestant Reformation.[3] As has been shown, the Puritans of all groups emphasized prayer "in the Spirit". The Spirit in prayer was felt to create the "spirit of adoption whereby we cry 'Abba, Father'", and this personal relationship in prayer was felt to be essential:[4] "set" prayers were rejected. The radical Puritans often went on to insist that each prayer offered must be in the specific guiding and impulse of the Holy Spirit.[5]

It was this radical attitude which was most strongly found in the attitudes to worship among early Friends. Like Puritans in general, Friends focussed worship upon Prayer and the proclamation of the Word of God (using, to be sure, rather different forms).[6] The point at which Quakers went further than other groups (except probably for the Seekers), was in the consistency with which in practice they tried to limit prayer, not only to the Spirit-adopted man, but to the times and words of the Spirit's leadings.[7] So Nayler

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2) Nuttall: Holy Spirit; on worship, cf. especially Chapter IV.

3) cf. Section II-C. 4. cf. Welles: "Cotton", p. 191-3.

5) cf. Winstanley: Works, 139; Nuttall: Holy Spirit, 67-8, etc. also the attitudes of certain early Separatist congregations, in Burrage: Dissenters, I, 227-9.

6) cf. Dell: Works, p. 535.

7) cf. Nuttall: Holy Spirit, 69-70 and Barclay (cited Wragge: Barclay, pp. 110-111.)

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warns:

> You must not create that which must stand before God, for he will be served with his own begettings in you...therefore...let your Minds be always Heavenly, waiting with Patience,...and waiting in a cross to that Mind, as you come into a patient stilness, you will feel the begettings of the Father moving in you to be brought forth to which you must be servants.[8]

As in all action, so particularly in prayer, man's will must not act:

> the living God is not as the dumb Idols, that People should imagine a way to Serve him, as may best suit with the Custom of a Nation or a People....So that the way...is to wait in the Light, till you see something of the Spirit of Life...moving in you, and then to that joyn, in its Power to Worship.[9]

This was the justification for the Quaker rejection of parish church services:

> I say your Parish Worship is not truly the Worship of God as 'tis true that ye so call it; but that of the Quakers who worship him in spirit and in Truth.[10]

The attack upon "Will-worship" shows again the basically ethical standpoint, in the Quaker outlook, and the struggle between the Spirit and the Will.[11] The connection of prayer "in the Spirit" and the demand for a Godly Ministry in the whole Puritan tradition was obviously close. Quakers also ridiculed traditional ways of worship as morally ineffective:

> A coming together there is for Customs sake in their best Cloaths, as finely as they can afford to do, when their (supposed) Sabbath comes about in its turn. A sound comes from a Money-Merchants Mouth (i.e. a hired minister's), and enters in at one Ear of the people as fast as it can get out the Other...and some Psalms may be sung to the Praise of him whom the Dead in Sin, that Live in Sin, cannot praise; and so there's an end of the business for that day, till it come again; till when, Hell breaks loose and the Devil is served for the most part all the Week after.[12]

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8) Nayler: Works, 371-2.

9) Ibid. 373-4; cf. Fox: Great Mistery, p. 207. 10) Fisher: Works, 94

11) George Bishop: A little treatise concerning things indifferent in relation unto worship, (n.p. 1663) p. 5.

12) Fisher: Works, p. 259; this stress that the wicked cannot Worship God is interesting: cf. Barclay, on the use of Psalms: "At times David's Words may be used, as the Spirit leads thereunto...yet as used by you it is abominable, and is a Mock-Worship; because you cannot deny but that the Persons using it are a mixed Multitude, known to be Drunkards, Swearers, Whore-mongers, etc. Now such cannot praise God, for they are dead in their sins, and it is the living that praise him". (Apology: pp.473-4; cf. Wragge: Barclay, p.112)

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Moral purity demands separation from unrighteous worship.[13] Moreover the traditional forms of worship actually caused evil, in the form of persecution and killing.[14]

The basic immorality of worship not led by the Spirit, however, goes deeper

> When the Creature hath been out in the World, and unrighteous ways thereof...then that in the Heart condemns for Evil, and neglect of Good; then the same Mind runs to act a Worship to get Peace, when both the Evil and the Worship is in one Nature.[15]

Such worship is conscience-salving rather than the overcoming of the evil self: "That's the Devils Hope, which hopes not Freedom from Sin, as much as Freedom from Hell".[16] Traditional worship fails to overcome evil because it is a projection of the evil Will rather than the work of the Spirit.[17] In the silence of the human will, the purifying Spirit is set free.

With regard to the role of Silence in Worship, the famous comments of Barclay in his Apology can hardly be improved upon:

> We judge it the duty of all to be diligent in the assembling of themselves together...to wait upon God, and returning out of their own thoughts and imaginations, to feel the Lord's presence....And as everyone is thus gathered, and so met inwardly in their spirits, as well as outwardly in their persons, there the secret power and virtue of life is known to refresh the soul, and the pure motions and breathings of God's Spirit are felt to arise; from which, as words of declaration, prayers or praises arise, the acceptable worship is known, which edifies the church....And no man here limits the Spirit of God, nor bringeth forth his own conned and gathered stuff....Yea, though there be not a word spoken, yet is the true spiritual worship performed....Yet I do not so much commend and speak of silence as if we had...tied ourselves thereunto...for as our worship consisteth not in words, so neither in silence, as silence; but in an holy dependence of the mind upon God: from which dependence silence necessarily follows in the first place, until words can be brought forth which are from God' Spirit.[18]

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13) cf. Burnyeat: Truth Exalted, p. 15. 14) Fox: Journal I, 332.

15) Nayler: Works, p. 274. 16) ibid. p. 285.

17) We see again that the Will is felt to be replaced, rather than changed, by the Spirit.

18) Barclay: Apology, 365-6, 374. cf. also Wragge: Barclay, p. 107.

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So Fox wrote in 1678:

> The intent of all Speaking is to bring into the Life, and to walk in and to possess the same, and to live and enjoy it, and to feel God's presence, and that is in the Silence, not in the wandring whirling tempest part of man or woman.[19]

It was felt that in such silence, not only words and inward or outward prayer should be the movings of the Spirit, but also that unspoken thoughts and meditations might be:

> Man's place is to wait in (the Spirit); and as hereby there are any objects presented to his mind concerning God, or things relating to religion, his soul may be exercised in them without hurt, and to the great profit both of himself and others; because those things have their rise not from his own will, but from God's spirit.[20]

There are cases, therefore, even in the earliest days, of a whole meeting being passed in silence,[21] or of the deliberate restraint of spoken ministry.

The question thus arises, as it arose for some of the early Friends, as to why group worship was necessary at all. We find that the answer seems in the first instance to revert to the primacy of the Spirit, and its relation to the individual will.[22] The followers of Perrot, seem to have succumbed to the natural laziness of isolated communities. In England, after 1661, by not meeting, they also avoided the persecutions of the Conventicle Act. They were accordingly felt to be "treading under foot the Son of God and...doing despite to the Spirit of Grace".[23] In time of persecution assembling for worship became a witness to the faith.

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19) Fox: Something Concerning Silent Meeting, (bsd; n.p. 1657)

20) Barclay: Apology, 382.

21) "In Cumberland, 1653, a generall meetinge of many thousands of people a toppe of a hill...ye ministry went amongst y^m & when hee was moved to stand uppe amonst y^m hee saw they had noe need of words: for they was all sittinge doune under there teacher Christ Jesus: soe hee was moved to sett doune againe amonst y^m without speakeinge any thinge". Fox: Journal I, 137; cf Barclay: Apology, 370, etc.

22) whom Burnyeat found "had quite forsaken their Meetings, and did not meet together once in a Year". Burnyeat, op. cit.34.

23) Robert Barclay: The Anardy of the Ranters, (republished under the title of "A Treatise on Church Government"; Phila. Solomon W. Conrad, 1822)

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> They that feared the Lord, and Worshipped him in Spirit and Truth, they met often together, tho' sometimes upon Mountains & High-ways...and so they that forsake the Assembling themselves with the People of God, under what Colour or Covering whatsoever...they neither worship nor Serve God, nor he hath no pleasure in them, because they draw back.[24]

It was not only as a "cross" to the "old Man" and a witness against persecution, however, that Friends felt that Meetings were essential. The work of the Spirit there was usually more keenly felt than in individuals alone. One must probably keep in mind here the background of intense emotion and "revivalistic" experience which underlay not only the large preaching-meetings, but the smaller meetings for worship. Thus a meeting in Shrewsbury in 1657 met in complete silence, but the Word of the Lord

> was as a hammer and a fire...it melted and brought us into tears, that there was scarcely a dry eye among us, the Lord's blessed power overshadowed our meeting.[25]

The intensity of the Power of the Lord, though personal and transforming in the life of each individual, spread by group contagion. Thomas Kelly has written of the phenomenon of "Group Mysticism",[26] and we have found group emotionalism expressing itself in ways somewhat like modern Pentecostalism in the Separatist congregations. Elements of both these experiences were probably present among early Friends even in their smaller silent meetings. It is for this reason that Burrough and other early Friends were undoubtedly serious in assuming that excommunication from group worship would be a real and effective punishment for backsliders; if

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24) Banks: Journal, 164; cf. Cooke: op. cit. pp. 6-7.

25) Life of Richard Davis (1771 ed) p. 34, q. Braithwaite: Beginnings, 509.

26) cf. his Pamphlet: The Gathered Meeting.

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> the offense is spiritual, the punishment is answerable thereto...that he partake not of the sweet and blessed union and fellowship of Saints in their Assemblies....It is great punishment and sufficient for a man that hath once tasted of the virtue of God's Presence among his People, to be cast out from the feeling and enjoyment of that life.[27]

This also was the heart of the answer which Friends made to their persecutors:

> Neither be ye exasperated against us from the difficulty you find in breaking up our Meetings, or because that when you have dragg'd us out of our Meeting, and Fined and Imprisoned us for being there, you find us there again: But rather take it for an Argument, that we sincerely love and believe our Religion; and that we find our Meetings worth suffering for. For indeed in our Meetings we do meet with the Lord our God, in whose presence is fulness of Joy.[28]

We find, therefore, careful provision made for the setting up of Meetings for Worship, as well as those which sprang up spontaneously from preaching missions.[29] The informality which nevertheless prevailed was justified by New Testament precedents:

> Our Meetings,...are according to the Church in the primitive times...which met in Houses, and on Mountains and Hills in the Wilderness, and by Rivers, and in Inns, and Preached and Spoke in the Markets.[30]

The Quaker denial of the sanctity of houses of worship in themselves which was quite along Puritan lines, was linked with the Quaker idiosyncrasies as to places of meeting

> At Firbank Chapel in 1652, writes Fox: "in the Afternoon there was a great gathering of People...and so the House would not hold them; and so I was moved to go upon the Mountain hard by, and...I stood up and said to them That that ground was as holy as any other, and that Christ did meet upon a Mountain, and by the Seaside...and all the true Believers in Christ... were the Temples of Christ."[31]

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27) Edward Burrough: Antichrist's Government (London; R. Wilson, 1661)

28) Thomas Ellwood: A Seasonable Discussive from Persecution (London, W. Kemate, 1683) p. 9.

29) The setting of a fixed time was justified as not limiting the Spirit so much as preparing the way: "We appoint no set times for the performance of the worship of God, so as to appointment to preach and pray at such and such set times: though we appoint times to meet together in the name of the Lord, that we may feel his presence, and he may move in and through whom he pleaseth, without limitation". (Barclay: Apology, 37.) So also in setting fixed places for worship: "it is with our bodies we must meet, as well as with our spirits; and so of necessity we must convey our bodies unto one place...and that must be in some certain place, where all must know where to find it." (Ibid. p. 36)

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This latter note was a recurrent antithesis. Yet if the building was immaterial, the "temple" as we have seen, was the group as much as the individual. The leadings of the Spirit in prayer and prophecy might be individual, but were rooted in the Power which was shared by the Meeting; and increasingly as time continued checked by the wisdom of "The Sense of the Meeting"

Concerning the effectiveness of the spiritual ministry within the Meetings of Friends, I have not attempted to gather data. The preaching, which often achieved such direct and personal intensity, might be "deficient in positive teaching"[32] and in intellectual content. Similarly, as Nuttall has shown, Friends were driven by the logic of their conception of Worship to reject all music and Psalm-singing (except as immediately led by the Spirit), and this led to the increasing rarity of music in Meetings for Worship.[33] In prayer, however, the Quaker's seem to have gone beyond even their contemporaries. So Penn describes Fox:

> "Above all he excelled in prayer. The inwardness and weight of his spirit, the reverence and solemnity of his address and behaviour, and the fewness and fulness of his words, have often struck even strangers with admiration, as they used to reach others with consolation". One recollects how often the "power of God" came upon a group of listeners, not while Fox was speaking, but in the prayer which followed. "The most awful, living, reverant frame I ever felt or beheld, I must say, was his in prayer. And truly it was a testimony he knew and lived nearer to the Lord than other men".[34]

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30) Cooke: op. cit. p. 6; cf. as to the Sabbath, Barclay: Apology, 368; cf. also John Whitehead: Manifestation of Truth, p. 133.

31) Testimony of George Fox in Camm & Audland: op. cit.; cf. Fox: Journal I, 56-7.

32) cf. Nuttall: Holy Spirit, 73-4. "All Lying is an abomination, but many times it falls out that by singing of Psalms, the People comes to lie in the Presence of God". Barclay: Apology 473-4, q. Wragge: Barclay, 112. "Doth this offend you, that the Servants of the Lord are now made signs so far as to sit covered in your Mass-houses in reproof of your singing David's Psalms with Saul's Spirit, in such Meeter as...Queen Elizabeth's Fidlers have moulded them into, and...as some Priest, Clark or Sexton sayes them lineatim, wherein most of you people mock God, and sing more lyes to him than truths". (Fisher: Works 92) cf John Whitehead: Manifestation of Truth, 138, Fox: Great Mistery, p. 274.

34) Fox: Journal (Everyman Edn. xix.)

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The Quaker rejection of the traditional Christian Sacraments showed several of these basic attitudes to worship. On the one hand, Sacraments were dismissed as outward Forms, things of the Letter not the Spirit. Traditional doctrine has linked the inward Grace or Substance with an external and visible "Sign". Friends have denied that there was an indissoluble connection that made the outward form necessary.[35] It was the inward Grace which the Quakers alone felt need to stress, and which they had found without Sacraments.

Thus the Quaker experience of "Baptism by the Holy Ghost and with Fire" convinced them that the essential Baptism was inward, and "imports a reaching to and melting the heart".[36] In the same way, the communion of the Eucharist, "the true Supper of the Lord is the spirit eating and drinking the flesh and blood of Christ spiritually."[37]

In rejecting the outward Sign of the inward Grace, Friends showed a distinctive experience of the nature of the Grace which is involved, and one which was rooted in the whole sacramental thought of Protestantism.[38] The stress came to be placed on the relationship between God and man, and, expecially in Calvinism, Grace came to be emphasized as an action done by God

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35) "And therefore we always seek first, and plead for, the substance and power, as knowing that to be indispensably necessary, though the form sometimes may be dispensed with, and the firue or type may cease, when the substance...come to be enjoyed". (Barclay: Apology: 433, cf. p. 428, Dell: Works, p. 535, etc.) Friends were willing to admit that the outward Forms were valid under the "Old Dispensation" for those who found them necessary: "For those meer Rites and Rudiments...in regard of inability to bear the sudden abolition thereof...if any will needs use them, I meddle not to forbid, though he that is in Spirit and Substance and not the letter of them is not out of them, but into them more truly, then he that is in them outwardly" (Fisher: Works, 119-120, cf. Nayler: Works, 319) Thomas Salthouse: A Candle Lighted at a Coal from the Altar (London, 1660) p. 14.

36) Nayler, in Fox: Saul's Errand, p. 17; Barclay: Apology, p.449; cf. p. 447; Nayler: Works: p. 322; cf. also Dell: Works, 393, 395; Winstanley

37) Nayler, in Fox: Saul's Errand, 17, cf. Nayler: Works, 22.

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to man, rather than a gift given by God to man.[39] Quakers could rightly point out that in God's action of Will upon Will, sacraments were unnecessary.[40] There was no implication that the physical "means of Grace" were evil because physical, only that in a Dispensation of the Spirit they were unnecessary.

Friends rejection of Sacraments, however, involved not only the inward nature of the work of God's Grace. It involved also its ethical nature. Part of the Quaker's ethical judgment upon sacraments no doubt lay in their association with popery (in a region where only Catholic sacraments if any, were performed). Thus in 1661, George Fox "the Younger" protested against

> the Worship which is now a setting up, with the vain Musick, Altars, Masse in English, and foolish needless Garments of the Priests, and such like Popish Stuff, that these things are Idolatry, Folly and Vanity.[41]

Behind this Puritanism, however, was a feeling that Sacraments did not produce moral reform: "he who is furthest from a Saints Life will content most for a Saints day".[42] Sacramental grace was not sanctifying as was the inward Spirit.[43] Here again the relation of evil to self-will was involved. Will-

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38) From the beginning, Protestant thought recognized that the inward Grace was not dependent upon the matter of the Sacrament, and in fact that this grace was the same in all Sacraments, "a single sacrament with three sacramental Signs" (Luther: Works, II, 177). Particularly for the Puritan, the Sacrament is not absolutely necessarie, but onely as it is a prop and stay for faith to leane upon". (Perkins: Golden Chaine, p. 129)

39) "Sacraments do not conferre Grace, but rather confirme Grace", Perkins: Golden Chaine, p. 181; cf. p. 129.

40) Barclay: Apology, p. 435; thus infant Baptism did not correspond to Election, and was also unscriptural (Fox: Saul's Errand, 13; cf. Camm & Audland: op. cit. 126; Barclay: Apology, 423,458; Tindall: Bunyan, 54) Actually, of course, it was tied up with the Covenant idea which Friends also rejected.

41) George Fox "the Younger": England's Sad Estate and Condition Lamented (London, Robert Wilson, 1661)p. 9."The more famouse Fox accused even Baxter of popery for 'baptizing' his church-bells".Fox:Great Mistery,79.

42) John Braithwait: To all those that observe dayes, moneths, times and years (bsd, London, 1660)

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worship might set up inward as well as outward Idols. Thus Burrough wrote

> to all you Generals, Colonels, and...Souldiers....While some of you have been zealous to break down the Idols and Images without, and herein have served the Lord...you are now become worshippers of Idols within.[44]

It was as Will-worship that Quakers rejected self-initiated adult Baptism in favor of the inward Baptism of the transforming Spirit.[45]

It is interesting in this connection to notice, therefore, the connection in early Quaker thought (as in St. Paul's) between true Baptistism and suffering;- in fact suffering became in some ways a Sacrament for many Friends:

> Baptism in Christ is Baptism into the Death of Christ...buried with him into the World, its Ways and Worship...and through this Death is the Seed of God raised up out of the Grave, quickened by the same Spirit which raised Jesus from the Dead....Was Baptism in your Manner as great a Cross to you now, as it was in the Time of the persecuting Jews... we should find few to contend for it...The Cross of Christ is ceased, and so the Power also.[46]

Suffering at the same time, is never separated from the inward purging of the Spirit.

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43) Nayler attacks those "who have a day to go into the Idols Temple, and there to eat Bread, and drink Wine, in a Self-Solemnity, once a Month, or three times a Year,...and...return back into the Pleasures of the Flesh, and Fashions of the World, there to eat and drink the rest of God's Creatures, to spend on their Lusts: and do not discern his Body in their Eating, who filleth all things in Heaven and in Earth". (Works, pp. 328-9). Nayler's Attitude here foreshadows the modern Quaker tendency to consider all physical actions as potentially sacramental. Nayler does indeed feel that the celebration of Communion is "to be done at all seasons, when they eat and drink; in their Eating and Drinking they were to do it to the Lord, and to have Communion with his Body and his Blood; and for that End were to keep themselves pure from all pollution". (Ibid. 327). But the more common Quaker attitude was to contrast the Spiritual reality with all Carnal Forms (cf. Barclay: Apology, p. 440)

44) Edward Burrough: Trumpet of the Lord Sounded out of Zion (London, G. Calvert, 1656) p. 17, cf. p. 29; evidently Friends put no store by "the sacrament of beauty" so far as Cathedral architecture was concerned. But Burrough's sayings remind one of Luther's on Idolatry in self-willed choice of Vocations. cf. also Winstanley, as quoted in Jones: Mystical Religion, 500.

45) cf. Barclay: Apology, 449; cf. Nayler: Works, p. 324.

46) Ibid. 317, 320, 321; cf. Fox: Journal I, 254.

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Section IV-B: The Spiritual versus the Educated Ministry

Early Quaker attitudes towards the Ministry combined these outlooks just described: the primacy of the Spirit in worship, the antithesis between the Spirit and human initiative, and the basically ethical nature of the Spirit's work. It was a constant testimony of early Friends that "hireling Preists y^{t} tooke tyths...(and were) made at schooles and colledges and not by Christ...was to be denyed."[1] So Friends attacked the parish ministers, by tract and sermon, in Churches and out of them, insisting that

> people remain unprofited. What they and you know, it is naturally, and not by the Spirit of the Father....The Apostles...were called by power from on high, and were made ministers by the gift of the holy Spirit received from God....But your call is at schools and colleges.[2]

Friends' consistent rejection of an Educated Ministry came in the first instance from their conception of ministry as Prophecy in the Spirit: "No Prophecy of Old came by the Will of Man, but against the Wills of all Men in the World, both he that was sent, and they to whom he was sent".[3] Theirs was not a democratic or elected ministry any more than a hierarchically appointed one: So Nayler answers Richard Baxter:

> The Signes of thy call thou sets down: First thy competent qualification (which is) nought...but so hard to study for it, that thou hast no time to work....4. the Call of the people and their consent...; I say none that ever was sent by Christ, ever went to ask consent of the People....If people set you your work...this we should not deny you, did you not pretend (to be) ministers of Christ.[4]

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1) Fox: Journal I, 258, cf. I, 384; I 35-41; cf. also Bunyan, as quoted in Tindall: op. cit. p. 82.

2) Fox: Great Mistery, 8. Fox attacked even Cromwell's plan for establishing a new University, so as to "let him see that was not the way to make Christ's ministers, by Hebrew, Greek and latin and the 7 arts, which all was but the teachings of the natural man". Fox: Journal I, 311; cf. Braithwaite: Beginnings, 294.

3) Nayler: Works, 88-9; cf. II Peter 1:21; Dell: Works, 441.

4) Nayler: Answer to Baxter, 33-4.

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Still less was governmental authority the legitimate maker of ministers. God, wrote Nayler,

> never entrusted the Powers of the Earth to chuse him Messengers to go on his Message....And have you the Message to put into their Mouths? ....And will not you give Him leave to chuse His own Servants, and what he will imploy them about?[5]

To some extent this expressed the common conviction of all radical Puritans, that Ministry was to be exercised by those whom God had called, to whom he had given spiritual Gifts, so that the part of the Congregation was only to ratify such Endowment.[6] In certain respects, however, perhaps the early Friends went further; not only was there no ordination, nor even "recording" of Ministers until a much later date,

> seeing (even) our Adversaries, who use it, acknowledge that the Virtue and Power of Communicating the Holy Ghost by it, is ceased among them.[7]

It also seems that even the idea of "spiritual Gifts" was not stressed among Friends. For the Quaker minister, the message itself was given by the Holy Spirit, and the permanent endowment of gifts was therefore superfluous. The giving of a particular message involved a specific time and purpose, and such a message might be given to anyone. All spiritual men were potential prophets.[8] It was by contrast to this direct giving of a message by the Spirit, that Friends attacked a trained and educated ministry:

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5) Nayler: Works, p. 49, cf. Fox: Great Mistery, p. 113.

6) cf. Tindall: Bunyan, Ch. I, and Nuttall: Holy Spirit, Chapter V, both of which are excellent studies on this problem. Even Latimer felt that a minister must "be one whom God hath called, and put in office, and not one that cometh uncald, unsent for". (Sermons, 1, 3), and this was a common outlook for all Puritans.

7) Barclay: Apology, p312-313.

8) cf. by contrast John Winthrop, quoted in Thomas Jefferson Wertenbacker: The Puritan Oligarchy: The Founding of American Civilization. (N. Y. Scribners, 1947) p. 63.

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"We have said they have run, and never were sent, and that they have not profited the people at all; and is it not so?"[9]

"after some certain time of standing and studying in the University, these hasty Hirelings run abroad before the word of command be given them from the Mouth of the Lord, and settle themselves up and down, till the country swarms with them like...Locusts"[10]

When one comes to ask why early Friends were so certain that the parish ministry was not called by God, one finds two or three further elements in which the Quaker conception of Spiritual ministry (as in that of Baptists, etc). The element of directness and emotional earnestness which made the earlier Puritans avoid the reading of sermons,[11] was lacking from later Puritan preaching in many cases:

what you have studied out of books, and old authors, you preach, by an hour glass, and not as the spirit of God gives you utterance.[12]

Present-instant guidance of the Spirit leading to truly extempore preaching was the best, but not the only true ministry (even Friends had often to wait for months to deliver a prophetic Word they had received). The issue was the source of the message. Friends agreed with Baxter's insistence that "the Transcript of the Heart hath the greatest force on the Hearts of others".[13] But they insisted that preaching was at the same time a personal testimony and a direct Word of God; they felt that each prophetic message was given to a specific individual.[14] Friends refused to separate the work of the Holy

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9) Burrough in introduction to Fox: Great Mistery, p. 23.

10) Fisher: Works, 226. 11) cf. Nuttall: Holy Spirit 82-3.

12) Burrough introduction to Fox: Great Mistery, 9.

13) Works I, 157, quoted Nuttall: Holy Spirit, p. 83.

14) In this spirit, Nayler attacks Baxter: "Thou art one of those who saith, hear the word of the Lord, when the Lord never spoke to thee, but hath stoln it from thy neighbor, which is none of the word of the Lord to thee, so thou perverts it...". (Nayler: Answer to Baxter p. 45; cf. Jeremiah 23:21,30, and Bunyan: Grace Abounding, p. 75.

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Spirit in message-bringing from the work of the Spirit in sanctifying the messenger. This led to the demand for a "Converted Ministry", as in other such movements in Christian History.[15]

The Spirit of the ministry was also inseparable from the Spirit in the hearer. The relation of prophetic sermons to the Light in those denounced, must be studied further.[16] In the worship of the Children of the Light, preaching was not as necessary to turn them to the Light;[17] but to both types of men the Spirit-led sermon must lead to the Spirit within:

> All who are converted are converted with the immediate,...all ministry of man, sent out by man (which is mediate),never convert any souls to God.
>
> Itt is amightie thinge to be in y^{e} work of y^{e} Lord God, and to give forth in y^{t}, for itt is not as accustomary preatchinge, but to bringe people to y^{e} end of all preatchinge, for your once speakinge to people, and then people com into y^{e} thinge y^{ee} speake of...and many declarations out of y^{e} life may gett y^{m} into y^{e} forme without the power.[18]

Yet the presence of the Spirit in preacher and hearer led not only to emotional warmth but to ethical fruit.

The Quaker rejection of an educated ministry, therefore, is sometimes based upon ethical protests. The early Puritans had attacked the non-preaching Anglican ministry as "idle shepheardes, dumb dogs", "whole swarmes of idle, ignorant and ungodly Curates".[19] The early Friends took over this language en bloc. They, too, applied it to non-preaching ministers, but did not limit it to them:

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15) e.g. in early Methodism, in the American frontier revivals,etc.; also in(Bunyan: Grace Abounding, p. 77). The Biblical prophet, like Heremiah, might feel himself unworthy of his message: The Quaker prophet, like Isaiah, felt himself sanctified for his.

16) v. infra, Section VI-E.

17) Hence the greater proportion of silence in "gathered meetings" rather than in Mass Meetings for "the World". cf. Fisher: Works, p. 683.

18) Fox: Great Mistery, pp. 274-5; Journal: p. 321.

19) John Stockwood: Sermon at Paul's Cross, (1579), and Laurence Chaderton's ditto (1578), q. Helen C. White: Social Criticism in the Popular Religious Literature of the Sixteenth Century, (N.Y. MacMillan, 1944), p. 184.

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> Whereas a man may buy a whole Bible for five Shillings, they sell some one Verse of it, a little set out and flourisht and amplified with no other trimming but their own fallible vain Thoughts upon it, for twenty Shillings.[20]

Friends were bitter about ministers who preached for gain: the Gospel demands self-sacrifice.[21] Friends opinion of the morality of such men may have been formed by the samples found in their rural areas:

> The reason why so few Priests are ever made true Prophets, is, because for the most part they are more prophane than other People, from of Old, and much more now.[22]

Besides their own immorality, these men were charged with failing morally to reform their hearers.[23]

Social outlooks were certainly linked with moral issues at these points.[24] Quakers attacked ministers for "not working", for social and academic pride and snobbery.[25] Throughout English Protestantism, the long struggle over the rights of Lay Preachers has been shown to be tied up with the ideals of the working classes.[26] The Quaker defense of Lay Preaching was of the same kind:[27]

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20) Fisher: Works, 227.

21) cf. Dell: "such graduates usually proving theologi gloriae, divines of glory, and not theologi crucie, divines of the Cross, as Luther speaks". (Works, p. 555, cf pp. 447,451, 454, etc.).

22) Fisher: Works, pp. 419-420. Hence the ruthless language used against all "Hireling Priests"; "How can you escape the damnation of Hell? God's sword is drawn against you, (for) your wives Hoods and vailes, gold and silver Lace and other gaudy attire...you have revened from your parishes" (Ambrose Rigge: To all the Hireling Priests (broadside). Quaker antipathy to the ministry was not of course solely because of immorality. Doctrinal disputes, (as against Baxter) or the pressure of persecution could make their hatred equally bitter against the truly("godly divines".)

23) "Had you but in any measure stood in the Counsel of God, and caused his people to have heard his word of faith in their hearts, they had been turned from the evil of their ways long ere now". (Rigge: Hireling Priests)

24) Nayler: Against Baxter, p. 33; cf. Dell: Works, p. 582.

25) cf. Section VIII-C and Dell: Works, pp. 449,556-7.

26) v. Section II-D.

27) Nayler: Answer to Baxter, 33 - Dell: Works, 582, 556-7. Acad. Pride: Dell: Works, 449.

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"Elisha was a Ploughman, and when the Word of the Lord came to him, he left the plough ahd obeyed the Word of the Lord...and I do witness the same call, who was a Husbandman and had a Vineyard, and gathered fruit, till the Word of the Lord came and called me from it," writes Hubberthorn.[28]

Their feelings concerning education for Ministry lent heat to Friends defence of their own rights to preach as laymen:

Few of the Apostles were learned....But...you must have them to such a Pitch of Learning and so many Years at Oxford and Cambridge and there study so long in Books and old Authors? And all this to know what unlearned men, Fishermen, Ploughmen, and Herdsmen, did mean when they spoke forth the Scriptures....And when you have brought them to this Height of Learning yet the Scripture is a Book sealed to all their wisdom and Learning...(but) spirit is the substance which gave it forth, and opens it again, as it ariseth.[29]

During the seventeenth century the Universities became increasingly connected with Courtier and Cavalier ideals,[30] and there was a sharp decline in the number of lower-class University students supported in college by the Church or by their own work. This seems to be reflected in Fisher's outlooks:

Whether I am in more Opposition to your Principles, or pity to your persons, I can scarcely say...whose Souls I am sure I Love, as much as I Loath those Light-less Labouriths of your Learning....Marvel not that myself, and other men of more account than yourselves, Meddle so much with the Massy Masters of your Ministry who have so long excluded all Mechanicks and plain Country Creatures from your clerical and collegian Councils: But know assuredly that the Day of God is Dawned upon the Earth, wherein from his own Light...It shall be filled the Knowledge of his own Image and Glory.[31]

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28) A True Testimony of Obedience to the Heavenly Call (1654), p.4-6, q. Tindall: Bunyan, p. 6.

29) Nayler: Works, "Power & Glory", 43.

30) particularly after the pressure of Laud and the emigration to America broke up the Puritan seed-beds at Emmanuel and other Cambridge colleges. (cf. Trevelyan: Stuarts, p. 16; and Haller: Rise of Puritanism.)

31) Fisher: Works, 48.

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Whether or not it was felt specifically towards Universities, Friends seem to have felt an awareness of social division between themselves and their Ministerial Opponents. It implies God's reversal of the valuations of "the World",

> chuse out foolish, weak, base things and persons, even Laicks, Mechanicks, Rusticks, Russet-Rabbies...to confound and bring to nought these mighty, wise and prudent, out Country Russet-coats who are wiser than Academic Rabbies.[32]

The fact that "foolishness" was as likely to be linked with the North-Country as with a trade or educational background, shows that the estrangement of Friends from the "rich and mighty" was not simply an economic division.

Certain Quaker lay preachers, indeed, made preaching their main concern. Friends, though rejecting Tithes, accepted voluntary responsibility for their support.[33] But this was an inverse result of the nature of Spiritual ministry: its independence of its hearers made necessary the support of itinerant preachers. Itinerancy, in fact, became a badge of Spiritual Ministry:

> those are true ministers, and ever was, who wandred to & fro, having no certain dwelling place, of whom the world was not worthy, who ever bore witness against the false prophets...and the Priests.[34]

The place, as well as the content of the ministry was directed by the Spirit:

> In obedience to him who called me did I goe, as I was moved by his eternal Spirit, into severall parts of this Nation,...bearing testimony to the truth....I was moved to come unto this town, not knowing when I came in whether I should staye two dayes in the Town, but waiting in the will of God, out of my will.[35]

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32) Fisher: Works, 588-9, 141, etc.

33) v. Section VIII-F.

34) Nayler: Against Baxter, p. 27; cf. Fox: Great Mistery, p. 249

35) Hubberthorne: The Immediate Call to the Ministry (1654), pp.2-3, quoted by Tindall: Bunyan, p. 8.

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Clearly, the essence of Quaker lay preaching was not only social equality, but that, since no life-long Spiritual Gifts set men apart, any spiritual man might be called to prophesy.

Women's Ministry was a natural result of the Quaker idea of lay ministry.[36] Puritan practice here was divided. Not only the orthodox Puritans,[37] but the earliest Separatists ruled that "weomen are not permitted to speak in the church in tyme of prophecy....If weomen doubt of any thing delivered in tyme of prophecy,...they must ask them that can teach them in private".[38] Baptists had Deaconesses,[39] but those more radical groups where women preached or led discussions were frowned on,[40] and most of them seem to have been extravagant and somewhat unbalanced "prophets".[41] In controversy, therefore, Quakers often were forced to defend preaching of women:

> The prophets...said, God would 'pour out his spirit upon all flesh, and his sons and daughters should prophesy'.[42]

Biblical prophetesses were convenient analogies.[43] Quaker women preachers were perhaps a trifle more prone to extravagant words and "Signs" than were the men(since the greater initiative necessary for women to prophesy would restrain the more sober); in fact Quaker women preachers were often accused of witchcraft[44] in an age when witches were widely believed in and feared, and

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36) cf. Nuttall: Holy Spirit, p. 87; and Welles: "Cotton", p. 199.

37) cf. Welles: "Cotton", p. 199.

38) Smyth: Principles and Inferences concerning the visible Church (1607), quoted: Burrage: Dissenters, p. 233.

39) cf. Tallack: Friends and Baptists.

40) cf. Ann Hutchinson in Massachusetts (Jones: Quakers in American Colonies, Ch. I); also Madame Springett (in Hodgkin: Gulielma Penn); cf. also Nuttall: Holy Spirit, p. 88.

41) e.g. Anna Trapnel. A possible exception would be Katherine Chidley (cited in Nuttall: Holy Spirit, p. 88.

42) Fox: Great Mistery, 106.

43) Paul's rather inescapable statements about women in church were neatly side-stepped. John Whitehead was sure that Paul "altho'he did not permit the woman to Speak in the church, nor usurp Authority over the Man, yet he did permit the Spirit of God to speak in women,as we do". John Whitehead: Manifestation of Truth,142; cf. Fox:Great Mistery, 260.

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when women were assumed capable of such evils far more easily than were men. But the acceptance of the basic equality of men and women preachers is evidence and example of the spirit-led Ministry which early Friends demanded.

The Quaker attacks upon the Learned Ministry, however, seem to have been, not only an attack upon their morals and pride in themselves.[45] Besides the lack of spiritual Calling and conversion in the ministers, Quakers showed also a specific distrust of learning in itself, of "philosophical subilties and speculations",[46] as actually incompatible with the Spirit. The next subject of our study must therefore be Quaker conceptions of the nature of Knowledge.

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44) cf. Tindall: Bunyan, Appendix; Jones: Quakers in American Colonies p. 30.

45) cf. Fisher's attack on the "two Nurseries of Learning, ill manners and Irriligion, viz.both Oxford and Cambridge....I speak as one... not a little grieved to see how little of God and Godliness in the power of it is seen or sought after...and to see how little our Nations supposed learned Leaders have learned of the mystery, Jesus Christ within themselves. ...By all the most Learned labours of her...Rabbies, Doctors and Students in Theology...Christians have not learned to know Christ and themselves... so far as to make them honest, true, holy, just, sober, meek, which is the end of all Learning, Ministries, etc." (Fisher: Works, pp. 221-3; 224; cf. p. 154).

46) Dell: Works, p. 446.

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Section IV-C: Natural and Spiritual Knowledge

The early Quaker attitude to knowledge is the most dramatic example of the subjection of all of life to the authority of the inward Spirit. The antithesis of the divine and the human led to a deep-rooted skepticism concerning all human knowledge. Thus early Friends warned:

> "Feed not on knowledge...it is good to look upon, but not to feed on, for who feeds on knowledge dies to the innocent life.
> Take heed of your Wisdom which is from below, which are your Jewels while you are in Egypt; but now coming out of Egypt, that Language and that Wisdom is to be forgotten and left behind, and by the Light of Christ is to be condemned, and stamped upon to Powder...and so you grow up into the pure Wisdom which is from above."[1]

This is a far cry from the "spoiling of the Egyptians" by which Christian Philosophers such as Origen and Clement used pagan learning against paganism. Following the tradition of the Mediaeval monks and of the earlier Puritans, Quakers made clear that the authors of the Greek and Latin classics were in Hell,[2] and their works thus hardly merited learned study and dispute. Fox comments drily that: "the tongues of Hebrew Greek & Latin were set up over Christ by Pilate who crucified him....The earth was of one language before they built Babel".[3] John Stubbs appended a long essay to Fox' and Stubbs' "Battle-Door", warning parents who teach "their Children to Learn other Tongues, as Latine...by Heathen Books":[4] Stubbs' answer is to return to the purity of the Bible, even for the learning of foreign languages:

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1) Nayler (in John Whiting's Persecution Exposed, p. 176, quoted by Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 242; Audland: Memory of the Righteous, p. 259)

2) Fox: Battle-Door, cf. Nathaniel Carpenter (1621) cited by Allen: Political Thought p. 231; Dell: Works, pp. 579-580, 472. Dell also cites Luther against Aristotle and Universities (Works, 564)

3) Fox: Great Mistery, 138, cf. Fox: Battle-Door, p. 38

4) Fox: Battle-Door, p. 13; He proceeds to present in detail samples of current school text-books; it must be admitted that much of the material would be thought indecent today: Terence and Ovid's Ars Amandi were read at a young age, and pungently translated. Puritan England, if not a modern reader, might agree with Stubbs concerning sports, games and invective oaths.

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"if you will teach your Children in other Tongues,...translate and teach...the Scriptures for Children to learn and (do) not translate Heathens works to corrupt the earth with them, but let all be burned... So by translating the Scriptures into the heathenish language which would have you to commerce with them, you may be Serviceable to the heathen and be light to them."[5]

Puritans in general seem to have felt that the best writings, even of Churchmen[6] were no substitute for the Word of God.

Though scholarly learning might be worldly, and usually heathenish, Quakers did not despise "useful knowledge". Like other radical Puritans, they encouraged practical skills and schools to teach them.[7] Thus Barclay, comments, in attacking ministerial training:

"I would however not be understood as if hereby I excluded those other means of Knowledge from any use or service to man: it is far from me so to judge....The Question is not, what may be profitable or helpful, but what is absolutely necessary."[8]

There seems to be a reflection of class distinctions, both in the practicality of the learning which Friends favoured, and in their proud rejection of learning as a mark of social standing. Thus Fisher rebutted Bishop Gauden:

"The Bishop...accounts...the Quakers...so far below the Lineaments of commonsence in their writings, so Rude, Silly, Ignorant, Uncatechized & Crude in their Fancies, (because they) with so great confidence, in an age of so much Light and Learning, take upon them to be so blindly censorious...to men of such Renown as himself....But it is those low, silly mean Ways whereby God ever delights to do the greatest matters."[9]

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5) Fox: Battle Door, pp. 13-14

6) cf. Fisher: Episkopos Aposkopos, p 97; even the most erudite Puritan scholars quoted Augustine more than Calvin, and the Bible far more than either; cf. Perkins: Works.

7) cf. Jorns: Quaker Social Work, p. 102; Dell: Works pp. 489-90,357 578-9. The Quaker petition of Quaker women in 1659 asked that the Universities be sold and the money used for trade schools (p. 65).

8) Barclay: Apology, p. 40; cf. Dell: Works, p. 580.

9) (Fisher: Episkopos Aposkopos, p. 52.) There seems no doubt that Friends impressed the average man of culture of the day as "a melancholy proud sort of people and exceedingly ignorant". (John Evelyn, from Diary for 6-8- 1656, as quoted in Book of Miracles, p. 33).

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Such assertions interpret the primacy of spiritual over worldly knowledge at a new level, namely the emphasis upon the Wisdom of the Spirit:

> "This is that Doctrine which is Sealed from all the World: nor can any one know it...who are in the Reprobate State...none know but the Children of the Light. So as one who had obtained favour to have this Mystery revealed, I shall according to permission write a few words, as it is received in Jesus, yet can be received by no Man's wisdom."[10]

It is clear therefore, that the reason for Quaker attitudes to spiritual and human knowledge is that for Friends the crucial and essential field of Knowledge was always man's Knowledge of God and of the right basis for religious life.

> "Take heed that none of you", wrote Camm to Westmorland Friends, "come short of your Crown, in getting into the Comprehension before the Life....This is a Mystery,. .that neigher the Learner nor unlearned can read in the disobedient dark nature which is shut out from God forever."[11]

While intellectual knowledge of God is possible, it is meaningless without the personal experience of the Spirit, of Christ within, which transforms the heart and subdues the Will. Thus Barclay wrote:

> "we do distinguish betwixt the certain Knowledge of God and the uncertain; betwixt the spiritual knowledge and the literal; the saving heart-knowledge and the soaring, airy head-knowledge. The last, we confess, may be divers ways obtained; but the first, by no other way than the inward immediate manifestation and revelation of God's Spirit.... Knowledge, then, of Christ, which is not by the Revelation of his own Spirit in the heart is no more properly the Knowledge of Christ than the prattling of a parrot...may be said to be the voice of man."[12]

This conception of knowledge which changes human nature,[13] underlay the Quaker distinction between a "religion of experience" and "meer Notions", and the Quaker rejection of any learning in preparation for the ministry:[14]

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10) Nayler: Works, p. 309.

11) Memory of the Righteous, p. 34; cf. Fisher: Works, p. 62

12)(Barclay: Apology, pp. 34-45; cf. Dell: Works, p. 521, and also early Methodist outlooks, as cited by Weber: Protestant Ethic, pp. 351-2) Note that certain Quakers, following Calvinist tradition (cf. Institutes, Bk. I), recognized that "there is a manifestation of God in every thing that hath Life, motion and Being in this outward Creation", (Fisher), but that such knowledge is useless to natural Man.

13) cf. Dell: Works, p. 471.

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"It is fitter for Wise men to wait in silence for the Lord for the feeling the Truth...within themselves,...than in a flood of words to stand questioning and replying one to another."[15]

The Quaker outlook is interesting, not only for the centrality of religious Knowledge, but for the relation of Spirit and Reason which is implied. The Puritan doctrine of reason was Augustinian, and while it emphasized the corruption of man's natural reason since Adam's fall, it nevertheless found a key place for "converted" reason.[16] There was thus in Puritanism a strong streak of rationalism, although kept secondary to Biblical Revelation. The Puritans welcomed natural knowledge, provided it served religious or theocratic purposes. Most Quaker writers took a somewhat different stand, because they believed that the divine spirit, in enlightening man, brings him specific knowledge, independently of reason. Under the Quaker belief that the Spirit led directly into the performance of certain actions, there was bound to be an antithesis between its "leadings" and human wisdom; the same was true of ideas given by the Spirit. Enthusiasm left no place for either the human mind or the human will except in the surrendering of themselves.

Thus what most clearly distinguished Quaker outlooks from Puritans was the assumption that since the Spirit gave knowledge in religious matters it might equally do so in worldly matters.[17]

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14) "Ministers,...let them get all the languages upon earth, they are still naturalists, and men learning other men's natural language.."Fox: Great Mistery, p. 203, cf. Dell: Works, p. 553.

15) Fisher: Works, p. 843.

16) "True Grace doth not destroy a mans wisdome, but rather enlargeth and enlighteneth it wonderfully". (Cotton: The Way of Life (London, 1641) p. 274, quoted in Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", p. 64). Occasional Quaker statements echo the Augustinian position: "Although it is no part of my Belief, that the Natural Reason of any Man,...is able to be Rule, Judge and Guide... in the things of God, yet Faith is not in Opposition to...pure and spiritual Reason,...but in Harmony with it,...as they are the gifts of God...Faith, doth not make blind the Understanding, but enlightens it." (Howgill: Works, 634-5). Such views were rarer among Quakers.

17) cf. however, Dell: Works, p. 518.

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> "That which gives to understand the Creation", writes Fox, "and the altering and changing of the Creation,...is the wisdom of God; and his spirit, by which all things were made, knows these things in the truth; who counts the stars, and numbers them in their kind....Now who understands these things aright, it is by the spirit of wisdom; and there may be a wilful rejecting, and ahaving in the form, yet not knowing them in truth...And a man may know things by the spirit, and go into error from the spirit, and then hold them in his memory".[18]

Fox rather sounds here as if he were implying that all human knowledge came in the first instance from the leadings of the Spirit, and that such knowledge as was taught was therefore purely derivative. Sometimes a more dramatic conclusion is drawn:

> "Neither are Omnisciency and Omnipotency themselves as to all those things that are to be known and done by such, so altogether incommunicable to spiritual men as our Academical Animals imagine."[19]

One is reminded at once of Fox's great opening mystical experience:

> "Now was I come up in spirit through the flaming sword, into the paradise of God. All things were new; and all the creation gave another smell unto me than before, beyond what words can utter. I knew nothing but pureness, and innocency, and Righteousness, being renewed up into the image of God by Christ Jesus, to the state of Adam, which he was in before he fell. The creation was opened to me; and it was showed me how all things had their names given them according to their nature and virtue. I was at a stand in my mind whether I should practise physic for the good of mankind, seeing the nature and virtues of the creatures were so opened to me by the Lord."[20]

It may be that it is from such mystical experiences that the belief in the possibility of universal knowledge from the Spirit arises; put more prosaically, the overwhelming experience of the absolute primacy of the Spirit in the mind and life of the individual is identified with the absolute primacy of the Spirit over all the natural world, in a way more emotional than intellectual.

Nevertheless the identification of the absolute Spirit within, with

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18) Fox: Great Mistery, p. 125

19) Fisher: Works, p. 576.

20) Fox: Journal (Everyman Ed'n.), p. 17.

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the God who created and maintains the world, provided a theoretical basis for such beliefs about "Spiritual Knowledge":

> "The word...though it be the upholder of all visible Things, yet can no visible thing reveal it; yet doth it reveal the ground and use, and end of all visibles....So without it is nothing seen, as it was made, nor used in its pure place".[21]

The relationship of this outlook to the Quaker conception of the entire natural World as being dependent upon the Spirit will be clear.[22]

Sometimes the leadings of the Spirit were therefore expected to provide specific knowledge in a given sphere Sometimes, as in Fox's claim to know all languages, the result was unfortunate:

> "All languages are to me no more than dust, who was before Languages, were,...and am redeemed out of Languages into the power where men shall agree".[23]

Where this outlook was most fruitful, and also most appropriate, was in the area of moral judgments, showing again how central a place ethics took in the Quaker view of the world. Against Thomas Winterton, Nayler wrote:

> "Thou judges by thy sensual information...thou has no infallible spirit to judge withall...; but all the Children of the Light knowes that all judgment is committed to the Son...and dare not judge before the Lord come... and acts his creatures above their sensual understandings, their wills and imaginations".[24]

Rather dramatic, nevertheless, was the way in which Fox felt that the Spirit gave him power to read men's hearts:

> "The spiritual man discerns and judgeth all things. And man may discern by the spirit of the Lord God, where the seed is in the death, where the seed is not, and where the soul is living... and where it is in the death....How should ye minister unto people, to their states and conditions, if ye cannot discern the spirits which are in them?[25]

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21) Nayler: Works, p. 269. 22) cf. Section VI-A.

23) Fox: Battle-Door: introduction, cf. Braithwaite: "A certain parade of learning was one of his weaknesses. He regarded himself as possessing a spiritual counterpart to human knowledge, which qualified him to meet experts on their own ground".

24) James Nayler: A Discovery of the Beast...An Answer to... T. Winterton (London, 1655), p. 9.

25) Fox: Great Mistery, p. 136.

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Fox put this belief constantly into practice; at Bootle

> "there was some wicked women in a feilde harde by y^e^ house & I saw they was witches & I was moved to goe unto y^m^ and declare unto y^m^ there conditions & Y^t^ they were in y^e^ spiritt of witch craft."[26]

At many Inns where he stopped, and the keepers proposed some arrangement or other, Fox "discovered their plots".[27] When Fox called Nichols of Carlisle a hypocrite without ever having seen him, Nayler defended him by pointing to Christ's judgment of the character of Herod.[28] Many of these insights will hardly seem to the modern reader supernatural, but it is clear that Fox's penetrating glance left many men feeling morally laid bare.

A more interesting form of the knowledge given by the Spirit lies in Friends' visions of the future. The gap between such knowledge and everyday experience would be much smaller for Friends, with their conception of the Spirit, than for us. Some of these visions we may interpret as subsonscious reactions to things outwardly visible (as when in 1658 Fox sensed the approaching death of Oliver Cromwell).[29] At other times the "vision" seems to have been of an intuitional rather than cognitive nature.[30] But two or three of Friends' experiences seem to have taken the form of true "Visions" with clear images.[31]

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26) Fox: Journal, p. 110; cf. p. 113.

27) Fox: Journal I, 271, etc. To the onlooker it must have at times seemed merely suspiciousness on Fox's part. (cf. Fox: Journal I, 298)

28) Nayler: Man of Sin, pp. 48-9.

29) "I saw and felt a wafte of death goe foorth against him y^t^ he lookt like a deade man". (Fox: Journal I, 327; cf. I. pp. 9-10)

30) "And when I was in prison att Lancaster: there was a great noise of y^e^ turke spreadinge over Christendome, and a great feare in Christendome, and as I was walkeinge in my prison Chamber; I saw: the Lords power turned against him: y^t^ hee was turneinge backe againe." (Fox: Journal II, p. 89)

31) Audland's vision (of laborers in a mine gathering into one heap, except for two who gathered into their own pile) is told by Ann Camm in a way so clearly symbolizing the Wilkinson-Story separation that one wishes one had his own words. (Camm & Audland: Ann Camm's Testimony). Apparently this was a dream. op. cit.

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Fox himself describes how

> "as I was walkeinge in my Chamber with my eye to y^e Lord: I saw y^e Angell of y^e Lord: with a glitteringe drawn sword southwards: and as though y^e Courte had beene all off a fire: and not longe after: ye warre begann with Holland & y^e sicknesse (the Plague of 1665) began & y^e Lords sworde was drawne...& y^e fire broake out in London."[32]

Later Gilbert Latey felt he had uttered an inspired prediction in having written to James II before 1688 "hoping God would show him Mercy in times of Distress".[33]

However intensely Friends renounced worldly scholarship, we may be thankful that they were by no means illiterate:[34] besides the 700 letters of the Swarthmore collection we have hundreds of tracts and epistles written by Friends during this early period. Perhaps the example of the Biblical prophets and apostles played a large role. Friends' works of the first decade have not held the same continuing and universal appeal of those which came later from the more scholarly and gentleman-bred Peningtons, William Penn, Elwood and Barclay. Many early books, nevertheless, (perhaps Nayler's "Lamb's War" especially), deserve to be more widely known. Despite the enormous output of tracts during the Commonwealth, it seems probable that no other sect or church issued such a large volume of literature, either in total, or per capita.[35]

Friends moreover were rather proud of their ability, by shrewd intelligence and a knowledge of basic Law, to show the invalidity of Indictments on which they were arraigned.[36] Nor did they lack factual knowledge in many fields. In one tract concerning the lawfulness of swearing, John Crook cites four statutes, Littleton, Cook's Institutes and his Reports, and a student's law-book.[37]

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32) Fox: Journal II, pp. 89-90. Though perhaps subconsciously slightly influenced by II Samuel 24:16, this was clearly a real vision, and Humphrey Smith's seems to have been the same kind. Humphrey Smith: The Vision of Humphrey Smith...Concerning London (London, Thos. Simmons, 1660).

33) q. Armsby: "Quaker View of State", p. 29

34) On the literacy of English yeoman in 1650, cf. Tawney: Religion and Capitalism, p. 173.

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In the field of historical knowledge, it is also clear that Friends' illiteracy was exaggerated by both their opponents and themselves.[38] Even Fox himself, when

> "there came a...company of papists, and they affirmed y^e Pope was Infallible... told y^m and shewed y^m out of Eusebius y^t one of y^e Bishopps of Rome denyed y^e faith..."[39]

A few early Friends knew one or more classical languages.[40] The "Battledoor" (written to show the use of singular and plural second-person-pronouns in all languages) is a linguistic tour-de-force. In it John Stubbs produces a page of grammar and quotations in: Latin, Italian, Greek, Hebrew, Caldee (Aramaic), Syriac, French, Arabic, Persian, Aethiopic, Samaritan, "Aegyptian, called Coptic", Armenian, "Welch", Portuguese, Cornish, Saxon, German, Danish, Slavonian, Bohemian, Polish and Irish.

The other scholarly "magnum opus" in the first decade of Quakerism was Fisher's Rusticus ad Academicos.[41] Called "the best scholar that ever professed Quakerism", Fisher had a mind which, if not very deep, was well-filled. At University he learned the vocabulary later useful in handling ministers who wrote against Quakerism. His major work sets out to refute simultaneously Owen, Tombs and Baxter, three of the greatest religious thinkers of his time. He knew the Bible text and could dissect Greek and Hebrew, and use the pro-

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35) cf. Whitley on the Baptists in this period: (Whitley: Baptists, 96)

36) cf. Fox: Journal I, 76-77; cf. Fox: Journal II, 90ff; Brocklebank: Burrough, 131.

37) John Crook: The Case of Swearing (at all) discussed (London, Robert Wilson, 1660)

38) cf. Tindall: Bunyan, 191: "Of Bunyan's comparative illiteracy... there can be no doubt; but...a reputation for gifted ignorance was fostered by Bunyan....The contemporary biographers of John Bunyan unanimously celebrated his inspiration, his illiteracy, and the meagerness of his library". Fox's situation was rather similar.

39) Fox: Journal II, 95; cf. Howgill: Works, 644.

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cedures of formal logic to show up an opponent's non sequitur, as well as quote theological authorities (mostly second-hand).

Recognizing the Quaker stand against learning, he apologizes for writing about "frivolosities that are so remote from the Souls Redemption".[42] But, like Bunyan, this must not make us doubt that he loved word-warfare and scholarly debates.[43]

Other Friends of scholastic background felt more deeply the conflict between the old wisdom and the new. The German, Hilary Prache, writes;

> "I resigned my Professorship of my own free will, and went into the silence...fortified in the work of the Lord by the Quaker writings, with which I am in agreement in all particulars. I have also sold my library to the great rest of my soul, having finally given up and disposed of to another my special Hebrew collection, because they would keep me away and draw me back."[44]

It is not until 1690 that one finds outspoken Quaker scholarship.[45]

The various Quaker reactions to the world of knowledge are found in interesting combinations in the sphere of Medicine. Here in particular, Fox

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40) cf. articles by Henry Cadbury and Anna Brinton in Brinton: Children of Light; While Barclay's Apology was the only work originally written in latin, many treatises were later translated into Latin, and Penn & Sewel wrote many latin letters. Certain Dutch and German converts to Quakerism translated tracts by George and Margaret Fox into Hebrew.

41) in 1673 by Faldo, quoted in Brinton Children of Light, p. 136.

42) Fisher: Works, p. 43: cf. his reply to the brilliant John Owen, "Not as one Angry or offended, that ye are not so Wise or Learned as myself, nor as one pretending to much of that ye call Wisdom and Learning, which lies more in outward Tongues, Arts, or Sciences, then in the Spirit...which... and yet perhaps I have forgotten more for the naked Gospelssake, then many of our Preachers of the Gospel for Pay ever learned....Yet whatever my measure is, further then as an Earthly Talent ..for a time laid aside and here Taken up again to serve the Truth with,...its utterly...loss itself for the excellency of the Knowledge of Christ...in the Spirit and Truth in the inward parts". (Works, p. 297-8)

43) cf. in this respect Bunyan: Grace Abounding, p. 75.

44) quoted from a MS letter, by Henry Cadbury in Brinton: Children of Light, p. 144.

45) George Fox his Testimony Concerning Robert Barclay, the 13th, 9th Mo. 1690, (Manchester, n.d.; bsd)

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felt, the Spirit led the Children of the Light into a knowledge based on the ultimate nature of created things; in his mystical experience, it was opened to Fox

"that the physicians were out of the wisdom of God by which the Creatures were made, and so knew not their virtues".[46]

While Fox did not attack the medical profession as such,[47] he tended to ignore them: In his illness of 1670

"severall freindes y^t was Doctors came and they would have given mee physicke, but I was not to medle with there thinges".[48]

Fox attempted occasionally to use his spiritual wisdom and powers in the healing of others, although without making a regular profession of faith-healing, or developing any specialized routine or techniques. A charming story is that told by John Banks.[49]

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46) Ellwood Edn. of Journal, p. 18, q. George Fox's Book of Miracles, edited and with an introduction by Henry J. Cadbury (Cambridge, University Press, 1948); cf. Cambridge Journal I, 269.

47) cf. Fox's Book of Miracles, 53.

48) Fox: Journal II, 166. It does indeed seem hard to tell how far Fox's period of "darkness" in 1659-60 was due to physical exhaustion, how far to a specific disease, and how far to spiritual oppression by the turn of national affairs. Similarly during the persecution s of 1670, while Fox was in Kent.:- "As I was goinge I walkt downe a hill, and a great weight and oppression fell on my spiritt...soe as I was hardely able to ride. Soe wee came to Rochester: but I was very weake, and very much loaden and burdned with y^e worldes spiritts....And I lay...all y^t winter warringe with y^e evil spiritts....But they all saw y^t as y^e persecution ceased I came from under my travailes & sufferinges". (Fox: Journal II, 167, 169.)

49) In 1677: "A Pain struck into my Shoulder, which gradually fell down into my Arm and Hand, so that...my Pain greatly encreas'd both Day and Night; and for three Months I could neither put my Cloaths on nor off my self.. I did seek some Phisicians for Oure, but no Cure could I get by any of them; until at last, as I was asleep upon my Bed...I saw in a Vision, that I was with dear George Fox, and I thought I said unto him, George, my Faith is such that if thou seest it thy way to lay thy Hand upon my Shoulder, my Arm and Hand shall be whole throughout. Which remained with me...that I must go to G.F., until at last, through much Exercise of Mind...I was made willing to go to him, he being then at Swarthmore...And sometime after the Meeting, I called him aside into the Hall, and gave him a Relation of my Concern as aforesaid, shewing him my Arm and Hand; and in a little time we walking together Silent, he

(cont'd on page 203)

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Early Friends attempted, and sometimes succeeded, in other healings.[50] These healings were conducted in the style, and where possible with the words of Biblical examples.[51] Moreover while the Quakers' opponents ridiculed the failures of some of their attempts, it appears that the Puritans themselves cited healings as Providences, and occasionally attempted them as miracles.

Yet despite their faith in the power and knowledge given by the Spirit over the created world, Fox seems to have accepted the value of home medicine, particularly of herbs;[52] there were Quakers who became doctors, without feeling any tension, and Fox discussed eagerly with non-Quaker doctors also. While Fox was probably not entirely consistent here, his view of the relation of Spirit and World was not the denial of physical reality found in Christian Science. While the Spirit had priority, and a domination over the created world, the latter was real. Natural knowledge, being knowledge of the created world could also be good in its subordinate place. It would seem that both spiritual and natural knowledge were sought for in Fox's injunction to the Women's Meeting of 60:

> "that they might see and inquire into the necessity of all poor Friends who were sick & weak & were in want...through which they would have the wisdom of the Lord, and of his creation and how to administer his creatures & by the same power to heal and strengthen with the outward things".[54]

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49) cont'd. turned about, and looked upon me, lifting up his Hand, and laid it upon my Shoulder, and said, The Lord strenthen thee both within, and without. And so we parted, and I went to Thomas Lowers of Marsh-Grange that Night; and when I was sate down to Supper in his House, immediately, before I was aware, my Hand was lifted up to do its Office, which it could not for so long...and the next day I went home, with my Hand and Arm restor'd to its former use and strength, without any Pain. And the next time that G F. and I met, he readily said, John, thou mended, thou mended; I answer'd, yes, very well, in a little time. Well, said he, give God the Glory. (Banks: Journal pp. 66-7, cf. Fox's Book of Miracles, pp. 137-8)

50) cf. Ibid.

51) Ibid. p. 5

52) Ibid. p. 46.

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53) Fox's Book of Miracles, p. 55; in a movement of such emotional intensity, Friends also recognized the presence of occasional insanity and the value of setting up "some place convenient in or about the City wherein they may put any person that may be distracted or troubled in mind, that so they may not be put amongst the world's people or run about the streets." Ratcliff Monthly Meeting Minute book for 5-11-1671, quoted Fox's Book of Miracles, p. 70)

54) Itinerary Journals II, 342, q. Fox's Book of Miracles, p. 342 . Both attitudes to medical problems are to be found, more rationalistically viewed, in Puritanism; there is both a respect for "good and wholesome physicke", and the insistence that "till helpe be had for the soule, and the sinne which is the roote of sicknesse cured, physicke for the body is nothing". (Perkins: Works, p. 498).

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Section IV-D: The Spirit and the Authority of the Bible

The early Quakers lived in a Bible-dominated era. For Friends the ultimate authority was the Spirit within each individual. Friends, however, shared with other Christians the belief that the Bible was inspired by the Holy Spirit. Thus, while it is fairly easy to set down the basic Quaker doctrine that Scripture and inward Leadings proceed from the same Spirit,[1] it is the relationship of these two forms of inspiration with which we are concerned. It is in terms of the relation of Bible and Spirit that we may hope to understand Quaker conceptions of the authority and the proper interpretation of the Bible, and also may see at what points this outlook varied from Puritanism.

Before studying the basis of the Quaker view of the Bible, however, it is worth noticing how widely the early Quakers used the Bible. In occasional Quaker tracts with prophetic tones, seventy or eighty percent consists of Biblical quotation or paraphrase,[2] but it is not always clear whether such denunciations took Biblical form consciously or unconsciously. It may anyhow be significant that Friends evidently assumed that this was God's characteristic vocabulary. Again and again much-used Quaker phrases turn out to have Biblical derivations.[3]

What is perhaps more important is that the basic thought of early Friends was moulded by Biblical categories. A careful study needs to be made of the key Quaker ideas in terms of their Biblical roots. The relation

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1) Barclay's definition is often quoted: "from...revelations of the Spirit of God to the saints have proceeded the Scriptures,. .nevertheless, because they are only a declaration of the fountain, and not the fountain itself, therefore they are not to be esteemed the principal ground of all truth and knowledge". (Apology, p. 81)

2) cf. Fisher: Works, p. 22ff: "The Burden of the Lord to Light"

3) The following recur constantly in tracts on toleration, for instance: "to make shipwreck of conscience" (cf. I Timothy 1:19); a "conscience seared with a hot iron" (I Tim. 4:2), "whatsoever is not of faith is sin" (Romans 14:23), "deceivers whose mouths must be stopped" (Titus 1:11), "the everlasting Gospel" (Rev. 14:6) and the linking of Cain, Balaam & Core as persecutors (Jude v. 11)

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of the "Seed" to Genesis 3 has been discussed.[4] Similarly the phrase "Children of the Light" involves not only the "Inner Light", and the mystical passages on "the Light of the World",[5] but also Jesus' specific contrast of "the Children of Light" and "the Children of this world" in the parable of the wily steward;[6] equally relevant is the Epistle to the Ephesians:

> "For ye were sometime darkness, but now are light in the Lord: walk as children of light...and have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them....But all things that are reproved are made manifest by the light: for whatsoever doth make manifest is light. Wherefore he saith, Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light."[7]

The whole range of apocalyptic symbols from Daniel and Revelation[8] will need further study. Still more important for this paper is the way in which the Quaker idea of "the World" is rooted in the Epistle of John and the Fourth Gospel;[9] but the negative attitude there is tempered with the tone of active struggle and triumph found in Revelation and the Catholic Epistles.[10] Other relevant passages for key Quaker outlooks have been presented in the chapter-headings of this thesis. Clearly Quaker thought was Biblical through and through.

A study might furthermore prove to what extent the favorite Quaker texts were also those which had been favorites with the Puritans. The universal dependence of all 17th Century English writers upon the Bible makes the attempt to trace the intellectual ancestry of ideas and phrases very un-

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4) cf. Section II-B

5) cf. John 1:4-5, 7-9; 8:12; 12:35-6 & especially John 12:36

6) Luke 16:8. 7) Ephesians 5:8, 11, 13

8) cf. the Lamb's War in Rev. 17:14

9) cf. I John. 4:4-9; 2:15-18; John 15:18-20; 7:4-7; 1:1-14, etc.

10) e.g. the often-quoted Rev. 11:15: "The Kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ"; cf. also Rev. 13:3, II Tim. 2:1-4, and Hebrews 11:1-12:2

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certain,[11] although, for instance, it seems possible to trace the influence of the Metrical Psalms on Quaker religious poetry.[12]

The knowledge of Scripture among early Friends was amazingly full and precise;[13] they found it useful in debate. We have seen that Friends ministers normally travelled with their Bibles. They felt this was hardly necessary in their own circles. But among a group of non-Friends, Fox

> "took a Bible, & opned to y^m y^e Scriptures & shewed y^m chapter & verse: and dealt with them as one would deale with a childe...for they y^t was in y^e light of Christ & Spiritt of God did know when I spoake Scripture though I did not mention chapter and verse after y^e preists forme unto y^m." [14]

On the Authority of the Bible, Friends were willing to place great stress. In actual practice Friends did use Scripture constantly to meet arguments and questions:

> "That we cry down the necessity of the Scriptures is false, for they are our own; and we see them of use every day in bearing witnesse with us against you and your heathenish Worships".[15]

If sometimes the reliance on Scriptures was a concession to Puritan opponents, it could hardly be against Catholics, as when Burrough, Nicholas Bonde and George Fox debated against a Jesuit priest "and wee was to make good what wee said by scriptures on both sydes".[16] Scripture was an authority

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11) cf. the "flaming sword" in Fox and Boehme, which, standing at the gateway of Paradise in Genesis 3:24, might or might not have been quite independently derived. cf. Nuttall: Holy Spirit, p. 16.

12) cf. William Barber, "the elder", The Thirsty Traveller in his Journey towards Zion refreshed (bsd. n.p. 1665). Most of this poetry, to be sure, was wretched as literature.

13) When a Catholic told Fox that "all ye patriarchs was in hell, from ye creation till Christ came....Christ was 3 days & 3 nights in hell to bringe y^m out", Fox retorted "y^t was false: for Christ said to ye theife this day shalt thou bee with mee in paradice: and Enoch and Elijah was translated into Heaven: and Abraham was in heaven, for ye Scripture saith Lazarus was in his bosom: and Moses & Elijah was with Christ upon ye mount before hee suffred". Not only an amusing collection of proof-texts, but very nearly all that could have been cited on the subject. Fox: JournalII p. 104; cf I, p. 136.

14) Fox: Journal I, p. 46. 15) Nayler: Man of Sin 6-7, cf. 50-51

16) Fox: Journal I, 324

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clearly to be preferred to reason in argument:

> "You say you have proved it by arguments", says Nayler: "I answer, Your deceitful arguments I deny, and they are no proof to me, nor any that fear God, who receive that truth by the Spirit and not by the arguments, but bring on Scripture in plain words, that....".[17]

Occasionally even the ultimate appeal to the Spirit seems to be forgotten:

> "Instance, if thou canst, of one out of the Scriptures, that did ever sue Men at the Law for Tythes, Wages or Easter-Reckonings; if thou canst not prove it by the Scriptures, thou art Antichrist that doth not abide in the Doctrine of Christ."[18]

It is only in argument with Puritan Biblicists like Owen that the Quaker distinctions are clearly drawn:

> "That such as reject the Scriptures are to be rejected and detested I freely grant, if by rejecting thou meanest such a rejection as in detestation of them....But the Quakers are not to be Ranked among such Rank rejecters of it....Yea, those that undervalue the Scripture so as to set Traditions above it, and they that over-value it so as to set the Light below it, both these must come under Condemnation.... We say only...that they are not to be so exceedingly Adored and Idolized by men as they are by you."[19]

For the Quaker, as for the Puritan, the ultimate authority of Scripture lies in its divine origin; so Camm & Audland starting from Scripture,[20] defend Scripture and Quaker preaching together:

> "No Prophesie of the Scriptures came by the will of man, all the Prophesies of it were out of the will of man, and they witnessed and Prophesied of Christ, who was born not by the will of Man...and all the Apostles were made Ministers by the Will of God, and not by Man, nor of man...and all who be in their own will, and have the Scriptures, and make a Profession of it...are in the Blasphemy and Persumption the Unpardonable Sin....And so Unity is in that which condemns the World, and all that live in their own wills."[21]

Puritans and Quakers agreed concerning the non-human origin of the Bible; this was one reason why men such as Bunyan would glorify no other learning.[22]

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17) Nayler: Man of Sin, 30. 18) Camm & Audland: op. cit. 176

19) Fisher: Works, 242,229; 506, cf. also p. 439

20) II Peter 1:21. 21) Camm & Audland: op. cit. 288

22) The preface to "Solomon's Temple" "I have not for these things fished in other men's waters; my Bible and concordance are my only library in my writings". Bunyan's: Works, III, 464, quoted Tindall: Bunyan 192

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Calvinism had begun by distinguishing clearly between the letter of the Bible and the "Word of God" that spoke through it.[23] The need for a certain and infallible guide led to the progressive externalizing of the Bible's authority.[24] Increasingly the Bible served as a universal rule-book.

But Puritan outlooks were complex: inward religious experience was stressed: Perkins thus spoke of the Bible as "the conduit pipe of the Holy Ghost to fashion and derive faith into the souls".[25] Furthermore the standard practice of interpreting historical events in the Old Testament "as types and shadowes that prefigured Christ to come", led to many parts of the Bible being used to symbolize spiritual truths, and hence events of the Christian's personal religious experience.[26] Thus in Bunyan's allegories, the work of God in Biblical history, and of the Holy Spirit in the "epic of the inner life", often run parallel as symbols, rather than as cause and effect.[27]

A third development was the way in which Bunyan and others ascribed to the Spirit the sudden bringing to their mind of appropriate Bible-verses.[28] These experiences had the same quality as Quaker "openings".

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23) "The Word will never gain credit in the hearts of men, till it be confirmed by the internal testimony of the Spirit. It is necessary, therefore, that the same Spirit who spake by the mouths of the prophets, should penetrate into our hearts to convince us that they faithfully delivered the oracles which were divinely entrusted to them". (Institutes, I 89-90); cf. Weber: Protestant Ethic, p. 256, and especially Nuttall: Holy Spirit, Chapter I, on this whole topic.

24) cf. Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", p. 69. Notice the difference on this point between the 39 Articles, and the Westminster Confession (which simply calls the Bible the "Word of God".

25) Perkins: Golden Chaine, p. 125

26) cf. Nuttall: Holy Spirit, p. 7; also Everard, as cit. by Haller: Rise of Puritanism, p. 212; Dell: Works, p. 542, etc.

27) cf. Haller, loc. cit.; Tindall: Bunyan, passim

28) cf. Bunyan: "I was much followed by this scripture..." "That sentence fell upon me..." Bunyan could also ascribe the quotation of Scripture to the Devil (showing that it was not the text which was holy), as when a verse of "scripture did also tear and rend my soul". Grace Abounding, pp. 32-34, cf. also examples cited in Nuttall: Holy Spirit, p. 56 .

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Although some writers have presented Quaker and Puritan attitudes to the Bible as direct opposites, it is clear there were many similarities, especially between Quakers and radical Puritans, in the centrality of personal religious experience and the role of the Spirit in it. Essentially, of course, the work of the Spirit in inward Election and in Biblical inspiration[29] are independent. However among orthodox Puritans "the normal, central emphasis...is upon the closest connection of Spirit and Word";

> "Ordinarily, the Spirit maketh use of the written word in this way of witnessing; he maketh the word without, a voyce within; by the effectual application of it unto a particular soule."[30]

"There is an admirable, unsearchable concurrance of the Spirit, and his appointed means".[31] It was the closeness of this interdependence which the Quakers and radical Puritans severed.

The distinctive note in Quakerism and radical Puritanism, at this point, was not the stress upon the Spirit, but upon the primacy of its work within.[32] They agreed with orthodox Puritanism on the divine authority of Scripture.[33] They agreed that the Spirit within is needed to draw meaning from the Scriptures. But when Scripture fell from being the means which

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29) cf. the separation in the quotation from Calvin, or in Sibbes: "God, joining with the soul and spirit of a man whom he intends to convert, causeth him to see a divine majesty shining forth in the Scriptures ....There must be a Spirit in me, as there is a Spirit in Scripture before I can see anything". (Works, III, 427, 434, quoted in Nuttall: Holy Spirit p. 23; cf. Winstanley: Works, 127.

30) Pette: "The Voyce of the Spirit" p. 25 quoted Nuttall: Holy Spirit, p. 25.

31) Baxter: Works: II, 193, quoted Nuttall: Holy Spirit, p. 31

32) cf. Winstanley: "What is the Gospel? Ans: It is the Father himself, that is the Word and glad tydings, that speaks peace inwardly to poore soules..The writings of the Apostles and Prophets...are the report or declaration of the Gospell". (Works, 122)

33) ~~and~~ Quakers accordingly used Scripture to "test" the Leadings of the Spirit.

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the Spirit's teaching employed, to being a means, the connection was broken, and a reversal of emphasis took place.[34] The Scripture, in other words, becomes dispensible:

> "as if one should say, the Glass -window is set up that the Sun may shine through it, therefore if suppose that to be crakt or to have any Flaws in...there's no likelihood of enjoying the clear bright Beams of the Sun....Yet we See now the Sun both is the same, and is better s seen, when beheld without a glass then through it".[35]

This led to a claim of the right of the "Spiritual Man" to interpret Scripture. Also it led to pushing further the Puritan conception of "dispensations", by asserting that certain parts of Scripture were intended only for Biblical times:

> "Things commanded and practised at certain times and seasons fall of themselves when as the cause and ground for which they were commanded is removed....We confess indeed we are against such as from the bare letter of the Scripture...seek to uphold customs, forms or shadows, when the use, for which they were appointed is removed....The difference is very wide, in respect of such things the very nature and substance of which can never be dispensed with by the people of God....For the doctrines and fundamental principles of the Christian Faith, we own and believe originally and principally, because they are the truths of God; whereunto the Spirit of God in our hearts hath constrained our understandings to obey and submit...".[36]

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34) Thus Owen said that "of no inward Light whatsoever, although it be saving, is this the use or end, that we should attend to it as the Guide and Rule of our way, but for this end alone is it vouchsafed of God, that by the help thereof, we may the more savingly understand that Rule (meaning the Scriptures)". To this Fisher replied that Owen "makes the Light and Spirit but an Instrumental means to bring men to the Letter", whereas for Fisher the Scripture merely brings men to the Light. (Works, 475)

35) Fisher: Works, 341; notice the difference between this and a rather similar metaphor, beloved of Friends, with which Puritans would have agreed, "that Metaphor of the Lanthorn and the Light that shines in it, with the Letter and the Light, the Writing and the Word, doth so exactly correspond". (ibid. p. 531)1

36) Barclay: Apology, pp. 29-30 . This may sound like arbitrary selection of areas for applying an intermittent literalistic primitivism. But there was implied also a fruitful antithesis between the Letter and the message of the Bible: "The Truth told in it...is the same forever, and can't be changed, let the scripture become what it will, and suffer the loss of its whole self" (Fisher: Works, 308)

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Yet the crucial argument is whether the Spirit was expected by Friends to reveal to them things which were "new Revelation" beyond Scripture. Debates on this usually ended foggily. This was partly because of the difficulty of distinguishing between revelations contradictory to, and those supplementary to or fulfilling, the Biblical message; partly because the Quakers were themselves so steeped in Biblical thought-patterns. But the debate was fruitless primarily because for Friends the main concern in the new witness of the Spirit was not its intellectual content at all, but its relation to the individual. The personal experience of the Spirit was for them crucial, and was independent of the experience of the divine Word in the Bible: thus ~~when~~ Thomas Moor writes

> "The scriptures are the means whereby the righteousness is revealed from faith to faith", Fox replied, "God it is that reveals the faith, and gives the faith and the righteousness; the scriptures cannot reveal it, but they testify of it; and all must come into the spirit, before they know revelation".[37]

Paul's attitude concerning the Old Testament law was held by the early Friends towards the Bible as a whole:

> "In the Scriptures...you may read the Right of things, and what you should and should not do, but the Light within is larger than that...showing not only the Right,...but also the Fact, even what we do and are...
>
> Because we own (scripture) not as useful to all those extra-ordinary weighty and mighty uses...made of it (is not) to say we deny all Uses of it...That may be good to Cut and Kill...that when it hath so done, can't quicken nor heal, nor save, nor Cure: the Letter kills as an Executing Instrument, but the Spirit only gives the Life."[38]

Yet it was not only the subjective experience of salvation in the Spirit apart from the Bible that made Friends conscious that both knowledge of "the Law" and knowledge of Justification by Faith failed to give what they

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37) Fox: Great Mistery, 237; cf. p. 144: Fisher: Works, p. 478.

38) Fisher: Works, 13, 253.

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sought in religion. The test both inwardly and outwardly was ethical as much as emotional:[39] once again one finds these elements inseparable in Quaker thought. Fisher's complaint against Biblicism is put sarcastically:

> "If to laud the letter more than to lead the Life which it requires; If to be ever coming for Counsel to it, but never Conforming to the Counsel of it, when it calls you to the Light for Life...then I shall yield the Scripture to be...valued...in this ever-Reforming never-Reforming Nation.
>
> Where is there one among all these Painted Penitents that so truly and fully Repents from his sins as not to live in, and believe he must live in some dead works to his dying day?....Is it for want of a competent number or quantity of Bibles? No...almost everyone that can read, and hath Money enough to buy one....will buy a Bible, whatever it cost, to carry with him to his Church; and some will have two or three....Is it for want of hearing them read? No, they are read too much...unless they were more spiritually understood, and more carefully and practically observed...".[40]

To some extent Quakers decried both sermons and the scriptures themselves because they were used by Puritans to discredit Quaker prophecy by the direct leading of the Spirit (again it is the fact of the prophecy, not the novelty of the message, that Friends are concerned to stress).[41] Nevertheless the more usual emphasis is that the value of Scripture to either preacher or reader comes "when read and understood in that Light, Wisdom and Spirit that gave it out", rather than by "the Animal Man".[42]

Turning now to the principles by which specific Bible passages were to be interpreted, the Friends conception of the primacy of the Spirit made

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39) cf. on this Dell: Works, p. 528

40) The north country-man Howgill comments more kindly:- "As for reading the Scripture, it is good. If it were read oftener to the people the understandings of the people would be more opened than they are by the cloudy and dark packe up speeches, which is called preaching. But preaching I am not against; that is to say, to declare the mind of God as it is revealed by his Eternal Spirit....But some say that Eternal Life is to be found in the Scriptures....Eternal Life can be found nowhere but where it is, and those who look for Eternal Life in the Letter are seeking the living among the dead". Howgill: Gray Ridge.

41) Fox: Great Mistery, 112

42) Fisher: Works, 452, 453; cf. Fox: Journal I, 40

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it natural for them to go on to assert that only the Spirit could interpret the meaning of Scripture:

"he unto whom the Spirit of God is goven,...shall see the Mind and Will of God in every Age, and the Mind and Intent of the Spirit in them that spoke forth the Scripture, and can receive the Matter therein contained."[43]

Trial of Spirits can only be by means of the Spirit:

"Man's "own meer Natural empty understandings give many meanings to the texts of the Bible, but the Spirit gives the true meaning and mystery and shows the secrets thereof to those few Babes that fear the Lord.... We do indeed...deny the Naturally wise mens cloudy conceptions, misty meanings, shallow-brained senses, and excentrick Expositions of the things of the Spirit...."[44]

But when one comes to examine the actual interpretations of Biblical passages which Friends felt they were led into by the Spirit, though in certain areas (e.g. the Sacraments), a fairly steady pattern of symbolic meaning is given, yet often, "the spiritual meaning of the Scriptures was in practise nothing more than an obstinate literal-mindedness".[45]

There was nothing esoteric about their interpretations of texts whether symbolic or literalistic. What one suspects the Quaker approach to the Bible meant was that the meaning of many passages came upon them in the emotional crisis of a religious experience. Rather than a new truth of meaning, what they really achieved was new vitality of meaning. Thus while Friends felt free to make their religious life much more independent of the Bible than did

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43) Howgill: Works, 637 44) Fisher: Works, 255-6

45) Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth". This involved certain commands of Christ (as for instance, on Oaths), but also the attempt to overwhelm opponents with barrages of indiscriminate proof-texts: so Nayler writes to an opponent:- "you accuse me for grossly perverting the Scripture.... now whether I pervert them, who quotes them as they are, in plain words as they are set down, or you who give your private meanings on them, and brings one to oppose and cross another...is plain to anyone who are guided by the same Spirit who gave them forth". James Nayler: Man of Sin, p.2.

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most groups of their time, their use of the Bible to symbolize and give content to vital inward experience was very similar to that of the Baptists and Independents of their time, and reflected the basic Puritan tradition.

The early Friends, however, did use the Bible itself as evidence for the reality of the work of the Spirit apart from Scripture;[46] and, as the record of experiences which they affirmed as identical with their own, that early Friends pointed to the Bible:

> "holy men of God that gave forth the Scriptures...did conclude the Spirit dwelt in their hearts, the Light in their hearts,.....the anointing within them, God dwelt within them...."[47]

Rejecting the claim that an "extraordinary" degree of inspiration was given to the Bible writers,[48] Friends stressed the universality of spiritual experience:

> "Did Paul believe, or witness, or write any other things when he wrote with his own Hands what was immediately revealed and inspired into him by the same holy Spirit, then what by the same Spirit...holy men of God believed, owned, witnessed,...and acknowledged to be the truth... even in the Light and Spirit within themselves."[49]

As a result, Friends without at all denying the Bible's spiritual inspiration, were led to a somewhat different conception of how that inspiration took place:

> "Such Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists, as wrote their own Prophesies, Epistles, Histories, Proverbs, Psalms, etc., with their own Hands, as they were moved by the Spirit...in order to their receiving the Word, and manifestation of the Mind & Will of God to them which was written, had both then, and long before also, an Active concurrence thereof, and such an Active obedience to God as all men are by the Law of God, i.e. the Light in the Conscience, obliged to, whereby they...became first Holy Men before they were used by God in such an holy work."[50]

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46) "You need not other Witness against you...then the Letter in which you trust, for did you believe the Letter, ye would believe in the Light, for it writes of the **Light** the Quakers call ye to". (Fisher: Works, 470; cf. Fox: Great Mistery, p. 64)

47) Ibid. 281 48) cf. Nuttall: Holy Spirit, p. 28

49) Fisher: Works, p. 421 50) Ibid. 418-419

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Here once again it is taken for granted that the work of the Spirit in teaching and sanctifying are one, that ethical purity and spiritual experience go together. We have seen that the Friends' conception of the work of the Spirit generally and universally had something of the quality of "dictation" and "spirit-possession" which the orthodox Puritans felt was involved in the "extraordinary" inspiration of the Bible writers. Nevertheless, Fisher at any rate could also make the application in reverse, and stress the active rather than passive concurrence of the Bible writers, not only ethically, but intellectually, in the writing of the Scripture.[51] Writing and speaking, the Bible writers

> "uttered no other Truth then they were mostly made acquainted withal by the Spirit within themselves, and heard and saw by the Light within.... As if the Writers of the Scriptures, because they were moved by the Holy Spirit to write what they did, wrote they did not know what themselves, nor in any wise savingly understood every one his own piece of writing."[52]

The early Friends conception of Scripture, therefore, which started as an extension of the Puritan conception of the relation of Letter and Spirit in the experience of the Reader, is also relevant to the conception of the work of the Spirit in the writing of the Bible. And whereas Fox' approach to Scripture, for instance, was largely uncritical, in the hands of a trained scholar like Fisher, the Quaker conception made possible an understanding of the Bible essentially "modernist" and made practical a flexible

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51) Some Scripture did not even claim direct inspiration:- "for though holy men of God spake of old, i.e. prophesied as moved by the holy Spirit, yet from thence it follows not, that all that even holy men of God wrote in Point of History, Chronicle, etc, nor Prophesie neither, was written by the same impulse of the Spirit on the Spirit of the Pen-men; for some was written from the mouth of such as were Inspired by the hands of others...as Baruch". (Fisher: Works, 515). Even in those parts whose writing was directly inspired:- "their Minds and Understanding were used in the choice of words they did use...to express the sense they conceived of the Mind and Will of God". (Fisher: Works, 425)

52) Ibid. 426, 429

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approach to specific textual problems. Howgill asserts that

> "they that have the Spirit of God see beyond all, and have Unity with the words and Mind of the Spirit of God, notwithstanding the many Corruptions and Defects in Translations, and the many foul Hands it hath passed through."[53]

So also, in debate with Owen, Fisher was able to accept without alarm the problems of copyists' errors,[54] of the misquotations of the Old Testament in the New, and the original elasticity of the Biblical Canon;[55] Fisher positively attacks Owen's Biblicism on these issues, and especially on the lack of Hebrew vowel points in the pre-Massoretic text.[56]

As a rule, however, Quakers did not despise the Bible. They were concerned always not with the scholarly understanding of its wording, but with its vitality in daily life. This vitality came from the association of the Bible and the inward work of the Spirit and the Power of God. One can hardly underestimate the importance of the Bible, in setting norms, both consciously and unconsciously, for Quaker ethics; yet the driving force in ethics, and the final authority for its standards, was found in the Spirit within.

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53) Howgill: Works, p. 624

54) Like the other Biblical scholars of their time, both Owen and Fisher were well acquainted with the differences both in translated Versions and in Variants in original manuscripts (Fisher cites 840 variant readings). But whereas Owen is forced to ascribe these differences to deliberate malice Fisher can be more indifferent, (an indifference, however, less productive of careful textual criticism than Owen's search for a divinely inspired "correct text".) cf. Fisher: Works, 333-348, 365

55) cf. Fisher: Works, 361, 278, 285, 272

56) Ibid. 177-8, etc; here again the Puritan attitude led to better scholarship in the Original Languages, but Fisher felt that for Owen "it follows then that none but Scholars have the undoubted Word of God, for People understand not the Original Tongues" (Works, 336). Fisher thus continued the Puritan concern for the Vernacular Bible, both in its faults and its virtues. On the irrelevance of Original Languages, cf. Fox: Journal:II 29,30, etc; Nayler: Works, 44.

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CHAPTER V

BASIC PRINCIPLES OF EARLY QUAKER ETHICS

"Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh. For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit and the Spirit against the flesh: and these are contrary the one to the other; so that ye cannot do the things that ye would. But if ye be led of the Spirit, ye are not under the law. . .But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, Meekness, temperance; against such there is no law."

Galatians 5:16-18,22-23

"The true Christian Religion stands not only in Name, nor in Words, nor in...outward Practice,...not having their Hearts renewed;...but in Power, in Life, and in being obedient unto his living commands ..and he giveth the Knowledge of his will to all that believe in the measure of his eternal Spirit...and this Spirit is infallible, and gives certain assurance to all that receive it, that they are in that way which is acceptable to God, and they feel Comfort into their souls coming daily from the presence of Christ"[1]

Francis Howgill

Section V-A: Ethics and the Leadings of the Light

The authority of the Spirit as the giver and authenticator of ideas has been discussed in the previous chapter. The equally central role of the Spirit in action forms the more direct basis of early Quaker ethics. The Spirit was felt to lead a man to specific actions, with a directness which made the resulting deeds not human good works but the specific works of the infallible Spirit.

The frequency of "Leadings" of the Spirit in Quaker experience is attested by all their early writings.[2] Similar leadings were experienced by other left-wing Puritans, such as Saltmarsh, and also in the experience of many men before they became Quakers. By the more conservative Puritans the Spirit was seen rather in experiences of personal assurance leading to a certainty of salvation.[3] Because the "Leadings" of early Quakers were more direct-

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1) Howgill: Works, p. 615

2) The autobiographical narratives are particularly full of such incidents, but cf. also many tracts, such as Fisher: "The Scorned Quaker's True and Honest Account"; "The Scorned Quaker's second Account". (Works, pp. 1ff), etc. cf. also Geoffrey F. Nuttall: Studies in Christian Enthusiasm illustrated from early Quakerism, (Wallingford, Pa.; Pendle Hill: 1948), p. 71

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ly connected with specific acts, Friends spoke at least as often of the divine Light as of the divine Spirit (which traditional theology has seen as the source of universal truths)[4]. There is at any rate no doubt that for early Friends these Leadings represent the word of God in the most direct way it can be heard:

> "Ye must all mind the light; for 'the law is light' said Solomon;... ye must all mind the spirit, for 'the testimony'of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy". [5]

> "Knowe ye not yourselvest y^{t} Christ is in you except you be reprobates, and if Jesus Christ be in you, must not he speake in you?"[6]

The Light, writes Fisher, is "regula quid Rectum mensura sui et obliqui", "Autopiste, believed for itselfs sake", because subject to no external arbiter;

> "It is the Light of God in Conscience which...shews both itself and Darkness, Truth and Deceit, Good and Evil, what God would have each man do in his own particular, and what decline...what sins he does or does not forage...and finally what manner of man he is, upright or wicked, a true man or a Hypocrite."[7]

This statement of Fisher's raises the problem of the relation of the Light and the Conscience within man. The connection is clearly very close:

> "If a man walk in the lusts and wayes of the Flesh as Drunkenness, Revelling, Wantonness, Cozening, Cheating, Fighting, Hating, Adultery, Murder, Lying and the like: if all the men in the world shall flatter him... there is that Light in Conscience will tell him...that his Way is false and filthy...whenever the Book of Conscience he but a little opens."[8]

The voice of Fisher's conscience no doubt spoke in much the same tones while he was still an orthodox Puritan. Yet although in the struggle for religious liberty Quakers claimed unlimited privileges for conscience, it was essentially for the enlightened conscience. It befell many men for

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3) cf. Section II-E, etc.

4) Beach "Conscience", p. 39

5) Fox: Great Mistery, 256-6

6) Fox: Journal I, 263

7) Fisher: Works, 698.

8) Ibid. 14-15

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"the Light (to) be quite put out (as the Candle of the wicked, which one they had shining in them, often is...being sealed up under obscure darkness in God's Just Wrath against the Judgment)".[9]

For others the conscience was "seared" or distorted. The Light might speak in Conscience but was not identical with it.[10]

"You that deny immediate inspiration, have denied the power of the Spirit.. for that is immediate, and the ministers of Christ witness it... all are in the satanical delusion that are not in the immediate teachings from the spirit; and every one that hath this spirit, and the leading of the spirit, hath that which is immediate."[11]

Inspiration is a more appropriate word than conscience in such contexts, and raises the problem whether the human agent plays any positive role in the process or is only a passive "medium" for the Spirit. On the one hand Nayler insists:

"Let your Minds be always Heavenly, waiting with Patience,....and waiting in the cross to that Mind, as you come into the patient stilness, you will feel the begettings of the Father moving in you to be brought forth to which you must become servants...without reasoning or consulting anything of your own."[12]

Samuel Fisher on the other hand gives the individual a more prominent place:

"Ministry, whether done by Voice or Writing...they were not to do but as the Spirit moved or acted them, yet in both were they not only acted by the Spirit, but subordinately active with him in those several ministrations .....The Life of God in such as by the Light of Christ...are let and born thereunto, is an Act or Spirit operative Power, to do and perform such Actions as are suitable to man....God using every Instrument according to what he hath fitted it for, a Beast as a Beast, a Man as a Man...and not a Man as a stock or stone, but being a reasonable creature, and prepared by him naturally with such a Soul, such Faculties, and Supernaturally and Spiritually with such Gifts and Graces, as whereby he is capable to act, when by him commanded."[13]

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9) Fisher: Works, 14-15

10) cf. Gerald C. Brauer: "Puritan Mysticism and the Development of Liberalism"; (Church History Vol. XIX #3 (Sept. 1950), pp. 151-171)p. 162: "To the Light of Christ then in the Conscience, and not to man's natural conscience it is that we continually commend men...for conscience, being that in man which ariseth from the natural Faculties of man's Soul, may be Defiled and Corrupted." (Barclay: Apology, 338, 358 quoted in Wragge: Barclay, pp. 48, 83); cf. also Beach "Conscience" p. 38.

11) Fox: Great Mistery, 43, 41 12) Nayler: Works, pp..371-2

13) Fisher: Works, pp. 423-4

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Friends, however, rejected the adequacy of a merely indirect action of God, through human faculties, an "enlightening of the understanding" by the divine Spirit;[14]

> "the Spirit doth not only subjectively help us to discern truths elsewhere delivered, but also objectively presents those truths to our minds....It moveth, actuateth, governeth, instructeth, and teacheth all things whatsoever are needful...to know."[15]

Thus the Light speaking in the Conscience was regarded as being in antithesis to the voice of human reason, impulse or training;[16] its leadings are best heard in silence.[17] Thus the Quaker understanding of the Light reflected the ethical polarity and dualism already described, between the divine Light and the human Nature, between the seed of God and that of the Devil. The description of all impulses as "Motions" of the two Seeds seems to mean that no "natural" impulses are good.[18] This was not asceticism, however, but another form of the radical contrast of the divine Will with human self-love which runs throughout Puritanism.[19] Lust and "the flesh" are described as either "spiritual or Carnal", not simply as physical impulses.[20] Particularly among Quakers, whose ethics focussed more than that of Puritans upon specific impulses to concrete action, the effort to "abide in that which mortifies daily and crosseth the Earthly part",[21] was primarily a struggle against self-will:

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14) as in Puritan outlooks, cf. Sibbes, cited in Nuttall: Holy Spirit, pp. 23-4.

