

THE VALIANT SIXTY-FIRST?
JOHN WOOLMAN'S APOCALYPTIC ESCHATOLOGY
AND THE RESTORATION OF THE LAMB'S WAR

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ABSTRACT

This article argues that John Woolman's abolitionism and reform efforts are usefully understood through the lens of a theological restoration of the Lamb's War. Specifically, this article explores Woolman's apocalyptic eschatology, which is demonstrated through his conceptions of a realizing eschatology, protology, impending judgment, perfection and a new order on earth. Through acts of social confrontation and the direct inward revelation of Christ, both the first generation of Quakers and Woolman a century later proclaimed a message of transformation in a way that illumines broader tropes in Quaker experience.

KEYWORDS

protological restoration, perfection, judgment, prophet, slavery, abolitionism, trans-Atlantic marketplace, eighteenth century, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

INTRODUCTION

Recent scholarship has approached colonial American Quaker tailor John Woolman (1720–1772) from historical, humanitarian, literary and devotional disciplines.¹ This article addresses an under emphasized perspective in the field of Woolman studies by approaching him with a theological lens. Specifically, I contend that Woolman's theological confrontation of the eighteenth-century trans-Atlantic slave economy is best understood in the context of an apocalyptic eschatology² and demonstrates characteristics that evoke the apocalypticism of the 1650s Lamb's War conducted by early Quakers. Woolman's experience of the Divine voice, I argue, brought with it apocalyptic sentiments for social engagement, and so serves as a link to the prophetic, spiritual and cultural challenge of the Lamb's War and the apostolic leadership of the Valiant Sixty, and is suggestive of broader tropes in Quaker history.³ I propose that some of the same features of

the apocalyptic theology of the Valiant Sixty as they traveled about England and confronted spiritually oppressive ecclesiastic institutions—such as the dawning of a new spiritual reality that upended fallen social customs, eschatologically driven urgency and belief in the impending and already present transformation of the world⁴—can be seen in Woolman’s theology as he pointed fellow colonists to the degeneracies of the trans-Atlantic marketplace. In this sense, Woolman can helpfully be understood within the broader stream of a Quaker tradition of cultural confrontation and apocalyptic eschatology.

The apostolic leadership of the first generation of Quakers in the mid-seventeenth century, like George Fox, William Dewsbury, James Nayler and others,⁵ sometimes known as the ‘Valiant Sixty’, confronted cultural institutions with the message of the immediacy of the resurrected Christ in the heart.⁶ The term ‘Valiant Sixty’ was not used by early Friends but was coined by John Hadley of Brigflatts, near Sedburgh, sometime in the late nineteenth–early twentieth centuries.⁷ Fox, though, reported that in 1654 he sent ‘a matter of seventy ministers’ from Quaker strongholds in the north of England ‘to preach [God’s] everlasting Gospel’,⁸ and at another time that ‘Friends stood nobly in the Truth and *valiant* for the Lord’s name’.⁹ Despite the name, there were almost certainly more than sixty leaders in the original ‘Valiant Sixty’. Ernest Taylor and Elfrida Vipont count sixty-six ministers based on Monthly and Quarterly Meeting Minutes listing those who first brought the Quaker message to each area.¹⁰ It is likely that Fox and early Quaker leaders had in mind for their ‘matter of seventy’¹¹ ministers Jesus’ example of sending out 72 disciples in the Gospel of Luke, chapter 10, as a pattern for their mission to the far-flung hamlets of England.

A century later, John Woolman’s understanding of God, the created world and God’s will for human affairs was essential to his denouncement of slavery, which he proclaimed through an extensive series of itinerant ministry journeys. However, the theological similarities between the mission of the Valiant Sixty and Woolman have been largely overlooked.¹² Scholars have argued that after experiencing disillusionment with the political events in England in the mid- to late-1660s Quakers lost the apocalyptic focus that had previously typified their theology and way of engaging the world.¹³ By the turn of the eighteenth century, Nikki Coffey Tousley asserts, the passion to spread the Gospel message virtually disappeared as Quakers became increasingly insular and their regeneration experiences lost historical specificity.¹⁴ Rufus Jones matter of factly declares, ‘We can without difficulty see the vast difference between the illuminating experience of a Divine Light as it burst into the consciousness of the persistent seeker, George Fox, in 1648, and the theory of the inward Light as it is expounded in the books of 1748’,¹⁵ the era of Woolman’s itinerant ministry and writings. Yet, on the contrary, a theological analysis of Woolman’s writings reveals his belief that God spoke directly to the individual and, through the faithful, established God’s will on earth.

In this article, I describe the Lamb’s War of the seventeenth century, paying particular attention to those characteristics which Woolman restored in his abolitionism of the mid- to late eighteenth century. Just as the Lamb’s War of the

seventeenth century did not arise out of a vacuum but out of a period of profound social and spiritual alienation in which many in English society were brought to the moment of crisis and action,¹⁶ neither did Woolman's abolitionism emerge in a vacuum. Thus, after describing the Lamb's War in its original context I describe the mid-Atlantic colonial context, and especially the economic developments of the mid-eighteenth century, which created a fertile environment for Woolman's challenge to the trans-Atlantic marketplace. After describing these pieces of Woolman's context I explore how Woolman's abolitionism was influenced by his apocalyptic eschatology as demonstrated through themes of realizing eschatology—in which the present moment of this world was considered to be the venue for God's will to rule human affairs—protology, judgment, perfectionism and a new social order characterized by the direct leadership of Christ. These themes, I argue, are part of an apocalyptic eschatology, which Woolman used to engage the pressing spiritual, social and economic issues of his day, particularly slavery.

THE LAMB'S WAR

At its most basic level, the Lamb's War¹⁷ of the seventeenth century was both individual and social.¹⁸ The Lamb's War was an integration of overpowering internal and spiritual conversion of the individual by the Light of Christ wed to external and historical social judgment and redemption.¹⁹ Fox famously illustrated this wedding of spiritual and social in his condemnation of the 'vain traditions' of religious hierarchy and the customs of social deference of his day:

...when the Lord sent me forth into the world, he forbade me to put off my hat to any, high or low; and I was required to 'thee' and 'thou' all men and women, without any respect to rich or poor, great or small. And as I travelled up and down, I was not to bid people 'good morrow' or 'good evening', neither might I bow or scrape with my leg to any one; and this made the sects and professions to rage. But the Lord's power carried me over all to his glory, and many came to be turned to God in a little time, for the heavenly day of the Lord sprang from on high, and brake forth apace, by the lift of which many came to see where they were.²⁰

For Fox, religious hierarchy, ritualism and social customs of deference were 'invented by men in the Fall, and in the alienation from God' and therefore must be overturned if people were to see their spiritual state.²¹ Fox's inward experience of God resulted in the conviction of a new order in the world based on the emergence of the eschatological 'day of the Lord' on earth.²²

The internal/external transformation, early Quakers like the Valiant Sixty believed, was the dawn of a new day available to all by the power of the Light, which was at the same time devastating and transforming.²³ The early Friends came to know from personal experience that there was a stark contrast between the *ways of the world* and the *way of Christ* and called women and men not to withdraw from the world, but to join the spiritual struggle against the 'alienation' the world offered; fighting for a social and political remaking of the world by the Spirit.²⁴ The internal overthrow of sin in the human heart, they believed, would

correspond with an apocalypse on the socio-political landscape as the debauchery of fallen social structures, 'Babylon',²⁵ was transformed and God's Kingdom was established in England.²⁶ Early Quakers could taste the eschatological horizon in which Christ was the recognized Lord over hearts and history because they had experienced the overthrow of sin in their own hearts, and so could no longer participate in the customs that belonged to the fallen order.²⁷ For these early Quaker's, like Fox, 'all worldly things, worldly sanctuaries, tabernacle and carnal ordinances, and commandments, and several outward washings, and all outward worldly tithes, offerings, and sacrifices which are worldly'²⁸ hindered the true liberty of the soul in which free abandonment to Divine revelation were possible.

The Valiant Sixty gave concrete expression to what Quakers meant by 'redemption' in their systematic confrontation of oppressive structures.²⁹ They understood their obedience to the purposes of the Lamb in the streets, market-places and churches of England to be God's Kingdom establishing itself on earth.³⁰ Worldly power, whether political, religious or economic, were subverted by the new life under God brought forth by the inward experience of the Lamb. In 1653 Richard Farnsworth wrote that God's eschatological goals were being accomplished in human affairs as the spiritual power of the Lamb warred against political and economic conditions.³¹ He identified a reality in which Christ would directly rule over world affairs:

'The Kingdoms of the world must be the Kingdoms of the Lord and of his Christ, and the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord'. [And] In a tract 'to be read on the Market Cross at Rotheram, upon a market day' he wrote, 'The great day of the Lord is coming... We look for [a] new heaven and new earth...and the nations that are saved shall wake in the glorious light and liberty of the sons of God'. [And to Parliament he said,] 'Now the Kingdom of Jesus Christ is setting up in the spirits of his people... Michael stands up...though Gog and Magog join in battle against the Lamb yet he shall prevail and get the victory'.³²

Lifestyles of indulgence and moral degeneracy had to be overturned by the daily cross because, as Douglas Gwyn argues, 'the spiritual violence within and material oppression without' were not innocuous past-times but socially, politically and spiritually positioned against God's Kingdom.³³ For this reason, early Friends, like Nayler, understood their mission as warfare and surrounded their spiritual efforts with the tactile imagery of battle:

