A SOCIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF MILLENARIAN QUAKERISM--1648-1662

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explains the earliest years of Quakerism through perspectives and theories provided by contemporary sociological research on millenarian sectarianism. Chapters One and Two are devoted to critical reviews of the social scientific literature on millenarian sectarianism, particularly relative deprivation theories and community-building theories. In Chapter Three, aspects of these theories are applied to Quaker history, and in Chapter Four a modified version of Bryan R. Wilson's "dominant responses to the world" categories are used heuristically to explore the internal dynamics within the early Quaker movement.

The methodology employed by the study, that of testing millenarian sectarian theory against early Quaker history, allows several important theoretical facts to emerge. Among the most important is the clarification of distinctions between a religious movement and a social movement. Furthermore, the complexities of Quaker history highlight the heuristic viability of using a sixfold classification when analyzing group leadership variables.

I dedicate this work to Rachael,
whose encouragement, support, and
love helped me through the many
frustrations, fears and furies
that arose during a long and lonely
summer.

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CHAPTER FOUR. RESPONSE TO THE WORLD

ABBREVIATIONS

BQ	Braithwaite, William C. The Beginnings of Quakerism, 2nd ed., 1919 repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955, repr. 1961.
EQW	Barbour, Hugh, and Arthur O. Roberts. Early Quaker Writings 1650-1700. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1973.
Nickalls, Journal	Fox, George. The Journal of George Fox. Ed. John L. Nickalls. London: Religious Society of Friends, 1975.
Penney, Journal	Fox, George. The Journal of George Fox, 2 vols., 1911; repr. New York: Octagon Press, 1973.
SPQ	The Second Period of Quakerism. Rev. Henry J. Cadbury. 1919; rev. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961.

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INTRODUCTION

Within the social scientific literature on millenarianism and millennialism, different researchers often use the terms "movement", "group", and "sect" in reference to the same collective fellowship. Factually the terms themselves connote slightly different meanings. "Movement", for instance, implies a collectivity that lacks the amount of organization and structure comparatively attributed to a "group". "Sect", particularly when it refers to Western Christianity, implies a small religious fellowship that emphasizes exclusivity, individual perfectionism, community, membership by merit, and hostility to the world (Troeltsch I, pp. 331-343; Weber, 1976, pp. 320-322).

But despite these differences in connotation, I will use all three terms interchangeably in this study. My purposes are well served by this rather free usage, since I am not concerned with defining any of them with precision. Rather, I wish to analyze various aspects of one millenarian fellowship, the early Quakers, and they can be called a "sect" just as aptly as they can a "movement" or a "group". In fact, each of these terms has been applied to them by other researchers.[1]

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[1] With specific reference to Troeltsch's two ideal types, "church" and "sect", Vann rightly observes that "as soon as one attempts to use these ideal types to understand the historical development of Quaker institutions, it becomes apparent that neither is altogether appropriate and that subtle manipulation of them is essential". However, he prefers to refer to the early Quakers as a "movement" rather than either of them (1969b, p. 199). Martin, following Troeltsch, refers to Quakerism as a

More specifically, the intent of this work is to analyze Quakerism's origins and development from its beginnings in England around 1648[2] to the crucial year 1662[3] according to categories, insights, and analytical tools provided by many of the sociological studies on millenarianism. Chapters One and Two will be devoted to a survey, by no means exhaustive, of social scientific literature on millenarianism. Then, in Chapter Three I will apply the appropriate material from the first two chapters in an interpretation of Quaker history. The assumption, of course, of this study is that Quakerism was a millenarian group, eagerly anticipating the imminent return of Christ; and I will show that this assumption is justified in the early pages of Chapter Three.

1(continued) "sect" (p. 58; see Troeltsch, II, pp. 780-784). Wilson, while qualifying Troeltsch's use of the term "sect" (1973, pp. 11-16) refers to Quakers in this way (p. 14). Owens refers to Quakers both as a movement (p. 187) and a group (p. 215).

[2]Although Fox indicates in his Journal that he had begun travelling as early as September, 1643 and seems to have been attracting attention to his religious views at least by 1647, he seems to have acquired his first converts by 1648 (Nickalls, Journal, pp. 3-9; QPE, p. 37). However, he was soon imprisoned, and spent the next few years, until late 1652, in and out of jail (QPE, p. 37). Sometime during 1650-1651 he seems to have deeply moved a Mansfield separatist group (EQW, p. 380), and by the winter of 1651 his success at gaining converts was increasing (QPE, pp. 37-38). For our purposes, the early date of 1648 is sufficient, since we realize that the movement probably did not begin in earnest until at least late 1651 or early 1652.

[3]The year 1662 is so crucial because, on May 2, Parliament put into law the Quaker Act, which initiated a new and severe period of Quaker persecution. More than 15,000 Friends were to suffer imprisonment as a result of it and similar laws (SPQ, pp. 114-115). The act made it unlawful to: refuse to swear an oath before a magistrate; encourage another to so refuse; or, meet together for worship with more than five non-family members (SPQ, p. 23). Since this wave of persecution marked such a radical departure in Quaker history, it is a logical time-boundary for demarcating early Quakerism.

Quakerism is an obvious choice for a researcher, such as myself, who wants to apply the general sociological literature on millenarianism to a particular historical case. Historically, Quakerism's earliest years are well documented. Large numbers of Quaker letters, journals, antagonists' accounts, and several Quaker histories exist. Much of this material is readily accessible to scholars, if not to a wider reading audience. Sociologically, researchers such as Brian Wilson (1973, p. 37) are aware of the millennialist beliefs of early Quakers, but, as far as I can determine, they have never devoted a detailed study to Quaker millenarianism. Therefore, a lacuna exists in the social scientific literature of applied millenarian studies, and this work attempts to fill the gap. However, I have more than an academic interest in Quakerism--I have been a member of "liberal" Quaker meetings since 1974.

Turning now to the contents and the arrangements of the four chapters, the two devoted to a partial review and critique of the social scientific literature on millenarianism examine two types of millenarian theories. One of the two types is "deprivation theories", to which I devote much of Chapter One. Of the various deprivation theories examined I finally adopt one offered by Denton E. Morrison. The other type of millenarian theories I examine are structural-functional ones, to which I devote much of Chapter Two.

Among the social scientists who figure prominently in this discussion are Peter Worsley and Elizabeth Kanter. However, these two types of theories by no means exhaust the social scientific approaches to millenarian studies, and some of these other approaches do appear throughout this work. For instance, a comparatively small but persistent

body of literature emphasizes the psychopathological nature of millenarianism, and I have devoted both a small theoretical section and a small historical section to this approach. More importantly, Brian Wilson has identified seven "dominant responses to the world" that new, non-normative religious groups can demonstrate, and, after modification, I extensively use his seven categories as a framework for part of the historical examination in Chapter Four. Finally, some Literature stresses the innovative potential to which groups may use their millenarian doctrines, and, at various places, I mention some of these innovations. However, there is one "interpretive tendency" that occasionally appears in the literature to which I am relatively unsympathetic, and which does not appear in this work. It is one which, following Marx and Engels, stresses that millenarian religious responses cloud a group from truly seeing the social and economic conditions that are the causes of their affliction. Differing from this Marxist interpretation, I argue in various places that millenarian doctrines provided the Quakers with the ideological justification for either launching or continuing attacks against social and economic forces that they felt were oppressive. The summary will highlight the important points of the study, and derive some modest conclusions from them. Particular attention will be paid to the terminological clarifications that have applicability for general millenarian theory.

One final note--I have taken care to place Quakerism within the socio-cultural perspective of 1650's England, but by doing so I may have presented the Quakers as being more important in the era than they actually were. That is the risk I take, given the fact that I decided to concentrate on only one group among the many that

existed then. Other researchers studying other groups probably will have different perspectives than I and even will tell the history of the period somewhat differently. This question of perspective is important for historians, or for anyone working with historical material, since it is so closely linked to a discussion on how to "understand" history. Yet in these discussions one piece of advice seems to remain true for studies such as this: readers can understand the importance of one group within the larger socio-cultural climate only by reading widely in the era. Fortunately for us, the era of English history in and around the 1650's is fasinating and rich.

CHAPTER ONE

MILLENARIANISM AND THE SOCIO-CULTURAL MILIEU

Millenarianism and the Millennium

Norman Cohn describes millenarianism as "one variant of Christian eschatology" (p. 15). His particular concern with millenarianism involves its manifestations in medieval Europe, which he saw as the ideational outgrowth of a long tradition of eschatological literature. This literature included the Book of Daniel (pp. 22-24), the Apocalypses of Baruch and Ezra (p. 22), the speculations of Joachim of Fiore (pp. 108-118), and the Sibylline Oracles (pp. 30-35). But the single most influencial literary source for Western millenarian thought has been the Book of Revelations, and Cohn discusses it in depth[1] (pp. 24-25).

He begins his discussion of Revelations by pointing out that, prior to the 20th chapter, the book describes the terrible disruptions and disasters of the world, all of which are the work of the Devil. Then in the 20th chapter, it narrates the second coming of Jesus, who establishes a messianic kingdom over which he rules for a millenium (i.e., 1,000 years [Rev. 20.4]).

During this messianic reign the Devil is in shackles, and Christ's reign is one of peace on earth. Christ's companions during

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[1]The following account of Revelations presents a somewhat clearer arrangement of events than what the confused text itself offers. On the textual problems of Rev. 20-22, see Bertram Clogg's analysis of it in: Abingdon Bible Commentary, ed. Frederick Carl Eiselen, Edwin Lewis, and David G. Downey (New York: Abingdon Press, 1929), pp. 1368 and 1395.

this peaceful time are the Christian martyrs, those who had been "beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God" (Rev. 20.4). After the 1,000 year reign, the forces of Satan are released, and they begin marching against the righteous. God then intervenes, destroys these forces of evil and casts the Devil and the false prophets "into the lake of fire and brimstone" (i.e., hell [Rev. 20.10]) where they will suffer eternal torment. Then God initiates the second resurrection of the dead, this time including all who have ever lived, and not simply the martyrs. Each will come before God and face eternal judgement (Rev. 20.12), and those not found in the "book of life" will be condemned to a second death, and eternal one, in hell (Rev. 20.14-15).

Following his restatement of Revelations, Cohn notes that, among anthropologists and sociologists, the term "millenarianism" now has lost its biblical specificity. Instead, they simply use the term to indicate "a particular type of salvationism" (p. 15). This salvationism always contains five elements: those of an (1) "imminent", (2) "terrestrial", (3) "collective", (4) "miraculous", and (5) "total" redemption (p. 15).

But the character of medieval millenarianism often was shaped by at least one other factor, which, when it appeared, gave the predominant millennialist expression a decidedly revolutionary tone. This factor was the appearance of messiahs, or in Cohn's terms, "divinely inspired prophets, messiahs, [and] incarnate gods" (p. 40; see Talmon, p. 528). Generally, messianic figures are persons whose intermediary position between the human and the divine realms brings about or facilitates redemption in some crucial way. Usually this figure is

equated with Jesus. But in Cohn's study, the redemptive message of the messiahs involved a revolutionary outcry against the antichrists, especially the Church and its corrupt clergy, who had to be eliminated, usually annihilated, before the millennium could begin.