15) Barclay: Apology, pp. 62-3

16) cf. Banks attack on "the windy Doctrine of the Ministers, who tell you That that which Reproves for Sin, is Natural, or the check of the Natural Conscience, or a thing not sufficient to bring to Salvation". (Journal p. 152)

17) cf. Fox: Journal: I, 321

18) cf. Hazelton: In our Midst, p. 66, James Nayler: A Discovery of the Beast...An Answer to... T. Winterton (London, 1655) p. 14; Camm & Audland: Memory of the Righteous, p. 25.

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> "Self-works...is that which men see, or hear, or imagine, and imitate...in their own Wills and Ways....But God's Works are those which are from everlasting, before the Will of Man, or the World's Customs: But every one who into this Work will come, must deny the World and their own Wills,...and conform to the motion of the Spirit and to its Workings".[22]

Thus although Friends made very specific moral judgments in concrete cases, in the last analysis the test of Right and Wrong was not a code or Principle, Biblical or otherwise, but was obedience to the Leadings of the Light.[23] The absolutism of the obedience demanded by the Light is to be seen again and again in early Quaker writings,[24] particularly in their refusal to compromise over issues on which they were persecuted. It was an absolutism of obedience, not of legalism, yet it was equally sure of inerrancy of the content of specific commands which it obeyed.[25]

This radical obedience was tied up with the moral revolution of the Quaker conversion experience. Such obedience might begin at any point, and

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19) Knappen: Tudor Puritanism, pp. 428-9; the nearest exception to this comes actually from conservative Puritanism: "whatsoever the flesh according to the common course of carnal men delighteth in, suspect thou there is mischief in it, tho thou be able to defend it with thy reason" ('Printer to the Reader' in Overthrow of Stage-Plays (1599), quoted Knappen, op. cit. p. 441.

20) Nayler: Works, p. 74. 21) Camm & Audland: Memory of Righteous, 59

22) Nayler: Works, p. 307

23) cf. Weber: Protestant Ethic, p. 256: "You...who are convinced by the Light but doth not walk in the Light, How will you escape?" (Camm & Audland; op. cit. p. 73)

24) Humphrey Lower said to George Fox "how serviceable wee might bee if wee was out of prison; and wee reasoned with him about swearinge and how they tendred ye oath of abjuration to us because wee coulde not sweare; and noe people could bee serviceable to God if they disobeyed ye Commande of Christ". (Fox: Journal, I, 225)

25) Fox answered General Desborough in 1656: "to say we will goe to our outward habitation if it be according to y^{e} will of God, when we knowe it is y^{e} will of God otherwise,- now we cannot speake soe truely nor clearly". (Journal I, 239).

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often it was at some relatively trivial issue of conscience that the major conversion began:- for Penn tradition mentions the wearing of his sword, for Humphrey Bache the petty illegalities of his job in Customs excise, as the decisive issues.[26]

What would usually be considered strictly moral issues, or matters of conscience, were not the only ones involved. The same obedience was expected to "Leadings" of the Spirit where the issue was purely practical. Thus the Quaker ethics did not distinguish major from minor sins as regards the basic issue of obedience.[27] Thus no area of life was left out of ethics. Thus Ellwood wrote of his sins that

> "though they looked not with so black a Hue...as those of the lewdest Sort of people did: Yet I found that all Sin brought Guilt, and...the Condemnation on the Soul that Sinned. This I felt and was greatly bowed down under the sense thereof....So that everything was brought into Judgment...and what in Particular the Evil was, which I was required to put away and to cease from, that Measure of the Divine LIGHT which was now manifested in me, discovered to me...so that here began to be a Way cast up before me for me to walk in".[28]

The importance of the direct "Leadings" of the Spirit will be seen again when we come to study the specific occasions, as well as the message of the Quaker ethical witness:

> "Now when anyone shall be moved to goe to speake in a steplehouse or a market, turne in y^{t} which moves and be obedient to itt, now y^{t} which would not goe must be kept downe....Soe if any one have Amovinge to any place and have spoken what they were moved of ye Lord, returne to there habitation againe".[29]

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26) Humphrey Bache, A Few Words in true love Written to the old long sitting Parliament (1659), p. 9

27) Geoffrey Nuttall: Enthusiasm, p. 44

28) Journal, pp. 54-5, cf. p. 8. "Now the way of my Prosperity in the Truth...I always found was by being Faithful unto the Lord, in what he in the Light manifested, though but in little and small things".

29) Fox: Journal: I, 321,319; cf. Epistles, 169, quoted in Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 526.

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Such specific leadings to positive action differ at some points from "negative" leadings which reject as evil a habitual course of conduct. But both types of "Leadings" are alike in involving denial of self-will. Thus, for Robert Barclay and other early Friends, the rather terrifying impulses to "go naked for a Sign", or to interrupt the worship in Established Churches, were obeyed as divine Leadings precisely because they seemed to be contrary to personal inclination and desire.

The question is inescapable, how far in actual fact the accepted beliefs and codes, personal emotions and impulsions, and how far super-natural guidance were each involved in such leadings. An answer would re-quire a more detailed analysis than is possible here, and the application of judgments of personal faith as well as of Psychology and Philosophy. In some cases such "leadings" should probably be interpreted as purely personal impulses of the "Subconscious mind". About other cases objective agreement would not be possible. This situation applies to some extent to any Word or Event regarded as Revelation.

Among early Friends, however, the element of group impulse and emotion must not be overlooked. It would be interesting to have the results of a careful, if not statistical, study of "Leading experiences" among early Friends to find how commonly such Leadings occurred in the group Meetings for Worship, how frequently they involved the adoption of a step or type of action to which others within the group had recently been led, and to try to analyse those cases where the "Sense of the Meeting" involved a clear-cut or emotional experience of Meetings being "led" as a group.

At any rate it is clear that with regard to the Leadings which became so central for Quaker ethics, neither Conscience nor emotional impulse by themselves provide an adequate understanding. In referring in the previous chapter to the pattern of experience which was dubbed "revivalistic" the

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attempt was made to show how inseparably conscience and group emotion were interwoven in the experiences of conversion. The same interweaving seems equally present in many experiences of the Movings of the Spirit to ethical actions.[30]

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30) Leaving out for the moment the supernatural aspects, we may say that an ethic of pure emotion tends to be enthusiasm, while an ethic of conscience alone is likely to take the form of legalism and/or Pelagianism. Quakerism, while clearly involving elements of both enthusiasm and legalism, is from another point of view in essence neither one nor the other.

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Section V-B: Good Works in Life and Theology

Early Quaker concern for obedience to the Light is not to be separated from an intense concern for specific actions as right or wrong. While the role of the Spirit kept Quakers from the usual forms of Work-righteousness, ethical action was nevertheless given a far more central place in Christian life than either belief or inward spirit and worship.

The Quaker earnestness and stringency in ethical matters was a continuation of the development within Puritanism. The Puritan diarists had examined their daily conduct rigorously for signs of the work of Grace in their lives, and tested Election by its fruits. Not only the conscientious zeal, but the specific targets against which Quakers turned it, were often reminiscent of orthodox Puritanism.[1]

Relationships between specific Quaker Testimonies and corresponding concerns among Puritans must await discussion in a later chapter. But it is significant that Friends regarded these ethical standards as the crucial issues in national laws and policy.

> "Are not the Multitudinous Meetings, Conventions and Musterings together of Rude, Wild, Wicked People to Drinking and Revellings, Wakes and Whitsun-ales, May-Games and Morrice-Dancings...Cockfightings and Bear-Baitings, Bowlings, and other games, Carding, Dicing, Dancing, Markets and Fairs, Juglers Puppets...where they kindle and enflame one another in Lust Wantonness and Wickedness...much more inconsistent with the Nations Safety, disturbing its Peace...than for the People that fear the Lord to meet together to worship God in Spirit and to Preach up the Power of Godliness that would bring people out of all these ungodly courses."[2]

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1) At Launceston, Major Desborough "came to y^e^ castle greene and there playde att bowles with y^e^ Justices and other men: and severall freindes was moved to goe and admonish him and y^m^ how they tooke there pleasure and yett Imprisoned y^e^ servants of God and yett professe y^m^ selves Christians..." At the Launceston assizes "wee askt ye goaler what doeinges there was att ye sessions and hee said small matters onely a matter of thirty for bastardy and soe wee thought it very strange y^t^ they y^t^ profest y^m^selves Christians should make small matters of such thinges". (Fox: Journal: I, p241)

2) Fisher: Episkopos, 23; cf. Edward Byllynge: For every individual Superior & Inferior Magistrate in the Land (bsd, London, 1662)

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Again and again the Quaker was vocally willing to be tested, vis-a-vis his accusers, by which lived most closely according to the Scriptures and the life of Christ and the Apostles:[3] Fisher challenged John Owen, (vice-chancellor of Oxford), asking

> "whether there be more obominable Idolatries, Murders, Whoredoms, Blasphemies, and pernicious manners among Quakers, or other men called Christians. Which of these two, the Quakers or your schollars, bring forth Fruits most meet for God and like those of the Spirit, Peace, Meekness, Patience, Temperance, etc."[4]

The Friends thus placed ethics at the center of their relationship to "God...whom no Evil-doer or Sinner in his Sins can worship any more acceptably than Cain".[5] Like other left-wing Puritans, the early Quakers spoke often against "Hypocrisie", and What had been for the Elizabethan Puritan, however, an attack upon knowledge and belief that did not also bear fruit in conduct, became for the Friends a tendency to subordinate belief to ethics:

> "Men are not accepted and condemned the more for not knowing so much...of this and that notion of Doctrine and point of theology in the head, as for not doing that (be it little or more) that is already made known, with all the Heart".[6]

A few Friends worked out this attitude into an almost Augustinian conception that God is known not with the Mind as idea, but with the will in obedience:

> "God as he is really in himself is beyond all definition of ours at all... (but) God (whatever more he is...who hath known?) is really in himself whatever he hath at any time, in and by his Son, revealed himself to be. In and To his holy Prophets and Children."....Fisher goes on to list the classical attributes of God "Howbeit they only truly know him to be this

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3) Nayler: Works, 189; Fox: Great Mistery, 23.

4) Fisher: Works, 547-8, 260. "In the silent Meetings of the Quakers there may be some that get no Further then the outward Form of godliness and not grow out in the Power: and here and there one that may be over-taken with a fault....But the worst that can be made of the Quakers Crimes...yet... that is nothing in comparison of that open professed Prophanness and Iniquity...among the Parish People".

5) Ibid. 708. 6) Ibid. 666 .

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> or that, who witness him truly to be this or that, to, and within themselves,...by feeling after him in his own Light....And if ye.. Worship an unknown God....My Counsel to you is, to stand still in his own Counsel, namely his Light in your own Consciences." [7]

The obverse, however, is commoner, in which the stress is upon ethical fruits:

> "Impossible it is that an orthodox, true right or good Gospel conversation should proceed from an Heretical or false faith....Does any perfect purity of heart or life, any true love that works us any victory over the world, any truly good manners, righteous works, holy actions... flow from a...false faith....Where the life is right, the faith cannot be amiss." [8]

This concern for good actions, "activism" as it might be called, and the minimizing of ideas and of belief that went with it, can be seen in various lights. It is the extreme form of Puritan conscientiousness, which is separating itself from evil separated itself from evil-doers, and gave rise to the Separatist churches: (in this aspect it corresponds to the concept of Sectarianism as Troeltsch and others have described it). In a negative aspect, it involves the rejection of philosophical theology. This Quaker outlook has been considered as a forerunner of the liberalism of the eighteenth century. [9] As a third aspect, our consideration of Quaker experiences, both of conversion and of Leading, might lead us to expect that the stressing of ethics as against theology would be in part an emphasis upon emotion as against intellect.

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7) Fisher: Works, 844-845. Nayler similarly warns: "Take heed of that Nature that would know more than God is willing to reveal, for you shall find that unwilling to obey what it knows". (Nayler: Works, 32).

8) Fisher: Works, 81.

9) cf. Philip S. Belasco: Authority in Church and State, with a forward by G. P. Gooch: (London, George Allen & Unwin, 1928); Brauer: "Puritan Mysticism": - the latter guarded by careful limitations.

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Light is thrown on these aspects of Quaker ethical activism by the statements of Friends when challenged by Calvinists over the issues of Justification and Work-righteousness.[10] At first sight there often seems a curious 'naivete' about Quaker statements about Justification:

> God "justifieth the ungodly,...yet never in but from their ungodliness....He sees no sin in Jacob...because there its done away.. so as not to be committed any more, or if it be there's new guilt contracted, and the sin imputed till again remitted on returning."[11]

When the Biblical phrase of Justification by Faith was brought up against them, Friends tended to interpret Faith in ethical and activistic terms:

> "The Faith of Christ, and the Faith of the World are two, and have their several effects; the one professeth.. Redemption in the Imaginations and Comprehensions, but is a servant of Sin; the other hath the living Faith....The profession of Faith without Righteousness is like a Body without Life."[12]

Though Faith was regarded as basically ethical, Friends understood that it was first and foremost an inner relationship of the heart; once again the religious experience of the early Quaker meetings led to a refusal to consider ethical absolutism and inward self-surrender separately from each other.[13] The Quaker experience was not only of sin but of victory over sin; the Spirit which broke down the "old Man" also made possible the life of the "new Man". But moral sin and victory were so vital as to obscure other aspects of human experience.

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10) cf. Nayler: Man of Sin, 7,11. "You charge us with putting abundance of holiness in fasting, beggarly apparell, wandering up and down in the World". (cf. also Works, p. 347)

11) Fisher: Works, p. 164, cf. p. 779: "Although all that obtain justification are justified freely...in Jesus Christ alone...Nevertheless, no further is any man accepted of God...then as he is directed by Christ the Light in his Conscience...that it may teach and lead". cf. also Fox: Great Mistery, p. 53.

12) Nayler: Works, 281-2

13) cf. Fox: Great Mistery, p. 267: "where Christ is within...and where the faith of the Son of God is lived in it gives victory over sin... the new covenant is there, the new heart"; cf. also p. 88, 98. Fisher: Works, 166; Nayler: Works, 338.

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There was thus a tendency also to interpret Grace as an essentially ethical power, and to reduce all its other gifts to this one:

> "Where the works of the spirit are, there is the grace of Christ; and none own Christ but who are in the works of the spirit and his graces."[14]

Friends denied the possibility of Justification without Sanctification:

> "Justification, Sanctification, and Mortification...cannot be divided in the Possession: for it is one Spirit that worketh all these."[15]

This refusal to admit the possibility of Justification without ethical fruits was in a way an extension of the Covenant theology. The Puritans had felt themselves driven to go beyond Calvin, and to avoid making God's Election utterly arbitrary had spoken of the Covenant by which God had agreed to save those whose righteous deeds he foresaw as the fruit of their election. Friends, like the "wayfaring & warfaring" Calvinists were concerned to stress in the first instance that Sin could be not only forgiven but overcome; much of their Word-war was against those who, by stressing the inescapability of human sinfulness, seemed to them to be "pleading for sin". They are scathing against the Calvinist who

> "is never without his Cordialls and Pills to purge the head and heart from all sense of judgment, that that evill day may be put afar off."[17]

We must therefore ask whether the Christian experience of unmerited forgiveness was absent from among the early Friends.[18] Friends did reject the peace or forgiveness which undermined ceaseless moral striving.[19] Nayler writes:

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14) Fox: Great Mistery, 117. "If we be not renewed by the Spirit and saved from Sin; then I say grace, for what use is it of to us, if we be left in and unpurged from the sin, which Christ came to save his people from?" (Fisher: Works, 162).

15) Nayler: Works, 337-8, William Penn: Histoire Abregee de l'Origine et de la Formation de la Societe Dite des Quakers; trans. Ed. P. Bridel (Philadelphia, 1808), p. 50.

16) Fisher can "wonder then how ye dare talk and affirm that to be, before good works, which before good works ye confess cannot be known so to be." (Fisher: Works, 166).

17) Ibid. 173; cf. Fox the younger: Works, p. 5.

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"This rule: least fear of God, most peace:- I know the peace of the beast is to be out of the yoak, and the colt to be out of the bridle, so thou (Thos. Winterton, art) without fear: but thou wilt know that the wicked...must be turned into hell...Happy is the man that feareth always: though now a seared conscience be thy most peace." 19b

To some extent Christianity will always be divided into those for whom the greatest need of their spiritual life is the constant and uncompromising warfare against evil, and those for whom self-surrender is a yielding of love and trust; it is the dedicated will as against the surrendered heart. The problem of such a theology, if it is to be true to religious experience, is that it may assume that men are capable of becoming good enough really to deserve God's forgiveness; (unless it lowers God's demands to an all-too-human ethic), it seems to imply an optimism about human nature that much of experience belies.[20]

But Friends did not expect moral perfection by their own personal efforts. Though they were moral zealots they were not Pelagians. The meaning of their faith that moral victory could be both demanded and expected seems to lead us again to the significance for them of the Light and the Spirit.

The Friends' conception of Leadings of the Light made it possible for Quakers to speak of the good works as not man's doing, but God's.[21] So

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18) they demanded "purifying before pardoning,...mens foregoing sin by Christ's power in them before God's forgiving and forgetting it". (Fisher: Works, p. 154)

19) Fox: Great Mistery, 120. "Christ brings not peace on earth but a sword, and judgment and comes to make blind, who is the redemption".

19b) Nayler: Discovery of the Beast, p.8

20) cf. Niebuhr: Nature & Destiny, II, 153-4

21) cf. Penn, quoted in Tolles: Meeting House, p. 81

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Nayler wrote:

> "That Righteousness which God accepts, is but one, which is his own... nor can the World inherit it; but...none Inherit it farther than by Faith they receive the Son of Righteousness: and with him his Righteousness is freely imputed...even as the Measure of the Light from Christ is received and no farther....And all that is against Perfection is Self....Who abides in that Righteousness abides in that which denies Self, and the World, and is...contrary to Mens wills."[22]

Thus the problem of Justification is solved by admitting that Works are necessary for Justification, yet insisting that they are God's works, not the Christians', and hence escaping from the self-righteousness of justification by one's own works.[23]

Consistent with this outlook, Quakers not only denied the value of good works by one's own effort, for justification;[24] Friends positively attacked them as "self-works", "Imitation", "The Form without the Power".[25] To be sure, with regard to the much-debated question of Law and Grace, the Quakers insisted frequently that Christ was law-giver as well as expiator.[26] They insisted that true Christians

> were those "who had the Law in their Hearts, and Grace there also...the one of these doth not make void the other, but establish the other; for the coming of Christ was not to make void, but to fulfil the law; and he doth not come to put the law afar off, but to bring it near...as it is written in the heart."[27]

Yet Friends also asserted that:

> "The Law is fulfilled in Spirit and not inthe Letter and so in Christ, and not in Self; and so by Faith, and not by Works; ...and not by Works of the Law, which the creatures see in the Letter and set themselves a doing, who are carnal, not quickned by the Spirit of Righteousness."[28]

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22) Nayler: Works, 265-6

23) cf. Fisher: Works, 138, etc. Pelagianism, which does not deny the Grace of God as necessary to good actions, nevertheless falls under suspicion because it makes the decision and the will of the individual ultimately crucial. Quakerism, in stressing instead self-surrender to the leadings of the Light, avoids this problem, and stands nearer to the Arminianism of the General Baptists and other groups from which the early Friends so often were drawn.

24) cf. Ibid. 68,77; Fox: Great Mistery, 103-5

25) cf. Robert Morton Hazelton: In Our Midst (N.Y., The Island Press, 1948), p. 70, etc.

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It is therefore not surprising to find Friends using the contrast of Letter and Spirit quite as commonly as Calvinists and Lutherans;[29] but for Friends, "Spirit" means not so much the motive of love or faith behind action, as the direct prompting of the Spirit or Light in mind or conscience.

The more fundamental problem therefore, which arises from the relationship of Spirit to human will, (whether this be seen in the general description of human nature or in the more concrete issue of ethics and Justification), is the problem whether Friends had an adequate conception of the nature of Evil and Sin.

By making their ethical criterion man's obedience to the Leadings of Light, Friends saw evil in self-will; but since the human will was denied rather than transformed in Quaker theory, it was always present in each man as a counter-force.[30] Despite the differences, the Friends ethic therefore tended to fall into the same peril as Pelagianism. Ethics became a matter of a series of individual actions (in the Friends' case, of Leadings); no adequate place could be given to the persisting factor of good and bad character.

Friends did, indeed, stress that the Light insofar as it was received produced a gradual and continuing transformation. Either the Seeds of God or of the Devil might in the course of time be suppressed beyond the expectation of any revival. Moreover Friends were clear that sin is a matter of

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26) Fox: Great Mistery, 118-120. 27) Nayler: Works, 341

28) Ibid. 344: once again Nayler, despite his dualism of the two seeds, seems closer to the spirit of Paul and Luther than the other Quaker writers.

29) cf. Fisher: Works, 667, etc.

30) Fisher, at any rate, (and apparently other Quakers so far as they thought the matter out), seem to have insisted that lapses from the Light and the restoration of repentance were each repeatedly to be expected. v. infra, section V-D.

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purpose, not only of outward action.

> "David regarded Iniquity in his Heart, and every one does so, more or less, while in the least he commits it, or else surely he would not commit it, no man doing that he hath no regard at all to....The least motion to Sin (if assented to, not else) (is)...in some measure pernicious"[32]

Nayler goes on to stress the importance of overcoming sin in the impulse, and the way in which habits of temptation and obedience are built up:

> "for this I have found, that that which manifests Sin in its first motion, judges it there, and condemns it there, hath the only power to kill Sin ere it be committed, and so hath only power to save from condemnation... as Christ doth not live to Justification, where he is not believed and... followed..., so Sin doth not live to condemnation where it is hated, condemned and denied....
>
> Gentleness, Meekness, Patience, and all other vertues which are of a springing and spreading nature, where they are not quenched, but suffered to come forth...will daily increase with using."[33]

Nayler also speaks wisely of the role of the carrying out of good intentions into act, in building such habits:

> "that which you bring forth is your Inheritance, and none can take it from you, but you have powere therein against all contrary Spirits, which whilst it is but in the motion thereof, will strongly tempt, and seek the life thereof to stifle; but being brought forth, it is before you...as a breast plate...which being begot and not brought forth, it withers, and becomes as dry bones in the Work (?). Therefore, as you must give your Minds wholly to hearken, so must you give your strength wholly to obey."[34]

Yet the basic issue of man's freedom to obey the Light at every moment is never raised. Nayler's spirit has real value in his exhortation

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31) Puritans, however, felt that a man might be accepted for his purposes without deeds (cf. Perkins: Works, p. 421)

32) Fisher: Works, 707. 33) Nayler: Works, 365, 370.

34) Ibid. 374

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to overcome evil impulses:

> "For want of Faith and feeling of this Way of Christ it is that so many perish in Sin, and yet seem to strive against Sin, even because they cannot believe that to be sufficient to save from Sin, which manifests Sin in the ground...if they did but in Faith joyn with him to condemn Sin in the ground, temptation and motion, it would die and wither"[35]

Yet many of the deepest Christian spirits, and notably Paul, Augustine and Luther, have found that that which manifested to them their sin did not in fact give them power to overcome it; they were forced to ask themselves what it was which made it possible to join in Faith with the Spirit of Christ, a question which it seems rarely to occur to the early Friends to raise.[36]

As a corollary of their conception of Sin, Friends saw little significance in the issue of God's initiative in changing character, which made Predestination important for Calvinists: Since human rejection of God was simply dismissed as wilful,[37] Predestination was reduced to foreknowledge or rejected entirely as sabotaging moral effort.[38] Justification and Sanctification depended upon renewed daily obedience, yet paradoxically this same somewhat mechanical conception of obedience made possible Quaker Perfectionism.[39]

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35) Nayler: Works, 365.

36) In one debate rather tragic for its futility, James Nayler and Richard Baxter expended upon each other their most pungent invective because neither at all realized the basic issue for the other: Nayler thought Baxter was "pleading for Sin", and never understood Baxter's concern for that Grace which made it possible to Will good instead of evil.

37) Fisher: Works, 600, etc. 38) Ibid. 155

39) Fox: Great Mistery . Nayler indeed, retained from his early Presbyterian background a remnant of the Calvinist idea, and worked it out into a similar Theogony: God creates the Seed of Evil: - "and for this purpose is that Seed raised up and prepared, and that he may shew his Power upon him who doth not retain the Knowledge of God that they all might be damned, who take pleasure in unrighteousness". (Nayler: Works, p. 311)

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Section V-C: Perfectionism and Infallibility

Quaker perfectionism stemmed both from their doctrine of the Spirit and from their uncompromising moral earnestness. The doctrine stemmed from personal experience of the ethical power of the Spirit. While it led to assertions that were misunderstood and often extravagant, the intention of the Quaker teaching was to encourage moral effort and prevent complacency. Few Quaker doctrines so deeply shocked the Puritan divines, and yet Puritan and Quaker often really shared the same basic ethical outlook.[1]

The greatest motive behind the stress on perfectionism was to maintain the centrality of moral improvement:

"Christ's end is to perfect, the Devil's is to keep imperfect and in Sin, and each hath their Faith, Hope and other Gifts suitable".[2]

Quakers were accordingly suspicious of Puritan doctrines of man's inescapable sinfulness, because they seemed to "plead for sin", and "keep men from perfection":[3]

"Whereas you say You press all to struggle after that perfection they do not yet enjoy, now how this agrees with your saying they shall never be perfect while they live, and what encouragement to them to struggle, is evident".[4]

Friends accordingly teased the Puritans for their liturgical confessions of sin, as clear evidence that they were the unregenerates which Friends considered them.[5] More crucially, however, Friends attacked the moral weakness

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1) John Crook takes Naaman in the Temple of Rimmon as a parable of the Puritan: he "knew it was evil, and desired pardon for it; and yet when his Master leaned upon his hand he must bow, least he should loose his place... Now examine yourselves, doth not something let you see...this thing, or the other thing, that you continue in the practise of...which you should not do; and in words you desire pardon for them, but you still continue in the same practice....And so you are loaden with sin...and therefore are not free, and in your principles conclude never can be, while you are in this World." (John Crook: The Case of Swearing (at all) discussed (London, Robert Wilson, 1660) p. 23)

2) Nayler: Works, p. 294 3) Fox: Journal:I, 12; Great Mistery, 56

4) Nayler: Man of Sin, p. 32

5) cf. Fox: Great Mistery pp. 262-3, as quoted in Braithwaite: Beginnings: 300; Camm & Audland: Memory of the Righteous, p. 117.

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which confessed sin without doing anything about it: they ridiculed those who

> "pray God to give them a sight of their Sins, when God hath letten them see their sins freely by his grace, and they will not forsake it."[6]

Even the doctrine of Christian Liberty (which in its Lutheran sense of Liberty in Spirit from the Letter was congenial to Friends), was suspect as an apology for sin:

> "Do not ye remember your fathers, the Bishops, who under the pretence of Christian Libertie, set out the Playbooks, giving them the name of law full recreations, which indeed were the devills practises"[7]

Thus perfectionism was in the first instance a protest against any mediocre standard of righteousness.[8] Epistles stressing perfectionism were also written to convinced Friends to prevent them from resting upon their oars.[9]

There was a difference of emphasis among Friends themselves in their conception of the struggle against sin. Nayler characteristically stressed the moral battle as having no truce:

> "Watching in the Light with Diligence...keeps the Enemy out, and kills that of his Seed that is within, where it is not wholly dead: for while the Root of Pride and Lust is within, it is fed by fetching in of its own without: but the faithful Watch suffers him no passage...and the Devil cannot come to relieve his own; so if a man's Enemies be of his own House (as it is with all till they be dead and buried), yet, faithful Watch in the Light will keep from being betrayed therewith, or kept in captivity."[10]

For Fox, on the other hand, it was the victory over sin which was stressed:

> "It is a doctrine of devils to preach that men shall have sin, and be in a warfare so long as they are on earth: that is not the doctrine of Christ which brings people to the faith, which gives the victory."[11]

Thus Fox was led into statements which superficially contradict Nayler's;

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6) Nayler: Man of Sin, p. 23, cf. Wragge: Barclay p. 151.

7) Nayler: Foot yet in Snare, p. 10.

8) Nayler warned that "measuring your selves with your Selves cuts off from Christ, as measuring your Faith by your own Ability". (Works, p. 294)

9) cf. Camm & Audland: Memory of the Righteous, p. 272.

10) Nayler: Works, p. 399.

11) Fox: Great Mistery, p. 183.

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when John Deacon asserted that "the saints' pilgrimage is a continual warfare to heaven, while they be on this side the grave," Fox replied "This is contrary to the apostle, who said, they were made free from sin".[12] Yet Fox's essential emphasis was the same as Nayler's: both were attacking acquiescence in sin. Nayler would have accepted Fox's insistence that

> there is a time for men to see that they have sin, and have sinned, and a time to confess and forsake it; and there is a time to witness the blood of Christ cleansing from all sin, and then a time to witness the birth born of God which doth not commit sin.[13]

The Quakers were unfair in accusing the Puritan leaders like Baxter of excusing sin (whatever indifference other ministers may have shown), The Puritans equally were misled by the re-iteration of the expectation of perfection,[14] and frequent reference by Quakers to "as many of us as are perfect", and other hard-hunted Biblical tags. It has been shown that Quaker perfectionism was not mere self-righteousness. Perhaps in part it was the unawareness of the unschooled concerning the subtlety of sin. To some extent it was preoccupation with victory over sin, as a very genuine experience. While Friends held and never minimized an awareness of sin, the experience of forgiveness (and especially of the need for perpetually being forgiven) seems to have been less strong. When Baxter says that "Christ's Kingdom is a hospital, and hath no subjects in it but diseased ones", Fox replies "The diseased or such as come to Christ to be healed, he heals them...and cures them, and clothes them in the right mind".[15] This difference can lead Nayler and Baxter to two different responses to the same experience of God's holiness. This caused bitter

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12) Fox: Great Mistery, 95; cf. Ibid. 217.

13) cf. Nayler: Works, p. 296.

14) cf. Fox: Great Mistery, 56: "he that is born of God doth not commit sin". To Baxter, "Pride is the master sin of the Quakers, and proves it, because that we go in a poor-garb, and cry out against pride, as if we were sent from Heaven to persuade men to wear no lace, cuffs or points, and to damn so many ministers for being called Master: But, saist thou (i.e. Baxter), spiritual pride is the most killing". (Nayler: Answer to Baxter, 11)

15) Fox: Great Mistery, p. 79.

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wrangling:

> Baxter: "Whether he that hath seen God do abhor himself as Job did? is it likely that ever those men had the true knowledge of God who exalt themselves as having the Spirit, and being perfect men without sin?"
> Nayler: "I say, Art thou not ashamed of thy folly...that having the Spirit and being without sin could keep from seeing God. Thou blind not... can any unclean thing stand before God?....But if any witness this Spirit and sanctification by it thy filthy mind calls it pride."[16]

Baxter's experience of the need for forgiveness even in his best endeavor,[17] does not mean that he was a Seeker rather than a Finder. But while Baxter's humility is by no means inferior to Nayler's self-assurance, Baxter is not right in ascribing to the Quakers mere insensitive pride. It is the overwhelming experience of the "power", the Spirit in its emotional manifestation which is the Quaker point of reference: those who do not have it are still "yet praying for the Spirit"; those who do have it are not claiming infallibility for their own Selves, but for the Spirit. It is no wonder that those mastered by the Power of the Spirit found Baxter's longing for forgiveness and humble searching for further truth a little hard to understand.

It was in the first instance for the Spirit that Friends claimed infallibility[18] "Who have the spirit of Christ, have that which is infallible". Just as"OUR works, none of which are good, the best of which are all Evil, further than wrought in Christ the Light, and by Christ in us, are of none effect to salvation",[19] so conversely "the Spirit hath no indirect and false directions, nor fallible guidances".[20]

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16) Nayler: Answer to Baxter, p. 21.

17) Nayler tried to make this the distinction and was clearly wrong:- to Baxter he says "thou tells...where we have spent one hour, thou hast spent an hundred in study and meditation and prays to God for his Spirit of truth and grace, and that thy prayer is as earnest as cure, and thy life is much more holy and heavenly then ours, and God is as it were more ingaged to thee, to make known his truth to thee, then to us....I say, the hellish pride thou hast plainly discovered, where it is...thou hast thus ingaged God to thee, who are but yet praying for the Spirit." (Nayler: Answer to Baxter, 10) Not, be it noted, Baxter's quite real snobbery about his education, but the evaluation he puts upon humility and searching, are for Nayler subject of reproach.

18) Fox: Great Mistery, 76; cf. Nayler: Works, 304.

19) Fisher: Works, p. 113. 20) Ibid. p. 566.

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This is basis of Quaker perfectionism: for Quaker ethics assumed that the Spirit led men directly to specific actions.

"If I say, a Believers works be not perfect...let me ask...doth God, who works the Believers works in them work works that are....Imperfect".[21]

This Perfectionism did not claim perfect virtue for men in themselves:

"They commonly accuse of us saying, in a...Boasting way...of ourselves that we are perfect...whereas we use not to bear Testimony to ourselves, but to the Truth of Christ...".[22]

Ministers of the spirit are thus led by infallible spirit, "which... gives an infallible judgment":[23] this clearly must mean perfection in action as well as in doctrine:

for "they who err in the life, err in the judgment....And all the Pharisees, ...being erred from the life, erred in their judgment".[24]

In part, to be sure, Friends insistence on the Infallibility of the Light came from the need for some sure point of reference:

"For if there by no certainty or assurance given to any man...wherein he may be assured of the certainty of God's will, then whither should any go, seeing that no credit can be given to any thing that any man believes?[25]

Assurance of salvation was involved. If man is indeed justified by works as well as faith, and there be no purgatory, then perfection in this life must be possible.[26] But the insistence on the possible Perfection of the believer must surely have come from the way in which the Power of the Spirit, surely an Infallible Spirit, so laid hold upon the early Friends that they could not doubt that a complete obedience and self-identification with the Spirit was possible.[27]

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21) Fisher: Works, p. 715. 22) Ibid. pp. 38-9

23) Fox: Great Mistery, 35-6, cf. 154, 199, 84, etc.

24) Ibid. p. 199. 25) Howgill: Works, 617; cf. Ibid. p. 623.

26) Fisher: Works, p. 716.

27) "As hee is soe are wee in this present world: that the Saintes are made the righteousness of God...My Father and I are one, and as hee is soe are wee in this present world". When the Judges at Lancaster went on to ask Fox if he then claimed sinlessness, Nayler interposed: "Dost thou ask him as a Creature, or as Christ dwelling him?" (Fox: Journal, 65-6) "The Saints", said Fox on another occasion "are the temples of God, and God dwells in them and walks in them".(Fox: Great Mistery, 233, 221.)

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"All that come to witness the son of God, and the holy ghost that gave forth the scriptures, they witness that which is equal in power and glory with God".[28]

Though there were periods of depression in the biographies of early Friends,[29] these were passing, and their religious experience made them confident that the Spirit in their movement was unlimited in moral power and in certainty of teaching.[30] To consider the Spirit any less powerful in the Quaker movement than within the primitive Church seemed "reasonlessly to restrain and straighten the Spirit of the Lord,...and to pound him up into such a small point and pittance of time".[31] Thus Friends applied to themselves all Biblical references to perfection.[32]

The doctrine of perfectionism did not mean that all Friends (or in fact any individual Quaker) claimed that the possibility of perfect obedience to the Spirit had been permanently achieved in their own case:[33]

> "We assert the Saints and Ministers of Christ not further infallible, than they follow the leading of the spirit which is infallible...This is not the question whether those men call'd Saints cannot Sin any more...but whether such a state as to cease from sinning be attainable in this life."[34]

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28) Fox: Great Mistery, p. 221. 29) e.g. Fox's experience in 1659.

30) cf. Nuttall: Christian Enthusiasm, p. 47: Brinton suggests that persecution was in this respect a stimulant, not a depressant (Children of Light, p. 401. At any rate the 1650's and 1660's were a period of much more powerful self-assurance in Quakerism than the years after 1688.

31) Fisher: Works, p. 566, cf. p. 577.

32) Fox, Fisher, Burrough and others developed a standard catalogue of such proof-texts (cf. Great Mistery, p. 110; Fisher: Works, p. 720). The opposing proof-texts often took ingenious dodging: "There is not a just man upon Earth, that doeth good, that sinneth not...but there are some that have a bodily abode upon Earth, whose dwelling is not upon Earth but in Heaven". (Fisher: Works, p. 728)

33) Farnworth did say: "I am as a white paper book without any line or sentence, but as it is revealed and written by the Spirit". (Swarthmore MSS 3,51, quoted by Nuttall: Christian Enthusiasm, p. 45)

34) Fisher: Works, pp. 575, 714, cf. p. 713, Nayler: Man of Sin, p. 6.

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But the possibility of perfect obedience was always present.[35] The conception of the Spirit as "Leading" to specific actions made ethics a matter of black and white. More crucially, perfection consists in perfect obedience:

> "And though the fulness of this Obedience is not attained at once, yet the least measure of it is perfect and accepted,...as the Obedience of a Child is as pure, clear, and willing, as the strong man's...according to what God requires thereof who never requires but what he gives, and never gives but what is perfect."[36]

Thus on the whole, perfection is a quality of each moment. There was thus no conflict between Quaker perfectionism and the insistence upon the constant moral struggle to obey.

There are indeed many descriptions in Quaker writings of a growth of the individual in the Light:

> "every good work of God in his Saints, who become obedient to his working, as they are subject to bring forth the good work and will of God: every work begets the Creature neared to God, and into his Likeness and Nature, and this is the reward of good works to every one who are exercised therein, that thereby they are wrought out of the World's likeness, and Conformity, and ..Friendship."[37]

Moreover a clear difference was made between the great struggle of initial self-surrender,[38] and the peace in the Light which came afterward. There were

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35) cf. Fisher: Works, p. 41.

36) Nayler: Works, p. 305; italics mine. It is quite an achievement to improve upon a word of Augustine's. Fisher's analysis is similar: "the Quakers hold not out, as attainable, such Perfection of Holiness, Grace or Glory (as to degree) here as admitteth of no Addition of a greater Degree hereafter,...but such a Perfection only as is without Unholiness....We hold out a Condition of full Freedom from Temptation". (Works, p. 39, cf. p. 157).

37) Nayler: Works, p. 308; cf. Nayler: Man of Sin, p. 26. Nayler is the only Quaker writer who seems to have worked out a consistent idea of growth in grace.

38) cf. Section V-D; this corresponded to the personal religious experience of Friends: "As you wait in the Light, you will see what that is, that hath oppressed your Souls; and as you come to own that which appears in you to cross your own wills... you will come to see Death pass upon that which hath kept your souls in Death,...and it will let you see that your way to the peace is through the War and through the Judgment"; "you will come to witness the springtime after the Winter be past, and the Roses to bud and the Flowers to cast a sweet smel upon the Earth; but this is to you...who is come... through the Sword which cuts down the earthly man of Sin,...who witness... the Day of darkness". (Fox "the Younger": Works: pp. 3-4; Camm & Audland: Memory of the Righteous, p. 17).

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also, more rarely, attempts to locate perfection in inward attitude rather than outward obedience.[39] But so far as Perfection was concerned, it was mainly to be found in the following of the Leading of the Light in each individual act.

The result is a somewhat shallow conception of the permanence, subtlety and unity of human character. Most Friends rejected any doctrine of perseverance in Grace.[40] This led to a form of humility among Quaker saints.[41] But the daily struggle to obey perfectly despite self-will, led to a curious sort of dualism: the same man is both saint and sinner, not only progressively, but by turns:

> "We hold not...and Impossibility of those mens sinning, who while they sin not are Saints...." "It is that no Saint that's born of God... doth Sin or can,...and if he do he is no Saint, 'tis the Sinner and not the Saint that sins, which is begotten back by the Devil, from that of God, into his own Image, Likeness and Nature, and by the Serpent beguiled again."[42]

The logical conclusions are drawn, that Peter when he denied Christ, or Paul when his flesh warred against his Spirit, were not in a Justified state,[43]

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39) cf. Nayler: Works: "I have found a great difference between Sin condemned in the Creature (though not yet wholly dead) and Sin lived in and pleaded for; for if thy Life and Judgment be in that alone which condemns Sin, then are thou dead to Sin, and alive to Christ: and it is no more thou that Sin, but Sin that yet remains in thee". (p. 365) On the whole, however, this corresponds to just the Puritan attitude that "we become in effect perfect not because we have not sinned, but because we do not consent to sin", which Quakers condemned. (cf. Haller: Rise of Puritanism, p. 165)

40)(cf. Fisher: Works, p. 717) A possible exception found to this is a passage in Fisher (Works, 746-8), and even this does not ascribe Perseverance to all the Saints. cf. also Wragge: Barclay, p. 70.

41) Quakers are "contenting themselves to be...ever learning and teaching, never learned nor taught, so ever purifying, though never purified". (Fisher: Works, p. 41)

42) Ibid. p. 40, 718

43) Nayler: Man of Sin, p. 21.

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though Fisher tries where possible to make the references to Sin in the Epistles of Paul and the Fourth Evangelist refer to other people or to the past.[44] David, apparently is to be regarded as a Saint intermittently,[45] since a Saint does not Sin, "neither do I imagine a mixture of sin with Believers Grace"[46] and "there were but two states in one of which every man is". The real issue is the same radical tension between Self-will and obedience to the Spirit which we have noticed before. The two are polar; they dare not be thought of as aligning with each other,[47] and the same material good in outward deed, may be accepted or condemned by God according the formal good of obedience or self-initiative involved.[48] Since infallibility is of the Spirit and the Seed, it becomes possible to claim infallibility for the Church; yet not as an institution in the Catholic sense:

> "The Promise of God to his church, Isaiah 54 & 56...is not to Men as Men, but to the Seed, which is not many but one...
>
> The Church of Christ are the dispersed Members through the world, though not of it, agreeing in one Faith, being in the Power of God, and being led and guided by the Holy Ghost; their Judgments ought to be received, which cannot (as led by the Spirit) fail, in giving true Judgment in matters of Faith...but as men they may fail, and as erring from the Spirit they may fail, and infallibility is not intailed to the Persons of any men, but as they continue in the Grace of God and walk in the Spirit and bring forth the Fruits thereof".[49]

It is thus possible to have a Gathered Church which is yet an Authoritative Church - and the only true Church: Friends were able to insist that purity of life was the mark of the spirit and the pre-requisite for being regarded as a member of the movement, and yet to say that moral fallibility of individuals did not destroy their collective Infallibility in doctrine.[50] There is an absolutism about the early Quaker claims which must be taken seriously.

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44) Fisher: Works, 719-20 45) Ibid, p. 720

46) Ibid. p. 158. This is really fairly unsatisfactory, as Fisher at times realizes "as for the Spirits renewing our Nature but in part at first, that is true, but every part of the renewed Nature is Perfect & perfectly renewed in a measure, (and) in its nature is perfect". (Ibid. p. 187)

47) cf. Fox: Great Mistery, p. 265-6 48) Fisher: Works, p. 168

49) Howgill: Works, 646,617; cf. Barclay: Anarchy, pp 53-60.

50) Fisher: Works, p. 103.

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Section V-D: The Light and human Failings and Growth.

The failure of men to live in complete perfection in obedience to the Light might, as early Friends saw it, take at least two forms. The Light might, first or last, be rejected or disobeyed; a False Light might be followed. In addition even the perfectly conscientious might have grown in different degrees in obedience to the Light.

Even among Quakers themselves, it was clear that many individuals were backsliding and "turning from the pure Eternal Light of God...into the Carnal and into the Visible".[1] A specific Leading of the Light might be resisted and later repented of. Even among those fully obedient there might be some who had not grown sufficiently in the Light to have received knowledge on certain points:

> "Christ giveth knowledge and Christ requireth obedience according to the knowledge that is given or increased. That is many times required to be left upon a further degree of knowledge given, which was not required to be left before".[2]

Thus growth in the Light would overcome certain specific subjects of moral unawareness.

There remained cases, however, where it became necessary to challenge supposed Leadings of the Light itself, both among Friends, and especially in other groups. Of various groups in England which spoke of the inward Light, some were too remote geographically and to similar in thought to be sources of difficulty for Friends. This included many "spiritual Puritans".[3] The Ranters, however, claimed like Friends, a divine indwelling, and divine impulsion for all their actions; the Ranters asserted not only the possibility of perfection, but often claimed to have attained it.

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1) Camm & Audland: Memory of the Righteous, p. 272

2) Penington, quoted in Armsby "Quaker View of State", p. 16

3) cf. Brauer: "Puritan Mysticism", p. 152; White: Social Criticism p. 223.

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Their Antinomianism often bordered on insanity, as in the case of Toldervy who anticipated his own perfection in 25 days, said that Christ had prefigured him,[4] and carried out fantastic ritual gestures. Toldervy had been a Seeker and then a Friend before he "ran out again" into Ranterism, and it is not surprising that Friends were often confused with or bracketed with Ranters.[5] Such charges which Friends vociferously denied "to cleare our selves and truth off them".[6]

When faced with Ranters, the Quaker attack was often inapposite.[7] When William Cole brought a "message from God" to Nayler, the latter "disowned him and his message, and saw it to be deceit; whereupon I told him...: if Jesus Christ should have sent him with any message to me, I should have owned it; For where the Spirit of Jesus Christ is, that owns the message of Jesus Christ";[8] this was simply to meet assertion with counter-assertion.

But the existence of the Ranters and renegade Friends forced the Quakers to recognize the possibility of False Light. So Nayler described Toldervy's false leadings:

> "that which was for condemnation, having darkened the Light of the Sun, formed it selfe in the shape of the true Light, and so deceit got the Power, and led out of the true obedience."[9]

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4) cf. Nayler: Foot yet in Snare, p. 20

5) cf. Nayler: Answer to Baxter, 24; Nuttall: Enthusiasm, p. 82

6) cf. Fox: Journal II, p. 125, etc.

7) Fox told a Ranter that if he were right in claiming to be God, he would know everything; - but Fox was somewhat open to the same attack, and in fact did claim an almost unlimited knowledge by divine inspiration. (cf. Section IV-C; Nuttall: Enthusiasm, pp. 86-8)

8) Nayler: Man of Sin, p. 16

9) Nayler: Foot in Snare, p. 26, cf. Works, p. 373. Toldery seems to have been insane, "being led with flies to crucifie himself, and to burn his legs & prick Needles in his Thumbs, and such filthie bewitched stuff" (Foot in Snare, p. 16)

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The wild conduct of the Ranters, which caused the widespread reaction against "Enthusiasm"[10], was attributed to all groups led by the Spirit. In the case of Friends, there were enough cases of extravagant conduct to justify such attacks.[11] Even leading Friends used language which startled non-Quakers in the earliest days,[12] but incidents like Nayler's ride into Bristol made it necessary to test and distinguish true from false Light even among Friends.

Friends were usually fairly explicit in denying that the delusions of others cast doubt on the authenticity of their own leadings:

> "we talk not of Enthusiasms as the Rule, but of the Light within, and Spirit of God in the Conscience, and Word in the Heart, manifesting good and evil...yea this is most certain, unchangeable, eternally the same."[13]

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10) cf. Tindall: Bunyan, p. 15, 16. "England was lighted by the radiance of insanity and shaken by the regrettable demonstrations of the inspired....Their lives were odd but never uninteresting". (ibid), pp. 17-18. Many Ranters clearly differed from Friends in their Antinomian assertion that "No Creaturely Actions could be Sin", and even Friends' enemies clearly saw the difference in that "The Quakers...turned from horrid profaneness and blasphemy to a life of extream austerity" (Reliquiae Baxterianae, I, 77, quoted Nuttall: Christian Enthusiasm, p. 82). But the difference was not in any outward standard, but in that the Quaker Light stood in moral judgment against self-will, whereas the Ranters' Light was Pantheistic and did not. (cf. Jones: Mystical Religion, p. 471; Schenck: Social Justice, p. 12)

11) William Pool of Worcester committed suicide under an insane "leading" (cf. Book of Miracles, pp. 13-15); Robert Rich and other followers of Nayler became Ranters after the collapse of Nayler's messianic mission (Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 270), and Thomas Symonds of Norwich and others were Ranters before becoming Friends. (Eddington: Norwich,) Many of the Quaker women preachers used most extreme language (cf. Ross: Margaret Fell, p. 38) and needed to be disciplined by Dewsbury and Fox

12) cf. Fox's words in prison (1655) "there came in many of the light spirits, professors, dippers,...ranters and such like, whom I was made to judge,...for the Lord gave to discern their spirits....The...demanded by what power I knew these things...and they said, Was I the Son of God? I said I was no more, but the Father & the Son was all in me, and we are one... and I warned them to obey that which witnessed in me, or else it would eternally condemn them" (Swarthmore MSS, 3, 87, quoted in Jones: Mystical Religion, p. 473); cf. Hubberthorne as quoted in Eddington: Norwich, p. 6; Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 281.

13) Fisher: Works, p. 547, cf. p. 703.

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But so far as cases within their group were concerned, Friends did suggest that Tests of its truthfulness existed:

> "The Light and Spirit, which is the only Rule, is one and the selfsame thing in all, distributed to every severally one (as to degrees, which never vary the Nature of any thing."[14]

Besides the witness of the light in others, a test was provided by the witness of the Light through the writers of the Holy Scriptures:

> "Revelations" for Puritans, "must come to the Touchstone of what He bad Paul, Peter and others to write, before which, whose shall presume to say it is of God...though it agree never so much with that (as all of old written, rightly understood),...let him be dealt with according to the...provision against Delusion". [15]

Yet it is clear that in this earliest period these tests were rarely applied (except insofar as the Leadings of other Friends were made subject to the Light in Fox and other leaders). The real basis of differentiation was different; we have seen that it involved the distinction of Self-will and obedience.[16] In times of darkness or uncertainty, the answer was the same:

> "And friends, though you may have Tasted of y^e^ power and been convinced and have felt y^e^ Light, yett Afterwards you may feell a winter Storme Tempest haile...and Temptations, be patient and still in ye power and still in y^e^ light...y^t^ you may come to y^e^ Lords strength you will feel y^e^ small raine you will feell ye fresh springes in y^e^ power and light."[17]

The test of the Light was thus its distinctness from human will.

The conflict of Spirit and self-will was a moral issue:

> "He that confesseth that Christ is come in the Flesh only in Word, and because others have said so, and doth not witness Sin condemned in the Flesh...is an Anti-christ also; and we have other Things to try Spirits by; we know a proud, angry, perverse, hastly Spirit is not the Spirit of God, persecuting lording Spirit is not the Spirit of God;..."[18]

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14) "in the multitude of Counsellors theres...so much the more safety.. yet it proves not but that there's also security to assurance enough, where every one attends to that of God within himself...(but) if we do hear men speak that they are moved by the Spirit it is not in vain, it being all one whether that the Holy Spirit speak in men, or in another to me."(Fisher: Works, 703; cf. Barclay: Apology, pp.62-3, Fisher: Works, p. 460.)

15) Ibid. p. 568; italics mine; cf. Wragge: Barclay, p. 71.

16) so Fox deplores that Ranters "had had great meetings (but) did not waite upon God to feele his power gather there mindes togeather to feele his presence and power and therein to sitt to wait upon him."Fox: Journal I, 21)

17) Ibid. p. 224-5 18) Howgill: Works, pp. 633-4.

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Thus in practice the most useful test of the Spirit was by concrete ethical facts:

> "The Spirit of truth it reproves the world of sin, and by it we are reproved of sin: and also are led from Sin into righteousness and obedience of truth, by which we know it is the true Spirit, for the Spirit of the wicked one doth not lead unto such things."[19]

Once again we notice the centrality of ethics in Quaker life, and the interrelating of the objective deeds which are Fruits of the Spirit,[20] with the inward experience of reproving of Sin.

But the Spirit which demanded obedience was not only a moral judge but the bringer of power and light and joy.[21] Moreover it might lead to actions prescribed by no code or fixed standard. Perhaps, therefore, it is natural to find that early Friends, (who could be unsparing towards a man like Baxter, despite his real religious concern and ethical earnestness, because they were rooted in the Bible), were willing to be extraordinarily tolerant of both deeds and words to which Friends felt themselves led by the Light:

> "Take heed of Judgeing ever any one openly in your meeting Except they bee openly prophane Rebellious Such as bee out of y^{e} truth...but such as are Tender, if they should be moved to bubble forth a few words and speake in ye seed and lamb's power suffer and beare y^{t} that is y^{e} Tender, and if they should goe beyond their measure beare it in y^{e} meeting for peace sake and order".[22]

We shall see that early Friends, like all fallible humans, tended to judge men as good or bad according to their attitude to the Quaker movement in their own persons; but such examples also show that the basic test tended to remain obedience to the Power of the Spirit or the Leadings of the Light.

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19) Hubberthorn: Discourse (with) the King; 4-5; cf. Howgill:Works, 619.

20) cf. Nayler: Man of Sin, p.8; even the ministry is to be judged by its ethical living.

21) Thus Howgill: Works, p. 624, sums up as his test of the Spirit, its sufficiency - "to lead into all Truth, to convince the World of Sin of Righteousness and of Judgment, to console and comfort in all affliction, to make Consolation to superabound, to ballance the Suffering and to make it easie.."

22) Fox: Journal I, 222.

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So at times they spoke with tolerance even to non-Friends.[23]

The respect shown by Friends for those who sought to obey the Light raises the question whether Friends respected conscientiousness for its own sake. In certain aspects it is clear that they did:

> "If a man do that which he thinks to be evil,...though it were good and lawfull in it self, it would be sin to him....So when your Conscience is rightly informed, to follow it, and when it goes wrong, yet to suspend the act which it condemns....And a sin against the Light of Nature is so much the more Damnable".[24]

Yet here Conscience seems to be merely natural light, and in any case, the statement is essentially negative: no one can do aright without conscientiousness. This is not essentially different from the stand taken by Catholic and Puritan, for whom the holder of an ill-informed conscience was out of luck whether he followed it or whether he did not.[25] The more vital issue therefore, is whether for Friends, there is a tendency to relativize Conscience,[26] to make it a positive virtue to follow even an erroneous conscience. Some statements seem to read this way:

> While "it is evident...that Quakers have received the holy and true principle of light that comes from Christ...as concerning others, who are not like-minded at present, and yet in their conscience tender towards God...they may not be suppressed, because there is not anything which is begotten in tenderness towards God that is to be crushed, buried or quenched by force". [27]

On closer examination it is clear that this latitudinarianism regarding doctrine, while allowing the sincere to hold truth by degrees, nevertheless assumes that the true Light is not relative. Ultimately the Friends are right, and their opponents are wrong.[28] Like most of the Puritans, the earliest Friends

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23) At Fenny Drayton priest Nathaniel Stevens said (apparently with an irony which Fox missed): "G.F. is come to ye light of ye sun; and now thinkes to putt out my starr light. But (Fox) sayde Nathanell give mee thy handle then I tolde him I would not Quench ye least measure of God in any much lesse putt out his starr light: & further sayde if hee had anythinge from Christ or God to speake it freely & dont take tyths". Fox: Journal I, 153.

24) Fisher: Works, 767-8; cf. Penington: Works I, 476.

25) cf. Beach: "Conscience" Ch. I & II.

26) as Ruth Armsby asserts; cf. Armsby: "Quaker View of State".

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seemed to have assumed that standards of right and wrong could, and should, be universal and objective.[29]

In place of a relativizing of ethics in terms of conscientiousness, one seems to find among early Friends a conception of growth in the Light which is nevertheless growth in a fixed direction:

> "Where the light is perfectly received, there God is perfectly known; but where the light is but in part, there knowledge is in part, and the growth of this light is not by naturall course; but as it is received, believed and followed...nor doth every one grow in the light of Christ as he grows in naturall strength".[30]

Yet we have noted that Fisher at least is concerned to stress that the nature of obedience to the Light is essentially perfect from the beginning:

> "there is a perfection (such is that of God) which admits of no addition, so there is a true perfection that is without any imperfection, sin and corruption, which is capable of addition...so that all thus good is perfectly good, and all that's really evil is properly evil, all true light of what kind soever in the least degree is perfectly light".[31]

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27) William Smith: Liberty of Conscience, (London, 1662); cf. Winstanley, Works, p. 141; also Howgill: "Faith is the gift of God, there are divers Decrees and measures, according to the mind and good pleasure of the giver; so that he that hath received any measure or degree, must not be excluded as having no Faith, though he attain not to that degree that some do enjoy". (Works, p. 616)

28) This was the Quaker answer when John Tombes raised the issue of conflicting conscience:- "if every man is to follow this Light, then I am to follow my Light within me; Now my Light within me shews me, that the Quakers Opinion about the Light in them is an errour....And this is not only my Light, but the Light of Millions beside me." To which Fisher replies "Thy own Light, ...is Darkness. But we say not, whatever ye suppose, that ye are at all to follow that: But what we also testifie to, and bid you follow, is the Light of God... That you should have followed, and if you had, you should have know us." (Fisher: Works, 706)

29) cf. Ibid, p. 690. 30) Nayler: Discovery of Beast, p. 7.

31) Fisher: Works, p. 142; cf. pp. 141, 76-77

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This is confusing at first, insofar as it seems to run contrary to the absolutism of Friends usual attitude towards the Light, What it seems to mean is not so much a total relativity of ethic, as that the Light will lead a man to an increasing scope of ethical concern. There was always latent in the Quaker ethic an important relativizing factor: the Leading to speak or to act a witness on this or that occasion come to one man and not to another.[32] But the early ethical testimonies mostly represented the common consensus of the Puritan conscience, carried a little farther: their absolute universality was not doubted, at least among Friends. Despite problems of persecution, Friends did not need to take with any ultimate seriousness the opposing consciences of their antogonists. For early Quakerism still expected to conquer all of society, to "overcome the world".

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31) This is the starting-point for a conception of Witness on a vocational basis in later Quakerism very different from the absolutism of early Quakerism. We shall see that on the one hand the issue of toleration forced Quakers to think out this side of their ethic; we shall see in a later chapter, (Chapter VIII) that certain new testimonies which had to make their way within the Society of Friends, and then within society as a whole also introduced this idea Eventually both developments worked out in a completely "live-and-let-live" relativism of conscience in the 18th century. But in the earliest period these things had not happened.

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CHAPTER VI

FRIENDS AND "THE WORLD"

"God is light, and in him is no darkness at all. If we say that we have fellowship with him, and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth. But if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another....Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world....For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world. And the world passeth away, and the lust thereof....Little children it is the last time....But ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things....For whatsoever is born of God overcometh the world".

I John 1:5-7; 2:16-18,20; 5:4

"And I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet-colored beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns....And upon her forehead was a name written, MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH. And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints,....And the ten horns...are ten kings....These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them: for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings: and they that are with him are called, and chosen, and faithful".

Revelation 17: 3,5,6,12,14

"All in whom Christ Reigns...are at Wars with all the World, and the World with them, and he that's faithful will make no Peace nor Agreement....If you be in his Kingdom,...then are you at work with him in this his Day, wherein he is coming in Thousands of his Saints to take Vengeance... upon his Enemies. Now you who are asleep, and at ease in the flesh, are not of his Kingdom; for by suffering in the flesh doth he make War, and slays the Man of Sin". [1]

James Nayler

Section VI-A: The early Quaker conception of "The World"

The Quaker outlook upon the World was ethical rather than philosophical, and intensely active rather than analytical. The intense ethical struggle and victory which they had felt in their own lives was extended into the world as a whole. Early Friends saw the work of God in the world as the same apocalyptic conquest as God's work in themselves; they saw their own life-work as instruments in this conquest.

For a clearer analysis of the Quaker outlook, one must begin by noting that the term World can be used in at least two senses. It can signify the natural world, with an emphasis upon those physical aspects of it which are

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1) Nayler: Works, p. 392.

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subject to Laws of Nature. The world of Nature was spoken of by Friends as "the Creation". Secondly "the World" can mean the world of men and human affairs. From this viewpoint the emphasis is less upon men as created beings under natural laws, then it is upon human customs and ethical actions. Therefore this meaning emphasizes the presence of human sin. Since Adam, the human world is a "fallen World"[2]; despite its relationship to the Created world, "the World" of men is thus partially evil. In Christian thinking, especially of the Sectarian type, two further attitudes to the human "World" are involved. Since the human world presents temptations of evil, it is likely to be considered as an active evil force: "the world, the flesh and the Devil". Again, insofar as Christians withdraw from evil human customs to live within their own group, "the World" becomes "the Outside World" to members of the Sect or Church. All of these outlooks were found in early Quaker thought.

Quakers followed Christian tradition in feeling that the Creation was good, the work of God. They rejected any metaphysical dualism: fundamentally, everything is good "that hath a truly good and honest Being, yea the very Devil himself, as a Creature of God, though neither any of his Deeds, which are Sin, nor himself, qua Diabolo"[3]. Since the Created world is good, Friends

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2) there may even be an idea of a "fallen" or "relative" Law of Nature, especially where man stands in relation to the physical Nature. For a more careful discussion of conceptions of Nature and Natural Law, cf. A.O. Lovejoy: Primitivism and Related Ideas and Antiquity (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1935); and Troeltsch: Social Teachings.

3) Fisher: Works, p. 412: Friends never arrived at a careful theodicy, the evil of Satan himself, as of men, was ascribed to self-will. This thoroughly Christian, though hazy, conception was shared by Fox: "hee became a Devill by goeinge out of truth & soe became a murderer and a destroyer: & soe...God did not make y^e Divell for God is a God of truth & made all things good" (Fox: Journal: I, p. 185, cf. II, p. 26) the disagreement with Fisher is only verbal.

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did not fall into asceticism, nor regard the physical as itself evil: they felt "unity with the Creation":

> "In the beginning, God made all things good, so did he man, whom then he made,,. knowing the Nature and Use of each Creature...whilst he stood in that Will which set all these Things in their Place, which Will was free for God and from Sin, and the Will of God and the Will of man agreed, and so was at Unity with all Creation."[4]

The most striking note, however, in Quaker thought about "the Creation", was the essentially dependent relationship of the Physical world to the authority of the Spirit. There was no discussion of Nature among early Friends, still less of Natural Law, not only because the first Friends were not scientists, but because Nature was not felt to be an independent Order. Knowledge of the natural world was given by the supernatural Light,[5] as the "Type or Original"[6] or all outward Figures and Forms. "The visible doth not open the invisible, but the invisible the visible".[7] The dependence of the Created world upon the Spirit means that "unity with the Creation" could only be achieved through the Light.[8]

Thus in practice, Friends regarded created things more often as useful

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4) Nayler: Works, p. 257. In 1652, John Story offered Fox a pipe, "sayinge come all is ours: and I lookt upon him to bee a forwarde bolde lad: and tobacco I did not take: but; I took his pipe and putt it to my mouth & gave it to him again to stoppe him least his rude tongue should say I had not unity with the creation". (Journal I, 44; cf. I, 45). Cf. at this point Kühn (Toleranz, p. 239): "Er leugnet den abendlaendischen Dualismus nicht und ueberwindet ihn doch. Er hat eine Wiedergeburtstheologie, und es bedarf doch keines scharfen Bruches. Er leugnet die suendige Natur des Menschen nicht, und schliesst doch Gott und Mensch".

5) Fox: Journal I, p. 282.

6) cf. Nayler: Discovery of the Beast, p. 5; also Fisher: Works, passim.

7) Nayler: Man of Sin, p. 50

8) cf. Kühn: Toleranz, p. 256; cf. also Section IVOC on the emotional sense of "unity with the Creation" in certain early Quaker religious experiences.

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than either as good or evil. This was also the basic Puritan attitude towards the physical world.[9] But rather than stressing the use of "the Creatures" for intermediate ends in the hands of the Saints, Friends emphasized their direct use by the Spirit.

The conception of Miracles shows this difference in Puritan and Quaker outlooks. The Mediaeval miracle was conceived as the intervention of the supernatural into natural law. "Instead of the Mediaeval miracle, the Puritan believed in the secret management of human affairs by Providence in ways that the godless might lightly attribute to chance" or natural law.[10] In every event the Puritan saw both the direct will of God (as first cause), and the working of human will and natural law (as second causes). Providence ruled all events, and miracles were theologically superfluous.[11] The Quakers, like the Puritans, saw the hand of God in ordinary events, yet in a more direct way. Friends were unconcerned for natural law, or any "second cause" except the rebellious will of man.[12]

Thus early Friends constantly saw the action of divine Providence in their own life and work, and on their journeys.[13] They also assumed that through

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9) cf. Tolles: Meeting House, p. 53: "Instead of rejecting the gross world of human appetities and passions, (Friends) insisted that it was the material out of which the Kingdom of God was to be fashioned. This combination of the ethical position of the Anabaptists with the Calvinist attitude towards the material world was the distinctive feature of Quaker thought".

(10) Trevelyan: Stuarts, p. 59.

11) They nevertheless noticed and listed "Providences". (cf. Book of Miracles, pp. 1-2)

12) The Words Providence and Miracle were used interchangeably by Friends. (cf. Book of Miracles, p. 25ff)

13) The passengers on the ship Wetherhead carrying Friends to New England in 1657 experienced "the Lord leading our vessel as it were a man leading a horse by the head" (quoted in Jones: Quakers in American Colonies, p. 50 from Capt. Fowler's Log).

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the Spirit within them they had power, both over their own bodies (notably in fasting)[14] and in healing other men.[15] Less congenial to modern outlooks was the listing of "Judgments" which had befallen persecutors of Friends, many of which seem normal and natural deaths, although the more violent demises (such as two men gored by bulls, a shipwreck and a case of plague) would probably have been considered as Providences by the Puritans, had such misfortunes happened to, for instance, the Quakers.[16]

Friends, who conceded no significance to Catholic miracles or their own occasional failures in attempted healings,[17] did not attempt to base their claims of power in the Spirit upon their own miracles.[18] Nevertheless, although Friends recognized that their Providences and Miracles might not be seen by outsiders, the fact that they themselves took them so seriously is evidence of the way in which all of the natural Creation was felt to be dominated by the Spirit of God.[19]

Thus Friends regarded "the Creatures" as good at least as raw material: the labelling of physical things as evil in themselves, Friends saw as a snare

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14) cf. Fox: Journal I, 51 & 105-107; Nuttall: Christian Enthusiasm. In 1655 Richard Farnworth challenged the Manifestarians of Lincolnshire to a 14-day trial of (Spiritual) strength by fasting without food and preaching without the Bible. In a similar setting Nayler once fasted 15 days. (Book of Miracles, pp. 5, 18)

15) cf. Ibid. p. 5, etc. and Section IV-C supra.

16) cf. Fox: Journal I, 348, 245,260, 149; II, 31 & 63; Fox felt it significant that "y^{e} Lorde had cutt off most of my olde persecutors & ruined y^{m} & though I did not seeke to execute y^{e} law upon y^{m}...yet y^{e} Lord had executed his vengans upon y^{m}" (ibid, II, 106). He had questionnaires sent to Quarterly meetings which included questions about "Judgments" and prepared a "Book of Miracles", never published, but cataloguing such cases. Conversely, Fox felt that "it was a noted thing generally amongst people that when I came still I brought rain...when there is a drought". (ibid. I, 273)

17) cf. Howgill: Works, p. 650; Book of Miracles, pp. 9,58.

18) "We need not miracles because we preach no new Gospel, but that which is already confirmed by all the miracles of Christ". (Barclay: Apology, p. 310) cf. Brayshaw as cited in Book of Miracles, p. 173.

19) cf. Book of Miracles, p. 97

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of the devil to obscure the real nature of evil:

> "The enemey...will set them to war against the Creature and destroy the Creation, rather than that of his which defiles the Creature. And this cannot be avoided any other way but by minding the Light of Christ, to separate that which is to be cleansed, from that which is to be destroyed....And hence it is that some destroy themselves in seeking to destroy Sin."[20]

The locus of evil was seen in men. The early Friends were far more concerned with"the World" of men than with the World of Nature, as their interpretation of natural events in terms of Judgments and Providences clearly shows.

The first impression one receives from Quaker statements about mankind as a whole are utterly pessimistic; there is unanimity from many writers:

> "The whole world lies in wickedness. Darkness is over the earth. His way is perverted, his counsel despised, and all nations are out of order, notwithstanding the multitude of their counsellors....Violence is set up as an ensign, wickedness runneth down as a river, and cruelty and oppression as a mighty stream. The whole earth is full of folly and madness, and the people thereof are grown out of the image of God into a monstrous and strange nature."[21]

It is clear that this Darkness is heightened by the sense of the Light within the fellowship of the Friends; but it can be regarded as evil also in God's sight:

> "for when we...beheld the world, behold it was altogether darkness, and desolate and barren of good fruit....Though some had a sincerity in them, and a zeal and a desire towards the Lord; yet all people erred in judgment, and none were guided by the eternal Spirit (which) made their zeal blind, and their performances of righteousness not accepted."[22]

"The World", however, is also, and perhaps even more crucially, the area of moral striving and of temptation:

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20) Nayler: Works, p. 364. The way in which this basic outlook on the inward nature of evil underlies Quaker attitudes to violence will be shown in Chapter VII.

21) Howgill: Gray Ridge, p. 72; cf. Fox: Journal II, 83; Fisher: Works, p. 77; Nayler: Works, p. 397.

22) Fox: Great Mistery, pp. 15-16.

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> "Lust looks out, and Pride calls, and holds out an Object to the Eye...Vanity calls out of the Devil's Treasure to all that pass by; spiritual Whoredom cries a loud in the open Streets."[23]

The evil, therefore, which is at large in the world of men also provides the temptation which is within the life of the individual Christian; it is to be guarded against in both aspects:

> "Have no Fellowship with the unfruitful works of Darkness, but reprove them, and thou that reproves must be clear, or else thou judgeth with that which must be judged...and that which judgeth and condemneth self, let that speak and act....Friends, dwell in the Power of Truth, and mind the Presence of the Lord with you always, which keeps bold, and causeth you to tread upon all the World's Ways, Worships and Deceits.... And have no Fellowship with them, neither within nor without."[24]

Clearly it is not as physical that the world is evil, but as "the World" involves the human Self and its "Carnal" Will.[25]

Thus "the World" and its temptations are inseparable from the inward "Seed of Evil", "the Old Man":

> "the first Man is of the Earth, earthly...delights in the earth... covets, contends and sues for it, and his Heart is with it:...it is his Life, his Joy...his God....The Second Man is the Lord from Heaven...and he delights in heavenly Things,...and will not serve the World, nor the Times, for Money,...nor observe the Heathenish Customs for fear of men."[26]

The Children of the Light must therefore reject "the World" and "the Old Man" together:

> "they that have escaped the pollutions of the World, through the knowledge of Jesus Christ, are clean, are out of the natural state, for they have escaped out of that state which they were in first."[27]

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23) Nayler: Works, 397; Nayler with the language of Proverbs achieves the vividness of Bunyan.

24) Camm & Audland: Memory of the Righteous, pp. 42,65,65; cf. pp. 86-7, Ephesians 5:11; I John 1:6, etc.

25) cf. Nayler: Works, p. 351: "The Ministers of Christ are ever called out of the World, and contrary to the World, contrary to their own Wills, and the Wills of all Flesh"; cf. also p. 31.

26) Ibid. pp. 72-3; cf. p. 292.

27) Fox: Great Mistery, p. 287.

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"The World", therefore, which in the first instance is simply the aggregate of concrete, though unregenerate, men, becomes the embodiment of both evil-doing and of temptation. But evil is an active spirit or force, as Friends' own experience witnessed:

> "yt spiritt which makes ye Just & ye good & seede of God to suffer within is ye same yt makes to suffer without when it is cast out within... and all ye suffringes without is nothing to ye suffringes within."[28]

Thus "the World" becomes almost synonymous with the spirit of evil: Nayler wrote to Friends that God "doth beget in your Hearts a New Nature contrary to the World's Nature in all Things, Motions and Delights".[29] It becomes customary to speak (in the language of the Epistle of John) of "the World" as actively hating Christ and his followers:

> "he hath not only called us, but also chosen us out of the World, and therefore doth the World hate us, for the World loveth its own, and though we be Hated, Persecuted, Scoffed and Scorned...by this Wicked and Adulterous Generation, who speak Evil of the thing they know not, and tho' the Beast...and the False Prophet, cast...Envy and Wrath against the Lamb and his Followers, yet they shall both be...cast in the Lake of Fire."[30]

The relationship between Christ and "the World", however, is not one of cold and static hatred; it is an active combat, in which God will rule as he does already over the world of created nature. The fullest statement is by Nayler in "The Lamb's War against the Man of Sin".

> God's "appearance in the Lamb (as ever it was when Iniquity was full) is to make War with the God of this World, and to plead with his Subjects concerning their revolt from him their Creator,...and giving up their Obedience to the Worldly Spirit,...till they become so far one with it, as that it hath not only defiled their Souls and bodies, blinded their Eyes, Stopt their Ears, and so made the Creature utterly unprofitable to God,... but that they are also become open Enemies to every check and reproof of

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28) Fox: Journal, I, 288. 29) Nayler: Works, p. 383, cf. pp. 347, 279.

30) Banks: Journal, pp. 156-7; cf. Cooke: For each Parliament Man now Sitting at Dublin, p. 3. Fox could also find in this conception a rather fine spirit of acceptance:-"Judge Fell asked mee to give him a relation of my persecution & I tolde him they could doe no otherwise they was in such a spiritt: and they manifested there preists fruites & profession & religion." (Fox: Journal I, p. 61)

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that Spirit which should lead them to God...

The End of this War is, To Judge this Deceiver openly before all Creation...and to redeem...out of his Captivity, all who will but believe in the Lamb...and the rest who will not believe them to Condemn with the Destroyer into everlasting destruction.

The Manner of this War is, First, that he may be just... he gives his Light into their Hearts, even of Man and Woman, whereby he lets all see...what he owns and what he disowns,...that so he may save...all that are not wilfully disobedient...

What they are to war against...whatever is not of God, whatever the Eye (which loves the World) lusts after, whatever the Flesh takes Delight in, and whatever stands in Respect of Persons....

With the Spirit of Judgment and with the Spirit of Burning will he plead with his Enemies; and having kindled the Fire, and awakened the Creature, and broken their Peace and Rest in Sin, he waits in Patience to recover the Creature and slay the Enmity, by suffering all the Rage and Envy, and Evil Entreatings that the Evil Spirit, that rules in the Creature can...cast upon him, and he receives it all with Meekness,...returning Love for Hatred, wrestling with God against the Enmity."[31]

Nayler thus consciously projects the Quaker's inward and outward struggle against Evil as the model of God's warfare and his divine action in the world. Other Quaker writers paint the same picture, though in more outward and apocalyptic terms:

"Christ hath all power in heaven and earth given to him; they who believe in him, and are in his power...have the government, and are in the government, the Lamb's government: but the unbelievers are out of it. And that which slays mystical Babylon, is not the kings of the earth, and the saints that are on the earth slay not with the carnal sword..!their weapons are not carnal but spiritual, mighty through God for the pulling down of strongholds'. And the Lamb slays and kills with the sword, and takes the beast, and the false prophet, and the devil, and casts them alive into the lake of fire...and the beast hath been long up ..but the Lamb and the Saints are trampling him to pieces under, and getting the victory over him. And the everlasting gospel is preaching."[32]

The apocalyptic imagery in early Quaker writing is intense and incessant. The book of Revelation was a favorite with many of the Sects of the age, and would

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31) Nayler: Works, p. 379 "The Lamb's War" (1657)

32) "Michael our Prince is risen, and the war is begun with the Dragon, the Beast, and the false prophet; but the Lamb shall take the victory:...for now the Lord is risen to be avenged of his enemies...though their number be as the sand of the sea....Take heed whom you stand with, you Powers of the earth." (Nayler: Man of Sin: Epistle to the Reader); cf. Howgill: Works, p. 13; Revelation 2:7.

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naturally attract a group such as the Quakers who felt the Lord doing great things amongst them vidently.[33] We shall therefore turn next to study in more detail the apocalyptic imagery of Friends in our concern to know what they meant by it, in what sense they expected that Christ would return and had returned, and in what form "all things would be brought into their course and order again as before the fall".[34]

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33) The Quakers (as will be shown), also acted out as Signs many fragments from the Apocalypse; cf. Nuttall: Enthusiasm, p. 45, etc. Few statements could be less appropriate than that "the Quakers represent, in fact, the Stoic decision to limit men's horizon to the world they lived in... they were reacting against the superstitions of the overworld". (Belasco: Authority, p. 69)

34) George Bishop: "A Tender Visitation of Love", (1660) in Schenck: Social Justice, p. 119.

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Section VI-B: The Day of the Lord and the Kingdom of Christ

The Quaker view of the World centered on the active struggle between the Spirit of God and human evil. Therefore it was not a static picture. Their dynamic view of "the World" looked ahead to an apocalyptic conclusion, of whose certainty they were convinced by the power of the Spirit in their own lives. While it is not easy to make an entirely systematic picture out of the early Quaker predictions of God's great triumph in the World, there were no lack of Quaker statements with vivid and suggestive images. A clear picture of Quaker conceptions of the existing World, and of their own place in it, depends upon noting in detail their hope for the future and its relation to the present.

Among the key phrases of Quaker preaching was that of "the Day of the Lord". When George Fox had his first view into Lancashire and Westmorland from Pendle Hill, as a result of his famous climb: "there a toppe of the hill I was moved to sounde ye day of ye Lorde".[1] Years later at Haverfordwest "y^e^ next day beinge there fayre day wee past through there fayre & sounded y^e^ day of y^e^ Lorde and his everlastinge truth amongst y^m^".[2] This process was a fascinating phenomenon, and one which needs more careful study in order to understand Fox's ministry.

The process of "Sounding" of the Day seems to have taken the form of a highly ecstatic preaching:

> In Lancaster, Fox "spoake through y^e^ markett in y^e^ dreadfull power of God and declared y^e^ Day of y^e^ Lord to y^m^ and against all there deceitfull merchandise & preacht righteousnesse & truth". In Kendal "upon a markett day in y^e^ dreadfull power of God y^t^ people flew like chaffe before (Fox) into there houses & (he) warned y^m^ of y^e^ mighty day of y^e^ Lorde & how y^t^ y^e^ Lord God was come to teach his people himselfe".[3]

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1) Fox: Journal I, p. 40. The same impulsion came to him upon the top of Cader Idris in Wales. Ibid. I, 281.

2) Ibid. I, p. 278.

3) Ibid. I, pp. 52,53; cf. Ibid I, p. 305.

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A more crucial question is what Friends meant by "the Day of the Lord". First one must ask whether they thought of it as present or future, and then the form they expected it to take. "The Day of the Lord" is, of course, a phrase characteristic of the Old Testament, especially of the Prophets and apocalyptic writers, who seem to have varied considerably in the meanings they gave to it.[4] Clearly the Quakers could draw no unified conception from the Bible.

The quotations already given show that the preaching of the Day of the Lord was coupled with an appeal for repentance; more precise study of its character depends upon first studying the time or tense implied for "the Day".

The more straightforward appeals for penitence often warn of a Day of the Lord set in the future, and apparently envisage a more or less visible Punishment of the wicked:

> In Lincolnshire, Fox "was moved to amonish y^m & exhort y^m of y^e day of y^e Lord & to leave of there drunkennesse & turne to ye Lorde" & in Yorkshire he "passed through y^e Country preaching repentans to y^e people... (and) warninge people as wee mett y^m of y^e day of y^e Lorde y^t was comeing upon y^m".[5]

Although particularly characteristic of Fox, the same message was given forth by almost all the Friends preachers in the 1650's:

> Edward Burrough: "wherefore, O London, this is a warning to thee, Let thy Inhabitants repent, the dreadfull day of the Lord is coming. I have heard the voyce of war against thee..."[6]

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4) From having meant in Hebrew popular mythology a day of national vindication by the national God (cf. Psalm 46, Levit. 10:35), Amos preached it as a day of universal and individual Judgment (Amos 5:18-20); this idea remained basic, but other elements were added: a prophet to precede the Day (Malachi 4:5); a battle of Armageddonian proportions (Zechariah 14:1, etc. cf. Ezekiel 38-39); apocalyptic imagery (Is. 27:1) into which was interwoven in the Quaker mind all the apocalyptic imagery of Daniel, Revelation, and the "Day of the Son of Man" in the New Testament. A day of national or world restoration for the righteous was explicitly coupled with the Day of the Lord in Isaiah 61: 1-4 and by implication in many other places.

5) (Fox: Journal I, pp. 261, 40)

6) Edward Burrough: Testimony Concerning London, p. 6; cf. Brockle-bank: Burrough, p. 6.

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Francis Howgill (1654): "Tremble, tremble, O Earth, before the Lord, and all ye careless Sons & Daughters, that live at East in the flesh, in Wantonness & In Mirth, a Day of Howling is coming upon you, a Day of Sorrows & Lamentation....You shall be cut up by the Roots, and cast into the Fire, ye Lyars, Swearers, Cursed Speakers, ye covetous double Dealers & Hypocrites...the Trumpet of the Lord is blown out of Sion:... his Sword is furnished & brandished to make a great slaughter. Therefore, fear, fear and repent,...and mind the Light of Christ Jesus".7

John Audland: "The day of the Lord is approaching, the good and happy day, glad Tydings to the Prisoner, but a day of Terror to the Wicked, and to all that live in filthiness... To such I say, from the Lord, Depart ye Workers of Iniquity, terrible and dreadful is the day that shall come upon you..."8

Fox's quotations, and Burroughs', seem to imply a specific Date of visible Punishment; with the last two quotations, the symbolic language obscures all but the terror for Sin and the future character of the punishment.

In other quotations, however, the tense shifts from future to present, and we may perhaps identify the Day of the Lord with the Lamb's War against the Man of Sin, and with the spiritual warfare of the Children of the Light:

"For now the day of their Torment is begun, and the Voice of him that hath roared from his holy Place doth pursue them, and there can be no hiding place found; Terrour, Wo and Misery is coming upon all the Inhabitants of the Earth, let all Flesh bow and tremble before the Lord, his Fire is kindled, and his Sword shall be made...drunk with the Blood of his Enemies...that no Flesh may escape from the South to the North... the Lion hath roared, terrour, terrour to all the World, the Day of Visitation is come, the day of Redemption is come, the Day of Recompense is come...and the word of the Lord is gone forth, and by his own Power shall it be fulfilled: and the Vials, Wrath, Judgment, Vengeance, and the Mighty Storm of Hail shall be poured upon the Heathen....And this is his day, and...the Righteous shall shine for ever & ever, and shall dwell on high".9

In all this, future and present, inward torment and outward, physical destruction and spiritual warfare, are almost impossible to distinguish. One thing which does emerge is that where the present tense is emphasized, it is to stress present and immediate repentance:

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7) Howgill: Works, pp. 26-7

8) Camm & Audland: Memory of the Righteous, 66-8, written 1654: cf. Fisher: Works, p. 780.

9) Camm & Audland: Memory of the Righteous, pp. 81-2; cf. Edward Burrough: Antichrist's Government (London, J.R. Wilson, 1661)

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"You say the works of Satan shall be destroyed in the time appointed of the Father...the Fathers time is To day, to them that will hear his voice. And the coming of Christ without Sin unto salvation...is (now) witnessed".[10]

The appeal is for action: a decision is demanded:

"Did (the Quakers)...reason...'I must stay until I be convinced of this or that or the other thing: I see not yet this to be wrong, or the other thing to be my duty?' How they did knock down this manner of reasoning by the Spirit of the World...holding forth that this is the day of the Lord that is dawned; that all are invited to come; that none ought to tarry behind....".[11]

The Day of the Lord, therefore, is in the present tense insofar as it is a Day of Visitation, a Day when the Light is outpoured (in the form of the Quaker preaching):

"The mighty day of the Lord is come and coming, y^{t} all your hearts shall bee made manifest...with y^{e} light of Jesus...but if you hate y^{e} light,...this will bee y^{e} condemnation,.. the time now you have time to prize it,...this is y^{e} day of your visitation and salvation".[12]

One dare not forget that in the traditional view of the apocalyptic climax to history one central element was the return of Christ himself to earth. This the Quakers announced that he had already done, in the form of the outburst of Spirit and Light which had overturned their lives.[13] Although Friends accepted the Johannine view that Christ had really been on earth with his followers unceasingly since Pentecost, it was not this static and mystical concept of the eternal and ever-present Christ that they emphasized. Their individual experience and the growth of their movement was dramatic and explosive, and for the early Quakers this had apocalyptic significance. It

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10) Nayler: Man of Sin, p. 27; cf. Banks: Journal, p. 159.

11) Barclay: Anarchy, p. 7:- "Who is it that sees not that Wars are begun?...the Children of Light have published the Gospel of Light throughout the world, and the Prince of Darkness hath shown his enmity...and now see what part you take, who hath hired you, and whose work you are in". (Nayler: Works, p. 384; "The Lamb's War")

12) Fox: Journal I, p. 207; cf. Fisher: Works, p. 782.

13) Nayler therefore laments "many Examples at this day, who have had something quickned in them to hope for the appearance of the Lord: but fulness and excess having over taken them, for want of eating always in fear, they are become dead again to any hope of his appearance at the present; and have put his Coming afar off into another world". (Nayler: Works, p. 328)

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was for them personally a present and immediate Day of Deliverance:

> "in patience have we waited for him whose coming was prepared as the morning, and in answer to our expectation in an acceptable time, when there was none to help, the Arm of the Lord was made bare to bring salvation. And now the Everlasting Day Star hath appeared, and...God... is bringing a remnant of Righteous Souls out of...darkness."[14]

One must therefore beware of interpreting all Quaker apocalyptic symbols in universal and timeless terms (as might be valid with Franck & Saltmarsh). Those who rejected Quaker preaching were likely to be told that their Day of Visitation was past. Friends felt that their warning to a town would "leave it without excuse".[15] As a Day of Deliverance, and as a Day of Visitation and decision, the Day of the Lord was described in the present tense, in a concrete sense. To be sure, within the overall sweep of the Quaker "outpouring of the Spirit", the Day of Visitation would come at different times to different individuals, and even have a continuous quality, but it would come but once to each man.

During the long periods of struggle for survival following 1660, it became possible to speak of the Day of the Lord in the past tense:[16]

> "The good and blessed Day of the Lord is come,...and many have received the Blessed Visitation of the Lord and are made partakers of his Heavenly Power,...for when the acceptable Year of the Lord came unto us, Judgment was laid to the Line, and the Lord did arise to shake terribly the Earth, the loftiness of Man was bowed down...and the Light of Israel was as a Fire, to burn up the Thorns and Thickets in a Day; and many Faces gathered paleness, and Hearts grew weak and Knees feeble,...because of the mighty Power of the Lord which was made manifest in them, for the bringing down of that which had been exalted against him, and for the restoration of the oppressed Captive."[17]

This quotation raises again the problem of the nature of the Day of

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14) Salthouse: Candle Lighted, p. 4 (1660)

15) Howgill: Works, p. 1; cf. Nayler: Works, p. 328.

16) "The blessed remembrance of this mighty and notable day of the Lord, and the splendant breaking forth of his Glory in the Morning thereof in this Nation...makes my Spirit rejoyce in the God of my Salvation...and his eternal Power and Presence, that was with...his faithful servants, in the first publishing of the Gospel in this our day, can never be forgotten by many." (Thomas Camm's testimony, 1680, in Camm & Audland: Memory of Righteous.

17) Ibid. (1663) p. 185-6

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the Lord. In most of the preceding paragraphs cited, while the Day of the Lord was present-tense (or past) insofar as it was a day of deliverance and decision, the Day of the Lord as Judgment seemed to be future tense. Here, however, Audland speaks of the Day of Judgment as past, and seems clearly to mean by it tha overwhelming judgment of Sin associated with "the Power" in the early meetings of Friends.

Are we therefore to interpret all passages concerning Judgment as meaning such inward experiences? Are they therefore (within the general limits of the Quaker movement) to be regarded as past or future depending upon the individual? The evidence is not clear, especially in Fox's early preaching. Many passages clearly use apocalyptic language of Judgment to symbolize the inward torment, from which Quakers will be spared only because they have passed through it:

> "your dead Faith...you'l find dead...and yourselves utterly undone before the Lord for all that, when he comes to enter into judgment with you, as he hath with his own House, the Quakers, where the Judgment in these days hath begun: therefore be ye warned."[18]

Other passages, however, seem to indicate physical destruction as part of the Judgment process, and distinct from the inward purging:

> "After God hath tryed his people, he will assuredly bring an overflowing scourge upon this Nation, and many shall fall & perish by an evident hand and judgment of the Lord, except they repent speedily..." "Oh, England...thus hath the Lord spoken...The People are too many, the People are too many: I will thin them; I will thin them...An Overflowing Scourge, yea, even an exceeding Great and Terrible Judgment is to come upon thee, O Land. For he will overturn and overturn till he hath thrown down the Man of Sin...and the greatness of the Kingdom under the whole Heaven shall be given to the Holy People...the Remnant of my Holy Seed, which shall be preserved from their Fury...shall rule the Earth in Mercy, Justice, and true Judgment, and they shall forgive and love their Enemies...and seek the good of the whole Creation."[19]

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18) Fisher: Works, p. 172; cf. Camm: "The mighty day of the Lord is come and is coming, wherein all Faces shall father blackness, it is a day of Darkness, of bitter Lamentation and Woe, at whose presence the Mountains shall melt...and all the Cedars shall bow...and the earth shall remove out of place...wherein the Lord will plead with all Flesh, with his Sword and with Fire:...which day we witness fulfilled in us in measure". (Memory of the Righteous, p. 4; italics mine). cf. Fisher: (Works, p. 781): "the great and terrible day of the Lord now cometh, wherein the light which is risen in the consciences of men shall daily more and more clearly shine forth,

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Here the Day of Judgment was associated with the physical rule of the Saints in the Kingdom of Christ (on which, see below). For Friends, the dramatic power-experience of the Spirit was tied up with present and future physical Providences and Judgments in the Created World. No clear line can therefore be drawn between inward and outward Judgment, spiritual and physical apocalypse. The Quaker Day of Judgment was both spiritual and physical, though the inward judgment was the more ultimate. It seems probable, at least, that Friends thought that the unrepentant, whose Day of Visitation was past, would never go <u>through</u> their time of Judgment (inward and outward) to any future joy and peace such as Quakers had found.

We may go on therefore to discuss the related subject of the Quaker conception of Heaven and Hell. Here once again we shall find Fisher the most specific and the most ambivalent:

> " the Heaven in which it is said God dwells is neither only above the Firmament, nor only under the Firmament, but both above it and below and even everywhere, where he manifests himself in his Love and Mercy, Goodness, Grace and Glory....Likewise the Apostles dwelling (Politeuma) was in Heaven, whilst they were bodily here on Earth. Therefore Heaven ...is in very deed in his Peoples Hearts, in every Humble, Broken and contrite Spirit. (But)...Heaven shall be manifest and known not only inwardly...but outwardly also, to such as wait not for it within themselves, so far only as shall tend to the Aggravation of their Anguish....Hell is the Valley of Jehosophat, i.e. of the Lords Judgment , where with Fire and his Sword he pleadeth with all Flesh....The Pyle whereof is Fire and much Wood, and the Breath of the Lord, which is his Spirit in mens own Evil Consciences, like a River of Brimstone....This is as a burning within kindled under all mens fleshly Glory, of which (meanwhile not denying it to be also a certain <u>Local Place</u>), we affirm that it is within in the Conscience of every Malefactor."[20]

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18) cont'd from page 268. in which also the <u>Book of conscience</u> must be opened, that <u>out of it all men</u> may be judged.

19) George Fox "the Younger" <u>A Noble Salutation and A Faithful Greeting unto thee Charles Stuart</u> (London, Robert Wilson, 1660), p. 21; Fox the Younger: <u>Englands Sad Estate</u>, pp. 7-8; cf. Fox the Younger: <u>Works</u>, p. 22, etc.

20) Fisher: Works, pp. 851,852

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It is not clear whether Fisher's two "also's" were concessions to public orthodoxy, or show fundamental acceptance of ideas of physical Heaven & Hell too universal in Puritan England to need discussion. But the emphasis was inward.[21] Apparently he considers both bliss and torment to be spiritual more than physical, beginning (as in the Fourth Gospel) here on earth, but continuing elsewhere in an after-life (in which place the Judgment will awaken to pain the sleeping conscience of the guilty. So far as other Quaker writers are concerned we have even less by which to judge their ideas. Barclay's Apology is silent on the subject. Fox prefers to speak of the New Jerusalem, and here again the emphasis is on the immediate and spiritual:

> "All within y^e^ light of Christ & his faith y^t^ hee is y^e^ author off... & within y^e^ power of God...which was y^e^ walls of y^e^ Citty, such were within y^e^ Citty...and such as resiste y^e^ holy ghoast quencht & vext & greivd y^e^ spiritt of God and...had erred from y^e^ faith and made shipwrack of it & a good conscience....such were y^e^ dogges & unbeleivers without y^e^ Citty & made uppe y^e^ great citty Babilon...and over such y^e^ Seconde death has power."[22]

A third line of approach to the Quaker eschatology is through the idea of the Kingdom of Christ. We have seen the prominence of the idea during the Commonwealth, particularly among more radical thinkers, among whom there were attempts to set specific dates for the Kingdom's coming, or to actually bring it about on earth by political or military means. In the thought of thorough-going apocalyptic writers, the Kingdom would be Millenial in character;- certainly no gentle Social Gospel movement. On the other

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21) He goes on "The Chains which the Angels who kept not their first estate are reserved in, are the same under which men who kept not their first estate are also...unto the Judgment of the great Day, and that is the Darkness itself....And as for the Great Day and the Judgment thereof; it is the Light of the Lord (for the Light he called Day, and the Darkness Night,)and the Judgment that the said Light layeth to the Line...in every Creature that Hates and Rebels against the Light,...reveals from God nothing but Vengeance, Wrath and Anguish". (Fisher: Works, pp. 854-5).

22)(Fox: Journal II, pp. 173-4; italics mine; again a single clause leaves everything unclear). cf. Great Mistery, p. 227, Journal II, p. 171.