Their breastplate is righteousness and holiness to God; their minds are girt with godliness, and they are covered with salvation, and they are taught with truth. And thus the Lamb in them, and they in him, goes out in judgment and righteousness to make war with his enemies, conquering and to conquer...³⁴

However, this first manifestation of the Quaker socio-spiritual conflict concluded near the end of the seventeenth century as cultural forces within England contained the inward revelation of Christ in the private sphere of personal experience, while the prophetic social challenge in the public sphere became isolated within the realm of 'opinion'.³⁵

THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY TRANS-ATLANTIC MARKETPLACE

Recently, economic historians have identified the culturally homogenizing influence of commercial and consumer interests in British colonial North America, and the economic transition that occurred during the eighteenth century.³⁶ This is important for a study of Woolman's apocalyptic eschatology and abolitionism because his vision of God's governance over human affairs confronted the foundation of imperial economics, which rested on the back of slave labor.³⁷ According to his vision, 'Fewer People would be employed in Vanities and Superfluities...', such as shipping luxury goods back and forth across the Atlantic, and 'More People would be employed in the sweet Employment of Husbandry'.³⁸ Woolman's vision of pastoral, subsistence farming was threatened by the trans-Atlantic economy he so often criticized. Historian Jon Butler confirms Woolman's sense of socio-economic change when he notes that while farming remained 'largely "subsistence" in character' in the eighteenth century, 'farming also became increasingly commercial after 1680, and farmers everywhere paid considerably more attention to "markets" than they had ever done before'.³⁹ By the 1760s, Butler contends, farmers were quite 'commercially oriented' even as subsistence farming continued.⁴⁰

For Woolman, participation in the slave economy, in which some people were exploited and others were distracted by luxury, violated the Divine intent and rebelled against the 'liberty' that was Divinely ordained for all people: 'Where the spirit of the Lord is', Woolman wrote, 'there is liberty, and that in joining to customs which we know are wrong, there is a departing from the purity of his [Christ's] government and a certain degree of alienation from him'.⁴¹

T.H. Breen argues that by the middle of the eighteenth century a 'transformation of the Anglo-American consumer marketplace' had occurred.⁴² He contends that the dramatic increase in British manufactured imports available to even families of modest wealth increased through the eighteenth century.⁴³ It could be such imported luxury goods that Woolman identified in a 1772 letter to Elizabeth Smith, warning her that some items 'amongst thy furniture...are not agreeable to the purity of Truth'.⁴⁴ While North American colonists were hardly socially, culturally or religiously homogenous, the same range of imported consumer goods were available throughout the colonies.⁴⁵ By mid-century colonial households were spending more on tableware than on pots and pans.⁴⁶ As the eighteenth century advanced, there was a proliferation of goods in those product lines that were instrumental to the performance of status-conscious social activities.⁴⁷ The accumulation of these goods—such as fine rugs, carriages and mahogany furniture—afforded the colonial elite a means of distinguishing themselves from their fellow colonists.⁴⁸ Moreover, Kevin Sweeney notes that after mid-century houses increased in size and cost as wealthy colonists sought more expensive designs and detail that occasioned greater labor on interior woodwork and decorative plaster.⁴⁹ Throughout the colonial urban centers 'after 1760', Sweeney contends, 'spending on houses reached levels never witnessed before'.⁵⁰ The classified advertisement

section of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* confirms the vast array of goods ‘Imported... from London’ in the mid-eighteenth century, including ‘Bed blankets, blue duffels, stripped duffels, quilts, rugs, blue Welch cottons...silk and mohair, silk handkerchiefs, garlix, ribbons, necklaces, mens and womens velvet caps...stockings of all sorts...’⁵¹

Woolman was not the only colonist to warn of a dependency on consumer goods.⁵² However, while he was concerned about the spiritually alienating effects of luxury,⁵³ others were concerned with the way colonial consumer habits had created a dependency on Britain, which, they felt, Britain was exploiting.⁵⁴ For example the anonymous author of the 1768 *The Power and Grandeur of Great-Britain* noted that colonial economic sustainability was elusive because as the colony’s population increased, ‘the British trade keeps pace’.⁵⁵ The author described how Britain had benefited financially from the colonies, and how colonists had contributed to their own dependency on Britain through purchasing ‘merchandise of an almost infinite variety, numberless useful and useless articles... Very considerable cities subsist merely by the sale of British manufactures.’⁵⁶ Moreover, while the author intended this article to demonstrate Britain’s exploitative commercial practices and her indebtedness to the colonies, the author also identified—likely with a degree of rhetorical vitriol—the way commercial interests had come to dominate colonial society:⁵⁷

The seas and the wilds of America are ransack’d to make payment of them, and the improved lands are cultivated chiefly for the same purpose. These are the labours of the British colonies, for the mother country in times of peace... Britain in the two last wars, saw her’s [exports] increased, and her revenue arising from imports and duties, greatly augmented. For this advantage she is also indebted to her colonies. Immense was the sale of British manufactures, during [the] last war.⁵⁸

Breen notes that other colonial leaders, such as Benjamin Franklin, also warned colonists about their consumption and dependency on British luxury items,⁵⁹ but it is apparent that Franklin did so for a different reason than Woolman did. Rather than promoting a less materialistic society, Franklin’s appeal was intended to encourage economic protest that would ultimately sustain and protect colonial consumer habits threatened by British taxation.⁶⁰ Thus Franklin’s intent was to preserve the consumer choice that had developed in the colonies, and he viewed British exploitation as a threat to that endeavor.⁶¹ Even among the Quaker reformers, of which Woolman was a member, not everyone had the same qualms of retailing in imported luxury goods as Woolman developed.⁶² A 1752 advertisement by Quaker Mordecai Yarnall consisted of a long item by item list of over 50 newly imported goods, including luxury items like “silks and calicoes” and silver watches.⁶³ Yarnall was a co-signer on several Philadelphia Yearly Meeting reformist epistles, but his advertisement indicates that Woolman and Yarnall had differing opinions on the importation of luxury items.⁶⁴

Yet, even as the number of luxury items increased the ability for a wider range of colonists to participate in the burgeoning trans-Atlantic marketplace, economic prosperity grew more and more unequal.⁶⁵ Billy Smith argues that success in the

late eighteenth century was unevenly distributed 'as the richest citizens accrued control of more of the wealth' and the social gulf between the classes grew.⁶⁶ Smith demonstrates through an examination of costs and incomes notated in public records that 'unskilled workers and their families in Philadelphia generally lived on the edge of, or occasionally slightly above, the subsistence level... Consequently, institutional aid to the poor rose to unprecedented heights during the second half of the [eighteenth] century.'⁶⁷ Thus, as imported luxury items increased, and more and more social weight was placed on those goods, many found themselves lacking the necessities for adequate living.⁶⁸

Woolman connected 'superfluous' luxury items with a desire for social status and 'outward greatness'.⁶⁹ It was the desire for material gain that motivated slavery and, Woolman believed, would ultimately invoke God's judgment: 'it is impossible to be parties in such a trade [slavery] on the motives of gain and retain our innocence'.⁷⁰ He insisted that if colonists rejected these consumer interests, society could be rightly ordered in such a way that all people's needs would be met without exploitation.⁷¹ The physical, worldly realm of human actions and social structures, Woolman implied, correlated with a spiritual reality, and so as colonists rejected the Divinely ordered and guided society, Woolman thought both the wealthy and poor were alienated from Christ's 'government', a term he used similarly to Christ's Kingdom.⁷² He acknowledged that colonists paid higher interest rates than was paid in England, but instead of laying the blame for this on British taxation or monetary policy he questioned the nature of an economic system where resources flowed from the colonies to England where they were then turned into luxury goods and shipped back to colonial markets at a markup.⁷³

This background on the trans-Atlantic economy illumines the way colonial consumption fueled a system of trade and luxury accumulation that exploited Africans as a labor commodity. Woolman, however, felt that this consumer activity hindered God's purposes and led to oppression.⁷⁴ As the rest of this article demonstrates, he held that God's Kingdom created a new reality out of which sinful social and economic structures were no longer tenable. This trans-Atlantic economic context informed Woolman's apocalyptic eschatology, both in terms of the vision for society he thought God had revealed and in terms of the dire consequences the *status quo* entailed.

BABYLON AND BABEL

'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind and how it is to be Maintained' challenged colonists to submit 'commerce'⁷⁵ to the will of God and dwell in a perfected state that enacted God's eschatological purposes on earth for the spreading of God's Kingdom in the world.⁷⁶ In other words, Woolman believed that God had revealed right and wrong, not only for individuals but for the world. Elsewhere Woolman wrote that 'fresh and heavenly openings' from God were fundamental to his respect for humanity and understanding of God's will for the world.⁷⁷ This transformed society, Woolman argued, was to be born

out of a state of human partnership with Christ.⁷⁸ 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind' described not just a path for spiritual purity, but a state of social transformation through the direct intervention of 'the powerful operation of the Spirit of Christ' in the faithful.⁷⁹

In one passage, Woolman described the spirit of his day in terms of Babylon and Babel.⁸⁰ Here Woolman used the city of Babylon, as described in the biblical book of Revelation, as a typological representation of the trans-Atlantic marketplace.⁸¹ Babel, as described in the book of Genesis, marked humanity's rebellious turn away from the primordial intimacy that had previously existed between God and humanity.⁸² In 1662 George Fox also used the imagery of Babel and Babylon, but for a different purpose.⁸³ He argued that the truth of God was not in doctrines or religious rituals, but only in the eternal word of God that was always in a perfect state before the corruptions and fall of Babel and Babylon existed.⁸⁴ Woolman also connected the destruction of Babel and Babylon to a new, righteous relationship to God, but not to illustrate the way religious tradition alienated people from God. Rather, for Woolman, 'Babel' and 'Babylon' were idolatrous economic systems of slavery and luxury accumulation that resisted God's direct governance and alienated people from the Kingdom.⁸⁵ There is no clear indication that Woolman was familiar with Fox's use of Babylon and Babel, but as he addressed the slave economy of his own day he used these eschatological metaphors to situate the apostasy of the fallen economic system within salvation history.