The fact that so many Christian images appear in Western millenarian movements indicates the crucial relationship between these movements and their socio-cultural milieu. Said another way, millenarian expressions appear usually amongst people whose socio-cultural traditions contain prevalent Christian ideas.[2]

Conditions Influencing the Appearance of Millenarianism

Even though the Christian ideas within a society have millenarian overtones (and here I use "millenarian" in the anthropological and sociological sense), social scientists still need to explain why millenarian ideas become strongly held collective beliefs (Worsley, p. 244). Their explanations usually approach the question from either the subjective viewpoints and consequent behavioral responses of the individuals, or from the perspective of how such ideas serve the overall structure and functioning of the movements themselves.

Those theorists who use the subjective or the behavioural viewpoint to explain why social collectivities adopt millenarian themes are aware that people tend to interpret situations in terms that

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[2]For a work that discusses the millenarian and revolutionary traditions of the major world religions, and also provides case studies of particular incidents, see Guenter Lewy, Religion and Revolution (New York: Oxford, 1974). However, the criteria he used for selecting some of the studies while excluding others is not always clear.

have cultural significance for them (Wilson, 1967, p. 301). When situations occur that are subjectively disruptive or oppressive, people can use the millenarian ideas to explain the conditions that are causing them distress or frustration (Cohn, p. 52). For instance, if a group of people feel social antagonism against another group, their hostility takes on the dimension of a holy struggle, and the protestors justify their outcries and their new social designs by citing an authority higher than the worldly laws and customs (Worsley, pp. 225-226; Cohn, pp. 201-203).

Just as the Book of Revelations is futuristic, with the millennium arriving after a period of great chaos, so it is that deprived people expect the reign of Christ to follow their conditions of oppression or disorientation (Cohn, p. 110). Present events play a crucial part in a divine drama by infusing people with a religious belief that conditions will improve. God's intervention radically will change the social order, and the present, perceived injustices will be righted. Therefore, the immediate, difficult era is but a transitional time.

Conceptually, people view the process of time both linearly and mythically. Since time is to culminate in the millennium, believers identify themselves with the Christian martyrs and disciples, an identification which they obtain from the contents of the Book of Revelations and other New Testament sources. These identifications often come about through experiences of rebirth, as people "are transformed" from material beings into spiritual ones (see Barkun, p. 146). While they view the present era as corrupt and decayed, they also see it infused with meaning. It is a necessary, transitional

period leading not only to the salvation of believers (see Talmon, p. 533), and God's punishment of the present, corrupt rulers, but also to the reign of Christ. Thus, the terrestrial world merges with the spiritual realm (Talmon, p. 526), and God is soon to rule in the heavenly city of a new Jerusalem (Talmon, p. 527).

To the question, "why are millenarian ideas sometimes collectively held?", some social scientists use a different approach than the subjective or behavioural one. These researchers emphasize the structural and functional benefits a group accrues from millenarian doctrines. For example, one of several benefits for a group which adopts religiously millenarian doctrines is that it can gain a new and broad ideological appeal for persons in the society around them. Divine claims of millenarian imperative can help the group transcend the narrow, ideological confines that often exist within a society. Occasionally a millenarian group might be able to unite previously hostile groups under the rigourous demands of divine imperative (Talmon, pp. 532-533; Worsley, pp. 236-237). But to do so group members must make tremendous efforts, both individually and collectively, and they also must make potentially traumatic separations from old relationships and norms. Persons making these efforts and suffering these separations can do so because they believe, individually and collectively, that they are acting according to divine fiat (Talmon, pp. 32-33).

Relative Deprivation

Theories concerning why individuals collectively adopt religiously millenarian ideas lead directly into the task of identifying the

conditions causing people to join movements that maintain these beliefs. Most explanations identify some form of relative deprivation as the necessary (but not sufficient) catalyst for people to participate in such groups. While the situation or situations against which people feel deprived often are readily identified in the social, political or religious realms, an important theme in many definitions is that people feel a discrepancy between their expectations and the perceived probability that these expectations will be met (see Talmon, p. 530; Morrison, p. 678; Aberle, p. 538; etc.). These definitions of relative deprivation encompass people whose objective or material conditions have not changed but whose wants and expectations have (Worsley, p. 243). They even apply to the poor and the oppressed of a population, if both their "traditional way of life has broken down and [they] have lost faith in traditional values" (Cohn, p. 52). However, these definitions exclude people whose deprivation is both absolute and constant, and who do not develop any changes in their expectations. Often the reason these people do not develop new expectations is because they can not--the sheer weight of life's burdens does not allow them to (see Morrison, p. 675; Yinger, 1970, p. 425; post, "Relative Deprivation--A Fresh Approach").

While relative deprivation appears in most of the social scientific literature as a necessary stimulus for people to join a millenarian movement, it is not a sufficient one (Glock & Stark, p. 249; Alan, p. 300). Neither are the oft-cited conditions of disaster, oppression, or marginality (Alan, p. 296; compare Barkun, p. 149; Worsley, p. 230). Debate continues concerning exactly what the additional factors must be, but one which is often cited is that people have

little access to (or, I must add, little interest in) legitimized channels of political expression (Talmon, p. 531; Alan, p. 300). Understandably, then, millenarian movements frequently share characteristics with social movements, and people even may join them hoping that collective action, especially collective action performed under divine command, will change a social condition which they feel is frustrating their efforts at achieving their wants.

The two most well known attempts at classifying the different types of relative deprivation are those by Aberle (p. 538) and Glock and Stark (pp. 246-248). An additional one is offered by Alan (1974). Aberle classifies the four areas in which people can feel relative deprivation as those of (material) possessions, status, behaviour, and worth. ("Worth" refers to a set of evaluations which are internalized by an actor who feels judged by a reference group according to ascribed characteristics such as race and colour rather than achieved characteristics such as status or wealth [p. 539].)[3]

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[3]Aberle continues his classification by identifying "at least three measuring points for deprivation", these being: personal; group "(e.g., tribe)"; and category "(e.g., Negro)". When these measuring points are placed in relation to the four areas of deprivation and are weighed against each other "(e.g. personal versus group... or category...)", "a 24-cell table of deprivations" appears (p. 538). If this is not unwieldy enough, in the next paragraph Aberle says that he will use one of his three "frames of reference" in the illustration of his system which follows this theoretical description. Obviously a basic problem with his scheme is the confused way in which he articulates it. Although he says that his "24-cell table of deprivations [is] too large to illustrate in detail", a chart would have been helpful. Even still, his distinctions between "group" and "category" are poorly drawn, and he is not clear whether they should be determined according to the subjective evaluation of the involved actors, or by an objective division through scientific distinctions. Nor am I clear whether, according to his scheme, persons can feel deprived in relation to other persons. In short, his classificatory scheme needs much clarification.

Glock and Stark's fivefold areas of possible relative deprivation complements much of Aberle's categories: (1) economic (corresponding to Aberle's "material possessions"); (2) social (corresponding to Aberle's "status"); (3) organismic (i.e., physical and mental deformities); (4) ethical (i.e., philosophical value conflicts); and, (5) psychic (i.e., a lack of meaningful values that often arises as a consequence of the first and second types). While Glock and Stark indicate that felt deprivation is "a necessary precondition for the rise of any organized social movement, whether it be religious or secular" (p. 249), it is not a sufficient one. In addition to it the deprivation must be shared (a point that Aberle also makes [p. 538]), potential members must believe that no "alternative institutional arrangements" are sufficient to alleviate it, "and leadership must emerge with an innovative idea for building a movement..." (p. 249).

In addition to these attempts to explain the types of deprivation that may lead to millenarian movements, Alan offers a third. His explanatory concept has affinities with both Glock and Stark's psychic deprivation category and Aberle's relative deprivation of worth (although he is critical of the latter author's restriction of the term to ascriptive traits alone). He suggests "that whenever people embrace a millennial doctrine they are experiencing a relative deprivation of a kind that affects their total worth" (p. 298).

Critiques of Relative Deprivation Theories

A host of criticisms challenge the relative deprivation theories of Aberle, Glock and Stark, and Alan. First, none of the three theories critically distinguishes between persons forming a millenarian movement

and persons joining an ongoing movement or group. This omission is regrettable since the forces at work in movement-formation may not be the same as those at work in movement-recruitment. Along with this, these theories leave unspecified how persons who feel relatively deprived translate their individual but widely-shared frustrations into a collective expression. Theorists attempting to bridge this gap by introducing into relative deprivation theories an additional element of inspired or "charismatic leadership" have expanded their discussions beyond people's feelings of lack or want to factors that include interpersonal dynamics, as well as affective, community-building motifs.

Several scholars, usually structural-functionalists, criticize relative deprivation theories for their lack of insight concerning the functions that participation in millenarian groups and movements serve for the social relations and value-systems of their members (see Talmon, p. 531). These critics stress the identity-forming and community building functions groups provide for those who join (Kanter, pp. 219-220). For instance, Kanter "sees millenial ideas as secondary to the social act of mobilization and formation of a new community.... Millenial ideas provide the justification for engagement in the worship of the emergent group" (p. 221).

However, this emphasis on the interpersonal, community-building aspects involved in initiating or joining a millenarian group need not contradict relative deprivation theories. Rather, it can complement them by shedding more light on how individual-but widely-held frustrations get translated into collective action. Certainly one of the factors is that people with a common plight gain fellowship

through mutual association, and through this association the group grows naturally. Still this does not yet explain how this "natural" growth takes place, nor does it explain why the movement coalesces around millenarian ideas, but both of these questions will be taken up later.

This critique of relative deprivation theory--emphasizing instead the development of social relationships--is itself a theory used to explain the appearance of millenarian movements, and I will consider it at length in the next chapter.

In addition to the criticisms of relative deprivation theories already mentioned, at least four more appear in the literature that have direct application to the theories of Aberle, Glock and Stark, and Alan. The first of the four remaining criticisms involves the manner in which researchers attempt to determine the type of deprivation group members feel. Wallis claims that one common way by which researchers attempt to do so is by deducing the deprivation from the movement's ideology (p. 361). That is, researchers assume the issues which the ideology attacks or rejects indicate the areas of relative deprivation the movement's or group's members perceive (see Aberle, p. 540; Alan, pp. 301-302). Wallis, however, is critical of this approach, correctly pointing out that members may well interpret the same group ideology in different ways. A number of factors could cause these different interpretations, including different occupational backgrounds, class differences, uneven availability of information, or altered conditions under which members are recruited.

The second remaining methodological criticism regarding how researchers locate members' perceived relative deprivation holds

true even if they can determine that a harmonious link does exist between a movement's ideology and its members' personal perception of blockage to their aspirations. Still the researchers have not proven that the relative deprivation persons felt before they joined and which stimulated them to do so is the same one that they feel once they are members (Wallis, pp. 360-361; 362).