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hand the tradition stated that the Last Judgment would follow the Millenial Kingdom on earth. Thus one cannot assume that in the mind of any given thinkers (e.g. the Fifth Monarchists) the coming of the Kingdom and the ultimate Day of Judgment would coincide. Some Friends distinguished the Day of Deliverance from the Day of Judgment but many did not. The indiscriminate combination of Old and New Testament prophecy would in any case tend to confuse the heavenly time-table.[23]

Actual Quaker statements upon the Kingdom of Christ are fairly rare. As with other parts of Quaker eschatology, there is a tendency to spiritualize the content of the idea:

> " What his Kingdom is: (God)...doth manifest his Power to be unlimited ...and there is no Place where he is not...that he may fill all things. But his Kingdom in this World, in which he chiefly delights to walk,... is in the Hearts of such as have believe in him, and owned his call out of the World ...And his Kingdom in such is Righteousness and Peace, in Love, in Power and Purity, he leads them by gentle Movings of his Spirit... As any come into his Kingdom they are Known, and their change is to be seen of all Men: he keeps them low in Mind...and with his Power he leads them forth against all Enmities".[24]

> " I was moved to give foorth a paper to y^m: whoe lookt for Christ personall comeinge in 66:...but Christ was come and had sett uppe his kingedome above 1600 years since....And though yee carnall weapond men.. ..sees it not: yett his kingedome raines and changhes not, and y^e saintes takes y^e kingdome".[25]

There was a tendency among the radical Puritans towards a spiritual interpretation of all aspects of Eschatology. Very clear in one form in Dell and Saltmarsh, we find it another in John Bunyan, where the story of

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23) Tindall has shown that in Bunyan's Holy War the scheme seems to involve a double Kingdom, with a period of apostasy between, corresponding to his own double Conversion experience, and to the disintegration of the Cromwellian rule of the Saints, but more particularly to the parallelism between the Primitive Church and the Looked-for new reign of Christ. Tindall: Bunyan, Ch. VII.

24)(Nayler: Works, pp. 381-2; "The Lamb's War") cf. Fox Journal II pp. 12-13

25) Ibid. II, pp. 12-13

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the Holy War is both an allegory of the individual's religious experience, and of world history.[26] In a movement stressing personal religious experience as much as did Puritanism, this is not surprising. Unless, however, the work of God in world history drops out entirely, religious experience and world history must be inter-related. They may be considered as parallel (as with Bunyan); or the history itself may be interpreted spiritually. In this latter case the Kingdom of Christ becomes an "Age of the Spirit" and apocalyptic events are not 'carnal'.[27] This interpretation that the power evidenced in spiritual and moral upheavals is itself the power of God in its ultimate and decisive form. This latter eschatology makes the apocalyptic "world history" real history, but not political history so much as church-history. It was the outlook of the "spiritual Puritans", and that to which the Baptists came in the period following the Conventicle Acts.[28] I am inclined to think that this was also the interpretation of the early Quakers. As has been seen, the Apocalyptic Events, (the Day of the Lord, the Kingdom, Heaven and Hell), were on the whole interpreted by Quakers as signifying spiritual events rather than purely physical. They were tied up with present experiences. Nevertheless they were not timeless. Friends lived in a collective revolution as well as through a personal crisis.[29] Moreover the Quakers had a vivid sense of world history. They had lived through the rise of the Commonwealth, and they shared the feeling of Puritans that those political events had a religious and apocalyptic significance.

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26) cf. Tindall: Bunyan, Ch. VII

27) one hesitates to use the dualism of inward and outward for anything as dramatic and life-affecting as the Quaker spiritual experience.

28) cf. Nuttall: Holy Spirit, p. 104-5

29) It is possible for a universal event to have a character of Crisis rather than timelessness for the individual, and yet to have no date in history: this is Bultmann's re-interpretation of New Testament apocalypticism, but not the Quakers'.

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With regard to "the World" around them, Friends thus interpreted its state of spiritual corruption within the framework of history, as "y^e state of y^e Apostacy y^t has been since y^e Apostles' days".[30] In common with all Puritans, the early Friends tended to connect this apostacy with Rome and Catholicism, and as continued in essence, by Anglicanism. Rome, as the Apocalypse makes clear, is the Great Beast. Hence the conflict with Romanism made the Book of Revelation current history:

> "Albeit the business of rooting out all Romish Relicks...remains yet reeling to and fro in this Nation...yet such as look inward...are come within the ken and clear sight of RRRome's utter ruin...in this Nation, which are about the Tenth part of the old Roman Empire, and of the Edom...which...as an earnest falls first - Rev. 11:13.[31]"

On the whole the Quakers considered the Apostasy as even blacker and more universal than did the Puritans in general, and- ignoring the traditional figure of 1260 years,- they antedated the apostasy to an even earlier date: so Fox writes:

> "And it was y^e generall talke of y^e preists and professors & other sectary preachers y^t y^e false prophetes & y^e Antichrists shoulde come in y^e last days & that wee were they....And I was moved to open...y^t it was y^m selves. For...before y^e disciples deceased y^e antichrists false prophetts & deceivers did come...and this...was above 1600 yeeres since... And since has y^e Apostacy gonne over all nations....Soe nowe must y^e gospell goe over all nations againe...seeinge y^e Apostacy has gonne over all since y^e Apostles days."[32]

Even though it was admitted that individuals had escaped the debacle, this condemnation was bold, a fact which the Quakers accepted more frankly than did the other Puritans:

> Nayler replied, when told "that we damn all the people of God for 1600 years at least; I say, This may well be matter of offence to thee, to deny all thy generation since the Pope to this day...and if these be the

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30) Fox: Journal I, p. 44

31) Fisher: Works, p. 590; cf. pp. 561-2, 570 ff

32) Fox: Journal I, p. 249.

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few Hereticks...that thou says were our Predecessors of old: I say, we cannot but own these in their measure, though we go under the name of Hereticks with them."[33]

Quakers did recognize some fore-runners before them: they looked back, in Puritan fashion, to many previous Dispensations of God's deliverance, not only to the early Church of the Apostles, but to the Dispensation of Eden, to the Hebrew Patriarchs, to the Dispensation of the Law of Moses,[34] and to the era before David when in Israel "the Judges sate in the gate, and executed judgment speedily upon the offenders, & cleansed the Land of evil-doers".[35]

Moreover, we find in Quaker writings a recurrent note of Primitivism, stressing the conviction that Quakers continued or revived the church of these earlier periods, and the ways of these earlier saints:

> "I declare no other Message or Doctrine then what was from the Beginning, before the Letter was, about the Light, therefore the good Old Way, wherein the Saints walked with God from Abel, Enoch, Noah, and so downwards to this day: which way hath been much eclipsed by the darky divinity of Divines in Ages past."[36]

It was with the Apostolic Church that comparisons were most naturally and

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33) Nayler: Against Baxter, p. 12; cf. pp. 46-17: "the nearest comparison I finde in Scripture whereby to shew what a Church Christ had, since the mystery of iniquity and Popish priesthood, & Parish Masters was set up in the falling away, may be compared to his Church from the time that the hirelings and false Prophets begun amongst the Jews...even til Christs coming in the flesh, which church was sometimes visible, but in a few despised Prophets....Yet is (Christ) not come to save a few only, but with ten thousand of his Saints is he come to be avenged of that bloody Generation". Audland is still more honest with regard to the ten thousand Quakers: - "and so if it be but a few years in comparison since we, or any of us, were changed and turned to the Lord, yet it was in the time when the Lord was pleased and saw good to visit us, and we can truly say it was an acceptable day...." (Memory of the Righteous, pp. 226-7, cf. Fisher: Works, p. 636.)

34) Fox: Journal I, p. 351; Burrough: Antichrist's Government; Fisher: Works, p. 805.

35) Richard Hubberthorne: "The Real Cause of the Nations Bondage" (1658), quoted Schenck: Social Justice, p. 119. For the Puritans, cf. Perry: Puritanism & Democracy, p. 87, Schenck: Social Justice, p. 53-4.

36) Fisher: Works, 123; cf. p. 784. Camm & Audland: Memory of the Righteous, pp. 223-224.

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frequently drawn.[37] It was natural also for Friends to show the supposed rootage of many of their own ways and customs in the Biblical community of saints.[38] Biblical precedent might even be deliberately followed:

> At Firbank Fell, Fox writes, "ye worde of ye Lorde came to mee I must goe and sett doune upon ye rocke in ye mountaine even as Christ had donne before."[39]

There were times when their vivid awareness of apostasy led Quakers to assume that:

> "the Church in the Apostles times was eminently shining forth in its Prime lustre...in Comparison of whom those in after Ages, especially we of these latter Ages, are but as Children, Weaklings, Infants".[40]

But the usual attitude of Friends both towards the Primitive Church was that the Inner Light had fully restored it.[41] In their rebirth of Apostolic vitality after the great Apostasy Quakers were convinced that a new dispensation had finally come:

> "Nowe wee haveinge ye false prophetts antichrists, etc. betwixt us & ye Apostles...wee are gotten beyond ym and are over ym in ye everlastinge gospell ye power of God....Seeinge yt all ye worlde has worshiped the beast...ye everlastinge gospell shoulde bee preacht againe to all nations kindes tongues & people....And soe all yt receves ye gospell... they shall see ye government of Christ who has all power in heaven and earth given to him".[42]

Concerning the role of the saints as warriors of the final Kingdom of Christ, most of the remainder of this paper will in one way or another have to deal. It is important to see it in its apocalyptic setting:

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37) Howgill: Works, p. 536.

38) cf. Fisher: Works, pp. 57-8, Fox: Great Mistery, pp. 92-3; cf. Cooke: op. cit. p. 6.

39) Fox: Journal I, p. 43.

40) Fisher: Episkopos, p. 50. This statement came from Fisher's latter days.

41) Fox: Journal I, pp. 351-2

42) Ibid. I, p. 249; II, pp. 127-8.

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> "Put on your Armour, and gird on your Sword...and prepare your selves to battel, for the Nations doth defie our God....Arise, arise, and sound forth the everlasting Word of war and judgment in the ears of all Nations:...our Enemies are whole Nations...of a rebellious people that will not come under our law, which ariseth up against us, and will not have our king to reigne... .Let not your eye pitty, nor your hand spare, but wound the lofty, and tread under foot the honourable of the Earth, and give unto the great Whore double...and the Lamb shall get the Victory."[43]

It is clear that Friends did expect that the battle of the Spirit against "the World" which had begun through their movement would lead to the climactic victory of Christ; all men would be convinced of Sin. The Day of Visitation represented by the Quaker preaching would be succeeded by the ultimate Judgment upon the obdurate. This gave urgency to the world-wide Quaker preaching mission, to which we shall presently turn.

There remains the troubling problem as to how Friends foresaw the relationship between the victorious Kingdom of Christ and the outward order in the World. The majority of the descriptions of the Kingdom of Christ, and of the Lamb's Victory, were clearly intended to signify spiritual experiences. The physical world was regarded as so dependent upon the spiritual, and thus the crucial aspects of the Kingdom would lie in the spiritual realm.

Nevertheless, as we have seen, some descriptions of the Kingdom were terrifyingly concrete in language:

> "The purpose of the Lord must come to pass that the oppressed may go free, and that the sins of the false Prophets and the iniquity of the hireling ministers and the Corruption of Rulers may be punished...and this is the honour of all the Saints, to bind Kings in Chains, and Nobles with fetters of Iron, and to execute upon the Heathen the Judgments written."[44]

The Kingdom of Christ on earth thus would bring outward as well as inward changes. An actual rule of the Saints on earth was part of the early Quaker

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43) Edward Burrough & Francis Howgill: To the Camp of the Lord in England (n.p. (1655), p. 9.

44) Salthouse: Candle Lighted, p. 19.

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hope (though in the end they disavowed political means of achieving it):[45]

> "those Saints of God that follow the Lamb,...shall eat the Riches of the Gentiles, and in their Glory boast themselves, improving the excellencies of the outward Creation in wiser ways, and to much better uses and ends, than such Drones as Popes' Ministers, who have devoured the good of all Lands".[46]

Social justice upon earth was part of the Kingdom of Christ for which Quakers hoped.[47] Meanwhile, however, Friends recognized that the Lamb's War to conquer the still unregenerate "World" was to be fought mainly in the hearts of men, and it was there that Friends must join in the battle.

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45) v. infra, Chapter VII.

46) Fisher: Works, p. 854; one curious, though minor episode seems to suggest that early Friends expected some significant triumph within their earthly lives: when Burrough died in prison, "there came one to (Fox) it being an Imagination gott into her heade because Ed: Burrough was deceased wee shoulde bee all taken away". (Journal, II, p. 9)

47) V.infra, Chapter VIII

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Section VI-C: The Role of Friends in "the Lamb's War:" Through Suffering

The apocalyptic hope of early Quakerism underlay their various specific social outlooks. For the Day of the Lord and the coming of Christ's Kingdom were expected as the fulfilment of the Power at work within the Quaker movement. Thus the Children of the Light were given a crucial role in"the Lamb's War" against evil. Through them the Spirit would conquer by prophetic preaching; the conquest of "the World" would also be achieved through the suffering of the saints.

Quaker apocalypticism shared both the outlooks and the language of many hard-pressed and uncompromising groups throughout Christian history . Like the Church under Domitian, Friends felt the Spirit of God to stand in radical judgment upon the existing human world, and looked forward to a complete transformation of the existing society. But within the tradition of apocalypticism two strains need to be separated. One element in apocalypticism is a reaction against a world at present evil and hopeless, which only divine intervention can purge. The People of God can look only to him for deliverance. Such an outlook expresses the present power of man's hope even amid darkness. But the deliverance is future, and the Messiah is "hidden", pending the period of climactic darkness and woe.[1]

A second element in apocalypticism sees the power of God already at work overthrowing evil. The tension of good and evil remains no less acute; but deliverance is seen in the present. The apocalypse will be simply the fulfilment of the power already seen conquering in the religious movement.[2]

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1) cf. the "Book of Enoch".

2) In all apocalyptic hopes, clearly, both elements are present in part, for the tension of good and evil implies some knowledge of both. But the victory of hope and the "finger of God (by which) the Kingdom of God has come upon you" are two distinct experiences. (cf. Luke 11:20).

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The Saints are not only the righteous remnant awaiting rescue, but the "first-fruits" of the Kingdom, and even the harvesters called to help in bringing it in.

Quaker apocalypticism belonged mainly to this second type; despite the recurrence of "the great Beast", "Babylon" and "the great Whore" in Quaker literature, their eschatology was closer in spirit to the Synoptic gospels than to the Book of Revelation. Occasional Quaker statements describe the Day of the Lord as rescue and vindication,[3] but more often the Children of the Light are considered as already set free from evil. So far as the outside world was concerned, Friends were liberators rather than the liberated. In "the Lamb's War" victory was to be won, if not by, at least through the Elect.

> "The Lamb...hath called us to make war in righteousness for his name's sake, against hell and death, & all the powers of darkness... and we are the royal seed elect, chosen and faithful, and we war in truth and judgment....And they that follow the Lamb shall overcome, and get the victory over the beast, and over the dragon, and over the gates of hell".[4]

To the Children of the Light as the first-fruits would be added daily such as were saved:

> "Yea...those plain, simple, despicable, contemptible People of mine, whom ye so trample on...shall grow and multiply...and they shall be a Burdensom Stone to all People who trouble themselves with them who shall be cut in pieces and fall into Mischief for their sakes....They shall be my Battle-Ax, wherewith I will break in pieces the People".[5]

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3) "Vengeance is mine, saith the Righteous God..., and I will Revenge and be Avenged to the uttermost upon the whole Seed of Evil Doers, for their Violence done to mine Innocent Seed,....Yea we, who Tremble at the Word by which all things are made, and are in Derision by the prophane called Quakers are Legittimately the Seed of that Eternal Rock of Ages, the Ancient of Dayes...before whose Emmanuel (to wit) God in with & for us, the world now trembles at his Word". (Edward Byllinge: For every individual Superior & Inferior Magistrate in the Land (bsd, London, 1662).

4) Burrough, in introduction to Fox: Great Mistery, p. 14.

5) Fisher: Works, pp. 7-8.

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Clearly the early Friends identified the Elect fairly precisely with their own fellowship: the Church had been in Apostasy since apostolic times:

> "All upon earth are antichrists, and know not Christ, nor Christ come in the flesh, that are from the light....And all sects, bishops, . .popes, cardinals, and clergy, Babylon, Romishe whore, who are gotten up since the days of the apostles...are not likely,...to own the Light . ....The Quakers are neither of you, nor of antichrist, nor of the pope, but they are of the apostles' stock".[6]

Friends felt themselves called as a group to take part in the struggle against "the World":

> "You who are called Quakers, whom God hath called & chosen to place his name in...and only among you is God known....You are Gods only witnesses to testifie of him in the presence of all Nations, some of you by Suffering, and some by declaring: Oh endless loue and life and riches, an eternall Crown is upon your heads".[7]

The share of the Friends in the struggle against evil was inward as well as outward. It was in the inward victory of the Spirit over their own Sin that world-conquest had and must begin:

> "The Lamb's War YOU must know, before you can witness his Kingdom, and how you have been called into his War....He that preaches the Kingdom of Christ in Words, without victory, is the thief that goes before Christ.. ..Christ hath a War with his Enemies.. and...the Lamb Wars in whomsoever he appears, and calls them to joyn with him herein in Heart and Mind, and with all their Might, that he may form a new Man, a new Heart, new Thoughts, and a new Obedience...and there is his Kingdom....Do you deny your selves of your pleasures, profits, ease and liberty, that you may hold forth the chast conversation in the power and life of gentleness, meekness, faithfulness and truth....Is this your war, and these your weapons?[8]

Therefore even the rigor of ethical purity in personal life was seen in an apocalyptic setting: "by how much this day draws nigh, by so much the more do ye stand loose in your affections to the world".[9]

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6) Fox: Great Mistery, pp. 247,191; cf. Fox "the Younger": Works, p.1

7) Burrough: Camp of the Lord, p. 4; cf. Penn: to the Children of Light, p 2.

8) (Nayler: Works, pp. 391-2, 385).

9) Penn: Children of the Light, p. 3, cf. p. 2; cf. also Nayler: Works, p. 27.

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Thus the first act of service in the war against evil was individual withdrawal from worldly customs: "I beseech you, Brethren, that you mark them that once set their Faces towards Sion, but not being willing to deny the world...have consulted with Flesh and Blood and turned back".[10] This inward struggle against evil was basic and unending.

The struggle against evil meant also, for Friends, separation as a group from the evil of all other Churches and groups:

> "Now blame not me, wrote Audland to one minister, "that I walk according to the Scripture and turn away from proud and covetous Men, such as thee, for I should uphold thee in thy ways, I should be guilty of thy sins; and might pertake of thy Plagues".[11]

Quakers, like radical Puritans, were Separatists. They were convinced that the Church of a Holy God must be morally pure. They teased the orthodox Puritans and Episcopalians for their prayers of confession, which

> "say all they do is Sin, Their best Actions are Sin, their Prayers are Sin, (to this we Consent)...they...are a company of miserable Sinners that err and stray like lost Sheep from the ways of God, and are Grievours Offenders of Gods holy laws,...therefore, say we, unredeemed yet: in the Way of Death, not in the Way of Life."[12]

In their effort to make it evident that they were avoiding the evils of "the World", Friends made a point of being intransigeant:

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10) Nayler: Works, p. 29, cf. pp. 26,33 and many similar exhortations in Fox's Epistles, Camm & Audland: Memory of the Righteous, etc.

11) Camm & Audland: Memory of the Righteous, p. 180. cf. Nayler: Works, pp. 277-8: "It is not Error to forsake the Opinions of any Natural Man whatsoever, nor to withdraw from the Church of Rome,...nor from any who have reformed some things, but yet are not come to the true Foundation of the Apostles....But the Error is to err from the spirit of God... and that Church which by its Teaching alone is gathered unto God". Cf. Nayler: Against Baxter, p. 9.

12) Camm & Audland: Memory of the Righteous, pp. 247-8. Cf. Fox's attack on Baxter's "Worcestershire Association", where Fox uses their report ("Agreement of Divers Ministers of Christ") which humbly recognized how much they had left undone. (Great Mistery, p. 251).

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"Now what evidence brought these men to make their testimony received? did they entice? did they flatter?....Their words were as thunderbolts knocking down all that stood in their Way, and pouring down the judgment of God upon the head of the transgressor every where. Did they spare the zealous professor more than the open prophane? nay verily they condemned equally the hypocrisy of the one, as well as the profanity of the other".[13]

In particular situations they could be therefore cold to the point of rudeness.[14] Quakers passed in silence anyone whom they met on the road, since "it's plain the Saints were forbidden to salute any but saints...and not to bid God speed to any transgressor, that doth not abide in the doctrine of Christ".[15]

It is hardly surprising that by the majority of people the early Quakers were regarded as factious, antisocial, and deliberately obnoxious.[16] (There were also, various individuals among the early Quakers, as among modern Pacifists, who seem to have been drawn into the movement because they were themselves maladjusted, cantankerous, and generally "agin the government": many of these had been or became Ranters).

The tension which developed between Quakers and other men, in the course of their effort to maintain themselves unspotted by the world, led to their building up more strongly their conception of the anti-Christian character of "the World". Moreover it was a major factor in the picture which they came to form of their own group in its relationship to "the World".

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13) Barclay: Anarchy of the Ranters, p. 6.

14) Fox wrote that his later enemy, Priest Lampitt "woulde have owned mee butt I could not owne him nor Joine with him hee was soe full of filth" (Fox: Journal I, p. 47), and he declined on several occasions to eat as the guest of non-Friends. When a sympathetic minister in Pickering, writes Fox, "ofred to freinds y^t I should have his steeple house to preach in if I would come...I denyed it: and tolde him & y^e people y^t I came to bring y^m of from such thinges to Christ". (Ibid. I, p. 27)

15) Nayler: Man of Sin, pp. 41, 40.

16) cf. Perry: Puritanism & Democracy, p. 99.

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The early Friends felt very strongly the reversal of values between themselves and their opponents, between God and "the World".

> "This people whom the Lord hath called out of darkness...are a despised people,...those weak things of the World whom he hath chosen to place his Name among, and those poor of the world whom he hath made rich in Faith....Touch not the Lords Annointed."[17]

As citizens of heaven, Friends were aliens in England; "of that birth.... which hath no crown, no glory, no rest under the Sun".[18] This reversal of values was closely linked with the Quaker reversal of the esteem placed upon social ranks and classes:[19] the prophets and apostles alike had been Chosen, "though but herdsmen and men of mean Occupation".[20]

A curious sidelight upon this reversal of values is the custom used by many Friends in signing letters; thus Fox concluded: "ff.G. who is of the world called George ffox who a new name hath which the world knows not".[21] For most Friends the custom had an apocalyptic significance, rather than a personal one.[22]

To "the World", at any rate, Friends fully expected to be known as objects of derision. The hatred of God by the Seed of the Serpent was equated

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17) Salthouse: Candle Lighted, p. 5, cf. Fisher: Works, p. 220: Nayler: Foot in Snare, p. 16.

18) Fox: Great Mistery, p. 6.

19) cf. Section IV-B. It was always God's way, wrote Fisher, "to chuse out foolish, weak, base things and persons, even Laicks, Mechanicks, Rusticks, Russet-Rabbies...to confound and bring to nought these mighty, wise and prudent". (Fisher: Works, pp. 588-9; cf. Nayler: Works, p. 80)

20) Fisher: Works, p. 215.

21) Fox: Journal, I, pp. 161-2. Fox's use suggests the real adoption of a secret name (reversing the initials), known to few or to no-one but himself, just as Henry Niclaes the Familist used his initials to stand for Homo Novus. There is no evidence to prove this, unless it be read into his commoner usage: "him whom the world calls George Ffox, who is the son of God". (Journal, I, pp. 161-2).

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with the hatred shown by unredeemed men against Friends.[23] Not only hatred, but persecution, was expected.[24] Like Bunyan, and the "Sectarian" tradition throughout history, Friends regarded Suffering as not only the fate but the Mark of the true Church.[25] The early Friends were as much at home in the eleventh Chapter of Hebrews as in the Book of Revelation:

> "And have we not a Cloud of Witnesses in this our own age? Some have not loved their lives unto the death for the testimony they received. Have not many endured imprisonment for years? Have not many died in prison...?[26]

Friends had been brought up on Foxe's book of Martyrs.[27] Perhaps the records of Quaker Sufferings (later published in Besse's "Sufferings", and "Abstract of Sufferings", and "First Publishers of Truth") were assembled not only for immediate political ammunition, but with the ideal of showing that Quaker martyrs had a record similar to Foxe's. Friends specifically hailed the victims of Catholic persecution,[28] and the Puritan martyrology was not included by Friends in the Universal Apostasy.

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22) "As to my subscribing myself one whom the world calls James Nayler...am not I one whom the world calls James Naler? (sic) and they know no other name, and yet the Scripture speaks (Rev.2:17) of him that overcometh having a new Name, that no man knows but he that hath it: And... who witness the new man, establish the Scripture, and witness the promise of Christ fulfilled in him...and that new name you know not, as you make it appear". (Nayler: Man of Sin, p. 4, cf. Burrough, Camp of the Lord, p.10) Apparently Nayler considers the new name to be the knowledge of spiritual Sonship to God, the generic Name of Children of the Light.

23) cf. Penn: History of Quakers, p. 45.

24) Bunyan: Grace Abounding, p. 79.

25) "The Faithfull in all Ages Suffered, from righteous Abel to just Lot...and all the true prophets by the false". (George Fox: An Epistle to all my dear Friends in America ("from Swarthmore, Lancs", 1675)

26) Howgill: Ray Ridge, p. 105.

27) GF spoke of it as being, with the Bible his only books, though he knew others.

28) "If thou reckonest the Roman Church to be this true Church, shew the time, times and half a time wherein she fled into the wilderness"; Friends commended "all the weighty Things that have been spoken by the Blessed Martyrs and Sufferers for Christ, and Righteous Dissenters from this Roman Church". (Howgill: Works, pp. 617,612; cf. Revelation 12:1-7).

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Suffering was occasionally linked with the apocalyptic near-triumph of evil before ultimate Victory,[29] in the spirit of the negative apocalypticism which waits for deliverance. But Quaker attitudes were usually nearer to the conquering confidence of Cromwell"s army.[30] Their own religious experience made Suffering and redemption inseparable for Friends. Suffering was faced gladly because it was part of Christ's victory over the World.

This confidence began with the certainty of inward Victory: "had the first Adam power to defile the World? and hath not the second Adam power to cleanse to the uttermost in this World which is defiled all that come to him?"[31] Thus among the functions and purposes of Suffering was discipline and inward purification:

> "Dear Friends, let none suffer that to have Place in your Hearts, which would say, why is it thus, or why hath the Lord suffered it thus to come to pass? but all keep the Faith, and hold fast your Integrity ...for e'er the Day be over, the Trial must yet be great, before the Dross be separated from the pure Gold; for the Lord our God is about to work a thorow Work in the Earth, to make you clean vessels for his own use."[32]

In time of trial, Friends prayed "Keep me low and humble".[33] Nevertheless, one rather seldom feels that they thought of power being exerted by humility as such,[34] except insofar as humbleness left way for the Power of the Spirit.

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29) "My dear friends, be not ye troubled,..because iniquity seems to have the day....It must be fully ripe ere the stroke come that will swinge it to the Pit". (George Bishop, The Warnings of the Lord to the men of this generation (especially Oliver Cromwell)(London, M. Inman, 1660), p. 41 cf. Burrough: Trumpet, p. 53: "How long, Lord, how Long, shall the remnant of Sion sit as a Widow bemoaning her children....Come Lord Jesus, come quickly".

30) In the political anarchy of 1659, "when people was at a stande & coulde not tell what might come in nor whoe might Rule, Fox tolde y^m y^e Lords power was over all for I had travailed through it, & his day shined whoesoever shoulde come in" (Journal, I, p. 347)

31) Nayler: Against Baxter, p. 36. Fox "tolde...ffreindes y^t if all y^e Spiritts & devills in hell was there, I was over y^m" (Journal, I, p. 228)

32) Banks: Journal, pp. 173-4

33) William Barber: "The Thirsty Traveller" (bsd, 1665)

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In general, Friends' attitude to Suffering was more active than passive. It was not to refute Docetism but Antinomianism, that Friends attacked those who denied the physical suffering of Christ.[35]

Suffering was regarded as sharing in the Sufferings of Christ: "his Sufferings we own; and we witness what he did, he doth still in us, and bears and supports us, and so the remainders of the sufferings of Christ that are yet behinde are by him fulfilled in us".[36] The Quaker patron saint may be considered to be Simon of Cyrene.[37] Friends felt a unity of Spirit in fellow-suffering, not only with Christ, but with each other:

> "Brethren and Sisters in the holy Covenant of Life, with you is my life bound up in the unspeakable Bond of perfect Unity and unfeigned Love, wherein I feelingly reach unto you in this day of weighty Trials, wherein every ones Faith and Patience must come to be tried..."[38]

Friends literature is full of such gentle and courageous appeals for strength in times of suffering:

> "Sink down into the Sufferings and Death, that you may find the Door whereat to enter, for there is a Vale of tears to pass thorow."[39]

> "Being faithfuly to the Light...it will lead you to the Death upon the Cross, and crucifie you unto the World and worldly things, and raise you up into the pure Life, to follow the Lamb whethersoever he goeth... and through Sufferings and many Tribulations must you enter; and therefore all come to the Cross and love it, and rejoyce in it..."[40]

We are thus reminded again of the identity in Quaker thinking between inward and outward suffering, inward and outward evil to be resisted. So even outward suffering must be for "Truth's" sake:

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34) cf. Hazelton: In our Midst, p. 97.

35) cf. Fox: Journal, I, p. 11.

36) Nayler: Man of Sin, p. 21; cf. Fox: Saul's Errand, "Epistle to the Reader".

37) cf. Fox: To the Protector and Parliament of England (London, Giles Calvert, 1658) p. 37: "The Cross of Christ it is the Power of God".

38) Burnyeat, op. cit., p. 100. 39) Nayler: Works, p. 32.

40) Camm & Audland: Memory of the Righteous, pp. 257-8.

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"and take heed that none suffer as Evil-doers, or there is no Joy for that, nor no Crown, nor no Reward...and these sufferings do not Crucifie ...Therefore, all Friends, I exhort you in the Light to dwell."[41]

The Quaker warrior fought, as we have seen, both within and without; suffering was an outward as well as an inward weapon. Hence the boldness of Friends in refusing to avoid it even when they might have done so. Fox on several occasions went to seek his pursuers: In 1663:

"they tolde mee y^{t} Coll. Kirby had sent his leifetenant there to search for mee whoe had searched both boxes & trunkes for mee at Swarthmoore. And as I was lyinge in bed: I was moved of the Lord God to goe y^{e} next day to Coll. Kirbeys house... and soe I tolde him I came to visitt him understandinge y^{t} hee would have seene mee...and to know what hee had to say to mee. .& he said...hee had nothinge against mee, but said y^{t} M:ffell must not keepe great meetinges att her house for y^{t} they mett contrary to the act. (the Conventicle Act of 1662)"[42]

At times the purpose of this steadfastness was to encourage other Quakers in their trials, as when John Burnyeat in 1688, having planned to leave for England, remained on in Ireland when it became clear that Friends there would face harassment by the refugee King James II.[43] But at other times it seems that the mere threat of punishment, or the passing of a law forbidding Freedom to Friends, was an incentive to Friends.[44] By suffering Friends battled outward hostility as well as inward reluctance to suffer; in time of war one must hunt out all centers of resistance abroad and at home, to conquer and overcome them.

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41) Camm & Audland: Memory of the Righteous, p. 258. The sufferings of the wicked, therefore, are no martyrdom; non-Quakers are told:- "you are in a wrong measure,...in comparing your selves & making yourselves of that number that suffered". George Fox: To you that are Crying: What is become of our Forefathers (London, n.d., Thomas Simmons), pp. 3, 2. "To you that are Crying, What is become of our Fore-Fathers, if the Light be the way which you be in, and what is become of the Martyrs that suffered". (1654)

42) Fox: Journal, II, p. 38; cf. II, p. 19; cf. also Bunyan's attitude described in Tindall: Bunyan, p. 13.

43) Burnyeat: op. cit.: Testimony of Irish Friends.

44) Mary Dyer & William Robinson returned to Massachusetts when the General Court there made return from banishment punishable by death.

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Section VI-D: The Role of Friends in "the Lamb's War": As Prophets and Preachers.

The Quaker experience of the Spirit in their own lives convinced them that "the Spirit of the Lord was poured upon us, and power from on high was revealed to...make war against all corruptions in all orders & places & men".[1] The inward victory assured them of outward success. The central role which convincement of Sin had played in their own redemption made it natural for Friends to feel that they were called to redeem the World by delivering prophetic judgment upon it. It is important for an understanding of Quaker relationships with "the World" to study the nature, and then the content, of Quaker preaching. For, as ex-Cromwellian soldiers, Nayler and his friends took seriously the sword of the Word of God and their commission to use it.

Friends went out to preach as commissioned Apostles:

> "Forasmuch as the Lord hath spoken we cannot but Prophesie & Declare of the things which we have seen & heard...that the people may be turned from darkness to the light...and the necessity hath laid upon the Ministers of Christ in these last days...to reprove Sin in the Gates, and to give warning to Magistrates and Men in Authority, both in word and writing...that all might be left without excuse in that day when God shall judge the secrets of Men by Jesus Christ".[2]

The Quakers were conscious of their prophetic lineage, and often used a style modelled on the Biblical prophets:

> "The 31 day of the 10 month in the year of the Worlds account 1655...in Kilkenny city in...Ireland, at that time the Word of the Lord came unto me,...saying Write my controversie with all the Inhabitants of the Earth..."[3]

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1) Edward Burrough, in "Introduction" to Fox: Great Mistery, p. 17 cf. p. 16.

2) Salthouse: Candle Lighted, pp. 10-11; cf. Robert Barrow: The Testimony of Robert Barrow at Fox's death, (bsd, n.p., n.d.)

3) Burrough: Trumpet, Preface. The fondness of Friends for the Old Testament Prophets stood in contrast to the orthodox Puritan concern for Psalms and Pentateuch.

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For Friends the essential authorities to whom to appeal were "the Testimony of the Prophets & Apostles (and) the Witness of God in every man's conscience".[4]

Friends felt clear that the word which they preached was of God, and not of their own Wills or the World's:

> "The Word of God...ever comes at his own Will, and not at the Will of Man, but in a Cross to his Will who speaks, and...the Spirit blows as well when as where it lists".[5]

In their own experience the impulsion to prophesy often seemed to conflict with their own inclination and desire. The beginning of Burnyeat's ministry is a good Example:

> following convincement "I continued...for four Years, mostly following my outward Calling, and attending & waiting upon the Lord in the workings of his holy Power in my Heart, both in Meetings and at other times...the Lord...began to stir in my Heart by his Spirit to arise, and go forth in the strength of his Word and declare against the Hirelings that feed themselves, and not the People...when the Word of the Lord came unto me with this Message, it became a great Exercise unto me: and I would willingly have shunned it, and have dwelt in that Ease Peace & Pleasure the Lord had brought me into, but there was none but in obeying the Lord, and giving up to do his Will...for I was sure it was the Word of the Lord; and then I yielded in Spirit".[6]

A modern psychiatrist would probably discover the co-workings of sub-conscious impulses, and of the contagious spirit of a missionary movement, with any leadings of the Spirit. But to Friends themselves the impulse to preach was as fully of God and as little of themselves as was the Light which accused their own hearts.[7] To Friends' conviction that their prophecy came from the Spirit contrary to their own inclinations, is probably due some of the boldness and

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4) Howgill: Works, p. 654.

5) Fisher: Works, p. 3; cf. Penn: History of Quakers, pp. 42-3.

6) Burnyeat: op. cit. p. 21; cf. Fox: Journal, I, p. 321.

7) Fox did, however, recognize that within the excitement of the Friends Meeting, preaching was not always Spirit-led: - "Now when ye seed is up in every particular, then there is noe danger, but now when there is an openinge & professey, then there is something yt will rash & run out, there is ye danger & there must be ye feare & ye patience". (Fox: Journal, I, p. 321)

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forthrightness of their methods:

> Burnyeat, following his first leading to preach, waited until the minister had finished his sermon and left Aspety Church before speaking to the people, so as to stay clear of Cromwell's law against disturbing ministers: "But immediately I was got out of the Town, the wrath & displeasure of the Lord in his Word sprung dreadfully in my Heart...Cursed is he that doth the Work of the Lord negligently. And then I saw how I had let in a Fear upon me, in which I had shunned the Priest and spared him, for fear I should be sent to Prison for speaking to him...and I humbly desired of the Lord, that he would but grant me liberty to go again to clear myself...So waiting upon him in this humble bowed frame of Spirit, the Word of Life rose in me again, and opened my Heart, and sealed to me I might go". Burnyeat went, speaking to the priest fact to face, both in church and afterwards in the church-yard, "and a great Dispute we had, for I did not spare him. At last he went away, and....Then I spoke to the People and did clear my Conscience amongst them; and then I came away in peace, and my Heart was filled with unspeakable Joy".[8]

Not only the fact of preaching, but the words used, were felt to be given by the Spirit, though how fully this was followed in detail during a two or three-hour sermon it is hard to tell.[9] Quaker preaching was simply one aspect of the way in which the Light experienced within, should direct every word and action.[10] Yet Friends were concerned to stress the difference between their preaching and that of Puritan ministers whose sermons were only the resultant effect of religious experiences.[11] In addition, Friends ministers regarded "the Power", as it broke out among their listeners, as the final witness to the prophetic character of their ministry, for "the Power" was the work of the Spirit more purely and unmistakeably than even their own leadings.

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8) Burnyeat: op. cit. p. 23: cf. the experience of Thomas Ellwood (Journal, pp. 103-4) about his struggle with a similar impulsion to write a Tract.

9) cf. Howgill: Gray Ridge, p. 89.

10) So Fisher writes: "is not every Spiritual Man a Prophet...for though all in the Church are not Prophets...(i.e.) such as have witnessed a sending forth abroad on some service to others, the service of some lying yet nearer home, and in present reference only to themselves,...like the Sons of the Prophets at Jericho & Bethel...purging their own persons first from youthfull & noysom lusts, that they may go forth if the Lord please to send them". (Fisher: Works, p. 574).

11) Fox writes of encountering one such: "I tolde him experience was one thinge but to goe with a message & a worde from y^e Lorde as Y^e prophetts & y^e Apostles had & Did: & as I had donne to y^m this was another thinge; & could any off y^m say they had such a commande or worde from y^e Lorde att any time" (Fox: Journal, I, p. 54)

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Friends were therefore not hesitant to defend the Divine origin of their ministry whenever they were challenged:

> When Elizabeth Fletcher & Elizabeth Holmes came to Oxford in 1654, "Ye Vicechancellor & Justices earnestly inquired from whence they came, & theire buisnes to OXFORD. They Answered, They were Commanded of ye Lord to come...To declare against Sinn & ungodlikeness, which they Liued in, & att this answer ye Visechancllr & Justices ordered theire punishment... as Vagrants".[13]

Because of the divine origin of their message, Friends were the more offended that "the high Professors of our days, being ignorant of the Holy Ghost, through their resisting of it, blasphemed the Life & Power".[14]

> "There are some", wrote Fisher, "who do not more profess themselves to be than they are indeed, inspired by the Holy Spirit, whose Messages & Ministrations, whether by Voice or Writing, are so immediate from the Mouth of the Lord, that...(whether they work miracles yea or nay...thats nothing to thee)...being Θεοπνευστος, divinely inspired, their Doctrine is to be received by you as from God, and in their so doing, it will be found in due time to be your sin, even Unbelief and Rebellion against God, not to submit to what they speak in his Name".[15]

In terms of its content, much of the Prophetic message of the early Friends took the form of Judgment and denunciation, as they were led to "declare against" one sin or another, and this or that evil-doer. Friends felt a participation in the suffering and struggle of the Spirit against the evil "World":

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12) cf. Fisher: Works, p. 583.

13) First Publishers of Truth, p. 211; cf the similar experience of William Caton and John Stubbs (ibid. p. 137). A particularly quirky example concerns Hawk church, Dorset, where "Dewens Morry went to the publick place of worship in the parish...1657...and said...she had received a Message from the Lord to declare amongst them....They complained that she had disturbed (the) Congregation; she askeing what evill she had done, the preist said, "A Woman must not speak in the Church". She denyed it to be the Voice of the Woman that spake, but said twas the voice of the Spirit of God". (ibid. 37)

14) Burnyeat, op. cit. p. 13.

15) Fisher: Works, p. 559; cf. p. 563. At other times they presented the matter more tactfully. So Howgill wrote to Cromwell: - "When I had delivered what I was commanded, thou questionedst it, whether it was the Word of the Lord or not, and soughtest by the Reason to put it off: and we have waited some dayes since, but cannot speak to thee, therefore I was moved to write to thee, and clear my conscience".(Howgill: Works, p. 5)

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> 'ye very groanes of ye weight & oppression yt was upon ye Spiritt of God in mee woulde open people & strike att ym and make ym confess yt my very groanes did reach to ym for my life was burdned with there profession without possession & words without fruit".[16]

Moreover Friends felt and often said that the role of the Spirit was in the first instance to judge the World.[17] Since "hee that sanctifyeth & hee that is Sanctifyed are one...the Saints shall judge the world".[18]

Not only their conviction that the Spirit spoke through them led Friends to speak in tones of Judgment. Judgment was more than puritanical fulmination, It was the heart of the Quaker ministry. For Friends felt that judgment and love were the same:

> "This is pure Love to the Soul, that deals faithfully therewith, in declaring its condition; and that was the great Love Christ shewed the Jews, when he told them they were Hypocrites, Blind Guides, Lyars, and... Generation of Vipers.... For all the Love that can be shewed to any Creature is to deal faithfully and truly with them, as they are seen in the Light....Love is seen to be filthy which spares Filthiness".[19]

Thus judgment was the true ministry, even for the use of unenlightened parish clergy,[20] whom Friends asked:

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16) Fox: Journal, I, p. 20. 17) Nayler: Man of Sin, p. 14, etc.

18) Fox: Journal, I, p. 65; cf. Saul's Errand, p. 6; Fox: Works, VI, p. 179; Camm & Audland: Memory of the Righteous, p. 121. On some occasions, the Quaker prophets spoke directly in the person of Christ, delivering God's message in first-person-singular without quotation marks: "Therefore will I thunder out my judgments upon this wicked generation," wrote Hester Biddle to Cambridge (Wo to thee Town of Cambridge (bsd, London, 1662). Cf. also Ellwood's description (Journal, p. 105) of his tract against ministers "It's much (said (a) Friend) that they bear it. It is (replied Fox "the Younger") their Portion, and they must bear it."

19) Nayler: Works, pp. 288-9; cf. p. 393: "But say you God is Love, and we are Commanded to Love all, and seek Peace with all?....I say: Is God's Love in you otherwise than it hath ever been in Christ and all his Saints, whom the World ever hated?....The Lamb's War is not against the Creation,...but we Fight against the Spiritual Powers of Wickedness which wars against God...and Captivates the Creation into Lust....And that the Creature may be delivered into its liberty...is not against Love, nor everlasting Peace....Now is God's Love to that Seed of Bondage, nor did he ever command you to seek the peace of it."

20) Of Bunyan: Grace Abounding, pp. 73-4: "In my preaching of the word, the Lord did lead me to begin where his word begins with Sinns: that is, to condemn all flesh".

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"Are you laying out your Talents to the end they were given you?....When did you proclaim war against Drunkards, Swearers, Common Blasphemers, enemies to the Lord and his people? Have you none of these amongst you?[21]

We are driven once again to see the centrality of Friends' personal religious experience, in which Judgment and Deliverance were not only both vital, but were in fact one and the same. The Quakers had been through an inner moral Judgment which had left them "quaking" and "trembling" before the Power of God but had also led them on to Peace and Light:

"The Judgment and wrath of God...is a deep unsearchable by any that look only in the Letter....If ye will reckon Wrath, Judgment, and the Ministration of Condemnation, none of the things of God...nor... of the Spirit and Gospel...but reckon it to the Law or Old Testament only....Yet I answer that not only Judgment & Wrath, but the Righteousness, Salvation, Mercy & Grace of God in Christ...is preached in the same Light in which Judgment and Wrath is revealed."[22]

The Puritan religious experience often took the form of the Pauline discovery of the contrast between Law and Grace: but this was usually preceded for each man by a period of intense moral effort. Attempts to short-circuit this phase (as in the case of Howgill)[23] led to a merely intellectual knowledge of "Salvation by Faith", against which Friends protested. The Pauline-Puritan pattern expected two phases. In the Quaker pattern, Judgment and Redemption were successive parts of a single experience (though sometimes protracted over months).[24]

The identification of judgment with deliverance in Quaker thinking probably lies behind a rather curious form of Quaker appeal (which has seemed

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21) Fox: Saul's Errand: "Epistle to the Petitioners"; cf Fox "the Younger": Works, p. 21.

22) Fisher: Works, pp. 605-6.

23) Cf. Section III-A, and Howgill: Gray Ridge.

24) Did the Quaker experience of being caught up by the power of group Enthusiasm (and of surrendering onesself to the Light for ethical guidance) make unnecessary the surrender of self-righteous striving which was the second and more dramatic part of the pattern of Salvation by Faith? Friends understood that good works were the fruit of Faith and self-surrender, although they never fully sensed the role of Forgiveness in this process.

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to some writers inconsistent): "To ye light in thy conscience I speake, thou child of ye devill", said Fox on numerous occasions.[25] Often to be sure Fox followed this appeal with a diatribe which consigned the recipient irrevocably to the regions below, and which seemed concerned only to avoid Fox's responsibility for the victim's fate:

> "To y^e light in thy conscience I speak which shall witness me eternaly and y^e_e condemne eternaly: and when y^u art in thy teror & torment remember I warned y^e_e in love to thy soule in thy life time".[26]

With regard to the established clergy Fox usually assumed that their consciences would never be listened to in time.[27] But with more commonplace sinners, Fox's denunciation involved a more confident appeal to repentance:

> "you y^t hate y^e light and folow oaths & drunckenesse lyinge & scoulderinge & swearinge are for condemnation & are goinge into y^e lake & y^e fire y^t burns except you speedily repent...& if ever your eye com to see repentance you will witnesse me a frend of your soul & your eternal good."[28]

Even affection often appears behind the strong words.[29] This note of appeal to the consciences of the listener makes the whole direction of the message positive rather than negative.[30]

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25) Fox: Journal, I, p. 90, etc. 26) Ibid. I, p. 91.

27) cf. Fox: Journal, I, pp. 86-7.

28) Ibid. I, p. 87; cf. Camm & Audland: Memory of the Righteous, p.213 "The Lord shall...rain...upon the wicked Fire & Brimstone, but indeed we do desire the conversion & salvation even of our persecutors".

29) cf. Fox's letter to the Ranter, John Toldervy, who after briefly joining Friends returned to Ranterism: "It will be hard for thee, John... when the fire and heat enter into your flesh...then remember, every word that y^e have given forth will come upon you as a burthen....Now come to the just principle in thre, John; thy flight was in winter." (Fox: Great Mistery p. 86).

30) "And prize your tyme while you have it", Fox wrote to Ulverston in 1652. "O why will you dye, why will you chuse your owne waies, why will you followe ye course of ye world and why will you followe Envie, malice drunkennesee, and foolish pleasures:...Christ Jesus hath given thee as much light as will let thee see this is evill, and this light will teach thee if thou lovest it.....Therefore to ye light in you I speake yt when ye Booke of Conscience is opened then shall you wittness mee and you all Judged out of it." (Fox: Journal, I, pp. 99-101)

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Those Quaker messages which were outright condemnation, those which were appeals to repentance, and those sermons which preached the new and hopeful Gospel of Quakerism were therefore parts of the same Prophetic function of the Children of the Light. If one tries to divide the prophetic denunciations from the positive preaching of the new Gospel, one finds both that it is impossible to classify much of the material neatly into either category, and also that to divide it would do violence to the basic unity of the Quaker preaching.[31]

There were, nevertheless, many occasions upon which Quaker preachers did present a fairly systematic message of Salvation (notably at their mass meetings);[32] these were interesting as to their positive content, apart from their connection with judgment and repentance. The outline of such sermons is sometimes described upon the occasion of the first Quaker visits to a new town or village.[33] John Whitehead gives a summary of the Gospel which he preached:

> "I do witness that Christ Jesus is the Light of the world, and doth enlighten every one that cometh into the world, and he testifieth against the World that their Deeds be Evil; and that is his Light which makes manifest in the Consciences of you Men and Women the Lusts of your Hearts: And lets you see that you should not live in Covetousness, Pride, Envy, Anger, Swearing, Lying...Drunkenness, Lust & Uncleanness, Pleasures and Wantonness...and the Same Light...is the Condemnation of all the World that hates the Light....
>
> And I do witness the Gift of God is Free, and is Eternal Life; which Life is Jesus Christ, who attested Death for every Man: and I do witness the Faith in his Blood justifieth...
>
> And I do stand a witness against you that make of Profession of God...and of Faith in Him, and yet say That not any can be made free

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31) There is indeed a third category of writing: Epistles and addresses to Friends already convinced, who are striving to follow the Light. This group stands out more clearly, and is considerable in volume; but it has not been used, except by way of illustration, in this dissertation on Friends and "the World".

32) Cf. Section II-H, supra.

33) Cf. First Publishers of Truth, p. 47, etc.

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from Sin...
And I do witness that not any minister of Christ is made by the Will of Man, nor fitted for his Ministry by Humane Learning....
And I do stand a witness against all those that say, They are Gifted to Preach the Gospel, and limit themselves to a particular Time, People, and Place!"[34]

This is as full and balanced a statement of Quaker belief as can be found from the time before Robert Barclay.

Concerning Fox's own Sermons we have brief summaries from time to time in his Journal.[35] These compact summaries of the Quaker message give the impression that the sermon itself was accompanied by strong appeals to accept the Light of Christ, and by prophetic denunciations of Sins. This is clear in Fox's fuller description of his message at the first mass meeting which he held in Bristol:

"ye worde of life was devided amongst ym and they was turned from ye darknesse to ye light, and to Jesus Christ there Saviour & ye Scriptures was largely opned to ym, & they turned to ye spiritt of God in ymselves yt would leade ym Into all truth & open ye scriptures to ym & ye traditions & rudiments & ways & doctrines of men was opned to ye people yt they had beene in: & they turned to ye light of Christ yt with it they might see ym & he ye way out of ym. And soe for many hours did I declare ye worde of life amongst ym:. .& I showed ym ye types & figures & shadowes of Christ in ye time of ye law & showed ym how yt Christ was come yt ended ye types & shadows & tyths & oaths & denyed swearinge... and now hee was come to teach people himselfe: & howe yt his heavenly day was springeinge from on high.

"And soe I was moved to pray in ye mighty power of ye Lord, & ye Lords power came over all".[36]

The word of the Quaker Prophet was intended not only to condemn the World, but to conquer it, and to win it to the Light.

The Quaker claim to Prophetic authority was a claim to the divine inspiration of each particular sermon at each specific occasion. Many of these words were addressed in condemnation of single individuals. Kuehn has therefore suggested that Quaker "prophetism" should be considered as "limited prophetism".[37] It was indeed not the ideas but the fact of the message for

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34) John Whitehead: Two Seeds, pp. 14-22.

35) Cf. Fox: Journal, I, pp. 204,306,309, etc.

36) Fox: Journal, pp.256-7; cf. First Publishers, pp. 331-2 for a listener's report.

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which absolute validity was claimed. The ideas were often concerned with individuals and occasions. Nevertheless to the individuals addressed, the message was assumed, as we have seen, to have an absolute and divine authority. Moreover this prophetic authority was claimed over all men universally:

> "When ye kinge came in...many then did confesse wee had beene true prophetts to ye nation & had wee cryed against some Preists they would have liket us, but seeinge we cryed against all they disliked us: but now they did see yt those preists yt were looket upon (then) to bee ye best were as bad as ye worst".[38]

Insofar as Friends preached ideas at all (rather than preaching repentance to concrete men), such ideas were also clearly universal. The universality of the Quaker prophetic ministry was the corollary of the universal sin and apostasy in the World, and the total character of the Lamb's War against it.[39] The very completeness with which Friends rejected all other churches made them the more anxious to bring the true Light to all "who are scattered abroad in the dark World...in many Sects and Opinions...wandering from Mountain to Mountain...but yet...have found no resting place".[40] The universal prophetic ministry of Friends was thus also connected with their preaching methods: "in markets, in highways, and under the hedges, and upon the mountains, which disturbed the world."[41]

The energetic series of Quaker missionary trips has often been described;[42] in 1660 Fox wrote that Friends had preached in:

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37) Kühn: Toleranz, Ch. IV.

38) Fox: Journal, II, p. 3; cf. Whitehead: Two Seeds, p. 22.

39) Cf. Fox: Journal, II, pp. 96-7: "They akst mee whether I did owne ministers and Bishopps: & I tole ym...such teachers as theres was yt woulde goe no farther then they had a great benefice I did not owne.... For Christ saith to his ministers goe yee into all nations & preach ye gospell".

40) Fox "the Younger": Works, p. 1; cf. p. 23.

41) Fox: Great Mistery, p. 218, cf. Fisher: Works, p. 691.

42) cf. Braithwaite: Beginnings.

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> "Germany, America, and many other islands and places, as Florence, Mantua, Palatine, Tuscany, Italy, Rome, Turkey, Jerusalem, France, Geneva, Norway, Barbado, Antigua, Jamaica, Surinam, Newfoundland, through all of which Friends have passed in the service of the Lord."[43]

Braithwaite lists 15 missions to continental Europe & the Levant, and Rufus Jones lists at least 10 to the Americas in the years 1658-1661 alone,[44] including (besides Fox's list), at least three visits to Holland, Daniel Baker's famous expedition to China and "Prester John's Country" - he was turned back at Alexandria - and the famous groups which set out to convert the Pope and "the Grand Signior" (the Sultan of Turkey). Within the British Isles, the Quaker missionaries kept the New Testament precedent of travelling in pairs, at least until the work within an area forced a division.[45] On many of the overseas trips a larger party set out, the largest perhaps being the ship-load of Friends who came to New England in the little "Weatherhead" in 1657.

The Friends, true to their conviction of the universal presence of the Light with every man, did not limit their preaching to Christians, as many sectarian groups have tended to do. Fox not only stayed with Indian chiefs in the American colonies, but preached to them,[46] and in Barbados Friends preached to the negro slaves.[47] Nor did the Friends allow themselves to be hindered by their ignorance of the languages of foreigners, feeling impelled by God "to publish His eternal truth in & through their streets" in English, "whether they could understand or no".[48] This is a further sign that the

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43) (Letters of Early Friends, p. 292, quoted in Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 337)

44) Jones: Quakers in American Colonies, Braithwaite: Beginnings.

45) Burnyeat: The Truth Exalted

46) Fox: Journal II, p. 211. 47) cf. Ibid. II, pp. 190,191.

48) Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 406; cf. p. 416, from Caton's Life.

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Friends in their preaching were entirely concerned with the prophetic rather than the practical aspect.[49] It was the leading of the Light, and not the end in view, which took them on their journeys. In the same way, when the first interview with Sultan, Pope or potentate was concluded, and the Message of the Spirit delivered, the Quaker traveller would often feel that his mission was discharged, and begin the journey home. Once the prophetic message or call to repentance had been given, the results could be left to the decision of the hearer and the power of the Spirit abroad in the world.

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49)"There was never a more complete scorn of consequence and circumstance", comments Braithwaite. (Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 420).

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Section VI-E: Occasions and Methods of Quaker Prophetic Preaching

The basic conception of the role of the Quaker prophet can be seen equally in the study of concrete situations in which Quaker messages were given. The specific content of some of these messages must be taken up more fully in connection with Quaker social and political outlooks. But each of them shows the same basic approach to "the World"; each involves a strong note of judgment, but each also includes an appeal to personal repentance encompassing life as a whole.

The call to prophecy was felt to come in each case, as well as in the life of each Quaker prophet, from the Spirit. The first impulse might come at almost any age.[1] There was much variation in the relationship of the prophetic preaching to the Quaker minister's own trade or vocation. Fox, Nayler, Howgill, Burrough and one or two others seem to have travelled almost constantly, depending on hospitality and the gifts of friends for maintenance. Other Friends spent long periods at their trades between preaching missions. Nor did they always set out at once to follow a Leading of the Light to a new mission.[2]

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1) Burnyeat's first call came several years after convincement; "Mary ffell a childe of eight yeares olde was moved of ye Lorde to goe & speake to preist Lampitt & to tell him yt ye Lorde would poure out ye vialls of his wrath upon him". (Fox: Journal, I, p. 231).

2) Burnyeat, for example, during a 23-week imprisonment in Carlisle in 1658 received an "opening" to go to Scotland, but upon his release went home through Cumberland and worked on his farm all summer; he travelled in Scotland from October to January, and while there felt a "leading" to go to Ireland. He was home thereafter for 2 years, supporting himself and his family; in 1662 he went to London to speak to George Fox about a leading he had felt to preach in America, but it was only in 1664, following 14 weeks in Ripon gaol and another long stay at home, that he finally sailed for Barbadoes and the American colonies, where he was to spend most of the next few years. Cf. Burnyeat: Truth Exalted, pp. 26-32.

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On their travels within England, the Quaker preachers "travailed some weeks 8 or 9 score miles a week & had meetinges every day"[3]. Preaching might be done upon almost any place and occasion: when in gaol the Friends regularly held a weekly meeting with the prisoners and debtors, especially when several Quakers were imprisoned together[4][5]. In many towns the Quaker preachers would begin by confronting or arguing with the local parish minister, either during church worship or immediately afterwards[6]. Often the Quaker message was introduced less abruptly by meetings at private homes, or a stormy beginning led to quieter work afterwards[7]:

> "1655 John Audland and annother frd...came on a first day morning on foot into ye City of Hereford; one of them went to ye Collidg (Collegiate Church) ye other to ye Steeplehouse...where they were both taken....So sonne as they were discharged and out in ye street, John Audland published ye truth allong ye street, till he Came to John Barbers house, advising people to haue a bridle to their tongus & stay to their minds, and to haue Regard to ye Light within. Ye said John Barber Received them in to his house in ye Euening, where they had a Large peaceable meeting....On ye morrow...John Audland wrote a paper & set it vp on ye Cross, signifiing if aney person had aney thing to object...they might come to such a place at such a time & Receiue ye best satisfaction they Could giue them...and many were Convinced."[8]

As has been noted, there was a deliberate policy of separating where possible the small Silent Meetings of convinced Friends from the large meetings with the World[9]. But often it was some time before regularly "settled"

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3) Fox: Journal, II, p. 26. They travelled lightly-baggaged, usually on foot, but carried inkhorns, Bibles and money as a rule. (cf. Swarthmore MSS; also Ross: Margaret Fell, pp. 69-70).

4) En route as prisoners to Leicester gaol, wrote Fox, "as wee went wee past through ye people in ye feilds att there harvest: & in ye toundes: & wee declared ye truth to ym with our open Bibles in our hands... and declared howe wee were ye prisoners of ye Lord Jesus Christ for his name & truth sake & ye people was mightily affected". (Journal, II, p. 15; cf. Children of Light, pp. 112-115.)

5) Other Friends passing through the town would often join them, though sometimes they were arrested in consequence (cf. Burnyeat: Truth Exalted, p. 30)

6) cf. First Publishers of Truth, p. 81, 96.

7) cf. Ibid. p. 316. 8) Ibid. pp. 114-115.

9) cf. Section II-H; also Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 310.

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or "appointed" meetings arose.[10] The informal meetings, debates, and discussions in private homes formed a vital link between the mass gatherings and later permanent meetings. Often, as with Ellwood, the Fells and the Peningtons, a home visit would be the first contact with people of too respectable a breeding to attend the larger gatherings. The steady itinerant work in following up the earlier visits of other Quaker preachers, and in holding General Meetings of Friends within a region, falls mainly outside the scope of this paper. The dividing line between the prophetic ministry to "the World" and pastoral work among the "Children of the Light" was fairly clear in the minds of Friends.

Within the preaching of Friends to the outside World, however, there was not only the deliverance of a general appeal to large groups, but the presenting of prophetic messages to individuals. These messages were more frequently messages of Judgment than were the general appeals, and more commonly given as direct oracles from God.

The records of their lives show how frequently Friends opened the Lamb's War "first...against the priests and teachers...as being the causers of the people to err".[11] The parish ministers were naturally the most constant in opposition to the Friends, who felt that persecution was "all by means of the Priests who sought daily to the magistrates for persecution".[12]

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10) cf. Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 71; First Publishers, p. 63: "At Kirklinton, some weeks after the first preaching mission there, "John Wilkinson, staying some dayes with us, advised to setle a Meeting, tho there was none to speake words, to waite upon the Lord, which was done".

11)(Edward Burrough in introduction to Fox: Great Mistery, p. 17.)

12) ibid. p. 19. The attacks upon the ministers, of course, were also double-edged, being a ready way to present a challenge to the congregation. cf. Nalyer: Against Baxter, p. 13.

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Another type of prophetic message to individuals were the Quaker addresses and letters to rulers and kings. These we shall study in more detail in connection with the Quaker attitudes to the State. Often these took the form of a personal appeal, as in Nayler's letter to Charles II, (over which one can imagine that King chuckling):

> "O King, spend not thy time in Fleshly Pleasures, neither strive after that Glory which will fade away, but apply thy Heart to God, and wait to feel his Spirit in thee...for only Blessed is he who Rules by his Power...Read, and Remember the Righteous and the wicked."[13]

Even in Fox's general Epistle "to all Kings, Princes & Governors in the whole world", this personal note remains: "Do not despite unto the Spirit of Grace"; "Let every one that names the name of Christ depart from iniquity"[14]; "and now let all that are called Christians see if they are not seduced from this ANOINTING WITHIN"[15].

When brought before courts of Law, the early Friends again and again used the Court-room as a place of public proclamation, producing shrewd arguments against the validity of the laws by which they were arraigned,[16] or simply shouting the Judge down with an appeal aimed at the bystanders.[17] Fox and others also went out of their way to seek out magistrates to "declare against" their injustices,[18] or to berate their indifference to visible misconduct:

> O what a height is Iniquity grown unto? Doth not all manner of Sin abound even in open Streets; as Swearing, Drunkenness, Covetousness & Oppression. Can you pass on the Streets, & not hear the cryes of it? and although there have been Laws for restraining of some of those Abominations, yet how are they slighted, so that poor People get not the benefit by them.[19]

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13) Nayler: Works, p. 600; cf. Fox: Works, IV, p. 234, to the French King.

14) Fox: Works, Vol. V, pp. 334,337.

15) Quakers also visited personally rulers who were within reach. Fisher, for example, felt called in 1656 to bring the word of the Lord before Parliament, and after twice being prevented by the Sergeant-at-arms from delivering his messages in person, issued them in writing. Fisher: Works, "The Scorned Quakers True & Honest Account", "The Scorned Quakers 2nd attempt".

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Friends likewise spoke or wrote in prophetic tones against Merchants.[20] Ignoring for the moment the content of specific messages,[21] it is clear that they all included large elements of Judgment. Along with the attack upon specific sins went almost always a general exhortation to repent, an appeal to the individual or group to turn to Christ within.[22] Judgment and appeal are inter-dependent, and the basic issue is the personal decision of those addressed for or against the Light and "the World".

Among other techniques for presenting their message, Friends were fond of debates formally arranged with ministers whose parishes or congregations the Quaker preachers had visited.[23] Where distance or dignity prevented face-to-face debate, the same result could be achieved by pamphlet and counter-pamphlet, often in lengthy dialogue.[24] On some occasions a verbal debate

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16) as in the case of Penn & Meade; cf. also Fox: Journal, p. 20.

17) cf. Fox: Journal, II, p. 58. 18) Ibid. I, p. 129.

19) Nayler: Works, p. 134.

20) At Carlisle, writes Fox: "on ye markett day...ye magistrates had threatned & sent there serjants...nevertheless I obeyed ye Lord God & went upon ye Crosse (i.e. the market cross), & there declared unto ym yt the day of ye Lord was comeing upon all there deceitefull ways & doeings & deceitfull merchandise: & yt they was to lay away all couseninge & cheatinge & keepe to yea & nay & speak Ye truth one to another. (Fox: Journal I, p. 114) cf. Nayler: Works, pp. 120, 139 & v. infra Section VIII-D.

21) On content material, v. infra Sections VII-B, VII-C, VIII-D, etc.

22) Even as late as 1684, Fox's appeal for freedom from persecution addressed to "Such as have forbidden Preaching" consists of Biblical injunctions to confess Christ and forward his work. (Fox: Works, Vol. 6, 269ff.)

23) Friends seem to have found the ministers quicker to accept such engagements in the south of England than in the North; (Edward Burrough in Fox: Great Mistery, p. 20) in areas where Puritans and Sectaries had already been strong in the south, such debates were already common. cf. Tindall: Bunyan, p. 44.

24) Cf. Sections III-D & IV-B for Baxter's pamphlet debates with Nayler over perfectionism and with Fisher over the nature of Grace. Similarly Bunyan carried on a tract war (in which Tindall (Bunyan, p. 222) counts at least ten pieces written) against Burrough, Fox and Penn, with regard to the Christ's work within the believer as against his work vicariously in atonement.

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would be followed up by published accounts of the rival arguments.[25]

When addressing their opponents, Friends used a startling virulence of language:

> "Oh Lawson, oh Blood sucker, oh Esau, who would slay the Righteous and slayeth them in thy hart, who swallowes upp ye earth, Lord Esau who would slay Jacob & persecute him...thou cunning ffox who seeks to devoure ye lambs of Jesus Christ, oh Herod hard hart who would see Jesus but to destroy him...oh thou serpent who are painted outwardly with the saints words but a murtherer and killer of ye Just, oh thou viper... Nether count this hard language nor rivile at it, its the love of ye lord god to thee".[26]

Such language, indeed, was not limited to Friends: Milton and Bunyan both showed "an amazing virtuosity in verbal expression" both in debates and in pamphlets.[27] Friends in all their preaching drew on the vividly colorful language of the Sectarian preachers of their day. The sermons of Baptists and radical Independents, such as Cromwell's chaplains, are "perfect extravaganzas of imagism".[28] But the radical preachers were in turn applying the doctrines of Puritan preachers who had preached spiritual truths by "the shaddowes of those in brute creatures".[29] Before becoming respectable in the 1640's, they had preached with the naive directness of the mediaeval friars at their best.[30] Many of the Quaker messages of Judgment could hardly be

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25) cf. Wragge: Barclay, pp. 26-8, etc.

26) Fox: Journal, I, p. 116.

27) Haller: Rise of Puritanism, p. 361; cf. Tindall: Bunyan, Ch.III.

28) Haller: op. cit., p. 150; cf. Tindall: Bunyan, pp.170-173.

29) Haller: Rise of Puritanism, p. 139.

30) Ibid. p. 140, etc. The Puritans outspokenly criticized the literary Anglican preaching. The cycle seems continuous as each new tradition within the ministry acquires classical learning. Thus the Baptis Mechanick-preachers became conscious rhetoricians during the Restoration. (cf. Tindall: Bunyan, p. 178).

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distinguished from sermons by Bishop Latimer a century before.[31]

Thus Friends' pungent language in debate was often simply a reply in kind.[32] Yet one feels that such language hardly appealed to "that of God" in the opponents of Quakerism.[33] However, mutual the vituperation, it is disheartening to find two men as spiritually sensitive as Nayler and Baxter hurling billinsgate at each other. In such word-conflicts the Quakers were rarely outdone.[34]

Friends claimed two justifications for their strong language. It was in the first place a rather violent application of their doctrine of equality; the total warfare against the World was carried out verbally against all men

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31) Latimer compared London to "The Cities of Moab, amonge the whych.. one called Nebo...was much reproued for idolatry, supersticion, pride, avarice, cruelty, tiranny, & for hardnes of hart, and for these synnes was plaged of God and destroied. Now what shal we say of these rich citizens of London: shal I cal them proude men of London, malicious men of London, merciles men of London? No, no, I may not say so, they wyl be offended with me than. Yet must I speake....Therefore I say, repent O London, repent, repent. I thinke if Nebo had had the preachyng that thou hast, they would haue conuerted....What a do was there made in London, at a certain man, because he said...Burgesses, ...nay butterflies....And yet would God they wer no worse then butterflies. Butterflies do but theyr nature, the Butterfly is not c couetous, is not greedy of other mens goodes, is not ful ef enuye & hatred....But London cannot abide to be rebuked, such is the nature of man." (Latimer: Sermons:"Sermon upon the Plough", fol. 15) cf. Matthew 11:20-24. Compare with this Fox "the Younger": England's Sad Estate, p. 4: "Ah poor Land...Oh thy Chief City, that Bloody City. Can its Abominations be paralleled in the Earth....Wo unto you Whoremongers, Drunkards, Gluttons, Swearers, Cursers, Blasphemers, Cheaters & Idolaters".

32) William Prynne was certainly receiving no worse than he had given, when Audland said to him "Thou art witnessed against by the Spirit of God, that thou art full of Venom, froth and filth; which is not worth raking up after thee; the Heart is overcome with it, let it return into the Pit from whence it came, where the Frogs (i.e. French?) lodge, who are thy companions". (Memory of the Righteous, pp. 148-9; cf. Allen: Political Thought, on Prynne).

33) cf. Nuttall: Christian Enthusiasm, p. 36.

34) One can only chuckle at Nayler's reply to Nichols: "You instance thes words: Thou art damned and I see the devil in thy face, and this you say is the first salute to all we meet with: to which I answer: Thousands .. we have met with, past by, and spoke not one word to them". (Man of Sin, p.46)

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equally.[35] The second Quaker reply to such charges was that their language was inspired by the Holy Spirit, and they proved the fact by its similarity to passages in the Bible: so Nayler replies to Baxter:

> "You accuse me with Horrible railing, to which I answer, What language have I used against you, except such as the Spirit of God in Scriptures gives...but deceit is got into such fine colours that it cannot bear a plain language....The devil...hath bred up his children in manners, that must not cal him that vents his lies, a lyar...nor one who takes hire, a hireling....But who is guided by the Spirit of God is taught not to flatter, but to use plainness of speech, yet not in envy."[36]

It is certainly true enough that Biblical bestiology constitutes a surprising proportion of Quaker invective.[37] Moreover the claim to inspiration by the Holy Spirit made it possible to insist that aspersions on Quaker language were blasphemy.[38]

It was language such as this which gave "Enthusiasm" its bad name for the generations ahead (making it more or less synonymous with fanaticism),[39] and left some Friends open to a charge of insanity.[40] As a matter of fact, Fox's baroque language occasionally reached a point of emotion verging on unbalance:

> "I wish yt these outward powers of ye earth were given up I can tell what to say to ym. Oh Hypocrisy It makes me sicke to thincke of ym. I have given ym a vissitation and as faithfull a warneing as ever was: There is an ugly a slubering hound an ugely hound an ugely slobering hound but ye Lord forgive ym -- destruction --destruction."[41]

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35) Cf. Fisher: Episkopos, p. 47. 36) Nayler: Man of Sin, p. 3.

37) cf. Camm & Audland: Memory of the Righteous, p. 109.

38) When Baxter said that Quaker books are "almost nothing but a bundle of filthy railing words, as Serpent, Liar, Deceiver, Childe of the Devil, cursed Hypocrite, dum Dog", Nayler therefore replied: "there is not one of these words but by the Spirit of Jesus Christ they have been used, to Such who are in that nature to whom they belong: and the same spirit can do no other but use the same words, without respect of persons....Hadst thou said we had been railers, the sin had not been so great: but to say those words given forth by the holy Ghost, as is plain in Scripture, are filthy railing words...(is) blasphemy". (Nayler: Answer to Baxter, p. 4)

39) cf. Nuttall: Enthusiasm, p. 23.

40) Fox writes, for instance, that the curious but brilliant mystic-politician Sir Henry Vane was so upset that "if Anthony Pearson and some others had not been with mee, he woulde have put mee out of his house as a mad man". (Fox: Journal, I, p. 314).

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Nevertheless the lurid coloring is that of Apocalypticism, and if Milton's strong language is "a sanctified bitternesse against the enemies of truth"[42], that of the Quakers' was intensified by their sense of the ultimate Crisis of the World. Much of their language was not only Biblical - and thus highly symbolical - but framed for an apocalyptic era:

> "Howle, Howle, shriek, yell and roar, ye Lustful, Cursing-Swearing, Drunken, Lewd, Superstitious, Devillish, Sensual, Earthly Inhabitants of the whole Earth. Bow, Bow, ye most surley Trees and lofty Oaks, ye tall Cedars, and low Shrubs, Cry out aloud."[43]

A final method of preaching the Quaker message was the custom of "acting" or "going a Sign". This tradition was borrowed from the Hebrew prophets (although for Friends the outward gesture symbolized an apocalyptic inward event, rather than an impending outward act of God). The acting of Signs was an integral part of Quaker preaching, and arose from similar Leadings of the Spirit.[44] The Signs were usually accompanied by messages of Judgment rather than appeals of hope, yet it is clear that in many cases both

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41) Fox: Journal, II, p. 172.

42) Milton, q. Haller: Rise of Puritanism, p. 359.

43) Edward Byllinge: "An Arm to All Flesh" (1660) q. Schenk: Social Justice, p. 119; cf. Fox: Journal, I, pp. 6-8, also I. Penington: "The Way of Life and Death" (1658) p. 66; (q. Schenk: Social Justice, p. 120).

44) Thus one early Friend reported: "About the twentieth day of the tenth Month, 1660, soon after the twelfth hour of the day, the Word of the Lord sprang up in me, which made my earthly part to shake....And a necessity was laid upon me to Proclaim the Day of Judgment...and the Word of the Lord sounded through me: the Dreadful and Terrible day of the Lord is coming terrible; Terribly, Terribly will the Lord shake the Earth, and the Graves shall open. and the dead shall rise, and come to Judgement, etc. ....And further, the Lord laid a necessity upon me both to Fast and to Mourn, and to gird with Sackcloth,.. and so (I) went on in Obedience to the Motion of the Spirit of God to the Town Rippon, ...and I was moved to take up a Lamentation over them". (Richard Scostroppe: A Word from the Lord to the Rulers and Inhabitants of London, that they may Repent (London, 1661, bsd.)

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elements were present. Sometimes these Signs were against individuals,[45] but such Signs were usually meant for groups. One Friend broke a pitcher before Parliament,[46] and others appeared there in Sackcloth and Ashes. There seem to have been at least 18 Signs acted between 1652 & 1657:[47] the commonest took the form of going through the streets of a city, either in sackcloth and ashes, or naked, as a Sign of the Spiritual Nakedness of the inhabitants.[48] Signs were part of the apocalyptic nature of the Friends' world mission:

> "And thus ye Lord has exercised his prophetts & people & servants by his power: & shewd ym Signes of his Judgements....And many has been moved to goe naked in there streets as signes of there nakednesse from ye image of God and righteousnesse & holynesse & how yt God would strippe ym and make ym bare & naked as they was....And....many was moved to goe som to ye Great Turke & to Jerusalem: & to ye Pope: & to warn ym of ye day of ye Lord: and to preach his everlastinge gospell..."[49]

The most famous of all Quaker "Signs" was of course Nayler's Messianic entry into Bristol in 1657. This was regarded by Nayler himself

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45) Thomas Aldam, in imitation of the prophet Ahijah, rent his cap before Protector Cromwell, to show that the kingdom would be taken away from him (Fox: Journal, I, p. 342.)

46) Cf. Fisher: Works, pp. 1-ff; Fox: Journal I, p. 342.

47) Cf. Braithwaite: Beginnings, pp. 148, 125, 67, etc.

48) First Publishers records 10 such cases (cf. pp. 213, 259, 308, 368, etc.) Solomon Eccles felt impelled to go naked for a sign three years successively at Bartholomew Fair, in protest against stage-plays. It seems plausible that their own conscious reluctance to perform these exhibitions must have convinced many Friends, as it did Barclay, that the impulse must be the leading of the Spirit "crossing" their own Will. (cf. Solomon Eccles: Signes are from the Lord to a People or Nation to forwarn them of some eminent Judgment (bsd, London, 1663). Cf. also Fox's warning: - "If any be moved to go to the steeple-houses or markets, or to reprove sin in the gate, or to exhort high or low...reason not with flesh and blood, nor quench the Spirit; and when ye have done, in the same spirit live. (Epistles #169, quoted by Braithwaite: Beginnings: p. 526).

49) Fox: Journal II, pp. 90-91; cf. Ibid. I, p. 3

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as a Sign in the tradition of those that had gone before. But the action of some of Nayler's friends, as we shall see, embarrassed Nayler, and led to public prosecution. The sign at Bristol somewhat differed from the others. Most of the Signs were negative; bringing messages of Judgment and appealing for repentance. Nayler's "Sign" was a positive symbol of the Quaker message that Christ was come to teach his people himself. In this positive aspect the character of the Symbol becomes ambiguous; Nayler was understood to be coming, not only as a Sign of Christ's coming, but as an embodiment of His Spirit. Inasmuch as the Spirit was felt by Friends to be not only "leading" Friends but Judging the World through them, there was perhaps in Friends' minds little difference between the positive and negative types of Sign; but to the onlookers the claim to be divinely indwellt became much more personal as presented by Nayler's "Sign", and came much closer to Blasphemy. For in his case the outward claim of the Sign was precisely the Messianic role which was the inward meaning for Friends of all their ministry.

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CHAPTER VII

EARLY FRIENDS AND THE STATE

"He that overcometh, and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations: and he shall rule them with a rod of iron; as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers... And when he had taken the book, the four beasts and four and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints. And they sung a new song, saying, Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof: for thou wast slain, and has redeemed us to God by thy blood out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation; And hast made us unto our God kings and priests: and we shall reign on the earth..."

Revelation 2:26-7, 5: 8-9-10

"Though we walk in the flesh, we do not war after the flesh: (for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds;) casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ."

II Corinthians 10:3-5

"All yee rulers of ye earth, be awakend with ye measure of God; take heed to give your minds up to God, wherby yee may stand all in Gods Counsell to receive that from God which shall never be shaken, wherby with it yee may answere that of God in every man, and be to ye Lord a praise and a terror to ye nations round aboute yee....Then that of God in every man shall wittnes his weight to be Just and his measure not to be shorte."

George Fox [1]

Section VII-A: The Prophetic View of Commonwealth History

The Quaker attitude towards the State was more positive than that towards Society or Economics, or any other aspect of life in "the World". The State was regarded by Quakers as ordained of God, in its role as His instrument of Justice. Issues of toleration brought out the Quaker emphasis upon the Primacy of the Spirit, and led to a distinction between Carnal and Spiritual weapons. But the intensity of the Quaker concern for ethics led Friends otherwise to cling to the Puritan idea of the just State, ruling for God on earth. This basically theocratic idea can be connected with the Quaker

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1) Fox: Journal, I, p. 81; re-punctuated.

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conviction of the dependence of the Creation upon God and his Spirit. But more concretely, it expressed the prophetic outlook of Friends upon God's action in historical events. This prophetic and apocalyptic meaning in current history was vital for Friends not only because of their general awareness of the power of the Spirit, but because Quakers lived under the Commonwealth. Friends' relationships to the ideals of the political groups in the 1650's were complex. But they felt with all Puritan England that these ideals and the events of the time were directly connected with the purposes of God.

It is clear that Friends were keenly aware of actual political events, and the events taking place in State and Nation.[2] On the other hand it is also significant to notice the extent to which early Friends thought of these political events as taking place under God's control and direction, and within the framework of Eschatology.[3]

> "The mighty God, the everlasting Father, he is the King of Kings...and the whole earth is his...and he ruleth over the Kingdoms of men and giveth them unto whomsoever he pleaseth; Yea, he pulleth down one, and setteth up another, and there is no overturning or changing in Kingdoms, but is either by his commission or his permission...for the unrighteousnesse sometimes of a King or Kings, and sometimes of a People....passe, and none of them without a cause".[4]

Not only did God, the ruler of the earth, destroy governments in punishment, but also because of the relation in which they stood to His purposes in history:

> "There is a secret working in and through all these overturnings", wrote Alexander Parker, "and they come not to pass without the knowledge of the Lord, for the making way for greater things, which the Lord hath to bring to pass in this nation".[5]

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2) Professor G.F. Nuttall has stated in conversation that one of the most interesting pieces of research needing to be done in early Quaker history, is the correlation month by month of Quaker tracts and letters concerning national affairs, with the political events and setting within which they arose.

3) cf. Schenk: Social Justice, p. 115.

4) Fox the Younger: Noble Salutation, pp. 3-4

5) Letters of Early Friends, p. 368, q. Armsby: "Quaker View of State", p. 21.

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This was particularly true, of course, concerning the government of England, as Quakers interpreted the events of 1650-1660:

> "How oft hath the Lord God smote thy Rulers and Mighty & Proud Men...overturned and confounded ...thy Governments."[6]

The defeat of Cromwell's expedition to Hispaniola by inferior Spanish forces was taken as a sign that God had forsaken him.[7] The lesson of this interpretation of history was presented explicitly to successive rulers:

> "If ye will not own the Lord in his own work," wrote Camm to Cromwell, "he will do it another way, and you shall be cast by, as not worthy, with the rest that were cast out before you; and therefore if you will own the righteous law of God, which is pure, he will ...preserve you; but if you uphold those Laws which are according to the Will of Man...you shall be as dust before the Wind."[8]

Living in the era of dramatic events, it is not surprising that Friends felt they had religious meaning. This meaning was tied up in the first instance with apocalyptic event of their own Quaker movement:

> "to olefer cromul by gff abought 1654:...Live in the power of ye Lord god, and feele his hand that is stretched over the nations, for a mighty worke hath ye Lord to doe in other Nations....And be obedient to his will singlely without any end to thy selfe....Then wilt thou see gods enemyes...fall in their pitts, snare themselves,...slayinge themselves with their envy...ffor now the state of this age is, the Lord is bringing his people into ye life the scriptures were given forth from...for the stablishing righteousnes truth & peace in which is the Kingdome of god."[9]

Friends shared, secondly, the deep patriotism of the 17th Century Englishman,[10] compounded of the Coke-Pym constitutional tradition and the Elizabethan

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6) Fox the Younger: Englands Sad Estate, p. 2.

7) Bishop: Warnings to men, p. 1.

8) Memory of the Righteous, pp. 312-313. In the same tone, Burrough wrote to Charles II: "If he smite, none can heal you; if he kill, none can make alive; if he become your enemy to fight against you, there is none that can deliver you out of his hand." (A Presentation of Wholesome Informations Unto the King of England, (London, 1660), Cf. Cheesmen as cited by Armsby: Op.cit. pp. 22-3).

9) Fox: Journal, I, pp. 163-5.

10) Cf. Beach: "Conscience", p. 201.

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tradition of England as the bulwark against Popery.[11] But even national pride was expressed in religious terms,[12] and the main pattern of history was seen in spiritual reformation. God's plan in history was identified with two ideals of the wider Puritan revolution: religious purification and religious liberty.

The early Friends, like all Puritans, identified Roman Catholicism with antichrist. In Catholic Ireland, Fox felt "ye Earth & ye aire smelt with ye corruption of ye Nation, & gave Another smell then England to mee, with ye Corruption & ye blood & ye Massacres & ye foulenesse yt Ascended."[13] The Puritan martyrs under Mary Tudor were among the few forebears Friends were proud to hail,[14] and it was felt as a special providence to the covering spirit of God, that Quaker preachers in Rome escaped, as latter-day Daniels, alive.[15] The prophetic message of Fox to the King of Spain has a bitterness

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11) Cf. Edward Pyott's letter to General Desborow (1656; quoted in Fox: Journal, I, p. 238): "Much might be sayd as to ye Libertie off English men to travell in any parte of ye Nation, England being as ye English mans house". "O Oliver", wrote Fox to Cromwell in disappointment with his later policies: "Hadst thou been faithful and thundered down thy deceit, the Hollander had been thy subject and tributary, Germany had given up to have done thy will, and the Spaniard had quivered like a dry leaf, wanting the virtue of God, the King of France should have bowed his neck under thee, the Pope should have withered as in winter, the Turk in all his fatness should have smoked." (Devonshire House Portfolio, #9, p. 79, quoted in Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 440).

12) "O you Rulers and Teachers of these Nations", wrote Nayler, "to which Christ Jesus hath shewed so much Favour as to honour these Nations with his first Appearance, now after so long a Night; and that from hence the Sun-rise of Righteousness should shine forth in Cleanness to the World.. did the Holy Spirit dwell in your Houses...you could not be silent till you had driven Iniquity into a corner...that the pure eye might bless you." Nayler: Works, p. 406. Cf. Martin Mason: Charles, King of England (bsd; London, 1655)

13) Fox: Journal, II, p. 137; with a Puritan conception of Roman theology, Fox tried to arrange a dispute with "ye Papist Jesuits, to try their God, and their Christ, which they had made of breade & wine." (Ibid. p. 138).

14) cf. Nayler: Against Baxter, p. 40, and Section VI-B.

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not found in messages to Protestant monarchs:

> "Friend,- thy cruelty is come up into remembrance with the Lord...in this day of the Lamb wilt thou be recompensed, and thy inquisitions, thy fires, thy swords, thy torturings, shall not secure thee....Now shall the Lamb and the Saints have the victory...which shall rule all nations with a rod of iron....Now is the gather together to the great battle of the great God Almighty, now shall the fowls of the air feed upon the flesh of Kings and captains...for many of you are to be numbered with the sword and cut down to the earth....Hallelujah to the Lord in the highest, the saints shall have the victory."[16]

It is hard to escape believing that physical warfare was in Fox's mind on this occasion, and again during Cromwell's war against Spain, when Fox urged him: "never set up your standart until you come to Rome".[17]

More important to Quakers than international struggle against Catholicism, however, was the fight against Popery at home. Like the Puritans, they attacked Anglican Romishness. Like the radical Puritans, Quakers accused even Presbyterians of this taint. The meaning of the history of the Civil War was thus the purification of the English church from Apostasy and Idolatry:

> "the old monastical, massy ministry, and their most foggy forms of ministration, Holy Water, Latine Letanies Ave Mari's...and such like were sent packing first, and after them the Protestant imitations,... (viz.) Deans & Chapter-lands, Easter-Reckonings, offerings, Midsummer-Dues, Christening with Crosses, marrying with the ring, Churchings, of Child-bed Women, Bishoppings of Children, & the Fees belonging

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15) Cf. Fisher: Works, p. 115. Thus despite the Quaker missions to Rome, Friends writings show little expectation that Catholics will respond to the Light. The very apocalypticism which made Friends over-confidently expect the conversion of the Jews (following Romans 11:26, Friends believed that the return of the Jews to the Christ must precede the ultimate Kingdom), made Quakers preach apocalyptic woes against Catholicism. (Cf. Fox: To the Protector, p. 26; Brinton: Children of Light, pp. 160-162, etc.) At the same time, Friends used certain phrases which would be less natural in the mouth of a hereditary Puritan than in that of a Quaker brought up amid vestigial Catholicism: Saints "have an anointing from the Holy One", "Christ...said they were of his flesh & of his bone, and should eat his flesh, and they that eat his flesh have it in them". (Fox: Great Mistery, pp. 34, 36). On Quaker attitudes tolerant to Catholicism, cf. Section VII-D.

16) Fox: Works, IV, pp. 241, 243.

17) quoted in Hertz; "Bible Commonwealth", p. 222.

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> thereunto, Goings on Processions yearly to view the bounds of their Parishes & reading the Epistles and Gospels at such and such Hedges, Bushes, Trees, Bowings at the Name of Jesus, Facings toward the East, High-Altar Service, Rayls, costly Windows, Crucifixes, holy Vestments, Lawn-Sleeves,...now...growing back space....Likewise all those Country Parish Practices, viz. Christening of Infants, not in Fonts, as before, with Gossips, but in Basons, yet not without sundry of the old Festival Customs & Plum-cake ceremonies (to say nothing of...Christmas, Candle-mass, Michaelmass, Lam-mass, etc.), their singing of David's Psalms in the Rhim & Meeter that Queen Elizabeth's Musicians, John Hopkins & Thomas Sternhold have molded them to....The tolling of the Great Bell, together with the large Popish pay of Fat Parsonages, Vicaradges, Glebe-lands, Tythes...etc...I say all this Popish bag & baggage must be sent packing.[18]

Friends also identified as Popish the use of "Tippets, Hoods, Rayles, Altars, Surplices",[19] and Church-music in good Puritan style; they added creeds, Christmas, "schools to make ministers", and especially Tithes and religious persecution.[20] Thus the Quaker attitude to Catholicism gave them a strong sympathy with the Puritan ideals in the Civil War but gave them also hope for a national reformation beyond anything planned by the Cromwellian leaders.

Friends thus shared the conviction of Baptists and Independents that the Civil War had also been fought for personal and religious liberty:[21]

> "Hath not this been the end proposed by all good men - freedom from oppression?" wrote Howgill, but went on more soberly to ask whether the hopes were being fulfilled: "It is not names, titles, and words that we look after....It is not your declaring in words, neither taking God to witness, that will satisfy the people -- who have been and are at present the sufferers. We have had enough of that from former asserters of liberty in words. But the thing is not done".[22]

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18) Fisher: Works, pp. 590-591; cf Salthouse: Candle Lighted, p. 9.

19) (Fox: Something by Way of Query to the Bishop's Courts, (bsd, n.p.,n.d.); cf. Works, IV, p. 346, on "Austin the Monk (and) his snap-sack of ceremonies". Cf. Salthouse: Candle Lighted, p. 6.

20) Cf. Fox: Great Mistery, pp. 30, 53, 99; Nayler: Man of Sin, p.5 First Publishers of Truth, p. 118, etc.

21) Cf. Jordan: Toleration, III, p. 520.

22) Howgill: Gray Ridge, p. 90.

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The study of Quaker backgrounds has shown that Friends belonged to the wing of Puritanism which sided with Cromwell in the Second Civil War; they shared the Baptist-Independent fear of Presbyterian domination.[23]

As the religious settlement under the Commonwealth emerged and clarified, Friends shared the feeling of Baptists and Puritan radicals, that the religious Reformation was still incomplete. Cromwell was called a Josiah, who had reformed, but not enough.[24] Friends appealed to the Army:

> "many of you had a Zeal for God...and some of you were come so far as to see the minsters to be Enemies to the Truth,...and your Zeal waxed hot against them and their Idolatry, so that you robbed them of their abominable Attire. ..and...did help to break down their Images and Altars ...and thus far you did that which was right in the sight of God.... And then you Promised & Vowed unto God, if he would deliver your Enemies into your hands, that then you would take off that great oppression... and...those Laws constraining men to Worship contrary to their Consciences ...and you caused many People to Engage to be True unto you...that so you might recover their Liberties...and the People furnished you with Money & Weapons....But now...your Vows & Promises...unto God and man are neglected."[25]

As time went on, a mood of disillusionment with the new government grew stronger among Friends, as among other radical Puritan sects:

> "Oh England! ....You are defrauded....Through fair pretences of liberty and freedom, people have been led up and down like horses and tossed up and down like a tennis ball....And now, Oh Heads of the Nation, How do you think to be believed, or who can trust you any more? ...the Nation more in poverty and need than ever, and the people more enthralled in bondage than ever."[26]

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23) "What Blood hath been shed, and misery undergone, to bring down your power to set up in the Presbytery in Scotland and England...we can witness by sad experience:...God...will rid us of the rest of that brood, which is the greatest oppression that remains in the Nation." (Nayler: Against Baxter, p. 15).

24) Fisher: Works, p. 20.

25) Fox "the Younger", Works, pp. 12-13; cf. Fisher: Works, pp. 589-590; Martin Mason: To Both Houses of Parliament (bsd: Lincoln, 1660)

26) Howgill: Gray Ridge, pp. 93 4.

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The failure of the great hopes was blamed in the first instance upon Cromwell's colleagues:

> "Hast thou looked for Reformation, but all in vain? For as Power hath come into the Hands of Men, it hath been turned into Violence, and the Will of Men is brought forth instead of Equity. And this they seek to establish by a Law, to which all must bow."[27]

George Fox the Younger, a Cromwellian soldier turned against the government, could be quite cynical about the rulers:

> "Oh How have the new Governors in almost every Change of late cryed out of the Tyranny and great Oppression of those whom they did succeed."[28]

Other Quaker writers distributed the blame and their appeal over the land as a whole:

> "O England, England! Is this the fruit of the great profession you have made so many years; and now when you are proved, the best of you is a briar. What is become of the promises you made in the day of your calamity, when sorrow, Yea and oppression compassed you on every side? ...Was there so great oppression acted among the Bishops and prelates?"[29]

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27) Nayler: Works, p. 99, "A Lamentation...over the Ruins of this Oppressed Nation". cf. Burrough: Trumpet, p 2. Afterwards, George Fox the Younger, describing the fall of the Commonwealth leaders to Charles II, could ascribe it to greed and selfish envy as well as to love of Power: "When they had Rest and Fulnesse, they forgot the Lord, who had Raised them from a low degree; and they forgot the Oppression of their Brethren also,...the Chief of them got into thy Fathers Houses, and into Thine, and into some of those that took Your parts...and so they became Great in the Earth. ..Then several of the Army that were amongst them, when they saw their Deceit and Wickednesse, ... durst not for conscience sake continue any longer amongst them; but left them several years ago, and declared against them; and others since, that feared the Lord, were turned out by them....Then the Lord raised up many Prophets and Servants, and sent them...and plainly showed unto them what the Lord required at their hands...but they would not hearken, but grew stiff-necked against the Lord and his People...so that then the Anger of the Lord was kindled against them; and as they forsook him, so he forsook them....And then they began to Divide and Split amongst themselves, and to Betray one another for Self-ends; and their Courage began to fail...and...they wrought their own destruction". (George Fox "the Younger":Noble Salutation, pp. 7-8) . We have here a nut-shell history of the Commonwealth, including the role of the Quakers in it. We seem to have here also a surprisingly sympathetic reference to the Fifth Monarchist and Baptist officers purged from the army, first, by Henry Cromwell, and later and more thoroughly by General Monk in 1658-9.

28) Fox "the Younger": Englands Sad Estate (1661) p. 3.

29) Howgill: Gray Ridge, p. 57.