Woolman believed that the economic disparities within the trans-Atlantic economy, 'which tend to oppression' and 'unequitable burdens', created suffering among the oppressed and fear of reprisal among the oppressors.⁸⁶ And 'thus the harmony of society is broken; and from hence commotions and wars do frequently arise in the world'.⁸⁷ In Woolman's vocabulary 'harmony' was most often used to describe the state of intimacy between God and the Creation that God intended to characterize the created order as established in Eden.⁸⁸ Woolman felt convinced that the burgeoning trans-Atlantic slave economy had created a system of winners and losers, the winners characterized by opulence and the losers by oppression.⁸⁹ Both winners and losers were alienated from the Light and Life of Christ.⁹⁰ However, degeneration of social harmony, Woolman contended, was not human destiny⁹¹ because a new society was on the horizon, one in which Christ would govern the world directly.⁹² The conflict between the God-ordered and God-directed society in which Christ ruled all aspects of human interaction, whether religious or economic, and what Woolman came to believe were the idolatrous social structures of his day, such as the luxury trade, slavery and economic oppression,⁹³ can be seen through Woolman's belief that God's will would be established on earth to overthrow the corruptions of the present order.⁹⁴ The establishment of God's will is illustrated through five theological themes. First, realizing eschatology; second, protological restoration; third, impending judgment; fourth, perfectionism; and finally, the unfolding of a new 'harmonious' socio-spiritual order. I treat these themes in turn.

REALIZING ESCHATOLOGY

In the biblical book of Revelation, Babylon's destruction was unfolding before the Apostle, a judgment described in primarily economic terms: 'For all nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication, and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her, and the merchants of the earth are waxed rich through the abundance of her delicacies'.⁹⁵ Woolman's interpretation of this passage focused on the merchants, and Babylon as an economic center: 'this City [*sic*] is represented as a place of business', Woolman wrote, 'those employed in it, as merchants of the Earth'.⁹⁶ For Woolman, Babylon was not just a city, but a system of trade, oppression and wealth accumulation rooted in empire and market economics.⁹⁷ Woolman's typological interpretation—in which the eighteenth-century trans-Atlantic marketplace represented a modern fulfillment of the apostasy of Babylon—illustrates his unique theological perspective on the issues of his day, because many colonial theologians believed 'Babylon' referred to the Papacy and its destruction, not the slave economy.⁹⁸

Babylon, Woolman claimed, was fully represented in the trans-Atlantic marketplace.⁹⁹ Colonial merchants, both Quaker and non-Quaker,¹⁰⁰ fed the beast the economic system had become, exploiting and transporting material resources required for human sustenance to England in exchange for gold currency and luxury goods.¹⁰¹ Woolman felt this trade system deprived the poor of necessities and dangerously clogged the spirits of the wealthy with greed.¹⁰² The strength of the British empire had ensured the security of trade routes and markets enabling the growth of luxury trade, and thereby created new wealth for some.¹⁰³ But, as Woolman saw it, this economy was a manifest form of 'self-love', built on the backs of slaves and the poor, a rejection of the Divine vision for society.¹⁰⁴ The seduction of political power and economic prosperity, Woolman insisted, involved the idolatrous worship of mammon—an uncompromising confidence in one's own resources without any sense of dependence on God.¹⁰⁵ As Woolman quoted, 'Ye cannot serve God and mammon'.¹⁰⁶

Woolman treated the colonial 'Babylon' with eschatological weight similar to that with which St John treated the Roman empire.¹⁰⁷ Earlier in the essay he argued that the greed and opulence which threatened to ensnare the wealthy inhibited attentiveness to the leadership of Christ, and obstructed 'the coming of the Kingdom of Christ on earth as it is in heaven'.¹⁰⁸ Woolman understood God's Kingdom to be a realizing presence that inevitably increased in earthly reality through a progressive view of history,¹⁰⁹ but that often utilized human faithfulness to fulfill Divine purposes.¹¹⁰ Alternatively, God's Kingdom could be hindered by human rebellion and apostasy for a time; however, he argued elsewhere that the inward realization of Christ's 'spiritual Kingdom' will 'subdue and break in piece all Kingdoms that oppose it, and shall stand for ever'.¹¹¹ In other words, the establishment of Christ's spiritual Kingdom on earth and in human hearts would overthrow all socio-political earthly kingdoms that opposed God's intent for the

world. This was a spiritualized amillennialism that believed there were no preconditions remaining—such as the physical 1,000 year reign of Christ that pre- and post-millennialists expected—before the fullness of the eschaton could be experienced and actualized in history.¹¹²

In Revelation 18 God called the church to ‘Come out of Babylon my people, that ye be not partakers of her Sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues’.¹¹³ Woolman quoted this passage word for word and thus suggested that the judgments on the colonial ‘Babylon’ were both impending and already decided with finality.¹¹⁴ However, God had opened a way for humanity to join with God’s eschatological purposes: ‘As we faithfully attend to the call’, Woolman wrote, ‘the path of righteousness is more and more opened; cravings which have not their foundation in pure wisdom, more and more cease’.¹¹⁵

For Woolman, intentional human steps in response to God’s revelation signified the realizing of a this-worldly eschaton, seen through the gradual language: ‘more and more opened...more and more cease’.¹¹⁶ On one hand, gradual, realizing language seems to diminish the urgency of Woolman’s eschatology. How can God’s righteousness be ‘more and more opened’, and sin ‘more and more cease’? It would seem God’s righteousness could either be opened or not, and sin could either have ceased or not. In fact, Woolman’s gradual, realizing language reinforced the sense of ‘temporal liminality’¹¹⁷ in which the world existed on the brink of the eschaton and thus the inward *parousia* and judgment of sin could occur at any moment. The increasing power of ‘righteousness’ and the decreasing influence of rebellious ‘cravings’ were directly correlated.¹¹⁸ As the true Church exited the degenerate Babylon-system, individuals and society as a whole experienced the perfecting influence of the Spirit’s presence and leadership:¹¹⁹

For though in going forth [from Babylon] we may meet with tryals [*sic*] which for a time may be painful; yet as we bow in true humility, and continue in it, an evidence is felt that God only is wise, and that in weaning us from all that is selfish he prepares the way to a quiet habitation, where all our desires are bounded by his wisdom. And an exercise of Spirit attends me, that we who are convinced of the pure leadings of Truth, may bow in the deepest reverence, and so watchfully regard this Leader, that many who are grievously entangled in a wilderness of vain customs, may look upon us, and be instructed. And O! that such who have plenty of this worlds goods, may be faithful in that with which they are entrusted, and example others in the true Christian walking!¹²⁰

The exit from Babylon had two purposes: First, it signified a literal ‘restoration of that which was lost at Babel’, the return of the pre-lapsarian condition on earth.¹²¹ This state of ‘quiet habitation’ entailed a direct and perfect obedience to Divine revelation in this life.¹²² Second, the ‘example’ of the faithful would evangelize the world¹²³ and spread the Kingdom on earth.¹²⁴ The path to ‘come out’ of Babylon emerged through steps of obedience, such as renunciation of wealth accumulation, in response to the ‘openings’ of the Divine ‘Leader’, with the end being the inauguration of God’s reign on earth in direct rule of the hearts of the faithful—an actuality which entailed a complete rejection of ‘selfish’ and ‘vain’ political and economic systems and social relations.¹²⁵

While Woolman's eschatological language is often that of a gradual unfolding,¹²⁶ this *realizing event* was held in a severe tension with the *urgency of the moment* and the peril of being opposed to God's purposes.¹²⁷ Later in 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind' Woolman described the necessity of the colonial situation by arguing that the Kingdom of God would be enacted as human beings participated in the unfolding; it required action, not waiting.¹²⁸

Now to those, in the present age, who truly know Christ, and feel the nature of his peaceable government opened in their understandings, how loud is that call where with we are called to faithfulness; that in following this pure Light of Life, '*we as workers together with him*', may labour in that great work for which he was offered as a Sacrifice on the Cross, and that his peaceable doctrines may shine through us in their real harmony...¹²⁹

Woolman continued by quoting from 2 Kings:

'Is it a time to receive money and garments, men Servants and maid servants? The leprosie therefore of Naaman shall cleave to thee and thy seed forever.' II Kings v. 26. And O that we may lay to heart the condition of the present time! And humbly follow His counsel, who alone is able to prepare the way for a true harmonious walking amongst mankind.¹³⁰

Woolman used this example from biblical history to demonstrate that 'the present time' was the moment in which fallen customs must be laid aside because they were out of step with God's purposes.¹³¹ This typological interpretation in which eighteenth-century colonial America was a type of double fulfillment of 2 Kings typified the way Woolman used history as grounds for eschatological urgency. The 'reformation' of God's purposes on earth was underway, Woolman said elsewhere.¹³² God's Kingdom would 'spread and prevail';¹³³ it was no longer time 'to prepare for a Specious living' because God prepared 'the way for a true harmonious walking amongst mankind'.¹³⁴