The next criticism of relative deprivation theory lies not so much with the methodology researchers use in determining members' felt blockages, but instead lies with many of the categories themselves. Many of them are ambiguous (Wallis, p. 361). For example, the fifth category in Glock and Stark's fivefold classification--psychic deprivation --is usually a consequence of one experiencing economic or social deprivation (pp. 248-249). This being true, researchers face considerable difficulty isolating the causal, predominant, perceived deprivation, especially since psychic deprivation appears to grow out of "an internalized set of standards" (p. 246), and economic deprivation "may be judged on the subjective criteria" (p. 246) of the actors as well. Glock and Stark even acknowledge that two of their cateogires--economic deprivation and social deprivation--"tend to go together" (p. 247), but nonetheless do insist that the two are useful distinctions.

If the problems of ambiguity exist within Glock and Stark's classifications, they are even greater when researchers try to locate what Alan means by "a relative deprivation which affects [people's] total worth" (p. 298). How can "total worth" be identified, much less measured? Therefore, how can such classifications be applied as either predictive or descriptive instruments (Wallis, p. 361)?

While I am in basic accord with the last three critiques of

relative deprivation theory, I take partial exception to the next one. Wallis points out that the importance of relative deprivation concepts lie in their emphasis on members' subjective perception of disparity between their expectations and the perceived probability that they will be fulfilled. However, he adds that researchers attempting to validate these concepts usually turn to the objective, socio-cultural realm, i.e., to "factors outside the actor" (p. 361) to find their supporting evidence. His caution about this approach is threefold. He states that citing external conditions does not prove that group members feel or experience certain internal perceptions as fundamental ones. Furthermore, external conditions cannot explain why some people who are adversely affected by them do not join the movement (or at least one like it [p. 360]). Finally, Wallis warns that concentrating on the objective reality of socio-cultural conditions undermines the primary value relative deprivation theories place on subjective perception itself. He concludes that the only acceptable methodology for determining why particular individuals "conceptualize a particular social movement as providing a solution to their needs" is to "enquire of the recruits" themselves (p. 36). He advocates this, even though he realizes that persons may not be able to inform researchers clearly about what their needs are, and that researchers need not take such information at face value (see Weber, 1964, pp. 111-112).

Precisely because of the difficulty Wallis himself indicates concerning actors' reliability, I will place heavy emphasis on what Wallis calls "factors outside the actor". Basically, a movement cannot be understood primarily from accounts written by persons not

fully aware of the forces bearing upon their lives (see Worsley, p. xxxiii). As well, it is methodologically unsound to deduce why persons first joined a movement by relying solely on accounts they wrote after they already were members, since persons quickly learn the "appropriate" responses to questions, according to the group's doctrinal expectations.

Furthermore, Wallis's designation of socio-cultural factors as being "outside the actor" makes a rigid division in what is actually a very complicated interplay between socio-cultural and individual-reality. Thus I agree with Alan when he says that "although relative deprivation most obviously [is] expressed at the individual level, the concepts involved are not individual but social ones" (p. 299). The interplay is dynamic between individuals' ideas and the social concepts in the culture around them.

Relative Deprivations--A Fresh Approach

A relative deprivation theory by Denton Morrison presents the relation between objective situations and subjective perceptions within collective responses better than any of the theories I have discussed thus far. The superiority of his approach is that he outlines the process of relative deprivation perception more than he identifies in what sphere of activity (social, economic, psychic, etc.) the catalyst for such perception must occur. While his analysis "applies particularly to [norm oriented] movements in relatively open, democratic societies that stress individual mobility", he readily sees that much of what he outlines has "broader application" (p. 677). On many points his theory resembles other relative deprivation approaches, and I will

mention a few of them as I summarize it. However, since his theory is not specifically designed to explain millenarianism, particularly as it appears in more traditional societies, I will adjust parts of it in order to make it directly applicable to the purposes of this work.

Morrison's basic premise is little different from several other relative deprivation theorists, saying that for persons to feel relatively deprived "the desires involved must become (1) legitimate[4] expectations that are (2) perceived as blocked" (p. 677). Expectations become legitimate when persons feel that they have a "right" to obtain a particular goal; that they deserve "it because of particular investments" they have in trying to reach it. These investments "can either be ascribed or achieved statuses or roles, or the actions that constitute the means by which statuses and roles are achieved" (p. 677). The ways that an individual transforms desires into legitimate expectations are either by "learning that certain investments are generally rewarded by certain outcomes" or by "identification with persons and groups whose investments are perceived as similar to and, thus, no more deserving of certain awards than one's own but whose actual returns are greater" (p. 678).

For persons to maintain legitimate desires or expectations for any length of time, the desires must have first arisen when

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[4]Morrison's use of the term "legitimate" differs from Weber's use of it. For Weber, "legitimate" means something akin to "state sanctioned" or "legally sanctioned" (see Weber, 1976, , p. 78). However, as we are about to see, Morrison's use is more oriented to individuals' perceptions of their "right" to something--to people feeling that they deserve a particular thing.

people perceived the probability was high that they would be fulfilled. Therefore, for a legitimate expectation even to exist during a time of "high perceived probability of blockage" means that the cause of the perceived blockage must have arisen suddenly (p. 678). That is, people must perceive an actual or an anticipated change which is the cause of the heretofor unanticipated blockage. (Here Aberle might say that this change could occur in "comparison with the past", in anticipation of the future as compared to the present, or in relation to at least one other group [p. 538]). In any case, individuals feel a significant dissonance within themselves, stemming from the discrepancy between their desires and the perceived probability that their desires will be blocked from fulfillment.

One kind of actual or anticipated change is what Morrison labels as "decremental deprivations". These deprivations occur when opportunities decline faster than do aspirations. The causes of these sudden blockages (be they actual or anticipated) of opportunities vary, but they include depressions or recessions (see Barkun, p. 149), and social, legal, or institutional changes. Responses to these conditions often attempt to restore the amount of opportunities to the level at which they existed in the past (p. 679).

The other kind of deprivation Morrison identifies is that of "aspirational deprivations". It occurs "when the magnitude of aspiration increases to a much greater extent than opportunities for realizing the increased aspiration" (p. 680). These increases in aspiration beyond the available opportunities can either be large or small, but the important factor is that they move "through some crucial point in the opportunity structure..." (p. 680). For instance, a large

increase in aspiration occurs when people perceive new reference groups. Often the people who perceive them are "marginals", i.e., "persons or groups who stand on the boundary of larger groups or societies neither completely belonging nor suffering outright rejection" (Mol, p. 31). In contrast, a small increase in aspiration occurs when people in a discontinuous stratification system attempt to improve their status. But in both cases, people suddenly realize that their aspirations will not be fulfilled. Unlike other relative deprivation theories, these processes that Morrison describes can be at least ordinally measured on a chart (see p. 679; compare Wallis, p. 361).

When persons experience dissonance because of either decremental or aspirational deprivation, they need not respond as part of a collectivity. They may respond in a number of other ways. They may consider that they simply have fallen on misfortune (rather than are the victims of an injustice). Or, they might lower their anticipation of probable blockage and cultivate an expectation of ultimate success in the distant future. Finally, they might try to change their situation, placing themselves in a position more favourable to succeeding (p. 683).

However, people who respond collectively to conditions of relative deprivation maintain both "the beliefs in a legitimate expectation" and the perception of "a high probability of blockage" (p. 683). that is, they maintain, and do not lower, the dissonance within themselves between expectations and anticipated fulfillment. They view blockage to their legitimate expectations as structural (not individual) in nature, and they seek "dissonance reduction" through "structural solutions".

At this point the expectations by persons inclined towards religious millenarianism differ from the expectations of persons inclined towards social movements. The group action in which social movement participants engage will attempt to eliminate the structural blockage directly by the strength of their own actions. As Morrison says, "individuals come to see themselves as part of a group with legitimate expectations that are blocked by some aspect of a larger social structure outside the group, [and] there is an attempt to remove the source of the dissonance by the organized group action to change the structural source of the blockage" (p. 683).

In contrast, members of millenarian movements expect God to remove the structural blocks that prevent them from fulfilling their expectations. At most, they feel they can initiate the war against the antichrists, who, of course, are the class or group of people they perceive to be the sources of their structural blockage. But, ultimately, God is the force that will right the wrongs during the final Day of Judgement, and members' actions will only contribute to God's inevitable victory. Nonetheless, in the larger society, millennialists' actions in their war against the antichrists can have effects similar to those performed by members of social movements (post, "Religion and Politics"). This is so becuase both groups of people challenge the power and the authority of another part of the social structure.

The group identification that members of millenarian movements and social movements feel means that they maintain--at least for the short run--the dissonance within themselves, so that the resulting tension stimulates group action toward the reduction of dissonance in the long run. People are able to cope with the potentially

debilitating effects of even short-term dissonance by believing that group action or divine intervention eventually will overcome the structural causes of blockage. This hopeful belief leaves them blameless for their immediate situation (Morrison, pp. 683-684). The process of members blaming an aspect of the structure emerges in the claims that either a millenarian group or a social movement uses in its recruitment techniques and in its ideology. In addition, the focus for action by either kind of group becomes the structural elements that members feel are blocking their aspirations.

By focusing on the process of forming relative deprivation perceptions (and responses) rather than on the actual categories of relative deprivation themselves, Morrison both overcomes many of the difficulties that plagued his colleagues, while still incorporating much of what they had to say. The key process he identifies in the formation of relative deprivation--the dissonance people feel when they perceive that their legitimate expectations are (or will be) blocked by structural causes--can be applied to any number of the areas that other theorists have identified as ones in which relative deprivation occurs. Thus, researchers may be able to identify factors in the economic, political, or social realms that have the potential of causing feelings of relative deprivation in some people, but if these people respond collectively, they will do so because of the conditions which Morrison describes (i.e., too few opportunities or too high aspirations) and in the process he outlines (i.e., perceiving that blockage to their desires is structurally caused and requires structural solutions, either by group actions or divine interventions). Furthermore, Morrison's statements concerning those people whose reactions to dissonance

are not collective ones provide an important response to Wallis's criticism that relative deprivation models cannot explain persons who "should" be responding collectively to depriving circumstances but who do not do so (see Wallis, p. 360).

In addition to both identifying the external and internal conditions under which relative deprivation takes form and the process it follows in its development, Morrison's relative deprivation theory also connects the individual's perception of structural blame with aspects of group cohesiveness, recruitment claims, and group ideology. It serves as partial responses to two of Wallis's criticisms: one being that the attitudes of group members could not be determined by studying group ideology (pp. 361-362); and the other that recruits may not feel themselves as being deprived (p. 362). Finally, while the individual's perceptions of (either actual or anticipated) deprivation plays a crucial role in Morrison's theory, his theory demonstrates quite clearly that these perceptions can be in regard to an objective, external situation (see Alan, p. 299).

Religion and Politics

Clarifying the relationship between religion and politics is an important task within millenarian studies because millennialist groups often come in conflict with society's institutions. During these conflicts, what seem to be religious issues for some groups are political ones for others, and without clear guidelines concerning what the two terms mean it is hard to determine what actually is occurring in a given situation. Therefore, this section will briefly discuss

the interplay between religion, especially millenarian religion, and politics, in an attempt to shed light on the social conflicts in which millennialist groups frequently are embroiled.