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The rapidly-moving events of 1659 and 1660 brought the final breakdown of the ideals of the Commonwealth. Friends' reactions to these developments are not perfectly easy to determine, but on the whole they show again that Friends shared the basic ideals of the radical Puritans, at the same time that they had lost hope of help from the Cromwells. It was in the autumn of 1659 that George Fox went through his "time of Darkness" at the home of Thomas and Ann Curtis.[30] There he felt the increasing unlikeliness of the achievement of the radical-Puritan ideals for reform and toleration, as the succession of more and more conservative groups prepared the way for the King's Restoration.[31] It seems clear that to Friends the return of the Monarchy -- even before it became clear that the promise of toleration given in the Declaration of Breda would not be kept -- was calamitous:

> "Oh People! Will nothing satisfy you but Egypt again? Are you grown altogether insensible of the things that belong unto your Peace, that you would be content to make a Covenant with Death....Have you not sufficiently tried all that. Oh is it not high time to look upon the Lord....Be awakened out of your deep sleep. And the little inch of Time that is yet left you, prise it, and wait to feel the Witness of God arise in you....Salvation must be brought to a nation by a people who have the Eternal God for their refuge".[32]

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30) "I past to Redinge and was under great suferinges & exercises & in a great travell in my spiritt for ten weekes time: for I sawe how ye powers was pluckinge each other to peices". (Fox: Journal I, p. 341). This may have been physical illness, but Maclear (James F. Maclear: "Quakerism and the End of the Interregnum: A Chapter in the Domestication of Radical Puritanism"; in Church History, Vol. XIX, No. 4 (Dec. 1950) pp. 240-271) thinks that Fox was struggling with the decision whether the "Children of the Light" should seek political power. Probably Braithwaite is right in assuming (Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 355) that Fox correctly reports that the primary burden on his spirit was the national anarchy.

31) Henry Fell's letter, written during a week-long fast at Swarthmore at this same time, seems to show the same attitude: - "For truly at present I am much under, and as one without strength, but not altogether without hope, but am waiting to see the issue of all this, and the end and cause, which as yet I do not clearly see". (Letter to George Fox; Swarthmore MSS, IV, p. 181 (14 Nov. '59) quoted by Ross: Margaret Fell, p. 82.

32) Howgill: Gray Ridge, pp. 93-4 from "One Warning More" (1660); cf. Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 357.

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There is a note of pathos that arouses sympathy, about George Fox "the Younger's" unhappiness because of the rejoicing "when the King came in":

> To the King himself he wrote: "And if thou dost not speedily seek to stop this abounding ungodliness which flowes in this Nation (and which hath much increased since there was a likelihood of thy being brought in) verily an evident hand of God shall come upon thee... How much Wine and Strong Drink hath been devoured in waste by people drinking of healths unto thee,...until some have been so drunk they could neither speak nor go right, and what abundance of wood hath been wasted and devoured in making of great Bonefires.. to rejoyce because of thy coming...and such noises by Shooting of Guns,...by ringing of Bells, and by peoples singing and laughing, shouting like riotous mad men....And also consider in what great need poor people are of such Creatures as have been thus devoured."[33]

A number of Quaker statements in 1659-60 reserved judgment or expressed hope for toleration under the restored Monarchy (following the Presbyterian Interregnum). But few statements to or about Charles II show the religious idealism Friends felt towards the Commonwealth even in its stunted development. Although disappointed with Cromwell's failure to disestablish the Church or to legalize the Quakers' special testimonies, Friends belonged in their political hopes and religious ideals to the Commonwealth era. The new world of the Restoration knew them for foreigners.[34]

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33) Fox "the Younger": Noble Salutation, pp. 13-14.

34) It was probably this Puritanism, rather than any social or class relationships, which caused Quakers to be teased by the "street-boys" at this time: "Sober people that fear the Lord," wrote Fox "the Younger", "can scarce passe the streets without being scoffed at,....they call Pox & Plague upon us, & the next words cry out & say God save King Charles.... We have been abused, & part of our Houses & Windows broken, and some of us knockt down & torn." (Noble Salutation, p. 13). Ellwood remembered later that in 1660 "it was then a very troublesome Time, not from the Government, but from the Rabble of Boys & rude People, who upon the Turn of the Times (at the Return of the KING) took liberty to very abusive." (Ellwood: Journal p. 105).

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Disappointment with events did not change, however, the basically prophetic outlook of early Friends upon God's activity in history. The lesson of God the King-maker was presented to Charles himself with startling frankness:

> "Concerning thy Father, and those that took his part, there was an eminent hand of God in breaking them down....(God)saw that those that took part with thy Father did glory in their Wisdom, Riches, Nobility, Stoutnesse & Strength, and vaunted themselves over them that were made of the same blood. He did then appear in contemptible Instruments... Tradesmen, Ploughmen, Servants and the like who...did several things against you beyond their Commission they had from God...yet he did permit them....And in several of them there was once a tender honest good Principle, in the day when they were low. .and true Desires...after a just Liberty....But they became Great in the Earth, and so built and set up the same thing, in themselves, which they had thrown down in another....Therefore the Anger of the Lord was kindled against them. If they had been faithful unto the Lord, thou and those called thy Friends, could not have come over them thus as ye have done; therefore let no man deceive thee, by perswading thee that these things are thus brought to pass, because the Kingdom was thy own proper right...or because that those called Royalists are much more righteous than those, who are now fallen under thee: For...all the Kingdoms of the Earth are properly the Lords".[35]

Their sense of God's power in history made Friends sure that God could even turn back to restore the Republicans.[36] Under such a perspective of the purpose and the judgment of God, human vengeance must shrink out of sight and the early Friends (who by no means rejected the punishment of guilty criminals), warned Charles II against vengefully pursuing the fallen Cromwellians:

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35) Fox "the Younger": Noble Salutation, pp. 21, 5 6, 9.

36) They warned Charles: "If you become corrupted and provoke the Lord through wickedness in this day of your Exaltation, & if they become humbled and repent of their transgressions, through their afflictions in this day of their sufferings, then the God of Heaven can and may suddenly by his secret hand bring you down, and lay you low, and raise them up and exalt them". (Burrough: A Presentation of Wholesome Informations, Unto the King of England, (London, 1660), p. B2) Since the Republicans in question were many of them under sentence of death for regicide, or for plotting to "lay low" Charles II by military revolution, this statement came close to treason in human terms. But to the early Friends human judgments were unimportant beside the judgment of God.

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"the Lord...is bringing down the loftiness of men that had set their nests on high ..let none rejoice over them, nor seek to be avenged on them by killing their bodies or destroying their substance, nor be lifted up by their fall, for all these things have happened unto them for examples, unto such as after all these things shall live ungodly and lift themselves as Lords over Gods heritage....Those that are fallen had a Day, and the Lord gave them warning, both by word and in writing in their day, and this is your day, in which...his Patience and long-suffering calls you to Repentance."[37]

This preaching seems far less foolish and unjustified to us who live after 1689 than it must have done to its first hearers. The Quakers had been by no means unworthy students of the prophets they so much loved. They had absorbed the prophetic view of history, and even though, like the prophets of Israel, they took as the fulcrum of history the religious development of a tiny group, nevertheless they were convinced that God acts in history. God's action, moreover, means the relevance of ethics to history, and as we shall see, the relevance of ethics and religion to the State and Statecraft. Characteristically the lesson which they drew from history was usually a summons to repentance, addressed sometimes to rulers, but often to the nation as a whole:

"And you People of the Nation, that have seen the hand of God against the Prince and People for these and the like abominations, and you yourselves are escaped...have you at all turned to him who hath smitten you? or are you bettered by correction?....Although you have seen War, and the Sword reaching to the very Soul, are you not every one gathering Fuel to that Fire, which hath been burning in the Land, and hath consumed thousands?... are not you still making the breach wider between God and the Nation?"[38]

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37) Salthouse: Candle Lighted, p. 24 on the idea that the response to the Quaker group and their message was decisive for God's judgment on the nation, v. infra, Section VII-B.

38) Nayler: Works, p. 138.

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Section VII-B: The Early Quaker Conception of the State

The earliest Friends approached the State and its rulers with positive ideals for theocratic government. Friends approached politics, as they approached Society and Economics, with vehement judgment upon existing ways and the men who practised them, but with basic approval for the underlying processes whereby the Creation was used by man and the Spirit. Quaker ideas in politics, however, were more constructive than their social and economic attitudes. This positive approach was due in part to the sympathy of Friends for many of the specific political ideals of the Commonwealth government. In more general terms, the State received positive significance because its work in establishing justice was related so closely to the basic Quaker concern for ethics. Since the crucial basis of Quaker ethics was the inward authority of the Spirit, the State was felt to have authority only insofar as its commands were actually just, and insofar as it heeded the prophets whom the Spirit led. A theocratic State could be based, not upon any outward form or structure of government, but upon a Rule of the Saints who were inwardly obedient. But because of the power of the Spirit such a Kingdom of Christ upon earth could seriously be expected. Through his providential action in history, God overthrew evil rulers. Through his inward Spirit, God could achieve justice through good rulers.

In their primary purpose of achieving justice, Friends believed that all rulers "are under ye government of ye lord Jesus Christ, and are ye help magistrats for him who hath all power in heaven and earth".[1] "That Spirit that leads people from all manner of sin & evil, is one with the magistrates' power and with the righteous law".[2]

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1) Fox: Journal, I, p. 83.

2) Ibid, II, p. 192.; cf. Kühn: Toleranz, p. 248.

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The close inter-relation which Friends felt between ethics and the State is most clear at this point.[3] The State and magistracy were not considered by Friends as morally or religiously neutral:

> "Herein is the clear difference betwixt Heathens and Christians. The one exercises Justice and Judgment, and Righteousness, which is of God and in his Will, whereby they rule over all unrighteousness of men of corrupt Minds...a Terror to the Evil-doer: The other...lay the Sword upon the just, as on the unjust, if he bow not to their Wills; which who stands in the Will of God may not do."[4]

The Quaker conception of the State was theocratic in regarding God as the source of authority and also as the ultimate ruler:

> "To think", wrote Nayler, "that all this Shaking and Overturning hath no further End, but to set up Flesh, and to exalt one Man to rule over the Conscience of another, by his own will, where Christ should reign as King for ever."[5]

Specific rulers were bidden to recognize the divine sovereignty.[6] The divine overlordship, however, was primarily to be acknowledged by the achieving of justice and righteousness.[7]

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3) Nayler wrote: "Concerning Magistracy, it is an Ordinance of God... for the punishment of evilldoers... those that judge for the Lord, I honour as my own life, not with a flattering honour, putting off the hat and bowing of the knee, which is the honour of the world,...but from the heart for conscience sake". Fox: Saul"s Errand, p. 18.

4) Nayler: Works, p. 301. The appeal was accordingly made to magistrates to fulfil their divine commission:- "O you Rulers of the People, who are set up to judge between a man and his Neighbour, ought not you to judge for God, and not for Man...fearing God and hating Covetousness, not judging for Gifts and Rewards...that the poor may be deliver'd from him that is too mighty for him, and that the cause of the Fatherless, Widow and Stranger may not fall.. that a poor man may not be afraid to appear in a good Cause, against the greatest Oppressor in the Nation." (Nayler: Works, p. 133) cf. Papers from 7000 Daughters of the Lord, p. 33.

5) Nayler: Works, p. 100.

6) Fox, speaking to Cromwell in 1656, "was moved to bidd him lay downe his crowne att ye feete of Jesus severall times". (Journal, I, p. 260; cf. Fox: To the Protector, p. 62). Fox was much offended when Cromwell slipped out of the touchy issue by a word of banter. Fox appealed also to rulers in general: "Yee Magistrates...who have knowne the power of ye lord in giveing you dominion below: kepe low: lest yee abuse the power that yee once tasted of, and waite for wisdome, ye wisdome of god....Be not highminded and cry aha your owne hands hath done this". (Journal, I, p. 80).

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The authority of the ruler was thus derived solely from the justice which he achieved:

> "Seeke Humility yt goes before honour, exalt Justice, set up righteousnes & truth, in Judgment, hould forth gods sword to all people under you & not your own wills, then you honour god & he will honour you....Soe shall you set up ye higher power in you for every soule to be suiect to, which yt of god in every conscience shall answer to, then are you ministers of god, which is spirituall, which is Imortall, binding every Conscience and soule in subjection to your authority which all yt resist receive damnation."[8]

The last sentence is characteristic. Early Friends learned from Fox to use Paul's phrase "be subject unto the higher powers", to refer to God's own authority - expressed in justice: This power is primarily inward authority,[9] and has no reference to political legitimacy:

> "There is a power without persons...the Saints know that there is a power which is of God, to which they are subject for conscience sake, whether there be any Persons to execute that Power or no: for many times the persons, who should have set up that power. which is of God, have set up their wills instead of it, and so have turned the edge of the sword (put into their hands) against them that do well...and when such persons have ruled, God hath sent his servants to witness against (them); but the power they are...subject to for consdience sake...remains, and is one with that in the conscience."[10]

This conception of "the higher power" formed the basis for civil disobedience to unjust governments.[11] It was essentially the same doctrine as that of Knox,

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7) Thus Fox wrote to the King: "Charles, thou came not into this Nation by the sword...but by the power of ye Lord, Now...thou dost bear the sword in vaine, and lett drunkenesse oathes, pleasure Maygames with ffidlers drums, trumpetts Maypoles with the Image of a Crowne on topp of them: Abominations". (Journal, I, p. 361.)

8) Ibid, I, pp. 132-33; cf. Nayler: Works, p. 298.

9) Romans 13:1. The following phrase in Romans "For there is no power but of God" was apparently read as "none but that of God". The Greek reads οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐξουσία εἰμὴ ὑπὸ θεοῦ.

10) Nayler: Man of Sin, p. 43, cf. Fox: Journal, I, p. 131.

11) cf. Camm & Audland: Memory of the Righteous, p. 109.

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Buchanan and the early Calvinists, who used it to justify resistance to tyrants. But the Calvinist doctrine inserted an intermediate element of the authority of People or of Natural Law which was largely absent in Friends thought. In addition, the Puritan criterion for the Will of God (conformity to which gave rulers rightful authority) was found in the Bible, and was relatively objective and universal. The Quaker criterion was the Spirit of God.[12] Thus "the Higher Power" in the State was identified with that in the Conscience. This was not intended to be a subjective criterion, but it was not definable in any outward Law. It was assumed that only those obedient to the Spirit would know this standard.[13] From this conception of the "Higher Power", it followed for Friends that Rulers must obey the Spirit within them, the source of their outward authority.

> "As Government came from God, so the righteous execution of it depends upon God....Every man needs God's help daily, else he may err in his course; and governments and governors need God's help much more, in the many intricacies and perplexities which they often meet with. And God is nigh to them in their difficult cases, who wait upon him for counsel and direction."[14]

This outlook was almost identical with the conception which Cromwell held of his own position.[15]

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12) Cf. Fox: Journal, II, p. 192; Kühn: Toleranz, p. 248.

13) This became the basis of the Quaker doctrines on the Law and Passive Resistance. v. infra, Section VII-E and VII-G.

14) Penington, as excerpted in Robert J. Leach: The Inward Journey of Isaac Penington, (Wallingford, Pa.; Pendle Hill Historical Series; (1943) p. 35. Cf. Camm & Audland: Memory of the Righteous, p. 317.

15) In this same spirit, Fox, when summoned before Cromwell's Council for Scotland, opened the cross-examination by addressing his judges: "Peace be amongst you, and waite for the wisdome of God by which all things was made, that you may come by it to order all things to his glory". Fox: Journal, I, p. 299; cf. I, p. 98.

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The Spirit upon which Friends urged rulers to depend in their government should also be obeyed in private life. Personal and civic ethics were inseparable, for the Spirit demanded total obedience. Hence the Quaker appeals to rulers constantly interwove pleas for social reform with those for personal repentance.[16] The early Friends assumed that God made Kings and unmade them for personal sins as well as civic. But the cause in each case would be the rejection of the rule of the Spirit.[17] Moral and political failure were directly inter-related:

> "Although those Kings and Princes that are now at Variance", wrote Barclay to the Peace-negotiators at Nijmegen, "may be by your means brought to lay down Arms and appear to be good Friends and dear Allies; yet unless the Lord Jesus Christ can be restored to his Kingdom in their Heartes, and the Evil Ground of Ambition, Pride, & Lust & Vain Glory be removed...that Evil Ground and devouring Nature...will quickly stir Some of them up again so soon as Opportunity offers fit for their Advantages."[18]

Friends specifically tied up the failure of national reform with the greed of members of Cromwell's Parliament and Army who had appropriated the sequestered Royalist Estates.[19] The acceptance of the rule of the Spirit and the rejection of personal pride meant also the rejection of Revenge, not only because Re-

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16) "Charles Stuart", wrote Burrough, "must either be converted to God, and ruled by him, or he cannot rightly rule for God in this nation". (quoted by Mary Agnes Best: Rebel Saints, (N.Y. Harcourt Brace, 1925), p. 201)

17) "If ye goe out of ye counsaile of god you goe into pridehighmindednesse opresion & grindinge ye face of ye pore". (Fox: Journal, I, p. 98)

18) Works, p. 707-13, quoted in Wragge: Barclay, p. 147.

19) Nayler wrote to Parliament: "you...coveted that cursed thing, with which you hid and covered that Just Principle in you, and blinded your Eyes with the Riches & spoil of your enemies...and got into their Estates, and so into their Pride by unrighteous gain, whom God had cast out....And there is now no Hope for Agreement with God in your selves...till you return to that from which you departed...by putting off, in his counsel and motion, that which was put on...against that spirit." (Nayler: Works, p.595) cf. Humphrey Bache, A Few Words in true love Written to the old long sitting Parliament (1659), p. 3.

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venge was God's prerogative,[20] but because in human hands it was self gratification.[21]

The Quaker conception of the State was thus thoroughly theocratic. They showed little trace of the "Sectarian" attitude separating Church and State, a view which assumed that the Sect was a permanent minority in an alien society, and also that religion was a matter of the individual conscience. This attitude seems broadminded.[22] But it undermines the conception of a Christian calling in secular work,[23] and removes religious idealism from the working of the State.[24] This outlook, which had been the position of many Baptists before and during the Commonwealth,[25] developed the doctrine of Natural Law to its utmost limit.[26] Friends, however, had no doctrine of Natural Law. They conceived of the Creation as directly dependent upon the Spirit. There was no area of life which was autonomous or ethically neutral, and the State least of all.

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20) Cf. Section VII-A, supra.

21) Humphrey Smith wrote to London in 1660: "Therefore, O City, think not to establish thy self by blood,...for though some men may have done some things unjust against some of you, so that God may justly by you scourge them for it, yet wherein you do it in the way of revenge...to set up your selves in self-ends,...therein God will also find out a scourge for you." (Smith: Concerning London, p. 4; cf. Fox "the Younger": Noble Salutation p. 21.

22) "Sir, the State, in choosing men to serve it, takes no notice of their opinions; if they be willing faithfully to serve it, that satisfies". (Cromwell to Major General Crawford, as quoted in M. Searle Bates: Religious Liberty, an Inquiry, (N Y. Harper, 1945). p. 173.)

23) Roger Williams insisted that "A Christian Captaine, Merchant, physician, Lawyer, Pilot, Father, Master and (so consequently) Magistrate, etc., is no more a Captaine, Merchant, Physician, Lawyer...etc, then a Captaine, Marchant, etc of any other Conscience of Religion." (Bloudy Tenant, quoted in Perry: Puritanism & Democracy, p. 350; cf. Jordan: Toleration, III, p. 497).

24) Cf. Jordan: Toleration, III, p. 503; Roland H. Bainton: "The Struggle for Religious Liberty", in Church History, Vol. X (March 1941), p.119.

25) Cf. Jordan: Toleration, pp. 399, 379; Freund: Toleranz, p.154.

26) "The Law of Nature supersedes Institutions. Men have a natural being before they come to have a spiritual being; they are men before they are Christians". (Perry: op. cit., p. 351).

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Elements of Quaker thought (especially the distinction of Carnal and Spiritual weapons) modified for them the coercive and regulative aspects of the theocratic ideal as held by the Massachusetts Puritans and the Fifth Monarchy men. In essence, however, Friends shared the Puritan view of the State. They emphasized, the radical Puritan outlook that the State was to be ruled by religious men, rather than the Calvinist view which related the Church and State as institutions also. The emphasis upon inward obedience led Friends to seek a Christian state by a personal rule of the Saints.[27]

The way in which Saints were to arrive in positions of rule is not clear in Quaker thought. A common implementation of the idea of the Rule of the Saints was the ejection of unsaintly rulers. The question thus arises, whether early Friends who saw that existing rulers were not obedient to the Light, intended to replace them by Children of the Light. On this point one finds differences of emphasis among different Quaker writers. There is no clear indication that Fox or Penington, despite their efforts to turn Magistrates to the Light within them, had any specific plans for turning magistrates out. As between party and party "perhaps the best explanation of Fox's political opinions is that he had none of a very definite character".[28] Like Burrough, he felt that "They that handle the law should be men justified according to the law, and free from transgression",[29] but made no statements as to how such rulers were to be obtained.

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27) That this was an idea by no means limited to the revolutionary Fifth Monarchists, is clear. The Fifth Monarchy men themselves began as a Parliamentary party, and even the retired Boehmenite mystic, Samuel Herring, wrote to Cromwell, urging "that poore, understandinge men, of good lives and conversations, having a sound rationall part, may as well be chosen to publiquie places of trust". (quote in Schenk: Social Justice, p. 143). The ideal of a rule of Saints was shared by Cromwell in the appointment of the Nominated Parliament. To want good rulers is universal among men. In Seventeenth Century England, "good" meant Elect; to the radical Puritans it meant visible, sectarian Sainthood.

28) Gooch: Democratic Ideas, p. 232.

29) Edward Burrough: A Message for instruction to all the rulers, judges, and magistrates, (London, T. Symmons, 1658). p. 3.

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Nayler, who has on the whole very little to say on political issues, seems to have expected that good rulers would be found as the result of good laws. But good rulers were more important than laws:

> "First, a Law being made to Punish Sin without exception, this takes hold of the Heathen, and the Hypocrite shall not escape....And Liberty of Conscience being given, you will presently see into whose Hands to commit the Execution of that Law; for who hath not the Principle of God, to guide his Worship without constraint, can never execute any just law for God, but for Self-ends. And so you should choose men fearing God to bear the Sword of God. And till then, make what laws you will,...yet by them the Innocent is sure to suffer."[30]

The whole question of the Rule of the Saints is tied up with the assumption that the Saints are the Quaker Children of the Light. But these were not thought of as a "Static" or "given" group; - they were potentially any and all men. In anticipation they were an enormous world wide community of all who did not reject the Light.[31]

In the anarchy of 1659, however, it is not surprising that individual Friends should have shared the widespread hope that a real Rule of the Saints should emerge peacefully. Burrough wrote to Parliament urging the appointment of Saints (denomination unspecified) to civil authority. This tract of Burrough's, because of the type of "Rule of the Saints" which it envisages, is worth quoting at length:[32]

> "The very foundation of Government, and the choosing of Governours also hath been out of course,...our Kings have attained to the Throne of Government hereditarily, and by succession of Birth, and our Parliaments and Rulers have attained to the place of Judgment over us, by...a way of traditional choice...after the manner of the Heathen Nations, and being subjected to such Laws, made and executed by men, not truly called and ordained of God thereunto...and while the great and rich men have been

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30) Nayler: Works, "To Cromwell", p. 184.

31) When therefore, the issue was raised in 1659 whether the existing small body of Quakers should seek political power, the decision was that the spiritual warfare was the effective conquest, and that the Rule of the Saints did not mean the autocracy of a minority.

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set to rule over the poor ..the freeborn people hath deeply suffered cruel oppressions of proud and ambitious and self-seeking men.

Now...we are in good expectations that the Lord will suddenly so appear, as to free us from future oppressions in this respect, for we look for a New Earth as well as a New Heaven....And the Lord alone will ...be the King and Judge and Law giver over all, and will commit the giving forth and execution of Good Laws into the power of faithful and just men ordained of God, who will judge for him altogether and not for man, neither will be perverted by earthly honour and riches, but will regard the Cause of the Poor, and the Afflicted.

Wherefore I am moved in the Spirit...to desire it of you (in whose hands the Liberties of this Nation yet remaineth) that you will so prepare and allow the Foundation of Government in this Nation, that God may be the chooser of our Rulers...men that fears God and hates covetousness & every evil way...men of Truth and uprightness, men of humility and soberness...and such whom the Lord hath blessed with a Spirit of Sound Judgment. . be they rich or poor, high or low in birth or breeding.... And not men in greatness aake in Titles of Birth ..not covetous nor Ambitious men. not proud and vain glorious men, not such as are Persecutors for a good Conscience sake...nor such as are prophane without the fear of God. ..Let all such be cast out from among you, and disenabled by certain just restrictions from ever receiving Trust or Authority over us...

I lay it before you that...the civil Magistrate may be prescribed by you as to the very length and breadth, the heighth and depth of his Authority and Trust, and ...may not have the Power to Limit us from, or compell us to any such or such way of worship and Religion, Church and Ministry. but that he may be secluded from Judgment over us in all things pertaining to the Kingdom of Christ Jesus."[33]

Burrough did not make clear by what process he would have liked God to choose the rulers of England, and whether his objection to the "traditional" election

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32) It is sub titled: "Councel and Advice...that men of Truth and sound Judgment, may be set to Judge the People in outward things, and the Exercise of good Conscience in Faith and Worship left unto God." It was evidently addressed to the restored Rump, "whom the Lord hath honoured in the beginning to remove Tyranny and oppression and reaching after our long lost liberties". (Edward Burrough: "To Parliament of the Commonwealth", 8th of 6th month (i.e. August), 1659).

33) There is an interesting absence of connection between the first three paragraphs and the last; the plea for toleration seems to imply a clear separation between the religious sphere and the civil, between the Carnal and the Spiritual, and probably between Church and State. (cp.1-4-7). This conception is found often in early Friends writing. It stands in incongruous juxtaposition to Friends' theocratic idea of the State.

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of Parliaments was to the limitation of suffrage or to the democratic method in general. Friends in general seem to have been more explicit on the type of rulers they sought,[34] than on the forms and processes of government. Despite their protest against social inequality, Friends had little interest in political democracy,[35] nor majority rule.

Despite the strong statements of early Friends giving their ideal of government as a theocracy, we therefore find no clearly conceived platform upon which the Rule of Saints was to be built, and we find no statement of social theory or "political economy". In this matter at least three reasons

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34) Later the same year (Dec., 1659), Burrough wrote to the Committee of Safety: "We are not for names, nor men, nor titles of Government, but we are for justice and mercy & truth & peace, & true freedom....But if a Council, if a Parliament, if any one man or a number of men whatsoever shall have the spirit of the Lord poured on him or them to govern this nation, under such only shall the nation be happy and enjoy rest & the righteous rejoice, when tyranny & oppression shall be clean removed...". (Works, pp. 598-606, quoted in Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 467; cf. Braithwaite: Beginnings, p.481.

35) To be sure, Fox the younger said in 1659 that "many thousands of men in England have been kept long from their Birthright; for such as are not Free-men of some Corporations, or have not Free-land of their own, are not permitted to chuse Parliament men...though they be far more honest and understanding men that are Free of such Corporations, and have such Land" (Fox "the Younger": Works, p. 90) But the answer was not quantitative extension of the suffrage,..Already "the greater part of the People that are admitted to chuse Parliament men, are such as do not truly desire the good of God's People, whatever they may profess in words"; "it hath been the complaint of the soberest and honestest men in several Counties, when they should have chosen Parliament men, that they could not chuse such a man as they judged would act singly for the good of the People of God and the Country, because they were over-voted by the wild, disaffected People, who sometimes have been stirred up by their Priests to Vote for such a man as the Priests knew would act for their covetous, oppressing, self-interest; and in some places some great proud men, who desired to be in Authority, have feasted the People,...promising them to stand for their liberties, when it hath been but to serve their own self-ends". (Ibid. pp. 89-90). Similarly in Parliament itself, "such men as would have made just Laws, and have acted for Equity and Liberty, they have been hindred: because what is done in Parliament, is by most voices also, and the honest party in the Parliament, having been the lesser party, have been over-voted also: The Light in your Consciences will witness that these things are true". (Ibid. p. 90). In general "the flock of Christ is a little flock...narrow is the way that leadeth into Life, and few there be that find it...and...if ye believe these Scriptures, then may you see that a Parliament that is chosen by most voices are not like to act for God." (Ibid. p. 90)

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may be involved. First, Friends distrusted the constructions of the human reason, - particularly the reasoning of scholars, and felt that the Spirit of God operated directly upon the human individual.

Secondly, the early Friends came from levels of society and from regional groups which had been cut off from positive relationships with other social classes. For this reason Friends had no conception of a social organism,[36] upon which to base constitutional theories. (To this question we shall return in discussing the Friends "Social Testimonies".) The most important factor may have been the third, namely that, to Quakers, the role of the Spirit of God in political affairs must be seen in the perspective of the whole work of the Spirit in men. The Spirit demanded obedience of the whole man beginning from within.

Though the structure of government was thus essentially indifferent to Friends,[37] they had strong convictions as to the ways in which the rule of Saints would differ from that of the unrighteous, and certain quite concrete reforms in administration to suggest. Fox himself envisaged the rule of the

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36) The early stages of the Industrial Revolution had broken down this conception for many men in 17th Century England. The Civil War, by enlisting the individual from all levels of society to direct allegiance to God in the building of God's Kingdom in England, had furthered this process, much as had the Crusades for many southern Europeans in an earlier century. The mediating orders of society and church had both been enlisted on the Royalist side, and so for the Puritans were not only to be by-passed, but to be attacked as positively evil.

37) Cf. Fox "the Younger": (Noble Salutation, pp. 17-18): "It is not for the name, that may be put upon a Government that we either stand for or against; but it is a righteous Government...which we stand for...and if such a Government as this be set up, then if he that is Cheif...be calle a King, a Judge, a Protector, or a General, we shall be against either or any of the names: Or if the care & trust be laid upon more,...a Parliament or a Councel...we are Content....And it is that which is unrighteous (.... wherein oppression, partiality & cruelty is exercised....) that we stand against."

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Godly governor, over "evil-doers", in terms of almost Puritan stern-ness.[38] Apparently he even envisaged a religious oversight by the godly ruler, though perhaps not of a coercive form:

> "the magistrate that is in the power of Christ, is beyond an external kingdom, and sees over the kingdoms of the world; and as he is a help-governor for Christ, he is a member of the church, and knows who worship God, and who worship idols. And who worship God are in the power of God, in that which sees over all external kingdoms;" [39]

It is not clear whether Fox wished the magistrate to overthrow idols by abolishing all non-Quaker public worship or simply to disestablish the parish churches. The most concrete Quaker suggestions for methods of government were presented by one or two tracts of 1659,[40] and notably in "A mite of Affection", by Edward Byllinge,[41] This was a list of 31 proposals covering many areas of reform (some of his economic proposals will be referred to in discussing Quaker economic ideas. To a series of detailed proposals of legal and prison reforms we shall also return later). A number of Byllinge's proposals[42] seem to be expressions of Puritan moral and religious ideals.

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38) "The magistrate of Christ, the help government for him, is in the light and power of Christ, and he is to subject all under the power of Christ, into his light, else he is not a faithful magistrate. And his laws here are agreeable and answerable to that of God in every man: when men act contrary to it, they do evil; so he is a terror to the evil doers, discerns the precious and just from the vile, and this is a praise to them that do well." (Fox: Great Mistery, p. 286).

39) Ibid. p.p. 174-5.

40) cf. the electoral reforms suggested by Fox "the Younger"; cf. Schenk: Social Justice, p. 185.

41) Cf. Brinton: Children of Light, pp. 112 ff.

42) (#20) "That all Images & Places of Idolatry...belonging to the Commonwealth, which are the nourishment and upholding of Popery and Popish Orders, be...abolished" (one takes this to mean the closing of the parish churches); (#21) "That all Card & Dice makers, Cameing-houses, Musick-houses, Dice & Card Players whatsoever...be forthwith forbidden, and that a sufficient penalty be laid upon the offenders". (#24) "That sequestered royalist Estates be used for the relief of disabled (Cromwellian) soldiers and their widows and orphans, or used to pay the national debts". (#22) "That the monopoly of industries by Chartered companies be ended and that no man trained to a job by Apprenticeship, etc. be forbidden to practice his trade because of such Charters."

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He makes a request (#25) for a more equal and universal burden of taxation, and seems to insist that taxation and eligibility to vote or take public office must go together. Certain of his proposals were on issues for which Quakers had run afoul of law.[43] The basic Quaker religious demand is stated "(#1) That the Magistrate have no Coersive power whatsoever, in matters of Religion...and that no person...be forced or constrained by any Law...to uphold or pay towards the maintenance of any Minister".

There is a specific request (#26) that all those unlawfully dismissed by Cromwell (meaning perhaps the Fifth Monarchy men and others dismissed because of the danger that they would lead a revolution), be re-instated. There are also a number of suggestions for specific enactments in the political structure of the country.[44] Two provisions are of especial interest: perhaps in view of the current anarchy, Billings proposes that such constitutional laws be made unalterable, "wherefore let the first qualifications be good, that none hereafter but good men may be admitted" (#29); and he repeats as a qualification of each subsequent proposal, (i.e. #25 & 14), his insistence (#4) "That no...persons whatsoever, who have persecuted any for their conscience... shall be capable of electing or being elected into any place of Trust...till

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43) "(#2) That none be compelled to Swear or take an Oath, against their Conscience..." (#31) "That any person who shall commit any Sin by trespassing or otherwise doing violence to any, and call that his or their Liberty or Conscience, shall be punished as an Evil doer, Alwayes provided that no man or woman be ensnared in any thing which the just Law of God written in the heart shall lead into, but have free Liberty to speak for, or declare the truth,...in any place, time or season whatsoever, and that none be hereby ensnared about any thing which is upon their consciences to do, by declaring against false worship, and false worshippers".

44) (#14) "That there be a redistricting of the Hundreds, Ridings and Political units; that Members of Parliament be elected by each Hundred; and that (#26) until this redistricting is done, 20 or 30 members of Parliament be chosen by each religious Sect (as in the Nominated Parliament); that Parliaments be elected annually and sit for only three months of the year. That (#30) all Civil officers be elected also for terms of only one year, and (#15) be dismissed if they cheat.

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a further manifestation be given of...their good affection towards the people of God".[45] These are interesting proposals,[46] and John Nickolls points out that many of them were written into the Charter of West New Jersey,[47] in which Billing had a hand.[48] Certain of Billing's other proposals had been advocated by the Levellers in 1649 and 1650, or by the Fifth Monarchy men of the Nominated Parliament.[49] Despite the scope and interest of Billing's proposals, they do not seem to have been intended as a complete draft of a constitution. Nor is there any discussion of the reasons or basic social theory underlying these proposals. The "Mite of Affection" shows how closely certain Friends had come into contact with the political thinking and ideals of the radical Puritans of the day.[50]

Finally, something must be said as to how Friends envisaged the relationship to the State of their own fellowship of the Children of the Light, while it was still so small a minority in the world. We have seen how the dramatic picture of apocalyptic history culminated, in the thought of early Friends, in the work of the Spirit of God in the Children of the Light,

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45) Other than persecutors, he (#3) urges that "no person...not having a hand in any of the late Plots or Rebellions (of Booth and the Royalists)...be secluded from any publick...place of trust".

46) cf. Schenk: Social Justice, p. 130, 186.

47) in conversation, and in Children of Light, p. 281.

48) It is possible that some suggestions (such as the rapid rotation of public officers) were borrowed from Billing by Penn, although it is perhaps more likely that both men took them from Harrington (whose work "Oceana", a sort of new "Utopia", was the center of widespread public discussion in 1659. (cf. Gooch: Democratic Ideas, p. 246).

49) These included the proposed religious reforms, annual Parliaments, and most of the economic and political suggestions.

50) How far Billing was representative of Friends in political thought is a moot question. Nickolls points out that Billing was an ex-soldier with political friends; moreover the "Postscript" of the "Mite of Affection" has been altered by hand (in the Friends House Library & Yale Library copies, and perhaps in the whole first printing) so that "we" reads "I" wherever the pronoun occurs. Nickolls thinks that Fox refused to identify the Quaker movement as a whole with these proposals and insisted on the change. However a majority of Billing's proposals were advocated or mentioned at some time by other Friends (cf. esp. Papers (from) 7000 Daughters (1659) and some of them by Fox himself. Cf. Schenk: Social Justice, p. 126.

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seen not as a small and static group, but as the first-fruits of a world movement. This general picture of world-history was applied also to the political history of their time. Anthony Pearson described an interview with Cromwell in 1654:

> "I showed him what great things the Lord had done in the North which was going over England, and should pass over the whole earth, and I let him see how the Lord carried on the work in a figure without, in the time of the late wars, and all the deliverances were for the seed's sake ...And now was the Lord coming to establish His own law and to set up righteousness in the earth, and to throw down all oppressors."[51]

The relation of the Children of the Light to the political events of their time was seen in the first place in terms of their role as prophets of warning and visitation:

> "Much action hath been in this Nation, and the Lord hath, in a few years late past, over-turned one Government after another without either Bow, Battel-Ax or outward Weapon, but not without giving them warning by his Watch-men."[52]

They spoke with royal authority to God's vice-regents.[53] Their pictures of destruction were given in the conviction that through them God was proclaiming an ultimate warning.[54] To reject the warning was to seal upon oneself the Judgment of God in history.[55] Regarding those who had fallen accordingly,

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51) Swarthmore MSS, III, p. 34; quote Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 161.

52) Salthouse: Candle Lighted, p. 7.

53) The title page of the letter from George Fox "the Younger" to Charles II, from which the historical evaluations were cited earlier, reads: "A Noble Salutation and a Faithful Greeting unto Thee Charles Stuart, who art now Proclaimed King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, from the Councel & Nobility of the Royal Seed, the Lyon of the Tribe of Judah, the everlasting King of Righteousness, who Reigneth in George Fox the Younger"

54) "So this is a Warning to thee" states one broadside to the mayor of London, "before The Plague break forth upon thee, that thou mayest Repent." (R.S.: The Dreadful and Terrible Voice of God Uttered from the Throne of Justice, (London, n d. (during 1660's)). Cf. Salthouse: Candle Lighted, pp.12-3

55) "As for thee, O city of London, thy sin hath been exceeding grievous... Forasmuch as thou hast refused the Counsel of the Lord, and rejected the voyce of his servants in the midst of thee". (Humphrey Smith: Concerning London, pp. 2-3.)

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Friends pointed the clear lesson to be drawn. Nayler did so in 1660 upon the disgraced Cromwellians:

> "You had a large Day and Time to have done good, and to have answered God's Requirings of you.. .And his Visitations and Risings towards you was often....But, O People, you would not hear nor regard in that Day....Then did the Lord raise him up Servants that would hear, and gave them his Light, to see what you were doing against the Lord your God and to win you as a People to himself... And these he sent amongst you with his Word....but you would not hear....Then you began to persecute the Messengers of the Lord....Then did the Lord raise up Signs and Wonders...and he strip'd some of his Children and sent them among you: and some he cloathed in Sackcloth...but these you used worse than formerly... And the just Lord is now seen in the midst of you. . and you that sought to make your selves dreadful by Oppression, now Know not where to hide your selves from the mighty Day that's coming upon you from the God of the whole earth."[56]

Those who attempted to prevent the Friends from preaching therefore came under the same judgment.[57] To reject God's Spirit in his Messengers or in his Message, or in one's own heart were synonymous: to oppress the Quakers was to "oppress" the Seed within one.[58] In the same way to accept Quakers was to accept not human ideas, but the Light within one's own heart:

> "All self we deny, for we came to thee", wrote Camm to Cromwell "contrary to our own will; and we declare this unto thee contrary to our own will; and if thou stand not in thy own will thou wilt hear us, and own us, in advancing the Lord Jesus Christ upon the holy-Hill of Sion that the Law might go out of Sion, and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem that the Kingdoms of the World may become the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ ."[59]

Friends, therefore in the same sentence appealed to those in power to repent and to free the Quakers.

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56) Nayler: Works, p. 595

57) "O you people of England!....Tho' you cannot bear ..to be judged by the Spirit of Christ where it is in his People, which judgeth all the World...you shall be found Guilty before the mighty Judge of Heaven and Earth, when he shall appear in flames of Fire.. "(Ibid pp 39-40)

58) "Doe not blind your eyes.....We have ye mind of ye Lord Jesus Christ yt desires not ye death of aSinner but ye good of all people". (Fox; Journal, II, pp. 172-3)

59) Camm & Audland: Memory of the Righteous, pp. 9-10.

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> "Thus saith the Lord" wrote Howgill to Cromwell, "I chose thee out of all the Nation, when thou was little in thy own Eyes and threw down the Mountaines and the Powers of the Earth before thee, . .now thy Heart is not upright before me ....and thou art establishing peace, and not by me; and art setting up Laws, and not by me, but thy own Wisdom thou establishest....Therefore...if thou take not away all those Laws which are made concerning Religion, whereby the People which are dear in mine Eyes are oppressed, thou shalt not be established".[60]

It comes as somewhat of a shock to realize how fully the treatment of the Friends was felt to be the Criterion by which God would judge to prosper or bring low men and nations[61]

> "For the Lord God hath brought forth a people in these Nations, and he will bring forth more, that connot, nor may not bow unto any other thing in their Worship than unto the Name of Jesus.. And if thou oppressest this people, the Lord will assuredly take away thy Power, and avenge their Cause".[62]

So the Magistrates are duly warned: "Forbear to touch the Lord's Anointed, and suffer not his Prophets for their pure Consciences to be further violated".[63] There was clearly a very human shortening of perspective in this identification of the Friends' own fate with the response of the nation to God. Nevertheless, as Friends saw it, it was not themselves as men, but Christ within them, which other men accepted or rejected.[64] In their own experience their

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60) Howgill: Works, pp. 5-6.

61) cf. Kühn: Toleranz, p. 251.

62) Fox "the Younger": Noble Salutation, p. 17.

63) Byllinge: Magistrate; cf. Nayler: Works, p. 107; Salthouse: Candle Lighted, p. 5.

64) "Were ever Christians at their ease and worldly delights, whilst Christ hath not where to rest his Head; thrust out of your Meeting places, Towns, and Markets...if he do but testifie against the Evil thereof?" (Nayler: Works, p. 388). How clearly this previsages the Sign which Nayler made at Bristol and the whole problem of toleration he thereby raised. That which received Christ within the heart of men was the Seed; the Friends tended to speak of themselves also as "the Seed" without clearly distinguishing. What they were actually doing was to claim divine and ultimate significance, not for themselves as men, but for the movement which had broken out in the midst of their group. What in intention they were doing was to claim divine vindication for something universal and present within all men: "Ye Sons and Daughters of the Lord unto whom the Promise is made manifest, which is Yea & Amen to the Seed, which Seed is but one, unto which shall all Nations bow, and they that set themselves against you shall surely fall before you... happy are thou, O Israel, a people Saved by the Lord." (Camm & Audland: Memory of Righteous, pp. 166 7).

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surrender of self will, their obedience to God and their entry into the Quaker movement had been synonymous; they assumed that it could not help but be so for all men. These steps in their own experience had been associated with tremendous consciousness of the Power of God; they could hardly help associating this power with the power of God seen in the events of history.

Thus is explained the way in which toleration of Quakers was regarded as the first criterion of a Christian government.[65] Yet it is from their perspective only natural and not to be taken as conscious special pleading. The Spirit of God, to which rulers are or should be subject, is working in its crucial form within men, and only secondarily through the State.[66] The intense sense of the primacy of the Spirit's work within men leads to frequent warnings against the limitation of religion by the State:

> "It is generally being confessed that all men have sinned, and that by Christ alone they must be redeemed; then he is not to be limited, or his appearance quenched, in what way soever he doth appear in man to work his salvation".[67]

The autonomy of the Spirit was keenly felt.[68] Thus from the Quaker conception

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65) This was true not only in Billinge's list of proposals, but in tract after tract: a majority of Quaker prophetic messages to the government, in fact, consist of little else.

66) Thus Camm tries to correct a misunderstanding which had arisen in an interview with Cromwell: "When we spoke unto thee, that the Lord would make thee an Instrument in his Hand to establish the Gospel thou apprehendest us that should be established by an outward Law....But we witness the coming of Christ in his Kingdom is not by Might nor Power, nor Pomp, nor Glory from without; nor by any Law which is in the Will of Man, but our desires were that there should be no Law upon Religion, for it needs no Law to defend it, for pure Religion...is this, to loose the bonds of Wickedness, and set the Oppressed free, and take off every Yoke... And the righteous Law is upon the Transgressor, and limits the carnal Mind and fleshly will, but doth not limit the Spirit, but is at Unity with it." (Camm & Audland: Memory of the Righteous, p. 6 7)

67) William Smith: Liberty of Conscience, (London, 1662)

68) We shall see that the focal argument of early Friends for toleration is that persecution "is unrighteous, because it is an intruding upon the prerogative...of God, which is to give Laws to Conscience."...The Lordship in and over Conscience...is God's alone". (Burrough: Antichrist's Government, p. 9; Edward Burrough: The Case of free liberty of Conscience in the exercise of faith and Religion, (London, T. Simmons, 1661) p. 1. v. infra Section VI-D.

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of Theocracy comes, somewhat paradoxically, a demand for universal toleration:

> "If ye go about to make Religion a meer engine, whereby in policy to establish yourselves, and make it not rather your own main Design to establish it (and that ye can never do positively by making Law for the bringing of all to such or such a particular Form of it, but permissively only, by suffering all People to be of what Faith toward God they find Evidence for in the Light of God within themselves, while they live in Peace and Faithfulness in their civil Dealings).... your work of Settlement shall never prosper long".[69]

A doctrine of the Separation of Church and State seem to be implied here, and still more strongly in other statements, where the power of the State is over the outward man only:

> "This is the onely end of Government & rule among men in this world, to rule well over the outward man, in things between man and man, but not to rule over mens consciences".[70]

There is a partial inconsistency between this exclusion of religion from civil control and the highly theocratic statements the early Friends made about the State. There are however at least three bridges which tie together these two aspects of their thinking. The first has been mentioned, namely the primacy of Religion.[71] A second reason for the tendency of Friends to delimit the sphere of the State was the distinction between "Carnal" and "Spiritual" weapons.[72]

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69) Fisher: Works, p. 56.

70) (Burrough: Antichrist's Government, p. 11). Cf. Message for Justification, p. 5. Burrough is the most explicit of early Friends here, but Fox occasionally spoke in the same vain. (cf. Fox: Works, Vol. IV, p.361)

71) The Puritans were similarly inconsistent, particularly in Massachusetts or among the Independents in England; there the insistance was that religion should guide the State, but that the State should in no way control the church, except in excluding heresy. It thus seems to me also that the usual assumption that the Baptists under the Commonwealth were divided into two sharply distinct wings, the Fifth Monarchy Men, and those who separated Church and State, needs to be re-examined.

72) On this, and its inconsistency with Quaker conceptions of legal repression of sin, v. infra, Section IX-E.

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Finally, the separation of Church & State implied in the Friends doctrine of toleration no doubt reflects the sense of cleavage between the Children of the Light and "the World", (whose power was embodied for the moment in the civil ruler). One gets a glimpse of this in some Quaker statements which identify Cromwell's government with "the World".[73] Nevertheless the tension between the Children of the Light and the World was not a separation, but an active battle, in which by their apocalyptic outlook, Friends saw victory as certain. Even in withdrawal from political activity, Friends continued their active relationship of prophetic judgment. Thereby they showed how fully they believed ethical and religious norms to be bound up with the purpose of the State.[74] Accordingly Friends were constantly on the doorstep of political leaders with messages of prophetic denunciation or suggestions for positive reform. On several occasions they were tempted to take a direct part in political administration themselves.

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73) Nayler addressed England: "Plainness is become odious to the Proud,...and the Rich are exalted above the Poor;...and now Law, Equity nor Justice can be heard for their Freedom. And this is not done by an open Enemy, for then it had not been so strange unto thee: but it is done by those who pretend to be against Oppression, and for whom under that Pretence, thou hast adventured all that is dear unto thee, to put Power into their Hands....When will ye learn Wisdom? When will ye cease from Man, who is Vanity, and the Sons of Man who are a Lye?" (Nayler: Works, p. 100)

74) Cf. Schenk: Social Justice, pp. 126-129.

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Section VII-C: Quaker Activity in Politics, 1652-1662.

Although their central concern and main activity was the prophetic preaching of inward obedience to the Spirit, Friends have from the beginning felt concern for political decisions.[1] Because of their theocratic conception of the State, there was for them no basic conflict of the religious and the political, however critical and aloof they might be towards specific rulers. In this respect Friends, for all their ethical radicalism, have stood in partial contrast to the "sect-groups" who have withdrawn into separated communities to achieve the Christian life.[2] While even in their approach to the State, the early Friends were above all interested in the universal and total lordship of the Spirit, they were concerned for specific ethical issues in government and law; this concern led in later periods to a characteristic outlook of responsibility for reform.[3]

For no periods, and for no individuals among early Friends, was political activity the permanent center of attention. At certain times of crisis, such as in 1655[4] and 1659,[5] Friends deliberately rejected opportunities to take on roles in politics, feeling that their work as preachers of repentance was central. Friends identified certain governments with the power of evil, especially on issues of religious liberty. Occasionally, as in Massachusetts, Quakers turned aside to attack a government head-on.

In spite of these facts, early Friends mainly regarded the English government as lying within the field of ethical concern. Basically Friends felt that only a government of Saints obedient to the Spirit could be good;

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1) Cf. Sharpless: Quakerism & Politics, p. 81.

2) Cf. Tolles: Meeting-House, p. 10. 3) V. infra, Section IX-C.

4) Cf. Brocklebank: Burrough, p. 80

5) Cf. pp. 353 ff. Supra

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but their rejection of existing governments was only provisional. They shared the general idealism of the radical Puritans about the ideals of the Commonwealth government,[6] and at the same time that Friends became successively disillusioned with each of its actual leaders and achievements.[7] Quaker political action was sometimes an active struggle to overcome "the World" in combat; sometimes it was in hope of transforming the State into an obedient instrument of the Spirit-Christ. But often it included trying to influence the policies of the state as it was.

Until 1658, there was little attempt by Friends to enter the arena of political elections. Those Friends who were already in positions of public responsibility, however, continued to carry on their work, notably Gervase Benson as a Justice of the Peace, and Anthony Pearson at Westminster who worked with Hesilrige and the Baptists in Cromwell's Parliaments;[8] although Pearson left Quakerism in 1660, both he and Benson used their influence to protect Quakers. There is no sign of a division in their thinking between their political and their religious ideals. That other Friends did not at once enter politics is hardly surprising, since Quakerism was primarily a religious movement. Moreover political leadership in England both before and after the Commonwealth was by tradition an inheritance rather than a vocation; both JP's and Members of Parliament were by tradition the local Squires, and few early Friends were Squires. Even under the Commonwealth, most of the political leaders who were not Squires were merchants or officers of the Army. Insofar as they envisaged actually gaining power, they tended to think ~~in~~

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6) V. supra, Section VII-A.

7) Cf. on this the disillusionment of Milton with Presbyterians and Independents and Cromwell's elite, in turn, as described in Bainton: Travail of Liberty, p. 185ff.

8) cf. Braithwaite:Beginnings, p. 113; he took part in the plot of 1654 against Cromwell.

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in terms of a coup-d'etat,[9] or at least a mandate from the Army, rather than in terms of grass-roots political support, which was almost impossible until Shaftesbury's creation of the Whig organization.[10]

The bulk of Quaker political action, therefore, took the form of personal or "open" letters, and of personal interviews with those in power. The number of these was astonishing. In four years of his Protectorate, Cromwell was visited at least nine times by formal deputations of Friends (the discussions often lasting several hours).[11] In 1660 Charles II received at least three such visits.[12] Friends also presented petitions to Parliament, of which that in 1659 against Tithes (including the signatures of 7,000 women, and a brief address from women Friends in each county), makes a small book in itself.[13] At various times (notably in 1658, 1661, 1662, 1672 & 1685), formal lists were drawn up, of Friends in Prison.[14] Affidavits were frequently collected, concerning particularly harsh prison conditions;[15] these were presented to those in power, with petitions or requests for the release of Quakers. Some

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9) For lower-class folk under the Commonwealth, the sense of popular mandate attached more directly to the Army than to Parliament. Petitions, however, gave a chance for the people to express a voice.

10) The policy of Baptists and later Friends who encouraged their members to vote for advocates of toleration, was thus as much of a national political organization as was to be found in many areas.

11) Cf. Braithwaite: Beginnings, Chapter XVII

12) These included that from Ann Curtis and Margaret Fell (who had come the length of the country to intercede with the King for emprisoned Quakers. (Ibid. p. 475).

13) Braithwaite: (Beginnings, p. 458) mentions a similar men's petitions with 15,000 names earlier the same year. The women's petition had some repetition of names, but represents at least 22 separate petitions from 23 counties. A petition from Notts. Friends in 1676 carried 217 names.

14) Cf. Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 453; Second Period, p. 115; First Publishers, passim.

15) Cf. First Publishers, p. 185; Abstract of Sufferings, etc.

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were purely local lists, such as a record of 46 cases of distraints and illegal fines presented to Lancaster Assize in 1664.[16] Besides these more formal documents, letters were written by groups of Friends or individuals.[17] The collected works of Nayler, Burrough, Howgill, Camm, Audland and Fox contain many such letters, most of which had first been published separately. Many of these letters were as much prophetic as political, but the two concerns were interrelated.[18]

Of the issues raised in these letters, tracts, and petitions, the most common was the appeal for Toleration for Friends,[19] or for Religious Liberty for the nation as a whole.[20] The warning of Divine Judgment was mixed with arguments of a more pragmatic nature. In general, the appeal was fairly frankly on a religious basis.[21]

Friends' letters to King Charles sometimes contained specific political advice, as when they warned him against the Presbyterians, whose loyalty is dependent upon the King's enforcing of their church-order, or against the conforming time-servers,[22] or against the immoral & profligate Royalists.[23] Some of the constructive reforms for which Friends presented their case have al-

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16) Fox: Journal, II, p. 72.

17) Thus Margaret Fell addressed four letters to Oliver Cromwell, two to his Son, and others to Sawrey and the local Justices; (Ross: Margaret Fell) in 1660 George Bishop published a small book of a dozen or so letters which he had previously sent to Oliver or Richard Cromwell, their Parliaments or the Army. (Bishop: Warnings to men) by way of reinforcing his threats of divine judgment upon the current government.

18) A quick (and very incomplete) survey of the published letters of Fox Burrough, Bishop & Penington, for 1655-75. included tracts and letters addressed: To Cromwell: 2; To the King (i.e.Charles II): 6; To Parliament, or King & Parliament: 7; To the Army: 2; To all Magistrates: 10; etc. There were others, such as some of those in Fox's Journal which had not appeared in print.

19) cf. Fox: Journal I, pp. 259 60.

20) cf. the broadside from Thomas Green: To Both Houses of Parliament (1662): "From the Lord I warn you not to meddle with the Hearts nor Consciences of People, let him have the Supremacy there... If you go on...the Hand of the Lord will certainly turn against you. For there is nothing outwardly so much prized by the People as the Liberty of their Consciences in matters of Religion: having that, Tribute, Taxes, etc are not so much looked at".

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ready been discussed, or will arise in connection with the more general treatment of these testimonies: they appealed against Tithes and against enforced Oaths;[24] they favored various economic and land reforms.[25]

It might be convenient at this point, however, to mention certain proposals which early Friends brought forward for changes and reforms in the Law the Courts, and the Prisons. They were no doubt influenced by their predecessors.

> "Every great popular movement in English history", writes Gooch, "has been accompanied by a demand for law reform and the exhibition of hostility to the legal profession".[26]

Justice Coke had been one of the great leaders of the revolt against the Stuarts.[27] While the man in the street caught some of his idealism for the Common Law, it was probably his attack upon the prerogative courts and upon the "Norman" tyranny of nobles & King which most influenced the common people.[28] The Nominated, or "Barebones" Parliament undertook a great movement towards law reform, although unfortunately it was dissolved before the proposals got

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21) On the arguments used v. infra, Section VII-D

22) Fox "the Younger": Noble Salutation, pp 11-12

23) Mason: Charles, King of England; signed "Martin Mason, who am thy Friend, yet shall be contented if I am counted Thy Enemy"

24) cf. Hubberthorn: Discourse with the King.

25) Byllinge: Mite of Affection - #6 and #19; Papers from 7.000 Daughters, pp. 58-9.

26) Gooch: Democratic Ideas, p. 308 The sermons of the great Puritan preachers of the Elizabethan generation include protests that "out laws have been a long time like to spider's webs, so that the great buzzing bees break through and the little feeble flys hang fast in them". (Henry Smith: Sermons, p. 529, quote Knappen: Tudor Puritanism, p. 345)

27) Allen: English Political Thought, Ch. II; Perry: Puritanism & Democracy, p. 183.

28) Cf. Byllinge, Mite of Affection on "servile Tenures or Copyholds .. being the badge or yoke of the (Norman) Conquest"; - actually, of course, Norman or not, Copyhold was by Common rather than Statute Law.

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out of Committee. While Trevelyan feels that "the Crusade of the Independents of the Commonwealth period against the 'tortuous ungodly jungle' of the English law was rather utilitarian than humanitarian"[29], moral indignation was undoubtedly a major driving force, and among the common people, and especially the Quakers, it was directed against the Lawyers as well as against specific complexities of the Law:

> "And you Lawyers", wrote Nayler, "ought not you to plead the Cause of Equity...for Equity sake, without respect to your selves or others?....But it is not the justest Cause sure to fall, if the Party have not Money to satisfie your demands, which are many times very unreasonable?....Do not you advise your Plaintiffs...to declare in Bills things that are not true, and make small offences seem very great by false glosses...so that you and they who act for, know before-hand that scarce one thing of ten can be proved, neither is true....Are not your Purses filled and your Estates raised in the ruines of the People?....The Law as it is now used is scarce serviceable for any other end, but for the Envious Man who hath much Money to revenge himself of his poor Neighbours".[30]

The complexity of the laws, the high fees of lawyers, and the use of latin which laymen did not understand, were the subject of petitions from many groups under the Commonwealth.[31]

As regards disputes within their own group, Friends maintained a consistent testimony against taking issues before the law-courts.[32] Besides inability to afford legal fees and their moral protest against the greed and injustice of lawyers, Friends felt that "the World" and its legal institutions

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29) Trevelyan: Stuarts, p. 33n

30) (Nayler: Works, pp. 136 7). Cf. Thomas Aldam: "The next day I was moved to go to the lawyers, when they was set at the devil's work, taking fees & gifts of the poor". (Swarthmore MSS, I, p. 373, quoted in Nuttall: Holy Spirit, p. 29).

31) cf. Samuel Highland: An Exact Relation (1653), cit. Schenk: Social Justice, p. 133.

32) "As through our faithful testimony ..the national ministry hath received a deadly blow by our...witnessing against their forced maintenance and tythes...so on the other hand, do we, by coming to the righteousness and innocency, weaken the strength of their Kingdom who judge for rewards...and lived in excess. lust & riot, by feeding and preying upon the iniquities & contentions of the people". (Barclay: Anarchy, p. 46)

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had no innate authority over them. This applied a fortieri to its aurhority to decide between members of the saintly community.[33]

Under the circumstances it was very natural for early Friends to be aware of evils in the legal system. Their positive attitude towards the State was shown by their frequently constructive suggestions for legal changes. Some were comments in passing, or letters to individuals.[34] But serious proposals were made in various tracts addressed to Cromwell or the Parliament. The three most frequent proposals, appearing in various forms, are for the abolition of Capital Punishment for theft,[35] for the simplification of laws and their publishing in English, and for the decentralization of legal procedures so as to avoid the ruinous expense and inconvenience to the London courts.[36] All of these proposals were widely advocated, especially by the Levellers, and Cromwell himself had reduced the offences bringing capital punishment.[37] But it is significant that Friends shared the desire for these reforms, and in some instances worked out the suggestions with care and detail. Edward Byllinge's "Mite of Affection", for instance,[38] includes the three basic

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33) "If we be of one mind concerning faith and religion, and that it be our joint interest to bring all others unto the same truth with us, as supposing them to be wrong, what confidence can we have to think of reclaiming them, if the truth we profess have not such efficacy as to reconcile us among ourselves in matters of this world." (Barclay: Anarchy, p. 42)

34) Cf. Fisher: Works, p. 204. While in prison in Derby in 1650-51, Fox wrote, "I was exceedinge much oppressed with Judges & Magistrates & Courts: and was moved to write to ye judges concerneinge there puttinge men to death for cattle & for money; several times... I writt to ye Judges what a sore thinge it was yet prisoners should lye soe longe in goale: & howe yt they learned badnesse one of another". (Fox: Journal, I, pp. 13-14). It was his first experience of long imprisonment.

35) cf. Camm & Audland: Memory of the Righteous, p. 301.

36) cf. George Fox: Fifty-Nine Particulars, quoted in Schenk: Social Justice, p. 121.

37) cf. Trevelyan: Stuarts, p. 33n.

38) Cf. supra Section VII B.

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demands and many others.

The concern for Jail conditions was as characteristic of early Friends as was the proposing of legal reforms. At about the same time as Byllinge's tract, Fox wrote three tracts concerning the injustice of existing laws. The most systematic was "To the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England: fifty-nine particulars" (of 1659); certain of his economic suggestions were interesting; in the political realm he has very little to suggest.[41] As to evils in the legal system, he was very full, but his list was approximately the same as Byllinge's and was in essence a catalogue of

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39)(#7) - no Capital punishment for theft
(#8) - Laws to be printed for all; laws to be read in full to the accused in court - Laws issued under Royal patent to be revoked (presumably not only Common Law but Parliamentary Statutes would stand).
- "That the Whole Law, and all proceedings in Law whatsoever,. be forthwrith removed into each County, Wapentake, Hundred,...Town."
(#5) - Jury trial and confrontation of witnesses within each parish.
(#11) - A system of appeals from the Parish Jury (deciding by two thirds majority), to a Court for the Riding or Hundred, meeting quarterly, with justices chosen from a panel by lot (the loser of a civil suit, apparently, to pay court charges), and ultimate appeal to a biennial county court similarly chosen.
(#9) - "Courts of Record...with honest Judges, empowered finally to hear and determine of all causes that shall arise within each County." Their main function is evidently the recording of Bonds, Deeds, Contracts, etc., which are to be filed within 48 hours, and to be binding meanwhile, to prevent swindling.
(#10) - Every man to be able to plead his own case in any Court.
(#13) - All felons to be in County Jail before being tried (the reason for this is obscure, but they were often placed in town jail with Quakers and debtors).
(#14) - No forfeiture of property by the family of a man under death sentence.
(#17) - The King's Bench and other illegal prisons to be abolished, and all willing and honest debtors freed.
(#18) - Removal of all "unrighteous, cruell & exacting Gaolers" and the issuance of new Jailers patents only pending their good behavior.

40) Cf. Chapter VIII, infra

41) his only proposals are that none be excluded from "place" for saying Thee & Thou (#10), and that "none that is high, proud envious or scornful bear office, for he will turn the sword backward...and quench the Spirit of God" (#16).

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injustices rather than specific proposals for correcting them.[42] A large proportion of Fox's list asked the abolition of fines and imprisonment for various causes; these were mainly the ones involving Quakers.[43] It is on the whole his comments on prisons which are most interesting:[44] "Let all Goals be in wholesom places" and have adequate toilet facilities; high Jailers' Fees - "through those great Fees many have layn long in Prison"; "Let none be Goalers that are drunkards or swearers or oppressors of people, but such as may be good patterns to the prisoners". George Fox's appeal in 1658 "To the Protector and Parliament" and his "Instructions to Judges and Lawyers" (probably 1660) were more informal in style, but covered almost point for point the same list of injustices.[45]

Besides their concern with legal and prison reform, these three tracts show an interesting concern for the tightening of laws against moral laxity.

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42) #3: "Let no men or women be summoned up two hundred miles...to the Court at London because they cannot give...Tithes".
#4: That a man indicted may appear in court in person, instead of by attorney.
#5: "Let all the laws in England be brought into a known Tongue, that every Countryman may plead his own cause, without Attorney...Away with all those Counsellors, that will not tell men the law, a few words, without twenty or ten or thirty shillings, which are a great oppression".
#15: Abolish the legal profession entirely.
#44: "Let all these things for money...be laid aside".

43) The list is somewhat over-detailed and repetitious: it attacks Tithes and a tithe-supported ministry (#1,#42,#57) and the distrainment of goods for Tithes, Church-Fees, non-attendance, etc. (#2,#28,#34,#59,#11,#13 #41) and insists that ministers be non-violent and willing to answer questioners (#35,#58,#18). It opposes Emprisonment or Fines for "Hat-honor" (#7), Oaths (#8,9), going to visit Prisoners (#22), travelling on the Sabbath to attend Meetings (#23); also "Let none be persecuted as vagabonds who are moved of the Lord to speak abroad his Word" (#25), or "be whipped...for bidding people repent in a market" (#21); "Let no one that meet together in fear of god...have their houses broken, their windows broken...and houses unthatched" (#24), and the use of religious nicknames is to be banned.

44) cf. Jorns: Quaker Social Work, p. 164.

45) The latter produced an interesting array of Biblical argument against capital punishment for theft, and makes even clearer that Fox has specific and individual cases of injustice in mind.

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They were again more protests than proposals. But they show that Quakers shared the Puritan belief that it was within the State's purview to supervise matters of moral conduct. Fox's 39 Particulars included a number of such suggestions:

> "Let none keep Ale-Houses or Taverns, but who fear God...that will not let the Creatures of God be destroyed by Drunkards. Let all games & Sports be taken away that pleases the fleshly mind. Let all the Stage-Playes, May-Games, Shoffel-boards, Dice, Cards,...Foot-balls & Hand-balls & Fidlings, & all these vain Musicks...be taken away. Let all those Bul-baitings, Cock-fightings, Horse-racing, which is destructive to the Creatures, and ...to seriousness, be taken away. Let no man keep Ale-houses or Taverns that keeps Bowls, Shoffel-board-Tables or Fidlers, or Dice, or Cards. Let all those Ballad-singers, and Ballad-makers, and Jest-book-makers, which stirs up peoples vain & light minds, be taken away. Let all this wearing of gold Lace and costly atire...be ended, and cloath the naked, and feed the hungry with the superfluity."[46]

Finally, Friends made certain proposals involving the action of the State towards religious reform:

> "Let all Images & Pictures be taken away. Remove Crosses from Seals, Coins, Steeple-houses, Ships, Arms, "Scucheons & flags... which is the Popes Crosse". Abolish the Catholic holidays of Christmas, Easter, Whitsun and Michaelmas, and the heathen names for the days of the week."[47]

Nothing is said about how Fox would have liked these laws enforced. But it is clear that there is a tension between these statements and Friends' distinction of Carnal & Spiritual Weapons.

The same years, 1658-1660 which saw the appearance of most of the tracts and petitions which have been discussed in this section, saw the period when Friends were most tempted to take an active part in political ad-

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46) The above proposals are numbered 46,47,48,49,51,55,56.

47) These are numbered 45, 31, 36, 35.

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ministration.[48] James F. Maclear feels that the initiative came from Sir Henry Vane, who approached Friends through Hesilrige and Anthony Pearson. It was a time of great political fluidity, when many men shared Vane's desire for a more theocratic government. The resurgence of Royalism seemed to call for a strong effort to consolidate the Commonwealth, by those who mainly shared its ideals. The great petitions against Tithes and the tracts that have been discussed show how concerned Friends were with the turn of events. There is somewhat laconic evidence that seven Friends were among the Commissioners of Militia chosen in Bristol at this time,[49] and that 5 were nominated for the similar group in London, some of whom may have taken part in the suppression of Sir George Booth's revolt.[50] At the request of Gerrard Roberts and Thomas Moore (incited perhaps by Pearson & Vane), local Friends Meetings evidently drew up lists of the current Justices of the Peace who were for and against religious liberty, and even presented names of Friends who would be willing to take such posts.[51]

It is a little hard to estimate, in lack of actual statements,[52] what Friends would have felt about sharing as fellow-Saints in a theocracy with the Baptists and radical Independents. Warfare would probably have been necessary to maintain the government against the Royalists and Presbyterians.[53]

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43) James F. Maclear: "Quakerism and the End of the Interregnum: A Chapter in the Domestication of Radical Puritanism"; in Church History, Vol. XIX, No. 4 (Dec. 1950) pp. 240-271.

49) Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 462.

50) Maclear: "Quakers & Interregnum", p. 258.

51) They found 22 and 13 of these were from Somerset. (cf. Braithwaite: Beginnings, pp. 460-62; Maclear: "Quakers & Interregnum", p. 256.

52) There is little evidence on the exact course of events: Maclear shows that the records of this political activity among Friends were suppressed following the Restoration; but he believes that the movement in any case represented only a small portion of Friends, and that in 1659 Fox and Dewsbury had already convinced Friends against participating in Vane's "United Front".

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Spiritual conquest was always their main pre-occupation; Fox may have felt relief as well as disappointment when the opportunity rapidly passed, and first the Presbyterians and the Royalists assumed power. For the next few years, the central problem in Quaker relations to State was not political participation but the issue of religious toleration under a hostile government.

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53) In the light of the Pennsylvania experiment, one can hazard the guess that, but for the danger of becoming minority partners to men they partly distrusted, and of being called on to rally for war, Friends (despite concern for Spiritual rather than Carnal weapons) would have taken an active part in the government. Fox's protestations at that time that his basic concern was spiritual were genuine; they might also be political; we shall see that they had never been military, and when he denied Carnal power, it was this he had in mind.

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Section VII-D: Quaker Arguments for Religious Liberty

The specific arguments advanced in favour of toleration by early Friends were often original. In some ways the most important contributions of Quakerism to religious liberty were their practical victories in England and Massachusetts, and certain fundamental problems which their own actions raised without solving in terms of theory.[1] But the approach of Friends to the discussions of religious liberty casts light on their outlook upon the world in general. This was as true of the arguments which Quakers did not use as those which they did. Quakers used arguments which showed their belief in the absolute authority of the Spirit in the Conscience, and their indifference to arguments for toleration based upon rationalism or relativism in any form.

The idea of religious liberty is not a unitary concept.[2] Not only are there different arguments for toleration, but the form of liberty sought varies greatly in dependence upon basic world-outlooks.[3]

The basic Quaker defence of toleration was based upon the rights of Conscience, but it was not Conscience in and for itself, in all its individual variety, which Friends were ultimately concerned for. They made as sharp a distinction between the Erroneous and Right Conscience

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1). Cf. infra, Sections VII-G. IX-A.

2). This has excellently been pointed out in the studies of Freund, Kühn, Jordan, (opera cit.), and Lyon (The Theory of Religious Liberty in England, 1602-1639 (Cambridge, University Press, 1937)

3). Thus Freund distinguishes two basic strains in English thought on toleration: the Reformation-rooted, and the Renaissance-rooted. Both Jordan & Kühn work out similar, though more complex groupings, and Kühn and Freund interpret these approaches in terms of underlying theories of Revelation and Religious truth.

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as did the Calvinists. In an age when "all ethical thinking linked morality & moral judgment with a structure of objective law",[4] the Puritans found the "Rule or Bond of Conscience" in the Bible, and said: "we have no warrant to regard conscience which is not grounded on scripture!"[6] The Quaker Rule or Bond of Conscience was the Spirit, and was equally absolute.[7] Thus in the first instance, Friends like the Puritans, simply demanded the toleration of Truth by Error. A favorite quotation in Commonwealth tracts for toleration was the argument of Gamaliel: "Refrain...lest haply ye be found even to fight against God."[8] This was sometimes used as an argument with an implication of skepticism about the finality of Truth.[9] Friends used the argument frequently

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4). Beach: "Conscience", p. 65.

5). Cf. ibid, p. 49; Perkins: Works, I, pp. 510 ff.

6). Milton: Works, II, p. 141, quoted by Freund: Toleranz, p. 200. Thus John Cotton admitted that "It is not lawfull to persecute any for conscience sake Rightly informed; for in persecuting such, Christ himself is persecuted in them", but was equally clear that "after Admonition once or twice", "if the heretic persisted in his errors after admonition, it would not be out of conscience," for "in fundamentall and principall points of Doctrine or Worship, the Word of God in such things is so cleare, that hee cannot but bee convinced in conscience of the dangerous Errour of his way, after once and twice Admonition";- it was on this ground that he justified the expulsion of Roger Williams from Massachusetts: for he had "sinned against his own Conscience". "Bloudy Tenant," pp. 7, 19-30, 8, as quoted in Welles: Conscience, pp. 284-6.

7). "We grant that an Erring Conscience is indeed such a snare", replied Fisher to Bishop Gauden, "that (not the Conscience of the Quakers, who are truly enlightened...but) the Erring Consciences of their Adversaries...are fallen into....How can they escape the Condemnation of Hell? ....The best way to escape this snare, is for all men to take heed (...by following the Light within of that Spirit of Truth itself...) that their ...Judgment of Conscience be according to Truth first, and then act accordingly." (Fisher: Episkopos, p. 17).

8). Acts 5;39.

9). Cf. Samuel Richardson (cited in Jordan, Toleration, p. 519) and John Goodwin, who entitled his most famous book Theomachia (ibid., p. 388).

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against opponents, but there was never any implication that Friends also might be mistaken. This warning was in fact part of the Quaker message of God's judgment:

> "Beware lest you be found fighters against God, you having seen what he hath done to those who withstood him before you, and they are taken away, and you are set up....Now God requires it at your Hands that you stop not his work, nor hinder his spiritual Kingdom."[10]

Sometimes Friends assumed that the hand of God was evident enough that it was necessary to warn where men are fighting against God.[11] At other times, it was the freedom of the Spirit that was emphasized, and it was assumed that the hand of God would not be obvious to all: (at this point Friends differed from the Puritans, for whom the infallible Bible was an unmistakable Guide to all). Yet the fact that man might not recognize it, did not hinder the infallible operation of the Spirit:

> "Alas, poor Mortals! Think you to limit that which is Eternal? You may as well command the fire from burning, the wind from blowing, the sun from shining....If you can span the circumference of the Earth and dry up the vast Ocean with your breath...; then may you limit the holy One, and drown his Israel in the sea".

Thus for Friends toleration in no way meant a setting of different religious beliefs on an equal footing. The fact that "the Lordship in and over conscience...is God's alone"[13] is the basic Quaker argument for

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10). Nayler: Works, pp. 188-9; Cf. Fisher: Works, pp. 59, 742; Ellwood: Seasonable Disswasive, passim.

11). Cf. Fox: To the Protector, p. 58. Usually the reference was to those who opposed the ministry of the Spirit-led.

12). Mason: To Parliament (bsd); cf. Fox: Journal, I, p. 235. "I warne you all from the Lord God of glory, sett not your bond against him, smite him not, limit not the holey one of Isarell, for the Lord is rising in poure and great glorey which will Reule the nationes with a Rod of Iron...Theirefore all the pettey constables, shirefes & Justisies take warneing & heed what you doe against the Lambes of Christ".

13). Burrough: Free Liberty, p. 1.

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toleration:

> "God hath assumed to himself the power and dominion of the conscience who alone can rightfully instruct and govern it; therefore it is not lawful for any whatsoever...to force the consciences of others"[14]

Yet the basis of their appeal for toleration was in fact a universal one, valid equally as applied to other groups besides their own. Having learned with such struggle not to impose their own mind or will upon the Spirit within, they were not likely to impose these lightly upon the Spirit within others.[15]

This basic Quaker argument that Faith is the gift of God, fides donum dei, had been emphasized in the Reformation since Luther himself.[16] It found an important place in the thought of men as varied as Baxter, Busher and Dell.[17] It was a natural corollary of Predestination; (Calvinist coercion was aimed at producing, not conversion, but an outwardly godly society). Radical Puritanism, with its more explicit concern for conscious conversion, and for the fruits of conversion in holy living, was even more likely to stress the dependence of these things upon God's free Spirit.[18] For the early Quakers, therefore, it was not because good outward actions could be separated from religion, but because they could not, that outward coercion was to be condemned: "It is dangerous to

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14). Barclay: Works II, p. 486, quoted Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", p. 202.

15). Cf. Howgill: Works, p. 617. Notice the contrast between this respect for conscience as subject to God, and the modern outlook which makes the Light within the Conscience "only the **label** adequate to the greatness of the human mind". (Belasco: Authority, p. 38).

16). Cf. Luther "On Civil Government", as cited in Bainton: "Struggle for Religious Liberty", p. 110.

17). Cf. Jordan: Toleration, pp. 346, 513; also Freund: Toleranz, p. 224 on Busher ("die Kirche Gottest besteht nicht, sie ist erst im entstehen"); Beach, "Conscience", p. 197 on Burton, p. 211 on John Owen.

18). Cf. Dell: Works, p. 131 ff.

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cause people to perform Duty Godwards without Faith in God;...this makes them sinners against him, for whatsoever is not of faith is sin."[19] For the Quaker "the Law of God" was given only inwardly. Therefore coerced good action was not commendable, but hypocrisy:

> "How can he whose Conscience is forced as to the Worship of God, use a good Conscience towards Men, or own a pure Conscience in another, to preserve it, who hath made Shipwrack of it himself". As for toleration "making Heathens, I say it will but discover Heathens that are hid...and such being declared to be Heathen, would be ashamed, and being Convinced in their own Consciences, might come to be saved".[20]

Thus Ellwood suggested that it makes men undervalue their religion to force it on them;[21] and repeatedly Friends expressed fear that coercion "may destroy the faith of some...upon whom Imposition is laid against their pure consciences".[22] The fear of "Shipwrack of Conscience" is the fear that a God-initiated faith will be replaced by a man-initiated "Form". Friends, accordingly, would respect the erroneous consciences of others, because they were the only potential channel for the true faith and Light to come in through. Friends particularly valued the responsive or "tender" conscience of those whom they appreciated to be seeking light, even if they had not found the Children of the Light.[23]

> "It is true; the corrupt nature of man...may pretend conscience, there is no matter of conscience at all, but self-will and self-ends at the bottom. Notwithstanding this, God would not have the true conscientiousness and tenderness in any of his, crushed."[24]

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19). Burrough: Antichrist's Government, p. 14; cf. William Dell: "If thou live under the Word many years, and it come not into thy heart, it will never change thee". (Works, p. 128).

20). Nayler: Works, pp. 184-5; Coale: op. cit.

21). Ellwood: Seasonable Disswasive, p. 7.

22). Burrough: Antichrist's Government, pp. 12-13; cf. Fox: Works, Vol. IV, pp. 277, 345, etc.

23). Nuttall: Holy Spirit, p. 115; Fox: Journal I, pp. 4, 9, etc.

24). Penington: Works I, p. 476.

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So Friends' belief in the universality of conscience, so far as the coercion of religion was concerned, led finally to a belief in liberty for "Jew, or papist, or Turk, or heathen, or Protestant."[25] This did not mean that Friends condoned Popery,[26] but that it could only be overcome spiritually.[27] Friends therefore appealed to their opponents to use convincement rather than force:

> "Let us try whether their spiritual weapons or ours be the strongest;...and let theirs that are so prevail...be it ours or theirs. And this is the way to try the truth....and let them fight no longer with such cruel carnal weapons"[28]

Friends make it clear that it is not arguments which convince the reason, with which they are concerned, but those which awaken the conscience - as persecution cannot do:

> "If you judge you are in the right...come forth then with spiritual weapons, mighty ones...even the Righteousness of Christ, and let us see your readiness by word and deed to convince Gainsayers in the Power and Gospel of Christ: your love to Enemies, your self-denial...: Oh, this would reach our hearts, then God's witness would answer to you...and this is the way to bring people to be of one mind in the Truth"[29]

Friends hardly expected to be convinced by their opponents, even by spiritual weapons, yet their assumption that human words and examples, as well as the divine Spirit, might reach the Conscience of men, is of

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25). Fox: Works, IV, p. 279; cf. Leonard Busher (Freund: Toleranz, p. 229), one of the few to extend toleration without limits.

26). Cf. supra, Section VII-A.

27). "And whereas it may be Objected that...if you would have Toleration for all, then how will you keep out the Papists....? I answer", wrote Fisher: "not with the Carnal Weapons of your Warfare, but with a sharper Sword then that...even the Light of the Spirit of of the Living God,...who will go on conquering and to conquer...the Hearts and Consciences of men" (Works, p. 127).

28). Burrough: in introduction to Fox: Great Mistery, p. 27.

29). Camm & Audland, op. cit., pp. 208-9, cf. p. 197.

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a piece with their constant preaching, with their rejection of predestination, and with their own religious experience. So, as we have seen they appealed to "the Light in the conscience", or "that of God in" their opponents:

> "who shall judge in the Case between Us: Even the Law of God, the Gospel of Christ, the Scriptures of Truth, the Example of Primitive Christians our Neighbours, and to the Witness in every mans Conscience. And to the Judgement of all these we Appeal".[30]

Friends, in fact, assumed that the Light of God in Conscience, if heeded, could not help but lead all men to Quakerism. But this made them willing to rely the more on this support alone:

> "To no other touchstone shall we turne you, but into your own consciences, and there shall yee find the truth of what we have declared....And when the bookes of Consciences is open and iudged out of them, then shall you witnesse us to be of God"[31]

The Quaker conception of Conscience was indicated also by their failure to use certain arguments current in England in their time.

Conscience for its own sake was thus sometimes defended, regardless of its beliefs.[32] This relativism of Conscience begins (as Dr. Bainton has shown) by assuming that correctness of opinion is valueless apart from sincerity of belief. But it goes on to assert that sincerity is to be esteemed even though the opinions held be incorrect.[33] Now Friends prized Conscientiousness, but essentially as a means to the ultimate end of obedience to the Light.

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30). Burrough: Case of the Quakers.

31). Fox: Journal I, p. 337.

32). At a later point Penn made it a characteristic argument; for this shift in Quaker outlooks, cf. Section IX-C.

33). Cf. Bainton "Struggle of Religious Liberty", p. 103.

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With the independent value of Conscience, tended to be associated a belief that ethical conduct was more important than beliefs.[34] Friends also placed ethics above doctrine in importance.[35] At all times, Friends were willing to be judged, vis-a-vis their opponents, on an ethical basis.[36] Friends constantly appealed for release from persecution on the grounds that they were morally upright.[37] But Quaker ethics was always rooted in the Spirit. Where religious liberty is set upon an ethical basis, there has always been a strong tendency to separate religion from the ethical world of politics and trade.[38] For such men as Roger Williams, religion tended to become an inward and individual matter if it was to remain vital at all.[39] But early Friends did not make this separation of religion from secular ethics. Their ideal of the State was theocratic.

In Quaker tracts on toleration, accordingly, Conscience as such and ethical conduct in itself, though useful arguments were not basic issues. Certain practical arguments for toleration were also ~~brought~~

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34). Cf. Bates: Religious Liberty, p. 150; Allen: Political Thought; pp. 238-9.

35). In his older and less ardent years, Barclay could even say: "As I never hated...the person of a papist because of his religion, so I have justly esteemed, and do, several of them for their moral virtues." (Reliquiae Barclaianae, p. 65, quoted in Armsby, "Quaker View of State", p. 86)

36). "Measure us, and compare us in life and conversation, and truly judge whether they or we do more follow Christ and his apostles... Judge between the Priests and professors and all the sects, and us". (Burrough, in Introduction of Fox: Great Mistery, p. 23).

37). Cf. Burrough: Free Liberty, p. 13, & v. infra, Section VII-E.

38). Cf. Jordan: Toleration, p. 482.

39). Cf. ibid. pp. 497, 503, 398-9.

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brought forward from economic and political needs.[40] Nevertheless, it is striking how rarely such economic, political and pragmatic arguments were used, more particularly in comparison with later Quaker writing and with tracts by contemporaries in other sects.[41] Friends minimized pragmatic arguments because of the absolutism of their own ethic of the Spirit.

Friends also showed little interest in attempts to achieve toleration through latitudinarianism, (the effort "not to make the way to heaven straighter than God made it").[42] Though Latitudinarianism tends to accept groups which have a respectable morality, its main emphasis is upon doctrine. It tries to accept, within the State and the State-Church, all groups which accept certain fundamentals of Christian belief, regardless of their differences over marginal beliefs or "adiaphora".[43] Groups

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40). Persecution is "against the good Laws of this Nation" (Salthouse: Candle Lighted, p. 11). "Leave people free as to the worship of God, and you will more readily serve the common civil liberty of all men" [i. e. public tranquillity] (Howgill: Gray Ridge, p. 91). The grim examples of the wars arising from religious persecution in Holland, Poland, France & Germany were cited, and (after the Restoration) a useful quotation stolen from the EIKON BASILIKE (Fisher: Episkopos, pp. 29 ff). The example of the Sultan and pagan rulers who granted toleration was used to explain their prosperity (Fox: Works, IV, p. 360). Persecution "must unavoidable sic tend to destroy and expel Trading, Husbandry and Merchandize in these Kingdomes, for the great part of Trading and Husbandry depends upon such kind of persons whose principles are for toleration in Religion" (Edward Burrough: The Case of Free Liberty of Conscience in the Exercise of Faith and Religion (London, T. Simmons, 1661.

41). Penn used such arguments frequently, but few Friends before him. They were used by Leonard Busher and other Baptists, and were basic in the thought of Montaigne and the 'politiques' of France & Holland. Cf. Bainton, "Struggle of Religious Liberty, pp. 105-8; Freund: Toleranz, p. 229; Jordan: Toleration, III, 461.

42). Perry: Puritanism & Democracy, p. 356.

43). Cf. Freund: Toleranz, p. 65, etc., cf. also Beach: "Conscience"; This was the view of Jeremy Taylor, Stillingfleet, and Chillingworth.

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are excluded which deny basic Christian tenets. But such national Comprehension is always embarrassed by groups which refuse to consider the "adiaphora" unimportant. The Quakers were uncompromising upon the "minor" but insoluble differences in worship: "For it is wholly His own that the Lord accepts, and so here all Indifferency hath an end."[44] Friends were convinced that "there is such a thing as heresie in itself...by such as erred from the truth after they had once known the truth and received it... Heresie is somewhat in Practice of Worship and in point of Faith and Doctrine that is either contrary to or different from the perfect Truth of the Gosoel of Christ."[45] Often, in fact, Latitudinarianism set firm doctrinal boundaries beyond which Conscience had no rights.[46]

Latitudinarianism, however, differed from other systems of absolutist ethics in its rationalism, which led to two other basic lines of argument sympathetic to toleration. Both these Quakers characteristically ignored because of their suspicion of rationalism.

Sometimes rationalism led towards skepticism: uncertainty about the possibility of proof concerning the "adiaphora" led to doubts concerning even the "fundamentals".[47] This attitude might arise from genuine

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44). George Bishop: A Little Treatise concerning things indifferent unto worship (n. p., 1663), p. 5.

45). Edward Burrough: Antichrist's Government, pp. 16-17.

46). The Latitudinarian Bishop Gauden expounded for Fisher an essentially Thomistic doctrine, that it is a sin formally to act against one's Conscience, but a sin materially to obey an erroneous conscience. Fisher scoffs at this, but also assumes an absolutism of ethics. Cf. Episkopos, p. 15.

47). Roger Williams felt that "human wisdom can draw no exact line between Truth and Error" (quoted in Jordan: Toleration, p. 495). Cf. Allen: Political Thought, p. 205; Haller, Rise of Puritanism, p. 190.

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intellectual humility, and the experience of search and struggle, as with Acontius and Chillingworth,[48] but it might lead to a radical Pessimism of Knowledge, and an indifference to religion. Skepticism usually made for wider toleration, provided the ethical fundamentals of Society were felt to be secure; (if however ethics foundered with religion, skepticism might lead to Hobbesian positivism and coercion.).[49] With all such outlooks, Friends had little in common.

Not all the Rationalists were pessimists and skeptics about religious knowledge. There were many, especially among the radical Puritans, who were warmly confident of the victory of Truth, yet who saw that victory coming about (at least in part) through debate and the convincement of the human reason. Owen, Dell, Walwyn, Samuel Richardson, John Goodwin & Henry Robinson seem all to have advanced this as an argument for religious liberty.[50] The classic statement of this view-point is that in Milton's Areopagitica:

> "And though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and falsehood grapple; who ever knew truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter"[51]

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48). Cf. Freund, Toleranz, p. 30: "Man erkämpft sich für den Puritaner den Glauben nicht, man hat ihn...[Aber Chillingworth] is den Weg des Zweifels hindurchgegangen: er hat seine Wahrheit erkämpft".

49). Cf. Freund: Toleranz, pp. 215-285.

50). Cf. Freund: Toleranz, pp. 125, 226.

51). Prose Works I, p. 189, quoted Beach: "Conscience", p. 115; cf. the statement of William Dell: "And let it not be doubted but if the truth of God doe enter the lists against error, it will be infinitely able to prevaile of itself alone, without calling in any power, or borrowing any weapons from the world" (The Way of True Peace & Unity, p. 115, quoted in Jordan: Toleration, p. 314).

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This is a different line of argument from the purely skeptical one;[52] but it is essentially a rationalistic conception of religion and religious truth which underlies it.[53] It was probably for this reason, rather than from any misgivings about the certainty of Truth's victory, that it was rarely used by early Friends.[54] The "Areopagitic" arguments seems to imply that Truth is not only rational, but progressive, rather than given as dogma once for all:

> "Intolerance (in effect) says unto the Holy Ghost, reveale nothing more unto others then thou has revealed unto us; or rather ...if thou hast not revealed the truth unto us, reveale it not unto any other men"[55]

This might even lead to a conception of a positive value in a Religious Variety as in Milton,[56] leading to a dialectical conception. There is an element progress-belief here, a constant hope for new truths "from the teeming womb of truth",[57] rejecting the possibility of present perfect knowledge.[58] While the conception is essentially rationalistic,[59] as an argument for toleration it implies a stress upon individual rather

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52). Jordan: Toleration, p. 497.

53). Cf. ibid, p. 391.

54). Despite Belasco's opinion (op. cit., p. 23) I have found no clear cases of this idea among Quakers before Penn; Friends did take for granted the victory of the Spirit, which in their own terms they sometimes called Truth, but the conception of a logical battle for victory against error in the area of reason seems quite absent.

55). John Goodwin: Some Modest & Humble Queries, p. 2, quoted Jordan: Toleration III, p. 390, cf. Freund: Toleranz, p. 208.

56). Bainton: Travail of Liberty, pp. 198-9, cf. Nuttall: Holy Spirit, p. 115.

57). Milton: Areopagitica, quoted Freund: Toleranz, p. 170.

58). Freund: Toleranz, p. 284, Jordan: Toleration III, p. 380.

59). Cf. Niebuhr: Nature and Destiny of Man I, p. 237.

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than collective or universal reason.[60] This gives it its affinity with the conception of Truth as given directly by the Spirit in non-rational ways (and hence its appeal for a man like Dell), and a certain similarity to frequent Friends' statements about the freedom of the Spirit.

Nevertheless this line of argument does not seem to be found among Friends writings. Their conception of truth was not rationalistic. Nor was it dialectical: those led by the Spirit need search doubtingly for truth no longer:

> "Every true Member of the true Church, hath its particular measure of the infallible Spirit of Christ, whereby he is certainly perswaded of the way of Truth in which he walks, and knows and believes the infallibility of the Truth he possesseth".[61]

Thus the Independents & Baptists were constantly revising their statements of faith, developing even a "principal of mutability",[62] in which the conception of "progressive Truth" verged on skepticism; but Friends did not. Their lack of intellectual concern, to be sure, made Quakers slow to formulate doctrinal statements, but "rarely indeed in all these early Quaker letters",[63] tracts or books, "is a writer found admitting that he had been wrong or even mistaken". Their ultimate source of infallible certainty was the Spirit.

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60). Cf. Freund: Toleranz, p. 168.

61). Burrough: Antichrist's Government, p. 21.

62). Cf. Nuttall: Holy Spirit, p. 107: also the view of Thomas Goodwin: "It is not easie to set down with assurance the Independents' positions, both because they have to this day declined to declare positively their minds; as also because of their principle of mutability, whereby they professe readinesse to change any of their present Tenets" (Dissuasive from the Errours of the Time, p. 101, quoted Nuttall: op. cit. p. 101.

63). Nuttall: Christian Enthusiasm, p. 47.

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In point of quantity, the largest array of Quaker arguments for toleration in their early tracts, were those from the Bible. Many tracts were almost entirely composed of Biblical arguments and examples. Many tracts with other centers of emphasis included an overwhelming salvo of the standard texts. Those used included classic passages used since the early Church: the Parable of the Wheat & Tares (taking the Field as the World);[64] Paul's advice to the Corinthians concerning forbearance over meats & days; Jesus' rebuke to the disciples who wished to destroy insolent Samaritans; the advice of Gamaliel and Gallio; the Golden Rule; the distinction of Carnal and Spiritual Weapons.[65] The concept of historical Dispensations was used to show that the commands of Deuteronomy do not apply, since the Patriarchs before Moses, and Christ afterwards, did not persecute.[66] The typology of Abel & Cain (who "slew his brother ...because his own works were evil",[67] and for the sake of religion), was a recurrent favorite. There is frequent and vivid reminder of the fate of Old Testament persecutors: Manasseh, Pharaoh & Nebuchadnezzar. Most Quaker writers (especially Fox & Bishop) based entire tracts upon the imagery of Daniel & Revelation. Friends thinking was shaped by the Bible, and they used proof-texts instinctively as conclusive arguments.[68] They

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64). Cf. Bainton: "The Parable of the Tares", in Church History, June, 1932. Fisher said explicitly, (and other Friends implied) that Tares may meanwhile be uprooted from the Church (Episkopos, p. 30; Cf. Fox: Works, VI, p. 345; Edward Burrough: The Case of the People called Quakers (London, Robert Wilson, 1661).

65). Cf. Cooke, op. cit., pp. 2, 5, etc.

66). Ibid, p. 5.

67). I John 3:12.

68). V. supra, Section Iv-D.

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were writing against Biblicists. Behind their literalism, however, lay deeper assertions about God and the Spirit. "Did not Christ say He came to save men's lives?"[69] The constant discussion of Jesus' refusal to enact or speak for persecution, showed an attempt to reach the basic spirit of Christ.[70] Ultimately, Friends went behind Jesus' personal example to the nature of the God who "maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good",[71] and who "let Cain have liberty in the earth, after he had killed his brother about religion".[72] The Quaker conception of God's workings was based both on their own experience and on the New Testament.

Feeling as they did about the relation of religious liberty to the autonomy and authority of the divine Spirit, Friends commonly identified persecution and persecutors directly with Anti-Christ. Persecution violated Biblical precepts.[73] It misunderstood evil by using Carnal rather than Spiritual weapons.[74] It was a positive force of evil at work. Since laws against Quakers were more severely enforced than others, they said, "it is not only because there is a law against us, but it is

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69). Cooke: op. cit., p. 5.

70). Hence also the Friends contrast of Old Testament Law and New on persecution: "Never did any kill about religion, but the heathen, and Cain, and the Jews, who had a law from God to kill and put to death such as drew them from God...[But] the Christians were to love enemies." (Fisher: Works, IV, p. 308)

71). Matthew 5;45.

72). Fox: Works, IV, p. 308.