In another 1772 essay Woolman declared, 'in the harmonious Spirit of Society, Christ is all in all. Here it is that Old Things are past away, all Things are new, all things are of God; and the Desire for outward Riches is at a[n] End.'¹³⁵ Woolman felt the moment in salvation history was ripe to enact the Kingdom; indeed, the revelation of the Divine will reordered society so that the eschaton—typified by a new world in direct intimacy to Christ—broke into the present moment.¹³⁶ The accumulation of wealth and systemic oppression were 'at a[n] end' because of the impending new age of Christ's governance over all things, which reoriented human affairs and economic systems according to God's will. Indeed, 'it is not a time for delay',¹³⁷ Woolman said as he confronted slavery. God had revealed the way out of the slave economy and Babylonian apostasy, and it was time to enact Christ's 'government' over world events.¹³⁸

PROTOLOGICAL RESTORATION

In 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind' a realizing eschatology was intertwined with a belief in the protological restoration of humanity and society, or the restoration of God's original intent for the created order.¹³⁹ The eschatological future, for Woolman, was a re-establishment of the protological past.¹⁴⁰ It entailed a restored immediacy between God and humanity that redefined relations among individuals and with the created world.¹⁴¹ In this passage, the depravity of Babylon was connected with the tower of Babel.¹⁴² Both Babylon and Babel, Woolman interpreted, were born out of 'self-exaltation' or the human usurping of God's authority most evident to Woolman in the rejection of a social order reflective of God's creative intent.¹⁴³ 'In departing from an humble trust in God', Woolman wrote, 'and following a selfish spirit, people have intentions to get the uper [*sic*] hand of their fellow-creatures, privately meditate on means to obtain their ends, and have a language in their hearts which is hard to understand. In Babel the language is confounded.'¹⁴⁴ In Genesis 11 humanity conspired to build a tower into heaven but was thwarted when God confused its language.¹⁴⁵ Rejecting the God-ordered society is at the same time the rejection of the Divine voice, Woolman argued.¹⁴⁶ Those who followed that path replaced God with pride, and frequently oppressed their fellow human beings as well as the created world in order to achieve that which they had placed as primary.¹⁴⁷ In doing so, they entered a spiritual emptiness in which social relations were perplexed and God-human immediacy was 'confounded'.¹⁴⁸

In 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind' Woolman's vision of the inter-relatedness of the spiritual and temporal can be clearly seen. The historic moment was scrutinized and judged by the eternal Light; the ultimate purposes of God, Woolman claimed, were to be worked out in the world by the faithful.¹⁴⁹ Babel and Babylon signified a religious state in which humanity veered away from the direct 'hear-and-obey' relationship known by Adam and Eve in Eden before the Fall.¹⁵⁰ In the exodus from Babylon Woolman believed the protological harmony established by God in the creation event and lost at Babel would be restored in the 'returning of a pure language', which both represented a new spiritual state and entailed a new way of operating in world affairs.¹⁵¹ The language that had been 'confounded' in sin and pride would be restored to the true community of faith through Divine visitation.¹⁵² Operating out of a state of protological harmony and eschatological unfolding, the community of Christ, Woolman thought, was a harbinger of God's Kingdom because it could understand and speak God's 'language' for the world.¹⁵³ In other words, he believed the direct, restored, prelapsarian 'harmony' was present in his own actions.¹⁵⁴

In his *Journal* Woolman contended that the relationship between God and humanity is that of Creator to creation. That relationship presupposed, Woolman thought, an inevitable degree of Divine concern over the treatment of the creation, especially human beings.¹⁵⁵ The Creator-creation relationship was for Woolman an ethically energizing component of his proctology, which entailed

specific redemptive actions in the social realm, such as abstaining from the products of slave labor.¹⁵⁶ In the restored pre-Babel intimacy between God and humanity Woolman believed, all people related directly to God, and through God, to one another as kin.¹⁵⁷

Woolman's protology focused entirely on the restoration of the rightly ordered society he felt God intended in the act of creation,¹⁵⁸ and did not delve into the restoration of the *imago dei* in humanity,¹⁵⁹ as Fox did a century earlier.¹⁶⁰ The restoration Woolman envisioned was social in its focus and worked out in the organization of society. For Woolman, absolute devotion to Divine revelation could 'restore mankind to a state of true harmony' and by dwelling under that leading humanity would 'hold forth an invitation to others, to come forth from the entanglements of the spirit of this world'.¹⁶¹ Thus, as he embodied God's creative intent for social organization through his rejection of the slave economy, he thought he actually restored the central purpose of God's creative intent.¹⁶²

For Woolman, the restoration was to be the broad restoration of God's social organization and the re-establishment of proper relationships: 'How few have faithfully followed that Holy Leader, who prepares his People to labour for the Restoration of true Harmony amongst our Fellow-creatures!'¹⁶³ True happiness on earth resulted from this state of social 'harmony',¹⁶⁴ Woolman maintained, known in 'that real intellectual happiness suited to man in his primitive innocence and now to be found in true renovation of mind'.¹⁶⁵ Through this 'renovation of mind',¹⁶⁶ or this-worldly transformation to a state united to God's will, the direct leadership of Christ would bring about the 'Restoration' of God's intended purposes.¹⁶⁷ The world as it was had not yet fully realized that restoration, but in Christ 'healing' would occur, justice would be established on earth, and 'true harmony restored'.¹⁶⁸

In his first anti-slavery essay Woolman identified how the sweep of history was already culminating in the restoration of the pre-lapsarian ideal of a renewed state characterized by spiritual intimacy with God, and a social organization consistent with God's original design: 'The state of mankind was harmonious in the beginning; and though sin hath introduced discord, yet through the wonderful love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord, the way is open for our redemption, and means appointed to restore us to primitive harmony'.¹⁶⁹ In this view, sin was but a temporary interruption in God's plan, but God had already met the conditions for sin's defeat, and the prelapsarian state of 'harmony' that characterized Eden was again available to the world.¹⁷⁰ The emphasis of his protology was not merely a sentimental image of the past, but a belief that God created a new alternative order within history that restored the original perfect state of the creation.¹⁷¹ Woolman's protology idealized (1) the intimate hear-and-obey relationship between God and humanity known in Eden and restored in Christ's governance; and, (2) the restoration of God's original intent for worlds affairs in which social, economic and political structures were transformed into a 'harmonious' state consistent with God's Kingdom.¹⁷² These two theologically driven aspects of Woolman's protology provided a similar motivation, albeit in a different context, to that of the socio-spiritual confrontations of the Valiant Sixty.¹⁷³

IMPENDING JUDGMENT

In Revelation 18, the Apostle John stated that the city of Babylon was already living in the judgment it had created through its policies, and it was headed for the fulfillment of judgment. When Woolman cited that passage in his essay, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', he implied that the colonial trans-Atlantic marketplace was subject to Babylon's plagues.¹⁷⁴ Though Woolman did not often use militaristic language to describe the struggle between God's will and spiritual pride and oppression that early Quakers did,¹⁷⁵ through his interpretation of Divine judgment he identified a battle between God and sin in all of its spiritual and social manifestations.¹⁷⁶ Indeed, God's judgments had already begun: 'And here luxury and covetousness, with the numerous oppressions and other evils attending them, appeared very afflicting to me, and I felt in that which is immutable that the seeds of great calamity and desolation are sown and growing fast on this continent'.¹⁷⁷ The conflict between God's purposes and 'luxury and covetousness' required colonists to make a decision about their loyalties.¹⁷⁸ For example, the call to 'come out' of Babylon was a warning to place one's self decidedly on the side of God or else receive of Babylon's plagues.¹⁷⁹ In 1770 Woolman made this entry in his *Journal*:

I have seen in the light of the Lord that the day is approaching when the man that is the most wise in human policies shall be the greatest fool, and the arm that is mighty to support injustice shall be broken to pieces. The enemies of righteousness shall make a terrible rattle and shall mightily torment one another. For he that is omnipotent is rising up to judgment and will plead the cause of the oppressed. And he commanded me to open the vision.¹⁸⁰

God could not tolerate oppression or the violation of God's will, Woolman insisted, and will 'break to pieces' all those supportive of fallen 'human policies'.¹⁸¹ Woolman's positive vision of salvation history carried with it ominous warnings for the slave economy opposed to God's salvific purposes, both social and spiritual: 'These are souls for whom Christ died, and for our conduct toward them we must answer before that Almighty Being who is no respecter of persons'.¹⁸² God's redemptive purposes were fulfilling themselves, even through calamity.¹⁸³ Judgment was imminent, Woolman implied in his *Journal*, God was already in motion.¹⁸⁴ Spiritual hypocrisy and its social embodiments, he believed, were at an end.¹⁸⁵

In a 1772 essay condemning the slave trade he used the biblical examples of Israel and Judah before being taken into captivity, the antediluvian depravity and the fate of Sodom to illustrate God's judgment.¹⁸⁶ These biblical examples of judgment provided backing for Woolman's contention that God could not stand the injustice of the slave trade and the callous attitude of those who ignored God's voice:¹⁸⁷

Now in a Revolt so deep as this, when much Blood has been shed unrighteously, in carrying on the Slave Trade, and in supporting the Practice of keeping Slaves, which at this Day is unattoned [*sic*] for, and crieth from the Earth, and from the Seas against the Oppressor—While this Practice is continued, and, under a great Load of