Even though "the location of religious experience is in the psyche of the actor" (Worsley, p. xxx), the content of that experience is socially prescribed, and hence, culturally defined (Worsley, pp. xxxiv-xxxv). Therefore, definitions of religion should stress this cultural determinant more than the individual experience. In addition, definitions also must include people's concepts of the transcendent or the divine, and their relationship to it (Worsley, p. xxxiii).

Lewy's definition of religion includes each of these three elements, and therefore it is a useful one to examine. He states that "religion is a cultural institution, a complex of symbols, articles of faith, and practices, adhered to by a group of believers that are related to, and commonly invoke the aid of superhuman powers and provide answers to questions of ultimate meaning" (p. 4).

Lewy's definition highlights several aspects of religion important for our study. He locates religious belief within the context of the culture, as does Worsley pp. xxiv-xxv). Furthermore, he identifies the importance of a group's use of symbol, faith, and behaviour to invoke powers beyond the "natural" world. However, his definition still must be qualified on a few points. One qualification is that religion need not be an "institution", as demonstrated by the number of religious movements that have not achieved a formalized institutionalization. Next, religion need not be invoked only to "provide answers to questions of ultimate meaning". Although it is true that religion can provide these answers, it also can be invoked

to justify or explain much more mundane circumstances. In addition, "super-human powers" may not necessarily be required to answer such ultimate questions for the believers. The point is not that they answer ultimate questions but that the answer to such questions lies within their realm, and they hold the key to them.

Keeping these qualifications in mind, let me reformulate Lewy's definition. "Religion is a cultural complex of symbols, articles of faith, and practices that a group of believers follow which relate to supernatural beings or forces, usually whose aid can be invoked, and in whose realm and control lies answers to questions of ultimate meaning". By "ultimate meaning" I include such issues as death, salvation, and purposefulness of life. Millenarianism, of course, is but an eschatological form of religion, whose adherents believe that supernatural powers are about to make a radical entry into the affairs of the world.

Within this new definition of religion we can place most expressions of millenarianism, at least as they occur within a context larger than that of an individual, isolated outburst. In fact, nearly all discussions of the causes of millenarian movements exclude both outbursts that are purely individual ones, and relative deprivation which lacks a shared social context (see Talmon, p. 527; Alan, p. 299; Aberle, p. 538; Glock and Stark, p. 249; Yinger, 1970, p. 421).

But the group aspect of religion, especially millenarian religion, raises issues concerning the socially collective potential of power. Millenarianism arises out of people's perceived blockage to a shared want, and people forsee that the sources of blockage (almost always identified as another group or social class) will be

"corrected" by an imminent act of God's judgement. Therefore, millenarianists who act in harmony with the "impending" judgement can behave in ways that challenge the established social order. Viewed as collective action, millenialists' activities against the social order resemble those performed by social movements. Social movements are "power oriented movement[s], deliberate, voluntary, effort[s] to organize individuals to act in concert to achieve group influence to make or block changes....Coordinated group actions are thought to be the necessary means of obtaining from some elements in the larger social context the changes desired by participants..." (Morrison, p. 676; supra, "Relative Deprivation--A Fresh Approach").

In reaction to outside social forces, as well as in relation to its members, social movements, including millenarian ones, exert various degrees of power. By "power" I mean the use of "physical or psychical compulsion with the intention of obtaining conformity with the order [of the movement, group, or leadership], or of inflicting sanctions for infringement of it" (Weber, 1976, p. 180). A millenarian movement exerts external power, i.e., power outside its own boundaries and into the larger community, through activities that include its proselytization efforts and its attempts to change the existing social order.

In addition to externally directed power activities, a millenarian movement also exerts power in its dealings with its own members. Any movement that exists for a period of time must exert various control mechanisms on its members to ensure that individuals behave in accordance with group norms, no matter how minimum the norms might be. This internally directed power will involve both the means

of establishing norms for behaviour and attitudes, as well as procedures for responding to deviance. It might be guided by structures or persons different from the ones concerned with a group's externally directed power activities.

The polity also exerts power, and a millenarian movement is likely to feel its force as it attempts to extend itself into the larger community. But the extent to which a group comes in conflict with the polity will depend upon the strength of the group's activities, the personalities of the key actors, and the socio-political climate in which the activities take place.

Important power struggles between the polity and a millenarian movement almost always involve collective action of some kind on the part of at least one of the two parties. And, of course, it is people who are affected by whatever action the parties might take. Worsley recognizes this, and deems any and all social action to be "political" action, since it will "have effects upon and consequences for" people (p. xxxvi). He maintains this "political" designation for all social action, even if the believers themselves think that they perform their actions solely for religious reasons. These "political" actions can range from attempts to change the power structure, to proselytization, to unintended activities which influence the lives of others. All of these, he claims, are "political" in the sense that they influence people in this world, even though these actions may vary in intensity and intention.

Through Worsley's insights we meet the difficulties with using the labels "political" or "religious" when describing millenarian movements (although his terminologies themselves need further

clarification). Worsley claims that these movements "must always, objectively be politico-religious" (p. xxxvi). I agree, with the understanding that he uses "political" in the same way that I use "power". However, Worsley's designation of millenarian movements as "politico-religious" blurs the reality of institutions and actions which are normally considered to be political.

In identifying these political institutions and actions, Weber is much more helpful than Worsley. According to Weber, politics "means striving to share power or striving to influence the distribution of power, either among states or among groups within a state (Weber 1976, p. 78). Within states rests "the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory" (Weber 1976, p. 78). Therefore, many groups can be engaged in political activities, but only the groups acting under state authority have "legitimate" power (which may not be the most actual power). By extension, I define the polity and its political institutions as "those structured arrangements containing officials who are both invested with power by the state and delegated to use some portion of it in the performance of legally sanctioned duties".

Interestingly, some religious institutions can contain officials who are vested with power by the polity. We define "religious institutions" as "a wide range of social structures designed to facilitate or direct people's relationship with God or supernatural forces". Very often these religious institutions are, in varying degrees, directed or controlled by the polity, since a polity may consider it an essential duty to design or direct the religious practices and beliefs of the populace (Mol, p. 116).

Yet, the beliefs they attempt to direct are ones that refer to and seek "validation in a dimension beyond the empirical-technical realm of action" in which the polity operates (Worsley, p. xxxv). Religion has a transcendent point of reference, and those who sincerely participate in a particular religion may feel a conflict between the political demands of a religious institution that is influenced by the polity, and the perceived religious demands of forces or beings who operate within a transcendent realm.

Herein lies the essential distinction between religious activity and political activity. Religious activity involves reference to and justification in a transcendent realm, in which supernatural beings or forces "demand" certain behaviours from the believers. Certainly these "religious" actions have "political" consequences, since they attempt to redistribute societal power in important ways. But even though they are political actions, they are performed as religious obligations, because the group justifies them according to transcendent and supernatural principles.

In contrast, many social movements lack this transcendent, supernatural frame of reference. Just like the actions of religious groups, their actions are "political" since they attempt to influence the distribution of power in society. But the reasons they perform the actions are <u>not</u> religious ones--they are done purely for secular, or even "natural" reasons. These kinds of social movements are <u>political</u> groups that perform political activities, and they contrast with <u>religious</u> (and in our case, millenarian) groups that perform political activities that, for them, are religious activities as well.

Indeed, the relationships are complex between religion,

religious institutions, politics, and political institutions. However, we can best gain a theoretical understanding of these complex relationships by keeping in mind Weber's definition of "political", rather than by using Worsley's imprecise definition of the term as simply power of any kind. We can state the relationship between religion and politics in this way: while the ultimate location of religious experience is within the individual, people's beliefs, practices, and symbol-interpretations usually take place within a social context--a community of believers. This social context provides two general situations for religious groups to exert forms of power--one in relation to the external social environment; the other in relation to its own members or sympathizers. Whatever power religious groups hold, it usually falls short of the legitimated power potentially wielded by the state polity and its institutions. More precisely, a religious movement should not be able to order the same legally legitimate power against the polity as the polity should be able to order against a religious movement. However, the millenarian ideas of some religious movements provide the ideational base for challenging the polity's ultimate source of power--the state's legitimated right to use physical force, usually including the right to kill. In the name of God, groups can initiate a theocratic revolt, and claim that God gives them, not the polity, the ultimate right to punish. The most bitter exchanges between a religiously millenarian social movement and the polity come about when the latter considers that its ultimate source of power is being usurped.

Nonetheless, conflict between the state polity and millenarian movements can arise over lesser issues than ones involving life and death, especially since the polity often feels compelled to direct the

course of people's religious behaviour. When religious institutions have state sanction they are bound to conflict with both millenarian religious movements and other sectarian groups precisely over issues concerning religious belief and practice. For instance, the polity and the religious movement can enter into a power conflict over attempting to influence individuals to follow certain beliefs and practices at the expense of others (see Barkun, pp. 148-149; Alan, p. 300). In this example, the stakes would not necessarily be life or death. The polity's religious or political institutions could inflict economic, psychological and physical punishment against an "offending" individual or group while the religiously millenarian group could inflict social sanctions (such as ostracism, denouncements, or reprimands) against an individual "capitulating" to state pressure.

In attempting to determine why some people collectively respond to perceived deprivations through political (and often, revolutionary) involvement, while others respond through religiously millenarian activities, Yinger's explanation is helpful (1970, pp. 420-421). According to him, the determining variable is "the strength of communication" (p. 420) between individuals feeling relative deprivation and either existing political parties or new religious movements. The conditions under which these channels of communication can influence individuals are structural ones (i.e., relations to organizations such as political parties, and reference groups), cultural ones (i.e., the values of the surrounding environment), and characterological ones (i.e., socialization experiences of the individual, and personal proclivities). Thus, the kind of collective, politically legitimated or religious responses in which individuals will participate largely

is determined by what their past influences have been in relation to what their present influences are. Persons whose structural, collective, and characterological "channels of communication" have been, and continue to be, influenced more from religious groups than from political parties will tend to respond in a religious (and in our discussion, religiously millenarian) manner. But it also would seem to be true that persons would shift to the opposite response if their previous communications had taught them that their first response was ineffective.

Millenarianism as a Pre-Political Phenomenon: A Critique

This long discussion concerning the relation between millenarian religion and politics returns us to oft-repeated statements within deprivation literature, that millenarian movements either are, by and large, pre-political phenomena (Talmon, pp. 531, 532-533; see Hobsbawm) or the precursors for secular movements of protest (Worsley, p. xliii). Hobsbawm states that millenarian movements can evolve into revolutionary[5] groups as the members gain experience, expand their "horizons", and modify and supplement some of their chiliastic doctrines and organizational structures (pp. 57-65; see also Talmon, p. 534). Worsley says that millenarianism often occurs among people

[5]I believe that Hobsbawm uses the term "revolutionary" to mean "people's attempts to implement their social and political ideologies through the use of physical force and violence." Revolutionaries are not acting under God's commands to prepare the way for Christ's return. They do not justify their actions by transcendent, superhuman doctrines, as some religiously revolutionist groups do. On the difference between revolutionaries and revolutionists, see Chapter 3, n. 29.

who "lack specialized political institutions" (p. 227), and who begin developing a sense of common interest through the unification. In a similar vein, Talmon suggests that "in societies with barely developed political institutions [millenarianism] appeals to strata which are politically passive and have no experience of political organization and no access to political power" (p. 531). Thus, millenarianism can be "an important precursor of political awakening and a forerunner of political organization" (pp. 532-533).