73). Cf. Fox: Works, IV, p. 222; Camm & Audland: Memory of the Righteous, p. 203.

74). Persecution is "practised among the Heathens, and the Antichrists, the Apostatized Christians, who are gone out from Christ, and the Apostles Spirit...for the weapons of their warfare were not Carnal but Spiritual....therefore they that persecute about Religion, are not for Christ, but Antichrists." (Fox "the Younger": Noble Salutation, pp. 16-17).

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also...because there is enmity, and wrath & wickedness in the hearts of men against us".[75] They felt confident, in fact, that even the consciences of their persecutors must reject the persecution:

> "There is a Prick that meets with the Prosecutors /sic/ now &then, which stops their furious driving and gives them no ease in their way, as it was with Saul while he Persecuted the Saints"[76]

In terms of their conception of the fundamental nature of the Light, the early Quaker attack upon persecution is fundamentally consistent: it was a conception of toleration, based not upon man, or the power of his reason or his conscience to reach Truth of themselves; but it was based upon a conviction concerning the nature of God, and of his ways with men, which made persecution unchristian.

Friends, however, placed a positive evaluation upon the work of the State, in the area not only of morals but of religion, and were eager to apply coercive laws against moral laxity and excess. A study of the Quaker approach to Law, and an attempt to reconcile Friends attitudes on Persecution and on Immorality, must be our next concern.

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75). Burrough: Case of the Quakers, p. 14.

76). Camm & Audland, op. cit., p. 200.

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Section VII-E: Persecution, Law and Liberty: Carnal and Spiritual Weapons.

In the series of tracts protesting the persecution of early Friends, one finds some vivid and pungent comments claiming the miscarriage of justice:

> "Your Whips, your Stocks, your Bridewels, your Gaols & Dungeons...are fitter for prophane Bear-Wards, obscoen & Blasphemous Stageplayers, interluders, & Balladsingers, Minstrels of many accursed Sorts & cheating Mountebancks...and yet all these Seed of Evil-doers, and Infernal Sectaries can meet without Controul...but God's own innocent simple Seed ...are by a law restricted....Goals are fitter for (these evil-doers) together with the Riotous, Surfeiting Drunkards...frequenters of May-Poles, May-Games, Whitsun-Ales, Wakes, Revellings, Ridiculous Morrice-dancers, dice & Card Players (all which consume the good Creation on their lusts and are even as a Pest or Curse in the Land, whilst the Poor want bread."[1]

This seems at first sight a simple enough protest, as no doubt it was an unreflecting one; nevertheless it needs closer examination. It seems to mean that the Law should restrain outward misconduct, and not belief. Howsoever Friends did actually perform outward acts which were illegal or a nuisance to neighbors; and Friends insisted that the Law should nevertheless not apply to them.[2]

Conversely the State was considered by early Friends to be divinely commissioned, and its work was integrated with not only ethical standards but religious ideals. In noting the primacy of the spiritual kingdom over the state, the relationship between them was left obscure. Clearly the Quakers felt that the role of the State involved outward coercion: "outward wrongs or evils or violence or other like visible crimes against men...I forbid not outward external punishments".[3] Yet how was the divinely commissioned State intended to fulfil its task by "carnal weapons"? Passages concerning perse-

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1) Byllinge: For every individual Superior & Inferior Magistrate in the Land.

2) Cf. Fox: Journal, II, p. 169.

3) Burrough: Antichrist's Government, p. 8.

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cution seem to set a stark contrast between punishment and love.[4] To solve these problems involves attempting to understand the Quaker conception of law, inward and outward, religious and ethical.

First, although here and elsewhere Quakers attack many evils because they are "destructive of the Creation", their attack upon Persecution stresses not so much its destructiveness as its irrelevance:

> "Are not all these wrestlers against flesh and blood, who would have Creatures hurt? So instead of striking at the power which captivates the creature...they are...striking and wrestling with flesh and blood."[5]

Admitting that Fox is here thinking of persecutors of Quakers, he is trying to get at the fact that not only is faith not achievable by coercion, but that evil is also not to be destroyed at that outward level.[6] The real root of evil lay within men's hearts:

> "The government of AntiChrist is in the heart, not onely of one man in some Nations, but in the hearts of all such men...in all the the Kingdoms of the world" who are yet unredeemed. "Antichrist is an invisible Spirit".[7]

Thus to seek to overcome evil by force is to misunderstand or to despise the power of the Spirit.[8] It is in fact an admission of defeat:

> "He that will be Lord over a mans Faith is in darkness, and out of the power of God...and doth not believe that he shall overcome sin, and the body of sin, while he is upon earth."[9]

This explains the categorical statements of early Friends equating persecutors with the unregenerate and with Antichrist.[10] Thus Friends identified the

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4) "They that will persecute about Religion...will destroy the Creatures ...but who is in the pure Religion which is from above...visit the fatherless, feed the hungry, cloath the naked. These be the preservers of the Creation". Fox: Fifty-nine Particulars, p. 14.

5) Fox: To the Protector, p. 28.

6) The magistrate that "fights with Creatures, with flesh & blood, he cannot fight with spiritual wickedness and the powers of darkness with swords and spears...he runs against the Creature with Swords and Spears, and defaces and marrs it....For he that wrestles with spiritual wickedness...must be turned from them in his own particular...he must have the shield of Faith, & spiritual weapons to beat them down, and to bring them into the liberty of the Sons of God". (Fox: 59 Particulars, p. 12)

7) Burrough: Antichrist's Government, pp. 45,32; cf. Wilson: Relief & Reconstruction, pp. 12-13.

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persecutors of religion with the force of "the Old Man" within the heart, which was the root of evil action; they went on to think of it therefore as a struggle, the same within as without:

> "The Lord knows what bitter fights we have had with the enemy in our own hearts, before we could leave our principles, paths, and practices of darkness; how hard it hath been to us to deny the world and come out of it;...then we meet with a new fight abroad in the world, the same principle and power in them fighting us, as did at first in ourselves."[11]

Therefore Friends constantly asserted that the place to wage war against evil was first and foremost within one's own heart, which would remove the need of outward strife.[12] The way of conquest over evil is the submission of the selfish will, the acceptance of self-denial and suffering. Hence the identification of inward and outward oppression:

> "The persecuted in all ages is that which is born after God's Spirit... He that was born after the flesh persecuteth him that was born after the Spirit...Persecution is the opposition of the flesh against the Spirit."[13]

When this conception, however, was applied to the magistrate, rather than to the sufferings of the Quakers, a new note is sounded:

> "Give free Toleration in the exercise of a tender Conscience. Be as zealous as you can in the restraining of Vice and Vanity in your own particulars and in the Nation."[14]

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8) "They that persecute people about Religion...quench the Spirit of God in themselves, and throws away spiritual weapons". Fox: 59 Particulars, p.18.

9) Ibid. p. 17.

10) "There is noe one strikes his felow servants, (the reference is to Mt. 24:49), but first he is gone from ye puer in his owne perticular". (Fox: Journal, I, p. 305).

11) Penington: Works, I, p. 467.

12) "abide low in the fear of the Lord...no Pride, no Strife, but in the Cross abide, which judgeth that, and takes away the occasions of Wars." Camm & Audland: Memory of Righteous, p. 105; cf. John Saltmarsh: "Is it not enough that wee have warre in ourselves" (Holy Discoveries & Flames, (1640) p. 223-4, quoted by Haller: Rise of Puritanism, p. 77. Barclay made the perceptive statement:-"No man that persecutes another for his conscience will suffer for his own,...for the ground of persecution is an unwillingness to suffer". (Truth Triumphant, Works, p. 627, quoted by Belasco: Authority, p.62).

13) Penington: Works I, p. 463; cf. Armsby: "Quaker View of State".

14) Mason: To Parliament.

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Friends' combination of appeals for the suppression of vice and the toleration of religion implies in part the identification of both persecution and vice with destructive violence.[15] And often were Friends' protest simply the instinctive equation of Quaker and Libertine with good and bad: Good "rulers are not a terror to good works but to evil".[16] But behind this is the continual assumption that the Seed, the Light, the Spirit do constantly oppose and resist evil, and do so actively.[17]

In this struggle, the law has a rightful part:- "The Law is to keep down mens wils; and that men should not act in their own wills".[18] Fox, in his rambling style, implies a theory of Law firmly rooted in the conception of the nature of good and evil within the heart:

> "The Law of God goes over the Jews, over the Gentiles, answers that of God in them all, and cuts down that which man doth invent....The Law was added because of transgression...and who transgress goe from that of God in them; and this law was not made for the righteous, but for transgressors,....And here's the higher power, to which the souls must be subject,....And that which invents a Law or an Act which does oppresse, it is made by that which has transgressed the pure in his owne particular....Therefore take heed all ye Law makers, how ye make Lawes, that ye may be kept in the fear of God, and ..receive his instructions ...and Law from him, and not your own Inventions, for that will be tyrannical."[19]

This is of course a theory of good and bad Laws, as well as their application to good and bad men, precisely because good Laws should overrule men's evil wills.

The basic Quaker theory of the Law, therefore, was that human Law should correspond with divine Law, "the Higher Power". In actual fact, of

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15) "The Law, the higher power...keeps down the destroyer; for (the) disobedient (is) a destroyer, a sinner a destroyer, a transgressor a destroyer, an evil doer a destroyer....So the law that is just and righteous goes upon him". (Fox: To the Protector, p. 8).

16) Fox: Works, Vol. VI, p. 311 and repeatedly.

17) Cf. Armsby: "Quaker View of State", p. 50.

18) Fox: Journal, I, p. 14; cf. p. 25.

19) Fox: To the Protector, pp. 6-7.

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course, one must ask whether Friends had thought through their position with consistency to the end. Their theory of Law assumed that the evil-doer was acting, not according to conscience, but against it.[20] They spoke of the conscience of the libertine as "seared" and unheeded, and naturally assumed that by the power of the Light, their own consciences had been purified.[21] Suppression of vice, for the Quakers, (like suppression of dissent in Massachusetts) was not regarded as involving persecution of conscience. One must ask whether the enforcement of Law was seen by Quakers as the way to uproot evil from the human heart. Insofar as the Law judges human self-will, it may also arouse the conscience to battle against it. But this idea is not clearly found in Friends' writings.[22] Since Quakers believed that an evil-doer might have "passed his day of Visitation", and that his conscience might have become seared past re-awakening, it is possible that Friends advocated the suppression of vice simply among those who could not suppress it in themselves. One suspects that Friends and Puritans alike shared such an intense hatred of everything which they considered vicious, and had warred so actively against vice in themselves, that they took it for granted that it redounded to the Glory of God to suppress vice outwardly wherever they found it.[23] However oversimplified

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20) The fact that Friends urged laws against "Idolatry" and Parish ministry must simply be accepted as an occasional inability to conceive that the consciences of other men, if heeded, might lead them even temporarily to these things. At other times Friends advocated religious liberty for Anglicans, Catholics, and all religions conscientiously held, though they assumed that the Light of God in the consciences of men could never leave such men permanently at ease in "idolatry".

21) "And should not the work of the true Christian magistrate be to encourage this pure conscience, and to discourage the exercise of this evil seared conscience...? If not how are (the magistrates) a terror to evil doers?" (Fox: Journal, II, p. 418; cf. Kuhn: Toleranz, p. 246.)

22) There are instances of the opposite conception, that complete freedom will shame the heathen and the hypocrite (Nayler: Works, p. 184; cf. Section VII-D.

23) It required the gradual evolution of fifty to a hundred years to extend the Quaker plea for prisons beneficial to their inmates, to a theory of the entire law as rehabilitative.

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their judgments of good and evil, Quakers did not intend to use special pleading in claiming that justice had miscarried:

> "They wee see are att libertie, to which ye sword should be a terror, & for crying against such ar many cast into prison...& for crying against their deciptfull merchandize in marketts & their cousening & their cheating & their pride & their excesse & naughtines, boullings & shoullabords, & their cardes & dices & their pleasures.[24]

The law should be against these things. Conversely, it followed from the Quaker conception of law that "The law is not made for a righteous man. Therefore they that be righteous men, and the Quakers...the law is not to be laid upon them".[25] Quakers suspected judges, not incorrectly, of applying the law against them with more zeal than partiality.[26] But Quakers also assumed that a Law which was contrary to the Bible or which restrained the Spirit, was wrong. Therefore the Quakers were clear that the law against those who "maliciously, wilfully, or of an evil purpose disturbe...the publick preacher, or make any publick disturbance in the congregation",[27] should not apply to the good-purposed and spirit-led Friends. Still less should any "be persecuted and imprisoned for warning drunkards, cursers, cheaters, fighters, and quarrellers to repent, in streets, markets, cities and towns",[28] no matter what the law might read.[29]

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24) Fox: Journal I, p. 192; cf. Camm & Audland: Memory of the Righteous, pp. 300 301.

25) Burrough: Message for Instruction, p. 3; cf. Fox: To the Protector, p. 11.

26) "It may be objected by the Magistrates and Rulers 'That we have now a Law against you, and you must suffer, for we cannot but put the Law in Execution, according to our Oath...and we cannot be blamed for your suffering.! To which Burrough answers...'The Magistrates...may execute the same with Moderation or with Violence, with Discretion, or too much rigour: and it will be well for them to use moderation...hereby may they save themselves from that weight of Anger and Indignation of the Lord God." (Edward Burrough: The Case of the People Called Quakers, (London, Robert Wilson, 1661), p. 11.

27) Burrough: Message for Instruction, p. 24.

28) Fox: Works, IV, p. 265.

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Clearly the Quaker assumption that the Law should be under God, and that laws which were unjust were false to their divine commission, involved the claim of the Saints to judge the Law. This has of course, been the claim of every religious group which has put obedience to God above duty to man. But the Calvinist could judge the law by its conformity to the Scriptures, and the Thomist by Natural Law. The Quaker claimed the same authority for the Spirit within him.[30]

This assertion of the power of the Spirit to judge the Law meant that the Quaker put obedience to the Light within himself above that to unregenerate magistrates.[31] Particularly in religious matters only Saints should be judges: "None are able to discern of Heresie... but they that have the infallible Spirit in them to guide them".[32]

The Quaker conception of the nature of the Law and of the Spirit involved of necessity, the claim not only to judge specific laws and their administrators, but to stand above the Law as individuals.[33] This was established

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29) In such case "the law is not according to Christ,...but is unjustly grounded upon the breach of Christ's command". (Burrough: Message for Instruction, p. 17). The fact that the Law had been accepted democratically in times past was no criterion: "Such a gift freely given by our Ancestors in the times of Ignorance and darkness...doth not bind any now to do the same". (Ibid. p. 9).

30) Cf. Fox: Works, VI, pp. 320-321: Journal I, p. 97.

31) "Some may say and object, how shall this be known,...who it is that doth their works out of the exercise of a good conscience, and who doeth their deeds out of an evill minde and to evill intent...Burrough answers: to all such as have the spirit of the Father and are led thereby,...this is an easy thing to discerne....And such as cannot discerne and distinguish in such matter, hath not the Spirit of God,...neither is fit to judge the people." (Burrough: Message for Instruction, p. 19)

32) Burrough: Antichrist's Government, p. 19.

33) "God hath a People whom the Law was not made for, who are Righteous, that is that are led by the Scriptures of God and are not under the law". (Cooke: For Each Parliament Man now sitting at Dublin, p. 4)

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upon a basis of Pauline theology:

> "They that are reconciled to God...are not under the law, nor the law hath no power over them...and such men the law of man is to defend, and not to Iudg them".[34]

So far as the individual is concerned, the Quaker outlook was moulded by the teaching of Saint Paul on Christian Liberty. So far as subordination to an outward law was concerned, "There shall be no need of any outward Law.. but the law of righteousness which the Lord will place and write in the tables of every man's heart".[35] Yet this does not mean that the Spirit-led man is free to do evil. Liberty is liberty to submit to the spirit and to obey it in whatsoever it leads:

> "If thou art such an one that canst do nothing against truth, but for the truth, then mayst thou safely be left to thy freedom in the things of God...But if thou pleadest thy freedom against such things, yea obstructest and slightest such good and wholesome and requisit things, thy freedom is nought, dark, perverse, out of truth, and against the perfect law of love and liberty."[36]

Liberty is limited by the true nature of man himself:- namely his creaturehood. Finally, Christian Liberty is limited not only by the obedience of man to God the Spirit, but by the nature of the Spirit itself:

> "Liberty is the enlargedness of the heart in the spirit of the Lord, wherein it hath scope in all that is good, and is shut out of all that is evil....And thus the infinite One is limited...even within the limits...of his own nature".[37]

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34) Burrough: Message for Instruction, p. 3; cf. Fox: Works, VI, p. 329ff. It must be emphasized that even over against the State this was not a claim made by Friends for themselves as men. It was for the Spirit which moved them that such authority was claimed: Thus Howgill answered the magistrates at Bristol: "We came not in the will of Man, nor stand in the Will of Man, but when He moves us to depart, who moved us hither we shall obey, but your Wills we cannot obey, for your Will is no Law." (quoted in Best: Rebel Saints, p. 199)

35) Ben Nicholson: "Some Returns to a Letter" (1653) p. 7, quoted by Schenk: Social Justice, p. 121.

36) Penn: Works II, p. 693, quoted by Kühn: Toleranz, p. 261.

37) Penington: Works II, p. 380, quoted in Armsby: "Quaker View of State", p. 70.

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Nevertheless these statements were exhortations to Friends themselves; (in fact most of them date from after the period under consideration)[38]. But in actual fact, Quakers allowed themselves no moral liberties, and hence were no threat to that large proportion of civil law which is concerned with the moral standards of society. Yet as we have seen, they claimed to stand above the authority of the State, and to reject its laws, at any point where the Spirit might lead them to feel that its authority was not of God.[39] Such a complete rejection of human authority led to acute and significant conflicts of the rights of Society with those of the prophetic individual. It was not unnatural that for Quakers these were seen as part of the problem of religious liberty.

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38) In the earliest Quaker writings there are constant injunctions to "dwell in the pure fear of the Lord, which will keep you pure and single ...dwell in the Light, and with it you will see...all the wiles of Satan"; - "by the pure light of God...wait upon him in singleness of heart". (Camm & Audland: Memory of the Righteous, p. 70, p. 262). However antinomian by standards of Civil Law, few groups were less so in the realm of morals than early Friends, with their burning earnestness for moral transformation.

39) "Such (rulers) as are turned into corruption, and are hypocrites, are gone from the higher power, which the soul should not be subject to,.. and so for the Lord's sake the saints cannot be subject to that power". (Fox: Great Mistery, pp. 166-7)

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Section VII-F: Some Basic Issues of Toleration raised by the Actions of Friends

In the development of systematic theories of religious liberty, Friends made far less contribution than did the early Baptists or individual thinkers such as Milton. But both the Quaker outlook upon law and the State, and the practical conduct of Friends in Society, raised issues of the utmost importance for religious liberty. In particular their idea of the relation of Conscience to action and to prophetic witness made clear the mutual toleration of Conscience is only a compromise. Universal human nature does not provide any absolute basis upon which to establish universal rights of Conscience. There is no way to prevent Conscience from producing conflict and deadlock between men whose religious absolutes are different.

Friends only partly realized the problems which their expression of Conscience in action and in prophetic judgment revealed. They were able at least to correlate the conflicts of Conscience which they produced with their own basic religious affirmations. It is doubtful whether any solution to such conflicts can be formulated in universal and abstract terms. Concretely the Friends developed, half-unconsciously, one of the most creative solutions to human conflict that has emerged, by their theory and practice of passive resistance.

The government of Cromwell was tolerant. Cromwell himself felt great concern for religious earnestness in whomever it appeared.[1] This outlook he put into practical effect in his political policy of religious liberty.[2] Even Fox, at the time of his first emprisonment in 1650,

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1). Cf. Jordan: Toleration, III, p. 134.

2). "I have borne my reproach", he wrote, "but I have through God's mercy, not been unhappy in preventing any one religion to impose

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admitted that "it was a strange things to bee Imprisoned then for religion, and some thought I was madde".[3] Under these circumstances, the fact that 123 Friends were in prison simultaneously in 1659 is striking. The conflicts which underlay such collisions with society are worth careful study.

There was suspicion among many men that Quakers were a serious menace to Society. First in Scotland, and later in England, Quakers were cashiered out of the Army, greatly to their own chagrin, "not barely for beinge Quakers, but for their disobedience to their officers and things off that nature".[4] It was not only the army but the State which had cause for concern. While it was not true, as Williams claimed, that Quakers obeyed none but Quaker magistrates,[5] no non-Quaker felt he could predict to which magistrates Quakers would be obedient. There was widespread fear that such intransigeance would lead to revolution, if opportunity offered.[6] Certain Quaker statements while meant mainly

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2). (continued) upon another." (Letters & Speeches, pp. 535-7; quoted by Jordan: Toleration, III, p. 220).

3). Journal, I, p. 10.

4). Colonel Ingoldsby, quoted in JFHS, VII, p. 57; cf. General Monck's attitude (Thurloe State Papers, VI, p. 136, as quoted in Armsby, "Quaker View of State", p. 43). Henry Cromwell was indeed right in thinking "Their principles & practices not very consistent...with the discipline of an army" (ibid., VI, pp. 508-9, quoted in Armsby "Quaker View of State", p. 43). Armies have never made provision for prophets in the ranks.

5). Cf. Hertz, "Bible Commonwealth", p. 271.

6). "There's no question if the spirit (that is Advantage or Opportunity) did but move, they themselves would be the inflictors of all the punishments and plagues mentioned in that Sacred Book." (Tracts of the Congregational Historical Society, III, pp. 201-2, quoted in Armsby "Quaker View of State", p. 18). Cf. the letter of Major-General Haynes to Thurloe (July 5, 1656; quoted in Armsby, op. cit., p. 132 from Thurloe State Papers, V, pp. 187-8): "Our Fifthe Monarchy party [in Suffolk] have many of them turned Anabaptists...and some of them synce

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symbolically, must have sounded most alarming to the unitiated who heard them:

> "I will hold my Peace now no longer, saith the Lord... and give unto my Son and his saints to reign over all the Earth ...and a Two-edged Sword into their Hands, and they shall execute Vengeance upon the heathen, and punishments upon the People"[7]

Friends, even when rightly understood, envisaged a theocracy, and rejected categorically the authority of the existing non-saintly government. Occasional statements stressing the coercive role of the saintly magistrate could have been minunderstood as implying that a theocracy was to be set up by military force:

> "None can deserve the Name of Christian Governours, but who by him are governed...in Spirit...And all who own not...to obey the Lord therein, the Sword of the Lord in the Hand of his Ministers shall be upon such, and that of God to which he is subject,...shall instruct him...to find out the Transgressors, and lay the Sword upon him; and such [magistrates] shall not bear the Sword in vain"[8]

The Quakers did intend a social revolt, if not a military one. It is not surprising that many, from their own time down to Weingarten & Bernstein in ours, have regarded Quakerism as "a vast Chiliastic move-

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6). (continued) renounced that and all other ordinances, and are turned Seekers, and feared by sober people will soon profess to be Quakers". A Ranter, John Tany, who attempted to attack Parliament with a drawn sword, (claiming that the act was "inspired by the Holy Spirit") was erroneously called a Quaker (Cf. Gooch: Democratic Ideas, p. 234, Nuttall, Christian Enthusiasm, p. 81).

7). "Spare none, neither Ox nor Asse; neither old nor young; kil; cut off; destroy; bath your sword in the blood of Amalek and all ...the uncircumcised, and hew Agag in pieces; break the Rocks, cut down the Cedars & strong Oaks; make the Devills subject, cast out the unclean Spirits, raise the dead...the Angel of the everlasting Covenant is come: thrust in your sickles, reap the earth, the Word of God is come...declare his name, publish his eternal truth...Eternal life is come, glory to him for ever. Silence all disputers & diviners for ever: trample upon all the chaff" Burrough: Camp of the Lord, p. 8.

8). Nayler: Works, p. 298.

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ment which was to have produced an English Münster".[9]

In spite of these fears, Friends were never emprisoned for insurrection and only occasionally cross-questioned in this regard. Nayler describes, from a Quaker perspective, the charges of which Quakers were convicted:

> "The Members of Christ lie still...in Holes & Prisons for the Truths sake....Some of them [because they] are moved to go into the Idols Temples, to dispute and reason with them who uphold the Idols Worship....Others Suffer, because they cannot...give Worship to Proud Men [i. e. by Hat-Honor, etc.] Others suffer for Confessing the Name of Christ, and witnessing Him in them in their Measure...and this is called Blasphemy....Others...for denying to swear...Others...[are] taken under the Name of Wanderers, because they have no earthly Possessions."[10]

Those who arrested Friends considered that these Quaker practices were all actions against civil law, rather than issues of religious liberty. The prosecution was for outward offences, and was carried on by the local justices. Had Friends been arrested for matters of belief, Cromwell would have intervened.[11] But these issues were clearly for Friends themselves matters of religion and conscience.

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9). Barclay: Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth, p. 425n, quoted Armsby: "Quaker View of State", p. 123n.

10). Works, pp. 102-3. Nayler's list corresponds remarkably closely with the charges upon which the 123 Friends in prison in 1658 had been indicted: 60 for refusing to pay Tithes (an issue which emerged after Nayler's tract cited above); 32 for disturbing public worship; 6 over Hat-Honor, 2 for Oaths; 2 for Vagabondage. Only two were booked for "unlawful meetings", none for sedition. (Cf. Jordan: Toleration, III, p. 295; Fox "The Younger", Works, pp. 14-16.

11). Cromwell and his Council ignored charges of heresy, and even blasphemy, "judging it safer, in dealing with persons whose miscarriages arise rather from defects in the understanding than from malice in their wills, to exercise too much lenity than too much severity." (Extracts from State Papers, I, 90-91; quoted in Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 453). The prosecution of Friends was as a matter of fact never undertaken by the national government under the Commonwealth.

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The basic issue in all Quaker conflicts concerning religious liberty, was the relation of Conscience to outward action. Following the lead of Luther's doctrine of Christian Liberty,[12] the Protestant tradition had tended to identify freedom of conscience with freedom of thought and belief (and usually of worship), rather than freedom of action in general. The involvement of conscience in conduct was the problem brought forward in England by the seventeenth century. It was raised in 1652 at the trial of John Clarke in Massachusetts: the judge stated that:

> "The Court sentenced you, not for matter of judgment and conscience, but for matter of fact and practice", involving in this case worship; Clarke replied: "man is void of judgment and conscience with respect unto God, that hath not a fact and practice suitable thereunto"[13]

Much the same principle underlay the Quaker claim. Friends, they said,

> "are justified in all things; and so out of all condemnation ...And if such doe suffer by the law, that law is unjust,...and that suffering is not for evill doing, but for good conscience sake"[14]

The Friends doctrine of the indwelling Spirit, which expressed the Quaker experience of the overwhelming power which took hold of them within the early Meetings, was a doctrine open to many difficulties intellectually.[15] On the assumption (which Friends accepted) that God is personal and that the Spirit is an aspect of God, Richard Sherlock was probably right in pointing out the logical deduction: "Had they the Spirit of God as they pretend abiding in them and speaking in them personally and essentially,

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12). Cf. Beach: "Conscience", p. 136.

13). John Clarke: Ill Newes from New-England, p. 21, quoted Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", p. 157.

14). Burrough: Message for Instruction, pp. 3-4.

15). V. Supra, Section III-B.

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this blasphemy must necessarily follow, that they are equal with God".[16] In order to safeguard the Quaker belief in the autonomy of the Spirit's guidance, and infallible work of the Spirit in sanctifying men, Fox was in fact driven to claim both divine authority and moral perfection.[17] Fox ascribed the perfection to the power of the Spirit within him, and not to himself as a creature, but it is not surprising that country Justices of the Peace did not always understand the difference. Languague was undeniably obscure, particularly in his many references to himself as "the Son of God".

It must be admitted also that the natural tendency to idolize a dynamic spiritual leader led a few Friends in the early days to use extravagant language towards him.[18] John Stubbs addressed Fox as: "My dear everlasting 3ꝑ (Father) which my life exceedingly reverences, and when I enjoy thee it's unspeakable and full of glory".[19] Fox was

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16). The Quaker's Wilde Questions (1654), quoted Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 110; cf. p. 109.

17). Thus after his hearing at the Lancaster Assizes in 1652, Fox reported the following charges with his replies:

"Ch: First that he did aferm that he had the devenety ecenshally in him;
Ans: The Seants are the tempells of God and God doeth dwell in them....
Ch: That [Fox claimed] he was eqall with God;
Ans: That was not so spoken that I was equal with God, [but] he that sanctifieth and he that is sanctified are all of one, they are one in the Father and the Son, and of His flesh and of His bone, this the scripture doth witness, and ye are the sons of God, and the Father and the Son are one
Ch: That [Fox claimed] hee was the iudge of the world;
Ans: The seants shall iudge the world.
Ch: That [Fox claimed] he was as upright as krist;
Ans: The seants are made the righteousness of God."

Fox: Journal, I, p. 69, quoted in Braithwaite: Beginnings, pp. 107-8.

18). Cf. the language used concerning Mrs. Eddy in Christian Science Meetings today.

19). Devonshire House Crosfield Manuscript, quoted Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 499. A personal letter from Mary Howgill to Fox perturbed him to the point where he corrected the manuscript (as noted in brackets, striking out the words underlined): "Dearely beeloued George,

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embarrassed by these expressions (which were fairly rare), but himself rebuked Nayler for "his resisting the power of God in me"[20] It is possible that Fox had already been led by his own prison experiences to realize the need for clearer thinking and more sober language before the crisis of the Nayler episode. Yet while Nayler was undoubtedly exhausted and disturbed in mind at the time of his entry into Bristol, his action represents in fact simply an extreme case of the danger to which Friends had been open from the beginning. Since Friends claimed to be led in every action by the Spirit within them, they were always to some extent incarnations of the Spirit.[21] When their actions took the form of brief and negative "Signs" symbolizing prophetic judgment, the theological implications were less obvious than the imitation of the listeners. In Nayler's Sign however, which symbolized the positive and permanent indwelling of the Spirit, the Sign and actual Incarnation became harder to distinguish.[22] At his trial Nayler made clear that the

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19). (continued) my deare life (Friend), my liuinge joy, who beegat me into the liuinge life & put life where none was, & turned me towards an endles Kingdome whose Kingdome endures for eyer...Deare life (friend), J desier thee to pray for me." (Quoted First Publishers of Truth, p. 201, from Devonshire Ho. ARB MSS, p. 41). Cf. the more famous letter to Fox from Margaret Fell: "Our dear father in the Lord...O thou bread of life, without which our souls will starve....O our dear nursing father...O our life, we hope to see thee again that our joy may be full, for in thy presence is fulness of joy, and where thou dwells is pleasures for evermore. O thou fountain of eternal life, our souls thirsts after thee, for in thee alone is our life and peace." (Spence MSS III, p. 24, quoted Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 105.

20). Swarthmore MSS I, p. 181, quoted Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 248, cf. the letter of Margaret Fell to Nayler upon the same occasion: "I have heard that thou would not be subject to him to whom all nations shall bow...." If thou stood in the suffering for the seed, thou had not resisted him who is the promise of the Father to the Seed." (Spence MSS III, fol. 38, quoted Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 249)

21). V. supra, Section III-C.

22). V. supra, Section VI-E.

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extravagant language used was directed not at himself, but at God's spirit in him.[23] The honor had been given "to that Jesus, to that Christ that is in me....I do abhor that any of that honor which is due to God should be given to me as I am a creature".[24] Despite the realization by many of "the nearness of [Nayler's] opinion to that which is a most glorious truth, that the Spirit is personally in us",[25] it is clear that many people felt that both Nayler and Fox were claiming divinity in ways which were blasphemous.

This was not entirely a new problem. Various Ranters had made divine claims. The Commonwealth had passed a Blasphemy Act to curb such behavior.[26] " On the whole, the evidence would indicate that the

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23). His followers, notably Martha Simmons & Robert Rich (both partially insane) went much further than Nayler, singing "Holy, Holy, Holy" before him as he went. (On the details of this famous episode, cf. Jordan: Toleration, III, p. 233 ff; Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 243 ff; Armsby "Quaker View of State", p. 116 ff. Asked by the Judge: "Art thou the Son of God?", Nayler answered "I am the Son of God, but I have many brethren...The Lord hath made me a sign of His coming" (quoted Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 253); Miss Armsby's study concurs with Braithwaite and Jordan that "the entry into Bristol...was intended to bring home with dramatic emphasis the cardinal Quaker doctrine that Christ was come to teach his people himself", (Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 254); they also agree that the "Sign" was primarily for this religious purpose and only secondarily political (so Weingarten) or pacifistic. (cf. Hazelton: In Our Midst, p. 75.

24). Cobbett: State Trials V, pp. 812,815, quoted by Armsby: "Quaker View of State", p. 117.

25). Conway Letters, p. 417, quoted Armsby: "Quaker View of State", p. 116.

26). This Act stated (as revised in 1650, and in force in the time of Fox & Nayler): "That all and every person and persons (not distempered with sickness or distracted in brain), who presume avowedly in words to profess, or shall by writing proceed to affirm and maintain him or herself or any other meer Creature, to be very God, or to be Infinite or Almighty, or in Honor, Excellency, Majesty & Power to be equal, and the same with the true God...Or whosoever shall profess that whatsoever is acted by them...may be committed to Prison or to the House of Correction for the space of six months, without Bail or Mainprize"...For the second offence the penalty was banishment. Firth & Holt: Acts & Ordinances of the Interregnum II, pp. 409-412 (Aug. 9, 1650), as quoted Margaret James: England During the Interregnum, p. 183.

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blasphemy act was fairly and mildly enforced during the period 1650-1652," and probably thereafter.[27] The Act made allowances for insanity, and the clause proscribing Antinomians (who considered whatsoever they did to be sinless) was not applied to Quakers. Nevertheless the nation believed that the Blasphemy Act had been violated by Nayler.[28]

The majority in the country, as well as in Parliament, felt that Nayler had insulted those things which they considered Holy. Thus was raised the legal and moral issue of the right of the individual to cause public offence. Every penal law actually involves the passing of moral judgment upon one individual by others.[29] Every Law against forms of immorality that do not physically injure a man's neighbors, involves the same principle as the Blasphemy Act. The issue of "Public Offence" is therefore always essentially an issue of inward or moral injury, an issue of Conscience on both sides. In this case it was the Conscience of the majority which was offended by Nayler's action. The problem raised was the nature of Conscience: whether the function of Conscience is limited to the acts of the individual concerned, and if not, how far the Conscience of the majority should control the acts of individuals.[30]

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27). Jordan: Toleration, III, p. 136.

28). When Nayler was brought before Parliament, the conservative majority (and Cromwell's friends who opposed them) focussed the twelve days of their debate mainly upon whether the Biblical death sentence for blasphemy could legally be applied. Such a penalty could be legalized only ex-post-facto so far as Nayler's case under the Blasphemy Act was concerned. On these grounds the death sentence was rejected (instead Nayler received a somewhat unconstitutional and most brutal flogging). On all these details cf. Jordan: Toleration, pp. 220-245.

29). This is often only the judgment that society has a right to protect itself.

30). Most religious persecution is "conscientious"; A modern example is the claim of the Spanish government that it is necessary to close (or at least conceal Protestant Churches in Spain) because to see them offends the Conscience of the Catholic majority. Cf. Bates: Religious Liberty, pp. 14 ff.

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A more concrete area of conflict between the moral ideals of one group and those of the majority was found in the Quaker relationship to the law. This involved also the moral authority of the State. Friends claimed in principle the right to judge all civil laws by the superior authority of the Spirit. In practice also, they claimed the right to violate freely any laws which contradicted the Light in their Consciences.

Direct violations of national laws were involved in most of the cases of Quaker emprisonment. Friends refused Tithes, which were required by law; their use of "thee & thou", and their refusal of "hat-honor" when brought into the court-room were considered Contempt of Court. Their rejection of Oaths brought Friends afoul of various laws in which Oaths were prescribed,[31] In the latter case Friends broke the letter but not the spirit of the law.[32] But Friends' rejection of Tithes and their actions "in Contempt of Court" exemplified their basis "anarchism" towards the State.

Friends had challenged the whole Reformation conception of the State.[33] The Quaker claim to put the authority of conscience and of

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31). Notably it laid them open to charges of treason or of Recusancy by their refusal to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Abjuration. This latter act, passed in 1655, was aimed specifically at Roman Catholics, but was repeatedly used to convict Quakers; cf. First Publishers, pp. 345 ff.

32). Entirely mendacious charges caused Friends to be arrested in some instances and suspected in others. In 1654 George Cowlishaw of Bristol deposed on oath that he had spoken with an Irish Franciscan who knew Quakers in Rome (cf. Camm & Audland, op. cit., pp. 129-133). More natural but even more wisespread, were the charges that Friends used "Potions, Bracelets, Ribbands, Sorcery & Witchcraft, to intoxicate their Disciples", charges advanced by figures as respectable as Prynne & John Bunyan (cf. Camm & Audland, op. cit., p. 151). This led to at least one actual trial for witchcraft (Tindall: Bunyan appendix).

33). Friends, by way of defence, occasionally pointed out that their illegal actions did not hurt anyone, but this was not a major argument, and if taken seriously would have reduced the State to the role of

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God above that of the State is in essence one which must be taken seriously by every Christian. Moreover, some of the Quaker intransigeance was the by-product of their intense combat with "the World" and with evil.[34] Nevertheless the early Quaker conception of the State seems inadequate at certain points. The doctrine of the State as an independent Order, with an authority independently ordained of God, might lead to a doctrine of unconditional obedience, or to a perpetual conflict soluble only by the tyrannicide of evil rulers. The Quakers identified the authority of justice in the State with that of the Spirit in the individual heart. Thus they unified morality. The discipline of the State over those of "seared" conscience corresponds to the stem discipline of the Spirit over self-will within the spirit-led. But the Quaker idea of the spiritual authority of the state ignored the character of the State as organized human Society. Every theocratic state, in its concern for the sovereignty of God, is likely to minimize social interdependence of the imperfectly saintly. Social groups have an authority over individuals insofar as they are dependent upon membership within it. To this extent the consensus of the group or the preservation of its existence represent moral claims upon individuals.[35]

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33). (continued) policeman between individuals. In the 18th & 19th Centuries, this laissez-faire conception of the state was strong among Friends, but their earlier view was theocratic.

34). Jordan: Toleration, III, p. 178.

35). Such claims of society are usually presented in terms of benefits received by the individual from the group that demand counter-contributions. The necessity of group life even among the sinful, makes approximate justice necessary; (This is the view of Reinhold Niebuhr). It might be possible to create a conception of the State, starting from the basic Quaker principles of the group nature and unifying function of the Spirit, and of the dependence of justice upon self-surrender.

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At one point, however, the Quaker rejection of the authority of Society presented a prophetic challenge. On a social basis, the rights of a group over its members are different from its rights over non-members. The Independents' theory of the Church involved this assumption.[36] Upon this concept of non-interference, most modern theories of mutual tolerance and religious liberty are built. But this position was rejected by early Friends.[37] Their conception of their own fellowship was theocratic rather than democratic.[38] Their separation from the national religious community was on a moral rather than a voluntaristic basis.[39] With regard to groups other than their own, the Quaker prophets rejected the right of groups as well as individuals to assert their own autonomy against the authority of the Spirit. This problem underlies the conflicts which were usually debated in terms of disturbance of the Public Peace.

Many early Friends felt impelled by the Spirit to preach unwelcome messages, and to disrupt public meetings and gatherings in the delivery of them.[40] Many of the Friends' "Signs", such as going naked, were issues involving "Public Offence" rather than the "Public Peace" as such.

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36). Thus they gave to the congregation the same basic authority and self-determination which was given to the individual by the Social-Contract theory of government.

37). The only exception to this was the protest of Friends against involuntary membership in the National group which made them liable to Tithes.

38). V. Infra, Section VIII-G.

39). Friends and Separatists rejected the authority of evil rulers as morally evil, not as a violation of a social contract. This explains why separatist groups swing so easily to Theocracy.

40). V. Supra, Section VI-E.

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In actual practice, however, the latter charge was usually used in arresting such actors of "Signs".[41] With regard to the interruption of worship by Friends with prophetic messages, Cromwell seems to have felt that the religious rights and liberty of the groups disturbed had been invaded, and issued an injunction against it.[42] There is clear evidence that the hearers were much exasperated with both the content and the occasion of Friends' messages.[43] Even those who upheld the value of peaceful discussion for producing truth, and who accepted the rights of Conscience in harmless outward acts, drew the line at such interruptions.[44]

Friends, on the other hand, were confident that these Sermons and Signs were given in obedience to direct Leadings of the Spirit. Consequently they were issues of Conscience:

> "Some are moved to reprove a hireling preacher...and this ...reproving evill and exhorting to good, is called a disturbance

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41). Other Acts commonly invoked were an Elizabethan Act against the Causing of Riots (used when Friends gathered audiences), Vagrancy, and the Disturbance of Ministers; cf. First Publishers, p. 345 ff.

42). "His Highness therefore having had many informations from divers parts of this Commonwealth of such Practices by divers men lately risen up under the names of Quakers and Ranters, and others who do daily both reproach and disturb the Assemblies...doth hereby strictly Require and Command all persons whatsoever, that they forbear henceforth all such irregular and disorderly practices. And if in Contempt thereof...We shall esteem them Disturbers of the Civil Peace, and shall expect and require all officers and Ministers of Justice to proceed against them accordingly" (Thomason Tracts #669, f. 19, quoted by James: Interregnum, p. 184.

43). The experiences of Jehovah's Witnesses show that both the public reaction and the reluctance of police officials to counteract it, remain the same in similar circumstances today; cf. Marley Cole: "Mob Rule in Crossville" in The Nation, June 9, 1951

44). Thus Bishop Gauden wrote to Fisher, at a time when Cromwell's liberal policy was no longer in force: "The Cudgel, Sword, Prisons, Banishments, etc...are not in my Judgment, either the first or the fittest means to confute the Falsities of mens Private Opinions, or to rectifie the Obliquities of their inconform but Innocent Actions flowing from them, **[but] it may be...necessary, to repress by Legal Coercions & Penalties, those Petulant Obstinacies, which...endanger the Publick Tranquillity."** (quoted in Fisher: Episkopos, p.18).

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> of peace and an unlawful practice....It is a matter of conscience to the servants of the Lord to do so, and they cannot leave it undone, least they should transgress the law of God in their own consciences".[45]

Friends affirmed the unlimited authority of God's Word and Spirit, and therefore of their mission:

> "you that say If such have their own Liberty, it is Reason they should be silent, and not cry out against others; know that the Law of Christ is not grounded on the Will and Reason of men.... And is there any Reason to limit the Spirit of Christ, that it shall not discover the Man of Sin, wherever he is?"[46]

Quakers assumed that the resistance to their preaching came not from the consciences or rights of the hearers, but from the selfish Seed of evil within them.[47] They were confident this opposition would be overcome by the Spirit of God.[48]

One is thus driven to ask whether any customary theory of toleration or religious liberty could reconcile the Friends and those who considered them "Phanaticks".[49] Friends raised, in other words, the funda-

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45). Burrough: Message for Instruction, pp. 13-14; cf. p. 15: "I affirme...that it is a practice in Religion according to the Scriptures, to goe into the Steeple-houses, meeting-places, Markets, Highways, or other places, and reprove Sin and wickedness, and cry against evill in Priests and people". Friends in fact felt that the State should encourage them in their war against Sin.

46). Nayler: Works, p. 42

47). "it is nothing else that is offended but proud flesh and exalted mind"; Burrough: Message for Instruction, p. 16.

48). Cf. Nayler: Against Baxter, p. 28.

49). The word seems to have come into use about 1659 at the time of the purging from the Army of the radical sectaries, and to have meant, then as now, essentially a person who desired universal scope in the application of his religious beliefs. Cf. Burrough: Presentation of Informations which discusses the role of such ideas in politics. Cf. also George Fox: A Distinction between the Phanatick Spirit and the Spirit of God, (bsd; n. p., 1660), which characteristically defines "Phanatick" as whatever opposes the Spirit in Quakers.

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mental issue whether the rights of individuals and groups to tranquillity, Public Peace or Peace of Mind have any ultimate quality. Friends continued the witness of the Hebrew Prophets, that there are times and conditions in which Peace (either psychological or social) is not morally justified. Friends suffer, wrote Nayler, "because they are moved of the Lord to go into the Streets and Markets, to declare against all Manner of Sin which abounds there, and to call all to Repentance,...and they suffer as Disturbers of the Peace; but what Peace is this, which is disturbed by the Crying out against Sin?"[50] The early Friends believed not only in Peace, but in ceaseless moral struggle. They came to Society with an ethic of "not peace but a sword". There are various incidents which show the impossibility of a mutual understanding with those who rejected the Quaker claims of infallible spiritual leading.[51] Concerning such claims no mutually recognized authority applied.[52]

Thus the Quaker Signs and Sermons in violation of "Civil Peace" were a further example of the deadlock of Conscience against Conscience,

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50). Nayler: Works, p. 103, cf. Barclay: Anarchy of the Ranters, p. 57, Fox: Journal I, p. 118.

51). Solomon Eccles described being questioned by Mayor Richard Brown of London: "I said is it a Sin to pray for a man's enemies? He said: 'No, but it is a Sin for you to go naked.' I said, what I did was in Obedience to the living God. He said 'How will you make that appear? I will not believe you.'..I said: 'The Lord commanded me'. He said 'where?' I said: 'in my heart'. He said: 'So will the Thieves say'. I said, 'Thou must be tried by that of God in thy heart'. He said: 'leave your Canting'. I said 'show me what law I have broke'. He said 'It was a Ryot'." (Eccles: Signes from the Lord.).

52). When Cromwell insisted that that which Quakers called "the Light of Christ was natural, and that the Light within had led the Ranters and all that followed it into all manner of wildnesses" he recognized the focal point of the deadlock. (Cf. Swarthmore MSS III, p. 161, quoted Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 436.

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in an area harder to solve than the issue of Blasphemy. That this deadlock was the essence of all conflicts over religious liberty was first realized during the seventeenth century, when attention shifted from Absolute Truth to Liberty of Conscience, from Right to Rights. The problem of the rights of the Magistrate's Conscience was discussed by Bayle,[53] and before him mentioned by the Bishop of Sodor and Man;[54] the earliest reference to it I have was the raising of the problem by John Owen.[55] The deadlock of Conscience was clearly involved in Cromwell's attempt to protect other Congregations from Quaker interruptions. Under the Commonwealth a practical compromise emerged after 1657 insofar as Quakers preached less often in churches, streets and markets; at the same time the government made no attempt to prosecute their conscientious actions which did not injure other men.[56]

That the basic problem remained was shown by the tension which developed in Massachusetts in these same years, 1657-9. The details of this struggle have often been described.[57] The Puritan majority in Massachusetts, from the highest ideals and genuinely conscientious motives, had attempted to set up their Biblical Commonwealth. The Quakers came from outside, breaking into the life of the Christian community which the Puritans were attempting to maintain.[58] The Puritans

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53). Bainton: "Struggle for Religious Liberty", p. 121.

54). The Bishop used this argument in ridding his island of Quakers; (cf. Best: Rebel Saints, p. 290.

55). Beach: "Conscience", pp. 219-220.

56). Cf. Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 525; Jordan: Toleration III, p. 246.

57). Cf. Jones: Quakers in Am. Col., Ch. IV; Best: Rebel Saints, etc.

58). Cf. Cotton Mather: Magnalia, II, pp. 522-8, as quoted in Gooch: Democratic Ideas, p. 236.

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gave Quakers "free liberty to stay away", and only after the banished Quakers had repeatedly returned did the desperate magistrates resort to the death penalty.[59] The Friends, for their part, were equally deeply convinced in their own consciences that these religious restrictions (narrower than those against which the Independents and Baptists of England had fought at such cost for fifteen years) were deeply evil. They felt themselves led by the Spirit to sacrifice their lives "to try their law" and break it down.[60] It was a fascinating and tragic impasse. The Massachusetts magistrates eventually found that the consciences of their own people revolted against the execution of the Friends. Thereby their hopes for a pure commonwealth were permanently broken.

In England, following the Restoration, Friends faced the attempts to enforce Uniformity of religion. They found that it would be necessary to make explicit that part of their outlook which could make the permanent deadlock of consciences tolerable in civil society. Toleration has been achieved at times in history by a policy of "live-and-let-live" (which means in practice the curtailing of the claims of Conscience within acceptable & adjustable boundaries). The Quaker solution was more constructive. They maintained their claims for the authority of the Spirit, but

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59). They insisted that efforts were "onely in making provision to secure the peace & order here established against their attempts, whose designes (we were well assured of by our own experience, as well as by the example of their predecessors in Munster) was to undermine & ruine the same....And the penalty on them being insufficient to restraine their impudent and insolent obstructions...a law was made that such persons should be banished, on pain of death, according to the example of England in their provision against Jesuits" (A True Relation of the Proceedings against certain Quakers at the generall court of Massachusetts.

60). "if my life were freely granted by you, it would not avail me, so long as I should daily hear or see the sufferings of these people, my dear brethren and seed, with whom my life is bound up", wrote Mary Dyer (quoted in Bishop: New England Judged, pp. 288-91; cf. Jones: Quakers in Am. Col., p. 84, cf. p. xxi).

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deduced from that claim itself the doctrine of passive resistance. The unlimited prophetic claim and the emphasis on love and non-violence towards the person judged were thus both based on the belief that this is the essential nature of the Spirit. The theocrat could be a constructive citizen.

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Section VII-G: The Friends' Peace Testimony and Passive Resistance

The Peace testimony, which has come above all others to be considered characteristic of Friends, was slow in coming to the fore. From the beginning Friends regarded war as the fruit of men's cruelty and lust. Their conception of the inward nature of evil developed into the distinction between "Carnal" and "Spiritual" weapons. They thus mistrusted fighting, although humanitarian motives were rarely asserted. These general outlooks were crystallized into a uniform Testimony mainly by practical issues: the relationship of Friends to the Restoration government and to radical sectarians who revolted against it. Under the active persecution of this same Cavalier government, Friends formulated their positive policy of passive resistance.

The principles underlying Quaker pacifism had been expressed by Friends almost from the outset:

> "[I am] him whom the world calls George ffox", stated an affidavit to Cromwell in 1654, "who is the Son of God, who is sent to stand a wittnesse against all violence and all the workes of darkenesse, & to turne people from darkenesse to the light, & to bring them from the occassion of the warre, & from the occassion of the Magistrates sword which is a terrour to the evill doers.... And my kingdome is not of this world, therefore with carnall weapon I doe not fight".[1]

Thus there is found from the beginning the antithesis of the Carnal and the Spiritual weapons, which has been encountered in passing in the

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1). Fox: Journal, Ch. I, pp. 161-2; there is no principle beyond those stated here in the statement of Margaret Fell's to Charles II, which Isabel Ross calls the first public Quaker statement of non-resistance: "Our Weapons are not carnal, but spiritual....and so we desire and also expect to have the liberty of our consciences and just rights and outward liberties, as other people of the nation, which we have promise of from the word of a King....Treason, treachery and false dealing we do utterly deny" (Margaret Fell: Works, pp. 202-10, quoted by Ross: Margaret Fell, p. 128.

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Quaker conception of the State.[2] Fox seems first to have used the expression, as Paul himself had done, to express the fact that the primary battlefield of "the Lamb's War", was moral and spiritual. This was true both in intention and in fact for all Friends activity in the earliest days:

> "for my Gospel shall not be established by thy Sword, nor by thy Law", wrote Howgill to Cromwell in God's name; "but by my Might and by my Power, and by my Spirit by which I will publish my Name"[3]

Friends also said early and often that the power of the Spirit overcame the evil from which Wars sprung.[4] This outlook was used in 1654 to prove that Friends rejected insurrection:

> "And whereas we are a people accused to raise up a new war, it is false; for dwelling in the word, it takes away the occasion of wars, and gathers our hearts together to God, for... whence do wars arise? even from the lusts"[5]

It was naturally an argument brought forward also in 1660:

> "Our purposes and intentions are just and honest towards all men, to live quietly, peaceably and godly in this present evil world....For we know that all plots and conspiracies, insurrections and rebellions, do arise from that Spirit that lusteth to envy, and not from Christ Jesus"[6]

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2). This phase inevitably became very common in Friends writings at the Restoration. (cf. Fox: Works, Vol. IV, p. 214; Fox: Journal, Ch. II, p. 55; Fox: Works, Vol. VI:"A Distinction between the Wars and the Weapons and the Arms and the Armour in the Old Testament and the New".)

3). Howgill: Works, p. 6.

4). This is the gist of Fox's famous reply when offered a Commission in Cromwell's army before the battle of Worcester in 1650: "I tolde y^m I live in y^e life & power y^t tooke away y^e occasion off all warrs: & I knew from whence all warrs did rise from y^e lusts" (Fox: Journal, Ch. I, pp. 11-12.

5). Fox: Works, IV, p. 43.

6). William Smith: Cause Plainly Shewed, pp. 5-6.

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These, however, were all essentially statements about the causes of war, (rooted in the conception of the relation of inward and outward violence to the Spirit).[7] The bracketing together of "the occassion of warre" and "the occassion of the Magistrates sword which is a terrour to evill doers" shows that war was regarded as the painful result of lust, and as the punishment of lust, rather than itself an absolute moral evil. "Y^e power y^t tooke away y^e occasion off all warre", precluded Friends from causing or initiating war or strife. Their primary concern with spiritual rather than carnal weapons disinclined them to enlist in wars even where begun. But the Quaker position as set out in the earliest days might not absolutely preclude Friends from participating in a just war begun by others.

There is, as a matter of fact, a certain amount of evidence to show that many early Friends were not pacifists. Friends remained in the army garrisons in Scotland until dismissed for insubordination.[8]

Fox and Burrough wrote letters to Cromwell and his army acclaiming their divine commission in the war against Catholicism. Even as late as 1660, Edward Billing seems to have embarrassed Friends by refusing to promise not to take up arms against the King.[9] There were also, however, incidents where Friends rejected military force from the

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7). V. supra, Section VII-D.

8). Cf. Armsby: "Quaker Views of State", p. 42 (quoting Brallsford: Nayler, pp. 17, 19): "The paradox of their continued presence in the army was discovered first by their superiors, and disputed by Friends with naive surprise and bitterness...Retirement from the army was generally at this period (1654-6) an involuntary act, hotly resented by the victim and his friends".

9). Brinton: Children of Light, p. 127.

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early days. There was the case of Fox himself at Derby.[10] Thomas Lurting, a gunner on the frigate Assistance, asked to leave the navy upon becoming a Quaker in 1657.[11] In Barbados in 1659 two Quakers went to prison rather than bear arms.[12]

By the time of the Restoration the Friends are found stating an "absolute Pacifist" position. Fox and Hubberthorne issued a public statement in 1661:

> "We know that wars and fightings proceed from the lusts of men, as Jas. IV:1-3, out of which lusts the Lord hath redeemed us, and so out of the occasion of war...All bloody principles and practices we as to our own particular do utterly deny, with all outward war & strife & fightings with outward weapons for any end or under any pretense whatsoever....That Spirit of Christ by which we are guided is not changeable, so as once to command us from a thing as evil and again to move to do it, and we do certainly know ...that the Spirit of Christ which leads us into all truth, will never move us to fight and war against any man with outward weapons, neither for the Kingdom of Christ nor for the Kingdoms of this World"[13]

In these early days, the motivation for the Friends witness of pacifism seems to stem almost entirely from their general witness against war as the fruit of lust and self-will. Of love for enemies, either in this connection (or for that matter in any other) early Friends had remarkably little to say.[14] We have seen that for Friends love and

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10). Cf. Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 55.

11). Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 521.

12). Ross: Margaret Fell, p. 81. In the same year, wrote Fox, "some foolish rash spiritts y^t came amongst us were goinge to take uppe armes: but I was moved of y^e Lord to forewarne y^m & forbid y^m and they left it....And in y^e time of y^e committee of Safety: wee was invited by y^m to take upp armes & great places & commands was offred us but wee denyed y^m all" (Journal, Ch. I, p. 334).

13). Fox: Journal, Ch. I, pp. 494-500, as quoted in Braithwaite: Second Period, p. 13.

14). "We are peaceable & doe seek the peace of all men" runs a statement of 1664; "We love enimies &...cannot hurt any man much less the King" (Fox: Journal, Ch. II, p. 52).

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prophetic condemnation were often closely identified.[15]

Political events were the clinching factor in developing the Quaker pacifist testimony. Many General Baptists were indeed coming to the same conclusions about the same time.[16] It is not unlikely that there was some mutual influence between Baptists and Friends on this point as on others. The general disillusionment with the results of the military victory of the Commonwealth lies in the background of all Quaker attitudes to "the World", to the State, and notably to war also.[17] The renunciation of political opportunities in 1659[18] must have helped to clarify the issue of war for Friends. The most crucial event was the Restoration of 1660, as a result of which all radical Puritan groups became suspected of sedition.

Whether or not Charles II was sincere in his promise of toleration by the Declaration of Breda before his Restoration, the Cavalier majority in Parliament were strongly for the re-establishing of Anglicanism with the restriction of other groups, and the strong Erastian

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15). This crops out even in Fox's pacifistic statements: "whereas major Porter saith, I am a common Enymy to the King, that is false, for my love is to him and to all men, though they be Enymies to God and to themselves & to me, & I can say of the Lord that hee is come inn to bring doune maney unrightiously sett upp, of which I had A sight before hee came in (3 yeere)" (Fox: Journal, Ch. I, p. 375).

16). Among the General Baptists "at a quarterly meeting in 1657, it was decided: 'in some cases it may be lawfull, but...we account it exceeding dangerous...For officers of churches to list themselves either as private souldiers or commission officers that is altogether unlawfull'" (From the Register Book of Speldhurst Church in Add. MSS, pp. 36, 709, quoted by Brown: Fifth Monarchy, p. 9).

17). Cf. Schenk: Social Justice, p. 127.

18). V. supra, Section VII-C.

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group, religiously neutral, supported them in the interest of Order.[19] All the Puritans fretted under this pressure. The plot of the Fifth-Monarchists in 1661 laid under suspicion all the radical Puritans who had been associated with Republicanism.[20] In the following year, the "Quaker Act" was passed and old acts restored, making Friends subject to the penalties of Praemunire.[21] The Cavaliers went on to enforce uniformity by the Clarendon Code of 1661-65.[22] Under these circumstances it became important for Friends to formulate clearly their attitude towards insurrection.

Like the Baptists,[23] the Quakers had greeted Charles II upon his accession with many tracts and letters, to reassure the King that "to plot & confederate or to raise insurrections, or to gather riotous meetings, or taking up arms outwardly...is not our Principle and [is] out of the Covenant and Life & Peace with God".[24] "Have we not always been a quiet peaceable harmless People?"[25] Friends called attention to the

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19). Allen presents evidence that the largest group in the country and in Parliament were Erastian, insofar as they wished to see no clerical group dominating the country. They thus joined with the Independents in breaking down Laudian Anglicanism and also the presbyterian pattern of the Westminster divines. But their main interest was in Order, not in toleration. With only a minority behind him, Cromwell had been forced to impose religious liberty by coercion. Cromwell's military rule, and still more the anarchy which followed it, united Erastians and Presbyterians in recalling the King. While the Anglicans eliminated their religious rivals, the Erastians (so long as the uniform church did not try to dominate their lives) seem to have supported them.

20). Whitley: Baptists, p. 99.

21). Cf. Braithwaite: Second Period, p. 15ff.

22). V. infra. Section IX-A.

23). Cf. Whitley: Baptists, p. 99.

24). George Fox: Our Covenant with God and with all men is Peace (bsd; London, Thos. Simmons, 1660).

25). Ellwood: Seasonable Disswasive, p. 8.

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Declaration of Breda, "having the word of a King, that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for difference of opinion in matters of Religion".[26] Many Friends called on the King in person.[27]

When it became clear that the new government would institute repression, a note of alarm came into Quaker writing.[28] Whitehead tried to intercede with Parliament for toleration.[29] The Fifth Monarch revolt of 1661, however, threw Friends inevitably into a defensive position. In 1663 a foolish little Puritan revolt broke out in Westmorland where Quakers were strongest.[30] To the charge of insurrection, Fox answered: "This is false: to those things I am a Child & knows nothing of them & y^e^ postures of warr I never learned, and my weapons are spiritual & ~~not~~ with carnall weapons I doe not feight."[31]

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26). To Both Houses of Parliament, 3-15-1660 (bsd, n. p.); cf. Margaret Fell: Works, p. 202, as quoted in Ross: Fell, p. 123.

27). Margaret Fell and Ann Curtis interceded with the King for Quaker prisoners, and Samuel Shattuck for those in Massachusetts. Hubberthorn & Thomas Moore both saw Charles to promise obedience to his just commands. (Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 479, etc.) Samuel Fisher went to great pains to collect signed statements refuting charges that Quakers had threatened violence or drawn swords against ministers. (Works, pp. 99-100).

28). George Bishop wrote to the King: "Thou hast been a man of sufferings....How comes it to pass that thou hast so soon forgotten thine Old Estate." (The Warnings of the Lord to the King of England and his Parliament (London, 1667).

29). Ethyn Williams Kirby: "The Quakers Efforts to Secure Civil and Religious Liberty"; Journal of Modern History, Vol. 7, p. 403.

30). A summons was sent from Lancaster that "Georg ffox was to appeare at y^e^ session, & the magistrates asked him if he knew of y^e^ plott. he told them he had heard of such a thing through a freind y^t^ had it from y^e^ Shirffe of Yorkshire...and heareing of such a thing he writ papers for takeing of Jelosis out of peoples mindes concerning him & ffrends, which he sent to Leavetenants & Justeces both in Lancshire Wesmorland & Comberland & Bishopwrick & Northumberland & likewise to y^e^ King & Councell, & he knowing of noe man y^t^ was in the plott." (Journal, Ch. II, p. 49; the two "Friends" involved in this Caber Rigg plot seem previously to have left the Quaker movement.

31). Journal, Vol. I, p. 379.

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It was thus to answer charges of rebellion that the Quaker doctrine of pacifism received official statement. In spite of the practical occasions, however, the basic outlook was not greatly changed. The early Friends' concern for peace remained religiously rooted, and closely integrated with their entire outlook upon the Spirit and "the World".[32] It was only at a later date that humanitarian concerns for economic wastefulness and the injury to the innocent were brought forward as arguments for peace and pacifism.[33] Nevertheless, the Quaker theory of the State before 1660 had left a somewhat undefined place for magistrates.[34] Given a "Government of the Saints", this role of "the Sword of the Magistrate" might have been expanded beyond individual punishment. Given the Restoration government of 1660, this was clearly no temptation. Being increasingly cut off by persecution from the government and "the world", Friends renounced force as an instrument of evil rather than of good.

That the Quaker peace testimony has been clear and firmly adhered to since 1660, the detailed histories of Braithwaite and others

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32). Insofar as Friends came to justify participation in war by non-Friends, (and thus to modify their absolute Pacifism into a "vocational" stand), this also was on a religious basis: "Those who have not come to the pure dispensation of the gospel...while they are in that condition we shall not say that war undertaken upon a just occasion is altogether unlawful to them." (Barclay: Apology, as quoted in Wragge: Barclay, p. 37; cf. Truth Triumphant, p. 564: "I grant the lawfulness of Fighting to the present Magistrates and States of Christians; and this because they have not the pure dispensation of the Gospel". (quoted in Armsby: "Quaker View of State", p. 105). Both these quotations are from Barclay, in the period when Quakers began to relativize the claims of Conscience (v. infra, Section IX-C).

33). These were used by Barclay in his epistle to the Nimuegen peace-commissioners, and by Penn in his "Essay towards the Present & Future Peace of Europe" (written in 1693; cf. Armsby: "Quaker View of State", pp. 89-90).

34). Cooper: "Participation", p. 48.

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can witness. Isaac Sharpless has well described the Pennsylvania experiment[35] and the final struggles involving compromise but a basic integrity on the part of the Quaker legislature in that colony in the 1750's.[36]

The tension Friends felt under the Restoration led also to the formulation of their doctrine of Passive Resistance, which was the finest Quaker contribution to the problem of religious liberty. As a result of the Conventicle Act, the Quaker conscience came into direct collision with the law of the land. The Quaker reaction to the Act was flat refusal, based upon their higher loyalty:

> "God requireth it of us, to bear witness to his Name & Truth, and we may not deal deceitfully, in showing that before men, which we are not in our Hearts to God"[37]

Specifically they refused to give up their meetings for worship:

> "Because we fear [God] more than man, we are bound in Duty to obey him....We meet together...because the Lord of Life requireth it of us...and in our Meetings waiting upon the Lord, we have the presence of the living God of Life with us, and feeling the vertue of his Love in our Hearts,...And...how...can...we ...do that which Man requireth of us, contrary to the Truth, in obscuring of which we should fall into Condemnation, and feel God's anger, and the Testimony of his Spirit against us, to judge us, which would be greater sufferings in the inward Man, than all the outward sufferings we may meet with....How can we deny the Lord who hath all Power, and hath quickened us, and redeemed our Souls from Death, and go to obey Man?....And we see many people so ready to part with the Religion and take up another...that gives us just ground to believe they found not the Presence of God with them in their Way & Exercise....[But as for Quakers], it is well known that we were of the same mind that we are now, in the time of the former powers,...neither was our Religion...confirmed by any Law or Decree of theirs".[38]

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35). Isaac Sharpless: Quakerism & Politics (Phila., Ferris & Leach, 1905). "In the 75 years of Quaker ascendency, no-one of that persuasion was killed by an Indian" Best: Rebel Saints, p. 168.

36). Tolles: Meeting-House, pp. 18-26, etc.

37). Camm & Audland: op. cit., p. 235.

38). Camm & Audland: Memory of the Righteous, pp. 216, 214-15, 217, 219, 220, 230-232.

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In face of the spirit of these men, analysis seems impertinent. It is clear that Quakers have not receded from their absolute and uncompromising claims over against the State; in fact the center of conflict is now worship itself and not simply the actions in Society to which the Spirit leads. Accordingly we find Friends continuing also to assert their claims to judge magistrates, and to obey or disobey according as the magistrate is in accord with "the higher power". But the non-violent character of this resistance is now stressed:

> "We shall stand for the righteous Government and Governours, by yeilding all due obedience unto them and their commands; And by labouring in the power of the Lord, to bring down and to keep under the evil lust in people, which is the cause of all Wars, and rebellions and transgression....We shall stand against...that which is unrighteous (though it be called a Government...)...by bearing our testimony against them in the Power of the Lord, and by yielding no other obedience to them, than in submitting patiently to suffer and endure whatsoever punishment the Lord shall suffer them to lay upon us"[39]

Some of the statements of the Friends' doctrine of passive resistance sound little different from the Anglican doctrine of non-resistance; mutual influences could probably be traced. But the non-resisters considered the State as it existed to be ordained of God; they expected obedience to it, as well as to God; when these obediences conflicted they were likely to refuse to act at all. The Quakers did not concede the

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39). Fox "the Younger": Noble Salutation, p. 18; cf. Burrough's slightly less intransigent statement: "For Conscience sake to God, we are bound by His just law in our hearts to yield obedience...in all matters and cases actively or passively: that is to say, in all just and good laws of the land relating to the outward man, we must be obedient by doing...but...if anything be commanded of us by the present Authority, which is not according to equity, justice and a good conscience towards God...we must in such cases obey God only and deny active obedience for conscience sake, and patiently suffer what is inflicted upon us for such our disobedience to men....not disputing whether the Authority in itself be absolute of God or not" (Burrough: Works, p. 778, quoted Braithwaite: Second Period, p. 17; cf. John Whitehead: Two Seeds, pp. 28-9).

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divine right by any government by its external nature; they therefore were not hampered in undertaking the most whole-hearted opposition to unjust government.[40] Yet Friends resistance was by the nature of their religious outlook itself passive and non-violent. They preferred to suffer rather than do violence.[41] The emphasis upon suffering as a deliberately chosen course of conduct was typical. It was related, as has been seen, to Friends' conception of suffering as a phase of "the Lamb's War", and its relation to crucifixion of "the old Man" inwardly. The relationship of passive resistance to Law is also interesting, namely that "he who submits to the punishment doth as really fullfil the Law, as the most pharisaicall".[42] The further implications behind this seem rarely to have been thought through, partly because early Friends thought mainly in terms of their direct obedience to the Spirit. In terms of the deadlock of conscience,[43] it may be suggested that as Friends saw it, suffering fulfils a Law, not only in the letter (i. e.

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40). Cf. Best; Rebel Saints, p. 19: "Of all absurd labels which men in their ignorance have affixed to one another, passive resistance as applied to the Quakers is the most ludicrous; their untiring active resistance knew no bounds short of physical violence".

41). King asked Hubberthorn: "How do you own Magistrates, or Magistracy?" to which he replied: "Whosoever is set up by God, whether as King as Supream, or any set in authority by him, such we shall submit to, and assist in righteous & civil things...: and if any Magistrates do that which in unrighteous, we must declare against it, only submit under it by a patient suffering, and not rebel against any by insurrections, plots and contrivances". Richard Hubberthorn: Something that Lately passed in Discourse between the King and R. H. (London, G[iles] C[alvert], 1660, p. 5; the italics are mine, to show the positive and active character of Quaker conduct in both types of situation.

42). Henry Stubbs: A Light Shines out of Darkness (London, 1659; cf. Burrough: Case of the Quakers, p. 8: "our principle & Practise is... to submit to every Government and to all Lawes of men, either by doing or by suffering;...when any Law requires anything of us, which we cannot perform for Conscience sake, that Law we fulfil by patient suffering, resisting no man nor rendring evil for evil"

43). Cf. Section VII-F.

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the punitive clauses) but in spirit;- insofar as the Law is intended to protect men from the injury to which individual autonomy leads.[44]

In face of persecution, therefore, Friends warned each other to accept suffering with patience.[45] Even if an existing movement to overthrow the persecuting government should aks for Quaker support, they must not take part.[46] Friends, while renouncing self-deliverance, were in deadly earnest about their hopes for divine deliverance. Sometimes the hope took a rather generalized form;[47] but at other times a specific persecutor was delivered into God's hands. In 1660 Friends persuaded Charles II to stop the persecutions by the magistrates of Massachusetts, but refused to prosecute further:

> "Many of y^e^ olde royalists were much offended with freindes because y^t^ they would not prosecute y^m^, butt wee told y^m^ wee left y^m^ to y^e^ Lord & vengans was his & hee would repay it....And since, ye Judgements of God has falen upon y^m^ & y^e^ Indians have been raised upp & have cutt of many of y^m^"[48]

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44). Society's claim is that the individual must "help or at least not hinder". While rejecting in principle the State's authority to tell how this must be done, the Friends made it clear that (following the Spirit's authority) they would "help" in their own way so far as they were permitted. Cf. Best; Rebel Saints, p. 114; Fisher: Episkopos, p. 24. This may also have been the rationale behind Friends' payment to any government of all taxes demanded, except for those (such as Tithes) which they felt to be in themselves wrong.

Cf. Brocklebank: Burrough, p. 135

46). Thus during the Monmouth Rebellion, Friends wrote: "Whatever our sufferings were, we must not expect deliverance by the arm of flesh, but look unto the Lord...who will not save us by sword or spear, but by his own Spirit. And therefore Friends are warned not to concern themselves in this war" (Bristol Manuscript II, #68, quoted Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 121.

47). "I further testifie that I do not intend...either to plot against thee, or any other upon the Earth", wrote George Fox the Younger in 1660; "for I do not expect deliverance by the carnal Sword, and yet I know deliverance shall come, with or without the help of man....that so it may plainly be made manifest, that we are a people saved by our God". Fox "the Younger": Noble Salutation, pp. 19-20.

48). Fox: Journal, Vol. II, pp. 6-7.

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This somewhat cold-blooded reference to King Philip's War makes one wonder whether Friends had altogether thought through their Peace Testimony in relation to their conviction that God overthrows governments.[49] But it was their confidence in the deliverance of God which made the spirit of passive resistance, possible.[50]

Friends even under persecution greeted the future confidently:

> "For notwithstanding the many Laws & Decrees which you have made or shall make, yet the work of the Lord which hath certainly begun, that shall go on and increase, and the Truth must flourish and prosper, and the Kingdoms of the World must become the Kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ...and they that will not bow unto his Throne and Government...shall be broken by him"[51]

Friends realized that the steadfastness of their stand was itself drawing others to join them, and that not only apart from them, but through them,

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49). It is, at least, hardly surprising that Friends, who had suffered and were suffering so bitterly themselves, should not always have repressed gratitude at the fall of their oppressors; at their best Friends made clear that they had no hatred for the person of an enemy: "and we have not desired fire from Heaven to consume our adversaries, neither have we sought to be avenged on them or desired their overthrow ...but we have loved them that hated us" (Salthouse: Candle Lighted, p. 20).

50). This fact seems to have been overlooked by Tindall, who finds it hard to believe that Bunyan's protests of loyalty and passive resistance were genuine: "For a persecuted sectarian, to whom the king meant imprisonment, the cry 'for God, for country, & for jail' involved a marriage of loyalties so dubious as to amount to miscegenation....to kiss with love the rod that smites one is Christian theory, but unless it is the effect of masochism, it is not natural....That Bunyan cherished a deep and natural hatred of both King and government, like any normal Baptist of his time, is apparent". (Tindall: Bunyan, pp. 136-7). Quakers likewise gave way to "natural" hatred for persecutors but Christianity has always attempted to supplant "natural" emotions with others based upon "Christian theory", faith and love. Identification of the government with "the beast, the whore", etc., seems to continue unabated in Baptist writings under the pressure of the Conventicle Act; in Quaker writings this identification was mainly to be found in the Commonwealth period, when the struggle was lively but the persecution not intense.

51). Josiah Coale: To the King &...Parliament (Kingston, 1664: bsd.).

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the Lamb was gaining his victory.[52] In proportion as Friends non-violent position was seen to threaten no injury to others, even those who denied the Quakers spiritual authority would accept and tolerate them. Burrough, in a letter written from his last emprisonment, expressed this unshaken confidence:

> "Friends, Doubt not of these things, for verily the time is at hand, and it must surely come to pass, my Spirit shall see it,...if in this body I may not behold it, that imposing and forcing of conscience by Laws and Ordinances of men...shall be expunged, subdued & abandoned in these Nations and Kingdoms of the world,...But Liberty shall be replanted amongst men".[53]

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52). The rulers, "by all their persecutions and afflictions ...shall but increase and cause to grow that which they strive to suppress" Penington Works I, p. 471; cf. Burrough: Free Liberty, p. 8; Freund: Toleranz, p. 167.

53). Burrough: Antichrist's Government (1661): "epistle", cf. Kühn: Toleranz, p. 235.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE EARLY FRIENDS AND SOCIETY

"Ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people; that ye should show forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light....Dearly beloved, I beseech you as strangers and pilgrims, abstain from fleshly lusts, which war against the soul; having your conversation honest among the Gentiles: that, whereas they speak against you as evildoers, they may by your good works, which they behold, glorify God in the day of visitation."

I Peter 2:9, 11-12.

"And so I charge you all in the Presence of the Lord, every one to...be faithful to your Measures which you have received of God....With loving kindness hath he drawn you in Measure out of the filthy Polutions and Heathenish Ways and Worships of the World.... Prize the eternal Love of God unto you, and walk answerable to that Love, that so you may Preach to the Heathens by your Pure, Holy and Godly Conversation, letting your Light shine forth in your lives, that all who see your Conversation who are Enemies to the Truth, may have their Mouthes stopped."

Camm & Audland[1]

Section VIII-A: The Nature of Friends' Testimonies

The basic approach of early Friends to Society was both a prophetic judgment and an appeal for repentance. Friends did not refer to Society as we use the word: they thought in terms of "the World" of evil men.[2] With regard to the State, Friends had absorbed from radical Puritanism a mainly positive attitude, stressing its dependence upon God and its function as a means for God's Providence. Most of the reactions studied in this chapter were more negative. While Friends appealed to all men to heed the universal Light, and while the good or useful nature of "the Creation" played a part in their economic thought

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1). Memory of the Righteous, pp. 53-5.

2). v. supra, Section VI-A.

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the evil condition of Society and "the World" bulked large.

The courage of the Quaker social criticism has led some modern writers to the impression that Friends were concerned for social reform in the direction of a new social structure. The prominence of a concern for equality in certain Quaker Testimonies has seemed to justify such an approach. In fact, however, Friends had rather less to say about an ideal social structure or a transformed economic order, than even about their hopes for an ideal state (where they were more concerned with motives than with constitutions). The basic orientation of early Friends, even with regard to equality, was ethical in a fairly personal sense. The approach of early Quakers to Society was therefore not one of social reform. It was primarily an appeal for repentance, involving specific social sins, but centering on the basic relationship of each man to the Light. At the same time, the depth of the early Quaker understanding of human sinfulness was shown by the perceptiveness with which Friends saw evil and self-will in social conditions and customs which other men ignored or took for granted. Against such ways, Quakers witnessed in action as well as words.

In the preaching work of early Friends, as has been seen, many of their tracts, messages and placards attacked social evils.[3] The State was asked to restrict drunkenness, lying, swearing, dice, cards and games of all sorts. It seems unnecessary to discuss some of these specific transgressions individually. But Quaker judgments presupposed an equally basic appeal for personal repentance:

> "Search your hearts and you will be convinced that lying is Sin, covetousness is Sin, pride is Sin, drunkenness is Sin, gluttony

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3). cf. Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 49, etc.

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> a Sin, whoredom a Sin, cozening and cheating or dissimulation a Sin, cruelty, tyranny & oppression a sin"[4]

Behind the moral judgment expressed in specific judgments and in individual Testimonies is a basic concern for Social evil, and a constant testing of social life by consciences made sensitive by personal experience of ethical combat and victory. Essentially, moreover, the evils attacked by the early Quakers were not just a series of individual sins, but the symptoms of men's devotion to their own pleasures instead of to earnest obedience to the Spirit.

Against this background clearer meaning is given to the specific points of Quaker conduct which were sufficiently uniform and characteristic to be known as "Testimonies". Almost all of them were rooted in a total reaction to the social evils in a particular area of life, and stemmed from the Friends' ethic as a whole. Each of them was intended as a witness and appeal to Society, as well as being an effort at moral purity in personal conduct.

On the one hand they represented the refusals of the individual conscience to compromise in conduct. Thus Humphrey Bache, after giving up his job as excise collector for conscientious reasons, met a Quaker who

> "asked me what I thought of them, and...if I believed that thee & thou to one perticular Person was truth; I said yea; said he then, if I did not come into obedience to what I was convinced of to be Truth, I must come under condemnation"[5]

It has been seen[6] that ethical purity was sought even at the cost of

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4). Dewsbury: Christ Exalted (1656), quoted by Belasco: Authority, p. 71.

5). Bache: op. cit., p. 9.

6). v.supra, Chapter VI

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complete separation from "the World": Friends like to quote St. Paul:

> "Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean....What fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness?"[7]

At the same time, these same social evils which Friends sought to avoid in their own lives, were the subjects of judgment and of appeals for repentance, to those in "the World". Appeal was made by spoken and written word; thus on the Quaker "thee & thou" the "Battle-door" was published, and

> "some of y^m was given to y^e Kinge & his Councell: to y^e bishoppe of Canterbury: & of London: one a peice; & to y^e Universityes: and many bought y^m uppe"[8]

But it was felt also that the keeping of these standards in their own lives was a crucial part of their witness to others:

> "Your Life and your Words are a Terrour to all that speak not Truth in your dealings...your Lives do judge them; and through your Constancy, Faithfulness and Life, which is Everlasting, you bring many to Amendment: For both Life, Actions, Words & Conversation preach...to the unrighteous world"[9]

The inward strictness and the outward witness have at least two strong common bonds. First, The Quaker testimonies were an appeal from Conscience to Conscience: from their own sense that the Social evils in question were condemned by the universal Light, they expected to awaken any well-heeded conscience to the same Testimony.[10]

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7). II Cor. 6: 17, 14, quoted by Barclay: Apology, p. 305.

8). Fox: Journal, II, p. 7; on the Battle-Door, cf. Section IV-C.

9). Fox: Line of Righteousness p. 8; cf. Caroline Stephen: Quaker Strongholds, p. 99.

10). cf. Sippell, on the one hand (Werdendes Quäkertum, p. 109): "Das Quäkertum ist in erster Linie Zeugnis; es ist der in Permanenz erklärte Gewissensappell an alle Menschen", and Nuttall's comment on this (Christian Enthusiasm, p. 25) "Sippell's word 'Zeugnis', translated testimony, contains the same root as the German work for conviction: a testimony is a witness given because it issues from conviction". So also Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", p. 254.

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Secondly, as has been noted in so many other connections, Friends saw ethical life as a struggle in which the same enemy is met both within and without. Weber finds the root-evil attacked in all Friends' social testimonies as "idolatry of the flesh"[11]- perhaps worldly pride would define it more closely - and this must first be conquered within and then faced in the hostile outer world. Hence the element of combat in the public presenting of Testimonies.[12]

Friends therefore felt bound to carry out their testimonies uncompromisingly as well as conscientiously:

> "and though some, who have been called in the Lord's Vineyard at latter Hours...may be apt to account this Testimony [Hat-Honor] a small thing to suffer so much upon, as some have done, not only to Beating, but to Fines and hard Imprisonments; yet they who, in those Times, were faithfully Exercised in and under it, durst not not despise the Day of Small things; as knowing that he who should do so would not be thought worthy to be concerned in higher Testimonies"[13]

Examples were cited of the bitter results of trimming and compromise:

> Thomas Ayrey of Westmorland went with John Audland, preaching "west warde through the edge of Walles, so to Bristoll, soe to Exeter and to Plemouth, where this Tho:Ayrey begun to ffainte, and turned homewarde, and left John Audland alone....This poore ffainteing man returneing home, Endeovered to Appeare in publike testemony, but having lost the power, could not be borne. And allthough he mostly

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11). Protestant Ethic, p. 255.

12). Ellwood went through severe inner struggle, the first time after his convincement that he was called on by his Father to go to Oxford, because he would have to carry out the Quaker social testimonies in public. He describes his prayer: "O my God, Preserve me faithful, whatever befals me! Suffer me not to be drawn into Evil, how much Storm and Contempt soever may be cast upon me." He goes on: "A Knot of my old Acquaintances espying me, came to me...[and] saluted me, after the usual manner, putting off their Hats and Bowing; and saying Your Humble Servant, Sir: expecting, no doubt, the like from me. But when they saw me stand still, not moving my Cap, nor bowing my Knee...to them, they were amazed... At length [one]...said What! TOM, a Quaker! To which I readily, and cheerfully Answered, Yes, A Quaker. And as the Words passed out of my Mouth, I felt Joy spring in my Heart...that I had not been drawn...into a Compliance with them; and that I had Strength and Boldness given me, to Confess my self to be one of that despised People" (Ellwood: Journal, pp. 63-4.)

13). ibid, p. 83.

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held the profession of Truth in frequenting ffreinds Meettings, yet a very weake and faithless man all his days after. Could suffer nothing for truth, for when like to sufer for keeping Christs Comand in not swearing, he truckled under and tooke an oath; when like to suffer for Truths Testemony against ffeighting and beareing outward arms, he Consented to take the arms. And allso when like to suffer for not conforming to the Nationall worshipe, soe underly was he that he went one day to that worshipe to prevent sufering....Oh that he may be a warening to all to kepe to the rocke, Gods power"[14]

The persecution to which this public steadfastness subjected Quakers will be discussed.[15] But in certain circumstances Friends could point for justification to this absolutism:

> Justice Marsh in 1668, wrote Fox, "said unto mee you cannot sweare and soe say y^e^ Independents and baptists and monarchy people: and therefore sayd hee howe shall I knowe howe to distinguish betwixt you seeinge they and you all say it is for conscience sake. Then I said I will shew thee how to distinguish: ffor these thou speakes of can & doe sweare in some cases....For if a man shoulde take there cowes or horses...they would sweare they was theres... But if thou try our freindes, they cannot sweare for there owne goods"[16]

The sources from which individual Testimonies arose will in many cases be more fully studied. Braithwaite[17] has pointed out that there was unanimous and almost immediate agreement among early Friends on the rejection of Baptism & the Lord's Supper, Hat Honor, courtesy titles, Oaths, Calendar Names of "heathen origin", and vanity in dress. We shall see that these had all been rejected by Baptists or Seekers, usually by both groups and other sects also, so that they were as unquestioned moral categories as the rejection of drunkenness and vice. We shall

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14). First Publishers of Truth, pp. 266-7.

15). v. infra, Section IX-A; cf. by contrast Perkin's attitude that "it is lawfull for Christians to flie in persecution if they find themselves not sufficiently resolved and strengthened by God's spirits to stand." (Golden Chaine, p. 166).

16). Fox: Journal, Vol. II, p. 132.

17). Beginnings, p. 137

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also see later the extent to which group discipline of conduct brought uniformity in Quaker Testimonies. Yet Conscience so implies an unlimited demand for self-surrender, that any issue which is strongly felt by one man's Conscience works as a weight upon the Consciences of friends who share his general ideals.

Where there was not a background of influence in the Puritan tradition, as in the matters of war and slavery, the Friends' testimonies emerged more slowly, and like matters of more personal decision, were often decided by one or more leaders, as led by the Light in their Consciences. The clearest case of this which I have found, involved both an immediate issue and a general Witness. Burnyeat's problem began over the public proclamation of a Fast:

> "Barbadoes, the 30th of the 11th Month, 1670:
> "I Have had a great Exercise upon my Spirit concerning this Observation of a Day or Fast, which was set forth and pretended unto; and seeing the pride and vanity, that people was in, not like true Mourners and Fasters,...and furthermore seeing the difference that did seem to appear in Friends minds, about the owning or not owning of it,...after I had passed under a deep Exercise in Spirit for some time, at last the Lord God by his Eternal Word...shewed unto me that it was to be Witnessed against by all".
> Burnyeat went on immediately to a decision regarding one aspect of a permanent Friends' Testimony, namely whether the rejection of war included military exercises: "When the Lord had cleared the other to me, he brought up this also before my mind, which is about Sending men, Horses & Arms to the Training, Trooping or Playing, which is folly as to us; for which many, that could not send, have suffered the spoiling of their goods. And the Lord then plainly satisfied me, that it was his Testimony, wherein Friends were to stand, and that they that bore another Testimony, either in words or action, it was from that Spirit...of Darkness"[18]

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18). Burnyeat: op. cit., pp. 107-8

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Section VIII-B: The Quaker Testimony against Oaths

Of all Friends' Testimonies, that against Oaths seems most to stand independent of other Quaker outlooks upon a basis of Biblical Literalism; yet even the refusal to swear had a vital relationship to the integrated Quaker witness and prophetic appeal to Society. The refusal of even Oaths of Allegiance, as has been seen, was a prominent cause of the suffering of Quakers under both the Commonwealth and the Restoration, and thus it was a general Testimony almost from the beginning[1] (although not the subject of severe persecution until the anti-Catholic act which enforced the Oath of Abjuration in 1655).[2] It was also the subject of constant tracts.[3]

The defence of the Quaker testimony always began and usually centered around the two New Testament injunctions (Mt. 5:33-7 & James 5:12) which categorically forbid oaths of any kind.[4] While being ready to meet rational arguments of other kinds,[5] Friends did not often advance any of their own, and often simply met pragmatic arguments with Christ's

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1). Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 139.

2). Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 85.

3). e. g. John Crook: The Case of Swearing (at all) Discussed (London, Robert Wilson, 1660); Fox: " a Paper against Swearing" (1656) (cf. Braithwaite: Beginnings) Fisher: Episkopos; Fisher: Works, p. 835 ff: "Supplementum Sublatum...about Swearing".

4). cf. Fisher: Works; p. 835ff; Fox: Instruction to Judges pp. 12-13, etc.

5). cf. Fisher's reply to Bishop Gauden: "The Bishop sayes... that the Quakers do not argue any thing further by way of Rational deduction, moral grounds, or Religious Principles...but barely insist upon the words, and urge the Letter of two Biblical texts" Fisher replies: "If anything of a rational Consideration be offered whereby to divert us from our sense of them, or our judgment in that case of swearing, we are ready to receive it." Fisher: Episkopos, p. 63.

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command in Scriptures.[6] It is not surprising that men as conscientious as the early Friends should have taken an express command of Jesus with complete seriousness, and it may be that once the issue was called to their attention (as by certain Baptists) this in itself ensured Friends' maintenance of the testimony. Indeed Friends' thinking was rooted in the Bible, and at other times also their use of it shows the unsystematic literalism of the unschooled: Yet there were few other areas in which Friends followed the letter of scripture as a Law or Command.[7] Therefore the outlook and reasons behind Friends' rejection of Oaths need further examination.

Friends were well aware that the rejection of Oaths was not a practice first revived by themselves. In defense of the Quaker position, John Crook cites Basilides and four instances given in Foxe's Martyrs.[8] Fisher adds two more recent examples,[9] and the Scythians, Essenes and Pythagoras from his classical reading in college.[10]

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6). Thus John Crook opposes the claim of the authority of the civil law, with a quotation from a law-text setting down the priority of natural to civil law, and then proceeds to identify the natural law with the Law of God in Bible and inner Light: "One main and principal foundation of the Law of England is the Law of God" (Crook: Case of Swearing, p.6.)

7). Even in the Peace testimony, on which they could easily had done so, Friends did not often cite Christ's commands.

8). The Waldenses, William Thorp, William Swinderby, & "the Ploughman's Prayer" (Crook: Case of Swearing, p. 20.)

9). Walter Brute & Elizabeth Young under Mary Tudor (Fisher: Works, p. 798.)

10). The anonymous "Case of the People called Quakers" of 1673, however, gives the most astonishing list, including all the above, three famous martyrs who refused to swear by Caesar's fortune, Erasmus, Plato, "Meander", Antonius, Hesiod, Theognis, Augustine, the Albigenses, Michael Sadler of Germany, Jerome, Chrysostom and Justin Martyr, Juss, Jerome of Prague, and the Wyclifite and Piedmontese heretics. A good many of these were actually only objecting to oaths under certain circumstances; one wonders who compiled this fascinating array; by the jumble of dates and issues one would suppose it to have been a man like Crook, or Fisher, who was widely read but mostly in English and secondary sources.

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What was really more significant in terms of this study was the fact that a large number of Baptists refused Oaths on grounds of principle:

> "In Bristol, in 1660, it was said concerning the Oaths of Allegiance that "no Quaker nor hardly any Anabaptists will take those oaths, so that the said oaths are refused by many hundreds of these judgments, being persons of very dangerous principles."[11]

This was not a universal testimony among Baptists, and may in many cases have been due to Quaker influence, but we also have the interesting record that about 1653

> "the oath of allegiance to Cromwell "was to be tendred to y^e^ souldyers when y^e^ longe parlament was turned out: & many of y^e^ souldyers was turned out because in obediens to Christ they coulde not sweare: as J. Stubbs for one."[12]

Already Friends were known also as among those who "would nott sweare",[13] at least in the north. One may therefore presume that some of the early Friends brought their testimony into the new movement already formed, and that perhaps the legalistic Biblical argument with which they supported it was the product of their former pattern of thought rather than that of Friends.

Other connotations, however, seem also to have been involved. Swearing seems to have been associated in Friends' minds with religious

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11). Extracts from State Papers, Vol. II, pp. 120-122, quoted Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 478; cf. Whitley: Baptists, p. 99; Foster: Works, p. 794 ff: "One Antidote more Against Swearing".

12). Fox: Journal, Vol. I, p. 123; this was prior to Stubbs becoming a Friend; for the "Rump Parliament" was turned out in April, 1653, and Stubbs first met Fox during the latter's emprisonment in Carlisle, which began in July of that year (cf. Braithwaite: Beginnings, pp. 456, 117) it may have been at this time that the friends of George Fox the Younger were also turned out (cf. Fox the younger: Noble Salutation, pp. 7-8) and the same reason may have been involved.

13). Fox: Journal, Vol. I, p. 123.

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ceremonialism, with Bible-worship, and perhaps ultimately with Catholicism.[14] More clearly, Friends seem to have associated formal and legal oaths with the informal use of profanity to which they were so totally opposed:

> "Did the Holy Spirit dwell in your Houses...you could not be silent till you had driven Iniquity into a corner, and made Pride to blush, and Lying, Swearing and all cursed Speaking afraid to utter its voice in the Streets".[15]

Friends may have felt that both profanity and legal oaths took God's name in vain insofar as they summoned God for human purposes and denied the initiative of the Spirit.[16] More especially, however, quasi-legal oaths were freely used in ordinary commerce and trade, often dishonestly:

> "it is commonly seen by experience, that those who care not what they speak, matters not much what they swear, if so be they can but keep from the punishment of the law....One man is punished when his answer is true, only because he dare not Swear, another escapeth when as his answer is false, because he dare swear to a lye....For which thing the Wrath of God shall be powred out upon the head of the wicked...and this may justly befall this Nation because of oaths and because of oppression".[17]

In 1659 Friends delighted to point out that the Presbyterians who had sworn allegiance to Parliament had revolted, while Friends who refused oaths had not. Friends were always willing to submit to the penalties

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14). "such swearing (if they will needs have it to be swearing) as Paul used when he said God is my witness, God is my record, [would not have protected him] from falling under the danger of the like Premunire with such as cannot conform to that ceremonious kind of swearing...without kissing and laying one of their Fingers at least upon a Bible". (Foster: Works, p. 805; cf. Fox: Great Mistery, p. 279). It is possible that a study of Friends' precursors would show an association in their minds of Swearing with the Feudal system and its oaths of subservience, but neither of these is traceable in Friends' own writings.

15). Nayler: Works, p. 406; cf. Fisher: Episkopos Aposkopos, p. 59; cf. Edward Burrough: The Testimony of the Lord Concerning London (n. p. 165-7).

16). cf. Fox: Journal, Vol. I, p. 212.

17). Crook: Case of Swearing, pp. 12, 20, 23.

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for perjury, should they declare anything falsely in public.[18] It is possible indeed that Friends avoided Oaths in the part because they did take with enormous seriousness the invoking of God, since in the kaleidoscope of governments, the Oaths of Allegiance became outdated:

> So Bishop Gauden writes: "I pity them because...poor men, the Quakers as well as others, had cause to fear lest if they took an Oath today, they should tomorrow be forced to renounce and abjure it..."[19]

But there are few Friends' statements in this vein.