Guilt there is more unrighteousness committed, the State of Things is very moving... He who of old heard the Groans of the Children of Israel under the hard Task-masters in Egypt, I trust hath looked down from his Holy Habitation on the Miseries of these deeply oppress'd People.¹⁸⁸

Without declaring it outright, Woolman implied that the state of things in his day was no different from previous periods in history that had warranted God's cataclysmic judgment.¹⁸⁹ Moreover, the 'Revolt' was mounting, as was the debt of sin that needed to be atoned for.¹⁹⁰ Earlier, Woolman argued that by piling up sin, humanity 'hasten[ed] those outward calamities which fall on nations when their iniquities are full'.¹⁹¹ Whereas the dehumanization of some for the prosperity of others seemed to be a way of economic and social advancement to White landowners, Woolman proclaimed the 'ill effects' of slavery already unfolding in eighteenth-century America; an unfolding judgment, he announced, that was as yet unperceived by many:¹⁹²

If we do not consider these things aright, but through a stupid indolence conceive views of interest separate from the general good of the great brotherhood, and in pursuance thereof treat our inferiors with rigour, to increase our wealth and gain riches for our children, what then shall we do when God riseth up; and when he visiteth, what shall we answer him?¹⁹³

God would visit with judgment, he argued, if humanity rebelled from the Divine intent and sought to thwart the advancement of God's Kingdom in the world.¹⁹⁴ Slavery, oppression and self-serving education were the outward manifestations of a rebellious spirit that rejected God's purposes.¹⁹⁵ However, in true apocalyptic form, Woolman believed that just as God intervened in world events and would inevitably establish the Divine will on earth, so judgment would 'visiteth' those who rejected the Divine will.¹⁹⁶

PERFECTIONISM

Woolman understood the person in the state of 'a pure language' literally to embody Christ in a state of perfection that fulfilled God's spiritual, eschatological Kingdom on earth.¹⁹⁷ Later in 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind' Woolman encouraged his fellow colonists to pursue that position where spiritual intimacy with God leads to God's will enacted within history:

Now this mind being in us, which was in Christ Jesus, it removes from our hearts the desire of Superiority, worldly honours or greatness... This state, where every motion from a Selfish spirit yieldeth to pure love, I may with gratitude to the Father of mercies acknowledge, is often opened before me as a pearl to dig after; attended with a living concern, that amongst the many nations & families on the Earth, those who believe in the Messiah, that 'he was manifested to destroy the works of the devil', and thus to 'take away the Sins of the world', that the will of our heavenly Father may 'be done on earth as it is in heaven'...and the believers in Christ may so abide in the pure inward feeling of his spirit, that the wisdom from above may shine forth in their living, as a light by which others may be Instrumentally helped on their way, in the true harmonious walking!¹⁹⁸

The 'mind' of Christ was *in* the faithful so as to cleanse them from sinful desires.¹⁹⁹ The mind of Christ placed the faithful in a 'state' that aborted 'every motion' derived from a sinful spirit.²⁰⁰ Christ took away the sins of the world so that God's will could be accomplished on earth as it was done in heaven.²⁰¹ In this state of perfection, the eschatological horizon broke into worldly affairs through the indwelling 'mind of Christ' that enacted God's intent for social harmony.²⁰²

In this sense, Woolman does not consider perfection to be the exclusive right of a small group who must maintain purity by withdrawing from worldly contact. Instead, the state of 'pure love' available to those who seek Christ is a position in which supernatural resources break into world events through the community of Christ, transforming the socially and spiritually alienating forces of 'the works of the devil' into God's will 'done on earth as it is in heaven'.²⁰³ The faithful would 'abide in the pure inward feeling of [Christ's] spirit', made available through supernatural Divine revelation in the form of an inward presence of God, so that they made visible the realities of Christ's government.²⁰⁴ In this position, colonists were 'divested of all prejudice in relations to colour, and the love of Christ in which there is no partiality prevails upon us'²⁰⁵ so that justice would be pursued, reparations would be payed to the slave and, instead of being driven by economic forces, human affairs would be 'wholly given up to the leadings of the Holy Spirit'.²⁰⁶

A NEW ORDER

Woolman contended that those who left the socio-spiritual corruptions of Babylon entered into a new order which comprised true happiness in connectedness to God, a rejection of the artificial happiness and alienation of 'mammon'.²⁰⁷ Describing the state of those who followed the call to come out of Babylon Woolman said, 'for though in going forth we may meet with tryals [*sic*] which for a time may be painful; yet as we bow in true humility, and continue in it, an evidence is felt that God only is wise, and that in weaning us from all that is selfish he prepares the way to a quiet habitation, where all our desires are bounded by his wisdom'.²⁰⁸

In that state, 'all things are new and all things are of God' and the sinful striving for wealth accumulation was 'subjected' to the newly operative power of God's government.²⁰⁹ The transformation of the old self into a new creation led to the manifestation of God's eschatological promises through human behavior, and the fullness of God's presence and character was 'opened'²¹⁰ to the world. The behaviors of the faithful in this new state were, Woolman claimed, markedly different from those perpetuated in the 'natural mind'.²¹¹ In this new state, the faithful would reject slavery and the economic system upon which it was built 'and a tenderness of heart is felt toward all people, even such who as to outward circumstances may be to us as the Jews were to the Samaritans'.²¹²

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, Woolman argued that the temporal and physical operations of economy and society had spiritual consequences.²¹³ God's will was not confined to *religious* affairs, but as Woolman understood it, God had a design for *all* of society.²¹⁴ Human greed and oppression were an affront to God that must be overturned²¹⁵—human faithfulness, on the other hand, was a participation in the unfolding of God's Kingdom on earth.²¹⁶ Believing himself and the Church to exist in a 'new'²¹⁷ spiritual position within God's will that rebuked slavery, poverty, judged the economics of pride and reorganized social norms according to the restored creation and the Kingdom of God, Woolman's abolitionism can be understood as part of his apocalyptic eschatology and constitutes a theological link to the impetus of the Valiant Sixty.

This is not to say that Woolman's apocalyptic thought was a replica of that of early Friends: for Woolman, the application of apocalyptic sentiments were applied with softer rhetoric, being less accusational and more invitational; and in a fundamentally different context, that of colonial society, where the biggest impediment to free relation to God, according to Woolman, was not tithes or hireling ministers, but an economic system of luxury and exploitation. Yet some of the world-confronting energy of early Friends can be seen in Woolman's challenges of the dominant and growing oppressive force of his day, the slave economy of the trans-Atlantic marketplace, which dehumanized the poor and the slave and instilled mammon as the driving force behind law, politics and religion. Woolman confronted this system with a belief that a new society was emerging. For Woolman, this transformed society was inevitable, and it was hastened as individual's listened to the guidance of the Spirit, obeyed the Spirit's leadership and called others out of Babylon.²¹⁸ Woolman's theology led him to specific embodiments which corresponded with his historical context. He overturned relations of slave and master by paying slaves for hospitality²¹⁹ and rejecting excessive luxury and profit.²²⁰ Woolman identified with the lowest strata of society by traveling hundreds of miles on foot.²²¹ Dressing in undyed clothing Woolman elicited the ire of some fellow Quakers who considered him to be 'singular',²²² but in so doing he protested against the pollutions of industrialized society and the funneling of necessary resources into what he considered egregious displays of wealth and religiosity.²²³ These world-confronting actions emerged from a prophetic impulse to describe the coming judgment and the spreading Kingdom of God, and so in a sense restored the socio-spiritual challenge of the Lamb's War in a late eighteenth-century colonial context.

This article shows that elements of apocalyptic eschatology can be traced outside of the first generation of Friends and into the late eighteenth century, especially directed toward the slave economy. This suggests that such elements might be a part of the fabric of the Quaker experience. Finally, this research suggests that characteristics of apocalyptic theology together with social confrontation form the basis of manifestations of the Lamb's War beyond the seventeenth century—albeit in different form, tone and application.

NOTES

1. Heller, M.A. (ed.), *The Tendering Presence: Essays on John Woolman*, Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill Publications, 2003; Birkel, M.L., *A Near Sympathy: The Timeless Quaker Wisdom of John Woolman*, London: Friends United Press, 2003; Slaughter, T.P., *The Beautiful Soul of John Woolman, Apostle of Abolition*, New York: Hill & Wang, 2008; Sox, D., *John Woolman: Quintessential Quaker, 1720–1772*, York: Sessions Bk. Trust, 1999; Meranze, M., ‘Materializing Conscience: Embodiment, Speech, and the Experience of Sympathetic Identification’, *Early American Literature* 37/1 (2002), p. 74.

2. Martin de Boer contends that ‘apocalyptic eschatology is fundamentally concerned with God’s active and visible rectification (putting right) of the created world (the “cosmos”), which has somehow gone astray and become alienated from God’. John J. Collins identifies ‘apocalyptic eschatology’ with a ‘particular religious perspective’, as opposed to a literary genre, like apocalypse. The theological focus of God’s reorientation of human affairs in a way that brings about a new, transformed world is foundational to this type of eschatology. Apocalyptic eschatology is a helpful term for understanding the theological motivations of the seventeenth-century Lamb’s War and Woolman’s eighteenth-century abolitionism, because they felt a new age had dawned in which Christ’s direct presence established and fulfilled God’s destiny for the world in a way that reordered the world and invaded the earthly realm with the revelation of the Divine will. De Boer, M.C., ‘Paul and Apocalyptic Eschatology’, in B. McGinn, J.J. Collins and S. Stein (eds.), *The Continuum History of Apocalypticism*, New York: Continuum, 2003, p. 170; Collins, J.J., ‘Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre’, ed. J.J. Collins, *Semeia: Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre* 14 (1979), p. 3.