I take issue with the interpretation that millenarianism is a pre-political phenomenon. I disagree with the way in which some researchers, such as Talmon, use the word "political" in their claims. Talmon seems to use the term to mean "wielding power within a society, and justifying its acquisition and use on secular grounds, rather than on transcendent and supernatural ones". In contrast, I use the term to mean "striving to share power or striving to influence the distribution of power, either among states or among groups within states" (Weber, 1976, p. 78). Therefore, according to my usage, millenarian movements in part already are political movements, but simply not secular ones.

Related evidence further suggests that millenarian movements have traits in common with politically revolutionary movements. Specifically, millenarian movements and politically revolutionary movements share at least seven "basic doctrines and structural characteristics". Murvar has identified these seven as follows:

1. an eschatological search for the total truth to answer all questions of purpose, meaning, and destiny of life.
2. dogmatism, exclusiveness, and intolerance....
3. elitism.

4. totalism.
5. asceticism and martyrdom.
6. guilt and expiation.
7. apocalyptic vision (pp. 183-187).

At least on these seven points, Murvar concludes, politically revolutionary activity and religious millenarianism is "almost identical, [and is] indistinguishable for all practical purposes" (p. 187). Unfortunately, Murvar does not tell us why these similarities exist, but no doubt part of the reason is that both are intensely emotional responses to deprivations that people perceive to be severe.

However, Murvar's evidence only suggests, but does not prove, that millenarian movements already in part are political movements. Some researchers, such as Hobsbawm, just as easily could say that the characterological and doctrinal similarities between the two only aid in the transition of millenarian movements into political ones, and therefore should not be taken as proof of the political nature of millenialist groups. Still, if on the terminological issue alone, I maintain that millenarian groups engage in political activity.

While I disagree with Talmon's assertion that millenarianism is a pre-political phenomenon, I am more sympathetic with her assertion that millenarianism is sometimes "post-political", occurring "after the downfall of a fairly developed political system" (p. 531). In this instance, she seems to be describing the social breakdown of a structure that previously wielded considerable secular power in which many persons had resources and energy invested. If these

factors are true, then the breakdown could cause, in Morrison's terms, "decremental deprivation". People had considerable investments in a particular institution, and had hopes of gaining certain kinds of power through it. Suddenly, the political system crumbles, thereby removing the opportunities through which people could fulfill their aspirations. Yet, the aspirations remain, even though people feel deprived of the opportunities for having them fulfilled. However, by sacralizing them, people gain new hope that their aspirations eventually will be fulfilled, since now fulfillment of the aspirations has become part of God's millenarian plan.

Summary

Social scientists now use the term "millenarianism" to mean a salvationism that is an imminent, miraculous, collectively redemptive event to occur in this world, often, it seems, under the direction of a messiah. Millenarian ideas become active in a society when, in general terms, social conditions are sufficiently disruptive to cause individuals to feel deep frustration and distress. By adopting millenarian ideas, people transform their social antagonism into a holy struggle, while at the same time radically altering their time orientation. In addition, these ideas give them important stimulations and envigorations toward adopting new behaviours.

Most deprivationist theories of millenarianism agree that people who join a millenarian movement feel a discrepancy between their expectations and the perceived probability of them being fulfilled. Denton Morrison's relative deprivation theory is particularly clear concerning how personal frustrations get translated

into collective expressions, and, with slight adjustments, it readily can explain the appearance of millenarian movements. He says that people feel frustrated either because they perceive that their opportunities have suddenly declined faster than have their expectations (decremental deprivation), or that their aspirations have increased faster than have the opportunities for fulfilling them (aspirational deprivation). But in either case, it seems that members of millenarian movements believe that the blockages to their aspirations are evil, perhaps demonic, in nature, and require divine mediation to be conquered.

Especially when millenarian movements attack the perceived sources of blockage to their aspirations, they come in conflict with aspects of the polity. During times of conflict, millenarian movements and the polity frequently engage in power struggles, sometimes over life and death issues, sometimes over less grave matters. Regardless of the gravity of the issues, to the extent that millenarian movements use power, they engage in political activities. In a given situation of social frustration, what determines whether persons use power through religiously millenarian groups or through strictly political ones is the channels of communication between the persons and the existing political parties or religious movements, as well as personal and characterological inclinations to one kind of group or another.

CHAPTER TWO

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN MILLENARIAN MOVEMENTS, GROUPS, AND SECTS

The Relationship between Relative Deprivation Theories and Community-Building Theories.

In the first chapter, one of the criticisms structural functionalists made regarding the use of relative deprivation theories to explain the appearance of collective millenarian movements is that these theories neglect the crucial role that prticipation plays in the processes of group identity formation. This neglect stems from difficulties in the very definitions these theories use of "millenarianism" itself. These definitions, critics say, always include the statement that the participants expect an imminent occurrence, and that this expectation completely absorbs the thoughts and completely directs the behaviours of the actors.

By defining millenarianism in such a narrow way, relative deprivation theories conceive such movements to be "transient expressions of irrational enthusiasm incapable of rational action or interaction" (F. Hill, p. 272; compare editors' introduction to Talmon, p. 522). However, a more accurate definition of millenarianism must embrace those movements which last "beyond the initial enthusiasm" of their early days. Those that do last "come to share certain characteristics with a wide variety of religious groups and religious reform movements as well as with more secular organizations" (F. Hill, p. 272). These more permanent groups are what some researchers, such as Kanter,

study. Excluding from their analyses movements "which are primarily incidents of expressive outburst" they concentrate on ones "that have more continuity and stability" (Kanter, p. 219).

By concentrating on groups whose life-spans last beyond an initial millenarian expression, theorists can analyze the processes by which these movements, groups, and sects build "commitment to the new community of fellow-believers" (Kanter, p. 221). These structural-functional theorists presume the "religion-as-community" assumptions of Durkheim in their approaches, and often, like Kanter, base their work on the (unsubstantiated) claim that "millenarian ideas [are] secondary to the social act of mobilization and formation of a new community" (Kanter, p. 221).

The only apparent justification for this explicit (and teleological) value-ranking of community-building over ideational content seems to be the researchers' post facto determinations. From their perspective, the community-building must have occurred for a movement to have continued beyond the inevitable non-occurrence of the terrestrial millennium. Obviously the claim that community-building occurs in most groups is an accurate one. However, it needs to be presented in such a way that it does not neglect either the ideational content of the doctrines, or the general socio-cultural context in which the particular millenarian doctrines appear. For instance, the fact that millenarian ideas occur primarily in cultures that have knowledge of Christian eschatological doctrines, especially as described in the Book of Revelations, must play a part in their discussions because it is these millennialist beliefs that distinguish millenarian groups from other kinds of collectivities. Community-building

theories risk neglecting the discussion of this important cultural context because they emphasize the internal dynamics of group formation and functioning rather than the social and psychological causes that give rise to its first expression. Said another way, theorists cannot rely solely on functional definitions of millenarian expressions because the initial appearances of such expressions are determined by the pre-existence of particular religious traditions. Functionalist definitions of millenarianism must also allow for explanations that identify the larger ideational context in which millenarianism occurs, and the social and psychological conditions that give rise to it.

Morrison's relative deprivation theory can allow for the consideration of the functional dynamics of groups initiating collective action as well as the socio-cultural and psychological factors that give birth to millenarian outbursts. Morrison notes that his theory best describes "norm-oriented movements" that participate in activities "to change the structural source of blockage" to its members' expectations (p. 683). Therefore, he assumes that these movements will last for a period of time, and that functional dynamics of community-building will occur. In this study, I will follow Morrison's lead by combining a functionalist analysis of community development with an exploration of socio-cultural and psychological factors that caused people to initially form the millenarian community of "the elect."

The Role of Millenarian Ideas in the Formation of Community Identity

Kanter's theory of community formation states that millenarian

ideas serve four general functions for nascent groups and their members. First, millenarian ideas, which group members believe to be divine in origin, "justify the critical and risky step of the disengagement from conventional life" (Kanter, p. 222). But more than simply justifying the disengagement, millenarian beliefs instill members with a sufficient sense of personal power to actually make the severance (see Talmon, pp. 532-533). Second, these ideas "help build commitment" by "providing support and justification" to the emerging community of believers (Kanter, p. 222; see Mol, p. 11). Third, millennial ideas provide the impetus for shared tasks in a number of diverse areas (see also Worsley, p. 248), potentially ranging from missionary work to planning strategy to socializing recent converts (p. 222). Fourth, not only is millennialism the impetus for shared activity, but also it can be the goal of that activity as well (p. 223). This is true among groups that believe certain of their actions will hasten the arrival of the imminent millennium (see Talmon, p. 527). These examples demonstrate that a group initates many of its important activities in response to its millenarian ideas, and these ideas help shape the group's perspectives. In fact, some group functions are served so well by millenarian ideas that existing groups might generate them primarily for their community-building value (Kanter, p. 239; Barkun summarizing Kanter, p. 148).

Because millenarian groups feel they have a unique insight into the workings of the divine, members see themselves as God's agents on earth, performing His work under the direction of His fiats. Members may feel that they are above civil law, not only because they

are accountable to God alone, but also because they feel that their special relationship with the divine makes them doctrinally infallible and, at least according to some groups, physically infallible as well. Likewise, members will see themselves as spiritually superior to other people, since they are the community of God's chosen and God's saved.

Conversion to a Millenarian Group

Even though the divine nature of millenarian beliefs helps people disengage from their previous patterns of life and adopt the behaviours and attitudes of the new group, their severance with the past inevitably involves some trauma (Mol, p. 50). Moreover, the costs people pay for joining a group "are typically very high in relation to immediate outcomes" (Morrison, p. 686). Therefore, the group must quickly offset both the trauma and the high costs people suffer, if it is to ensure their continued participation. As the people relinquish old ways of living they must at the same time acquire new ones which are both amenable to the desired group and valuable to themselves (Kanter, pp. 224-225). That is, individuals must undergo a "conversion" which includes "emotional detachment from one identity and emotional attachment to another..." (Mol, p. 219). By undergoing such a process "a new perspective becomes emotionally anchored in the personality..." (Mol, p. 50). But if a new perspective fails to take hold, people may slip back into their old ways of life, or perhaps move on to another group.