This intense concern for honesty which was characteristic of early Friends was reinforced by an element of regional pride:

> "A northern gentleman did not hesitate to attack and kill his enemy in the street, but he would not perjure himself 'for four of the best dukes' lands in France'".20

More fundamental was their insistence that dishonesty was so clearly unchristian that oaths upon Christians were unnecessary

> "they being under the tie and bond of Truth in themselves, there was no necessity for an oath, and it would be a reproach to their Christian veracity to assure their Truth by such an extraordinary way of speaking"[21]

Honesty is a basic approach to life as a whole: "honest mens Oaths are

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18). Case of the People Called Quakers Relating to Oathes & Swearing (n. p. 1673), p. 26; Crook: Case of Swearing, p. 12; Fox: Covenant with God: "our yea is yea, and our nay is nay in it...Let us suffer as much for breaking it as for breaking an oath"; cf. also Penn's preface to Fox: Journal (Everyman Edn); Braithwaite: Second Period, p. 182.

19). Fisher: Episkopos, p. 59.

20). Dodds: Pilgrimage of Grace, p. 60; while this was the honour of a feudal gentlemen, and the Quakers were not gentry, these things tend also to be matters of the custom of a community and of the region.

21). Penn: preface to Fox's Journal, quoted by Ross: Margaret Fell; cf. Crook: Case of Swearing, p. 27.

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as needless; as wicked mens Oaths are creditless".[22]

In consequence an interesting distinction was sometimes made between Friends and non-Friends:

> Bishop Gauden, said Fisher, tries "to prove the necessary use of Oaths...among Evil men mainly,...who are in Strife and Envy among themselves...and these we meddle little to perswade to one thing or another about Swearing, unless the Light of God...lead them....We are content to agree with him in...the use of Oaths to Curb Evil-minded and Evil manner'd men from Lying...whilst he aggrees with...the Uselessness, Needlessness & Unlawfulness of exacting and taking Oaths among True, Just, Honest, Good, Faith Righteous, Holy men"[23]

The implications of this are interesting: for if honesty and the rejection of Oaths are dependent upon being truly a Christian, (i.e. one of the Children of the Light), it might seem that this Testimony ceased to be an appeal to others to act likewise, and became purely a personal ethic. This is not true, however, since as we have seen the entire Quaker appeal gave fundamental priority to a radical turning to and obedience to the Light within. This simply shows, therefore, the interdependence and unity of the Friends' Testimonies.

This is in fact the meaning to be found in the argument given in answer to the numerous examples of Oaths in the Old Testament. Friends were accustomed to say that "amongst the Jewes they were lafull by the law of god...but Christ is come who ends the Jews law".[24] This

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22). Fisher: Episkopos Aposkopos, p. 66; cf. Martin Luther: "No vow will ever become binding and valid until we have become spiritual and no longer have any need of vows" (Works, Vol. II, p. 244).

23). op. cit. pp. 75, 77.

24). Fox: Journal, Vol. II, p. 47; cf. Case of the People called Quakers, p. 8; cf. also Fisher: Works, pp. 795-7: Fisher dates Swearing from the time of the flood, but an Upstart piece of Novelty in the Eye of that Church, which is now coming out of the Wilderness, Fair as the Moon, clear as the Sun, Terrible as an army with banners". cf. also Fisher: Episkopos, p. 87

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is not simply a way of justifying the use of the New Testament to cancel out the Old. The New Covenant ends also the reason for Oaths in the Old:

> "An oath when used to its right end, i.e. to end Strife, is so used among Men only in the Fall, who live in Hatred, Variance, Strife, and such deeds of Darkness and the Flesh, but not among the Saints, that...live in Love and Peace."[25]

It is in this light, therefore that one must read the statements of Fox and others about new and old dispensations: Now a new dispensation, such as that of Christ, is in essence universal, even though most men may continue to live under the old Law. The Friends' Testimony against Oaths, therefore, may be considered as part of their total and apocalyptic appeal to decide between the old life and the new.

On the practical level Friends, even those few who were willing to concede the acceptability of Oaths among the unregenerate, did not see that they should be legally required, much less that there is "any proof at all for imposing Oaths under penalties".[26] When Friends emerged from the long period of persecution in 1689, and the expectation of "convincing" more than scattered individuals had faded, the Testimony against Oaths ceased to involve an attempt to establish a universal pattern, and Friends concentrated their efforts upon securing legal recognition for Affirmations as a substitute Oaths in their own case.[27] The unrighteous might be unrighteous still.

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25). Fisher: Works, p. 801; cf. Fox: Great Mistery, p. 299; Crook: Case of Swearing, p. 29.

26). Fisher: Episkopos, p. 65, cf. p. 1.

27). cf. Braithwaite: Second Period, p. 182 ff.

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Section VIII-C: Social Equality, and the Testimonies against Hat-Honor and Ceremony of Speech

The wearing of a hat at times when other men did not, and the use of certain expressions of speech (notably thee & thou) became in later years distinctive badges of the Quaker. It has always been recognized that in origin these customs were expressions of a wider Quaker concern for human equality. In order properly to understand these Testimonies, however, the nature of this ideal of equality must be seen, and particularly that it was essentially religious and ethical, rather than social. For the Quaker, as for the Calvinist, man's standing before God was primary and the basis of his standing with his fellows. Before God all men equally stood condemned. Quakers drew different consequences from this for social life, than those of Calvinists, from the differences of their own social experience.

Early Friends were often suspected of close relationships with the political Levellers who had been strongest just before the rise of their movement. A number of individuals, such as John Lilburne, went from one movement to the other.[1] It has been noted that many of the reforms which Friends urged in the political arena were those first proposed by Levellers. Moreover Friends' rejection of political and military authority was connected with the rebelliousness of the Levellers. The officers felt, concerning Friends' conduct in the army, that

> "the levellinge principle lyes at the bottome; for they mention that factious temper of the army about the tyme the levellers appeared at the first, whose disciples they are"[2]

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1). cf. Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", p. 204; Armsby: Quaker View of State, p. 53.

2). William Daniel to General Monk, 1657: "Extracts from Thurloe Papers"; JFHS VIII, 161, quoted Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", p. 218.

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There seems to have been then as nowadays a widespread supposition that Friends intended to lead a revolutionary movement of working-class people; when Hubberthorne was arrested in Norwich in 1654, he wrote,

> "Another thing charged against me is, that the people in a great number gathered together about me, which might have been of evil consequence, they being the under-sort of people; ...Another:...that being often asked my Name & Countrey, would give no account,...[but] said I dwelt in God, and where the Lord called me"[3]

Social equality seemed to contemporaries to be a basic concern of both Friends and Levellers: one anti-Quaker officer wrote

> "My Captain-lieutenant is much confirmed in his principles of quaking, making all the soldiers his equals, according to the Levellers' strain, that I dare say in short time his principles in the army shall be the root of disobedience. My Lord, the whole world is governed by superiority and distance in relations.. ..Liberty with equality is so pleasing to ignorance that proselytes [to Quakerism] will be daily brought in..and when I think of the Levelling design that had like to have torn the army to pieces, it makes me more bold..."[4]

Of explicit Quaker statements concerning social equality, there turn out to be extraordinarily few; Schenk cites one of the occasional references in Quaker writings to the fact that all men are "made of one Blood & Mould, being Sons of Adam by nature, and all children of God by Creation";[5] also a statement (more economic than social) that

> "the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof, and he hath given it to the sons of men in general, and not to a few lofty ones who lord it over their brethren".[6]

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3). Works, pp. 37-40, quoted Arthur J. Eddington: The First Fifty Years of Quakerism in Norwich (London, Friends Hist. Soc., [1932]), p. 4; Hubberthorne was presumably evasive concerning his residence to avoid being sent all the way to Yorkshire as a vagrant.

4). William Daniel to Monk: Thurloe State Papers, Ch. VI, p. 167, quoted by Braithwaite: Beginnings, p.520.

5). Fox, cited by Schenk: Social Justice, p. 122.

6). Ben Nicholson: "A Blast from the Lord" (1653), p. 10, quoted in Schenk: Social Justice, p. 122

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We have found moreover occasional contrasts between the "good, honest, mechanick men"[7] and the "mighty" to the disparagement of the latter.[8] For the most part, however, when Friends speak of the "despised people", the "lower than the lowest of the people",[9] they are not referring to a social class but to the children of the Light. The religious cleavage was far greater than the class division.

We do not find any clear evidence that Friends envisaged a class structure different in function from their own. They took it for granted that Friends would be both masters and servants.[10] Penn was a firm paternalist, and strict with servants:

> "That none take the Liberty of absenting themselves on any pretence without Leave first granted them, provided either Master or Mistress be at Home....That none go to any Inn or other publick House in the Town, but on Business, first known, and Leave given"[11]

Even Fox, however, was essentially paternalistic in his conception of home relationships, and also of the role of servants: he wrote to the Assembly in Barbados in 1671:

> "Now consider ffriends that it is no transgression for a master of a family to instruct his family himself....It is a duty in Cumbent upon us to pray and to teach instruct and admonish those in and belonging to our families....Now Negroes and Tawney Indians make up a very great part of ffamilies here in this Iland, for whom an account will be required by him who Comes to Judg both quick & dead".[12]

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7). Barclay: Apology (1855), p. 306.

8). Cf. Fox: Journal, Vol. I, p. 56.

9). Nayler: Foot Yet in Snare, p. 16.

10). William Dewsbury wrote to Margaret Fell: "Sarah Welsh wants a Friend to be servant with her. I lay it before thee, let not any come but whom thou see unmovable [in] the power of Truth to be an example. I leave it with thee" (Swarthmore Manuscript, Ch. IV, p. 164 (23-7-1657), quoted Ross: Margaret Fell, p. 48)

11). William Penn: Christian Discipline...for the well-governing of my Family (Birmingham, 1751)

12). Journal, Vol. II, p. 201, cf. George Fox "the Younger" Works, p. 42.

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Thus Fox felt free to defend himself from a charge of social agitation:

> "Another slander & Lye they have cast upon us is namely that wee should teach the Negroes to Rebell A thing wee do utterly abhorr and detest....For...wee have spoken...to exhort and admonish them to be sober and to fear God and to Love their masters and to be faithfull and diligent in their masters service and business....And that they should not beat their wives...nor multiply wives and that they doe not steale, nor be drunk, nor commit Adultry nor curse nor swear nor lye.. ..for there is something in them that tells them that they should not practise these evills."[13]

Friends' conception of the spiritual equality of all men could not but eventually lead to results in the area of social group relations. Nor, obviously, must one overlook the extent to which religious outlooks were interwoven with the actual social rebelliousness of many Quakers, particularly tenants from the Dales of the North-west. Not only the grievances of personal oppression but social dislocation broke the functional social ties.[14] But for the time being the Quaker hope for society was for a transformation of human relationships within approximately the existing functional divisions. This attitude, while it did not reject the relationship of Master and Servant, at least envisaged an attitude that went beyond the mediaeval conception at its best, because of the obedience of the Quaker master to the Light within:

> "Masters and Dames, wait in the true Light, that ye may feel Christ the Power and Wisdom of God to be your Master, that so ye may rule in your Places, in his Fear and Wisdom; and lay no more upon your Servants, than ye would be willing should be laid upon you, if ye were in their places...but In Patience and Meekness shew them their Place and Service."[15]

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13). Fox: Journal, Vol. II, p. 200; The Friends Testimony against Slavery began later and does not come within the scope of this chapter.

14). "Proprietors...will find better Tenants than Anabaptists and Quakers, whose design is only to turn out the landlords" (Conway Letters, (ed. M. H. Nicholson, 1930), p. 161, quoted in Schenk: Social Justice, p. 125

15). Fox "the Younger": Works, p. 41. On the family, cf. his Essay, "An Exhortation to Families who have desires to serve the Lord"

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Such paternalism is basically theocratic, and like the Quaker conception of the theocratic State is always protected by the direct relationship of each individual to the Light of God.

At three points, it must be said, the basic Friends' attitudes did serve to break down the pattern of existing society. First, the idea of Society itself changed negatively, if not positively. Friends, (in common with many others in an England disrupted by the Civil War and the incipient Industrial Revolution) experienced a breaking or a lack of personal social ties. Thus they lacked the conception, characteristics of Mediaeval and Elizabethan thought, of Society as an organism, composed of mutually dependent groups. Such paternalism as is envisaged is of the family, the estate, and the workshop, not of larger units.[16]

At a second point, Friends broke down the existing bonds of Society, because the primary bond between the Children of the Light often conflicted with that between father and son, master and servant; the primary breach between Friends and the World often led to actual cleavage between class and class:

> "Thus the ministers of Lancashire petitioned Parliament, complaining of the Quakers that "since their coming into this County thy have broached Opinions tending to the destruction of the obedience of Subjects to their Magistrates, Wives to their Husbands,

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15). (continued) God in their several places": "Bring up your Children in the fear of the Lord, watching over them in the seasoned savoury Life of God, not suffering them to live in wildness and idleness, nor vain talking (unreproved)...neither correct them in your own wills, nor in hastiness, rashness or passion" (ibid. p. 39)

16). This note of social dissociation produces one curious argument against courtesy Titles: "There are Lords many, and one of them we can call A Lord, but not the Lord, or my Lord,...and in like manners, we can call some Ladies, yet not any Elect Lady, but such whose Election we know; and why should we call any my Lady,...unless by Marriage-Union we have Interest in them" John Whitehead: Manifestations of Truth, p. 143. Friends were evidently willing to use titles as part of proper names, whether military or civil.

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> Congregations to their Ministers, and of a People to their God". To this Fox replied: "Broaching Opinions we deny...but those that profess truth...we own. Opinions do tend to break the relation of Subjects to their Magistrates, etc...but...purity and walking in the Spirit, doth make a separation from all uncleanness, and can have no fellowship with them who are unfruitfull workers of darkness"[17]

For Ellwood, as for Penn, the avowal of Quakerism, and the adoption of Quaker customs, meant thorough-going isolation, not only from almost all their former friends, but from their own families, and a partial disinheritance. John Crook, who likewise came from a socially respected family, called this ideal his crucifixion,[18] and Burrough, Rawlinson, Rigge & Parnell were also disowned.[19] The loyalaties of servants and apprentices to their masters and those of children to their parents were made secondary to the loyalty to the Light, and it is not surprising that the resulting conflicts were seen by many as social revolution.

The third factor and perhaps the most deep-rooted of all, which led Friends to challenge the existing social pattern was the interlocking connection in their minds between Lordship, pride, and oppression. This was not a rejection of political rule or social administration, but of a man setting himself in power over others.[20] We have seen that the

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17). Fox: Saul's Errand, p. 4. A good example of this problem as it occurred in practice, was Thomas Ellwood's inner turmoil whether to use Hat-Honor and polite forms of address to his Father, having given them up to other men. Remembering the Fifth Commandment, he continued to for a while, but was uneasy in conscience: "I considered thereupon the Extent of Paternal Power, which I found was not wholly Arbitrary & Unlimited: but had Bounds set unto it, so that as in Civil Matters it was restrained to Things Lawful, so in Spiritual and Religious Cases, it had not a Compulsory Power over conscience, which ought to be subject to the Heavenly Father" (Ellwood: Journal, p. 87).

18). "A Short History of the Life of John Crook" (1706), p. 27, quoted Tindall: Bunyan, p. 89.

19). Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 486 ff.

20). Cf. Fox: Great Mistery, p. 73.

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Quaker conception of power, whether that of ruler, master, or father, was essentially theocratic; "Lordship" was essentially power used for a man's own sake, or for any other reason, rather than as an instrument for the Light:

> "Hath not all y^e^ earthly Lordshipp, tyranny & oppression sprung from this ground, by which Creatures have been exalted and sett upp one aboue another, trampleing under foot & despising y^e^ poor"[21]

The thorough-going suspicion of Lordship as the fruit of human pride made the Quakers as prone to disobey masters who were not "tender" in conscience, who took their position for granted as theirs by right or birth, as they were to disobey ungodly rulers.

The rejection of Lordship is to be found as the main reason given for Friends' testimony against Hat-honor and Ceremony of Speech. That these Testimonies were not directed against differences of social position as such, Friends made clear:

> "We are persuaded that by God's Ordinance, some have a Superiority given them, for the Punishment of evil-doers, and a Praise to them that do well: As, First, the Husband over the Wife, Secondly, the Parents over the Children, the King over his Subjects, and the Rulers over the People,...also Masters over servants, and Mistresses over their Handmaids; and to thes Superiours we are perswaded by the Lord that there is an Honour due from Inferiors... It consists not in vain Ceremonies, wherein there is no Service to God or Man, such as uncovering the Head, and bowing the Knee...neither doth due Honour consist in vain Complements, which for the most part are frivolous, fained and hypocritical, as Your Servant, Sir...but in diligent and speedy Obedience to all just Commands of Superiours, and in patient Suffering under those that are Unjust....We design to level nothing but Sin, wherein we are justified by the Lord;....and therefore we cannot call any Man the Lord, nor my Lord, because God is the Lord, there is none our Lord beside him!"[22]

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21). Norman Penney: Extracts from State Papers Relating to Friends, (1654-1672), p. 42, quoted Maclear: "Quakers & Interregnum" Church History XIX, p. 243.

22). John Whitehead: Manifestation of Truth, pp. 142-3.

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It is also, however, clear, not only that "in that ceremonious age, Quaker plainness seemed not only ill-bred, but deliberately offensive",[23] but that these courtesies of address were bound up with differences of social ranks. Thus Bishop Gauden felt that

> Friends' "rude and levelling Humour denyes to show common Courtesie and wonted Tokens of Civil Respect to their Superiours, contrary to the Reverent, Gentle and Humble Behaviour of all God's People in all ages"; to which Fisher replied: "We find Christ and his Apostles so far from Exhorting others to Respecting Mens Persons that they practised no such thing themselves."[24]

Friends, while they did not attack differences of "Place", constantly witnessed against "Respect of Persons". They do not seem to have thought of it, as perhaps a mediaeval or a modern thinker would, in terms of the distinction between a man and his Office. But in the first instance, as has been seen, the Testimonies were aimed at humbling human Pride:

> "Let every soul be subject to the higher Power....But man's Pride is not the higher Power: in Humility we find a Power above Pride, higher than Men's Wills...so we deny the lower, that we may subject ourselves to that which excelleth; and to every Ordinance of Man are we subject for the Lord's sake; but should we bow to the Spirit of Pride, we should betray the Lord...And what is against him, for his sake we deny, and with him suffer under it, as Witnesses for him against it".[25]

Friends felt that it was only sinful pride which was offended by the rejection of these courtesies; when Quakers come before magistrates,

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23). Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 493.

24). Fisher: Episkopos, pp. 48-9.

25). Nayler: Works, p. 402; this quotation is given in almost identical words in Fox: Journal, Vol. I, p. 131; which is the original I have not discovered, but suppose that Fox, in including epistles in the materials for his Journal, may have carelessly included one by his friends, although this letter of Nayler's "To the rulers" is dated in his Works as 1658, when he was in prison and ostracized by Fox.

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wrote Fox,

> "If they give them the hat, it is a civil thing: it pacifies the rage of the transgressor:...but break down this Idol, and bring him to seek the honour which comes from above, from God, and not give him this...hat honour...and he will rage."[26]

It was the fruit of Friends' own earnestness in obedience and self-surrender to the Light, that they insisted that no honour be given to man:

> "All honour belong to God alone...And if all belong to him only, then none to man,...who is to be ceased from and not at all to be accounted on, at least while he bears...The Dishonourable Image of Satan, and till he comes back by the Light into the Image and Glory of God."[27]

Friends' rejection of Hat-honour and Ceremonious Speech, therefore, is tied up with the contrast between the divine and the human wills, the old Adam and the New. The ideal of the equality of mankind which has often been felt to underly Friends' social testimonies is thus a negative equality, the equal rejection of all human pride rather than a positive stress upon the equal dignity of every human personality: "The Quakers cannot justly be charged with flattery of any men, or Fearing...the Persons of any".[28]

In the practice of Friends' social Testimonies we find signs of the way in which the early Quakers set apart the Children of the Light from all other men with a distinction stronger than differences between social ranks. The "Image of God" was only seen by Quakers in the re-

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26). Fox: Instruction to Judges, p. 10, cf. 11-2.

27). Fisher: Works, p. 106; but not even the Saint must receive honor: "Christ, the Light that doth enlighten every man, etc., receives not honour of men...Now he that receives honour of men, is of the first Adam....Now Christ is come, to whom every knee must bow". cf. Journal, Ch. I, p. 132.

28). Fisher: Episkopos, p. 51.

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generate; in their own way they "honoured" it there:

> "The Saints Salutation we own, and honour all men in the Lord....but we have learned...to deny the customs of the Heathen and their flattering Titles...and a difference do we put betwixt the Saints Salutation and the vain fashions and customs of the Heathen!"[29]

It was the "Image of God" in the Saint, not the Saint himself, which was honorable. Friends did not use ceremonious speech of the usual kind to each other. Nevertheless their rejection of the pride which sought these courtesies was also a rejection of proud men themselves as unregenerate:

> Quakers are "accused by proud Haman's generation that ever hated them, because they could not Honour them who were accursed of God, and bow according to their haughty expectations, as a certain odd People that keep not the Law [cf. Esther 3:8], and live not as other men do, but are everywhere, and every way cross, because so to the Carnal Wills of men, and Disturbers of the Peace!"[30]

In Society, as in politics, therefore, the early Friends were not so much democrats as theocrats, though the effect, under either name, in challenging and breaking down the existing Social Order, was outwardly much the same.

Taking up the Social Testimonies individually, it appears that the refusal of "Hat-honor" was considered typical of Quakers at least as early as 1659.[31] It was not limited to Friends,[32] but the origin of the custom among Quakers, and any direct influences from outside,

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29). Camm & Audland, op. cit., p. 123, cf. Fox: Great Mistery, p. 81.

30). Fisher: Works, p. 18.

31). Cf. the incident regarding Ellwood; Ellwood: Journal, p. 62.

32). We hear that a Parliamentary army captain refused Hat-Honour from his soldiers in Scotland (Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 230), that John ap John the Welsh sectarian wore his hat in a Church in Tenby (ibid. p. 347) and that John Saltmarsh wore his hat when, in the last week of his life, he delivered as from God a message and warning to General Fairfax and the Army Council (Sippell: Werdendes Quäkertum, p. 89).

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seem obscure. Hats were universally worn at that time, even indoors.[33] Since hats were only removed in prayer, or as "a distinctive mark of deference"[34] hat-honor seems to have involved both social standing and personal pride.

> When Major Ceely interviewed George Fox, who was a prisoner, in Launceston Jail in 1656, he greeted him: "'your servant, sir,' doffing his hat....[Fox replied] Major Ceely, take heed of hypocrisy and a rotten heart, for when came I to be thy master and thee my servant? Does servants use to cast their masters into prison?"[35]

Thus both Nayler and Perrot demonstrated their rejection of Fox's spiritual authority by refusing to remove their hats while he was praying. Even Shakespeare can make fun of the hat-flourishes and hypocrisy of Hamlet's Osric; but the fact that both Major Ceely and the Protector himself[36] removed their hats in the presence of a Quaker visitor shows that hat-honor was neither simply a courtly custom nor a gesture of social inequality. In lack of fuller evidence, one must simply assume that where Puritan officers used hat-honor as courtesy to equals, North-country farmers did not. The gesture was therefore associated in their minds with gentry who expected hat-honor as a sign of deference, but one which the gentry would not use to the ordinary farmer or tenant. Nevertheless the rejection of all honour to men, as well as all social deference, was probably involved in the Quaker Testimony.

The rejection of the "heathen" names for days of the week and months of the year usually associated with other aspects of Quaker "plain language", was in fact originally independent, being a direct heritage

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33). When Ellwood's Father confiscated his hats, he writes, "I was still under a kind of confinement; unless I would have run about the Country bare-headed, like a Mad-Man" (Ellwood: Journal, p. 85.).

34). Braithwaite: Beginnings; p. 493.

35). Fox: Journal, Vol. I, p. 216.

36). Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 161.

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of Puritanism. The custom was widespread among the radical sectarians: one finds it in the minute-book of the Fenstanton Baptists, and even in that of the Church of Cockermouth Independents who were so horrified by Quaker inroads.[37] Quakers seem to have taken over the custom without much comment[38] regarding the old names as pagan and the use of numbers as Biblical. Associated with this may be their rejection of the word "Saint" as an honorific, even in place names, a usage which would also appear to have been common among radical Puritans,[39] presumably as a gesture of protest against Catholicism (since the word Saint was used of the Quaker or Calvinist elect).

Other aspects of Quaker "plain language" seem rather to be rooted in their earnest scrupulousness about honesty in speech; particularly the qualification and limitation of general statements; but this was more characteristic of Quakers at a later period than in the first ten years.[40] We shall find this concern for honesty in speech prominent, however, in Quaker business practices.

The Quaker use of "Thee and Thou" deserves more detailed attention. As early as 1662 it had become a badge of Quakerism.[41] In

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37). When the Baptist John Canne edited the Publick Intelligencer in 1659, he announced "regretfully his decision that in consideration of the peoples' weakness he will not as yet substitute the terms '1st day', '2nd day', etc. for the nomenclature in use, till scripture language be better understood, which in time will be the usual language of the world" (Brown: Fifth Monarchy, p. 183).

38). Although as late as 1650 Fox seems to have used the old "heathen" names; (Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 139).

39). Thus the publishers Thomas Northcott & Mary Hinde publish their address as George-Yard (for St. George's), J. Soule, like Friends, speaks of his as Gracious-Street (rather than Grace-Church Street), and other parishes of London are known as "Martin's in the Strand", etc.

40). Edmund Harvey: Quaker Language (Phila. 1928).

41). The Oxford English Dictionary, under Thee cites a case from 1662: "Though I Thee thee and Thou thee, I am no Quaker".

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England in the 17th Century, the use of "thee" or "you" to a single person was a matter of social standing and relationship:

> "For amongst the Great and Rich ones of the earth, they will either thou or you one another if they be of equal degree, as they call it, but if a man of low degree in the earth come to speak to any of them, then he must you the rich man, but the rich man will thou him....If a poor Labouring man come before one that you call a Minister, he must also show respect by youing him, whereas the priest thous him".[42]

For this reason, Friends associated with human pride and flattery the use of "you" to a single person. From a theocratic standpoint they attacked this inequality: Thou to a single person is

> "The Pure, Plain and Single Language of TRUTH,...which had always been used by GOD to Men, and Men to GOD, as well as one to another, from the oldest Record of Time, till Corrupt Men for Corrupt Ends, in later and Corrupt Times, to Flatter, Fawn, and Work upon the Corrupt Nature in Men, brought in that false and senseless Way of Speaking YOU to One".[43]

They pointed out the irony of the fact that there were

> "Some proude men: whoe would say 'thoust thou mee thou ill bred cloune:' as though there breedinge lay in sayinge you to a Singular....though they would say and give y^t to God and Christ which they would not receive to y^m selves".[44]

Besides the argument concerning human pride, Quakers stressed that the use of "Thee" to a single person was Biblical: "The Scripture-language is the pure language, given out by the pure Spirit, though Babylon hath another language of its own and denies the Scriptures".[45] Friends were also fond of pointing to the grammatical incorrectness of

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42). James Parnell: A Shield of Truth (1655) p. 27, quoted by Tindall: Bunyan, p. 101.

43). Ellwood: Journal, p. 57.

44). Fox: Journal, Vol. II, p. 7.

45). Nayler: Man of Sin, p. 44, cf. Fox: Great Mistery, p. 142; Battle-Door, p. 2.

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using a plural pronoun to a single person, as shown both in foreign languages and English texts of grammar.[46]

As a matter of fact, the use of "Thee" and "Thou", both as commonly used in seventeenth Century England, and as used by the Quakers, was not simply a moral issue. It was bound up with the history of the English language. The better-educated Friends realized that "the Word You to one came first from the Roman Empire"; this form, "together with other Titles and Compellations of Honour seem to have taken their rise from Monarchial Government; which afterwards by degrees came to be derived to Private Persons".[47]

As a matter of fact it was a practice gaining a foothold in many countries at this time.[48] So Fisher regarded the use of You as a foreign importation:

> The learned are "more ignorant in one thing, then the poor unlearned (as they call them) are in their own mother Tongue, often theeing and thouing their inferiors, but for fear of offending great

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46). Fox and Stubbs produced the "Battle-Door" in 23 languages to show the distinction of plural and singular pronouns in each (v. supra Chapter IV): "Why do the Translators translate the Bible Thou to one and You to Many,...if the people should not practice it.... Why did all the Translators translate the Accidence and Grammar singular and plural" (Battle-Door, Introduction); Stubbs also dissected Latin-English grammars.

47). Stubbs: Battle-Door, Introduction; Barclay: Apology pp. 540-541. Curme (Syntax: N. Y., 1931) explains it as having arisen in the "College of Emperors" who divided authority in the late Roman Empire; the "We" which was used by each individually became the Royal "We" used by later Kings.

48). Henry Stubbs reports that "Erasmus hath a discourse against you & vos in the behalf of Thou & Tu....Luther in his Ludus sports himself with it, laughing at that Magister vos estis iratus/the problem whether the pronoun should imply also a plural verb/. In Spain, it is contumelius to say You. And what we contend about is no more than a French fashion of speech, and hath no more of disobedience in it then plainesse of clothes hath against the gaudy apparell of Rulers" (Stubbs: Light Shining, p. 89; the last comment is instructive; cf. Barclay: Apology, p. 540).

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Moecenasses, and men of place and Power,...they speak by the Plural (You)...an absurd abuse of their Native National Tongue"[49]

The picture, of course, is not as simple as Fisher would have us believe. The traditional English usage, apparently fairly widespread before the 13th century, was "Ye" & "Thou" for Nominative, "You" & "Thee" for Accusative, "Your" and "Thy" for possessive pronouns and adjectives.[50] The committees who translated the Bible for King James reverted to this usage, which was already archaic in 1611.[51] "By the 16th Century, the singular forms had all but disappeared from polite speech"[52] and 'Thee' and 'Thou' are used by Shakespeare only for country folk, for occasions of great intimacy and emotion, or by masters to servants.[53] In the 16th & 17th Centuries, "Thee" was also used by parents regularly to children, but never by children to parents in polite society.

The use of "Thee" thus might have at least four connotations; it might stress intimacy; it might be used with any strong emotion (such as in scolding); it might show a lack of social breeding or background; or it might signify the inferior social standing of the person addressed. It was the latter of these points which as we have seen made the use of "Thee" and "Thou" a Social Testimony among Friends. And conversely, it was because "'Thou' was the regular form of speech to inferiors long

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49). Fisher; Works, p. 107.

50). Leon Kellner: Historical Outline of English Syntax (London, 1892).

51). Cf. W. Franz: Shakespeare-Grammatik (Heidelberg, 1924) p. 261.

52). A. C. Baugh: History of the English Language (N. Y., 1935), p. 300.

53). Cf. W. Franz, op. cit.; thus servants in Shakespeare's plays address each other as you on first meeting, then switch to thee. Prospero uses "Thee" to Miranda in their most intimate talks; lovers use "Thee" regularly.

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after 'you' had become customary between persons of equal rank",[54] that its use by the early Friends proved so infuriating.[55] But the other meanings might be involved also, and in various ways. The definite difference in usage between different social classes does seem worth emphasizing.[56] We have seen that the majority of Friends came socially from lower-class backgrounds, where "Thee" and "thou" were more normal speech; this would help to explain why Penn and Ellwood found the shock on the part of their own families and associates over this issue unusually hard to bear. That Friends used greater Intimacy than others is doubtful, but a man brought up in a rural area would in the course of daily contacts meet a far larger proportion of people with whom he might use intimate language than would a city man, and hence "Thee" and "Thou" would form a more natural part of his speech. Insofar as the Quakers used strong language, the use of "Thee" would be appropriate: what is of wider significance is the way in which, on the whole, people of simple social origins tend to express emotion more freely and unreservedly in their speech than do the cultured and sophisticated, whether it be in affection, in the use of pronouns, or in religion in general.

Finally it seems worth pointing out that there may have been a regional variation. Braithwaite has pointed out that "in the North of

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54). Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 493.

55). ibid; cf. William Edmondson's experience in Ireland, in 1656 and Oxford English Dictionary sub thou.

56). Cf. Franz, op. cit. p. 254: "'You' ist bereits am Ende des 16' Jahrhundrets die unter dem hoeheren Klassen und im Mittelstand herrschendende Form der affectlosen Anrede, während 'Thou' nur unter den aller untersten Volksklassen, die weder auf Bildung noch Gesittung Anspruch haben, allgemeiner üblich ist".

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England, 'thou' was, and still is, the regular form of familiar speech, and cases of offence would in this part of the country seldom occur".[57] This is still true of many English rural dialects: Thus Joseph Wright speaks of Yorkshire:

> "When I was a lad, 'tha' was used in every case, except that 'yi' was used (1) in addressing strangers, especially grown people, or as a mark of respect to masters and old people; (2) by children in addressing their parents; (3) by people who had made each other's acquaintance late in adulthood."[58]

Wright's exceptions correspond remarkably closely to those noted for 17th century usage. It is sometimes implied that this custom was a universal rural pattern, and is still characteristic of English country dialects generally.[59] It is always risky to question statements by authorities:- in checking through the dialects of individual counties, one does indeed find the use of "Thou" (or more often in the North "tha" or "ta") still very common both in the North and West of England, and along the Welsh border;[60] but dialect grammars for Essex, Buckinghamshire or even Wiltshire do not mention its use.[61] These are concerned with

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57). Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 494.

58). J. Wright: A Grammar of the District of Wind Hill, in the West Riding of Yorkshire (London, 1892) p. 119; this is early-Quaker country.

59). Cf. J. Wright: English Dialectical Dictionary (London, 1905) Vol. VI; E. M. Wright: Rustic Speech and Folklore, (Oxford, 1913); etc.

60). Cf. Boerge Brilioth: A Grammar of the District of Lorton (Cumberland); T. O. Hirst: A Grammar of the Dialect of Kendal (Heidelberg, 1908); Sarah Hewett: The Peasant Speech of Devon (London, 1892); Egerton Leigh: Cheshire Glossary (London, 1877); Jesse Salisbury: S. E. Worcestershire Words (London, 1894); It is also interesting to speculate upon whether the characteristic use of "Thee" for nominative (instead of "Thou") in Somerset and Devon may have influenced American Quakerism, since many of the first Quaker settlers were from the Bristol area.

61). Cf. Gepp: Essex Dialect Dictionary (London, 1923); h. Harmann: Buckinghamshire Dialect (London, 1929); G. E. Dartnell: Wiltshire Words (London, 1893).

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the present-day dialects, which may have been affected by the spread of polite usage from London, Oxford and Cambridge. But there may have been a regional difference even in Fox's day.[62]

The purpose of correlating the use of "Thee" and "Thou" by early Friends, with the customs of regions and classes, is not to imply that Friends were insincere when using these forms as an attack upon human pride and "respect of persons". In their own time, Quaker usage was a genuine and important Witness. But the evils one notices are those to which one is unaccustomed. The occasions upon which a farmer on the one hand, and a north-countryman on the other would use "You" would be rarer and more clearly associated with social stratification and injustice than would be true for a Londoner. The decisive factor, as we have seen, is probably to be found in the fact that between equals, a North-country farmer would use "Thee" - whereas "you" would signify inequality; but a gentleman, or a Londoner of any class, would use "You" to his equals, and the use of "Thee" would indicate great familiarity or contempt.

In support of the correlation of Quaker language with regional differences it is interesting to find how frequently early Friends used a third person singular verb with other pronouns: "they was", "we was", etc. In the northern English dialects to this day, the usual forms are often of this character: "I is" (but "I do"), "tha iz", "he's", "they iz" (usually "We are & they are", but not with all verbs).[63]

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62). The cases when offense was taken at the early Quaker usage came mostly from areas (Scotland, Ireland, the South-east of England), where nowadays the colloquial use of "Thee" is rarest.

63). Cf. Dickinson & Prevost: Dialect of Cumberland (London 1899); Hirst, Op.cit.; Wright: English Dialect Dictionary Vol. VI); etc.; As a matter of fact it appears that our now customary usage of "he goes",

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It is even possible that this explains the retention among most American Quakers, and apparently also among some English ones, of "Thee" with a third-person verb: "Thee will", rather than "Thee", or "Thou wilt".[64] In the earliest days, at any rate, the Quaker "Thee" and "Thou" was more than a mannerism; while every social group will inevitably differ in the injustices it perceives and the form which the resulting protest will take, this does not destroy the validity of the basic attack upon injustice or human pride which was involved.

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63). (continued) "he speaks", etc., was originally a Northern dialect substitute for the classical form "he goeth", etc. which the 1611 Bible retained, but which had by the 16th century been generally supplanted by the easier northern form. One thinks also of the prevalence in modern and traditional slang of "says I", which has become "I says".

64). Harvey: Quaker Language, p. 7; at any rate, the parallels he brings from forms in Italian (using a 3rd-person verb) seem unlikely origins for the Quaker custom.

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Section VIII-D: Quaker Attitudes to Wealth and Business Activities

To separate the Economic outlook of early Friends from their outlook upon Society is a somewhat arbitrary division. Quaker attitudes towards the rich and the poor, in particular, constantly merge into their attitudes towards the socially honored and dishonored. The Rich and the mighty are often equated; both are proud:

> Friends affirmed that "they could not swear, or worship and respect [any] person [who] would be worshipped and had in honour of his fellow-creatures, who hath not so much riches as he, nor so proud apparell as he; and therefore because of that he looks to be bowed unto with Hat or Knee."[1]

The radical economic protest of early Friends, to which we shall return presently, was thus often directed at the socially prominent:

> "Woe unto you that are called Lords, Ladies, Knights, Gentlemen...Master, and Sir, and Mistris, and Madam,...because of your gay Cloathing, because of your much earth, which by fraud, deceit and oppression you have gotten together...the poor ...must labour and toyle under you, and you must live at ease, sporting in day time,...and you have your fine atire,...silk and velvet, and purple, Gold and Silver, and...waiting-men and waiting-maids,...and your Coaches to ride...and you sit at ease, Dives like, devouring the Creation."[2]

The basic point of attack is the same, the spirit of Lordship, whether expressed in seeking honour over men, or in using and "devouring" the Creation for one's own enjoyment, or in seeking political power:

> "You lofty ones of the earth who have gotten much of the creation into your hands and thereby set your nests on high and are become lords of your brethren...the cries of the poor whom you have oppressed and whose labours you have spent upon the lusts - the rust of your gold and silver doth witness."[3]

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1). Burrough: Trumpet, p. 5., cf. Message for Instruction, p. 16.

2). James Parnell: The Trumpet of the Lord Blowne (1655), quoted Tindall: Bunyan, pp. 110-111.

3). Newgill: "A Woe to Magistrates" (1654), quoted Belasco: Authority, p. 77.

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Messages against economic injustice were prominent among those which Friends were called on to preach by direct Leadings of the Spirit.[4] In this area, as with Oaths and social "Lordship", the basic Quaker demand was for personal religious repentance.[5]

The religious nature of Quaker judgments even in economics did not make them unaware of the bitterness of economic oppression:

> "Woe, woe, woe to the oppressors of the Earth, who grind the faces of the poor, who rack and stretch out their Rents till the poor with all the sweat of their brows and hard labour can scarce get Bread to eat and Raiment to put on, while they for the satisfying of their gulf of pride, and delicacies, and gluttony, and drunkenness...still cry give, give and there is no end of their covetousness!"[6]

Friends were also quite specifically aware of the way in which economic injustice was a root of social inequality:

> "God is against you, you covetous cruel oppressors, who grind the Faces of the Poor and Needy, taking your Advantage of Necessities of the Poor, falsifying the Measures and using deceitful Weights, speaking that of your Commodities which is not true... and thereby getting great Estates in the World...till there be no place for the Poor, and when they are become Poor through your Deceits, then you despise them...and forget that you are all made of one Mould and one Blood!"[7]

Equally, Friends saw how political power was tied up with economic and social Lordship:

> "the chusing of Parliament men, according to the Custom of England (which is called its Birthright) stands in respect of

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4). Cf. e. g. tracts "To such as Buy & Sell" (W. Smith); "To all Merchants of London" (Fox: Works, IV, 160); Fox: Line of Righteousness: Burrough: Testimony concerning London, etc.

5). Here again Friends outlooks were apocalyptic and theocratic, not "All social problems would ultimately be solved only in the Millenium, though particular improvements preceding it could be considered as 'emblems of that blessed state which the God of glory hath promised to set up in the world'" (Schenk: Social Justice, p. 123, quoting from Penington: "Somewhat spoken to a Weighty Question" (1661)).

6). William Tomlinson: Seven Particulars (1657), pp. 1-5, quoted in Tindall: Bunyan, p. 103.

7). Nayler: Works, p. 93.

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> persons, and not in equality; for the rich, covetous, opressing men who oppose the Poor, they have the only power to chuse Law-makers, and they will chuse, to be sure, such as will uphold them in their Oppression, and the poor man that is oppressed, though he have no power allowed him to chuse, yet must be subject to the Laws which they make who are his Oppressors; so what right think ye is the Oppressed like to have, when his Oppressors chuse the men that to be Judges of his Cause".[8]

In spite of these perceptions, however, Friends did not bring forward any basic economic theory to correspond to them, whether communistic or qualitarian.

Therefore, in turning to study the basic Quaker conception of economics, this will turn out to be somewhat elusive. The basic principles tend to be ethical rather than economic. Even the picture of economic ills are characteristically phrased in the language of Micah 2:2, Isaiah 5:8 and Amos 8:5-6.[9] This interrelationship of economics and

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8). George Fox "the Younger", Works, p. 91. That most Friends believed in a Rule of Saints, not universal suffrage, was shown in Section VII-B.

9). Cf. Schenk: Social Justice, pp. 120-121: "Justice and Liberty - these, we may remember, were the war-cries at the beginning of the revolution in the early 1640's, and here they reappear as the hall-marks of the Quakers' Millennium....but for the Quakers they assumed a somewhat clearer shape through their reading of the Bible. The Golden Ages of Biblical History lent their colours....The Millennium would restore the primitive righteousness of the Jews...especially as preached by the prophets". From this background one may need to challenge the rather too secular interpretation of Tindall: "Their ranks recruited largely from the radical antinomians, who had substituted for their disappointed hopes in the army the pleasures of violent mysticism, and from men of advanced political opinions like Lilburne [who only joined Friends in 1657], the Quakers became in the fifties a center of social and economic extremism, like their godly predecessors, they had been sent by the Lord to testify against oppression, but they carried their symbolic demonstrations to levels of studied dramatic effectiveness....They ordinarily directed their propaganda against what they called respect of persons and the grinding of the poor...acts of boorishness...committed with premeditation in their campaign against respect of persons". (Tindall: Bunyan, pp. 100-101) That Friends made this witness is clear, but the "premeditation" was in the form of "leadings" of the Spirit, and the "campaign" was part of a larger war whose central goal was religious; the example which Tindall quotes from Nayler's writings is actually a quotation from the Epistle of James.

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religion was characteristic of England up to the Commonwealth. Hence the most helpful background for the basic Quaker conception of economics lies in the economic outlook of Puritanism.

The work of Tawney and Winthrop Hudson [10] seems to have corrected the unbalance of Weber's challenging idea that the ethic of Capitalism was the direct and inevitable application of the Calvinist ethic in the economic world. Admittedly, the Puritan ethic of Calling clearly did mean that

> "he that would improve the Light, must be doing the business which the Word of Christ directs him to."[11]

Furthermore the Puritan ethic led to a praise of diligence and a hatred of idleness and waste which had important economic fruits. For the most part, however, these fruits only matured after the Restoration.[12] In the studies of William Perkins, likewise, it has been seen that the equating of material prosperity with divine favour is not characteristic of early Puritanism, although it gradually creeps to the fore [13] and becomes dominant after 1660. Insofar as prosperity was providential, this outlook naturally tended to equate poverty correspondingly with

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10). Tawney: Rise of Capitalism; Hudson: "Puritanism & Capitalism" (Church History, March 1949).

11). Baxter, quoted Fisher: Works, p. 766.

12). Tawney: Religion & Capitalism, p. 221; cf. his quotation from Arthur Young: "Everyone but an idiot knows that the lower classes must be kept poor, or they will never be industrious" (Eastern Tour (1771), Ch. IV, p. 361, quoted Tawney: Religion & Capitalism, p. 224) In the same way Weber has to draw his classic case from Benjamin Franklin, a century after the Restoration.

13). Cf. Samuel Willard: A Compleat Body of Divinity (1726), stressing the duty to work, to rent out land, lend money, and use "witty inventions to Employ these Hands"; quoted Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", p. 183; Hertz's discussion, showing how the history of Massachusetts reinforced the tendency to associate Prosperity and Providence, is good. Cf. Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", p. 173.

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divine disfavour, and to ignore the needs of suffering of the poor.[14]

That these were not the only facets of Puritanism affecting economic life, is, however also clear. On the one hand the conservative line of Puritanism did not dissociate ethics from economics[15] although the essentially mediaeval conception of economics based upon personal relationships which they were defending made it a hopeless cause; On the other hand the entire tradition of English radicalism under the Commonwealth is an aspect of radical Puritanism (as well as rooting in the radicalism of the 16th and earlier centuries which was seen to aim at the fulfilment and not the rejection of religion).[16] Thus, like the early Friends, "John Bunyan exposed in the manner of the Mediaeval Friars the evils of buying and selling, covetous false weights and measures,...sharp commercial practice".[17] A few men, such as Samuel Hartlib and Harrington, proposed specific Utopias. Some radical Puritans followed the Levellers in their political outworkings, though few followed the Communism of Winstanley and 'Peter Cornelius'.[18] One also finds in

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14). Cf. Tawney: Religion & Capitalism, p. 222: "A Spirit which reverences the attainment of riches as the supreme felicity will naturally be disposed to regard the poor as damned in the next world, if only to justify itself for making their life a hell in this".

15). Cf. R. C. Mortimer: Christian Ethics (London, 1950) p. 85.

16). White: Social Criticism, p. 11; cf. Schenk: Social Justice, p. 161: "The Puritan radicals...in their criticism of society had much more in common with William Langland than with Thomas Paine or Karl Marx"; cf. also, p. 156.

17). Tindall: Bunyan, pp. 111-2.

18). the latter suggested that "the means of subsistence in the world (for necessity and delight) should be common" (A Way Propounded to make the poor...happy" (1659)), quoted Schenk: Social Justice, p. 145; for Winstanley, cf. Section II-D.

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radical Puritanism a thorough-going skepticism about economic power.[19] But the Puritan political radicalism was deeply rooted in religion, and although the faith of Winstanley tended to a homespun and mystical deism, in general the starting-point is the Biblical parable of Dives and Lazarus.[20] Bunyan's allegories show the devils addressing each other with gentlemanly courtesy,[21] and is fond of the Quakers' favorite proof-texts on the humbling of the lofty mountains.[22] "To Bunyan, as to the Quakers, the important sins of Dives...were...pride and covetousness".[23] Bunyan thus provides an example for Schenk's thesis that the Puritan radicals thought of equality in terms of Brotherhood, rather than in terms of wealth,[24] as a result of love rather than of social planning. Thus

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19). Thus the anonymous Tyranipocrit attacked all the parties at the Peace of Westphalia as tyrants, and attacked all the powerful scathingly: "the rich artificiall thieves do rob the poore, and that under a fained show of justice, and a seeming holinesse, and when they have done it, impiously say that God's power hath made them rich" (Tyranipocrit, p. 17, quoted Schenk: Social Justice, p. 156) Schenk points out that this was the first written attack upon colonial trade as the exploitation of native peoples. Cf. the irony of Peter Chamberlen, regarding lawyers (Legislative Power in Problems (1659), quoted Schenk: Social Justice, p. 128), asking "whether he that must deliver his Purss upon the High Way, or he that must deliver the best part of his Estate in a private Study have the better choice....What do Priviledges signifie, saving that thou shalt not steal, but I may".

20). Bunyan makes Lazarus, as the 16th Century literature had made Piers Plowman, into a "Mechanick Preacher"; Cf. Tindall: Bunyan, p. 106 ff; 108 ff; also White: Social Criticism, p. 33, quoting "A Godly Dyalogue and Disputacyon betwene Pyers Plowman, and a Popish Priest concernyng the Supper of the Lords' (1560?), in which Piers has a "secret motyon of the holy goost" to preach against orthodoxy. (Cf. White: Social Criticism, p. 38, etc.)

21). Tindall: Bunyan, p. 117.

22). Works, Vol. III, p. 541, quoted Tindall: Bunyan, p. 115.

23). Tindall: Bunyan, p. 108.

24). Schenk: Social Justice, pp. 164-5.

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Bunyan attacks the inhumanity of the powerful:

> "ye are so rich, fat and swoln with wealth, that ye esteem far lesse of plaine men then you do of your horses or doggs...How many pounds do some men spend in a year on their dogs, when in the meanwhile the poor saints of God may starve for hunger"[25]

Early Friends stood well within the Puritan tradition in their economic outlook.[26] They shared the vigorous dislike of idleness, and the study of their outlooks upon business affairs will make clear their emphasis upon probity and solvency. Moreover they strongly upheld private property,[27] and rejected Communism. The Quaker attack upon economic injustice was also in the tradition of at least the radical Puritans, and shared with other such groups the ethical intensity, the Biblical basis, and the lack of systematic theory. Quaker economic radicalism was not a theory but a spirit.

Thus Friends saw economic evils in human terms; their main attack upon economic injustice was because of what it did to men;- hence again the inseparability of their economic, social and religious protest.

> So Hubberthorne preached at Cambridge "against all those who lay heavie burthens upon the poor by deceipt and oppression, and against all who live in pride, and idleness, and fulness of bread, by whom the creation is devoured, and many made poor by

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25). Bunyan: "A Few Sighs from Hell"; Works, Vol. III, p. 677, quoted Tindall: Bunyan, pp. 108-9.

26). Cf. Tolles: Meeting-House, p. 57.

27). For Penn and later Friends, Property was a basic political and ethical doctrine; for early Friends the evidence lies more in their bitter arguments against unjust distrainments and seizure of property; like Puritans, they denied the claims of the State upon property, in issues such as Tithes. This was apparently characteristic of almost all radical Puritans; cf. John Penry: "We hold no Anabaptist Communytie of goodes at all" (quoted Burrage: Dissenters, Vol. II, p. 72.)

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> your meanes....The truth where it is received opens the bowles of compassion and takes off oppression and the heavie burthen which the poor groanes under."[28]

Friends therefore, like Bunyan, entirely rejected the late-Puritan identification of prosperity with divine favour:

> "You mingled people, who are in darkness, and love to be so...you are dead while you live....When you have over-reached your brethren, and cheated and oppressed, and defrauded your brethren, and are grown rich, you say God hath given you all this; whereas you have stolen it, and got it in usury and oppression and deceit. You grind the face of the poor, and spread your boughs so broad that nothing can grow that is near your shadow, and yet you talk of God! But you know him not!"[29]

Sometimes, indeed, Friends seem to have placed a positive moral value upon "the poor" which reminds one of the tradition of "Captain Poverty". Yet on the whole, the praise of "the poor" tends to be for their avoidance of Vanity, Luxury and Pride of Place, rather than their lack of wealth. There is a constant interconnection between the contrast of poor and rich, and the contrast between Friends and the World, between the "foolishness of God" and the "wisdom of men":

> "Tis true as though slightingly sayest", wrote Fisher to Owen, "the Quakers are for the most part poor in this world...having no great visible estates, but [they are] rich in Invisibles, in that Faith ye are out of, by which they stand Heirs of that Kingdom ye have no Inheritance in."[30]

Friends had nevertheless certain specific groups and classes against whom they felt particularly called to bring judgment, although

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28). "The Immediate Call to the Ministry" (1654), pp. 4-5, quoted Tindall: Bunyan, pp. 94-5.

29). Howgill: Gray Ridge, p. 71, cf. Jorns: Quaker Social Work, p. 69.

30). Fisher: Works, p. 221, cf. pp. 583-4: "Prejudices...attend the modern Prophets, as they did the first...because...the mean out-side of most of these inwardly glorious Sons & Daughters of the King, whose clothing is not...of Wrought Gold, nor yet is so much of Plush Jippose and Hose behang'd before, and at knees with Rings and Ribbons,...costly, if not golder, Buttons...fine Linnen...etc.".

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the basis for such choice was less often a consistent theory than the special grievances of their own experience. Whether, like Bunyan, many Friends had "formulated a conscientious objection to money as the root of evil"[31] is not likely; but rural Friends seem to have felt that the acquiring of wealth, especially in trade could hardly be done honestly:

> "How are Riches become a Trap to the Rich, to captivate them into Pride, Idleness and Vanity....How is Trading become a Trap, to captivate Men into deceitful Dealing, and vain Customs and Fashions, to serve the adulterous Eye and Vanity: so that not one Trade, amongst many, therein a just plain Man (who is come to Yea & Nay and cannot serve the Vanity of the Eye) can live, but if he will keep his Conscience pure, he must become a Prey".[32]

Vanity was a Fair. Friends wrote tracts against London as the focus and symbol of economic evil: "abundance of iniquity lodgeth within thee ....Aboundance of deceitfull Merchandize, and of oppressing Merchants, who grind the face of the poor".[33] The other special target was the proud rich man typified by the nouveau-riche who had bought a country estate. Yet it will be made clear that Friends by no means avoided commercial life themselves, and although especially watchful of its dangers, did not on that account necessarily fail either financially or ethically.

Quaker attitudes to the poor also show a second facet. Along with the moral contrast of rich and poor which usually focussed in the end upon the basic contrast of the Saints and the World and the call to repent, Quakers also considered poverty as a practical problem. At such points, Quakers made quite objective comments about the poor in terms

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31). Tindall: Bunyan, p. 106.

32). Nayler: Works, p. 398.

33). Burrough: Testimony conc. London, p. 1

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of the help that they needed. As a moral obligation, help and justice to the poor were clearly not separable from religious outlooks. But the techniques for meeting such needs lay in quite a different field from the prophetic witness against pride of riches. Charity was in the first instance tied up with the direction of the Light:

> So Fox answers those who say "'It was not Christ's command to give your coat to the next beggar that asketh them'. Ans: The Scriptures say 'He that hath two coats, let him give to him that hath none'; and the rich will give to the rich, and thus they affront the Scriptures. God gives wisdom how to distribute, and to whom to distribute, and how to honour the Lord with the substance [cf. Prov. 3:9]; and you show yourselves ignorant of Christ's doctrine in letting so many poor beg at your doors and in the streets, and yet you will have boot-hose-tops & double cuffs & ribands about you...which...you have got for tithes of poor people".[34]

Friends, however, did not intend that the care of the poor should be left entirely to such charity as the Light directed, and were far more thorough and detailed in their suggestions for poor relief than they were in the field of government structure, or even of law reform.[35] Parallel with the careful plans of those contemporaries like Peter Chamberlen[36] there are at least three Quaker tracts which make systematic proposals for national care of the poor.[37] Careful proposals are found in Thomas Lawson's "Appeal to the Parliament concerning the Poor, that there may not be a Beggar in England".[38] In addition the

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34). Fox: Great Mistery, p. 72.

35). For that matter, "the Quakers' suggestions for legal reforms were clearly meant to safeguard the interests of the poor" (Schenk: Social Justice, p. 124), as well as those specifically of the "People of God".

36). Cf. Schenk: Social Justice, p. 138 ff.

37). Since Billing's "Mite of Affection" and Fox's "Fifty-nine Particulars" also included suggestions for political and legal reforms, their economic proposals have already been mentioned in those connections.

38). (London, 1660); this verse (cf. Deut. 15: 4) became a sort of war-cry of the radical Puritans; cf. Fox: 59 Particulars, p. 33.

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huge petition of Quaker women against Tithes, included many sub-petitions from local groups, urging the care of the poor with the proceeds from the abolition of Tithes.[39] When the national Churches are closed, Friends urged, the

> Glebe-lands should be sold "and given to all the poor of the Nation; that there need not have been this lamentable cry for bread and cloathes among the poor in the Nation; and have paid the Impropriators with the Overplus."[40]

Parallel with this suggestion, is that of Byllinge[41] that sequestered royalist estates be sold for relief of the poor, and more specifically for the disabled (Cromwellian) soldiers, their widows and orphans, and the balance be used to pay off the national debts;[42] Fox similarly suggests that all "fines and amercements be given to the poor".[43]

A suggestion even more drastic in its social radicalism was Byllinge's that

> "all servile Tenures or Copyholds within the Commonwealth, being the badge or yoke of the [Norman] Conquest, be thorowly considered and made consistent with the well-being of a firm commonwealth".[44]

Fox's suggestion that "all Fines that belong to Lords of Mannors be given to poor people, for Lords have enough"[45] may refer to the same problem; for Billing was presumably thinking not only of Mill-rights,

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39). "Papers from 7000 Daughters of the Lord" (1659).

40). "Papers from 7000 Daughters of the Lord", p. 65; the same suggestion was made by Fox: 59 Particulars, (#29)

41). Burrough: Message for Instruction, #24.

42). Since Byllinge was an ex-soldier, he meant perhaps especially the arrears of army pay.

43). Fox: 59 Particulars, #17.

44). Burrough: Message for Instruction, #6.

45). Fox: 59 Particulars, #32.

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and manorial dues, but of the "Fines" and "Ingressums".[46] Byllinge evidently did not realize that the alternatives to copyhold tenure were worse, unless landlords could be made to give up their land altogether or their hopes of income from it.

Friends also made suggestions for constant and continuing poor-relief. Sometimes these were in general terms: "Let all the poor people, blinde and lame, and creeples be provided for in the Nation",[47] that "wholesome provision" be made against begging and want,[48] that Beggars be put in almshouses.[49] Lawson outlined a "Platform or Way how Poor People may be supplyed with Labour & Relief:"[50] The interest of these proposals lies in that they are in substance proposing a revival of the Elizabethan Poor-Law system.

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46). Cf. Tawney: Agrarian Problem; the average Ingressum seems to have been about 10 years rent. Fines & Ingressums were high because the copyhold rents were fixed by custom, in a time of rising prices. In point of fact, where copyhold rights were broken down, tenants could be rack-rented, or evicted for sheep-enclosures. Cf. Tawney, op. cit.

47). Fox: 59 Particulars, #33.

48). Byllinge: Mite #19.

49). Fox: 59 Particulars, #52

50). He urged the appointment of men "I: to take Notice how many Old, Impotent, and Young Children in the Parish, and supply them by Collection: and also Help those whose Labour is not sufficient to yield them Maintenance. II: to take the most orderly Way "to provide work for the Unemployed by the help of Clothiers, etc.," being brought in by Authority: for though there may be Work enough, yet the Idle will not come in for it. III: To settle a Poor Man's Office, as employment exchange and place of application for relief. IV: "That all Persons whatsoever may have free Access and Acceptance without mollestation, to give in true Information concerning any neglect of the Poor to any in Authority"; "Repayement and Distress on those wronging the poor" V: "That all Judges of Assizes and Sessions, lay open the sad condition of Poore in their charge, and what the Law requires, and take Accompt what is done"; Appeal to Parliament, pp. 1-3.

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The Poor Law of 1597 and 1601 was the culmination of a series of enactments throughout the Tudor period, and for that matter from Mediaeval times.[51] The great increase in vagabondage, due to the break-up of feudal households and the rise of food-prices[52] led to laws for the registration of beggars and the intimidation of vagabonds. Actual relief continued to be done by municipal governments.[53] There followed the setting up of work-houses, or Bridewells.[54] It was found that the effect of such programs was to draw paupers from other areas, and that a national program would be needed. The laws of 1572, 1597 & 1601 aimed at standardizing relief, by making parishes responsible for their paupers; vagabonds were whipped home to their parishes. The inadequacy of voluntary contributions to the parish poor-box led to a compulsory Poor-rate, with Overseers authorized to collect them.[55]

Provision was made for training poor children and supervising orphanages and poor-houses for the aged. Unlike modern Social Security, this program was local in that both funds and Overseers were obtained

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51). For this whole discussion, cf. Leonard: The Early History of English Poor Relief.

52). From 1510-50, food prices rose 60%, wages only 15%,
from 1550-60, " " " 50%, " " 15%, Leonard: Poor Relief.

53). Which revived mediaeval almshouses and opened new ones, gave badges to beggars, and put the unemployed to work from stocks of material provided.

54). From the name of the first, a former palace in London, they only afterwards took on their penal or repressive character.

55). A chain of reports and responsibility from Overseers through Justices of the Peace and Assize Judges centralized the system in the Privy Council.

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within each parish.[56] Nevertheless the system worked better from 1600 to 1640 than ever before or since until the present century.[57] Cromwell's government was anxiously seeking a substitute, after it broke down at the outbreak of the Civil War. Besides Lawson's proposal, other appeals came from the Baptist Richard Haines, and in "Stanley's Remedy", a similar sketch for a poor relief system.[58] Except as home relief to those unable to work, which was restored in 1660, the positive provisions for apprenticing and employment were not revived.

It is worth noting that it was just his positive side of the Poor Relief system which Friends stressed. Friends' desire to abolish begging was more out of concern than out of personal fear.[59] In fact, Friends seem to have recognized that even the lawbreaking of the poor was a result of their need:

> "which being in poverty, which are ready to perish for want of the creatures, raise up thoughts in them to steale; which them that are rich...might take away the occasion, and prevent temptation."[60]

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56). This meant at its best that relief was personal and individual (although vagabonds were often unloaded upon distant birthplaces or indentured to the colonies). Its drawback was its unevenness; an entire region which was in economic depression (such as East Anglia in the 1620's) had nothing to draw upon. (Leonard: Poor Relief, p. 183) Outlying regions were never organized: there are no JP's reports on the Poor Law from Northumberland, Cumberland and Wales, and those in Westmorland and Lancashire began only in 1637-8.

57). Cf. Allen: Political Thought, p. 360; Trevelyan: Stuarts, p. 39.

58). Cf. Whitley: Baptists, p. 138; Tawney: Religion & Capitalism, p. 279.

59). Cf. Schenk: Social Justice, p. 118. So far as Quakers were involved in them, they opposed the laws against vagabondage.

60). George Fox: To The Protector and Parliament of England (London, Giles Calvert, 1658), p. 12.

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Thus Lawson proposed

> "that no Poor People be denied their former Liberty, nor strict Course [be] taken against them, until some good Means be used to supply their wants."[61]

Friends proposed the setting up of training-schools and workshops for the unemployed and their children.[62] In this Quaker concern the Puritan tradition of industriousness, self-support and self-respect bore its best and most humanizing fruit; it worked with, rather than against, a personal concern for the poor.

In their own business life, Friends reflected in a real degree the general economic ethic of Puritanism. They shared the sense of Calling and God-given responsibility in the outward trade:[63]

> "If ye be not faithful in the Outward Treasure, and Outward Mammon, who will trust you with the true treasure?"[64]

Friends shared the concern for industriousness, and were warned that "none...be negligent in their Business,...so that none may Wrong one another in these outward things."[65] The Quaker concern for uncompromising honesty, which had such radical effects in other fields, could also encourage a respectable probity:

> "therefore see your business, that what ye do, and what ye say, ye may perform, that ye may not break your words and promises."[66]

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61). Lawson: op. cit., Prop. VI; cf. on the contrast of Quakers and Puritans, Grubb: Quakerism & Industry, p. 28; Tawney: Religion & Capitalism, p. 219.

62). Cf. Jorns: Quaker Social Work, p. 57, etc.; Grubb: Quakerism & Industry, p. 302.

63). Cf. Ames, as cited in Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", p. 117.

64). Fox: An Epistle, by way of Caution to Shopkeepers, merchants and Factors, p. 2.

65). Fox: Epistle of Caution, p. 1.

66). Fox: A Line of Righteousness Stretched Forth (1661), cf. Grubb: Quakerism & Industry, p. 27.

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Friends also shared the typically Puritan horror of debt:

> "All, of what Trade or calling soever, Keep out of Debts, owe to no man anything but love. Go not beyond your estates, lest you bring yourselves to Trouble, and cumber, and a snare: keep low and down in all things ye act....For a man that would be great... runs into Debt, and lives highly of other mens means, he is a waster of other men, and a destroyer...of the Creation and Creatures, and cumbreth himself and troubleth others....And no one...run into Debt, usury and exaction; for many people have been wronged thereby."[67]

One facet of the Quaker economic ethic was the Puritan individualism which aims at economic self-sufficiency, and regards expenditure as waste. But its other facet was a sense of responsibility for the people and things which are injured by waste. This facet was also a part of Puritanism, but was much more stressed among Friends.

This essential responsibleness made economics, for Friends, not only a Calling but a field of direct application for religious ethics:

> "All Friends everywhere...govern and order with [God's] Wisdom all the Creatures that ye have under you, and all Exchangings, Merchandizing, Husbandry....And there you are serviceable in your generation, labouring in the thing that is good, which doth not spoil, nor destroy, nor waste the creation upon the Lusts."[68]

This concern for placing economics as a dependent part of a total religious life led to several of the dramatic instances in which Friends were led by their consciences in steps against their own economic advantage. Braithwaite cites Gilbert Latey, the court tailor, who gave up his business in the making of fashionable clothes upon his convincement,[69]

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67). Fox: Line of Righteousness, p. 7, cf. the "Epistle of Balby Meeting" (1656), cf. Grubb: Quakerism & Industry, p. 65; and cf. Romans 13:8.

68). Fox: Line of Righteousness, p. 3; cf. Tawney: Religion & Capitalism, p. 226: "The Society of Friends, in an age when the divorce between religion and social ethics was almost complete, met the prevalent doctrine that it was permissable to take such gain as the market offered, by insisting on the obligation of a good conscience and forbearance in economic transactions, and on the duty to make the honorable maintenance of the brother in distress a common charge" cf. Wilson: Relief & Reconstruction, p. 20.

69). Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 379.

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as so many were to give up other lines of business in later decades.[70]

William Edmondson found that

> "Business in the affairs of the World became a burden to me, though there were presentations and opportunities to get riches either by trading, taking land or lease, mortgage or purchase!"[71]

Humphrey Bache, shortly before joining Friends, was increasingly troubled both by his job in collecting excise, and by money he had previously cleared by a more or less customary expense-padding while he had been an overseer of fortifications. He finally felt that he would only be clear if he made restitution

> "which truly then was near if not full half I had in the outward, having a wife and five children to provide for, and not freedom to keep my employment any longer, being convinced it was oppression - the excise then....It lay on my heart to restore more rather than less, and so I was made free by the power of the Lord and did give back to the Excise Office, London, one hundred and Sixty Pound!"[72]

The same spirit was applied in the actual conduct of business as in the choosing or leaving of it. Fox addressed his moral appeals to the conscience of all business men, but sometimes seems to have had Friends especially in mind in his appeals of a general ethical nature:

> "All Merchants whatsoever, Sea-men, and Traffickers by Sea or Land: This is the Word of the Lord God to you all; Do Justly, speak truly to all people whatsoever...Wrong no man, over-reach no man...(if it may be never so much to your advantage, but be plain, righteous, and holy....Loath Deceit and all unrighteousness, heard-heartedness, Wronging, Cozening, Cheating....Doing Truth to all, without respect to persons; to high or low whatsoever, Young or Old, Rich or Poor, and so here your lives and words will preach wherever ye come....All Husbandmen and Dealers about Husbandry whatsoever:... Do rightly, holily, justly, honestly, plainly, and truly to all men!"[73]

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70). Cf. Children of Light, p. 404, etc.

71). Friends Library, Vol. III, p. 93, cf. Children of Light, p. 404.

72). Bache: op. cit. pp. 6-8, cf. Braithwaite: Beginnings, pp. 518-9.

73). Fox: Line of Righteousness, pp. 3-5.

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Fox, (like the radical Puritan Walwyn, but unlike many of the more conservative Puritans) forbad usury.[74] This rejection of Usury was a continuation of the mediaeval pattern which thought in terms of personal loans to farmers and craftsmen (rather than the capitalization of large-scale trade). It was not stressed by Fox, and was soon forgotten as Friends entered commerce.

Another and more prominent witness of Friends in business has also been called mediaeval, namely the conception of the Just Price;[75] Fox in particular felt that for a given article a given price was right and fair, regardless of supply and demand, carrying over the mediaeval application of ethics into this field. But whereas the Mediaeval Just Price was fixed by the national or local government (under the guidance of Natural Law or the Church), Friends insisted that it be set justly by each merchant. In response to social anarchy, responsibility is individualised, and religious authority is correspondingly placed in the inward Light.

> "All ye...who have the Creatures of God to buy or sell... live in the fear of the Lord...that ye may feel his Wisdom to guide you in your trading, and do not speak better or worse of the Creatures, than you know them to be, thereby to get the greater gain...keep in the Light...and let that be your rule, and not the price of the Market, except that be equal."[76]

Besides being a just price, the Quaker price was a single price, and this involved not only the refusal to charge what the market would bear and the rejection of shady salestalk, but the refusal to bargain.

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74). Grubb: Quakerism & Industry, pp. 27-8; Fox: Line of Righteousness; and Walwyn: "The Vanitie of the Present Churches", (1649), as cited by Schenk, p. 52.

75). Cf. Tawney: Religion & Capitalism, p. 230.

76). George Fox "the Younger": Works, pp. 42-3.

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Bargaining was attacked as a waste of time.[77] More fundamentally, bargaining was associated in Friends minds with deceit and lying oaths.[78] It was for this reason that bargaining was coupled with flattery and hat-honor, as well as with economic injustices.[79] The detailed development of this Testimony among Friends I have found little material to clarify. As the Tudor government had been well aware, the farmer, while perhaps innately no less fond of a bargain than a city man, is far more vulnerable to the monopoly prices of "engrossers" and "forestallers". Both the farmer and small craftsman would join in the hatred of the smooth and educated swindler. The Testimony of the Single Price, at any rate, seems to have developed early, and by 1656 had already won a favorable response from non-Friends:

> "The keeping of one price in selling of goods, and the first asking without abatement, was a great stumbling-block to most sorts of people, and made them stand at a distance from buying for some time, until they saw further into the justice thereof....And for a time [Quaker] people that were tradesmen could hardly get money enough to buy bread, but afterwards, when people came to see Friends' honesty and truthfulness....and they knew and saw that they would not cozen and cheat them for conscience sake.... things altered so that all the inquiry was where was a draper or shop-keeper or tailor or shoemaker...that was a Quaker".[80]

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77). It was also a waste of time to visit the Ale-house to "seal the bargain", Cf. William Smith: Universal Love, cit. Grubb: Quakerism & Industry, pp. 32-4.

78). Thus Nayler makes it a summary of social sins in a warning "to the People of the Nation": "Do not you exceed all that ever went before you, in Pride, Covetousness, Drunkenness, Swearing...and Deceit in all manner of Merchandizing and Trading; false Weights and Measures, Sayings, Protestings one towards another in your bargaining, speaking things that are not true, and hereby to over-reach your brethren and get dishonest gain. How many false Oaths, and idle Words are spent about every Bargain in your Markets...without blushing or being ashamed? Yea it is able to break the hearts of any who know the pure God...and had Jesus Christ ever such a Body as this?" Nayler: Works, p. 139.

79). Grubb: Quakerism & Industry, p. 22-3.

80). William Edmondson to Margaret Fell (1656), Swarthmore Manuscript, Vol. IV, p. 77, quoted Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 211, and also Fox: Journal, p. 185.

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Section VIII-E: Simplicity: The Friends Testimony in Dress and Food

The Testimony of Simplicity in all aspects of personal life has been considered as one of three or four basic Quaker testimonies.[1] The concern for Simplicity, however, grew from several roots: rejection of pride, discipline against distraction, and fear of waste for its own sake or for the sake of men in need. Less was explicitly said by Friends to indicate that they regarded Simplicity in their own lives and dress as gestures of witness to non-Quakers, than was said about the witnessing role of testimonies such as hat-honor. This omission however, probably sprang from intensity of feeling about luxury as an evil to be avoided in itself, and was also because Friends preached so outspokenly against luxury in their sermons.

We find in Quaker writings direct and lively attacks which simply identify the Cavalier life and costume with vanity and sin. Ellwood managed to put his horror into rather poor poetry:

> "By Custom, Drunkenness so common's grown:
> That most Men count it a small Sin, or none.
> Ranting and Roaring they affirm to be
> The true Characters of Gentility.
> Swearing and Cursing is so much in Fashion
> That 'tis esteem'd a Badge of Reputation...
> But, Oh! the Luxury, and great Excess
> Which by this wanton Age is us'd in Dress!....
> The Fool's py'd Coat, which all Wise Men detest
> Is grown a Garment now in great Request.
> More Colours in one Wastcoat now they wear,
> Than in the Rain-bow ever did appear...
> Thereby outstripping the Chamaelion quite,
> Which cannot change it self to Red or White... .
> And he that in a modest Garb is Drest,
> Is made the Laughing-stock of all the rest.

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1). Tolles lists Peace, Equality and Simplicity as the three basic Testimonies; (Meeting-House, p. 8). It has been shown however that the earliest Peace Testimony was based on the relation of the Light to human evil (rather than an independent rejection of war), and that Equality also was interpreted in terms of human pride and the universal appeal to turn to the Light. The three Testimonies are basically related.

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Nor are they with their Baubles satisfied:
But Sex-Distinctions too are laid aside.
The Women wear the Trowsies and the Vest,
While Men in Muffs, Fans, Peticoats are drest
Some Women (Oh, the Shame!) like ramping Rigs,
Ride flaunting in their Powder'd Perriwigs:
Astride they sit (and not ashamed neither)
Drest up like Men, in Jacket, Cap and Feather.
All Things to Lust and Wantonness are fitted:
Nothing that tends to Vanity omitted."[2]

One of the results of early Quaker preaching was the giving up of lace, ribbons and elaborate apparel, with a shame for the old luxury comparable to that inspired by Savonarola and the mediaeval friars.[3] Simpler dress might also be an individual decision, as with Ellwood, the Peningtons, and Thomas & Ann Curtis:

"Captain Curtis...and his wife...formerly lived very high and rich in apparel, but are stripped of all; he hath ripped off his gold buttons, and his wife hath stripped off all her jewels and rich attire."[4]

Other Friends pushed this renunciation of worldly pleasures to points which seem to border on Asceticism:

Solomon Eccles had taught upon the Virginals and Viol; "When he felt it right to renounce his profession, he sold his musical instruments and books; but not feeling clear even then, he bought them back and burnt them on Tower Hill. He learnt tailoring to provide for his needs!"[5]

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2). Ellwood: Journal, pp. 198-9, cf. Fox: Journal, Vol. I, pp. 175-6; Ellwood was once mistaken for a non-Quaker because of his elaborate hat.

3). A public burning of laces and ribbons in Malton, Yorkshire, followed the preaching of Fox, Roger Hebden & Dewsbury in 1652. Cf. "the stripping of all needless Apparel, and forsaking of superfluities in Meats, Drinks" after the Bristol Mass Meetings under Camm & Audland.

4). Alexander Parker (1655) as quoted in Hodgkin: Gulielma Penn, p. 35.

5). First Publishers of Truth, p. 240 n. Similarly, Elizabeth Haddon's mother gave up her domestic music and burnt her embroidery, and Humphrey Bache gave up a shop selling "Rings and Toyes to sell to proud and vain people" (Best: Rebel Saints, p. 297; Bache: Few Words, p. 10).

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These Friends are extreme examples of the Puritan attitude which has been called "inner asceticism".[6]

At the same time, both Quaker and Puritan asceticism was positive, not merely "a series of desolating negatives".[7] For both groups, obedience to God demanded the discipline of an athlete.[8] Friends had enrolled in "the Lamb's War against the World", and were warned to "take heed of the World's Fashions, lest ye be moulded up into their Spirit.... Mind that which is sober and modest, and keep to your own plain Fashions that therein you may judge the World."[9] This combat, as has been shown, was inward as well as outward. To Friend and Puritan alike, the physical world was not evil, but self-gratification was evil, being rooted in self-will.[10] Because selfish desires were most obvious towards physical objectives, this attack upon the "idolatry of the flesh" tended to suspect not only the evil heart of men, but physical pleasure; thus was enthroned "the lean goddess Abstinence".[11] But it is clear that Friends' attack upon the gay Cavalier dress centered upon its relationship to Pride. They wrote prophetic woes against the "proud and lustful...who deck yourselves in your proud Attire, inventing new ways and

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6). Tolles: Meeting-House, p. 55 f, based on Weber's "Innerweltliche Askese". Other examples of this outlook can be found in Penn's No Cross, No Crown.

7). Cf. Hodgkin & Braithwaite: op. cit., p. 22.

8). Cf. Haller: Rise of Puritanism, p. 123.

9). An Epistle of our Antient Friend George Fox...to keep out of the vain Fashions of the World (Dublin Yearly Meeting; 1734)

10). Cf. Perry: Puritanism & Democracy, p. 250; Weber: Protestant Ethic, p. 255

11). Tawney: Religion and Capitalism, p. 208

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Fashions to make yourselves glorious in the Sight of men, that they may bow down and worship you".[12] Friend's rejection of elaborate dress, therefore, was inseparable from their rejection of human pride, as well as from the rejection of distractions and encumbrances. Both were basic in the Friends' Testimony of Simplicity: simple life and simple dress freed not only the hands and the daily schedule for more crucial concerns, but freed the heart also. We catch a glimpse of this in Ellwood's description of his first visit to the Penington's after his Convincement as a Friend:

> Isaac Penington and his Wife...received me courteously: but not knowing what Exercise I had been in,...were not forward at first to lay suddain Hands on me; which I observed and did not dislike. But as they came to see a Change in me, not in Habit only, but in gesture, Speech and Carriage, and which was more, in Countenance also...they were exceeding kind, and tender towards me."[13]

Finally, it should be noted that Friends attacked Luxury, not only as an encumbrance to saintly warfare and as the fruit of pride and vanity, but as a way of life possible only at the expense of others:

> "Is this the Saints Practise...to live in the Lusts of Flesh, Sporting and Gaming and calling it Recreation: living in Excess of Aparel and Diet, spending the Creatures in your Lusts, when your Brethren want Food and Rayment, causing others to labour in Wants, that they may bring it to you to spend in Lusts and Vanity!"[14]

Penn in his younger and more radical days seized upon this issue with

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12). Works, p. 91. Nayler regarded the well-dressed Baxter as a hypocrite when he commended Friends because they "hold out many certain truths, and cry down pride and drunkenness and worldliness, and cry up mortification, charity and humility". Nayler countered: "thou saist: so do you as well and better than we can do....If thøy mortification stands in Cuffs and Ribonds, Lace and Points, being called Lord and Master, etc., thou has cryed it up"-i. e. humility.

13). Ellwood: Journal, p. 70.

14). Nayler: Works, p. 46.

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burning concern, and put it in effective language:[15]

> "When people have first learned to fear, worship and obey their Creator, to pay their numerous vicious debts, to alleviate and abate their oppressed tenants; but above all outward regards, when the pale faces are more commisserated, the pinched bellies relieved, and naked backs clothed; when the famished poor, the distressed widow, and helpless orphan...are provided for, then I say it will be time enough for you to plead the indifferency of your pleasure. But that the sweat and tedious labour of the husbandman early and late, cold and wet, hot and dry should be converted into the pleasure, ease, and pastime of a small number of men; that the cart, the plough, the thresh, should be in that continual severity laid upon nineteen parts of the land to feed the inordinate lusts and delicious appetites of the twentieth, is so far from the appointment of the great Governor of the world,...that to imagine such horrible injustice as the effects of his determinations, and not the intemperance of men, were wretched and blasphemous."[16]

Friends had a sense of direct responsibility also for their use of "the Creatures" in themselves:

> The Cavaliers...say if it be out of fashion it is nothinge worth; are not these y^e^ spoylers off y^e^ creation, & hath the fatt & y^e^ best of it & wasts & destroyes it"[17]

This attitude ties in closely with the Puritan and Quaker doctrine of Calling, for "the Creation" was not so much valued in itself - despite the instinctive horror of waste - as it was valued as a gift of God intended for a purpose. Yet, especially among Friends, care for people always was far more central than concern for the material "Creatures".

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15). He begins, however, on a mild and pragmatic note more typical of the later Penn. "The Temperance I plead for is not only Religiously but Politically Good. Luxury brings effeminacy, laziness, poverty, and misery; but temperance preserves the land (Prov. 10:4). It keeps out foreign vanities, and improves our own commodities: now we are their debtors, then they would be debtors to us for our native manufactures....It helps persons of mean substance to improve their stocks, that they may not expend their dear earnings and hard-got wages upon superfluous apparel, foolish may-games, plays, dancing, shews...and the like folly." (No Cross, No Crown, p. 269).

16). No Cross, No Crown, pp. 280-281.

17). Fox: Journal, Vol. I, p. 176, cf. Burrough: Testimony Concerning London, p. 12.

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Economics in general and dress in particular were inseparable from service to the neighbor in need:

> "The Lord takes notice of such as Fear...and if you mind this, then can you not waste anything upon your Lust, while your fellow members are ready to perish in your Streets, and the cry of the Innocent and oppressed is heard therein!"[18]

Fox makes this relationship of Testimony to Service even more explicit:

> "Wee tolde y^{m} /who/ went to there sports & games & plays & y^{e} like y^{t} they had better serve God...& y^{t} costly apparell with y^{e} lace y^{t} wee formerly had hunge upon our backes y^{t} kept us not warme, with y^{t} wee could mainetaine a Company of poore people y^{t} had noe cloaths...." Yet Quaker Religion lay not "in meates nor drinkes nor cloaths nor thee nor thou nor puttinge of hatts... (though) they saide our religion lay in such thinges, but...in y^{t} which bringes to visitt y^{e} poore & fatherlesse & keepes from y^{e} spotts of y^{e} worlde."[19]

With regard to the Friends' own "Plain Dress", its details were apparently only Puritan customary wear, with a working-class accent. Even leather trousers were not apparently a freak in Fox's time.[20] Quaker dress excluded rings, lace and ribbons, and also useless buttons and eventually cuffs; but the cut was not standardized for some time, nor was the colour, although eventually gray became widespread.[21] Quaker dress differed markedly enough from Restoration fashions as to be instantly recognizable.[22] Even a couple as essentially Puritan as

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18). Sestroppe: Word from the Lord.

19). Fox: Journal, Vol. I., p. 286.

20). Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 66n.

21). Cf. Ellwood: Journal, p. 112; Later, in Pennsylvania, rich Friends enjoyed velvet, and although they kept their clothing monochrome, used various dark colours (Tolles: Meeting-House, p. 126). A dream of Mary Penington's in 1657, before her convincement, seems however to associate already gray clothing with Friends: She saw Christ as "a fresh lovely youth, clad in gray cloth very plain and neat (at that time I had never heard of the Quakers or their habit)". (Experiences in the Life of Mary Penington, quoted by Hodgkin: Gulielma Penn, p. 27).

22). Cf. Fox: Journal, Vol. II, p. 25.

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the Peningtons were reproached before their convincement by a Quaker preacher for their "gay, vain apparell".[23] It must be remembered, however, that conservative Puritan tradition made a marked difference between the costume of gentry and common-folk, which Quakers refused to do.[24] But in the early period Quaker dress was distinctive mainly by its plainness, until the changing fashions of the outside World had made Quaker dress a badge and an idiosyncrasy.

In a round-head age, we may presume that most Quakers wore their hair short. They always ridiculed wigs and curls. But Nayler is pictured as long-haired[25] and Fox always wore his hair long.[26]

With regard to liquor, the frequency of Quaker attacks upon drunkenness and excess has been clear. This Testimony was moreover integrated with their attitude towards "the Creatures":

> "And because some are more strong and mighty to drink Wine, and can bear it more than others, this will not excuse them in... devouring or wasting the Creatures of God to satisfie their inordinate lusts and desires."[27]

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23). Hodgkin: Gulielma Penn, p. 34

24). Cf. on this Perkins: Golden Chaine, p. 105; Wright: "Perkins" (Huntingdon Libr. Quart, III) p. 178; White: Social Criticism p. 240; Friends rejected as sinful pride such differences used to distinguish social classes: "your wearing old and costly apparel distinguisheth you from the apostles' doctrine" (Fox: Great Mistery, p. 71, cf. Journal, Ch. I, p. 175-6).

25). Cf. frontispiece of Schenk: Social Justice.

26). Although he was teased about it more than once, Fox seems to have attached some religious significance to his long hair: in Cornwall, "Major Ceely...askt to cutt my haire for it was pretty longe and I was not to cutt it, though many did rage against it: and I tolde y^m I had noe pride in it" (Journal, Ch. I, pp. 207-8). The last comment is revealing. Perhaps Fox felt called to some role as a new nazirite Samson;- it is not recorded whether, after their marriage, Margaret Fell Fox was able to play Delilah.

27). George Whitehead: The Cause & Prevention of Great Calamities (London, 1692).

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There were appeals to the Tavern-keepers not to "live upon the Sins of the People....Pray consider the sad effects of Excess [and] Drunkenness",[28] yet although Friends were distrubed at the profanity, gambling and games of amusement which went on in taverns, they seem to have taken both liquor and taverns for granted.

In respect of Food, Friends had less to say.[29] The extravagances of courtly tables were attacked along with the extravagance in dress. Yet a Quaker fast was almost always not a deliberate abstinence but a special act for which leading was given by the Spirit.[30] Friends therefore refused to take any part in the public fasts of Puritan governments in England, Barbados and Massachusetts; they considered these as done by the decision of man, rather than of the Spirit, and as being hypocritical in that they did not stem out of a total obedience to the Spirit in all areas of life:

> "The Light of Christ Jesus in your consciences...doth not lymitt God to a day, but leads to the fast which the Lord requires, which is to loose the bonds of wickednesse, to undoe the heavy burdens and to lett the oppressed goe free, and to breake every yoake: Is. 58: 6-7"[31]

Those Creatures which were most central in human living - food and clothing - were thus like the Creation in general, considered by Friends as good, being made by God, but even more than good, they are considered <u>useful</u>, intended by God for his purposes, rather than for those of the human will and gratification.

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28). <u>ibid</u>.

29). Tolles has pointed out that food and gardening were the great outlets for rich Pennsylvania Quakers' avocational interests.

30). Friends had to defend themselves against a charge of Pharisaic work-righteousness which associated fasting with Catholicism, and did so on this basis: "David...fasted till he might number his bones [cf. Psalm 109] ...And because some now, by the same power, are moved by the Lord so to do, is this like the Pharisees that appear...to fast?" (Fox; <u>Great Mistery</u>, p. 131).

31). Fox: <u>Journal</u>, Vol. I, p. 335, cf. Fisher: <u>Works</u>, p. 4

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Section VIII-F: Friends' Testimony against Tithes

In its practical outworkings, Friends' protest against Tithes must be regarded as a Testimony in the same sense as the social testimonies of speech and dress. Friends' rejection of Tithes took its root in their conception of the nature of true worship and spiritual ministry. But the social and economic outlooks, although not primary, were also present. Friends' protest, moreover, was expressed, like the other Testimonies in outward action, intended both to keep Friends themselves separated from the evil, and to witness to others concerning the issue involved.

Friends not only wrote and preached concerning Tithes; the attack upon Tithes formed the crux of their relationship with each of the Commonwealth governments, as well as the subject of the enormous petitions. Failure to abolish them was regarded as the symbol of apostasy. In the last analysis, of course, the attitude of governments to the "People of God" was the touchstone, but the acceptance of Tithes was in itself a rejection of the Friends' demand for a purely spiritual ministry. A large proportion of the persecution for which Quakers reproached the State arose from Friends' consistent refusal to pay Tithes of any kind. This Testimony took the form, therefore, not only of the refusal to pay, but of the suffering of imprisonment and distrainment (which played a merely incidental role as regards the other Testimonies).

Others before Friends had asked for the abolition of Tithes.[1] Admittedly many Independents and even Baptists supported Cromwell's plans

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1). Saltmarsh left his parish in 1645 rather than accept Tithes (cf. Haller: "Word of God", Church History XIX); cf. also "The Husbandman's Plea against Tithes" (1647); William Erbury: "The Grant Oppressor or the Terror of Tithes" (1652), both cited in Tindall: Bunyan, p. 254; White: Social Criticism, p. 101.

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for a national church, widely inclusive and with congregational autonomy, but supported by Tithes. But the radical sectarians including many of the Baptists, rejected Cromwell's "Establishment" and debated the question of Tithes in Parliament.[2] Friends' tracts before 1655 largely ignored the question of Tithes: the concern was with the general apostasy of the nation.[3] The first arrest of Friends for non-payment of Tithes was also in 1655.[4] Soon afterwards, however, Friends were going out of their way to challenge the issue,[5] and even Friends who were willing to compromise on Impropriated Tithes (rejecting only those payable to the ministers of the Establishment) were considered to have "run out".[6] In 1699 a Quaker Carpenter, Joseph Avis, put the positive side of this testimony into effect, by refusing to accept payment for building a Portuguese Synagogue.[7] This Testimony, because of successive imprisonments and distrainments, made farming eventually impossible for many Friends and drove them into city trades.[8]

The difference between Friends' attitudes to Tithes, and that towards civil Taxes shows the difference in their outlook towards the

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2). Cf. Schenk: Social Justice, p. 11.

3). In 1653, however, Fox persuaded two Independent ministers to cease accepting Tithes. (Journal: Ch. I, pp. 134-5)

4). Richard Ashburner was arrested and died a prisoner in Lancaster Castle (cf. Ross: Margaret Fell, p. 42).

5). William Edmondson bought land in Ireland in order to raise the issue of Tithes there (cf. Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 220).

6). Braithwaite: Beginnings, pp. 345-6.

7). Emden: Quakers in Commerce, p. 17.

8). Cf. Emden: Quakers in Commerce, p. 14; also the experience of the European Jews in the early middle ages.

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State and that towards society, the apostate national religious community. Thus, while a few Friends refused taxes to an "antichristian" government[9] and Fox felt free to warn governments against "laying great taxes upon people...lest ye oppresse the just",[10] taxes were rarely withheld.[11]

By contrast, it was assumed from the beginning that to pay Tithes to the national church was to support Idolatry:

> "Their [sic] is no justice nor religion in it, that any should be caused by force to uphold a house, for other people to commit and practice idolatry in; if the house were for any good purpose or honest practices, as for poor or impotent people to dwell in,...then were that a deed of charity to uphold it, and the people of God would not deny it."[12]

In more lenient moods, Friends more explicitly allowed liberty of idolatry to those who wished to support it, provided that Children of the Light were not forced to contribute:

> "Houses of God they are not, convenience is the best you can plead for them; and of all men, you who stay in those Houses have least cause to find fault with such as go out, seeing they leave you the Houses...wholly to your selves."[13]

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9). Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 346.

10). Fox: To The Protector, p. 14.

11). Friends felt that "as for the rulers, that are to keep peace, for peace's sake, and for the advantage of truth [they should] give them their tribute....To beare and carry carnal weapons...they cannot,...but have paid their tribute." Fox: Works (1831), Vol. VII, pp. 168-9, quoted in Bulletin of the Friends Historical Association, Vol. 27 (1938), p. 75.

12). Burrough: Message for Instructions, p. 7. Accepting Tithes was ipso facto a sign of Popery: "The Pope took the Tenths of the Tenths, the King took the Tenth of the Tenths, The Protector took the Tenth of the Tenths", wrote Friends to the restored Rump Parliament, "which have been overthrown before you...Now if you take the Tenths of the Tenths, do ye walk out of the steps of the Pope...?" Papers from 7000 Daughters of the Lord against Tithes, p. 38.

13). Nayler: Works, p. 186.

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The First basis of Friends, therefore, in rejecting Tithes, was the rejection of the Church which tithes supported. Friends felt it

> "a Matter of the greatest Concernment to every Man's Conscience that loves Christ, not to uphold any Ministry, under any pretence whatsoever, which is not sent by Christ".[14]

The second basis of this rejection, however, was Friends' conception of the nature of the ministry itself. The true ministry is undertaken under the leading of the Spirit, in each specific act of ministry. It is thus a calling out of the world of daily life, and not a "Vocation" within it. Clearly the ministry which the Spirit commands cannot be done for hire.

It was because of the primacy of the Spirit, rather than from any basic hatred of the State as such, that Friends thus rejected any support of religion by a national Establishment:

> "If you say [that] if we take away the ministers maintenance...we will pluck down the gospel,...I say nay, the Gospel... is the power of God, and that cannot be plucked down".[15]

While the larger denominations in England were apostate in any case, the same principles would apply if (as later in Pennsylvania) Quakerism should become the dominant faith.

Money payment as such was not considered evil.[16] The physical needs of ministers were not overlooked: "if God hath called any one

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14). ibid, p. 183.

15). Fox: to the Protector, p. 30, cf. Thomas Salthouse: A Candle Lighted at a Coal from the Altar (London, 1660), p. 16. This provided a further basis for distinguishing between Taxes and Tithes: "Excise or Taxes is allowed on in the Scriptures: but the Magistrate was never to force a maintenance for the Ministry, neither under Law nor Gospel: but God ever took care for them that are his." (Nayler: Against Baxter, p. 20).

16). At the point of the ministry, as in general, Friends drew a definite, if somewhat wavering, line between material goods and the love of them for self-gratification.

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from their employment or trades, it may be lawful for such to receive such temporals as are given them freely".[17] But this was felt to be a different matter from preaching for payment. The Spirit which initiated preaching should also initiate support of the preacher:

> "When the apostle speaks of taking wages, of eating and drinking, to them that examined him, he speaks this among the saints, gathered out of the world....This was not spoken to such as held up temples, tithes and priests, but a gathered separated people from them. And the gospel they preached, the power of God, opened the hearts of the people to give unto them, and not by an outward law."[18]

Thus Friends constantly contrasted those whose ministry was in obedience to the Leadings of the Spirit, with the "Hirelings"[19] who accepted Tithes. The acceptance of a salary was in itself evidence that a minister lacked God's Spirit:[20]

> "Such teachers & prophetts and shepheards y^{t} the prophetts Christ & y^{e} Apostles declared against....we must declare against y^{m} by the same power & spiritt^{n},....such as preacht for filthy lucre & devined for money & preacht for hire & were covetous & greedy like y^{e} dumb doggs".[21]

The attack upon "Hirelings" was often enough the message with which Friends interrupted the worship of established Churches.[22] It should

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17). Barclay: Apology, p. 285, cf. Nayler: Works, p. 353.

18). Fox: Great Mistery, p. 202, cf. Nayler: Against Baxter, p. 20. Friends were a freely supported ministry for other churches too, however useless for salvation they might be (cf. Papers from 7000 Daughters of the Lord against Tithes, p. 65).

19). Cf. John 10:13.

20). Cf. Nayler: Against Baxter, pp. 37-8 & the letter from Burrough to Margaret Fell, quoted in Brocklebank: Burrough, p. 61.

21). Fox: Journal, Vol. I, p. 167, cf. Vol. I, pp. 155-6, etc. Friends were particularly fond of Old Testament passages against False Prophets, (which often enough had been connections between professional prophecy and wishful thinking), cf. Jeremiah 5:23, 31; Isaiah 56:10; Ezekiel 13:-, 34:-; Micah 3:5, etc.