3. More work needs to be done to situate Woolman theologically among his contemporaries. Plank, for example, argues that Woolman was not unique among his fellow eighteenth-century reform-minded Quakers. However, within the limits of this article an analysis of the apocalyptic eschatology of early Friends and Woolman provides a helpful starting point for other types of comparative analyses. Plank, G., *John Woolman’s Path to the Peaceable Kingdom: A Quaker in the British Empire*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012, p. 4.

4. For discussions of early Quaker apocalypticism see: Moore, R., *The Light in their Consciences: Early Quakers in Britain, 1646–1666*, University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000; Gwyn, D., *The Covenant Crucified: Quakers and the Rise of Capitalism*, Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill Publications, 1995; Gwyn, *Apocalypse of the Word: The Life and Message of George Fox (1624–1691)*, Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1986; Vipont, E., *George Fox and the Valiant Sixty*, London: Hamilton, 1975.

5. Dandelion, P., *An Introduction to Quakerism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, p. 15.

6. Gwyn, *Covenant Crucified*, pp. 107, 331.

7. Vipont, *George Fox and the Valiant Sixty*, p. xiii. In 1851 the word ‘valiant’ was used to describe eighteenth-century Quakers John Hunt, Samuel Fothergill, and John Woolman. Barnard, M., ‘On the Death of Three Valiants in the Truth’, in W. Armistead (ed.), *Select Miscellanies: Chiefly Illustrative of the History, Christian Principles, and Sufferings, of the Society of Friends...*, vol. 4, London: Charles Gilpin, 1851, pp. 165–66.

8. Fox, G., *The Journal of George Fox*, ed. J.L. Nickalls, London: Religious Society of Friends, 1975, p. 174.

9. Fox, *Journal*, p. 411. Emphasis mine.

10. Vipont, *George Fox and the Valiant Sixty*, pp. 128–29; Taylor, E.E., *The Valiant Sixty*, London: Bannisdale Press, 1947, pp. 40–41.

11. Fox, *Journal*, p. 174.

12. Christopher Densmore comes very close to linking the two events historically, but a theological analysis is yet to be done. Densmore, C., ‘To Humbly Apply to God for Wisdom:

Quietists, Activists and Abolition', Lecture, Pendle Hill Quaker Retreat Center, PA, 28 May 2009.

13. Dandelion, *Introduction to Quakerism*, p. 42; Moore, *Light in their Consciences*, p. 215.
14. Tousley, N.C., 'The Experience of Regeneration and Erosion of Certainty in the Theology of Second-Generation Quakers: No Place for Doubt?' *Quaker Studies* 13 (2008), p. 37.
15. Jones, R., *The Later Periods of Quakerism*, London: Macmillan & Co., 1921, p. 33.
16. Gwyn, *Covenant Crucified*, pp. 87, 107.
17. The name the 'Lamb's War' comes from the imagery of the Lamb in the biblical book of Revelation. George Fox wrote: 'And now is he redeeming and recovering things that were in the apostles' days, and now the gospel of God is known, the power of God, and now is the mystery of the fellowship known, by which shall all the mysteries and fellowships upon the earth be broken, which are not in the power of God: and now vials, and plagues, and thunders, and woes is coming upon the world, and the smoke of the bottomless pit hath ascended, and the tormentings of this great whore is come in this the Lamb's day, whose sceptre of righteousness is gone forth, who will rule all nations with a rod of iron, and make war in righteousness. There is a people come forth of the north that shall spoil Babylon.' However, it was James Nayler's 'The Lamb's War Against the Man of Sin' that first used the moniker as it became commonly known to later scholars. Fox, G., *The Works of George Fox*, vol. 4, Philadelphia: Marcus T.C. Gould, 1831, p. 229; Nayler, J., 'The Lamb's War against the Man of Sin', in H. Barbour and A.O. Roberts (eds.), *Early Quaker Writings, 1650-1700*, Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill Publications, 1973, pp. 104-16.
18. Barbour, H., and Frost, J.W., *The Quakers*, New York: Greenwood Press, 1988, pp. 33-34.
19. Barbour and Frost, *Quakers*, pp. 33-34.
20. Fox, *Journal*, p. 36.
21. Fox, *Journal*, p. 36.
22. Fox, *Journal*, p. 36.
23. Barbour and Frost, *Quakers*, pp. 33-34.
24. Barbour, H., *The Quakers in Puritan England*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1964, p. 40.
25. Fox, *Works*, vol. 7, pp. 234-35.
26. Gwyn, *Covenant Crucified*, p. 110; Barbour, *The Quakers*, p. 40; Fox, *Journal*, p. 36.
27. Gwyn, *Covenant Crucified*, p. 87.
28. Fox, *Works*, vol. 6, p. 472; See also Fell's similar sentiments in Bruyneel, S., *Margaret Fell and the End of Time: The Theology of the Mother of Quakerism*, Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2010, p. 94.
29. Gwyn, *Covenant Crucified*, p. 331.
30. Gwyn, *Covenant Crucified*, p. 114.
31. Farnsworth, R., *Voice of the First Trumpet and The General Good and Gods Covenant*, 1653, quoted in Moore, *Light in Their Consciences*, pp. 62-63.
32. Moore has demonstrated that early Quaker theology began to adapt as early as 1653, but the strident apocalyptic language remained prevalent throughout the first decade. Farnsworth, *Voice of the First Trumpet and The General Good and Gods Covenant*, 1653, quoted in Moore, *Light in Their Consciences*, pp. 62-63, 80-81.
33. Gwyn, *Covenant Crucified*, pp. 116, 135.
34. Nayler, 'The Lamb's War', pp. 106-107.
35. Gwyn, *Covenant Crucified*, p. 179.
36. Breen, T.H., *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004; Carson, C., Hoffman, R. and Albert, P. (eds.), *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century*, Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994; Butler, J., *Becoming America: The Revolution before 1776*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000.

37. Davis, D.B., *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture*, Ithaca, NY: Oxford University Press, 1988, p. 10.
38. Woolman, J., 'On a Sailor's Life', in A.M. Gummere (ed.), *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman*, New York: Macmillan, 1922, pp. 505-506.
39. Butler, *Becoming America*, p. 53.
40. Butler, *Becoming America*, p. 51.
41. Woolman, J., 'A Plea for the Poor, or A Word of Remembrance and Caution to the Rich', in P.P. Moulton (ed.), *The Journal and Major Essays of John Woolman*, Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1971, p. 259.
42. Breen, *Marketplace of Revolution*, p. xv; See also: Butler, *Becoming America*, pp. 5-6.
43. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*, p. xv.
44. Woolman, J., 'John Woolman to Elizabeth Smith', April 28, 1772, Woolman Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
45. Breen, *Marketplace of Revolution*, p. xv; Sweeney, K., 'High-Style Vernacular: Lifestyles of the Colonial Elite', in Carson, Hoffman and Albert (eds.), *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 37.
46. Carson, C., 'The Consumer Revolution in Colonial British America: Why Demand?' in Carson, Hoffman and Albert (eds.), *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 505-506.
47. Carson, 'The Consumer Revolution in Colonial British America', pp. 505-506.
48. Sweeney argues that these new luxury goods played a social role: 'These expensive consumer goods, which usually were taxed as luxuries throughout the colonies, expressed the genteel ideal of graceful, effortless movement through the landscape. Ideally, it would be movement from a town house to a country seat or from one country seat to another... Carriages thus played an important role in the circulation of gentry families that was necessary to maintain family ties and forge new ones through suitable marriages.' Sweeney, 'High-Style Vernacular', pp. 37-38.
49. Sweeney, 'High-Style Vernacular', p. 38.
50. Sweeney, 'High-Style Vernacular', p. 38.
51. Classified Ads., *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia, A, Thursday 20 September, 1750; Issue 1136.
52. See for example: Anon., *The Power and Grandeur of Great-Britain, Founded on the Liberty of the Colonies, and the Mischiefs Attending the Taxing Them by Act of Parliament Demonstrated* (New York: Printed and sold by James Parker, at the new printing-office, in Beaver-Street), p. 5.
53. Woolman, 'Plea for the Poor', p. 259.
54. Breen, *Marketplace of Revolution*, p. 12.
55. Anon., *Power and Grandeur of Great-Britain*, p. 5.
56. Anon., *Power and Grandeur of Great-Britain*, p. 5.
57. Anon., *Power and Grandeur of Great-Britain*, p. 5.
58. Anon., *Power and Grandeur of Great-Britain*, p. 5.
59. Breen, *Marketplace of Revolution*, p. 12.
60. Breen, *Marketplace of Revolution*, p. 12.
61. Breen, *Marketplace of Revolution*, p. 12.
62. Breen, *Marketplace of Revolution*, pp. 53-54; Woolman, J., 'Journal', in Moulton (ed.), *The Journal and Major Essays of John Woolman*, pp. 50 n. 86, 101.
63. Breen, *Marketplace of Revolution*, pp. 53-54.
64. Woolman, 'Journal', pp. 50 n. 86, 101.
65. Smith, B., *The 'Lower Sort': Philadelphia's Laboring People, 1750-1800*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), pp. 38-39.
66. Smith, *The 'Lower Sort'*, pp. 38-39.
67. Smith, *The 'Lower Sort'*, p. 112.