Conversions take different lengths of time, but in a striking

number of cases they follow roughly a three-stage process. First, converting persons experience "detachment from former patterns of identity". Next, persons experience "meaninglessness and anomie". Finally, "attachment to the new focus of identity occurs", usually through some dramatic processes such as a "flash of light, a sudden sound, or an overwhelming warmth" (Mol, pp. 52-53). This revelatory third stage involves "a drastic, intense form of cognitive reorientation", sometimes referred to in the sociological literature as enlightenment" (Lebra, p. 198, not to be confused with the Buddhist experience of "enlightenment" [bodhi]).

Resocialization and Commitment

Even after experiencing enlightenment, people still need to anchor their new perspectives within a group context. Only by doing so will they be able to solidify the beliefs and insights they gained in the enlightenment experience. In short, converts must develop strong commitments to a group. These commitments must be of such strength that individuals are willing to "carry out the requirements of a pattern of social action because [they see them] as stemming from [their] own basic nature as [people]" (Kanter, p. 224). Such commitments occur in varying intensities and in a number of ways, including "emotionally, intellectually, ritualistically, morally or communally, to take some obvious aspects" (Wilson, 1967, p. 7). They also are "made at various stages of entry and post-entry" (Lebra, p. 209).

Converts need to rebuild their self images before they can make the kinds of commitments a group will demand of them (see

Lebra, p. 212). Some of the necessary rebuilding occurs when persons identify with the group's millenarian ideas. By doing so people feel "chosen and destined to enter the millennium", and believe they have "special insight concerning the present course of events". This belief in special insight enhances their self-esteem. Part of the special insight they feel they have involves the ability to see that the present social hierarchies soon will be reversed, after which they will be one of the saved. Consequently, they feel both close to the workings of the divine and freed from sin (Lebra, p. 212; see Kanter, p. 228; Rosen, pp. 162-163).

Individuals' new self-images must further expand so that they embrace: the innovative emotional bonds with the group's members; the innovative social roles they will fill; and the innovative (and often non-traditional) doctrinal positions and moral demands (Lebra, pp. 211-212) the group will require (a modification of Kanter, p. 224). For example, converts build emotional bonds with other members as they release tension by participating in emotionally charged collective expressions (Barkun, p. 148; Zygmunt, p. 252). Similarly, converts strengthen their ties to the group by developing various debts to other members (Lebra, p. 210), especially if they incur debts to a leader who in some way symbolizes the group's ideals (see Lebra, p. 205). Their emotional ties are further strengthened by the investments they make to the group, be these investments of "time, energy, money, property, [or] reputation". But no matter how they invest, converts then have an emotional stake in the group's success (Kanter, p. 228). Cognitive consistency theory clarifies the relationship between investments and emotional stakes by stating

that "the more it costs a person to do something, the more valuable [he or she] will consider it" (Kanter, p. 226). Therefore, we can expect that the greater the investment or sacrifice, the greater will be people's willingness to accept whatever social or emotional innovations group membership demands.

Converts frequently make investments of money or valuables. This is so because at conversion people often go through a stage of "abandonment" of material possessions. People abandon expensive items because they believe that possessions either hinder their salvation or appear dwarfed in comparison with what will be available in the millennium (Lebra, pp. 207-208). Occasionally groups require that such abandonments be performed by all incoming members. But whatever are the circumstances of the abandonment, it helps weld individuals to the group and make them receptive to whatever social or ideational innovations membership might demand.

Several activities occur which prepare people for accepting new and innovative social roles. When people abandon material objects at conversion, they also dispose of symbolic ones as well (Lebra, pp. 207-208). By so doing, individuals begin to sever those ties with their past which might hinder them from accepting full group membership. Furthermore, they renounce former relationships "that potentially compete with the loyalty to the new group" (Kanter, pp. 228-229). These renunciations occur in relationships "with the outside world, within the couple, and within the family" (Kanter, p. 229). Increasingly, the converts restrict their social interaction to the group's members (Kanter, pp. 228-229; see Lebra, p. 208). As they do, they also may give public testimony regarding their new choice,

and even "exhibit the behavior which is indicative of membership commitment but looked upon as crazy or indecent by outsiders..." (Lebra, p. 210; see Zygmunt, p. 255). Such testimony and public displays not only help prepare them for new social roles but they also help prepare them for the new moral demands group membership entails. Public displays can include the adoption of noticeable forms of dress and the use of peculiar forms of language (Kanter, pp. 229-230).

Finally, the identity boundaries between the individuals and the group are blurred by the continuous face to face exchanges between the members and the converts (Lebra, p. 204). When this occurs the members of the group become the converts' points of reference. Through participating with them in various group rituals converts develop "a shared sense of social reality" (Kanter, p. 223).

However, this strong cohesion between individuals and the group can be damaged if people act in ways that are "unacceptable" to the group. In an attempt to prevent this from occurring, a strong "cult imposed moral discipline" is likely to emerge (Kanter, p. 231, Lebra, p. 213). Sexual intimacy between members is discouraged, as well as are other expressions of individuality (Kanter, p. 230; Lebra, p. 204).[1] In addition, the group engages in collective

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[1]The point to be remembered here is that expressions of individuality are discouraged, rather than that sex between group members is disallowed. A study attempting to specify a more comprehensive theory would have to include examples of ritual obsenity or communal sexuality as mechanisms through which the new group morality is both demonstrated and reinforced. No doubt, these types of sexuality are adopted in part as a moral statement against the values of the existing society (see Worsley, pp. 250-251). However, the point still remains true that, even within these boundaries, individual deviance is not allowed. In any case, since Quakers adopted a strict sexual morality, I emphasize this approach in the text of my general theory.

processes of mortification. The group uses "systems of feedback, confession, self-criticism, and mutual criticism" (Kanter, p. 237) to break down the converts' old value systems, as well as to maintain collective beliefs among the members (see also Kanter, pp. 236-238). By following such demanding discipline converts continue to learn group doctrines while gaining the respect of the members themselves. The more individuals conform to group discipline, the more they become committed to the group.

Leaders, Prophets and Messiahs

A leader who has prominent symbolic (if not functional) significance for the group can enhance greatly the group's efforts at resocialization and commitment. Certain leaders connect "the movement with great power and meaning", and as a result of this connection members gain "a new sense of meaning and identity" (Kanter, p. 239; see Eisenstadt, p. xxv). However, many leaders have more than mere symbolic significance, and some researchers neglect this in their discussions of leaders and leadership. Worsley, for instance, maintains a symbolic interpretation of leadership, but by over-emphasizing it he neglects the functional and practical importance leaders play in many essential activities. Central to his analysis of the primarily symbolic functions of leadership is his definition of it as "the meeting of social wants in potential followers in a given situation of unsatisfied aspirations" (Worsley, p. xvii). While this definition closely connects the leader to his or her potential followers (although I am not sure whether this excludes actual members and followers), "the meeting of social wants" seems

to be accomplished by the leader serving "as symbol, catalyst, and message-bearer" (p. xvii).

Worsley combines his definition of leadership with a description of six leadership variations that appear in millenarian movements (pp. xvi-xvii). In two of his six variations, the leader is not physically present with his or her followers or fellow members. In these two particular instances, the leader either is simply "absent" (which I take to mean has departed by choice) or only attains importance after his or her "physical removal" (e.g., death, imprisonment, banishment, etc. [p. xvi, see Talmon, p. 528]). In the other four instances--where the leader is physically present--it still may be the case that: "leadership is divided amongst several people"; there are "a number of local leaders rather than a central figure";[2] "an insignificant person" serves as a prophet; or one person is the prophet, and another is an organizer (pp. xvi-xvii). However, in none of the six cases does Worsley withdraw his claim of the "primarily symbolic and relational" functions of leaders.

In contrast to Worsley I maintain that the organizational activities necessary for maintaining and perpetuating a group cannot be directed by one whose leadership is primarily symbolic. Such activities require that decisions be made, and those who make them

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[2]At first the distinction may not be clear between having "leadership divided amongst several people" and a leader who is but "one of a number of local leaders, rather than a central figure". The key to the distinction seems to be in the location of authority. In the former example, authority may exist in one person who delegates responsibility to several others. In the latter, no central authority exists.

are the functional leaders of the group (post, "Status and Structure"). By definition, leaders whose functions are merely symbolic ones do not participate in such processes. Indeed, it would be very difficult (and in some cases impossible) for a symbolic leader who is absent from the group even to have input into these particular decisions.

Therefore, I see two basic types of leaders within millenarian groups, some who serve primarily symbolic needs, and others who serve primarily functional, task oriented ones. Certainly in millenarian groups the symbolic significance of leaders is crucial in maintaining both the collective- and the individual-sense of divine purposefulness, but all the while the group must make practical decisions about how it is to function, and those persons who make them are exerting leadership as well. These functional leaders may be the same as the symbolic ones, but they need not be.

Because members of a millenarian movement feel that they are living in God's light, their symbolic leaders somehow must embody divinity in a manner even greater than they (see Eisenstadt, p. xxxiii). Whereas the re-evaluated and sanctified status of the new members (Wilson, 1966, p. 211) naturally leads to a general equality among them (at least at first [see Lebra, p. 206]), the symbolic leader still is looked up to. Simply put, the symbolic leader has greater prestige than ordinary members. Functional leaders can have higher prestige as well, it being rooted in either their organizational statuses, or the perceived value of the services they perform. But the prestige a group gives to its symbolic leaders is a result of their perceived proximity to the central foci of its meaning (Eisenstadt, p. xxxiii). A gropu even can perceive its leaders to be close to

its most basic values when they are physically absent, but when this happens, the symbolic leaders often embody systems of meaning that are highly idealized, even mythologized.

Keeping the distinctions between functional leaders and symbolic leaders in mind (see Talmon, p. 528), I define "leadership" as that which "satisfies the functional needs of a group, or which serves as a symbolic focus of the group and its members". By extension, a "leader" in a movement or in the early stages of a group is one who "performs at least one aspect of the symbolic or functional leadership obligations, and who receives prestige for doing so". Therefore, especially in the early stages of a group, leadership may be a situational variable, with different people rising to the leadership demands at particular occasions. If these people receive prestige for their efforts, the group considers them to be leaders. The implications for theory in this distinction between leaders and leadership is that, while all leaders demonstrate some kind of leadership, not all leadership needs to be performed by leaders. Only those persons who perform functional or symbolic tasks for the group, and who receive prestige for doing so, can be called leaders.

During the later stages of group development, leadership becomes less of an individual response to situations and more of a role responsibility. In these later stages, particular organizational positions within the group's hierarchy have authority and responsibility attached to them. The persons performing functional leadership activities (making and instituting decisions) may be different from those who have high prestige among the membership. This is so because the techniques by which the group selects persons to fill the routinized

leadership positions found within the group's organizational structure may be based on criteria other than prestige. These other criteria can be such things as heredity, skill, revelation, designation by the former leader, designation by other administrative staff, etc. (Weber, 1947, pp. 364-366).

Broadly speaking, a group needs leadership in both its internal and its external affairs. Internal affairs include such things as the emotional maintenance and support of members, deviance control, resocializing new members, and establishing communication channels between persons performing key functions for the group. External affairs include such things as proselytization efforts, relations with the polity, and developing the group's public image.