22). Cf. Banks: Journal, pp. 10-11; Fisher: Works, p. 22

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be remembered, however, that the clergy whom Friends had known in their home regions, often absentees concerned mainly for income, justified many of the Quaker accusations:

> "Some of our friends...have suffered more by these plundering priests, then by the plundering Cavaliers" they wrote to Parliament, "and you have sadned the hearts of them that are your Friends, by setting up Tithes and tollerating of them".[23]

Tithes led to the empoverishment of farmers, "taking away thire oxen beaves sheepe Corne woole and houshold goods, and give them to the preists, them that have donne noe worke for them, more like moss troopers then ministers of the gospel".[24] Such men were not led by the Spirit.

The insistence that the ministry was not a "living", however, reflected also working-class ideas of the difference between preaching and other types of work. Friends asked:

> "that all forced maintenance of the Priests be taken away, for while such a thing is set up it will spoyle many idle men that will not thresh nor plant, nor dig, nor make Vineyards, and will not Plant nor Sow that they may Reap".[25]

Quakers were particularly embittered that ministers as a rule lived at a higher economic level than the copyholders who supported them:

> "it is no hard thing with you, to take Pauls words, who wandred up & down in hunger & nakedness, coveted no mans money nor gold...and you will make it prove you four or five hundred [pounds] a year, and a great house to live in".[26]

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23). Papers from 7000 Daughters, etc., pp. 54-55.

24). Fox: Journal, Vol. I, p. 123; cf. the connection somewhat overpressed, between Tithes and the oppressive enclosures made to make land pay, in "the Husbandman's Plea against Tithes" (1652), as cited in Tindall: Bunyan, p. 254.

25). Papers from 7000 Daughters, p. 5; cf. Fisher: Works, p. 588. Nayler: Man of Sin, p. 9.

26). Nayler: Against Baxter, p. 31.

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The opposition to Tithes shows at certain points Friends' sense of dissociation from the social organism in inidvidual as well as in religious ways. Social bonds were reduced to individual economic obligation and service:

> "I do acknowledge that the Labourer is worthy of his hire", wrote Audland to a priest. "Now shew when I hired thee, or what work thou hast done for me; no Tradesman in the Nation can force their Wares upon me, contrary to my mind, much less take my Goods from me, when I have none of their Ware".[27]

Property also becomes purely individual, so that "he is a thief that takes the fruit of another mans labors against his will".[28] The lack of a sense of wider social obligation reflected the neglect of the groups from which Quakers came by the Church and the nation.

Nevertheless Friends did feel enough social concern to advocate from time to time that if Tithes be collected, they be set aside, by Biblical precedent, for the poor.[29] This applied particularly to the large proportion of Tithes (in the North-west nearly half), which had been "Impropriated" to laymen when the monasteries were dissolved and their chapels cut off.[30]

It seems likely, nevertheless, that even the religious cleavage which Friends felt between their own fellowship and the apostate world was deepened by their conflicts over Tithes with selfish representatives of the national Church.

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27). Memory of the Righteous, p. 18. Fox often used the same argument (cf. Fox: Instruction to Judges, p. 20, Journal, Vol. I, p. 193)

28). Nayler: Against Baxter, p. 19.

29). Camm & Audland: Memory of the Righteous, pp. 302-303.

30). The women Friends suggested "Let the Impropriators who bought or rents their Tithes...demand their [purchase] - money again;...and you may sell all the Gleab-lands and Abby-Lands and Monasteries and Nunneries, and Kings Rents and his houses, and the bells to pay the Impropriators ...and let the Earth be restored again to its place." (Papers from 7000 Daughters, pp. 58-9; cf. Fox: 59 Proposals, #29, with special emphasis upon removal and sale of the Popish church-bells).

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Section VIII-C: The Group Life of early Friends as a Social Testimony

In their customs of group life, as in other areas, it is not easy to separate those Friends' actions which were done for their own ethical value, from those done for the sake of public witness. Practical considerations were here particularly evident. Yet Friends' relationships with each other served as an effective witness to outsiders. Moreover, Friends' group life undergirded all Quaker Testimonies, both through the working of group discipline, and through the positive action of group Leadings and group concerns.

As the fellowship of saints, the Friends as a group have been considered[1] in their role as sharers in "the Lamb's War" against "the World". It was made clear that Friends did not consider themselves simply one Church among others. There was no other true Church.[2] Individually, to be sure,

> "there may be Members...of the Catholick Church, both among Heathens, Turks, Jews, and all the several sorts of Christians,...who though blinded in...their Understanding... with the Superstitions and Formality of their several Sects... yet being upright in their hearts before the Lord...are by the... Holy Light in their Souls enlivened";[3]

but these are to be saved in spite of their Churches rather than because of them. Presumably it was because they "regarded themselves as... spiritual Israel...rather than as a separate Sect",[4] that Friends never

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1). v. Section VI-C, supra.

2). "In the Darkness is the Creature led into Sects, Opinions & Errors, after the Imaginations, to seek Life; but...in this condition of Death...shall the Creature never be without some Conceit or other, to keep in a vain Hope of Salvation...And this is the sole Ground and Cause, why we have so many...Opinions, and Ways to Worship, but none that do good" (Nayler: Works, p. 262).

3). Wragge: Barclay, p. 93

4). Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 508.

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gave themselves a collective title:

> "I am not one of y^m, wrote Fox, "which calls y^m selves papists, common prayer men nor presbiterians, independants, anabaptists puritants nor heatherns which be out of y^e life of God, but y^t which God has caled me to y^t I am & y^e elect before y^e world began".[5]

All the names Quakers used for themselves have absolute and universal meanings; "the Saints", "the People of God", "the Children of the Light", "the Just", etc.[6] The name "Friends" is common, but "Society of Friends" only much later.[7]

The Quaker conception of the nature of the Church therefore clearly assumed that it was created by God, not by man, and more specifically the Church was the creation of the inward Spirit "gathering Creatures together...into the one Word of Faith and Power of Life".[8] The Friends' definition of the Church often approximated the "Invisible Church" of the theologians, "the society...of such as God hath called out of the world and worldly spirit, to walk in his LIGHT and LIFE... though outwardly strangers from those who profess Christ".[9] Friends did not deny (as did some "spiritual Puritans" and mystics), that Sainthood was Visible in ethical living, nor that the Spirit worked through the Church collectively against "the World". But the Visible

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5). Fox: Journal, Vol. I, p. 333.

6). Cf. Fox: Journal, Vol. I, 91ff; To the Parliament of England who are in place to do Justice...to...the People of God in Ireland (1659); etc.

7). Cf. John 15:14.

8). Nayler: Works, p. 255, cf. Fox: Journal, (Everyman Edn.), pp. 21, 67, 78, 100.

9). Barclay: Apology, p. 287.

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Church was formed not by man's action but by the Spirit's.[10]

For such reasons, Friends laid no stress upon individual congregations and rejected Church-Covenants as "Will-Works".[11] Membership in the Quaker groups was left equally to the initiative of the Spirit (although group discipline came to include exclusion of the unworthy members, it did not debar from entry).[12] The intensity of the Quaker struggle, both inward and outward, can have left few neutrals.

Despite the lack of formal ties, Friends felt a deep sense of unity among the Children of the Light.

The bond of unity of the visible Church was felt by Friends to be the Spirit itself. This corresponds to the vital experiences of being caught up in the group emotion of early Friends Meetings. But it is clear that, unlike many modern groups of Friends, the sense of unity in the Spirit was not limited to, or directed especially towards, common Worship:

> "there are thousands satisfied in one another, that they have the spirit of God, [therefore] he that hath it can speak to the witness of God in another which shall testifie the same".

This sense of unity in the spirit made possible group decision without

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10). Friends did speak often of "the Church of Christ" (cf. Nayler: Works; First Publishers of Truth, p. 60, etc.), meaning the Quaker fellowship.

11). Cf. Fox "The Younger": Works, p. 5.

12). Formal membership and "Birthright membership" were established only in 1737 (cf. Russell: History of Quakerism, p. 215; Bartlett: Quakers & the Church, p. 21). Problems of relief administration had led to the keeping of less formal membership lists, however, from the 1660's & 1670's. The basis of such lists, as with Baptist and Separatist churches, but less formally, was Visible Sainthood, the accomplished fact of the Spirit's work. Nevertheless, it is significant that scholars still differ as to whether Gervase Benson, Judge Fell, and one or two others, should be called Friends.

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conflict:

> "the spiritual man's light is the light of Christ, and is infallible, and cannot be altered; and therefore all that are guided by it are one, where there is no disputes nor janglings"[13]

That this principle of group guidance led to systematic procedures for group decision in the first days, as in the later Friends' Meetings for Business, in not clear, but it underlay fundamental decisions from the beginning.[14] The unifying power of the Spirit was no doubt most consciously felt in common meetings, and especially those for worship. But it was tied up with the total relationship of the "people of God" to the Lamb's War. Thus the relationship of Quaker groups to surrounding groups in Society was simply one aspect of the relation of the Spirit to the World of men.

Within the fellowship of Friends, the sense of unity in the Spirit produced some striking as well as significant fruits in group life, which also were an effective witness to the non-Quaker world. The loyalty of Friends for each other was shown by their offer on several occasions to take the place of Friends who were then in prison.[15]

In more ordinary ways also, Friends maintained care for each others' needs. Quakers of the gentry maintained almost unlimited

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13). Nayler: The Man of Sin, p. 35.

14). Cf. Tolles: Meeting-House, p. 7; also Wilson: Relief & Reconstruction, p. 24: Friends' conception of Church organization was thus not democratic, but theocratic, as in other areas of life: "It is not an hundred people coming together that makes them any whit more certain in their judgment. The only indispensable qualification...is assistance by the Holy Spirit. The question is whether we, as a believing body, have the Holy Spirit or not" Wm. Penn: "Spirit of Alexander the Coppersmith", quoted by Belasco: Authority, p. 243.

15). Humphrey Norton in 1656 offered to lie in prison for George Fox (Cromwell, who refused the offer, was much impressed); Daniel Baker in Malta in 1662 offered his life to the inquisition for the freeing of Katharine Evans and Sarah Chevers. (Cf. Fox: Journal, Vol. I, p. 245; Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 431. Cf. Penn: History of Quakers, p. 53.

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hospitality in their homes,[16] and took the lead in organizing "the Kendal Fund" and administered grants to help Quakers on preaching trips or in prison.[17] The pressure of persecutions led to larger and more formally administered Funds and regular meetings to supervise them.[18] Friends also set up programs paralleling the Poor Law system for their own members. Money was collected for Friends whose homes were burned;[19] children were apprenticed and the unemployed given work, rather than given cash doles.[20] Meetings acted at a later date as informal employment-exchanges,[21] and kept books of wills, arbitrated business disputes, and administered bequests.[22] Thus Friends found substitutes for the disrupted Poor Law and local relief systems, from which in any case Quaker attitudes to Oaths and to dependence on the unregenerate World would have made it hard for them to accept help.

Their mutual care for each other acted also as a deliberate

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16). Cf. Ross: Margaret Fell on the Swarthmore household; Ellwood: Journal on the Penningtons. The persistence of paternalistic traditions was shown also when Margaret Fell was asked to arbitrate disputes between Quakers (cf. Ross: Margaret Fell, p. 59).

17). Much of such money went to supply boots, "britches" and food in jails, but extensive missions such as those to America were also aided.

18). E. g. the Womens Meeting of 60, in London, the "Box Meeting", and the famous "Meeting for Sufferings".

19). Cf. Tolles: Meeting-House, p. 68; Grubb: Quakerism & Industry, pp. 79-81; Lloyd: Quaker Social History, Chapter III,

20). Tolles: Meeting-House, p. 67; Lloyd: Quaker Social History, Chapter XII.

21). Jorns: Quaker Social Work, p. 63.

22). Quakerism & Industry, p. 81; Jorns: Quaker Social Work, p.66.

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Testimony to the World:

> "the testimonies of some already, and of many more orphans and fatherless children who have found no want, neither of father nor mother...through the tender love and care of God's people, in putting them to trades and employments, and giving them all needful education,...will make it appear, ere this age pass away... that these are not the mere doings and orders of men, but the work of Christ."[23]

Friends also gave aid to people outside their fellowship, though how widely is hard to tell from the instances recorded:

> "And justices and captains had come to break up [a] meeting [in 1660], and then, when they saw Friends' books and accounts of collections concerning the poor, how that we did take care one county to help another, and took care to help Friends beyond the seas, and that the poor need not trouble their parishes, the justices were made to confess that we did their work....And many times there would be two hundred beggars of the world there, for all the country knew we met about the poor, which after the meeting was done Friends would send to the bakers and give them each a penny loaf apiece, be them as many as would. So we was taught to do good unto all, but especially to the household of faith."[24]

The Quaker principles of maintaining Testimonies, which were a witness to the Conscience of the World as well as personal effort at moral purity, applied in all areas of life. This applied to business as well as private life:

> "It is a bad thing to be lifted up, and to make a Noise & shew for a time with other Peoples Goods; such may...bring a great dishonour to Christ and true Christians."[25]

Quakers felt that their conduct was the fruit of the Spirit within them, but because conduct was also a Testimony, there was also human supervision:

> "Dear Friends, watch over one another, exhort, reprove, admonish in pure Love and Meekness of Spirit, lest you also be tempted,

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23). Barclay: Anarchy of the Ranters, p. 41, cf. Tolles: Meeting-House, p. 70.

24). Fox: Journal, Vol. I, p. 355, quoted in Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 336.

25). Fox: Epistle of Caution, p. 1, cf. Journal, Vol. I, p. 317.

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and all know, That you are a City on a Hill!"[26]

This disciplinary oversight is to be distinguished, at least in principle, from the total rejection and condemnation of excommunication.[27] Yet while a difference was felt between those within the fellowship and those who had "run out" or been disowned, it was nevertheless felt that within both Friends and those in "the World", the same Seed of Christ and Seed of the Serpent were struggling.[28]

In scope this supervision was most inclusive; not only personal morals but business affairs came under constant scrutiny.[29] Fox tried to inspect all Friends books before their printing.[30] The relationship of masters and servants, wages and even the changing of jobs required the Meeting's approval;[31] at a later date bankrupt Friends were disowned.[32] Thus while Friends rejected the standards as well as the authority of Society, and from the social point of view were individualists, within their own group individualism gave way to a sense of group uniformity more characteristic of the mediaeval guild or manorial village.

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26). Nayler: Works, p. 34.

27). Nayler sent a somewhat unstable woman, newly convinced to Margaret Fell, with the request to "Judge the death, but save the little thing which I have seen moving in her. Let her stay awhile with thee, and show her the way of Love, which is much lost in the Height"; Swarthmore Manuscript, Vol. II, p. 829 (1652), quoted Ross: Margaret Fell, p. 99.

28). When Nayler rejected Fox's leadership, he commented: "soe after I had beene warringe with y^{e} worlde now there was a wicked spiritt risen uppe among freindes to warr against" Fox: Journal, Vol. I, p. 244.

29). Cf. Tolles: Meeting-House, p. 23.

30). Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 134; cf. the case of Billing's Mite of Affection.

31). Grubb: Quakerism & Industry, p. 83.

32). Tolles: Meeting-House, p. 75.

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The process of discipline was apparently at first informal We do not even hear of members being "delivered over to Satan", as was so common among Baptists and other Puritan sects,[33] although the phrase and practise of "disowning" gradually came to be characteristic of Friends. At first it was the responsibility of all the group to watch over each other. The same sense of unity which led to common purpose was felt to lead to common agreement; that the Spirit was the same in all who obeyed it was one of the tests of the Spirit;[34] it was felt that the group would therefore represent the mind of the Spirit, and the non-conformer must be misled.[35]

This attitude towards group discipline crystallized as a result of the separations of Perrot, Wilkinson and Storey in the 1660's and 1670's, who, after acrimony and dispute drifted with their followers away from the main body of Friends.[36] These crises of discipline also led to a crystallization of organization and leadership. There was from the beginning of the Quaker movement an encouragement to those few Friends in each group "who are the most grown in power and life"[37] to

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33). Cf. Fenstanton Records: see I Timothy 1:20.

34). Cf. Section V-D.

35). Cf. Bartlett: Quakers & Church, p. 101.

36). "John Storey, Husbandman,...at last seprated from ffaithfull ffrds Meetings, and set up sprate Meetings...But it please the Lord to open the understandings of many simply betrayed in Joyneing with them in the Seperation, and so deserted them, and were restored againe to Unity with ffaithfull ffriends. The looser sorte, that did not like the Cross & Govrmt of truth, run out of all profession of truth into the world againe. And those that Continere yet in that sepration are grown very ffew & smalle in Numbr, louse in their lives, has lost their Antient Testemony against Tyths, and sevral runing out to be Marryed by preists, etc." First Publishers of Truth, p. 256.

37). Letter of Fox & Wm. Dewsbury to all Friends, (1653), quoted in Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 140.

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watch over Friends and take responsibility for the convening of meetings:

> "All you Fathers, and Elders, and honourable Women... Watch over the Flock of Christ Jesus in euery place...where the Lord hath set you, and gouern them in all wisdom and Righteousness...and take care of them willingly...that every one may know their place, and watch and instruct in all wisdom, and correct and reprove in the name and power of our Lord Jesus".[38]

The history and details of Friends' organization are beyond the scope of this thesis. They have moreover been excellently covered by Braithwaite,[39] Lloyd[40] and others. The occasions were practical, for relief first, and afterwards for discipline. The form, as has often been pointed out, was patterned considerably upon that of the Baptists' General Meetings,[41] as they developed between 1651 & 1660, and the informal "brotherly counsel and help" between Congregational Churches (which included laymen as well as Elders & ministers).[42] Concerning the basic issue of the relationship of these steps to the priority of the Spirit in the forming and unifying of the "people of God", Fox took careful thought. The first admonitions of a Friends general meeting (at Balby, 1656), were prefaced:

> "these things we do not lay upon you as a rule or form to walk by, but that all with the measure of light which is pure and holy may be guided...- for the letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life"[43]

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38). Burrough: Camp of the Lord, pp. 15-16; (section by Howgill)

39). Braithwaite: Beginnings; Braithwaite: Second Period.

40). Lloyd: Quaker Social History.

41). Cf. Whitley: Baptists; Tallack: Friends & Baptists, p. 78; Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 142.

42). Wertenbacker: Puritan Oligarchy, p. 73.

43). Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 311.

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The earliest Meetings and their leadership were set up informally under direct Leadings of the Spirit. Later, in 1666, Fox felt that the Spirit itself was leading him to set up permanent organization.[44]

The development of authoritative leadership on a formal basis came only after the Perrot & Storey separations, and represented a more marked change in spirit, although the authority of the Spirit was in theory still maintained:

> "The only proper judge of controversies in the Church is the Spirit of God...which infallibility is not necessarily annexed to any persons...by virtue of any office, place or station....None are excluded from this privilege....[But] it is no way inconsistent with this sound...principle to affirm, that the judgment of a certain person or persons in certain cases is infallible,...and pronounce it obligatory upon others, because...in these things, and at the time they were led by the infallible spirit....Christ intended there should be order and government in his church....Then ...such who really and truly are the church of Christ, have a right to exercise this order and government....There lies an obligation upon such as are...gathered, to reverence, honour, yea and obey, such as are set over them in the Lord."[45]

This outlook represented a change from the first decade when Friends, unified by the Light within them, went out together against the World in the confidence that each was led by the infallible Spirit.

A word, finally, must be said about Friends' Marriages, which were one of the functions for which formal organization became desirable.[46] It was partly a rejection of the ministers of the national church, and partly an emphasis upon the priority of the Spirit that led Fox to insist

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44). Cf. Lloyd: Quaker Social History, Ch. I; Fox: Journal, Vols. II, III: "Y^e Lord opned to me & lett mee see what I must doe: and howe I must order & establish y^e mens & womens monthly & quarterly meetings". It is interesting that the aim of this organization was in the first instance to decrease the load upon the leaders. (Cf. Edmundson: Journal, p. 45).

45). Barclay: Anarchy of the Ranters, pp. 78-9, 19, 7, 22.

46). Cf. letter of Balby Meeting (1656); Braithwaite: Beginnings, p. 312.

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that Friends should be married by God and not by the priests.[47] Fox therefore attempted to regularize the procedure of Quaker marriage in the presence of groups of Friends:

> "they might lay [a proposed marriage] before ye faithfull and then publish it in y^e markett...& In y^e Ende of y^e meetinge & when all things was founde cleere...they might appoint a meetinge of purpose for takeinge of one another"[48]

In this procedure, Friends were following the example of the Baptists[49] and the early Barrowists.[50]

Even more clearly indicative of the cohesion within their own group, and of the sense of antagonism between Friends and Society, was the growing pressure against inter-marriage. The first clear statement I have found on this dates from 1655.[51] At least by Barclay's time, it was an accepted rule:

> "we cannot marry with those that walk not in, and obey not the truth, as being of another judgment and fellowship... Nor can we go to the hireling priests to uphold their false and usurped authority."[52]

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47). In 1666 "there was a great mariage of two ffreindes...and in y^e meetinge I was moved to open to y^e people y^e state of our mariages: how y^e people of God tooke one another in y^e assemblyes of y^e elders & howe God did Joine man and woman before y^e ffall" Fox: Journal, Vol. II, p. 107, cf. Vol. II, pp. 99-100.

48). Fox: Journal, Vol. II, p. 118.

49). Cf. Tallack: Friends & Baptists, p. 78.

50). Barrowist Depositions (1593), as given in Burrage: Dissenters, Ch. II, p. 54; it is important to note that Civil Marriages, though discussed under the Commonwealth, and in force in Massachusetts, were not possible in England; the legality of Quaker Marriages was established by a case at Nottingham in 1661 (cf. Manners:"Friends in Mansfield" JFHS V.).

51). "Stand upon your watchtower"...nor joyn yourselves to strangers nor take not nor give not in marriage with them" Burrough: Camp of the Lord, pp. 7-8.

52). Barclay: Anarchy of the Ranters, p. 48

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In later years the ban on "marrying out of meeting" created a closely intermarried Quaker business aristocracy, and led also to the disownment of some 50,000 Friends.[53]

The one or two passages in writings of this period which seem to show an ascetic attitude towards marriage are probably intended rather to restore self-dedication.[54] By way of contrast, the Friends' emphasis upon the primacy of spiritual fellowship led to a virtual ignoring of the Puritan tradition of the subordination of women to men in marriage.[55] Professor Bainton has stressed the bond which was added to early Quaker marriages by the common sharing in the worldwide task of preaching the Light, whether husband and wife worked together or apart. On the other hand the emphasis upon dependance upon the guidance of the spirit in the choice of both spouse and occasion for marriage,[56] led occasionally to what might have been over-spiritualization had not some unconscious rationalization perhaps been involved.[57]

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53). Cf. Tolles: Meeting-House, p. 120.

54). Against the advice of older Friends, Thomas Holme and Elizabeth Leavens completed plans for marriage, resulting in her pregnancy in the midst of a preaching program in South Wales; the couple thereupon penitently offered to live apart. Howgill's advice probably refers simply to chastity outside of marriage, and not to a Pauline aversion to wedlock: "And all you yong men & Virgins, that knows Virginity, keep your Virgin/ity/, you in whom the Prince of this world is judged and cast out". Burrough: Camp of the Lord, p. 14.

55). In at least one case, Quakerism reunited a separated couple. (Fox: Journal, Vol. I, p. 297).

56). Cf. The Journal of John Woolman (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1871), p. 78.

57). When Fox married Margaret Fell, after her husband's death, "One Walter Newton...whoe had beene an auncient puritan said...hee hearde I was marryed: & askt mee y^{e} reason: and I tolde him as a testimony y^{t} all might come uppe out of ye wildernesse to y^{e} marriage of y^{e} lamb. And hee said hee thought mariage was onely for y^{e} procreation of children & I tolde him I never thought of any such thinge but

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In all their Testimonies, Friends intended not only to witness to the purifying Light, but to follow it specifically at each point.

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57). (continued) onely in obediens to y^e^ power of y^e^ Lord... though I saw such thinges & established Marriages...yet I had noe commande to such a thinge till a halfe yeere before though people had longe talkt of it." (Fox: Journal, MS. II, p. 154).

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Section VIII-H: The Outlook of early Friends and the "Sect Ethic"

This paper has attempted to present the outlook of early Friends upon Society and "the World" as a unified ethos or "ethic". Specific social outlooks have been related to each other, and to the basic Quaker religious experience, as well as to the social and religious backgrounds from which Friends came. This type of study follows the pattern laid down by Troeltsch, Weber, Tawney & Kühn. The Quaker outlook needs, accordingly, to be correlated with the types of outlook which have been defined as basic: specifically, the "Sect Ethic", the "Church Ethic" and the "Mystical Ethic" of Troeltsch.[1]

It is clear that the Quaker outlook does not fit neatly into any of Troeltsch's categories. Troeltsch is clearly right in terms of his own categories, in saying that Friends combined mystical and sectarian outlooks. Nor has the scholar any right to demand from early Quakerism a complete unity of thought.[2] Yet it seems unfortunate to divide the Quaker outlook in two, Solomon-wise. The heart of Quaker thinking is an apparent unity. The "mystical" Light, which brings inward peace, is also the Light which shows evil so searchingly that a "sectarian" rigorousness must follow. The Light warring against inward evil is also the power which overmasters the individual and his sins and goes

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1). Social Teachings, Vol. I, pp. 331-342; Vol. II, pp. 729-54, etc.

2). In the tension between their rejection of war, and their acceptance of discipline by the State, Friends showed an element of genuine inconsistency; Troeltsch makes this a focal point in his attempt to understand Friends' outlooks. Friends' Biblical literalism and their doctrine of the Spirit also diverged, though less basically, since the same implicit and literal obedience to God underlay both.

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out to take possession of the World.[3] To call the central Quaker experience either sectarian or mysticism would be misleading, and yet Friends' ethical outlooks can most fruitfully be understood in relationship to this basic focus. Quaker social outlooks have thus been presented here as an integrated and distinctive pattern. Before discussing whether this pattern is in any sense a special "type" of ethical outlook, it is worth comparing the Quaker pattern in detail with the "Church", "Sect" and "Mystical" types of outlook.

The "Church-ethic" is obviously foreign at many points to Quakerism. The lack of any Quaker conception of the Church as institution, the perfunctory nature of Friends' doctrines of atonement, and the lack of a doctrine of divine forgiveness, all prevented the Friends from understanding this outlook.[4] Friends did indeed share with the "Church-ethic" their world-wide outreach to transform and convert, but for Friends it did not involve being called to mediate Grace to the helpless, as in sacramental Churches.

The relation of Quakerism to Mysticism is more complex. Quaker Journals describe deep mystical elements in individual religious experience. Descriptions of Quaker Meetings for Worship show that such

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3). Insofar as Friends' thought is really a hybrid, one would expect a certain tendency for its private heretics to revert to one of its constituent types (as Puritanism diverged into Churchmanship and sectarianism in extreme cases). It may therefore be significant that the characteristic Quaker heresies in the first decades were Ranterism (usually Antinomian, as in Nayler, Perrot, Wilkinson & Storey), and political Puritanism (i. e. a supporting of a "carnal" theocracy, as did Anthony Pearson, Edward Billing, etc.). These temptations may be defined as Enthusiasm and Calvinism. It is only after the period of persecutions that Mysticism and Legalism become distinct elements in Quaker life. (Mysticism appears already in Penington, legalism perhaps first in George Whitehead; both stood alone until the 1680's).

4). This was most clearly shown by their total failure to understand Baxter.

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experience was vital in group life as well as personal. Quaker outlooks resemble those of Troeltsch's "mystical type"[5] in spiritualizing the sacraments and the meaning of the Church, and especially in basing ethics upon "an immanent, free happiness, which does good quite spontaneously, and which is as little bound to the conventions of men as it is to the moral law of the Bible".[6] But Quakers were clearly in basic conflict with mysticism in stressing the centrality of ethical conflict in life. The Friends stressed obedience rather than self-discipline; their withdrawal from the World was to escape evil, not distraction. They were Separatists, not Contemplatives.

Friends also did not, like mystics, regard "problems of secular morality, of the State, of Society, and of economics...as unimportant".[7] Quaker attitudes towards preaching and towards ethical conduct as a Testimony, show an explosive dynamic rather than concern for self-purification. Fellowship with God led to a sharing of Friends in God's battle against evil, rather than a union with the Absolute.[8]

This mystical outlook, finally, tends to reduce social ethics to love:- as a rule unity of all kinds is an end in itself. Love plays a relatively subordinate role in Quaker social ethics. Within the Quaker community, love in the spirit of the Fourth Gospel is indeed

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5). Troeltsch is perhaps wise, if confusing, in sometimes speaking of "spiritual reformers" rather than mystics in movements like Quakerism; (cf. Social Teachings, Vol. II, p. 742; Kühn: Toleranz, Chapter I).

6). Social Teachings, Vol. II, p. 753.

7). Troeltsch: Social Teachings, Vol. II, p. 753

8). This element Troeltsch possibly overlooks: cf. Social Teachings, Vol. II, p. 780.

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much stressed:

> "What a Glory is it to see Peace shine in the midst of War, Love in the midst of hatred, Meekness in the midst of Strife, righteous Judgment in the midst of Wickedness".[9]

But for Friends unity could only be based upon the Spirit which first conquers evil within & in the World: "he that would us know,...as he knows God he will know us, who are of him, and as the Man of Sin is cast out in him...so will we have Unity and Fellowship with God and with us".[10] Thus love towards men in "the World" had always an ambiguous quality,[11] and social ethics was based not upon love, (or upon the sanctity of man), but directly upon the authority of the Spirit, from which might come both love and conflict.[12]

Early Quakerism and the "Sect outlook" shared an intense concern for ethics and ethical purity. The Quaker stress upon the necessity that the Saints be morally regenerate underlay their attack upon "pleading for Sin", and the Quaker rejection of vicarious atonement and forgiveness. The specific teachings of Quaker social ethics seem to be derived at many points (attitudes to oaths, warfare, social classes and the church, and regarding wealth) from sectarian groups such as the Mennonites, though mediated by English Baptists and other

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9). Nayler: Works, p. 370. This outlook, of course, played a far larger role in Quaker thought than has been evident from this study of Quaker outlooks upon the outside World.

10). Camm & Audland: Memory of the Righteous, p. 295.

11). "A preist saide", wrote Fox (Journal, Ch. II, p. 108), "wee loved none but ourselves, but I tolde him wee loved all mankind as they was Gods creation and as they was children of Adam and Eve by generation: and wee loved y^{e} brotherhood in y^{e} holy ghoast".

12). "Though Christ be Prince of Peace..yet I also know he came not to send peace, but a sword, that is in dividing man from the lusts and sins he hath been united to...and they are blessed that, in this respect...are scattered and separated from their brethren: that they may come to know the brotherhood and fellowship which is in the light." (Barclay: Anarchy of the Ranters, pp. 66-7, cf. p. 75).

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Calvinistic groups.[13]

At the same time the Friends lacked the fundamental "Sect" attitude emphasizing the moral law, and the Sermon on the Mount as a code of conduct.[14] In spite of their literalism in interpreting the Bible, the Quaker ethic was not legalistic. It was an ethic of obedience which is command-keeping. It was rather the flexible obedience to the Will of God in each individual situation.[15] Friends, unlike Sectarians, were directed to "look not at the Sin, but at the Light which shows Sin".[16] The objective foundation for ethics in divine

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13). Troeltsch lists as characteristic features of the "Sect-outlook": "lay Christianity, personal achievement in ethics and in religion, the radical fellowship of love, religious equality and brotherly love, indifference twoards the authority of the State and the ruling classes, dislike of technical law and of the oath, the separation of the religious life from the economic struggle by means of the ideal of poverty and frugality, or occasionally in a charity which becomes communism, the directness of the personal religious relationship, criticism of official spiritual guides and theologians, the appeal to the New Testament and to the Primitive Church" (Social Teachings, Ch. I, p. 336); it is clear that Friends would be "sectarian" on almost all these points.

14). The Quaker attitude to Oaths (possible a borrowed Testimony) is the only exception here. Though the centrality of legalism for the "Sect-ethic" is more stressed by other writers (e. g. Richard Niebuhr: Christ and Culture, Ch. II), it is also part of Troeltsch's definition: "Since in the thought of the sects a mystical beatitude as the crown of the graded structure [of ethics] disappears almost entirely, the conception of law now becomes dominant: God's Being and Will constitute his Natural and Revealed Law; the Bible is the Law-book of revelation. It is this conception of Law which constitutes the essential truth and the objective point of reference of these groups." (Social Teachings, Ch. I, p. 347).

15). The Quaker ethic therefore had points in common with that of Luther, or of Emil Brunner in our own day (cf. The Divine Imperative, translated by Olive Wyon, (N. Y., Macmillan, 1931), pp. 89, 83, 91, etc.). It was interpreted by Friends more radically than either by Luther or by Brunner because of the minimizing of Justification by Faith; the dedicated Will, for Friends, could never be overshadowed by the trusting heart.

16). Fox, quoted by Herbert G. Wood: Quakerism and the Future of the Church (London, Geo. Allen & Unwin, 1922), p. 66. The Puritan ethic stressed sin-listing and self-analysis rather more than Quakerism, but in the last analysis made more place for grace and faith in the heart.

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Grace, was found by Friends in the power of the Spirit rather than in sacraments or in Law or in the Will transformed by Election. The specific Testimonies were also witnesses to that power,[17] rather than exemplifying specific rules to be kept by will-power.

It is also therefore clear that the Quaker outlook differs from the Sect-outlook on the issue of the voluntary nature of the Church and of salvation.[18] Now the Quaker ethic was an appeal to human will, (as was shown by the constant attack upon "pleading for Sin" and by the basic assumption that in fact all men know enough of their duty to achieve salvation if they would only obey the Light within). Yet the Quaker demand is ultimately for a surrender of the Will to the Power of the Spirit. The surrender called for is a continuous effort, yet it is not quite the same as the continuous effort of law-keeping. Friends felt that good actions come only from the free power and guidance of the Spirit. It is for this reason that although the Friends' community has so many of the aspects of the "gathered Church" or "voluntary community", they always insisted that the fellowship of the People of God was gathered by the Spirit and not by human will.

Turning from the principles of Quaker ethics, to the relation of the Christian to the world, we find again that Friends' outlooks were at many points Sectarian. Like the "Sects", Friends combined moral earnestness with a separation from worldly customs:

> "As you wait in the Light, you will see the Worlds Words, and Fashions, and Wayes, all to be burdensom to the Seed of God...

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17). Cf. Fox: Journal (Everyman Edn.), p. 170.

18). "The Sect is a voluntary community whose members join it of their own free will", precisely because "in the sect spiritual progress does not depend upon an objective impartation of Grace through the Sacrament, but upon individual personal effort". Troeltsch: Social Teachings, Vol. I, p. 339.

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> and you will know and find that Power present by which you will... cast off every Weight and burden".[19]

This attitude leads to what is spoken of as the sectarian asceticism, the deliberate submission to a standard which is "a Cross to the Vanities of this World".[20] This outlook is distinct from the unlimited and individual asceticism of monastic movements within the Church.[21] It was rather the stripping and girding for the war against evil within and without, which is the main business of life.

"Sectarian asceticism" leads to its own form of withdrawal from society, out of a desire to avoid corrupting influences.

> "Itt is y^e^ greatest danger to goe abroad except aman be moved of y^e^ lord, by y^e^ power of y^e^ lord, for then he kepinge in y^e^ power is kept in his Jorney, and in his worke, and itt will preserve him to Answer y^e^ transgressed & keepe above y^e^ transgressor".[22]

In the case of Friends, however, withdrawal from the World was always part of a victorious combat against it. Whereas the "sect" "did not believe that the world could be conquered by human power and effort",[23] Friends believed that the world was actually being conquered, through men, if not by human power.[24] The "citizenship in heaven" of Quaker

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19). Fox "the Younger": Works, p. 7.

20). Cf. Barclay: Apology, p. 526; "The chief end of all religion is to redeem men from the spirit and vain conversation of this world".

21). "The ascetic ideal of the sect, on the contrary, is as a matter of course, an ideal which is possible to all, and appointed for all, which according to its conception, united the fellowship instead of dividing it." (Troeltsch: Social Teachings, Vol. I, p. 340, cf. Perry: Puritanism & Democracy, pp. 251-2).

22). Fox: Journal, Vol. I, p. 318, cf. Troeltsch, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 340.

23). Troeltsch: op. cit., Vol. I, p. 337.

24). Only Penington in the years before 1675 seems to withdraw permanently from "the World".

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saints is stressed.[25] But while heavenly citizenship was held to excuse a man from the legal obligations of a British subject, it was also assumed that "the Kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ".[26] This militant attitude was shared by all forms of Puritanism: "only the wicked are at peace; the elect are always at grips with the fiend in their bowels,"[27] a fiend found also on the throne of England and in the "hideous and desolate 'wilderness" of Massachusetts.[28]

Thus despite their separatism and hostility to "the World", Friends showed a sense of universal responsibility, and a zeal in universal preaching, exceeding that of the Puritans. Quakers combined the Calvinist ethic of world-regeneration with the Anabaptist emphasis on withdrawal for the sake of moral purity (the combination which has been called "inner asceticism").[29] But these two Quaker outlooks are essentially the two sides of the same world-outlook. Inward rejection of self-gratification, and the outward energy in "the World" were the two phases of "the Lamb's War".[30]

Finally, in repsect to Eschatology, Quaker outlooks again stood in positive relationship to the "Sect-outlook", but were not identical

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25). Cf. Salthouse: Candle Lighted, p. 7.

26). Revelation 11:15.

27). Haller: Rise of Puritanism, p. 157.

28). William Bradford's Journal, quoted by Wertenbacker: Puritan Oligarchy, p. 88.

29). Weber: Protestant Ethic, cf. Tolles: Meeting-House, p. 6.

30). "Inner Asceticism" has perhaps been interpreted too much in terms of the late-Puritan attitude, when the ethical combat in "the World" had given way to a doctrine of Calling stressing energy in any worldly job.

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with it. "Insofar as the sect-type maintains Christian universalism at all, like the Gospel, the only form it knows is that of eschatology".[31] This was clearly true of Friends also,[32] for whom the whole world must pass under the divine Judgment. "The World" could never transform itself. Yet even apocalyptic eschatology may be divided into positive and negative forms. The apocalypse may be expected in the future as an antithesis coming from outside the inherently hopeless world-situation. Quaker eschatology on the other hand, while equally conscious of the antithesis of "the World" and God, saw God working within the present situation; God works, specifically by his Power in redeemed man. The apocalypse is thus not a corollary of the evil and hopelessness of the present world, so much as a fulfilment of the Power already irresistibly at work.

To set up a new "type" or category of ethical outlook on the basis of a single example would be unjustified, although suggestions in this direction have been made;[33] Troeltsch himself has described what may be a suggestive root-outlook for such a grouping: he finds it in the experience of Sects under certain conditions:

> "the Sect does not live on the miracles of the past, nor on the miraculous nature of the institution, but on the

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31). Troeltsch, op. cit., p. 339.

32). Thus one must challenge Niebuhr's conception, that "the Quakers in so far as they hoped for the social realization of the Kingdom of Christ on earth, come nearest to an evolutionary or progressive view of history, for they regarded the realization of love in individual life as at the same time the force which would gradually redeem society" (Nature & Destiny, Vol. II, p. 177). This was true only after 1750.

33). Cf. Nuttall's description of Enthusiasm (in Christian Enthusiasm) and Kühn's spiritualist" grouping (based on "limited Prophetism").

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> constantly renewed miracle of the Presence of Christ, and on the subjective reality of the individual master of life."[34]

Many Sect groups have witnessed such an experience. Yet a basic distinction should perhaps be made between a movement such as Quakerism, emphasizing the Power of the Spirit, and the legalistic Sect which finds Grace operative mainly in the giving of the Law and the example of Jesus.

For this reason, the term "Awakening" has been introduced in this paper.[35] The relationship of the Quaker ethical outlook to the nationally accepted moral code of Puritanism has been shown. Common ethical, social and political ideals made possible the assumption that the Consciences of all men responsive to the Light would come into agreement. Friends' early outlook was also connected with the special background of its members: farmers and tradesfolk, economically and socially disinherited, they came from an area where the deadness of the existing churches had left them virtually unchurched. Insofar as the "Awakening" is a distinct "type" of ethic, it probably involves both these factors: a Christian or post-Christian culture (whose ideals are accepted even though ignored), and a group or region largely unchurched (leadership often coming, of course, from vital churches elsewhere). The marks of the ethic which results from such conditions seem to be: emotionalism (with an emphasis upon Conversion experience, "Enthusiasm", or both); ethical earnestness, and perfectionism of a non-legalistic kind; a sense of infectious religious expectancy, leading to universal preaching, and

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34). Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 341.

35). Cf. especially Section II-H. "Awakening" has seemed a better term than Enthusiasm, because of the centrality of the experience of Judgment and the appeal to Conscience. "Awakening", conversely, seems a better name than "limited prophetism" or "spiritual reformers", because of the importance for the Quaker movement of its group experience.

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to the present-tense apocalypticism emphasising the Spiritual rather than the Physical elements of eschatology; a rejection of established institutions of religion and of sacraments as means of grace; and the rejection of an "unconverted ministry". Some groups with a similar original outlook have gone on to become Sects. If this tendency to pass from "Awakening" into "sectarianism" is general, it would help to explain why the two outlooks have such wide areas of common agreement. But it should also be possible to find cases where a Revivalistic movement did not take a "Sectarian" turn. Even within an established Church, as in the case of Methodism, there is a tendency for certain sectarian features of an "Awakening" to emerge, such as the formation of class-meetings and prayer-groups, and a stress upon moral purity along with Conversion. But the Church's doctrines of sacraments may be retained. The universalism of an "Awakening" may lead directly over into a Church-ethic of universal uplift without passing through an isolationist period.

Where the "Awakening" takes place outside the established Church, communities arise more or less withdrawn from "the world". Among Friends, the original bond of the Community may be the Spirit and the shared group religious experience, rather than a voluntary enlistment in a fellowship of the pure. But later additions are more likely to add themselves to the group by individual decision and careful choice. The encysted nature of the group results from various factors, all hard to avoid. The emotional fire, and the resultant missionary urge, cool in time. The added refrigeration of lukewarm members is due particularly to the inter-relationship of the religious community and the family (leading in the end to "birth-right membership" or a "half-way covenant"). The organization crystallizes, due to needs

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for mutual service and for finding substitutes for social processes which are rejected in their national form (law-courts, relief, marriage, etc.). Often the most important factor is the pressure of community opposition and persecution, which caused in the end the dying out of the expectation that the movement will conquer the world. Such factors change not only eschatology, but the significance of all ethical standards. After 1662 (and especially after 1689) Friends in England did indeed become Sectarian in outlook, while also developing certain mystical emphases which had been latent in the doctrine of the Light. In America, as a result of the Pennsylvania Experiment, the pattern was for a time more complex. But eventually in America also the moral earnestness of "Sectarianism" and the spiritual depth of mysticism emerged as the residue and the permanent fruit of the apocalyptic faith of the Quaker Awakening.

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CHAPTER IX

THE CHANGES IN QUAKER OUTLOOKS AFTER 1662

"Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer; behold the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried; and ye shall have tribulation...:be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life"

Revelation 2:10

"Be thou partaker of the afflictions of the gospel according to the power of God....Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me, in faith and love which is in Christ Jesus. That good thing which was committed unto thee keep by the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us....And the servant of the Lord must not strive; but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient; in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves; if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth....that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works"

II Timothy 1:8b;13-14;2:24-5;3:17

"Walk wisely and circumspectly towards all men, in the peaceable spirit of Christ Jesus, giving no offense to those in outward government."

Yearly Meeting Epistle for 1689 [1]

Section IX-A The Conventicle Struggle and the Victory over Persecution

Friends' outlooks upon the World and Society changed greatly in the generation of persecution between 1662 and 1689. The hope of world-conquest faded. With the limiting of missionary work and the consolidation of organization went a subtler change in all other outlooks.[2] As relationships between Quakers and "the World" became more negative, static, and passive, Quaker outlooks in this regard became

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1). Quoted in Braithwaite: Second Period, p. 179

2). This has been seen, but not as clearly as the changes in enthusiasm and activity, because the characteristic Friends' terminology remained throughout; later meanings of Quaker terms were thus read back to early times. Thus Weber and Troeltsch essentially assume that the later Quaker ethic of "Calling" was normative.

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"sectarian", at the same time that their conception of the Spirit became more mystical. While withdrawn in most respects from Society, the Quakers nevertheless made effective contact with non-Friends through the universal nature of conscience (which is thereby detached from the special enlightenment of the Spirit, as found among Friends). Thus Quakers in somewhat marginal, but most active ways, took part in the economic and intellectual life of society, and even in political activities for toleration and reform.

Ethical outlooks are never static, although ethical insights may be recaptured in new situations by each new generation. Quaker ethical outlooks have been constantly changing throughout their history. But this chapter, which is by way of epilogue, cannot study these changes adequately. Even for the period from 1662 to 1700, which it is concerned to outline, it can only sketch briefly the approximate patterns of Quaker thought. In this period the greatest single moulding factor upon Quaker outlooks were the religious persecutions.

The beginnings of the persecution of Quakers under the Restoration were mentioned in Section VII-G. There had been various occasions when large groups of Friends had been emprisoned under the Commonwealth.[3] But the persecution of the Clarendon Code was different both in extent and in degree. It was nation-wide and centrally enforced. Worship itself was restricted under the Conventicle Act, in addition to the limitations on fulfilling Conscience in daily or political action which were imposed by the Corporation and Five Mile Acts.

The Clarendon Code was aimed, of course, not at troublesome individuals, or at a single sect, but at all Dissenters from the Church

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3). Moreover, the effects which even these had upon Quaker ethical outlooks has been noted.

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of England. Political issues were also inevitably involved (especially after the Fifth Monarchy Revolt of 1661); to some extent the Dissenters collectively emerge as a political force from this time onward (the shifts in policy of monarch, gentry and city merchants under Charles II & James II show that the specific alignment of the Dissenters politically was no foregone conclusion). But to the Dissenters the religious issues were always foremost, even in political combats. At first their struggle was for survival, and seemed unlikely to succeed.

In London alone, 400 Dissenters were emprisoned after the plot of 1661, and 900 more following the Conventicle Act.[4] Whitley estimates that of the 5100 ministers under the Commonwealth, only 1300 accept the Act of Uniformity.[5] Unlike the Conventicle Act, the Act of Uniformity did not strike Friends (who had always opposed Cromwell's Establishment); nor did the Five Mile Act (against Ministers), nor the Corporation or Test Acts (as Friends refused Oaths in any case). It is therefore significant that the brunt of the persecution under the Clarendon Code fell nevertheless upon Friends.

Out of 909 Dissenters convicted in Middlesex (apart from London) in 1664-5 under the Conventicle Act, 859 seem to have been Quakers.[6] About 15,000 Quakers were emprisoned between 1660 & 1688,

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4). Whitley: Baptists, p.99, etc.

5). Although another 2000 quietly attempted to evade the Act, many of whom probably later conformed. 26 of these were Baptists, the rest probably mostly Presbyterians.

6). Braithwaite: Second Period, p. 42; of the 1240 arrested and emprisoned within London, the proportion of non-Quakers was probably higher: Whitley lists 289 Baptists in Newgate alone.

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the largest number at one time being apparently 4257 in 1661.[7] Although the Conventicle Act did not provide for a death penalty, about 450 Friends died in prison from exposure, poor food, or prison epidemics, including more than half the leaders.[8] 230 were sentenced to transportation, although only 37 were finally sent overseas. Despite the severe and famous sufferings of Baptists such as Bunyan, Quakers suffered far more severely than any other group.

This was due not only to the attitude of the authorities in power towards Quakerism; the difference in Friends' own reaction under persecution from that of other sects was noted at the time, as it has often been since:

> "Under the Second Conventicle Act, many of the sects either discontinued their meetings, or held them very secretly... the behaviour of the Quakers was more particular, and had something in it that looked bold. They met at the same place and at the same hour as before, and when they were seized none of them would go out of the way; they went altogether to prison... And as soon as they were let out they went to their meeting-houses again; and when they found these were shut up by order, they held their meetings on the streets...Some called this obstinacy, but others called it firmness; for the government grew weary of dealing with so much perverseness, and so began with letting them alone".[9]

Ellwood, who was emprisoned in London himself, records the same contrast:

> "the brunt of the Storm fell most sharply on the People called Quakers, not that it seemed to be more particularly levelled at them, but that they stood more fair, steady and open, as a But to receive all the Shot that came, while some others found means, and freedom to retire to Coverts for Shelter...The Quakers,....

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7). Braithwaite: Second Period,pp.114-115

8). e. g. Audland, Camm, Burrough, Hubberthorn, Caton, Ames & Howgill, cf. Russell: History of Quakerism, p.99

9). Gilbert Burnet: History of my own Time I, 491, (Airy edn); quoted Braithwaite: Second Period, p.55; this is from an unsympathetic historian of the period.

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> having no Refuge, but God alone, to fly unto, could not dodge and shift to avoid the Suffering; as others of other Denominations could, and in their worldly Wisdom and Policy did; altering their Meetings, with respect both to Place and Time....So that of the several Sorts of Dissenters, the Quakers only held up a publick Testimony, as a Standard or Ensign of Religion, by keeping their Meeting duly and fully at the accustomed Times and Places (so long as they were suffered to Enjoy the Use of their Meeting-Houses:) and when they were shut up,...they assembled in the Streets, as near to their Meeting-Houses as they could. This bold and truly Christian Behaviour in the Quakers disturbed, and not a little displeased the Persecutors; who fretting complained, That the stubborn Quakers brake their Strength and bore off the Blow from those other Dissenters, whom, as they most feared, so they principally aimed at."[10]

The courage of the children (who were exempt from the Conventicle Act penalties) in continuing certain of the meetings [11] while their parents were in prison, made a great impression upon their fellow-townsfolk. In general, it will be seen that the Quakers continued their worship despite the Conventicle Act, not only for the sake of the worship itself, but as a direct testimony and a public witness. It was a part of their uncompromising, although non-violent, warfare against the World; it came to be the chief aspect of that warfare, as missionary preaching and the direct prophetic testimonies before rulers and kings became more difficult. For the time being, the Lamb's War had become a war of defense, and it will be shown presently that the offensive was never resumed, once terms of a stable truce were offered.

To counter the persecution, Friends used not only their personal steadfastness and non-resisting courage. The political techniques of

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10). Ellwood: Journal pp. 284-5, 310-311, cf. Barclay: Apology 322. "For when they came to break up a meeting, they were obliged to take every individual out by force, they not being free to give up their liberty by dissolving at their command: and when they were haled out, unless they were kep forth by violence, they presently returned peaceably to their place....When the malice of their opposers stirred them to take shovels, and throw the rubbish upon them, there they stood unmoved."

11). cf. Braithwaite: Second Period

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petition and appeal which had been used under the Commonwealth were used again: legal issues were debated,[12] and lists were presented of the numbers of Friends in prison, stressing their economic value to the nation,[13] and prison conditions were described.[14] The Committee for Sufferings, and other parts of the crystallizing Friends organization, arose to meet the needs of the victims.

The Victory of the English Dissenters over persecution, for which Friends claim and deserve the major credit, has also often been described. The political manoeuvering continued until 1689 because of the Catholic issue, yet it seems clear that by 1672 a large proportion of the English people were becoming uneasy about the sufferings of the Dissenters. The growth of this feeling is not easy to follow precisely. Even in 1662 a jailor allowed Quaker prisoners to attend Friends Meetings, in Leicestershire and Wilts, and allowed them in Cornwall to visit their families; townsfolk refused to help in the carrying of Quakers to prison. By 1669 & 1670, Informers concerning Quaker meetings (though they were illegal, and informers well-paid), were hard to find, and were stoned or set upon by the mob.[15] In 1668,

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12). "To the Lord Mayor and other Justices and Aldermen of the City of London...the Case of the Prisoners commonly called Quakers". ("from the Newgate & Woodstreet Compter", 1-5-1684).

13). To the King and both Houses of Parliament (n.p., n.d.) in 1685, which listed 1500 Quakers emprisoned (and released?), 1383 being still behind bars, and 320 having died in gaol since 1660.

14). cf. First Publishers of Truth 185, etc.

15). cf. Fox: Journal II, First Publishers of Truth 101; these incidents, moreover, took place in London and in Colchester, which were not as clearly Quaker strongholds as Westmorland and Bristol.

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a Middlesex Justice named Marsh "at last...went to ye kinge & tolde him hee had sent to prison some of us contrary to his Conscience and hee coulde not doe soe noe more"[16]. Allen points out the role in achieving toleration played by religious indifference under Charles II, feeling that "intelligent indifference is always accompanied by a certain amount of scepticism"[17], and that this motive explains why toleration did not include political equality. Indifference, however, is not always intelligent enough to operate with political force; to the sheer difficulty of coercing Dissent without extermination, the consciences of many of the conforming majority must have added resistence to the state policy of repression. Friends succeeded, not only by their own steadfastness, but by their ability to appeal to the consciences of English men in general.

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16). Fox: Journal II, 133

17). Allen: Political Thought 248

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Section IX-B: Changes in Conceptions of the Role of Quakerism in the World

Despite deaths in prison, and some defections, the Quakers probably emerged from persecution in 1689 as strong in numbers as they had been in 1662, having gained new converts and the children of the former ones. But Quaker outlooks upon the world had been gradually but greatly changed in the years between.[18]

It is hard to estimate the course Quakerism would have taken but for the persecutions. A continuation of the Quaker preaching mission (as was actually done in America) and perhaps periods of renewed emotional intensity as in the early mass meetings would probably have occurred. Certain changes would probably have occurred in any case, following the sobering experience of Nayler's trial and the passing of the highest emotional fervour. By no means typical, and yet perhaps one possible line of development was represented by a fascinating tract of 1660: "The Image of Jealousie Sought Out".[19] It seems to express the thought of a Friend disowned (perhaps with regard to a marriage) by Quaker group discipline, but still loyal in spirit to the movement. It warns against signs like Nayler's, but

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18). The attempt is sometimes made to date more precisely when these changes occurred. A study of at least the thoroughness given to the outlooks of the earlier decade would be needed to cast light on this. Probably no single date was determinative. Jordan stresses the change in outlooks during and after the trial of Nayler by the Parliament of 1658. Dr. Sippell (in a personal letter) speaks of finding clear emphasis upon the prophetic note well into the 1660's. In Fox's own thought the change was not sudden, nor would the thought of all Friends have kept precisely with Fox's.

19). Its author, remaining anonymous, explains: "My name I could freely have subscribed, but being somewhat sensible of the partiality of men who...will hardly hear or read anything which comes from those who cannot bow to their Creature-Gods, I therefore omit it" (op.cit.p.11).

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is hesitant regarding tight-knit discipline and organization.[20] It retains the primitive ethical radicalism.[21]

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20). In some ways it is rather similar to the outlook of the Perrot and Wilkinson-Story movements, but lacks their intransigeance, and antedates the persecutions which gave them their context.

21). "Ye people who are called Quakers, you are compared to a lovely Apple, which is beginning to rot, the rottenness whereof is altogether unsavoury, to those who by reason of use have their senses exercised. But whatsoever things are pure, & of good report, if there be any virtue, if there be any praise, these are a sweet-smelling savor... so shall the vessels of the Lords house be again restored". (p.2) He turns to discuss the acting of Signs: "Concerning fasting, going naked, and wearing of sack cloth and such like, practised as signes in these days, [they are] by the far fetch examples from under the dispensation of the Leviticall Law (in the dayes of the prophets), which consisted in observation of outward things, which were to be observed until the time of reformation which was accomplished in Christ.... As concerning the wearing of sackcloth for a garment, or a coat of skin, in time of poverty they are comely, [but]...where God hath given more abundantly, there it is to be used in his fear, for the comfort of the creatures, and relieving those that are in want, according to the ability of everyone, the good gifts of God are not to be dispised." (4-5) He speaks of "discerning the Cross of Christ between two thieves,...the one on the left hand (which many in times past have followed, serving the lusts of the flesh in vanity, but now being smitten by the just hand of God), and under a sense of their sinfulness, Satan takes great disadvantage against them, and by his accusations endeavours to drive them now as far on the right, making that appear to be sin to them, which indeed is no sin, thereby to make them think hardly of God, and then to appease the wrath that is gone forth, the Divell presents some thing to be performed, persuading the creatures they shall have peace in the performances thereof, and oft times daubeth up a false peace". Unlike the later separatists from Quakerism, he is not against discipline as such, and would apply it against certain actors of "Signs": "You who are called Quakers, of a truth it is that God hath discovered more to you, and wrought more by you, then by any sect since the great Apostacy..he hath wrought great things by you in these Nations...yet know of a surety that he will sift once more, ye have indeed directed many in the way, but the spoiler hath cast stones Therein, whereat many sincere souls have stumbled.,,,and ye have not cast out the stones... but pleaded for the buffetings of Satan, calling them the commands of God, (to wit), going naked, and in sackcloth, and fasting from outward food" (6-7). Yet he does resent the edicts of the Quaker leaders, whose infallibility he rejects in decisions regarding marriage: "he that takes upon him to judge mens thoughts by feeling, doth he not set himself in the seat of God, to judge of the secrets in the heart of another, which no man knoweth but the Spirit which is in him.... Great men are not all wise, neither do the aged always rightly understand; it is good for youth to learn to be sober, and elders to take heed of being bitter"(p.9)

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The generosity of spirit of the author of the "Image of Jealousie" had clearly been deepened by the sufferings of Friends under the Commonwealth, and the attitude of patience under suffering was to be the final outlook of Friends as a whole; but in the heat of persecution under the Clarendon Code, this tolerant outreach was choked off, and during the War against Persecution even the attitude to suffering took a fiercer tone:

> "This is your day and hour of your Trial", wrote Burnyeat (to the Friends of Salem under the attacks of 1672) "wherein the Lord by you (I believe) shall be honr'd, and you rewarded with that good Reward, which shall outweight all the present Sufferings, unto which the Glory of the present World is not to be compared".[22]

Banks sketched out a phrase which Penn adopted for the title of his best book:

> "they that are not willing to bear the Cross cannot obtain the Crown; and they that will live Godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer Persecution....And do not hearken unto that Spirit in you, which would say you may go to the World's Worship, and yet live honestly, and serve God well enough....In what...ye suffer freely and willingly, for holding the testimony of Jesus in Righteousness, you shall receive an hundred fold in this World, though it cannot be beheld with an outward Eye, and in that which is to come, Everlasting Life".[23]

In this time of crisis, the stress upon open avowal of Friends and their ways was important, and we shall see how it reshaped Quaker attitudes towards their own groups.

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21). (continued) The most striking note in this tract is its rejection of the characteristic Quaker exclusivism towards other sects: Ye have pusht the weake with side and shoulder,...by your judgment...in excluding all from an entrance into the door of hope, but those that bow to your Idoll....Oh that all that fear the Lord, of every sect and people would instruct one another in love...and if ought arise in discourse which is doubtfull, be not rash, but wait in patience till God discover". This outlook is somewhat more passive than that of many Friends preachers, as is also true of its attitude towards suffering: "It is his mercy that we are not consumed....Thou mayest find the saints companions in tribulations, that through patience and comfort of the Scripture thou mayest have hope...the tryal of faith worketh patience". (pp.8,6)

22). Truth Exalted, p.110

23). Banks: Journal pp. 165-7: cf. Rev. 2:10, Mt. 19:29.

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But the tendency to consider suffering as part of the essence of Christian life, was a sharpening of a trend already noticed in the earlier period. It was characteristic of many Dissenting sects of the time.[24] Among Friends, it led to the transferral of imagery of the Day of Visitation from the day of inward torment (whether past or future), to the time of physical suffering they were going through:

> "For whosoever goes from him, the Life, the Seed, the Vine Christ Jesus, the Power of God, shall wither and decay and die, and in the end be fit for nothing but the fire. And that shall such know, who in the day of the Lord's Gathering and tender Visiting in Mercy and Lovingkindness, will not be won and gained unto Faithfulness, but slight the Day of their Visitation".[25]

In proportion as the group was thrown back upon itself, its apocalyptic imagery seems to have become negative, not positive. The expectation of revolution became less a conclusion from seeing present revolutionary events, and more the anticipation of the end of present suffering.[26] Whereas the early Quaker prophet went out "to make England a nation of prophets",[27] with no congregation but the world, the Quaker prophet after 1689 was, as will be shown, a "limited prophet".[28] The aloofness of Friends from unregenerate men came to be a permanent isolation not only from evil ways but from the mass of men. Friends felt themselves permanently "chosen out of the world", a Remnant saved from the doom of the majority.[29] The old thunder of prophecy is sometimes

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24). John Bunyan wrote: "therefore I bind these lyes and slanders to me as an ornament: it belongs to my Christian profession to be vilified, slandered, reproached and reviled". Grace Abounding p.82

25). Truth Exalted 104; written in 1665.

26). cf. Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", p.232.

27). Ibid: p.258 28). Ibid: p.283

29). Ibid:p.228, cf. Beach: "Conscience", p.200

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still heard: Penn's writing contains it.[30] But the withdrawal from the evil "world" becomes a public witness, and more and more a concern for personal purity, so even Penn writes:

> "stand loose in your affections to the world, but fast in the faith....And therefore, my dear Friends, let us be careful not to mingle with the crowd, lest their Spirit enter into us, instead of our spirit entering them....They must come to us, we must not go to them....Yet can we not be insensible of their infirmities...we must make their case as our own, and travel alike in spirit for them as for ourselves".[31]

The "conquest" of the World becomes increasingly a matter of suffering and avoidance, in proportion as outward preaching became difficult or impossible.

The period of persecution changed not only Friends' conception of the relation of their group to "the World", but their attitudes towards organization within the group. The actual structures which were set up to co-ordinate Friends have been often and well described.[32] The changes in basic purposes were quite as important. The earlier needs for a common front of Quakers against the world, and for means of controlling the more extreme actions of members of the group, became more acute necessities under persecution.[33] The Perrot and Wilkinson-Story

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30). In 1670 Burnyeat wrote to "the Rulers, Ministers and People of the Island of Barbadoes:....It is a Sin that provokes the Lord, and causeth his Judgments in his wrath, to come upon a Nation, a People, or a Particular. And therefore...prepare your Hearts to seek the Lord in his own way; and before you pretend to draw nigh unto him...loose the bands of wickeness...undo the heavy Burthens....and let the oppressed go free,...deal thy bread to the hungry, with such like works of Righteousness" (Truth Exalted, pp.113-118).

31). Penn: To the Children of Light in this Generation (1678),3-4.

32). Arnold Lloyd: Quaker Social History, 1669-1738 (London, Longman's Green, 1950); Braithwaite: Second Period; etc.

33). cf. Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth".

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separations, taking the form of an indifference to all things external; meant in practice abandoning the fight against the Conventicle Acts and giving up Quaker worship.

Statements for unity were therefore strong:

> "Those that have seen the sweet lovely precious state of Unity, and Concord, that the excellent Power of the Lord God Almighty gathered into,...in the blessed morning of our day, and the spiritual advantages, Comforts, joy, refreshments and divine Satisfaction that attended in this true and spiritual Unity with the Lord Jesus and one another...cannot but....greatly dread the turnings aside, and goings out of it".[34]

Many tracts seem to have been written over these issues of unity; the best and most famous is Robert Barclay's "Against the Anarchy of the Ranters", which includes the same note:

> "Since there is no greater mark of the people of God than to be at peace among themselves; whatsoever tendeth to break that bond of love and peace must be testified against".[35]

To meet the claims of the dissidents, Barclay had to justify the compatibility of church discipline with the freedom of the Spirit for which early Friends had so earnestly contended. He attempted therefore in part to base discipline upon a "contract" theory of church government:

> "if in a civil society, if one of the society shall contradict one or more of the fundamental articles upon which the society was contracted, it cannot be reckoned a breach of iniquity in the whole society to declare, that such contradictors have done wrong and forfeited their right in that society....A Church...is no other than a meeting or gathering of certain people...gathered together in the belief of some principles, doctrines, and points of faith...and have...a conjunct interest to the maintaining and

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34). Camm & Audland: Memory of the Righteous: Testimony of C. Marshall concerning the Unity of the Spirit.

35). Robert Barclay: Anarchy of the Ranters (Philadelphia, Solomon Conrad, 1822).

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propagating these principles they judge to be right; And therefore have a certain care and oversight over one another to prevent & remove all occasions that may tend to break this conjunct interest".[36]

On this basis Penn argued that excommunication was "purely discipline in government and not in worship; formality in order, not in religion".[37] But this relativistic idea of the Church goes uneasily with other elements of Quaker thought. Barclay was confidently able to

"distinguish that church, gathering or assembly of people, whereof Christ truly is the head, from such as falsely pretend thereto...by considering the principles and grounds upon which they are gathered together....Forasmuch as sanctification and holiness is the great and chief end among Christians, the Church is such as are sanctified".[38]

The discipline of the true Church, accordingly, rests upon an absolute and not a purely relativistic or contractual basis:

"Some pretending conscience in things seeming indifferent, but yet it proceeding in them from a Spirit of singularity, emulation, or strife, those that have received a discerning thereof from the Lord, may and ought to judge the transgressors....I affirm....
first, that there never will, nor can be wanting, in case of controversy, the Spirit of God, to give judgment through some or other in the Church of Christ, so long as any assembly can properly...be so termed.
Secondly, That God hath ordinarily, in communicating of his will under his gospel, employed such whom he made use of in gathering his Church, and in feeding and watching over them: though not excluding others.
Thirdly, That their de facto, or effectual meeting together, and giving a positive judgment in such cases, will not import tyranny and usurpation, or an inconsistency with the universal privilege that all Christians have to be led by the Spirit; neither will the pretences of any contradicting them, or refusing to submit upon the account they see it not, or so, excuse them from being really guilty of disobeying God".[39]

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36). Anarchy of the Ranters, pp. 55, 32; cf. p. 54.

37). Penn: Select Works, IV. 439; quoted Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth" p. 283.

38). Anarchy of the Ranters, p. 33; This is essentially the Calvinist criterion of the true church; elsewhere sanctification is more clearly tied to the inward Spirit, and the outward, disciplinary bond, is contrasted with "a more inward and invisible, to wit, the life of righteousness, whereby we also have unity with the upright seed in all, even in those whose understandings are not so enlightened". Ibid p.54.

39). Ibid pp. 64, 80.

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This assumes a divinely-appointed grading of authority within the Church, which is in essence (except for the Apostolic Succession) similar to the Roman Catholic doctrine of the Spirit in the Church:

> "All schisms and jars fall out...either where any person or persons assume another, or an higher place in the body than God will have them to do: or when, as any truly exercising in their place, which God hath given them, others rise up and judge them".[40]

This attempt to institutionalize the infallibility of the Spirit was the result of bitter crisis, and Barclay himself,[41] as well as later writers, gave more prominence eventually to the work of the Spirit through the group as a whole, rather than through its founders. Nevertheless the turn to inward discipline and authority within the group is clearly a major shift in emphasis from the "unlimited prophetism" of the early days. In later periods, the practical authority of the committees for Ministry and Oversight did not diminish. The stress upon preserving the purity of the life of the group was increased rather than slackened after 1689.[42]

At certain points, therefore, the effect of persecution was to make harder than ever the line of separation between Friends and the World: the group consciousness of Friends was intensified and the division of people into Friends and "the World" was at least as clear-cut as in the opening decade. Those Testimonies which divided Friends from the World were increasingly stressed. In this sense, the Testimonies

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40). Barclay, Anarchy 77

41). In the Apology

42). The practice to "Reading Out" of Meeting, in formal excommunication, those who "married out" or dressed as "gay Friends", maintained group purity only at the cost of constantly depleting the size of the Society of Friends.

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remained actions done in witness to outsiders, so that

> "the whole course of our conduct and conversation in this world may demonstrate, that we are indeed and in truth the sincere and humble followers and disciples of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ". [43]

But the Testimonies no longer represented an appeal to outsiders to leave their ways; they are no longer directly related to the demand for total surrender to Conscience and the Spirit. As Hertz has shown,[44] they therefore lost their essential character, not simply because they became a "badge" or "peculiarity",[45] but because even among Friends they are maintained out of loyalty to the group rather than out of direct conscientious concern. The standardization of Quaker speech and dress followed as the result and by-product.

On the whole it is therefore in those areas of Testimonies which did not sharply distinguish Friends from other groups, (either because, as with the problem of luxury, they were outlooks shared by other groups, or because, as with War, the Testimony had evolved only later and more gradually), that creative development continued. In these areas, individuals continued to make personal decisions and renunciations according to their Consciences. It was in these areas also, that some Quakers went beyond the bounds of the Society of Friends, and made suggestions or undertook programs for the reform of Society as a whole.

At the same time that the division between Friends and "the World" as people became in these ways sharpened by persecution, the tension

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43). (London Yearly Meeting Epistle, 1753, quoted by Grubb: Quakers in Industry, p. 68.

44). Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", 334.

45). cf. Rufus Jones: Faith & Practice, 98.

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between Friends and "the World" was relaxed at other points. Partly of course, the very intensity of the struggle over worship tended to lessen Friends' concern for the points of moral conflict over economic and social issues.[46] The increasing prosperity of many Quaker merchants made greater acceptance of the ways of the business world natural, leading Quakers eventually to that late-Puritan doctrine of "Calling" which Weber so rightly pillories. But at a deeper level, the acceptance of the breach between Friends and non-Friends as people took away the fighting edge of the Quaker conflict against much of the evil within men and within the World. Certain elements common to Friends and to non-Friends, which had formerly been beach-heads for attack, now became bridges. They were points of contact, and in the period of "live-and-let-live" which followed 1689 it became clearer that Friends no longer intended to use them as points of attack. This is most easily seen with regard to Conscience: early Friends had appealed to that of God in the Consciences of the "Child of the Devil";- the Conscience which was the point of contact with Friends was also turned to war against everything natural and worldly within the man applealed to. From 1662 onwards, there is an increasing tendency to use Conscience as a bond of Reconciliation between Friends and the World. Similarly the State, from being an instrument of theocracy, comes to be looked to as the mediator of common interest; Reason, Nature, and Natural Law become common bonds between all men.

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46). This is the experience to be seen also in the primitive Church, where the Roman persecution made the struggle of the Church increasingly one against Pagan religions rather than against social outlooks.

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Section IX-C: The Relativizing of Conscience and the Shift from Theocracy to Reform

The changes in Quaker outlooks upon the World, and on the place in it of the Friends community, led to a change in their conception of Conscience. The relativizing of Conscience (in combination with changed attitudes to Society in general) led to new attitudes and policies towards the changing of Society by conscientious concern. It was now a reforming rather than a theocratic attitude towards the social order.

The Quaker struggle for freedom of worship has been shown to be an issue of the authority of Conscience. It was an appeal for Conscience, and more specifically for the Quaker Conscience insofar as it was enlightened by the infallible Spirit of God. This emphasis upon an absolute sanction behind (but distinguishable from) Conscience, occasionally appears after 1662.[47] The tendency, however, becomes increasingly strong after 1660 to appeal for freedom of conscience for its own sake. From a continuing stress upon the dangers of hypocrisy in the coercion of conscience, an emphasis came to be put upon both ethical conscientiousness and conscientiousness in worship independently of the absoluteness of the form of worship or conduct which conscience prescribed. This was more fully to universalize the rights of conscience,

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47). Thus Barclay uses it to invalidate false claims of conscience: "The Magistrate may very lawfully use this Authority...on those who under Pretext of Conscience, make it a Principle to kill and destroy all the Wicked, i.e. all that differ from them; that, to wit the Saints may rule, and that therefore seek to make all things Common...and many such wild Notions, as is Reported of the Anabaptists of Munster" (quoted in Wragge: Barclay, p. 124). This is one of the few explicit references to Munster in the literature on Quaker issues of religious liberty. On the whole, although the fear of theocratic violence was always present, as long as the Baptists were part of the Parliamentary coalition in the Civil War, the specific bogey of Munster was not as telling as it had been before 1630 or became after 1661 (cf. Knappen: Tudor Puritanism, etc.).

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at the same time that it relativized conscience in relation to a diversity of forms of worship, etc.

The same tendency to universalize and relativize conscience is implied in the Quaker appeal to the consciences of their persecutors, and especially to the consciences of the English men-in-the-street; this appeal, as has been seen, was in actual life effective insofar as the consensus of opinion in England set itself against coercion in conscience and worship from this 1672 onward. To some extent Friends appealed for what was in fact the final outcome, namely a freedom granted to worship out of motives of conscientious concern, without the tolerators themselves accepting the specific authority of the Quaker "Light" and its leadings.

Insofar as this was the basis of Quaker appeal after 1672, the Conscience of the persecutor or the tolerator was given a real and independent validity; it was cut off from appeal to the infallible authority of the "Light" within the Conscience. In proportion as this was done it became possible to make a limited conscientious appeal: that is to say it became possible to appeal to the consciences of the public at large on specific issues without making the demand for a total surrender to the Inner Light at all points, (which had been the characteristic demand of the Friends in the first decade). In appeals to the general public, Conscience does replace the Spirit and the Light as the crux of the Quaker messages from this time onward. It will be shown below that it therefore becomes possible for Friends to invoke the universal authority of conscience - even the conscience of the unregenerate - in issues of Social Reform. At the same time, the assumption is implied that the demand for total submission necessary (or in fact in most cases likely to be fruitful); the men of the World as a whole will not become Quakers, and for a creative relationship it is not necessary that they should be.

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The relationship of the Friends to the World has therefore become not absolute but relative, in a way different from the world-conquering of early Quakers, and also different from the absolute world-avoidance of the encysted Sect.

The separation of the authority of Conscience from the "Light" and Spirit within the conscience, means that Conscience is related to God in a direct, if somewhat ambiguous way:

> "Such as invalid the authority of this heavenly instinct (as imposing and restraining evidently do), destroy nature or that privilege which men are born with or to".[48]

It has been made clear (v. supr. Section V-D) that Friends had recognized early that conscientious Englishmen might differ in their beliefs. But after 1662 it is no longer so clearly assumed that the Consciences of non-Friends are respected because their Conscientiousness will lead in time, (by being open to further growth and leading by the Light), to the full Quaker position. Not only is conscientiousness more clearly an ultimate virtue in itself, but the conception of Conscience itself seems to be changing. Despite the increasing separation of Light and Conscience, moral and religious, Conscience is still involved in religious issues,[49] most clearly of course in issues of freedom of worship. But there is also a tendency to recognize that God - and the instinct he implants in Conscience - may lead differing individuals in differing ways.[50]

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48). Penn: Great Case of Liberty, p. 19; quoted by Kühn: Toleranz p. 266.

49). cf. Penn: Great Case

50). Do not find as common or as complete a relativism in a rapid survey of the material, as Miss Armsby feels was typical; a representative case might be from Barclay: "So long as any party is persuaded that it is both lawful for them, and their duty, if in power, to destroy those that differ from them, it naturally follows they ought to use all means possible to get that power, whereby they may secure themselves in the ruin of their adversaries....[Yet] how little proportion these things

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Within the Society of Friends, individual Conscience is still involved at such points of the Testimonies as are not yet in common agreement (where widespread agreement exists, the conscience of the majority and of the leaders is of divine authority and is to be obeyed). Among Friends also a sort of relativism developed: the Affirmation Act of 1696, (intended to provide a substitute for Oaths on the part of Quakers), prescribed a formula for making statements[51] whose truth was to be guaranteed, "in the sight of God", or "in the presence of Almighty God". With this compromise some Friends were "Satisfied"; others became known as "Dissatisfied Friends". What is significant is that each group, despite keen disagreement, respected the other's integrity and conscientiousness, and neither group disowned the other before the final passage of a generally acceptable Act in 1722.

Equally as important as the relativizing of Conscience, is the evidence that Conscience is thought of decreasingly as imparting or demanding adherence to universal principles, and more often is regarded as a guide in specific acts, which had formerly been guided by Biblical precept or direct "movings" of the Spirit. "By Conscience," writes Penn, "I understand the apprehension and persuasion a man hath of his duty to God."[52] Here nothing is said about absolute norms or

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50). (continued) bear with...the religion propagated by Christ and his apostles, needs no great demonstration....[Nevertheless] as to what relates to the present magistrates of the Christian world...we may boldly affirm, that they are far from the perfection of the Christian religion [and] have not come to the pure dispensation of the gospel. And therefore while they are in that condition, we shall not say, That war, undertaken upon a just occasion, is altogether unlawful to them". Apology, pp. 515,582.

51). Braithwaite: Second Period, 183ff.

52). Works II, p. 729, quoted by Kühn: Toleranz p. 264

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the role of the Spirit, through Conscience or directly; here also it is implied that Conscience concerns individual actions and extends equally to all men.

Penn's outlook shows also another outcome of the tendency of Quakers to make the authority of Conscience independent of the guiding Light and its Infallibility, namely the identification of Conscience with Natural Reason: "apprehension and persuasion" are rationalistic terms. Elsewhere Penn speaks of "Understanding" where Burrough would have used Conscience (as the basic factor in Religious Liberty): "the understanding can never be convinced...but by such arguments as are rational, persuasive, and suitable to its own nature".[53] "That Christian Men have an Infallible Principle to Judge, Rule and Guide them, I prove by REASON".[54] The tendency to identify Natural Reason with both Conscience and the Divine Light is to be found in the writings of the Cambridge Platonists,[55] and to some extent in all the mystical side of Rennaissance thought; it is basically foreign to Reformation thought on sin and Conscience.[56] For Reformation thinkers, Conscience is rooted either in the Word of God or in the Spirit - as it was for Friends in the decade 1652-1662. But when the independent authority

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53). Penn: Great Case p. 22, cf. Kühn: Toleranz, p. 263.

54). Penn: Works II, p. 105, quoted: Armsby, "Quaker View of State", p. 97.

55). cf. G. P. H. Pawson: The Cambridge Platonists, (London, SPCK, 1930.

56). Except, of course, insofar as Anglicanism combined Renaissance and Reformation strains: cf. Beach: Conscience, Kühn: Toleranz, Freund; Toleranz, etc.

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of Conscience is separated from that of Bible and Spirit, Conscience can again be identified in part with human reason, as happened in Whig England. Penn himself, while more Protestant than Platonist, had been partly educated in the humanist tradition, with a high esteem for what practical squires would have termed common sense:

> "I am a Greshamist throughout; I love Inquiry, not for Inquiry's sake, but care not to trust my share in either world to other men's Judgments, at least without having a finger in the Pye for myself".[57]

A second idea which Penn makes important for the first time in Quaker thought is the conception of Nature; we have seen that Fox and other early Friends had given a positive, though dependent and secondary place, to the Created World. This was applied also to "natural affection" in Human beings:[58] Penington, after 1660, is simply maintaining this same outlook: "God is not an enemy to nature, but to corruption and disorder of nature".[59] It is therefore an innovation among Friends when Penn derives the "heavenly instinct" of conscience from Nature.[60] A familiar parable, in Penn's hands, takes on a slightly Deist tinge:

> "We see the God of nature hath taught us Softer Doctrine in his great book of the world: his sun shines and his rain falls upon all".[61]

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57). Letter to John Aubrey, 1683; quoted Tolles: Meeting House, p. 213; Penn was a (rather inactive) member of the Royal Society (cf. Tolles: Meeting House, p. 212).

58). Nature is one and would not destroy itself...Cain destroyed the natural affections in himself, before he destroyed his natural brother...they that destroy nature about such things cannot have affection to nature, and they that are without natural affections, cannot know the divine things given forth by the holy men of God, Christ and his Apostles" (Fox: Works II, p. 364).

59). Penington: Works II, p. 56.

60). Penn: Great Case, p. 19.

61). Penn: Works II, p. 746, quoted: Kühn: Toleranz, p. 267.

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This implies more than the conception that "It is even one step to Heaven to returne to Nature"[62], (the outlook of Fox and Penington). The identification of Nature and Conscience seems to mean on the one hand that Conscience is part of the inherent nature of man, and on the other, it implies a conception of Natural Right; Penn Makes Natural Right central in his discussion, not only of the rights of Conscience, but of government in general, and shows the extent to which he was influenced by Harrington, Vane, and the rationalistic independents.[63]

The basic presuppositions of this exaltation of Nature and Natural Reason have often been discussed [64], and its tendency to exempt the human understanding as well as the laws of the physical world from the darkness of human sin and evil, or even to minimize these last altogether.[65] This trend was in fact widespread in England at the time in all branches of thought. It is clearly found in John Locke, who combined sectarian individualism with his rationalism[66];

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62). Penn, letter to John Aubrey, 1683, quoted by Tolles: Meeting House, p. 212.

63). cf. Freund: Toleranz, pp. 98, 287-293.

64). c. Niebuhr: Nature & Destiny of Man, etc.

65). It is insofar as Penn and other Friends shared this optimistic rationalism that Rufus Jones is clearly mistaken in thinking of Barclay and others as having corrupted early Quakerism by Calvinism; so far as reason and revelation are concerned, the tendency is rather to bring them together, not to separate them. The very definite loss of the early optimism of world-conquest is clearly a quite different issue, not by any means to be identified with an original identification of Quakerism with the reason or nature of the unregenerate man. (cf. Braithwaite, Second Period, pp. xxxvii-xxxviii, etc.).

66). cf. Beach: Conscience.

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the doctrine of Natural Law and Natural Rights is already fairly prominent in the thought of Milton[67], especially in his writings on divorce. It became dominant among the 18th century Puritans and Presbyterians. In Massachusetts, "Reason had begun to replace Will as the primary attribute of Deity"[68]; Jonathan Wise advocates Congregational church-order as "founded in the light of Nature",[69] and his opponent Cotton Mather asserted that "Scripture is Reason in its highest elevation".[70] In England, the Presbyterian families progressed smoothly to Unitarianism.

Hertz's interesting study ties up the establishment of Puritan rationalism with the achievement by the Puritan merchant groups of a satisfactory status in Church and Society, rational, beyond need of challenge.[71] This was less of a temptation to Quakers, at least for a while. The distinctive customs, worship and testimonies of Friends are never placed on a purely logical basis, although Hertz feels that in another way they become ends in themselves, insofar as they are fixed, and thus independent of the Inward Light in the individual.[72] Penn's optimistic rationalism is in any case not typical of

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67). cf. Freund: Toleranz, p. 164.

68). Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", p. 185

69). A Vindication of the Govt. of the New England Churches (1717), p. 30, quoted Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", p. 196

70). Reasonable Religion, (1700), p. 40, quoted Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", p. 186; cf. also Perry: Puritanism & Democracy, p. 199: "To the modern reader, the difference between the Puritan God of the 18th Century and Locke's Natural Law often seems little more than nominal" (quote from Corwin).

71). cf. esp. Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", p. 162.

72). Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", p. 334.

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Friends as a whole, who in rural areas tended to turn directly to a Quietist outlook (which thus separates the Light from much of daily life, and makes common sense, but not abstract reason, validly independent). The tendency among Friends as a whole was to preserve the authority of the Spirit in worship, but to make universal human reason relevant in increasing areas of secular life. This also has parallels in general English thought from Milton onwards, and particularly to the separation of Church and State. But Penn, like the Puritans, did not make this thorough breach of spiritual and rational, church and state, as did Roger Williams and the later Quietists.

One finds-therefore a somewhat unexamined connection between private Interest and Reason, between Reason and Conscience, and between Conscience and the Spirit, in Penn's thought:

> "Nothing, humanly speaking, fixes a man like his interests, and whatever be the morality of any party, if I am sure of them by the side of interests and necessity, I will never seek or value an assurance by oaths and tests. Interest is the choice men naturally make"[73]

At times Penn seems to separate the religious and the natural almost as does Roger Williams:

> "Nothing is more unreasonable, then to sacrifice the Liberty and Property of any Man (being his Natural and Civil Rights) for Religion, where he is not found breaking any Law relating to Natural and Civil Things...A Man may be a very good English Man, and yet a very indifferent Church Man"[74]

Yet Penn also speaks of a metaphysical, almost a religious, basis to Natural Interest, which makes a stable basis for the State, "to which

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73). Quoted by Belasco: Authority, p. 306.

74). England's Present Interest Discovered (1675), quoted by Perry: Puritanism and Democracy, p. 353.

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by a natural interest he is indebted and from which no opinion can discharge him".[75]

The modification of Quaker attitudes to Society from radicalism to "reformism" was thus not simply a cooling of ardour and intensity. Nor was it only the reconciliation to society of the prosperous: the process had taken shape before Quaker merchants were conspicuously wealthy. Quakers now assumed that the transformation of mankind by the Quaker movement - and the day of fire upon those who were obdurate - was no longer the way in which reform was to be looked for. The assumption that Conscience and Reason were universally valid afforded a point of appeal for attempts to reform the world, little by little. It may be left unsettled how far the famous record of Quaker reformers stems from any difference in basic outlook from that of the Baptists in colonial America, or the British Methodists. Insofar as Quakerism has actually been less "withdrawn" (as a "Sect") from issues of Social Reform than other groups (rather than simply having been more powerful and influential), their greater contribution is probably connected with the centrality for Quaker thought of Conscience and it's role in practical conduct.

The result has been "a mild obsession for attempting as citizens to influence government policy and political decisions". Although more

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75). Penn: Works, II, p. 772, quoted by Kühn, Toleranz, p. 270; The similarity has often been pointed out, between Penn's theory of the coincidence of Interests, and that of Locke; the one stems from the Quaker faith in reaching unity by the Universality of Conscience, the other stems from Milton's faith in agreement through Reason. Yet in Penn's and Locke's cases reason and Conscience were nearly the same. (cf. Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", p. 278; Bainton: Travail, chapters 7 & 9).

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actively at certain times and places than at others, "historically Friends have been known for frequenting the official courts or waiting rooms of government officials".[76] After 1672, this influence was more likely to be exerted on issues of morals and reform rather than for freedom of religion, as in the first decade. But this represents a changed form of the same outlook. Conscience and the Leadings of the Spirit were no longer synonymous, and hence the appeal to Kingdoms was no longer in the name of Christ's Kingdom, yet Friends continued to "believe that their special contribution is to remind public officials of the moral basis of all political life".[77]

A tension appears at this point. On the one hand, most Quaker work for social reform has been the Concern of individuals, not of the organized Meetings. Individual Conscience was separated from group decision to some extent; Friends who were felt to be "meddling with the World" were disowned.[78] On the other hand the emergence of individual philanthropy who showed a greater sense of solidarity with the total social order,[79] and "it was always posited upon a solidaristic conception of society. Springing out of a genuine sense of human brotherhood,

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76). Cooper: "Quaker Participation", pp. 77-8.

77). Cooper: "Quaker Participation", p. 78.

78). Not only John Bright, but Elizabeth Fry and others were frowned on by most Friends of their time. (cf. A. Neave Brayshaw: The Quakers, their Story and Message (3rd edn, N. Y., Macmillan, 1938)

79). Hibbert Friends, despite their concern for the condition of the poor, did not support Lord Shaftesbury's reforms or the Factory Acts, because of their collectivism (Edward Grubb: What is Quakerism (London, George Allen & Unwin, 1917 & 1942).

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charity was always regarded by the Friends as a religious duty, never as a mere benevolent gesture".[80]

Despite the motivation of brotherhood in Friends work for reform, their Concern should not be misunderstood (as it often is by humanistic admirers of Quakerism), as simply an admiration for the human soul. A fine recent pamphlet[81] seems to return more closely to the spirit of Friends in the generations following 1689 in insisting that "any particular Quaker service has its origin in the religious concern of Friends to undertake it":[82]

> "The best Quaker relief work has sprung", writes Roger Wilson "from a sense of common suffering and the subsequent need for, and possibility of a common repentance. This is not emotional regret, but a real intention to break the circle of sin and suffering by living in the grace of God whose will for us in any particular situation is a real objective fact which we can know through prayer and worship....The physical criteria of whether our work is good must continue to be whether it helps people to get to their own feet and take a renewed or increasing measure of responsibility for the common life; but the real judgment goes deeper than this, and is based on a belief that there is a will of God for us all in the situation in which we find ourselves, and that is why intellectual or technical leadership must be subject to the background of prayer and worship that Friends try to develop"[83]

The specific projects of Quakers for group relief and care for their own members and for reform of Society, have been thoroughly and well described by Jörns, Grubb and Lloyd. There was a certain interplay between the two aspects of Friends' program. Fox's suggestion that "Friends.... provide a house...where an hundred men may have rooms to work in, and

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80). Tolles: Meeting House, p. 80; cf. Jorns: Quaker Social Work, p. 234.

81). Roger Wilson: Relief & Reconstruction (Pendle Hill, 1943)

82). Wilson: op. cit. p. 29

83). op. cit. pp. 11, 19-17, cf. p. 22.

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shops of all sorts of things to sell, and where widows and young men might work and live",[84] was in the first instance an elaboration of Quaker projects for the care of their own unemployed.[85] It was extended by John Bellers into a proposal for the nation at large.[86] Yet it bore fruit mainly in a single institute run by Friends, and mainly for Friends. On the whole, nevertheless, there was the tension that has been noted between the collective and carefully organized care of Friends Meetings over their members, and the proposals and efforts of individuals to reach further, as in the work of Bellers, John Howard, Penn and Elizabeth Fry for prison reform, or the work of Buxton for hospitals.[87] The interrelation and the separation of the two types of service correspond to the ambivalent relationship between group consciousness and responsibility to Conscientious concern. At this point the breakdown of the sharp division between Friends and the World has in recent times made possible a group approach to reform and relief work. This group appeal to the Conscience of the World is, like that of the individual Quaker reformers of the 18th century, a limited appeal on specific issues. But the Friends as a group, having been freed, almost too completely, from commitment to a unique witness to a totally distinctive way of life, can again associate themselves <u>as a group</u>, with conscientious appeals to the Consciences of all men.

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84). <u>Epistles</u>, p. 288, quoted by Grubb: <u>Quakers in Industry</u>, p, 136

85). cf. Jorns: <u>Quaker Social Work</u>, p. 104

86). cf. John Bellers: <u>Writings</u> (London, 1935); also Jorns: <u>Quaker Social Work</u>, etc. Bellers' ideas were also to some extent based on the proposals of Locke, Peter Chamberlain, and especially "Peter Cornelius" (who is identified with Hugh Peters by Wing's Catalogue).

87). cf. Jorns: <u>Quaker Social Work</u>, pp. 168, 173, 193, etc.

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Section IX-D: Quakers and Politics after 1662

The theoretical basis of Quaker participation in politics has been discussed in the preceding section; at the same period there developed practical situations challenging Quakers to activity.

The dominant Quaker theory understood that Friends as a group were increasingly set apart from the world. Conscience and Reason, however, provided common bonds with non-Quakers and the basis for appeals and projects of a limited scope. This outlook has really underlain Quaker political action to the present day, with a focus on issues rather than on over-all responsibility for government.[88] This theory usually involved a division of areas of life: starting from the distinction between Carnal and Spiritual weapons, a division emerged between inward and outward like Williams' separation of Church and State.

To some extent the earlier theocratic attitude to the State remained: The "Holy Experiment" in Pennsylvania was partly a result of this "residual Calvinism, that drove it, when opportunity offered, to an effort to dominate 'the world' instead of withdrawing from it".[89] But this outlook never became predominant in Quakerism after 1662.

All this became clearer in the course of later events. In the first instance, the issue was the practical one of the extent to which

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88). For a modern example, cf. Wilson: Relief and Reconstruction p. 50: "If relief workers feel that political action can properly be used for technical purposes, they should make very clear indeed the limits of their interest. This means that they will have to...lean backwards in an effort to refrain from getting mixed up in wider political issues".

89). Tolles: Meeting House, p. 240; for a modern version of this outlook, cf. Isaac Sharpless: Quakerism & Politics (Philadelphia, Ferris & Leach, 1905), p. 99.

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Friends should participate in political activity in order to secure religious toleration. The Declaration of Indulgence of 1672 brought a temporary breathing spell in the persecution of the Dissenters. But the Cavaliers still dominated Parliament, and made Charles II withdraw his declaration. Charles went into alliance with these Anglicans and persecution began again vigorously. Nevertheless, it was persecution by a minority, as became evident when Shaftesbury was able to use the "Titus Oates" accusations to force the dissolution of Parliament. From then until the turn of the eighteenth century, public opinion (and the Parliamentary majority) was usually Whig and in favor of toleration. The struggle to win public opinion against persecution had gradually been won, as it had not been even under The Commonwealth, when Cromwell's toleration had depended on the Army and the mutual cancellation of Anglican and Presbyterian intolerance. By clever politics and French funds, however, Charles II was able to rule without Parliament for the rest of his reign. His persecution of Dissent was as severe as any preceding. Even persecution by a minority, if it can be enforced long enough, can gradually grind down opposition. The hope of release for the Dissenters, therefore, now lay in a shift of political power before it was too late.

In 1675, when there had been hopes of an election and a Whig Parliament, Friends faced a decision on whether to take part in political action, in alliance with those who shared their conscientious concern for freedom of conscience. No general policy was formulated, but the Morning Meeting advised

> "That Friends in the several counties seriously consider together and be unanimous about giving their voice in election of Parliamentmen to appear or not appear therein as the wisdom of God they see convenient and safe.

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"That such moderate and indifferent [i.e. impartial] men as they are free to give their voice for, first be advised to sign to Friends this or the like engagement, viz:

1. To be for a general Liberty of Conscience for all to worship God according to their persuasions.
2. To endeavour to the utmost of his power, to remove all oppressive and Popish laws that are for coercion or persecution about religion"?[90]

In 1679 an anonymous pamphlet was still more explicit in urging what was essentially the Whig political doctrine: namely, the menace of Catholicism (as seen in the Popish Plot, the murder of 'Sir Edmund-Berry Godfrey', and the Fire of London), the greed of the pension-holders of the Cavalier Parliament, and the need to re-elect the recently prorogued Whigs to ensure liberty for Protestantism.[91]

In the Whig political campaign of Shaftesbury, since the King defeated him, Friends got their fingers badly burned. When the Whigs were scattered in 1681,

"At court it seems they were the more offended against the Quakers because in the election of members of parliament some had voted for such as they believed to be moderate, and no favourers of popery; and therefore it was said underhand, that if Mr. Penn or Mr. Whitehead would undertake for the Quakers not to vote at elections of Parliament men, there should be no further persecutions".[92]

As a result, during the severe persecutions of 1681-85, Quakers re-examined their attitudes to political action. One group criticized

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90). Morning Meeting Minutes of May 21, 1675, quoted Braithwaite: Second Period p. 90.

91). Sober and Seasonable Queries humbly offered to all good Protestants in England, In order to a Choice of the New Parliament (n.p., [1679?]).

92). William Sewel: The History of the Rise, Increase and Progress of...the Quakers (London, James Phillips, 1795), II, p. 425; cf. Braithwaite: Second Period, p. 112; Ethyn Williams Kirby: "The Quakers' Efforts to Secure Secular and Religious Liberty", in Church History, Vol VII (Dec. '35) p. 403.