68. Woolman addressed this conundrum in the mid-1760s as he composed *A Plea for the Poor*: 'Were all superfluities and the desire of outward greatness laid aside and the right use of things universally attended to, such a number of people might be employed in things useful that moderate labour with the blessing of heaven would answer all good purposes relating to people and their animals, and a sufficient number have leisure to attend on proper affairs of civil society'. Woolman, 'Plea for the Poor', p. 240.

69. Woolman, 'Plea for the Poor', p. 240.

70. Woolman, J., 'Considerations on Keeping Negroes; Recommended to the Professors of Christianity of Every Denomination; Part Second', in Moulton (ed.), *The Journal and Major Essays of John Woolman*, p. 232.

71. Woolman, 'Plea for the Poor', p. 240.

72. Woolman, 'Plea for the Poor', p. 259.

73. John Woolman's brother, Abner, expressed a similar sentiment as John when he said of the trade to the Caribbean: 'The produce which we send there is chiefly flour and pork and in raising and gathering of this how often do we see creatures and some times men oppressed. The return which we have is chiefly rum, sugar and molasses and it often has been as a query in my mind: Is rum as it is used by us of any real service to the inhabitants of America? How often do we see people deprived of their reason by drinking too freely of it and many have so far given way to it that it has been the cause of their own and their families poverty and that which is more dreadful it unfits the soul for that glorious Kingdom prepared for the righteous from the foundation of the world.' This essay was submitted for publication and distribution to the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting for Sufferings by Woolman, J.A., 'Abner Woolman's Essay on the West Indies Trade', in J. Proud (ed.), *John Woolman and the Affairs of Truth: The Journalist's Essays, Epistles, and Ephemera*, San Francisco, CA: Inner Light Books, 2010, p. 279; cf. Woolman, J., 'Conversations on the True Harmony of Mankind and How it May Be Promoted', in Gummere (ed.), *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman*, p. 461; Woolman, J., 'John Woolman to Meeting for Sufferings, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1772', Quaker Collection, Swarthmore College, Friends Historical Library.

74. Woolman, 'Plea for the Poor', p. 240.

75. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 440.

76. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', pp. 444-45, 451.

77. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 32.

78. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', pp. 454-55.

79. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 455.

80. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', pp. 444-45.

81. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', pp. 444-45.

82. See Genesis 11.

83. For Fox, the 'word' was before the confusion of Babel and would remain after the destruction of Babylon. God's creative intent would be restored, and by dwelling in the 'word' the faithful experienced eschatological salvation on earth. Fox wrote: '...thy growth is not by that which perisheth; but as I said, by the milk that comes from the word, which was in the beginning, before the false doctrines, traditions, rudiments of men, false churches, false ways, false teachings, worship and religion were; ...thou that seekest for the milk of the word, thou must seek to be before Babel and Babylon was; for the word was before Babel was, and stands when Babylon is down. So the milk which cometh from the word, is it by which thou must grow up in the things of God; and this keeps the eye pure, and nourisheth thee up in the word of wisdom, word of life.' Fox, *Works*, vol. 7, pp. 234-35.

84. Fox, *Works*, vol. 7, pp. 234-35.

85. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', pp. 444-45.

86. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 444.

87. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 444.

88. Woolman, 'Conversations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 471; Woolman, 'Epistle to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of Friends', pp. 485-87.

89. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 444.

90. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 444.

91. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 443.

92. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', pp. 448-49.

93. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', pp. 440, 444, 451.

94. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', pp. 444-45.

95. Revelation 18:3.

96. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 445.

97. As Woolman stated in his preface to this interpretation of Revelation 18: 'where ways of living take place which tend to oppression, and in the pursuit of wealth, people do that to others which they know would not be acceptable to themselves, either in exercising an absolute power over them, or otherwise laying on them unequitable burdens', God's judgment follows. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 444.

98. Froom, L., *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, vol. 3, Washington, DC: Review & Herald, 1946), p. 139; See, for example: 'Are you so ignorant, as not to know that all the Papists in France, Spain, Portugal, Germany, Poland, Italy, and Rome itself (the Seat of the Whore of Babylon) do practise Infant-sprinkling as well as you?' Sharp, J., *Truth Prevailing Against the Fiercest Opposition being a Vindication of Dr. Russel's True Narrative of the Portsmouth Disputation*, London: Printed and sold by M. Fabian..., 1700, p. 66. 'That the Roman Church was not it [the true Church]; for that was but Babylon, the Mystery of Iniquity, the Plague of God upon the World for not receiving the Love of Divine Truth'. Lightfoot, J., *Some Genuine Remains of the Late Pious and Learned John Lightfoot, D.D.*, London: Printed by R.J. for J. Robinson, at the Golden-Lion; and J. Wyat, at the Rose in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1700), p. 248. 'That all Things, which are predicted in the Revelation, are at this Day fulfilled, may be seen... It follows now to declare, how it was accomplished on the Papists, who are understood by Babylon, which is much treated of in Revelation, particularly its Destruction in Chap. Xviii.' Swedenborg, E., *A Treatise Concerning the Last Judgment, and the Destruction of Babylon: shewing that all the predictions contained in the Revelation, are at this day Fulfilled. Being A Testimony of Things Heard and Seen. Translated from the Latin of the Hon. Emanuel Swedenborg. Originally published in the year 1758*, London: printed and sold by R. Hindmarsh, Printer to his Royal Highness The Prince of Wales, No. 32, Clerkenwell-Close. Sold also by J. Denis, No. 2, New Bridge Street, Black-Friars; and I. and W. Clarke, Manchester, 1788, p. 99.

99. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 445.

100. For evidence on the extension of 'Consideration on the True Harmony of Mankind' beyond Quaker circles, see Plank, *John Woolman's Path to the Peaceable Kingdom*, pp. 50-51.

101. Elsewhere, Woolman wrote: 'Gold, where the value fixed thereon is agreed to, appears to be attended with a certain degree of power, and where men get much of this power, their hearts are many times in danger of being lifted up above their brethren, and of being estranged from that meekness and tender feeling of the state of the poor, which accompanies the faithful followers of Christ... Through this imaginary greatness, the heart is often ensnared with pride; and through plenty of gold, the way is more open to gratify the vanity of the desire in delicacies and luxury... If Gold comes not rightly in our Country, we had better be without it. The love of money is the root of evil, and while gold comes among us as an effect of the love of money in the hearts of the inhabitants of this land...will remain to trouble us, & interrupt the true harmony of Society.' Woolman, 'Conversations on the True Harmony of Mankind', pp. 469-70, 471.

102. Woolman, 'Conversations on the True Harmony of Mankind', pp. 469, 471.

103. May, H., *The Enlightenment in America*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1976, p. 30.

104. Woolman, J., 'Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes; Recommended to the Professors of Christianity of Every Denomination', in Moulton (ed.), *The Journal and Major Essays of John Woolman*, pp. 202-203.

105. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 446.

106. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 446.

107. For a discussion of Rome's representation as 'Babylon' in Revelation and particularly Revelation 18, see Boring, M.E., *Revelation*, Louisville, KY: John Knox Press, 1989, pp. 185ff.

108. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 441.

109. Elsewhere, in a 1755 Epistle in opposition to the French and Indian War, Woolman and the signers encouraged Quakers to understand their moment in time in light of the sweep of God's purposes in history and the spreading of the peaceable Kingdom on earth. Woolman argues that Quakers have seen and experienced God's direct presence and so should act in accord with what they profess, which if held faithfully will lead to more of the world being turned 'to the completion of those prophecies already begun... And dearly beloved Friends, seeing we have these promises and believe that God is beginning to fulfil them, let us constantly endeavour to have our minds sufficiently disentangled from the surfeiting cares of this life and redeemed from the love of this world that no earthly possessions nor enjoyments may bias our judgments or turn us from that resignation and entire trust in God to which his blessing is most surely annexed...' Woolman, 'Journal', pp. 48-49.

110. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 93.

111. Woolman, 'Journal', pp. 48-49.

112. In most amillennial formulations, the return of Christ and transformation into final states was believed to occur all at once, in one moment, across the globe. However, in Woolman's spiritualized amillennialism the eschaton occurred in the conversion of the faithful, of whatever religious persuasion they might be, and so did not happen all at once but gradually and gained universal momentum. For more on amillennialism, see Erickson, M., *Christian Theology*, Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1987, p. 1212.

113. Revelation 18:4.

114. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 444.

115. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 445.

116. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 445.

117. Bromley, D., 'Constructing Apocalypticism: Social and Cultural Elements of Radical Organization', in T. Robbins and S.J. Palmer (eds.), *Millennium, Messiahs, and Mayhem: Contemporary Apocalyptic Movements*, New York: Routledge, 1997, p. 36.

118. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 445.

119. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 445.

120. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 445.

121. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 445.

122. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 445.

123. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 445.

124. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 441, 445.

125. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 445.

126. See, for example, Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 454.

127. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 177.

128. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', pp. 455-56.

129. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 455 (italics in original).

130. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', pp. 455-56.

131. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', pp. 455-56.