In a group's early stages, its internal and external needs can be met by a small number of people. In fact, the same people who perform most of the functional services for the group also may be symbolic leaders as well. but as the group increases its membership, as well as when relationships with social and political forces become more complex, its functional needs multiply. These needs may multiply to such an extent that certain persons may specialize in fulfilling functional skills of either an internal or an external nature. These functional leaders will differ from the more symbolic figures who embody group ideals.

While I have qualified Worsley's emphasis on a strictly symbolic interpretation of leadership, I follow his lead in distinguishing between leaders and prophets (which he at least implies within his sixfold division of leadership types). A prophet primarily is concerned with <u>delivering a message</u>, either by proclamation or

example. He or she is not a leader even though a leader, especially a symbolic leader, can render prophecy. The critical difference between the two rests in the fact that prophets do not have the same status that leaders have. Prophets are more concerned with being true to their message than they are with satisfying the group's functional needs. Furthermore, prophets tend to be too narrow in their involvement with a group for it to see them as symbolic leaders who embody its central meaning.

Correctly Worsley sees two types of prophets. One kind is the prophet who is "merely a vessel, channel, instrument or bearer of a message which he himself does not create, formulate, or even modify, but merely transmits". The other kind of prophet can "define what the message is, and his personal declaration is everything" (Worsley, p. xv).

Loosely speaking, the first of Worsley's types of prophets--one who is but a vessel or transmitter of a divine message--resembles Weber's "ethical prophet" who acts as "an instrument for the proclamation of a god and his will", and who "demands obedience as an ethical duty" (Weber, 1963, p. 55). Worsley's second type of prophet --who defines and declares the message himself--resembles Weber's exemplary prophet, "who, by his personal example, demonstrates to others the way to religious salvation" (Weber, 1963, p. 55). The message of the exemplary prophet "directs itself to the self-interest of those who crave salvation, recommending [to others] the same path as he himself traversed" (Weber, 1963, p. 55). It is easy to understand why exemplary leaders often have high prestige in groups, since their prestige can be based upon the symbolic and functional

values they serve for them.

Just as a prophet may be distinct from a leader, so may either a leader or a prophet be distinct from a messianic figure--the latter functioning as "an intermediary between the divine and the human realms in order to initate or facilitate redemption". Talmon distinguishes between a leader and a messiah within a given movement, saying that "leaders act as precursors of the messiah". Unfortunately, she fails to distinguish between a leader and a prophet (Talmon, p. 528), an error which Kanter commits as well (Kanter, p. 239, discussing Worsley).

Worsley seems to believe that a prophet appears before a leader, and that the former can evolve into the latter if he or she is first "recognized and accepted, then invested with legitimacy and, ultimately, authority" (p. xviii). Unfortunately, he neglects discussing messiahs. Certainly there are evolutionary and operational relationships between the three of them, but they are very complex. Just considering for a moment the possible evolutionary relationships between prophets and leaders, we can see how complex the relationships can be. It might be that leaders virtually establish a movement either from ideas that are widely held within a culture, or by separating from an already existing group. In this instances, leaders would not be indebted to a particular prophet for their inspiration. In fact, prophets only might appear after the leadership has established the basic parameters of the group's doctrines, so that they can deliver messages that are in accord with a particular group's belief. On the other hand, it is entirely possible that the prophets do appear first, delivering the message around which leaders can organize.

Expanding our discussion to include messiahs, an evolutionary relationship might exist between the three figures, at least in some groups. It might be that leaders initially form the group, prophets deliver messages to the new group, and messiahs come later to fulfill the messages. It also could be that prophets proclaim the imminence of the millennium, leaders organize for it, and messiahs usher it in. Still another possibility is that the messiah appears before either the prophets or the leaders. This happens when the general cultural expectations concerning the return of Chrsit are high enough that a particular group of persons within the culture already is emotionally "prepared" for the messianic occurrence.

Operational relationships also exist between the key figures in millenarian groups. For instance, the operational relationship between exemplary prophets and symbolic leaders is complementary, and occasionally the functions performed by the two coincide. Exemplary prophets make personal declarations or "living statements" of the divine messages, but do not necessarily receive any prestige within groups for doing so. In contrast, symbolic leaders embody the group's self-meaning, and the group sees in its symbolic leaders the representation of divine messages' meaning as but one part of a much more elaborate whole. Sybmolic leaders also typify the group's social and religious critiques, exemplify both the moral behaviours and the stylized, endogenous group norms, etc. In short, through the group's eyes symbolic leaders embrace, in their own ways, far more than the meaning of the divine message, while exemplary prophets do not have the prestige or the personality to embrace the range of norms, expectations, and ideals that symbolic leaders represent

(compare Weber, 1963, p. 55). For these reasons, symbolic leaders may tend to appear after exemplary prophets.

The relationships between leaders and messiahs are especially complicated because the existence of a messianic figure probably indicates that the group believes the millennium has arrived. The messiah, of course, mediates the salvation of the group. By doing so he sanctifies the sacrifices of the symbolic leader, and justifies the activities of the functional leader(s). However, even after the arrival of a messiah, a functional leader still can perform important assignments. Exactly what these assignments are will be determined in large part by the group's conception of its role in the millennium. For instance, if the group believes that the messiah has initiated the revolution against the ruling classes, then functional leaders might work with the messiah in directing the attack. If the group believes that its function is to spread the message of the messiah's arrival and the salvation he offers, then a group may need the functional leaders to coordinate the efforts. However, if the group believes that all present conditions are about to be righted by God on His own initiative, then (at least in theory) the functional leader will not be expected to play any important role in the millennium. All is in God's care, and He works through the messiah.

Obviously much theoretical and applied work needs to be done concerning the evolutionary and operational relationships between ethical prophets, exemplary prophets, symbolic leaders, internally functioning leaders, externally functionoing leaders, and messiahs. The preceding remarks only can suggest a few of the directions future research might take (see Appendix).

The Analytical Viability of Weber's Term "Charisma"

Noteworthy throughout my discussion of leadership has been the omission of Weber's term "charisma". By omitting it I am following Worsley, who is extremely critical of both its conceptual clarity and its practical applicability. To understand why he is so critical, we must first see how Weber himself uses the term. Weber defines "charisma" as

> a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader (Weber, 1964, pp. 358-359).

Initially charisma appears "in times of psychic, physical, economic, ethical, religious [or] political distress" (Weber, 1976, p. 245). While it is creative and innovative (see Weber, 1956, p. 182), it is also short-lived (Weber, 1976, p. 262). "Indeed, in its pure form charismatic authority may be said to exist only in the process of originating" (Weber, 1964, p. 364). However, it can become "routinized"; that is, the authority it commands can become part of the "structure of domination" and thereby be assigned to individuals by means other than "personal heroism or personal revelation". After it is routinized it becomes conservative (Weber, 1976, p. 262; compare Worsley, p. liii).

Weber maintains that the "group which is subject to charismatic authority is based on an emotional form of communal relationship (gemeinde)" (Weber, 1964, p. 360). Within this communal relationship, both the possessor of charisma and his or her followers "must stand

outside the routine obligations of the family" (Weber, 1964, p. 360). By so standing they "experience", according to a reputable interpreter of Weber, "some shattering of the existing social and cultural order to which they are bound" (Eisenstadt, p. xxviii). Then, once the social and cultural order is shattered, "they become more sensitive to those symbols or messages which attempt to symbolize such order..." (Eisenstadt, p. xxviii). People's sensitivity to these symbols is heightened when the charismatic leader demonstrates that he or she possesses a divine mission by performing miracles, heroic deeds, or other feats of a super-human nature (Weber, 1976, p. 249; see Worsley, p. xiii; Kanter, p. 241).

However, because charismatic authority is short-lived, unless it is routinized it will quickly disappear. It begins to routinize as the need rises of the "social strata priviledged through existing political, social, and economic orders, to have their social and economic positions 'legitimized' within the group" (Weber, 1976, p. 262).

For several reasons Worsley is critical of Weber's use of the term "charisma". Primarily his critique rests on the charge that charisma is "a multi-meaning concept", too complex for subsequent researchers to use with any consistency. In various places Weber's term means "an element of personal leadership, itself compounded of two elements--personality and leadership; an element of autonomy; an element of innovation, and an element of the 'affectual' (as opposed to rational or habitual action)" (Worsely, pp. xlviii; xlix). Worsley cites as an example of this ambiguity a translation by Bendix of one of Weber's descriptions of a prophet. "A prophet",

Bendix begins, "is any man who 'by virtue of his purely personal charisma and by virtue of his mission proclaims religious doctrine or a Divine command'" (Bendix, p. 89; quoted by Worsley, p. xvii).

Another criticism of "charisma" is that Weber emphasizes its innovative aspects at the expense of its stabilizing and traditional ones. His emphasis on innovation is consistent with his description of charisma as a "special gift" found in "'natural' leaders...who have been neither office holders nor incumbents of an 'occupation' in the present sense of the word" (Weber, 1976, p. 245). Later in the same work Weber even places his genuine charismatic character in opposition to established structures, saying that "charismatic domination is the very opposite of bureaucratic domination" (Weber, 1976, p. 247).

Weber's insistence on the innovative aspects of "charisma", stands in contrast to Worsley's claims that a "leader...often registers or expresses what his followers want, or only arrives at power through established structures" (Worsley, p. liii). He cites several modern examples to support his claim (Worsley, pp. 1-liii), and concludes that "the term charisma can thus obscure even the crucial difference between innovation and conservation" (Worsley, p. liii).

Furthermore, Worsley is critical of the manner in which Weber continues to use charisma in labelling the permanent relationship that evolves through routinization. Weber says that for charismatic authority "to take on character of a permanent relationship" it must "become radically changed" (Weber, 1964, p. 364). Weber himself admits that when it becomes radically changed, it becomes "either traditionalized or rationalized, or a combination of both" (Weber,

1964, p. 364). In addition, it alters "its anti-economic character..." (Weber, p. 369). These are indeed significant changes, yet, Worsley points out, Weber "goes on to use the same word for the phases--albeit with qualifiers" (Worsley, p. xlix). Thus, genuine charisma becomes "hereditary charisma" (Weber, 1976, pp. 262-263) or "the charisma of office" (Weber, 1964, p. 366). Put simply, authority is held by either the familial successors of the original charismatic leader or by one who performs magical or ritual feats as a result of his or her social position (i.e., office). The leader does not hold authority because of his or her personality. Worsley points out that "charisma of office" actually is "a church with a charismatic tradition of origin" (Worsley, p. l). Furthermore, he asserts that the routinization of charisma into a "charisma of office" is better described by either Malinowski's term "mythological charter" or simply by the term "prestige" (Worsley, p. l).

Finally, Worsley charges that Weber "had scarcely anything to say--beyond vague references to times of terrible disorder--about conditions under which charismatic movements emerge" (see Weber, 1976, p. 245). This omission of a clear description of the conditions under which charisma emerges is, in Worsley's words, "sociologically profoundly deficient" (Worsley, p. xxxviii; but compare Cohn, p. 51 and note).