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such action and Penn for taking part in it;[93] among them were Barclay and most of the poorer Friends; geographically it centered in the north-west and the Severn area. The other group included the well-to-do Friends, especially in the London area;[94] its leaders were Penn and George Whitehead. This group was strongly Whig (the northerners often being Tory after 1685);[95] they continued to work through political channels for toleration, though turning increasingly to lobbying rather than Parliamentary campaigning (such as Penn had undertaken for Sydney in 1678). The two policies, however, represent two strands in the basic thought of Quakerism itself, and both are to be found even in the most active Quaker political leader, William Penn.

Penn himself, "in spite of his important role in political life...was primarily a religionist rather than a philosopher or a politician",[96] and did not hesitate to give advice to his children at variance with his own line of conduct:

> "I have said but little to you of distributing justice, or being just in power or Government, for I should desire you should never be concerned therein".[97]

The desire of Friends to keep spiritually free from the corruption of the World was in conflict with their concern on a national scale with

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93). Penn was criticized later for not repudiating the Preston Plot (to restore James II) in 1690, and his preface to Fox's Journal almost was refused in 1693; (cf. Braithwaite: Second Period, pp. 161-172).

94). This economic, geographic and political cleavage corresponded fairly closely with the line between the Friends who were "Satisfied" and "Dissatisfied" by the Affirmation Act of 1696; (cf. Braithwaite: Second Period, pp. 172-5).

95). cf. Braithwaite: Second Period, p. 149.

96). Beatty: Penn p. 12, cf. p. 18.

97). quoted by Armsby: "Quaker View of State"; Works I, p. 907

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issues of Conscience.

Penn was one of the few opponents of Charles II who rallied to James II on his accession, when he proclaimed toleration. Most of the Whigs, in 1685 as in 1672,[98] suspected a plot to establish by stages Catholic dominance in England, and preferred persecution for themselves to allowing freedom for Catholics. Penn has been much criticized for supporting James, and especially his unconstitutional Declaration of Indulgence,[99] although both men hoped that it would be legalized afterwards by Parliament. It is generally assumed that Penn was deceived by James (as men had been by all the Stuarts), and Burnet, who knew both Penn & James well "vindicates Penn's honesty at the expense of his penetration".[100] Penn clearly felt that toleration was an end good enough to justify whatever government provided it. Penn and Barclay also felt personal obligations as friends of James II, with whom, at great risk to themselves, they continued private correspondence after his fall.[101]

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98). cf. Bunyan's attitude, Grace Abounding, p. 87.

99). cf. Braithwaite: Second Period, p. 134 ff.

100). ibid, 129; whether it is possible that James was actually sincere, to the extent of accepting, like Calvert in Maryland, a general toleration under Catholic rule, as pragmatically the best that he could hope for, only a more widely read historian could say; even in the England of 1685-9, it was James' Jesuit advisers who were feared more than the King himself.

101). Braithwaite: Second Period, p. 119, etc.: "I have never found reason", wrote Barclay in 1689 "to doubt his sincerity in the matter of conscience, which his granting so universally after he came to the Crown hath to me much confirmed....I must own, nor will I decline to avow, that I love King James, that I wish him well, that I have been and am sensibly touched with a feeling of his misfortunes, and that I cannot excuse myself from the duty of praying for him, that God may bless him and sanctify his afflictions to him" (Reliquiae Barclaianae, quoted Braithwaite: Second Period, p. 119, cf. p. 135.

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It was through this personal contact with James as a man that Penn was able to obtain the grant of Pennsylvania.

Certain Quakers did indeed take part in government, not only through limited campaigns to affect policy on specific issues, and through personal relationships with rulers, but also by accepting elective office. In England this seems to have been rare, at first due in considerable part to the problem of the Oaths involved.[102] In England, moreover there continued to be a suspicion of Friends who thus were "meddling with the World" down to the time when the first Quakers finally sat in Parliament in the 19th century.[103] Nevertheless, Cooper has shown how widely Friends were active in colonial government, which was the more natural because they formed such a large proportion of the early settlers in Rhode Island, New Jersey and North Carolina. Friends held the Rhode Island governorship for 36 terms in the 110 years following 1663,[104] and provided the first two governors of North Carolina. Cooper does not indicate material which would show the philosophy with which these Quaker legislators approached the responsibility of government; there is fortunately far more evidence on the outlook underlying the greatest of all Quaker commitments to politics, the Pennsylvania experiment.

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102). cf. the case of John Archdale, who refused the seat in Parliament to which he was elected in 1698, on this ground. Grubb: What Is Quakerism pp. 134-5

103). cf. Emden: Quakers in Commerce; Stephen Crisp refused a justiceship of the Peace in 1687, under pressure from Fox, cf. Braithwaite: Second Period, p. 143.

104). Cooper: "Quaker Participation" pp 15-16; Sharpless: Quakerism & Politics, p. 81; Cooper: "Quaker Participation", p. 18; Grubb: What Is Quakerism, p. 135.

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In the impulse to settle in the colonies, Quaker motives were doubtless mixed: many settlers hoped for land and homes unfettered by Tithes and Oath-laws, but Tolles cites an interesting pamphlet of missionary motive entitled "The Planter's Speech to His Neighbours and Countrymen of Penn-East and West-Jersey, and to All such As Have Transported Themselves into New Colonies for the Sake of a Quiet and Retired Life":

> The true aim of settlement, this tract asserts, "is not so much to build houses, and establish factories and promote trade and manufactures, that may enrich ourselves (though all these things in their place are not to be neglected) as to erect temples of holiness and righteousness...to lay such lasting frames and foundations of temperance and virtue as may support the superstructures of our future happiness, both in this and the other world".[105]

Penn himself tried to lay foundations in both worlds, to establish a haven for Quakers and also a colony "free for all mankind",[106] without suffering financially. Beatty feels that "Penn was a political pragmatist", and that

> "his readiness to alter the details of his scheme, and his willingness to submit important provisions to amendment at hands of the colonists indicate the absence in his character of the dogmatism so often found in the Utopian theorist".[107]

As Beatty shows, however, Penn's "pragmatism" did not actually mean the absence of either religious ideals or political theory.

With regard to the political government of his colony, Penn's writings assert the Whig doctrines, which were established in England

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105). Quoted by Tolles: Meeting House, p. 63, cf. p. 33.

106). Quoted by Beatty: Penn, p. 45.

107). Beatty: Penn, pp. 41, 44.

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by the revolution of 1688.[108] Government was founded on a natural rather than a religious basis:

> "Civil interest is the foundation and end of civil government, and where it is not maintained entire, the government must needs decline".[109]

"The Principle of Interest is paramount",[110] and property rights are placed on an equal basis with other Natural Rights; there was even a system of high property qualifications for voters.[111] (The two parties in the Pennsylvania Assembly turned out to be representatives essentially of rich merchants & landholders on the one hand, and of poor farmers on the other, and the latter was fairly consistently hostile to Penn and his agents).[112] The implication of such a doctrine of the State as based upon natural interest should logically be a separation of the civil and religious, of Church and State; this Penn in fact asserted,[113] partly in order to seek a political unity without any corresponding restriction of religion.

In actual practice this separation was far from complete. Like the Whigs, Penn refused to separate morality from politics, and held that

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108). On the influence of Locke, Trenchard and Sydney on Penn, cf. Tolles: Meeting House, p. 13; Gooch: Democratic Ideas, p. 283. On the influence of Harrington, see Freund, Toleranz, p. 98.

109). Quoted Beatty: Penn, p. 133.

110). Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", p. 276.

111). cf. Wertenbacker: Puritan Oligarchy, p. 66; Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", p. 282.

112). cf. Tolles: Meeting House, p. 15.

113). Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", p. 290.

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the Law was a higher authority than Parliament.[114] In distinction to Williams' theory, Penn held morality a requisite for political office;[115] political freedom was for those

> "within the bounds of morality, and neither frantic nor mischievous, but a good subject, a good child, a good servant in all the affairs of life."[116]

In this context morality is a negative standard, but there was a positive idealism in Penn's laws concerning prisons and workhouses, and the regulation of Inns and Inn-keepers.[117] Penn's plan for a federation of the colonies in 1696,[118] and his treaties with the Indians for neutrality during the Anglo-French war of 1700, like his more theoretical "Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe" in 1693,[119] were clearly efforts to apply in political relations the Quaker concern for Peace. Above all in his concern for religious liberty, Penn's religious and his political ideals are inseparable. Government, to Penn, was "a part of religion itself, a thing sacred in its institution and end".[120]

What was true of Penn was also mainly true of all Pennsylvania Quakers. So far as the separation of church and state was concerned,

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114). Beatty: Penn, p. 65; Penn distinguished in Pennsylvania between "fundamental" and "circumstantial" law; the former which included property, toleration, and liberty, were not subject to decision by the Assembly. cf. Beatty: Penn, pp. 29-31.

115). Beatty: Penn, p. 47. 116). Quoted, ibid., p. 132.

117). cf. Jorns: Quaker Social Work, p. 173; Beatty: Penn, p. 298.

118). Beatty: Penn, pp. 86-91; 95-6

119). Beatty: Penn, pp. 113-4.

120). Penn, quoted Beatty: Penn, p. 21.

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"the very strength of the Society of Friends defeated the Quaker experiment".[121] Without ever returning to a theory of theocracy, Quakers did in fact dominate the Assembly and shape the ideals of the colony on such points as military defense. The Meetings remained aloof, and did not discuss political issues of "the World". Yet in the political alliance with non-Friends based on Conscience and Reason, the Quaker Conscience was the senior partner.

In all their political activity, Friends attempted to maintain a way of working consonant with their basic faith: non-violent, persuasive, and acknowledging the freedom of others. The crisis in this respect came in the incident in 1757, upon which Sharpless has focused his study.[122] At the outbreak of the "French and Indian War" the Quakers, although only one-fifth of the population of the colony,[123] still included a majority of the members of the elected Assembly. In this position they could have yielded their religious principles, and declared war as the majority of Pennsylvanians desired. It is possible that they could also have theocratically forced the majority to their non-violent policy. This was what Cromwell had essentially done with regard to toleration.[124] Instead Friends did neither, but resigned or withdrew from the government,

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121). Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", p. 283.

122). Isaac Sharpless: A Quaker Experiment in Government, Philadelphia, A. J. Ferris, 1902).

123). Tolles: Meeting-House, p. 232.

124). Considering the compromises on minor issues to which the non-pacifists had already driven the Pennsylvania Quakers, this is unlikely; cf. Isaac Sharpless: A Quaker Experiment in Government, Philadelphia, A. J. Ferris, 1902), passim.

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merely attempting by special missions to the Indians to arrange a truce. They returned in fact, to the relationship to government which had characterized British Quakers throughout, namely a prophetic witness plus activity on behalf of specific issues,[125] without any overall responsibility for government. This problem is in fact the one faced by a group which is unwilling either to compromise fundamentally with the views of "the World", nor theocratically to impose their own insights upon others. Such a group must in fact withdraw from "the World" in certain areas of life; yet as with the Quakers the common bonds of concern and Conscience may be used in efforts to reform both political and social life as rapidly as light can be spread.

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125). cf. Cooper: "Quaker Participation", p. 84.

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Section IX-E: Economic and Social Outlooks after 1662

Like the change in Quaker attitudes towards "the World" in general, the change in Quaker economic outlooks during the period of persecution was neither sudden nor conscious, but nevertheless thoroughgoing. Even in the political area, where concrete decisions of program had needed to be made, the theocratic outlook had slipped out of the picture unconsciously; in the economic area there were no new group decisions required comparable to the issues of Tithes and fixed prices settled in the earliest decade. Nevertheless there was a gradual reversal of the early outlook which linked piety with poverty and sinfulness with prosperous living. This meant a changed outlook towards rich and poor as people, and towards gentleman and artisan; these changes will be discussed presently. There was also a change in the attitude to wealth as such.

It has been seen that property was felt by Penn to be an inalienable right, as well as a basis for franchise.[126] Other Friends of this period came to share this individualistic conception of the nature of property:

> "Our Principle", writes Barclay, "leaves every man to enjoy that peaceably, which either his own Industry, or Parents have purchased to him: only he is thereby instructed to use it aright, both for his own good and that of his Brethren and all for the glory of God".[127]

One dare not call this a complete reversal of early Friends' thinking at this point, but only a major re-emphasis. Even in Penn's writing one is reminded that much of the most radical Quaker protest of the early days, such as that against Tithes, was also a protection of the property

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126). cf. Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", p. 282, etc.

127). Barclay: Apology, p. 530; cf. also Wragge: Barclay, p. 131.

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of the poor: with regard to Protestantism, Penn says

> "I am sure 'twas to enjoy Property with Conscience that promoted it: Nor is there any better Definition of Protestancy, than protesting against Spoiling Property for Conscience".[128]

Re-emphasis and "re-interpretation" show no sudden breaks in historical development. The same process is to be seen in the way in which Fox's early concern for honesty and justice in business developed into a "bourgeois" business ethic:

> "We lived perpetually with the value of money and the fear of God before our eyes" wrote John Oliver Hobbes in the 18th century, the two ultimate dangers were "debt and eternal punishment".[129]

This seems far from the spirit of early Quakerism, yet Fox had warned against luxuries, for moral reasons and as a waste of "creatures" needed by the poor,[130] and he had insisted that Friends "Keep out of Debts, owe to no man anything but love",[131] and be sound in business. Hugh Turford, in 1702, defines the Golden Rule as in essence merely the avoidance of counterfeiting, robbery, unjust law suits, false balances, bribe-taking, contract-breaking, and underpayment of wages,[132] yet Fox had in passing attacked all these things.

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128). Quoted by Perry: Puritanism & Democracy, p. 297.

129). "Love and the Soul Hunter", quoted Emden: Quakers in Commerce, p. 18; Rathbone wrote of Richard Reynolds: "The horror of debt which never deserted him...determined him never to exceed his means, and he commenced house-keeping...upon a system of strict economy". ("Letters of Richard Reynolds", London, 1852); quoted Grubb: Quakerism & Industry, p. 106.

130). cf. p.468, Supra

131). George Fox: Line of Righteousness p. 7, cf. p. 460, Supra.

132). "The Grounds of a Holy Life", quoted Grubb: Quakerism & Industry, p. 50; Benjamin Coole's, Religion and Reason United sounded the same note as Turford, in 1712, cf. Grubb: Quakerism & Industry, p. 51; also Tolles: Meeting House p. 59, etc.

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Late Puritanism, as Weber has shown[133] regarded wealth as a blessing from God and an indication of God's favour. To Friends, with their strong emphasis upon divine Providence, the influence of such an outlook on a national scale must have been hard to resist. It emerges clearly in the comments of the eighteenth century. Friend Joseph Pike:

> "I do not remember that I ever broke my word or promise with any body, neither did I venture more in one ship than I was able to bear if she was lost...for I did not then, nor do I now, look upon it as just to venture or hazard other men's substance...And I lived frugally but not niggardly and the Lord was pleased to bless my endeavours, I did all my business with industry and diligence..., and I can also say I received the increase truly as a blessing from the Lord's hand, and with humble desires that he would give me a heart to make use of it to His praise".[134]

One sees even here, however, that wealth is genuinely regarded as a trust even more than as a reward of virtue; even at their most individualistic, the Friends in their economic ethic always made the responsibility of stewardship vital. Unlike Walter Bagehot's father "who accumulated wealth, and consoled himself by not spending it",[135] Penn preferred that

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133). It is not always recognized that Weber is describing Protestant economic ethics quite consciously in terms of the period after 1688, when the "faith", which he is trying to isolate, had broken down into something very different from the faith of the Reformation: "We have deliberately not taken as a Starting-point the objective social institutions of the older Protestant churches, and their ethical influences, especially the very important church discipline. We have preferred to take the results which subjective adoption of an ascetic faith might have had in the conduct of the individual....I wish to present the ascetic movement as much as possible in the second half of the seventeenth century, immediately before the change to utilitarianism"; Weber: Protestant Ethic, pp. 152,259. Many of his examples, of course, are drawn actually from the late 18th century, and in terms of the material he is actually studying, his analysis of its outlook is magnificent.

134). "Life of Joseph Pike" (London, 1837, p. 119 ff, quoted Grubb: Quakerism & Industry, p. 119.

135). Mrs. R. B. Barrington: Life of Walter Bagehot, p. 58 (London, Longman's Green, 1914).

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a man be a spendthrift rather than a miser.[136] Most Friends were more ascetic than squire Penn, but surprisingly often they placed profit second to responsibility:

> "Friends were in line with the ordinary Puritan view that trade may be for the individual the calling or service in which God wishes him to be, but by their strong sense of duty to others they were guarded against the error of believing it to be an end in itself."[137]

One finds, therefore, that throughout Quaker history there have been individuals who have given up a line of work, or even their entire calling, for ethical or conscientious reasons. They were, to be sure a small minority; and often, like William Pegg the flower-painter, Latey the tailor or Daniel Quare the clockmaker, they were motivated by a desire to avoid evil or luxury-making, rather than a positive ideal of service to other men.[138] The abandonment of cannon-making by the Darbys of Coalbrookdale in 1739,[139] while primarily an obedience to accepted Quaker testimonies, represents a more positive idealism; and not only John Woolman, but Nicholas Walm, Thomas Chalkeley and others curtailed not only the nature but the amount of their business to devote themselves

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136). No Cross, No Crown, quoted Grubb: Quakerism & Industry, pp. 39-40.

137). Grubb: Quakerism & Industry, p. 37: A good example might be Elizabeth Haddon's explanation of her reasons for going out, as a girl of 17 to take up a family land-claim in West Jersey:

> "Young women have governed kingdoms, and surely it requires less wisdom to manage a farm. He that feedeth the ravens will guide me in the work whereunto He has called me. It is not to cultivate the farm, but to be a Friend and physician to the people of that region" Quoted by Best: Rebel Saints, p. 30.

138). Emden: Quakers in Commerce, p. 95; Grubb: Quakerism & Industry, pp. 107, 95.

139). Emden: op. cit., p. 32.

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to service and religious affairs.[140]

Nor were these responsibilities faced purely as individuals: Tailors met to plan the making of simpler suits and dress, and carpenters to design simple furniture, ships and houses;[141] shoemakers met, to see "if any are guilty of making fashionable shoes, or if any professing truth are not satisfied with such shoes as suit the plainness of our profession".[142] Particularly strong was the continuing sense of responsibility of Friends for each other. This tended increasingly to stress oversight and discipline with warnings not only against theatres, races and gambling, but against smuggling,[143] speculation and overexpansion.[144] Bankrupt members were now more often disowned, less often protected from bankruptcy.[145] But the direct care by Meetings for the needs of their members[146] increased as the Meeting Organization was developed and standardized,[147] and in fact its detailed functioning belongs rather more to the period after 1662 than to that before. When the colonies

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140). Tolles: Meeting-House, p. 123; Grubb: Quakerism & Industry, p. 104.

141). Grubb: Quakerism & Industry, pp. 94, 95, 101, etc.

142). Minute of the Irish National Meeting, 1701, quoted, Grubb: Quakerism & Industry, p. 101.

143). Grubb: Quakerism & Industry, p. 86.

144). Jorns: Quaker Social Work, p. 89.

145). Grubb: Quakerism & Industry, p. 90.

146). cf. Section VIII-G, supra

147). cf. Lloyd: Quaker Social History, Ch. III.

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were organized the Meetings supervised emigration, sometimes to help, often to restrain those who would thereby have dodged persecution.[148] The common bond of suffering made this mutual responsibility vivid and crucial. At the same time the fading of their sense of world-mission threw Friends as a group back into an interdependence of a more static kind than the mutual aid of the early preachers.

Despite persecution, Friends prospered economically, and greatly so after 1688. The Tithes conflict drove Friends out of agriculture into the growing world of business.[149] There is evidence that the majority of British Friends went into trade and manufacturing. In the eighteenth century they dominated British banking and the iron and brass industries, and were powerful in cloth, tin and milling.[150] In Pennsylvania, while the outstanding merchants had mostly already made a good start previously in the West Indies,[151] the growth of the colonies made it possible for the indentured servant or the former tenant-farmer also to achieve prosperity within a generation.

As has often been pointed out, religion was itself a reason for Friends' growth in wealth, because of the economic results of honesty, frugality and thrift.[152] The Quaker Clarkson, like Wesley, felt that the gain in wealth led to the dampening of religious zeal. Rightly or

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148). Grubb: Quakerism & Industry, pp. 78-9.

149). Jorns: Quaker Social Work, p. 87n.

150). Grubb: Quakerism & Industry, pp. 125, 150-151; Tolles: Meeting-House, p. 99, etc.

151). Tolles: Meeting-House, p. 43.

152). cf. Jorns: Quaker Social Work, p. 11; Tolles: Meeting-House, p. 51. Wesley noticed the same process occurring among the early Methodists (cf. Tawney: Rise of Capitalism, p. 161, etc.).

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wrongly it was a frequent "charge against the members of this Society, that they are eager in the pursuit of wealth.[153]

More disturbing than the rise in wealth, are the signs, in later Quakerism, of those attitudes towards poverty and the poor, which earlier Friends had themselves so bitterly attacked:

> The poor, said Logan, "grow factious and turbulent in the State; are for trying new Politics...They are for Inventing new and extraordinary Measures for their Relief and Ease: when it is certain That nothing can prove Truly Effectual to them, but a change of their own Measures in the Exercise of those wholesome and healing Vertues... Sobriety, Industry and Frugality".[154]

This simply applied ruthlessly the connection between Puritan frugality and wealth which has been mentioned,[155] and shows how catastrophic a virtue can be, unless the religious ideal from which it springs remains the center of life.[156] While few Quakers fully accepted Logan's attitude to poverty, his easy conscience about wealth became almost universal among Friends. The old prophetic protest was still occasionally to be heard, both in alarm over wealth and luxury,[157] and in the convic-

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153). Thos. Clarkson: Portraiture of Quakerism (London, 1807) Ch. II, p. 40, quoted by Grubb: Quakerism & Industry, p. 174; cf. p. 175.

154). James Logan: "The Charge Delivered from the Bench to the Grand Jury at the Court of Quarter Sessions" (1723), p. 10, quoted by Tolles: Meeting-House, p. 105. Logan may be called the founder of Main-Line" Republican Quaker respectability.

155). "Commonly people become wealthy by sobriety and industry, the most useful qualifications in a commonwealth, and poor by idleness and folly." (Logan & Norris in the Pennsylvania Assembly (1722), quoted in Tolles: Meeting-House, p. 104).

156). cf. Tawney's classic irony: "The poor, it is well known, are of two kinds, 'the industrious poor', who work for their betters, and 'the idle poor', who work for themselves." (Tawney: Religion & Capitalism, p. 160; cf. Agrarian Problem, p. 396)

157). cf. Tolles: Meeting-House, pp. 45-7.

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tion of Woolman, Benezet and Bellers that:

> "a comfortable living to the industrious labourer is the rich man's debt not his charity, labour giving as good a right to a living as the rich man's estates".[158]

But even Penn seems to have toned down his youthful intensity: he had begun prophetically:

> "The great reason why some have too little and so are forced to drudge like slaves to feed their families and keep their chin above water, is because the rich hold fast and press to be richer and covet more, which dries up the little stream of profit from smaller folks."[159]

Yet his advice to the poor was to "murmur not; but be patient and trust in the Lord and submit to his providence".[160]

Some Quaker writing seems to revert to the Tudor doctrine of a society: thus Barclay wrote:

> "the servant is not the same way educated as the master; nor the tenant as the landlord; nor the rich as the poor;....Now though... it is beyond question, that whatever thing the creation affords is for the use of man, and the moderate use of them is lawful; yet...they may be lawful to some, and not to others. As for instance, he that by reason of his estate and education hath been used to eat flesh and drink wine, and to be clothed with the finest wool, if his estate will bear it, and he use it neither in superfluity, nor immoderately, he may do it....But if a man, whose estate and education hath accustomed him to both coarser food and raiment, should stretch himself beyond what he had, or were used to,...no doubt it would be unlawful to him"[161]

What makes such doctrine most dangerous is their application to a period when economics and social stratification were fluid, and when "capacity",

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158). Bellers: College of Industry (1695), quoted Belasco: Authority, p. 102.

159). No Cross, No Crown, quoted Beatty: Penn, p. 193; cf. Section VIII-E.

160). "Journal of his Travels in Holland and Germany" (1677), quoted Beatty: Penn, 194.

161). Barclay: Apology, pp. 530-31.

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"education", and "estate" were not clearly fixed, nor regarded as owing a paternalistic responsibility to an organic society. Barclay was trying to say that Luxury is a psychological, rather than a purely physical category, but he thereby justified to the Quaker merchant the inequality of incomes and the complacent spending of earnings in any socially approved way.[162] Penn, like Barclay, thought in terms of a hierarchical society, at a time when the new world of commerce did not mainly operate in terms of the benevolent paternalism Penn himself tried to practise.[163] He thought in terms of the rural life rather than the urban.[164] His paternalism put servants in a subservient role.[165] In the family also, Penn thought of the Father as ruler of a tight-knit social, religious and economic hierarchy.[166]

In social outlook, Penn must not be thought of as typical of Friends, even after 1688. The energetic attack upon social inequality had passed. Yet the "weighty Friend" remained the successor, in watchful responsibility, within the Meeting, to Margaret Fell and the Peningtons of Chalfont. In spiritual matters there seems to have remained a

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162). That actually wealth was mainly saved, or spent on fine, though undecorated, homes and furniture, and on abundance of food, is well shown in Tolles' excellent study, and particularly in the well-apholstered profiles of "Weighty Friends" in the cameos which he there reproduces. cf. Tolles: Meeting-House, pp. 127, 135, etc.

163). Beatty: Penn, pp. 187, 284.

164). Tolles: Meeting-House, p. 114; Beatty: Penn p. 163.

165). For certain offences they received mitigated penalties under his laws, but he never questioned slavery, nor the right of masters to decide and veto servants' marriages: in such cases, it is "an ill consequence to plead conscience against the security of property, and such are servants" in an era of indenturing and slavery. Beatty: Penn, pp. 187, 255.

166). Beatty: Penn, p. 246.

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surprising equality, so that on the whole social & economic inequality is accepted rather than glorified. The radical attack re-emerged on the issue of slaveowning. Slavery had apparently already been opposed by William Edmondson in 1675 and by Keith in 1693,[167] as well as by the German Quakers of Pastorius' Germantown Meeting, before the more famous attack of Woolman and Benezet:[168]

> "Here", wrote the Friends in Germantown, "is liberty of conscience, which is right and reasonable: here ought to be likewise liberty of y^e^ body, except of evil-doers, which is another case".[169]

None of these protesters were wealthy men, nor were they Gentlemen like the Penns and Peningtons and others who joined Friends in the later 1650's. Their protest was at first rejected by Friends of more power and influence. Nevertheless the "weight" of their concern was felt, and the Conscience of Friends acknowledged their appeal.

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167). Grubb: What is Quakerism, p. 153; Wragge: Barclay p. 21

168). Jorns: Quaker Social Work, pp. 205-213.

169). Germantown protest against Slavery

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Section IX-F: Intellectual, Emotional and Spiritual Outlooks after 1662: Conclusions

The changes in Quaker political, economic and social attitudes after 1662 bring us finally to the more ultimate question whether the basic rootage of Quaker ethics in the early period had itself been lost or shifted. The "emotional tone" had chilled, and the social radicalism of the "Lamb's War" was also gone. Nevertheless some of the central ethical witnesses remained as vital as ever;- others survived in form if not in spirit. Above all, the centrality of ethics itself, and of Conscience (even though Conscience was somewhat differently interpreted) remained constant.

Some illustration of this may be found even in the field of intellectual outlooks. Penn's attitude towards Reason, and to intellectual values in general, foreshadowed the development of Quaker outlooks after 1662, just as did his economic social and political ideas. Penn always combined his conservatism with a streak of primitive radicalism. Theoretically, he disparaged reading in favor of pursuits of the Spirit:

"Reading many books is but a taking off the mind too much from meditation. Reading yourselves and nature, in the dealings and conduct of men, is the truest human wisdom".[170] Nevertheless Penn was by no means ashamed of practical learning and investigation, and had in fact an excellent library. Like Barclay, he was a scholar respected by scholars.[171] By the time of Burnyeat's death in 1691, even the formal

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170). Quoted by Beatty: Penn, p. 262.

171). cf. Wragge: Barclay, p. 23; Beatty: Penn, p. 207.

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Memorial to this earnest farmer felt it fitting to praise his learning.[172] Tolles has made a thorough and fascinating survey of the contents of the libraries of the leading Pennsylvania Friends early in the eighteenth century,[173] and shows that they were extensive, well-rounded, and much read. They included legal and medical and scientific books, but also Greek, Roman and Renaissance classics and essayists. Friends, who had always had efficient machinery for the publication of books, also developed school and Meeting libraries and Library Companies. The tendency to approve particularly scientific books and practical treatises[174] was tied up with their working-class backgrounds and their business interests. For Quakers, as for Puritans,

> "the religious ethic, considered as a social force, so consecrated science as to make it a highly respected and laudable focus of attention".[175]

The Society of Friends produced a fairly constant succession of scientific lights of medium magnitude, from Thomas Young and Dalton to Eddington in our own time.[176] A positive social appraisal was involved, insofar as doctors were respected and lawyers somewhat despised.[177] Despite scornful comments on English University learning and speculative studies, Quakers were increasingly concerned for education, with an

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172). "He had great Openings and Discoveries of the Mysteries of God's Kingdom: he had also the Tongue of the Learned, and was fitted for every Good Word and Work the Lord employed him in" (Truth Exalted, p. 15.)

173). Tolles: Meeting-House, Ch. 7.

174). cf. Tolles: Meeting-House, p. 210.

175). Merton: Science, Technology and Society, p. 465; quoted Tolles: Meeting-House, p. 206.

176). cf. Grubb: What is Quakerism, p. 172.

177). Tolles: Meeting-House, p. 121.

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emphasis on elementary and secondary schools and on teaching modern languages, religion, and science, subjects that were "not notional or speculative, but sensible and practical."[178] It must be remembered that in this period of the Royal Society, somewhat the same trend was taking place in all of English education.[179]

By the middle of the 18th century, therefore, Quakers were the intellectual as well as the economic and social equals of any Nonconformists in England; they were regarded as "a somewhat eccentric but respectable body of people":[180]

> "The essence of the spiritual community, as the Society of Friends now defined it, was in moral uprightness and sober virtue. The unity of the spirit in the Society of Friends thus became transformed into a unity of Quaker peculiarities and respectability".[181]

The praise of respectability is perhaps the point at which the Quakers of the 18th century most markedly differ from the irrepressible "First Publishers" of the opening decade. Respectability grew gradually and rather unconsciously. Friends had always been concerned that the moral life of Quakers be a good witness to their movement. But the inner impulse to purify themselves had at first been so much the stronger, that outward conduct was only gradually brought under outward discipline. The most clear-cut change came in the desire of Friends, after toleration had been granted in 1689, to "walk circumspectly towards all men", and

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178). Penn, preface to Fox: Journal (Everyman Edn) xviii; cf. Jorns: Quaker Social Work, p. 117.

179). Although they maintained the classical languages for the Bible's sake, Puritan education also stressed the utilitarian rather than the literary; Tolles: Meeting-House, p. 207.

180). Emden: Quakers in Commerce, p. 10.

181). Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", p. 295.

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to "live inoffensively and thankfully towards the government".[182] This reaction is understandable enough, after all the suffering Friends had been through. It is the elements which silently dropped out of Quaker thought, which are worth noting: there was no longer any assumption that Quakers faced the government as equal protagonists, much less as those commissioned of the Lord to direct and reprove the State. The theocratic contempt for the transitory "powers of this world" was notably absent. The Lamb's War was over. From the beginning, Friends had praised the unity of the fellowship of Children of the Light. But towards the "World", the stress had been on non-violence and peaceability towards the State only so far as carnal weapons were concerned; the early Friends were hardly peaceable in mood, language or deportment. By the time of his death in 1690, Robert Barclay, (who as late as 1672 had gone through Aberdeen "for a sign" in sackcloth and ashes) was eulogized mainly in terms of his inoffensiveness:

> "He was all-along a man for Peace, and an Enemy to Strife and Dissension; but was a Peace-maker: I never knew him at any time to be in Passion or Anger....He was a Man of a publick Spirit and laboured for the publick good of all, but especially of those he was in Fellowship with".[183]

By 1700, although the unity of Friends with society at large was still sharply denied in spiritual areas of life, the emotional attitude even here had shifted from combat to aloofness. The Testimonies, as has been shown,[184] were partially cut off from the realm of reason and conscience in daily life. They were tied up with the Friends as a Society,

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182). Yearly Meeting Epistles for 1689 & 1696, as quoted in Braithwaite: Second Period, p. 179, and Armsby "Quaker View of State", p. 56.

183). Testimony of Patrick Livingstone", quoted Wragge: Barclay, pp. 7-8.

184). v. Section IX-B supra.

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and were maintained by its Discipline[185] and bonds of loyalty. "Church order was an order of moral discipline, more a matter of conduct than of reason".[186] Nevertheless, the division between those areas of moral conduct governed by Friends group life, and those which were left to the Conscience of the individual, was not hard and fast, and permitted a creative interaction.

The period in Quaker history, between the Quaker adjustment to Society in 1688-1722, and the rise of Evangelicalism among Friends a century later, is often called The Quietist period: It should perhaps be subdivided; in Pennsylvania the great turn inwards came only in 1751-8.[187] Moreover the Quakers who were leaders in mystical Quietism were also, like Woolman and Job Scott, revivers of the Society of Friends ethically as well. A careful study would probably distinguish between the emphasis upon quietness in spirit in worship (which had been somewhat characteristic of Friends from the beginning),[188] and the sense of inactivity and stagnancy that was true of many Meetings in the eighteenth century. In a group marked off by unique customs, preserving its membership by including its children as Birthright Members, this inactivism corresponds to the actual decline in membership experienced by other church groups in this period. In this respect, R. H. Bainton is clearly sound in saying that Quaker Quietism corresponds to the Deism which overtook most of English religion at this period. Friends had increas-

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185). Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", p. 291.

186). Hertz: "Bible Commonwealth", p. 267.

187). Tolles: Meeting-House, p. 235.

188). Burnyeat, op. cit.: Testimony of Irish Friends.

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ingly stressed Reason, but only in the area of practical life; it had not affected their theological thinking. When other groups increasingly tried theologically to reduce "religion within the bounds of natural reason", such Deists were responding to emotional and economic-social pressures quite as much as to theological ones. Friends responded to the same pressures by calcifying the wall of Testimonies which separated them from non-Friends, and by retiring spiritually into the Meeting. It has been pointed out that the early eighteenth century was by no means spiritually dead. There were many individuals of deep devotion, religious understanding and saintly life. But climate of general opinion was probably not encouraging to these individuals. It does seem to be true that it is individual piety and saintliness of personal life (or leadership within a limited group) that is most characteristic of these men, whether it be Job Scott within the Society of Friends, or William Law outside of it. It is not easy to say how far the personal religious experience of these men had broken away from that of early Quakerism. Although it usually lacked its suddenness of crisis and its emotional intensity, in many cases later Friends went through an ethical conversion as definite and thorough-going as that of early Quakerism.[189]

The Quietist period, whether in terms of its inward mysticism or of its social inactivism, represents the strongest contrast to the Friends' outlook of the first great decade. In other more recent periods, with further upspringings of religious life within the Society of Friends and with new reactions to religion and to Friends on the part of Society at large, other developments have taken place. Some of these

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189). cf. Brinton: Children of Light, pp. 383-406.

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such as the Relief and Reconciliation work of the American Friends Service Committee and the British Friends Service Council, have been major and pioneering contributions to western religious life. But there has been no going back to the outlook of the earliest days. It is questionable whether it would be good, or in fact possible to do so.

An interesting sidelight to the developments in Quaker social outlooks is found, as Tolles has pointed out,[190] in the response of Friends to the Great Awakening of the 1730's in the American colonies. During the visits of the Methodist George Whitehead, Friends seem to have been almost the only Philadelphia group which was cold to his work, disliking its emotionalism and the conversion of children. James Pemberton wrote:

> "I believe it has proceeded more from the terrifying expressions of some of their teachers [in the Great Awakening] than any real sense of a true hearty religion, which by all accounts had a very different effect at the first appearance of our worthy Friends, who suffered so many cruelties for the advancement of that blessed Truth...it being now a time of ease people have not so much to rouse them as formerly."[191]

As Tolles remarks: "Here are the heirs of one movement of uninhibited emotional religion pronouncing judgment from the vantage-point of a Century-long development into emotional restraint and social respectability, upon a cognate movement of vital popular religion in the first flush of its exuberant youth".[192] Quaker criticisms of the Great Awakening sound strikingly like those of Presbyterian opponents of the early Friends. The Great Awakening, like the first Quaker outburst,

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190). Frederick B. Tolles: "Quietism vs. Enthusiasm: The Philadelphia Quakers and the Great Awakening", in The Pennsylvania Magazine of History & Geography, Jan. 1945, pp. 27-49.

191). Quoted in Tolles: "Quietism", p. 35.

192). "Quietism", pp. 35-6.

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occurred among a people economically and educationally disinherited, yet holding latent Christian traditions and moral standards. These conditions are rarely repeated within the same group.[193] Yet clearly such movements as the rise of Quakerism are much more than mere emotional outbursts. Where little but mass emotion is involved, revival will indeed often follow revival, with little visible aftermath except the exhaustion of the people, as in the "burnt over" area in the finger-lake region of New York State in the 1830's and 1840's.[194] A movement such as the early Friends causes a basic change in the ethical life and in the whole social and religious outlook of the group which is not only life-long, but influences succeeding generations.

There is also a stimulation of mind which goes with such an Awakening and usually results in a message and a doctrine. The message in such movements is to some extent the same in each case, insofar as it involves a rejection of book-religion, a protest against the preemption of worship by the clergy, and above all the demand for radical repentance. Such movements, moreover, spring as a rule from the general body of Christian gospel and doctrine. Nevertheless, because of the maturing and altering of mental and emotional outlook in the course of history of most such movements, the millenarians of one generation are chuckled at by the descendants of the millenarians of an earlier one. Each movement of Awakening, moreover, has unique elements in its message, influenced not only by the ideas of the period which its founders have

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193). It is interesting to compare the American "Second Awakening" of 1797-1810 on the frontier, which had been religiously untouched, with its earnest, transforming, but quiet and sober course among the established churches of New England.

194). cf. W. W. Sweet: Story of Religion in America (N. Y. Harper, 1939), p. 396-7.

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absorbed or protested against, but by the depth of the religious experience and understanding of these pioneers.[195] The unique elements in each new movement's beliefs, however, may add to the breach between one Christian movement and another.[196] It is a danger to Christians at all times, when Christian movements stand against each other. The member of the staid and long-established church finds it easy to be tolerant, especially of other groups of the same ethos. But it is of the essence of the transforming power of the newborn religious movement that it should inspire a spirit of total war against evil, and seek to overcome "the World". This involves not infrequently a spirit of war, not only against the lukewarm, but against all who reject the unique aspects it includes in its Gospel. The desirable reconciliation and mutual appreciation is not always possible until the new movement is already cooling. This fact must be accepted, for ultimately the unity of Christians, and the integration of their work and their visions into a single Kingdom, is not the work of men, but of God. It is to be seen more by faith than by sight. Yet seeing the energy with which the early Friends struggled to overcome evil in themselves and throughout the world, even the staid and sober churchman may be encouraged to devote his own life and work more wholeheartedly to the will of God.

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195). That this does not necessarily mean a formulated creed or a single formulator is clear from the history of the Quakers. Yet one may expect a more permanent and more universal influence for the ideas of Quakerism than for those of other groups equally intense and sincere, such as the Jehovah's Witnesses of our own time.

196). This was the unhappy result for Friends of the Evangelical Movement begun by the Wesleys, which traditional Quakerism could neither accept nor dismiss as antichristian, and which therefore led to division and separation within Quakerism.

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APPENDIX I

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF QUAKER AND PURITAN LEADERS

It is a common schoolboys' maxim that a line from the Humber to the Severn would divide Puritans from Royalists in the Civil War; the famous Puritan congregations, also, were mostly in south-eastern England. Conversely, the leadership of early Quakerism came mainly, if not entirely, from the North-West.*1 The attempt to reduce such generalizations to accurate statistics falls inevitably afoul of the type of historical material available. In the table following, the selection of leaders from each group is dependent upon the individuals chosen for mention in secondary sources,*2 and also dependent, in some cases, upon biographical information being available in primary or secondary sources or the Dictionary of National Biography. Without a very exhaustive study, only such approximate results can be achieved. For certain Puritan leaders, it has seemed worth listing their places of origin (usually, the birth-places) as well as the centers of their work, although in many cases these men became Puritans only after entering University.

The specific groups tabulated are as follows:

1. A group of about ten extreme Protestants under Henry VIII, active in the generation 1510-1540. Many died or were exiled before they could influence local parishes.

2. A group of about 20 leading Protestants under Edward VI, who were active between 1540 & 1570, except for the years of exile or inactivity from from 1553 to 1558.

3. Puritan I: The generation of Puritan ministers active under Queen Elizabeth: 56 names based mainly on Haller (Rise of Puritanism) and Knappen (Tudor Puritanism); the locations are in terms of pastorates of 2 years or more (sometimes several for each minister), in the period 1570-1600.

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*1 (cf. Brocklebank: Burrough: p.50)

*2 (where it has been possible to use original sources, or exhaustive lists ((e.g. of Cromwell's "Tryors & Ejectors"), this has of course been done).

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4. Puritan II: Origins: Birth-places, (where known) for 42 Puritan ministers active in the period 1600-1630. This group would be those who had heard and been influenced by the ministers in the generation "Puritan I", and might show their effectiveness. Similar lists of origins for the three previous generations could have been made, but would have proved little. (In the Edwardian generation, for instance, Latimer, Sandys & Grindal all came from the North-West, but none returned there, nor apparently became Protestants until after leaving home). In each period more Puritan ministers preached in London than were born there; the opposite is true of all the northern counties.

5. Puritan II: Pastorates: parishes held and preached in by the 42 ministers listed under (4), in the period 1600-1630. Many of this group emigrated to New England.

6. Puritan III: Origins: The ministers whose birth-places are listed here are those who became Presbyterian in the split of Presbyterian and Independent groups in the 1640's. About 31 men.

7. Puritan III: Pastorates: the orthodox Puritan and Presbyterian pastorates in 1630-1660. To the 31 men of this group must be added the Independent leaders, the New Englanders, and those who dropped from sight in the Civil War, to get a total proportionate to the spread of Puritanism from one generation to another.

8. Separatist pastorates: All separatist and Independent congregations before 1640; led by a small group of famous names, Barrowe, Browne, Greenwood, Johnson, and Robinson.

9. Independents; Origins: The 20 members of this group had mostly been orthodox Puritans, and remained such in everything except church-order.

10. Independent Pastorates: This, like all the figures, is only a sampling: "there were probably about 150 Congregational churches in England [in 1660] of which 37 were in Norfolk and Suffolk. Similarly there were about 360 Independent ministers ejected in 1660-62, of which number 58 were resident in these counties".*1 The regional proportion seems to be correct in the smaller selection.

11. Particular Baptists: The list is of congregations (each of which might have several ministers). These Baptists, being Calvinists, were strongest in the Puritan areas.

12. General Baptists: Early: The year 1653 is taken as a dividing line, so as to list here those congregations in existence when Quakerism arose, and which might have influenced Quaker leaders.

13. General Baptists: Later: The congregations in existence 1653-60 (a very incomplete list), including also those founded in the "Early" period.

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*1 (Jordan: Toleration III,)

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14. "Spiritual Puritans": The small group of 8 names who became famous by their writings. These men belonged to the South-east of England, though their influence must have spread beyond. None came from areas of later Quaker strength, or preached there.

15. Quaker Meetings before 1660: a very incomplete list, based on Braithwaite (Beginnings): there were certainly Meetings in Durham, and others not listed in Dorset, Somerset, etc. It is hard to distinguish between small home meetings and large, organized assemblies.

16. Quaker Leaders, 1647-72: This list of 192 leaders (based on Braithwaite: Beginnings; First Publishers, etc.) tries to balance preaching fame with local administrative leadership. (All Friends who are mentioned as doing itinerant preaching, or as attending national Meetings have been included). This list forms the basis of the discussion in Section II-G of this thesis.

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County	(1) Hen VIII	(2) Edw VI	(3) Prn I Pas	(4) Prn II Org	(5) Prn II Pas	(6) Prn III Org	(7) Prn III Pas	(8) Sep Pas	(9) Ind Org	(10) Ind Pas	(11) Pte Bpt Lat (b)	(12) Gen Bpt Ear	(13) Gen Bpt Lat (b)	(14) Spi rtl	(15) Q Mtg	(16) Q Ldr
Sussex		2	3			1		2	1	1					1	5
Kent	2	1	4	1	1	1	2	1		3		3	4		4	
Surrey			4		2	1	1								4	
London & Middlesex	12	7	22	2	14	1	21	10	2	15	7	5	7	3	9?	25
Essex		3	8	4	14		7	3		4		1	1	1	2	5
Suffolk	1	1	7	4	12		1	1	1	1					1	5
Norfolk	1		3	1	4		4	6	2	3						2
Cambridge Town & Univ.	2	3	11		4		8	1						1		
Cambridgesh. & Ely (a)			3	1	2	1										4
Herts.	1		2	1	2	3										1
Beds.					1	1								1		1
Hunts.										1		2				
Northants.			3		3	3	2	2								
Bucks.			1		1		1		1		1	2?	2	2		2
Oxford town & University		2	4				3			2						
Oxfordshire (a)			2	3	2		2		2	2	1		1		3	4
Berks.			1		1										1	2
Hants.	1	1	3		1							1	1		2	1
Wilts.			3			2	2								2	2
Dorset		1	2		1					1					4?	1
Somerset (a)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			1	2				3?	6
Devonshire		1			2		3		1	2	1	1			4	1
Cornwall					1				2						2	2

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County	(1) Hen VIII	(2) Edw VI	(3) Prn I Pas	(4) Prn II Org	(5) Prn II Pas	(6) Prn III Org	(7) Prn III Pas	(8) Sep Pas	(9) Ind Org	(10) Ind Pas	(11) Ptc Bpt Lat	(12) Gen Bpt Ear	(13) Gen Bpt Lat	(14) Spi rtl	(15) Q Mtg	(16) Q Ldr
Bristol			1				1				1	1			2?	9
Glo'ster	1		3			3	3	1							5?	5
Wor'ster.			2				2					2	2		6	
Herefords.		1								1	1				1	1
So. Wales									1	2	1					1
Radnor & Montgomery				1							1	2	2			3
Shropshire					1	2			1	1						
Warwicks.	1	2	3	1		2	5			1	1				4	2
Staffords.	1		4				1								2	1
Leicester & Rutland		1	1	4					1							
Lincolns.			1	1	1	2	2	1	5							
Notts.					1			5		2					1	4
Derby				1	2					1						
Cheshire			1		2	2	2	2		2	1					2
Flint, Denb. No. Wales			1							1						2
Ireland & I. of Man				2	2											2
So. Lancs (c)			8	3	8	2	1			1	2	1	1		2?	1
So. Yorks & York City			1	1								1		?	3	17
Yorks, East Riding						1									3	6
Cleveland (NE Yorks)											1				5	2
NW Yorks (N & W Rid'gs)			2	1						1					6	16

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County	(1) Hen VIII	(2) Edw VI	(3) Prn I Pas	(4) Prn II Org	(5) Prn II Pas	(6) Prn III Org	(7) Prn III Pas	(8) Sep Pas	(9) Ind Org	(10) Ind Pas	(11) Ptc Bpt Lat	(12) Gen Bpt Ear	(13) Gen Bpt Lat	(14) Spi rtl	(15) Q Mtg	(16) Q Ldr
Furness & No. Lancs				1											4	12
Westmorland		1		1		1									8	20
Cumberland		1					1								6	6
Northumb.		1	1			1					1					1
Durham		2					1		1							2
Scotland (d)		1	1	1		1										4

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(Notes on the Table:
(a): Figures for Oxfordshire and Cambridgeshire do not include the Universities or the University towns. Gloucestershire figures do not include Bristol.
(b): Churches listed after 1653 include those founded before 1653.
(c): South Lancashire is taken to be the area from Preston south. (Because of more intensive study, figures of Lancashire Puritanism are not entirely comparable with other areas.)
(d): This figure includes only Scottish ministers preaching in English Churches, together with Baptist and Independent congregations in contact with those in England.

The relatively high proportion of Quakers from the north-west, even when all Quaker activities up to 1672 are considered, is clear from this table. This is borne out by what other evidence is available, although each of the figures involves distorting factors:

In the persecutions of 1661 ff, there were 500 Quakers emprisoned in London, 700 in Bristol (a center of unusually severe conflict), 212 in Somerset, 500 in Yorkshire, 183 in Staffordshire, only 60 in Colchester (the main Quaker center in East Anglia). 280 were emprisoned in Lancashire, 240 in Warwickshire. 11 other areas had 100 each.[1]

Of 7758 signatures on the Petition of Quaker women against Tithes in 1659, 744 were from Yorkshire, 680 from London, 481 from North Yorkshire, 464 from Cheshire, 439 from Cumberland, 416 from Warwickshire, 405 from Bucks, 299 from Somerset, 230 from Dorset, 229 from Gloucestershire, 180 from Lincolnshire, 163 from Northumberland, 102 from Northamptonshire, 109 from Hertfordshire, 88 from Notts, 87 from Durham. Petitions from wider areas, included two with 750 signatures each from the 6 eastern counties, and from the 3 Thames valley counties. 240 signed one from Wales and Herefordshire. 4 petitions with no place indicated, signed by from 150 to 260 women, must include one from Westmorland.

The largest groups of Quaker emigrants to Pennsylvania came from the Northern counties, from the Bristol area, and from London.[2]

Thus the evidence is fairly unanimous that the North-west of England, the Severn region, and the London area were the areas of greatest Quaker strength. Although Puritans, especially of the more radical groups, were strong in London and Bristol, their other areas of strength were in the counties where Quakerism was weakest. Cf. also map in end papers.

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1. (cf. Braithwaite: Second Period, P. 9,etc. No figures were given for Westmorland and Cumberland).
2. (cf. Tolles: Meeting House, p.29,etc.

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APPENDIX II

ECONOMIC BACKGROUNDS OF QUAKERS AND RADICAL PURITANS

The attempt to establish statistically the economic backgrounds of the early Quakers, and of the Baptists and other groups, meets the same problems involved in finding their regional origins, with an added uncertainty as to the meaning of terms:*1 the following figures while simply random samplings, do seem to indicate, as might be expected, that Friends were basically a working-class group. The proportion of Friends from farm background was high in the north. In Bristol the group were mostly tradesmen and artisans. The leadership was of higher social and economic level than the rank and file, but this was not nearly as much true as among the Baptists.

The groups tabulated are as follows:

1. 66 Northern Quakers who became the "First Publishers of Truth" and took part in itinerant preaching. While not representative of the whole membership this list would be more of a cross-section than a list of outstanding leaders. (Material taken from Taylor: Valiant Sixty).

2. 87 Bristol Quakers; the male membership of a Bristol Friends Meeting in 1683. 91 women were also members of this group. (Material from Grubb: Quakers in Industry). This was probably a fairly typical city Quaker group at this period.

3. 99 Quaker leaders: Of the 192 Quaker leaders from all areas and roles within Quakerism (see Appendix I), occupational information was readily found for these 99. This list, however, must thus not be considered complete or fully representative, even of Quaker leadership.

4. 90 Philadelphia Quakers: A survey of 90 marriages reported in the minute book of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting between 1683 and 1708 was made by Frederick Tolles (Meeting-House), pp.41-2). This list represents the occupations of the bridegrooms. They would all be emigrants to the colony; most would have emigrated in poverty, but many would have had time to restore their standing considerably.

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*1. (e.g. of "Yeomen"; cf. Section II-G of this thesis).

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5. A Barrowist congregation, including 48 men (mostly under 35 years of age), was arrested in London in 1593. Their occupations, as noted down by the Court, would probably be typical of an early Separatist group.

6. 50 Baptist leaders: This list, culled from secondary sources (notably Underwood: Baptists), involves once again a large element of selectivity, and would not be typical of rank-and-file Baptist membership. It includes both General and Particular Baptists (cf. on these groups Section II-C). It covers the entire period, 1610-1660.

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	(1) 66 Northern Quakers	(2) 87 Bristol Quakers	(3) 99 Quaker Leaders	(4) 90 Phila. Quakers	(5) 48 London Barrowists	(6) 50 Baptist Leaders
Generals, Admirals (or ex-)						6
Colonels, Naval Capts.("")	2		2			12
Majors, Captains, Cornets("")	6		6			5
Soldiers & Sailors (or ex-)	10		10	2	1	1
Judges, Sheriffs, JP's, etc.	7		7			
National Gov't officials						4
Squires, Gentlemen	2	1	3	1		4
Physicians			2	1		1
Established (C.of E.)Clergy			2		1	7
Schoolmasters, lawyers	4	2	3		2	
Wives or daughters of groups above	2		3			
Ex-Baptist or Indep.clergy			4		(3)	
Merchants		1	3	16		3
Alderman			1			
Goldsmiths, Coppersmiths			2		2	
Shipmaster			1			
Tutor, Law-clerk, Scrivener		1	2		2	
Innkeepers, Bakers, Vintners			2	4		2
Glovers, Hatters, Feltmakers			2	1	4	1
Carpenters, turners, coopers		6	2	17	4	
Surgeons, Apothecaries		1	2		1	
Glaziers, Bricklayers			1	6		
Weavers, cloth-makers, spin'r		8	1	5	4	
Shipwrights				3	6	
Tanners, Tallow-chandlers			2	3	1	
Linen or woollen-drapers			2	2	2	
Cobblers, shoemakers, combmaker		6	2	1	2	1
Grocers, distillers, fishmongers		8	2		1	2
Tailors			5		4	2
Cordwainers		6		8		
"Tradesmen", "craftsmen"	10		2			
Wife or daughter to any of above groups	5		2			
Lady-in-waiting			1			
Farmer, Husbandman	17		10	4	1	1
Yeoman	13					
Household Servants	3		4	1	4	

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n.p.: no place or publisher given; n.d.: no date given
bsd: broadside.

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Fox, George: A Letter from George Fox to Lady Claypool (n.d., n.p.; the letter was written about 1658, cf. Fox: Journal, I, 432)

Fox, George: A Line of Righteousness Stretched Forth (London, R. Wilson, 1661, etc.)

Fox, George: Our Covenant with God and with all men is peace (bsd; London, Thomas Simmons 1660).

Fox, George: Saul's Errand to Damascus (London, Giles Calvert, 1653)

Fox, George: A Short Epistle to Friends to keep in the Power of God (1678, n.p. but signed Swarthmore; bsd.)

[Fox, George]: Something by Way of Query To The Bishops Courts (bsd; n.p., 1671)

Fox, George: Something Concerning Silent Meeting (bsd; n.p. [1657])

Fox, George: To the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England: 59 Particulars Laid Down for Regulating Things (London, Thomas Simmons, 1659)

Fox, George: To the Protector and Parliament of England (London, Giles Calvert, 1658)

Fox, George: To you that are Crying: What is become of our Forefathers (London, n.d., Thomas Simmons)

Fox, George, the younger: A Collection of the Several Books and Writings Given Forth by that Faithful Servant of God and of his People, George Fox the Younger (London, 1665)

Fox, George, the younger: Englands Sad Estate and Condition Lamented (London, Robert Wilson, 1661)

Fox, George, the younger: A Noble Salutation and A Faithful Greeting unto thee Charles Stuart (London, Robert Wilson, 1660)

Green, Thomas: To Both Houses of Parliament sitting at Westminster (bsd; n.p., 1662)

Howgill, Francis: Gray Ridge, the Book of Francis Howgill, compiled by Will Hayes (Meopham, Kent; the Order of the Great Companions, 1942)

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Howgill, Francis: The Dawnings of the Gospel-Day and its Light and Glory Discovered; [Works] (n.p., 1676); this includes:
"Wo against the magistrates, Ministers and People of Kendall...(1654)
"To all you who have Eyes" (1654)
"This was the Word of the Lord to Oliver Cromwell" (1654)
"A Warning to the Rulers in these English Nations" (1654)
"A Warning to all the World" (1654)
"The True Rule, Judge and Guide of the True Church of God" (1665)

Hubberthorn, Richard: The Horn of the He-Goat Broken (London, Giles Calvert, 1657)

Hubberthorn, Richard: Something that Lately passed in Discourse between the King and R. H. (London, G[iles] C[alvert], 1660)

Lawson, Thomas: An Appeal to the Parliament Concerning the Poor that there may not be a beggar in England (London, 1660)

Mason, Martin: Charles, King of England (bsd; London, 1660)

Nailor (Nayler), James: An Answer to a Book Called the Quaker's Catechism... by Richard Baxter (London, 1655)

Nayler, James: A Collection of Sundry Books, Epistles & Papers written by James Nayler (London, J. Sowle, 1716); includes the following:
"Divers Particulars of the Persecution of James Nayler by the Priests of Westmorland" (1652).
"Examination of James Nayler...at the Sessions at Appleby" (1652).
"Letter of James Nayler's to some ~~Friends~~ Friends in Yorkshire" (1652)
"An Epistle to several Friends about Wakefield" (1653)
"To All...Friends in Holderness" (1653)
"A Word to the Seed of the Serpent"
"A Discovery of the Wisdom which is from Beneath" (1653)
"A Call to Magistrates, Ministers, Lawyers, and People to Repentance" (1653)
"A Lamentation over the Ruins of this oppressed Nation" (1653)
"The Lamb's War against the Man of Sin" (1658)
"To the Rulers" (1658)
"Love to the Lost, and a Hand held forth to the Helpless" (1656)
"To Oliver Cromwell" (1655)

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"The Power and Glory of the Lord Shining out of the North" (1653)
"How SIN is Strengthened and how it is overcome" (1657)
"A Word to you Magistrates" (1653)
"The Way how all Flesh Come to Know the Lord" (1653)
"Truth Cleared from Scandals" (1653)
"Letter to Charles II" (1660)
"To those who were in Authority" (1660

Nayler, James: A Discovery of the Beast...An Answer to... T. Winterton (London, 1655)

Nayler, James: A Discovery of the Man of Sin (London, Giles Calvert, 1655)

Nayler, James: The Foot Yet in the Snare, in an Answer to John Toldervy (London, Giles Calvert, 1656)

Penington, Isaac: Letters of Isaac Penington, an Eminent Minister of the Gospel in the Society of Friends (Philadelphia, Book Association of Friends, 1883)

Penington, Isaac: The Works of the Long-Mournful and Sorely-Distressed Isaac Penington (2nd edition; London, J. Phillips, 1761).
Vol. 1 includes: "An advertisement to the Powers and People of this Nation" (1660)
"Concerning Persecution" (n.d.)
Vol. II includes: "On Separation"
"Some things relating to Religion, proposed to the Royal Society".

Penn, William: Christian Discipline...for the well-governing of my Family (Birmingham, 1751; an older edition of this broadside has no date).

Penn, William: The Great Case of Liberty of Conscience ([London], 1670)

Penn, William: Histoire Abrégée de l'Origine et de la Formation de la Formation de la Société Dite des Quakers, translated by Ed. P. Bridel (Philadelphia, 1808)

Penn, William: No Cross, No Crown (14th Edition; Dublin, John Gough, 1797)

Penn, William: The Speech of William Penn to His Majesty Upon his Delivering the Queen's Address (n.p., n.d.)

Penn, William: To the Children of Light in this Generation (1678) (later reprinted from Select Works, pp.497,ff.)

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Rigge, Ambrose: To all the Hireling Priests in England (London, 1659; bsd.)

Salthouse, Thomas: Richard Hubberthorn, Edward Byllinge & others: To Both the Houses of Parliament, The General, and the Officers of the Army (London, 3-15, 1660)

R. S.: The Dreadful and Terrible Voice of God Uttered from the Throne of Justice (London, n.d. [during 1660's])

Salthouse, Thomas: A Candle Lighted at a Coal from the Altar (London, 1660)

Scostroppe, Richard: A Word from the Lord to the Rulers and Inhabitants of London, that they may Repent (London, 1661)

Sewel, William: The History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of the Christian People called Quakers (London, James Phillips, 1795)

Smith, Humphrey: The Vision of Humphrey Smith...Concerning London (London, Thos. Simmons, 1660).

Smith, William: The Cause Plainly Shewed of the Persecution upon the...Quakers (London, 1661)

Smith, William: A few plain words concerning Conformity in Matter of Religion & Worship (n.p., 1664)

Smith, William: Liberty of Conscience (London, 1662)

Whitehead, George: The Cause and Prevention of Great Calamities (London, 1692)

Whitehead, John: The Enmity Between the Two Seeds (London, T. Sowle, 1703)

Whitehead, John: A Manifestation of Truth in the Written Gospel-Labours of...John Whitehead (London, T. Sowle, 1704)

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B. Non-Quaker Primary Sources

Bunyan, John: Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners, in a faithful account of the Life and Death of John Bunyan (in: Works, New Haven, 1830, Vol. I)

Dell, William: Select Works of William Dell (London, John Kendall, 1773); includes the following:
"Christ's Spirit the Christian's Strength" (1645)
"Uniformity Examined" (1645)
"The Building, Beauty, Teaching and establishment of the Truly Christian and Spiritual Church" (1646)
"Right Reformation" (1646)
"The Stumbling Stone"
"The Doctrine of Baptism" (1652)
"The Trial of Spirits" (1653
"A Testimony Against Divinity Degrees in the Universities" (1655)
"The Right Reformation of Learning" (1655)

Latimer, Hugh: 27 Sermons Preached by the ryght Reuerende father in God and constant Matir of Jesus Christe, Maister Hugh Latimer (London, John Day, 1562)

Perkins, William: A Golden Chaine (London, J. Legatt, 1597)

Perkins, William: Works (Cambridge, John Legate, 1604)
Volume I includes:
"A Salve for a Sicke Man"
"How to Live, and that Well"
"A discourse of Conscience"
"A Case of Conscience, the greatest that ever was, how a man may know whether he be a child of God, or no".

- - - The Records of the Church of Christ Meeting in Broadmead, Bristol 1640-87, edited for the Hanserd Knollys Society by Edward Bean Underhill (London, 1847)

- - - Records of the Churches of Christ gathered at Fenstanton, Warboys & Hexham, 1644-1720, edited for the Hanserd Knollys Society by Edward Bean Underhill (London, 1854)

Stubbe, Henry Campanella Revised (London, 1670)

Stubbe, Henry A Light Shining out of Darkness (London, 1659)

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Non-Quaker Primary Sources (Continued)

- - - A True Relation of the Proceedings against certain Quakers at the generall court of Massachusetts ...October 18, 1659 (by Edward Rawson, Secretary of the General Council, London, 1660)

Winstanley, Gerrard: The Works of Gerrard Winstanley, edited by George H. Sabine (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1941)

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C: Secondary Sources, Published

Books are not listed here for which there is only a single reference in the text of this dissertation, except where the general content of the book is of special significance for this study.

For further comments on individual books, see Introduction.

Allen, J. W.: English Political Thought, 1603-1660: Vol. I, 1603-1644, (London, Methuen, 1938); thorough and sound, factual; conservative in outlook; anti-Puritan.

Bainton, Roland H.: "The Struggle for Religious Liberty", in Church History, Vol X (March 1941); a very useful schematic analysis.

Bainton, Roland H: The Travail of Religious Liberty (Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1951); lively historical essays on crucial figures, excellently documented, with comparative introduction and conclusion.

Barclay, Robert: The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth (London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1879); Barclay (who is not to be confused with his seventeenth century namesake) presents a careful analysis of selected documents from Quaker, Baptist & Mennonite sources.

Bartlett, Percy W.: Quakers and the Christian Church (London, Friends Book Center, 1942); an interesting essay on Quakerism and the ecumenical movement, sacramental in interest.

Bates, Miner Searle: Religious Liberty, an Inquiry (Harper, for the International Missionary Council, 1945). A factual survey, historical and present-day. Thorough; not analytical.

Beatty, Edwin Corbyn O.: William Penn as Social Philosopher (N. Y. Columbia University Press, 1939); an excellent study and interpretation, showing the conservative, "squire Penn" in his relations with his colonists and with Whig writers.

Belasco, Philip S.: Authority in Church and State, with a forward by G. P. Gooch; (London, George Allen & Unwin, 1928); unusually full in bibliography; somewhat distorts Quaker outlooks by re-interpreting them in entirely humanistic terms.

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Secondary Sources (Continued)

Best, Mary Agnes: Rebel Saints (N. Y. Harcourt Brace, 1925); tales of Quaker missionary zeal and persecutions; by a radical of the Debs era (perhaps a good complement to Quaker history by "weighty Friends").

Bevan, Joseph Gurney: Memoirs of the Life of Isaac Penington (Philadelphia, W. H. Pile, 1903); an old Quaker standby, based mainly on Penington's own notes.

Black, J. B.: The Reign of Elizabeth, 1558-1603 (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1936) a standard historical work, well-balanced.

Blomfield, W. E. & others: The Baptists of Yorkshire (Bradford, William Byles & Sons, Ltd., 1912) an antiquarian's study; value mainly negative, in showing how late Baptists reached the North.

Braithwaite, William C.: The Beginnings of Quakerism (London, MacMillan, 1912) The classic history; indispensible; thorough, readable, with excellent judgment.

Braithwaite, William C.: The Second Period of Quakerism (London, MacMillan, 1919) Covers the period 1660-1713, continuing the standard Quaker history series.

Braithwaite, William C.: "The Westmorland and Swaledale Seekers in 1651" (Journal of Friends Historical Society, Vol. V, (1908),pp.3-10); documentary.

Brauer, Gerald C.: "Puritan Mysticism and the Development of Liberalism" in Church History, Vol. XIX (Sept. 1950),pp.151-171) on the "spiritual Puritans".

Brayshaw, A. Neave: The Quakers, Their Story and Message (3rd Revised edition, N. Y., MacMillan, 1938); a more popular presentation than the Braithwaite-Jones series, but good.

Brinton, Howard H. (editor): Children of Light [Essays] in Honor of Rufus Jones (N. Y., MacMillan, 1938); excellent studies of special topics in Quaker history.

Brinton, Howard H.: Sources of the Quaker Peace Testimony (Wallingford, Pa.; Pendle Hill, 1940); a brief, sound, historical study.

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Secondary Sources (Continued)

Brocklebank, Elisabeth: Edward Burrough, A Wrestler for Truth, 1634-1662 (London, Bannisdale Press, 1949); good on facts, and excerpts from Burrough's writing. Author's comments somewhat romanticize.

Brown, Louise Fargo: The Political Activities of Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men (Washington, American Historical Assocn., 1912) The most thorough, objective and clear study of religious politics under the Commonwealth.

Burrage, Champlin: The Early English Dissenters in the Light of Recent Research (1550-1641), II Vols. (Cambridge, University Press, 1912); an unsophisticated presentation of important documents from the earlier part of the period (1550-1615); sketchy thereafter.

Byrne, M. St. Clare: Elizabethan Life in Town & Country (London, Methuen, 1925) popular presentation; good on roads and farm life. No regional differentiation.

Clark, Henry W.: History of English Nonconformity (London, Chapman & Hall, 1911); little on the North during the Commonwealth.

Dew Roberts, B: Mitre & Musket: John Williams, Lord Keeper & Archbishop of York (London, Oxford University Press, 1938); describes Puritan & Royalist alignments along the Welsh border.

Dodds, Madeleine & Hope: The Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536-7, and the Exeter Conspiracy, 1538 (Cambridge University Press, 1915); a thorough and suggestive survey of the social backgrounds of two regional movements.

Eddington, Arthur J.: The First Fifty Years of Quakerism in Norwich (London, Friends Historical Society, [1932]); factual.

Emden, Paul Herman: Quakers in Commerce (London, S.Low Marston & Co., 1940); readable and thorough; covers mainly the period after 1689.

Ferguson, Richard S.: A History of Cumberland (London, Elliot Stock, 1894); by a county worthy; limited in outlook, but thorough.

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Secondary Sources (Continued)

Ferguson, Richard S.: A History of Westmorland (London, Elliot Stock, 1894); a companion to the previous history, but less thoroughly documented for the 17th century.

Freund, Michael: Die Idee der Toleranz im England der Grossen Revolution (Halle Saale, Max Niemeyer, 1927); An excellent interpretative analysis of leading English figures

Gooch, G.P.: English Democratic Ideas in the 17th Century (Cambridge University Press, 1927); by a scholarly British Liberal.

Grubb, Edward: "The Evangelical Movement and its Impact on the Society of Friends" (Presidential Address to the Friends Historical Society, 1923); Friends Quarterly Examiner, January 1924 (reprinted, Leominster, 1924).

Grubb, Edward: The Historic and the Inward Christ (London, Headley Brothers, 1914); the best study of Quaker Christology.

Grubb, Edward: What is Quakerism: An Exposition of the leading Principles and Practices of the Society of Friends as based on the Experience of the "Inward Light" (London, George Allen & Unwin, 1917, reprinted 1942).

Grubb, Isabel: Quakerism & Industry before 1800 (London, Williams & Norgate, 1930); includes all aspects of Quaker economic life in a scholarly study.

Haller, William: The Rise of Puritanism (N.Y., Columbia University Press, 1938); an excellent, readable, scholarly book, showing the influence of the Puritan ministry upon the life and thought of England.

Haller, William: "The Word of God in the New Model Army", in Church History, Vol.XIX, No.1, pp.15-54; on the chaplains in Cromwell's forces.

Halley, Robert: Lancashire, its Puritanism and Non-conformity (Manchester, Tubbs & Brook, 1872); a thorough historical record.

Harvey, T.Edmund: Quakkr Language (Presidential Address to the Friends Historical Society, 1928) (Philadelphia, 1928); presents valuable material, but less reliable in interpretation.

Hazelton, Robert M.: In Our Midst (N.Y., The Island Press, 1948); a philosophy of pacifism, with a chapter on Nayler.

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Secondary Sources (Continued)

Hodgkin, Henry, and William C. Braithwaite: The Mission and Message of Quakerism (London, John Winston, 1912); good presentation for modern lay readers.

Hodgkin, L.V. (Mrs. John Holdsworth): Gulielma, Wife of William Penn (London, Longmans Green, 1947); charming and full of historical detail.

Hodgkin, L.V. (Mrs. John Holdsworth): A Book of Quaker Saints (London, Macmillan, 1922); short biographies of Quaker women.

Hudson, Winthrop: "The Economic and Social Thought of Gerrard Winstanley" in Journal Of Modern History, March, 1946.

Hudson, Winthrop: "Puritanism and the Spirit of Capitalism", in Church History, March, 1949, pp.3-17; a defense of the Puritan ministers against Weber's concept of Puritan economics.

James, Margaret: England during the Interregnum (London, Longmans Green, 1935); a useful collection of primary materials.

Johnson, George Arthur: "From Seeker to Finder: A Study in English Spiritualism before the Quakers", in Church History, December, 1948; from a somewhat limited perspective.

Jones, Paul Van Brunt: The Household of a Tudor Nobleman (Cedar Rapids, the Torch Press, 1918); based on careful analysis of household account books.

Jones, Rufus M.: Studies in the Mystical Religion (London, Macmillan, 1909); the best work on the "spiritual Puritans", and on the European "Spiritual Reformers" who preceded them.

Jones, Rufus M.: Mysticism and Democracy (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1932); misses the theocratic element, but shows the role of "spiritual Puritans" in the Commonwealth democracy.

Jones, Rufus M.: The Quakers in the American Colonies (London, Macmillan, 1923); third in the standard series of Quaker histories, and a classic.

Jordan, W.K.: The Development of Religious Toleration in England (3 Vols.; London, Geo.Allen & Unwin, 1938), Vol.III. The most thorough and balanced work on the religious history of the Commonwealth; makes no attempt at theological insight.

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Secondary Sources (Continued)

Jorns, Auguste: The Quakers as Pioneers in Social Work, translated by Thomas Kite Brown (N.Y.,Macmillan, 1931; original title: Studien über die Sozialpolitik der Quäker, Karlsruhe, 1912); covers carefully all aspects of Quaker mutual aid, as well as social reform.

"Kendal Mercury", editors of: Local Chronology, Being Notes of the Principal Events Published in the Kendal Newspapers Since their Establishment, compiled by the editors of, and reprinted from, the "Kendal Mercury and Westmorland Gazette" (London, Hamilton Adams, 1865).

(Kendal Town Records): The Boke of Recorde of the Burgh of Kirkby Kendàl, edited by Richard S. Ferguson (Kendal, 1892); rather sparse on the 17th century.

King, Rachel Hadley: George Fox and the Light Within (Philadelphia, Friends Bookstore, 1940); the most thorough study in the field, but narrow in scope.

Kirby, Ethyn Williams: "The Cromwellian Establishment", in Church History, June, 1941; a good though brief survey.

Kirby, Ethyn Williams: "The Quakers' Efforts to Secure Secular and Religious Liberty", in Church History, Vol.VII (December, 1935), pp.401-2; has material not found elsewhere on the struggle under the Conventicle Act.

Knappen, Marshall M.: Tudor Puritanism; A Chapter in the History of Idealism (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1939); a thorough, scholarly and readable book covering the whole history of English Protestantism until Hooker.

Leach, Robert J.:(ed.): The Inward Journey of Isaac Penington (Wallingford, Penn., Pendle Hill Historical Studies # 6, [1943]; mainly excerpts from Penington's works.

Leonard, E.M.: The Early History of English Poor Relief (Cambridge, the University Press, 1900); a valuable study showing the relation of the Elizabethan Poor Relief to social patterns and local government.

Lloyd, Arnold: Quaker Social History, 1669-1738 (London, Longman's Green, 1950); based on an unusually thorough study of Minute-Books of the Friends Meetings for Sufferings, for Business, etc.

Maclear, James F.: "Quakerism and the End of the Interregnum: A Chapter in the Domestication of Radical Puritanism", in Church History, Vol. XIX, # 4 (December, 1950), pp.240-271; excellent on the Quaker dilemma of 1659.

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Secondary Sources, (Continued)

Manners, Emily: "Friends in Mansfield and District", in Journal of the Friends Historical Society, Vol.V (1938), pp.11 ff; 137 ff. ; details not published elsewhere.

Mannix & Whellan: History, Gazeteer and Directory of Cumberland (Beverley (Yorks.), W.N.Johnson, 1847); little material on 17th century.

Marsillac, J. : La Vie de Guillaume Penn (Paris, 1791); republican enthusiasm by a "Docteun en Médecine, Député extradordinaire des Amis de France à L'Assemblée Nationale.

Mortimer, the Rt. Rev. R.C.Mor: Christian Ethics (London, Hutchinson's University Library, 1950); includes some useful excerpts from Baxter.

Newman, Sir George: Quaker Profiles (London, The Bannisdale Press, 1946); chatty but not scholarly.

Nicholson, Cornelius: The Annals of Kendal (London, Whitaker & Col.,1861); based only on official records.

Nicholson, Francis, & Ernest Axon: The Older Nonconformity in Kendal (Kendal, Titus Wilson, 1915); includes interesting information on the Puritans in Kendal.

Niebuhr, H.Richard: Christ and Culture (N.Y., Harper, 1951); a stimulating and interesting attempt to present types of Christian ethics upon a more theological and personal basis than the Troeltsch-tradition.

Niebuhr, Reinhold: The Nature and Destiny of Man (2 Vols; N.Y.,Scribner's, 1941 & 1943); his knowledge of Quakerism is based upon more recent periods, but his insights of interpretation will be permanently relevant.

Nightingale, B.: The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland (Manchester, University Press, 1918); on the Puritan ministry of the northwest.

Nuttall, Geoffrey F.: Studies in Christian Enthusiasm illustrated from early Quakerism (Wallingford, Pa., Pendle Hill, 1948); interesting material and interpretations on the ethics of "Leadings of the Spirit"; one wishes it could have been made into a full-length book.

Nuttall, Geoffrey F:: The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1946); in its creative insight and its correlation of Quakerism and Puritanism, this little book may be a landmark in Quaker history.

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Secondary Sources (Continued)

Pawson, G.P.M.: The Cambridge Platonists (London, S.P.C.K.,1950); brings out their rationalistic spirit.

Perry, Ralph Barton: Puritanism and Democracy (N.Y., Vanguard Press, 1944); an unusually helpful and suggestive essay on the relation of religious to social outlooks.

Pollen, John Hungerford: The English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth (London, Longman's Green, 1920); shows the difference between the old & new Catholicism in England, but mainly concerned with the post-Trent movement.

Robertson, H.M.: The Rise of Economic Individualism: A Criticism of Max Weber and his School (Cambridge, University Press, 1933); a good corrective.

Ross, Isabel: Margaret Fell: Mother of Quakerism (London, Longman's Green, 1949); a thorough, if not theological, biography.

Russell, Elbert: The History of Quakerism (New York, Macmillan, 1942); the best one-volume Quaker history.

Rutter, Elizabeth F.: "A Glimpse of Ancient Friends in Dorset", in Journal of the Friends Historical Society, Vol.V (1908), pp.35ff; 87ff; 151ff.

Schenk, W.: The Concern for Social Justice in the Puritan Revolution (London, Longman's Green,1948); an excellent study, especially on Walwyn and the Levellers.

Schulze-Gaevernitz; Gerhard von: Democracy & Religion: A Study in Quakerism (London, George Allen & Unwin, 1930); an interesting essay, but modern & liberal in outlook.

Scott, Daniel: Bygone Cumberland and Westmorland (London, 1899); folklore and interesting customs.

Sharp, Sir Cuthbert: Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569 (London, J.B. Nichols & Son, 1840); casts little light on social history.

Sharpless, Isaac: A Quaker Experiment in Government (Philadelphia, A.J.Ferris, 1902); on Pennsylvania, and especially the Quaker dilemma of 1757.

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Secondary Sources (Continued)

Sharpless, Isaac: Quakerism & Politics (Phila.,Ferris & Leach, 1905); a re-affirmation of Quaker responsibility for political decisions.

Sippell, Theodor: Werdendes Quäkertum (Stuttgart, W.Kohlhammer, 1937); excellent studies, with excerpted writings, of Everard, Dell, Saltmarsh, the Ranters, and the rise of Quakerism.

Smith, Robert W.: "Slavery and Christianity in the British West Indies"; in Church History, Vol.XIX, #3 (September,1950),pp.171-187. Emphasis upon Quaker preaching to the slaves.

Stephen, Caroline: Quaker Strongholds (London, Headley Brothers, 1907); a Quaker classic of a century ago, with nice historical comments.

Strype, John: The History and Acts of the Most Rev. Father in God Edmund Grindal, etc. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1821); Grindal was from the north-west though his career was in York and Canterbury.

Tallack, William: Fox, the Friends and the early Baptists (London, Sol.Partridge, 1908); shows the interrelation of Friends and Baptists, somewhat to exclusion of other factors.

Tawney, Richard H.: The Agrarian Problem in the 16th Century (London, Longman's Green, 1912); the only really good study of this issue.

Tawney, Richard H.: Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (Holland Memorial Lectures, 1922) (Pelican Edition, Penguing Books,Inc., 1927); well-balanced, witty, and with interesting documentation. This is a small classic, and corrects as well as uses the Weber outlook.

Taylor, Ernest E.: The Valiant Sixty (London, the Bannisdale Press, 1947); presents in good summary the social and biographical material on the Quaker preachers of the Dales.

Tindall, William York: John Bunyan, Mechanick Preacher,(N.Y., Columbia University Press, 1934); the most thorough survey of social backgrounds and outlooks among Baptists and radical Puritans.

Tolles, Frederick B.: Meeting-House & Counting-House (Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg,Va; Chapel Hill, Univ.of North Carolina Press, 1941); see comments in Ch.I

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Secondary Sources (Continued)

Tolles, Frederick B.: "Quietism vs. Enthusiasm: the Philadelphia Quakers and the Great Awakening"; in the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, January 1945, pp.27-49; a most thoughtful and interesting study.

Trevelyan, George M.: England under the Stuarts (N.Y., Putnam's, 1906); a classic of liberal history writing.

Trevelyan, George M.: English Social History (N.Y., Longman's Green, 1942); sound and valuable, although too cursory to cast much light on the Quaker problems.

Troeltsch, Ernst: The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches, translated by Olive Wyon (London & N.Y., Macmillan, 1931) (original: Die Soziallehren der Christlichen Kirchen underGruppen, 1911). see Introduction, for comments on this classic.

Underwood, A.C.: A History of British Baptists (London, Baptist Union Publication Dept.,1947); a clear modern and careful historical survey.

- - - Victoria County History of the County of Cumberland, edited by James Wilson (London, James Street, 1905); a short but helpful chapter on religion.

- - - Victoria County History of the County of Lancaster, edited by William Farrer and J. Brcombhall (2 Vols; London, Archibald Constable, 1908); Vol.II covers the religious events, but is mainly concerned with the Manchester area.

- - - Victoria County History of the County of Yorkshire, edited by William Page (London, Archibald Constable, 1913; 3 Vols.) Vol.III includes religious history, but has nothing on the Dales after the Dissolution.

Visser 't Hooft; W.A.: The Background of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism (Haarlem, H.D.Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1928); a creative blend of theology and social history, seeing the tradition of calvinist theocracy in American outlooks.

White, Helen C.: Social Criticism in the Popular Religious Literature of the Sixteenth Century (N.Y., Macmillan, 1944); a vivid, highly-documented but most scholarly study of social radicalism and religion.

Whitley, W.A.: A History of British Baptists (London, Kingsgate Press, 2nd edition, 1931); the standard recent Baptist history.

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Secondary Sources (Continued)

Weber, Max: The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, translated by Talcott Parsons, with a foreword by R.H. Tawney (N.Y., Scribners, 1930); perhaps the most influential book on the Puritan doctrine of Calling.

Wertenbaker, Thomas J: The Puritan Oligarchy: The Founding of American Civilization (N.Y., Scribners, 1947); full of relevant information, though lacking full theological insight.

Wilson, Roger: Relief and Reconstruction (Pendle Hill Pamphlets, #22) (Wallingford,Pa., Pendle Hill, 1943); quoted in this study as an example of a deeply thoughtful modern expression of Quaker social responsibility.

Wood, Herbert G.: Quakerism and the Future of the Church (Swarthmore Lecture for 1922) (London, Geo.Allen & Unwin, 1922); brings a sense of ecumenicity.

Wragge, W.Philip: The Faith of Robert Barclay (London, Friends Home Service Committee, 1948); a good study, with excerpts from Barclay's works.

Wright, Louis B.: "William Perkins: Elizabethan Apostle of Practical Divinity"; reprinted from the Huntingdon Library Quarterly, Vol.III # 2 (Jan.,1940) pp.171-196. a good descriptive article.

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D: Unpublished Secondary Sources

Armsby, Ruth L.: "The Early Quaker View of the State, its Nature, Powers and Limitations, with Special Reference to Isaac Penington"; B.A. thesis for the University of Birmingham, 1932; used by courtesy of the Library of the Society of Friends, Euston Road, London. A thorough, thoughtful, interesting piece of work, especially on the Nayler episode. The works of Penington which she studies are those written before he became a Friend.

Beach, Waldo: "The Meaning and Authority of Conscience in Protestant Thought of Seventeenth Century England"; Ph.D. thesis for Yale University, 1944; used by courtesy of Yale University Library and the author. An excellent analysis of the relation of Conscience to Reason and the "Bond of Conscience" in Bible or Law.

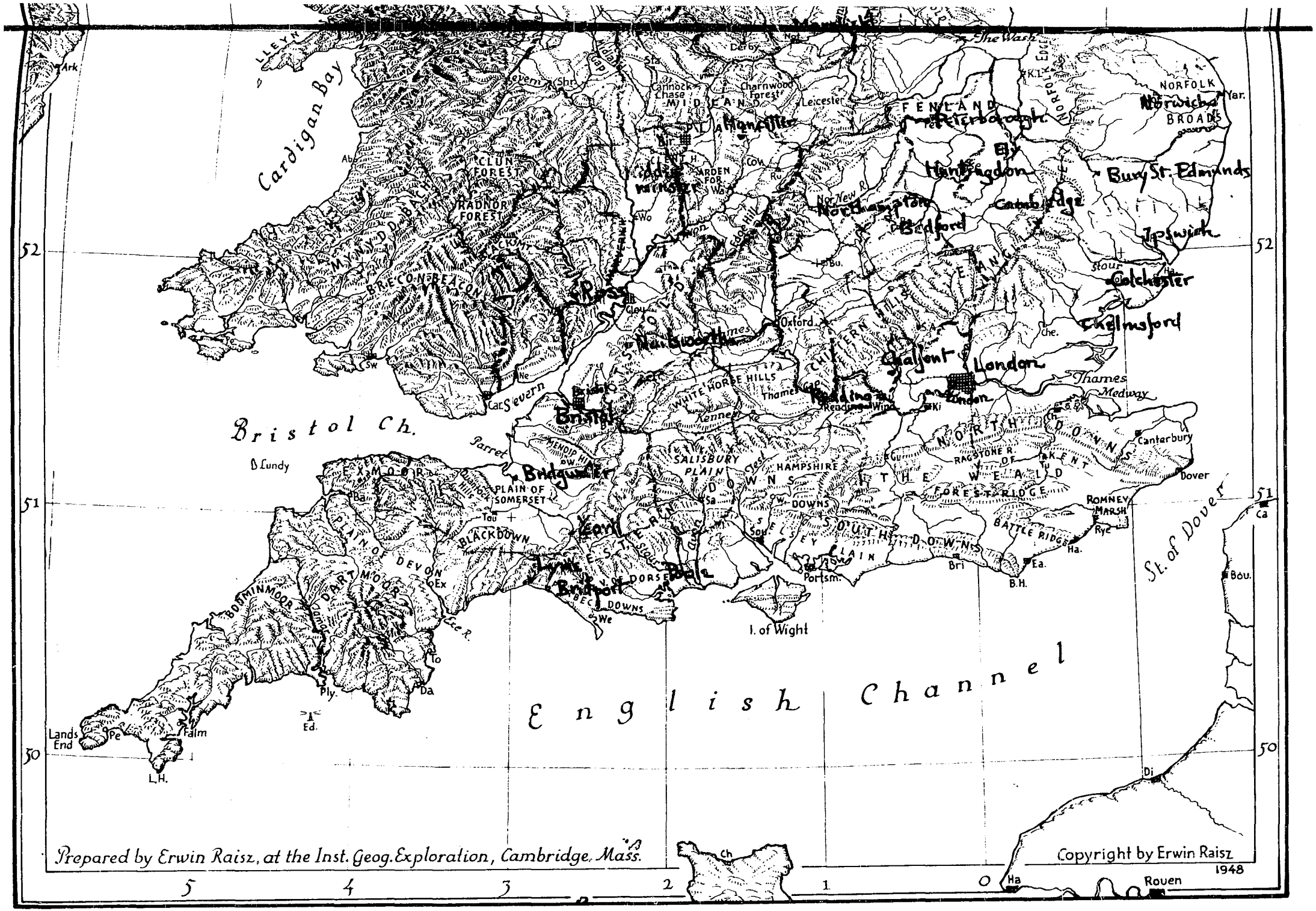
Cooper, Wilmer A.: "The Ethical Implications of Quaker Participation in Politics"; M.A. Thesis for Haverford College, 1948; used by permission of Haverford College Library and the author. As good an analysis as is probably possible in a short work; includes a section of historical materials.

Hertz, Karl Herbert: "Bible Commonwealth and Holy Experiment: A Study of the Relation between Theology and Politics in the Puritan and Quaker Colonies;" Ph.D. Dissertation for the University of Chicago, 1948; used by courtesy of University of Chicago Library and Yale Library. This is an outstanding piece of work, which one hopes will see publication some day.

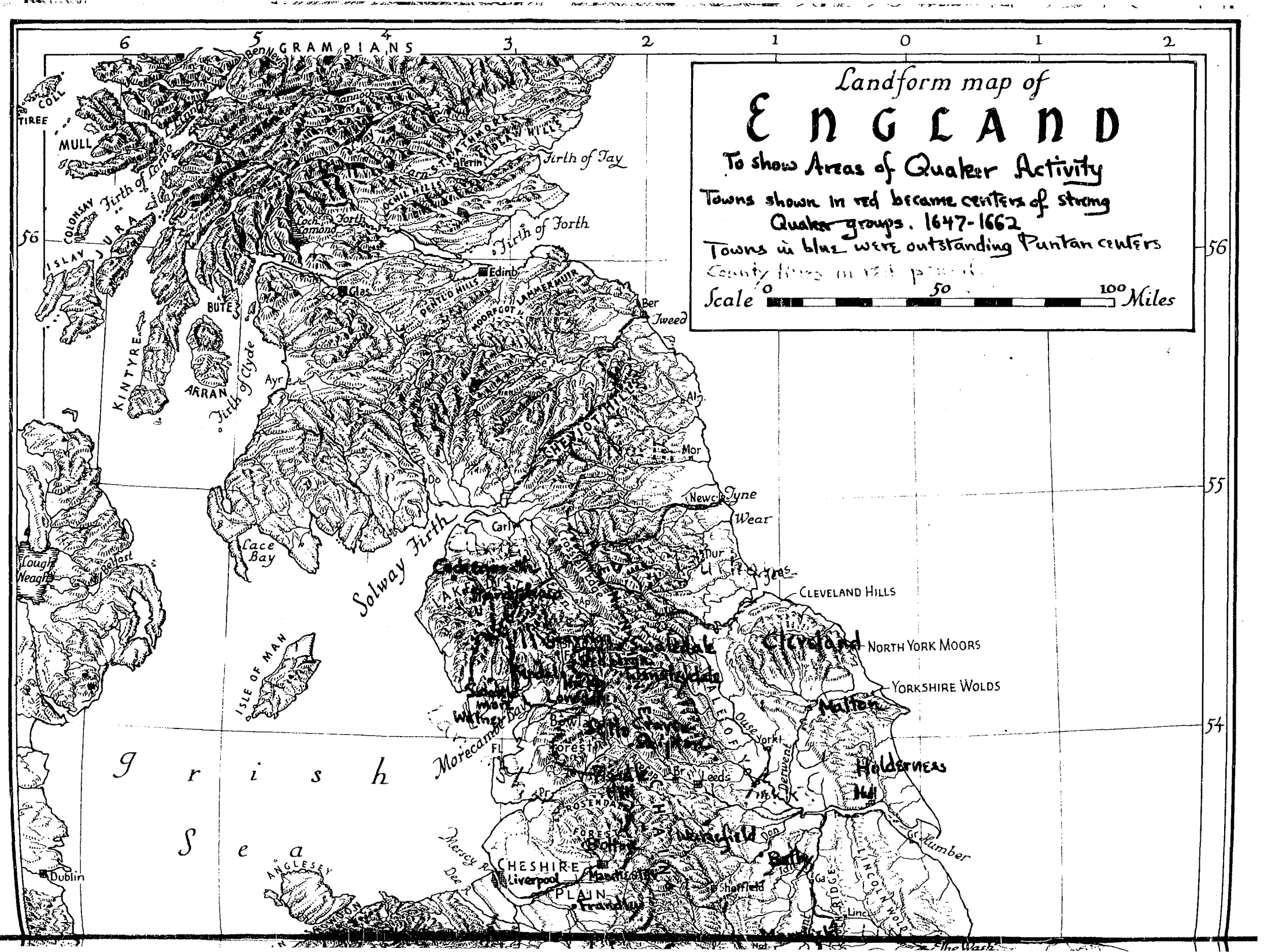
Mortimer, R.S.: "Guide to the Administrative Records of the Society of Friends in Bristol; 1667-1869"; B.A. thesis for the University of London, 1937; used by courtesy of the Library of the Society of Friends, Euston, Road, London.

Welles, Judith: "John Cotton (1584-1652); Churchman and Theologian"; Ph.D. thesis for the University of Edinburgh, 1948; used by courtesy of the author. A good study of a key Puritan.

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Landform map of
ENGLAND
To show Areas of Quaker Activity
Towns shown in red became centers of strong Quaker groups. 1647-1662
Towns in blue were outstanding Puritan centers
County lines in red pencil
Scale 0 50 100 Miles
GRAMPIANS
Ben Nevis
Firth of Tay
Firth of Forth
Firth of Lorn
Firth of Clyde
Solway Firth
Lake District
Irish Sea
North Sea
MULL
TIREE
COLL
COLONSAY
ISLAY
JURA
KINTYRE
ARRAN
BUTE
Loch Lomond
Loch Katrine
Loch Tay
Loch Earn
Loch Leven
Edinb
Glas
Ayr
Ber
Tweed
PENTLAND HILLS
MOORFOOT HILLS
LAMMERMUIR HILLS
CHEVIOT HILLS
Mor
Newc
Tyne
Wear
Dur
Tees
Carl
Lace Bay
Belfast
Lough Neagh
ISLE OF MAN
CLEVELAND HILLS
NORTH YORK MOORS
YORKSHIRE WOLDS
Cleveland
Malton
Holderness
Hull
York
Ouse
Derwent
Leeds
Bradford
Halifax
Burnley
Blackburn
Preston
Lancaster
Morecambe Bay
Barrow
Whitehaven
Keswick
Penrith
Appleby
Kendal
Windermere
Ambleside
Grasmere
Coniston
Ullswater
Derwent Water
Bassenthwaite
Wast Water
Ennerdale Water
Crummock Water
Buttermere
Thirlmere
Haweswater
Kirkstall Forest
Rosendale Forest
Bowland Forest
Pendle Hill
Ingleborough
Whernside
Penyghent
Great Shunner Fell
Mickle Fell
Cross Fell
Helvellyn
Scafell Pike
Skiddaw
Great Gable
Sheffield
Don
Derwent
Trent
Humber
Lincoln
LINCOLN WOLD RIDGE
CHESHIRE PLAIN
Liverpool
Manchester
Stockport
Warrington
Wigan
Chester
Mersey R.
Dee R.
Anglesey
Dublin
The Wash
Norwich
Nottingham
Derby
Stafford
Lichfield
Birmingham
Coventry
Leicester
Northampton
Oxford
Gloucester
Worcester
Shrewsbury
Wolverhampton
Aberystwyth
Cardigan Bay
Snowdon
Cader Idris
Plynlimmon
Brecon Beacons
Black Mountains
Malvern Hills
Cotswold Hills
Chiltern Hills
Wash
Humber
Mersey
Dee
Ouse
Trent
Derwent
Don
Tees
Tyne
Wear
Tweed
Severn
Thames
Avon
Wye
Usk
Taff
Towy
Dovey
Conway
Clwyd
Dee
Mersey
Ribble
Lune
Kent
Eden
Derwent
Nene
Great Ouse
Little Ouse
Welland
Witham
Trent
Soar
Avon
Severn