132. Woolman, 'Epistle to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of Friends', p. 483.

133. Woolman, 'Considerations on Pure Wisdom', pp. 384-85.

134. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', pp. 455-56.
135. Woolman, J., 'On Loving our Neighbours as Ourselves', in Gummere (ed.), *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman*, pp. 491-92.
136. Woolman, 'On Loving our Neighbours as Ourselves', pp. 491-92.
137. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 93.
138. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 455.
139. Hill notes that eschatology is related to the doctrine of creation: 'Although eschatology is technically about the "end", most eschatologies are heavily dependent upon a doctrine of creation. The end will be as the beginning; the creation will return to its pre-fallen state when evil, sickness, and death did not exist (see Gen. 3).' Hill, C., *In God's Time: The Bible and the Future*, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002, p. 9.
140. Woolman, 'Journal', pp. 72-73; The interplay between protology and eschatology was also a feature of George Fox's theology. See Gwyn, D., 'From Covenant to Contract: The Quaker Counter-Restoration', in B.P. Dandelion, D. Gwyn and T. Peat (eds.), *Heaven on Earth: Quakers and the Second Coming*, Birmingham: Curlew Productions, 1998, p. 133; For an example of the way a theology of protological restoration informed the shape of the eschaton, see Fox, *Journal*, p. 27.
141. Woolman, 'Considerations on Keeping Negroes; Part Second', pp. 223-24.
142. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', pp. 444-45.
143. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', pp. 444-45.
144. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', pp. 444-45.
145. Genesis 11:7-9.
146. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', pp. 444-45.
147. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', pp. 446-47. See also Woolman, 'Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes; Part Second', pp. 200-201.
148. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', pp. 444-45. See also Woolman, 'Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes; Part Second', p. 200.
149. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 445.
150. Gwyn has demonstrated that early Friends were engaged in the restoration of every aspect of human affairs to the prelapsarian intimacy between God and humanity. That 'hear-and-obey' relationship known in the Garden of Eden, early Friends believed, was reestablished in their own day. Gwyn, *Apocalypse of the Word*, pp. 200-201.
151. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 445.
152. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 445.
153. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 445.
154. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 445.
155. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 157.
156. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 157.
157. Woolman, 'Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes', pp. 198-200; Woolman, 'Plea for the Poor', pp. 239-40; Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 445.
158. See, for example, the way Woolman desired labor practices to conform to 'the design of our Creator'. Woolman, 'Considerations on Keeping Negroes; Part Second', p. 223.
159. In contrast, John's brother Abner, whose works John edited, did talk about the restoration of the *imago dei* through faithfulness to God's creative intent, which he interpreted specifically as vegetarianism. It is difficult to say to what extent Abner's writings reflect John's views, but since vegetarianism does not appear in John's own writings I conclude that, at least, it was not a central concern. Abner encourages colonists to consider how 'in the beginning the great Creator of the whole universe desired [that] man in a state of innocency should subsist on' healthy plants, 'but alas, by giving way to selfish desires, how is he degenerated and alienated from his Maker and in this dark fallen state what vast havoc does he make with the Creation? What numberless number of animals are oppressed and destroyed by man, and how often do

men oppress and afflict each other? O my soul, think on the above hints, and in deep humility strive daily to experience a returning to your Maker and a living in the same innocence and uprightness which man in the beginning was created in./There is a Spirit which, if men give way to, will humble and calm the mind, and make man who is frail by nature, content with that which is only useful, and I believe if this Divine Gift is strictly attended to, it will appear and prevail more and more until the oppressed go free, and the voice of the oppressor shall no more be heard in the land.' Woolman, 'Abner Woolman's Essay on the West Indies Trade', p. 280.

160. Fox had the religious experience of going through 'the flaming sword into the paradise of God' so that the whole 'creation gave another smell unto me than before, beyond what words can utter'. Fox felt himself re-established in a state of 'righteousness, being renewed up into the image of God by Christ Jesus, so that I say I was come up to the state of Adam which he was in before he fell'. Elsewhere, Fox wrote that the redemption of Christ served to 'purchase man out of this state he is in, in the fall, and bring him up to the state man was in before he fell; so Christ became a curse, to bring man out of the curse...'. Fox believed that in the presence of the Light, Quakers were re-established in a state of perfection before the fall, which 'renews them up in the image of God, as man and woman were in before they fell; and makes man and woman's house as perfect again as God had made them at first'. The Fall that occurred in Eden also occurred in the hearts of all people, Fox believed, but in Christ Quakers were returned to the prelapsarian condition and were re-established in the direct relationship of Adam and Eve to God. Future research is needed to perform an in-depth examination of Woolman's and Fox's protology implied in their theological and social visions. Woolman, 'Considerations on Keeping Negroes; Part Second', p. 223; Fox, *Journal*, pp. 27, 367-68; Fox, *Works*, vol. 7, pp. 232-33; Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', pp. 440-41; Moore, *Light in Their Consciences*, p. 83; Bailey, R., 'Was Seventeenth-Century Quaker Christology Homogeneous?' in P. Dandelion (ed.), *The Creation of Quaker Theory: Insider Perspectives*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004, p. 65; cf. Genesis 3:24: 'So he drove out the man; and he placed at the east of the garden of Eden Cherubims, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life'.

161. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', pp. 440-41.

162. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', pp. 440-41.

163. Woolman, 'On Loving our Neighbours as Ourselves', p. 495.

164. Woolman, 'On Loving our Neighbours as Ourselves', p. 495.

165. Woolman, 'Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes', p. 205.

166. Woolman, 'Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes', p. 205.

167. Woolman, 'On Loving our Neighbours as Ourselves', p. 495.

168. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 443.

169. Woolman, 'Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes', p. 208.

170. Woolman, 'Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes', p. 208.

171. Max Stackhouse argues that this belief is typical of Christian eschatology: 'While Christian eschatology often contains an element of the restoration of the innocence and capabilities that God gave to humanity in creation, both distorted by sin, the stronger emphasis is on the ultimate future. Christian eschatology thus invites a theology of history in which a new heaven, a new earth, and indeed a new city can be imagined and anticipated ethically.' Stackhouse, M., 'Ethics and Eschatology', in J. Walls (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Eschatology*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 553.

172. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', pp. 440-41.

173. For example, Fox believed that the performance of religious rituals that served only to present the appearance of holiness were dismissed because the restored state was characterized by the direct, unmediated intimacy of Creator to creation. Thus, the spiritual restoration Fox envisioned brought with it implications for a new social order modeled on God's creative intent. This is suggestive of the way the protology of early Quakers, and that of Woolman,

brought a challenge to the social *status quo* with an eschatological vision of Divine transformation. Fox, *Journal*, 27, pp. 367-68; Fox, *Works*, vol. 7, pp. 232-33.

174. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', pp. 444-45.

175. There are several contextual reasons that could explain the difference in diction. For example, while several of the early Quakers of the Valiant Sixty had experience in Cromwell's 'New Model Army', Woolman's resistance to the Seven Years' War in the eighteenth century provided a very different set of apocalyptic metaphors. See Kershner, J., "'The Lamb's War" or "the Peaceable Government of Christ?" John Woolman and Quaker Apocalypses', *American Academy of Religion* 2011, pp.6-8.

176. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 160.

177. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 129.

178. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 129.

179. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', pp. 444-45.

180. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 160; Woolman believed judgment was coming because of the injustice in the trans-Atlantic economy, while early Quaker Margaret Fell pointed God's judgment at religious forms. Bruyneel argues that Fell thought there would be judgment on those clergy that persisted in their forms, putting burdens on the spiritually weak. This difference between the early Quaker condemnation of religious forms and Woolman's condemnation of the slave economy was typical. Fell argued that religious leaders were liars who 'have long stood in their Forms; but never was there any Perfection till now, that the Power of Truth is made manifest which will confound and break to pieces all their Forms'. Bruyneel, *Margaret Fell and the End of Time*, p. 116; Fell, M., 'To Colonel West, when he was a Member of Parliament, in Oliver's Days, and when George Fox was Prisoner at Carlisle, 1653', in M. Garman *et al.* (eds.), *Hidden in Plain Sight: Quaker Women's Writings, 1650-1700*, Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill Publications, 1996), p. 41.

181. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 160.

182. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 66.

183. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 160.

184. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 160.

185. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 160.

186. Woolman, 'On the Slave Trade', p. 498.

187. Woolman, 'On the Slave Trade', pp. 498-99.

188. Woolman, 'On the Slave Trade', p. 499.

189. Woolman, 'On the Slave Trade', pp. 498-99.

190. Woolman, 'On the Slave Trade', pp. 498-99.

191. Woolman, 'Considerations on Keeping Negroes, Part Second', p. 214.

192. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 52.

193. Woolman, 'Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes', p. 207.

194. Woolman, 'Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes', p. 207.

195. Woolman, 'Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes', p. 207.

196. Woolman, 'Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes', p. 207.

197. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', pp. 444, 448-49.

198. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 449.

199. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', pp. 448-49.

200. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', pp. 448-49.

201. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', pp. 448-49.

202. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 449.

203. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 449.

204. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', pp. 448-49.

205. Woolman, 'A Plea for the Poor', p. 272.

206. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 156.

207. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 446.

- 208. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 445.
- 209. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 177.
- 210. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 177.
- 211. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 177.
- 212. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 177.
- 213. William Christian, 'Inwardness and Outward Concerns: A Study of John Woolman's Thought', *Quaker History* 67/2 (1978), p. 90.
- 214. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', pp. 444-45.
- 215. Woolman, 'Epistle to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of Friends', p. 482.
- 216. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 455.
- 217. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 177.
- 218. Woolman, 'Considerations on the True Harmony of Mankind', p. 455.
- 219. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 61.
- 220. Woolman, 'Journal', pp. 163-64.
- 221. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 150.
- 222. Henry Cadbury, *John Woolman in England—1772: A Documentary Supplement* ([London]: Friends Historical Society, 1971), p. 18.
- 223. Woolman, 'Journal', p. 120.

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