In addition to the difficulties Worsley has noted with Weber's use of the term "charisma", there is at least one more. As evidenced in Bendix's translated quote of Weber (see above), Weber fails to distinguish between the quality of charisma among various kinds of leaders and prophets. While it is true that prophets

claim a divine source for their admonitions, they lack the personal magnetism that leaders possess. Various leaders (as well as messiahs) do include prophetic utterances in their activities, but these utterances indicate their links with divinity. In such cases, prophecies are proofs of righteousness and demonstrations of heavenly favour, and they heighten the person's prestige within the group. Prophets, as I describe them, are solely concerned with prophecying, and if they gain a personal following, they more correctly should be considered as symbolic leaders. In short, Weber fails to distinguish between leaders and prophets in his discussions of charisma--a distinction that is crucial for this study.

Worsley's criticisms concerning Weber's use of the term "charisma" are substantial, and because of them I refrain from using it. While the process of clarifying "charisma" has become an important research program for many theorists (see, for instance, Eisenstadt), too many ambiguities lay in Weber's initial description for it to have heuristic value for this study. While certain of his specific facts are valuable, the concept as a whole is confusing.

Psychophathology

Although Weber only implied that a potential for psychopathological[3] action lay in those religious movements that follow a "divinely inspired" and dynamic leader (Weber, 1976, p. 245; see

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[3]By "psychopathology" I mean: the exhibition, in social relationships and emotional states, or disoriented, anti-social, and self-gratifying behaviours contrary to accepted norms and which usually involve criminal acts, sexual perversion, or the like.

Eisenstadt, pp. xxii-xxiii), other writers have spoken of it in no uncertain terms. They have identified different points both before and during the development of millenarian movements at which psychopathological manifestations are likely to appear, and it is important to summarize their observations.

Interstingly, an historian of Quakerism points out that at least regarding some persons who were to become Quakers, people exhibited psychopathological behaviour before joining the movement, and the movement itself provided relief from its causes (Vann, 1969b, pp. 28-29). Even as children, many persons who were to become Friends lived unusally gloomy, mournful, and rigorously self-scrutinizing lives, and some even had suffered physical disorders as a result of their inner conflicts. Therefore, we can hypothesize that, if the pressures of people's lives are burdensome enough to cause significant psychosomatic illness or socially disoriented behaviour, persons may feel a tremendous sense of relief from joining a movement. In this way, millenarianism may even alleviate some kinds of psychopathology.

But as soon as converts are relieved of some kinds of stress and tension, they may experience new ones. This is so because joining a millenarian group involves painful processes for converts of breaking with previous social relationships that compete for their time or allegiance. During the period in which persons are making these breaks, their emotions run high and their tensions mount. Both their emotions and their tensions manifest themselves in a number of psycho-motor demonstrations, including twitching, shaking, convulsions, and trances (Talmon, p. 529; Worsley, pp. 247-248). These psycho-motor activities, which often take place in a group setting, help relieve some of the tension. These

antinomian behaviours and activities help people build camaraderie with their fellows and commitment to the group. On the other hand, these activities contribute to members' distorted interpretations of physical and social reality (Kanter, p. 223; see Marin, pp. 52-53), and people who are not group members see their behaviours as unnatural, psychopathological, or even demonic.

Once people have been sufficiently resocialized into a millenarian group, their collective distortion of reality may allow them to engage in violent activities which they believe are necessary to hasten the arrival of the millennium. Norman Cohn is particularly sensitive to the psychopathological activities in which many medieval millenarian groups engaged, and he notes how some of them thought that "their every deed, though it were robbery or rape or massacre, not only was guiltless but was a holy act" (Cohn, p. 85). They justified their psychopathological behaviours by viewing out-groups as demons, and when such labelling "finally came to rest on the Jews, they were almost exterminated" (Cohn, p. 85). Therefore, researchers must realize that not only can highly emotional activities and beliefs help build a group's sense of community, they also can lead to a collective psychopathology of destructive force.

Sometimes groups engage in extreme or psychopathological activities as a consequence of the millenarian expectations. Yet at other times they demonstrate similar abhorrent behaviours when the expected millennium fails to appear. Under conditions of frustration, their high emotions, "thwarted of effective outlet in an anticipated new social order", explode in particularly disruptive ways (Rosen, p. 158). For example, a movement might blame the millennial non-

occurrence on a particular group of people, and then direct attacks and assaults against them.

Clearly, some of the activities in which millenarian groups engage can be psychopathological. Through the divine commands received by the prophet or issued by the leader, as well through particular interpretations of religious doctrine, groups easily can justify a series of behaviours which are normatively bizarre, even destructive. Some bizarre behaviours, such as psycho-motor disturbances of various kinds, need not be physically harmful to anyone, even though they may elicit hostile reponses from persons who believe that they are signs of possession by evil forces. Other kinds of behaviour, such as commitments to revolutionist efforts at initiating the messianic return, are life-threatening. Yet, harmful effects of millenarian activities need not be as demonstrable as mass revolt; they can be as personal as losing all reasonable orientation to the larger world, which results from identifying too closely with divine fiat. Thus, whatever positive, community-building processes millenarian group participation may engender, it can (and often does) have a darker, destructive, psychopathological side.

In all fairness, though, not all instances of violence initiated by a group should be considered psychopathological simply as a matter of principle. Occasionally the social and political structures which groups feel are the source of blockage to their expectations make themselves so inaccessible that violence becomes the only alternative the group has in affecting them (Morrison, p. 689).

The fact that group members often demonstrate psychopathological responses at various junctures within millenarian movements' development

need not imply that these groups necessarily recruit among the psychopaths of a population. However, sometimes they may recruit such people, unintentionally or otherwise. Groups may recruit psychopaths unintentionally if the recruiters primarily are concerned with the conversion of large numbers of people (see Morrison, p. 686). This concern for sheer numbers can be a response to several factors, one of which can be an ideological demand for large-scale action. But groups can have non-ideological demands that require large numbers of people as well, such as increased needs to raise revenue for their activities.

On the other hand, groups' recruitment of psychopaths, or perhaps sociopaths, might be more or less intentional. For instance, when groups have declared war against the anti-christs, who are usually people in power or social prominence, persons with violent tendencies become likely candidates, and sometimes "desirable" ones, for membership.

Proselytizing and Recruitment

The intended consequence of both proselytization and recruitment is the acquisition of new members for the group. For several reasons, new members are important for it. For instance, they provide the group with more persons to carry out its divine plans. Also, they indicate to the group that its doctrines are correct, since even more people seem to be seeing its wisdom. Furthermore, they provide new sources of revenue for it.

In addition to these intended consequences, proselytization and recruitment can have unintended consequences, many of them positive, for a group. One positive consequence is that it provides those persons doing the recruiting with an opportunity to express to the

wider society their commitment to the group. Another unintended consequence of proselytization is that the group comes to see its evangelists, preachers, and recruiters as both practical and symbolic foci for itself. They become the group's mouthpiece, and therefore the group directs much of its energy to their efforts.

The evangelists help reinforce the group's general systems of meaning by providing it with new converts. The group feels reinforced because the very presence of proselytes gives it further assurance of the correctness of its claims (see Festinger, et al., p. 28). In a related manner, large numbers of converts also have similar convincing effects on the larger society (or so the group hopes [Lebra, p. 214]).

Groups come to sacralize the hardships and the perseverance of their preachers. The evangelists become the models against which group members measure themselves. In the eyes of the members, proselytizers come to embody their group's teachings. Members feel that the proselytizers understand the true meaning and importance of group doctrines better than do the regular members--and this is often true, since they must study and refine them in the course of their teachings (Alan, p. 303).

Groups have high emotional and material investments in its recruiters and preachers, and these investments usually have the effect of making it unthinkable for these people to abandon their particular movement. As well, the evangelists make large personal investments of time, effort, and money to their own efforts, and these make the possibility of abandonment even less likely. However, because the recruiters are the group members most in contact with the outside world and its ideas, they are susceptible to corrupting influences which might cause

them to rethink their commitments (Wilson, 1967, pp. 37-38).

Interestingly, proselytizers often adopt at least two particular values of the outside world--the status hierarchy and the value of certain educational skills--but do so without necessarily being corrupted by them. Proselytizers (as well as other group members) unintentionally show their tacit acceptance of the status hierarchy when they "take pride in converting 'prominent' members of the society..." (Lebra, p. 201). As well, evangelists often take pride in their abilities to know and debate religious doctrine. Not surprizingly, proselytization activities often generate respect for particular kinds of theological, oratorical, and literary skills equal to, if not surpassing, the value placed on them by the larger society.

Status and Structure

Certainly the decisions a group makes concerning its recruitment efforts are important for its survival (Wilson, 1967, pp. 14-15; see Kanter, p. 223). However, it must also make other decisions which are equally crucial in order to ensure its own continuation. It must make "decisions about purely administrative and instrumental concerns" involving finances, property, etc. (Wilson, 1967, p. 14). Furthermore, sooner or later agencies within the group must "come into being to regulate the sect's involvement with external authorities..." (p. 15), especially as proselytizers come in contact with an often hostile world.

If recruitment efforts bear fruit, procedures then "must be evolved for accepting new members..." (p. 14). Next, the group must have some way of "determining the worthiness of the new entrants, and for disciplining transgressions and deviations of the old" (p. 15). In addition, agencies must also exist that "determine the places of

meeting and the activities which occur once members are met, or which make other arrangements for the dissemination of the teachings". These determinations "are necessary, even if, as among the Quakers, emphasis is given to free operation of the Spirit" (p. 15). Finally, "some persons must be invested with the right to call meetings and some to preside over them, and thus to control others" (p. 14).

As the group continues to grow, so does its need to control its members. The procedures it has for doing so might call for minimum intervention of the group's part, or they might call for the use of coercion or violence (Morrison, pp. 687-688). Whatever is the case, a group might feel compelled to employ them for any number of reasons. First, as the promised millennium fails to appear, members may feel a growing dissatisfaction with the group (see Worsley, pp. xviii-xix). Second, new members might have expectations that are different from those of the older members. Third, as functional leadership becomes more concentrated, members may develop resentment to an oligarchy within a movement that began as a fellowship of God's chosen saints (see Morrison, p. 688). Fourth, schisms may threaten to fragment the group as certain people cleave to particular leaders, or as people dispute particular points of doctrine. Finally, some people simply may give-in to the persecutions or the hardships, and want to disassociate themselves from the movement.

But try as it may to prevent them, defections from a group are inevitable. These defections may occur in the form of large fissions or schisms (see Worsley, p. xv; Talmon, pp. 528-529)or may involve only one or two people at a time. When the separations or defections include a substantial number of people and when these defectors form a

new group, one of two patterns will appear concerning the organizational structures of the schismatic group in comparison to those of the parent bodies. In those instances when the separations occur over non-organizational issues of doctrine, then the schismatic groups simply will inherit the structure of their parent bodies. On the other hand, if the schisms occur over matters of organization themselves, the subsequent organizational structures will differ significantly from those of the parent body.

As certain members perform the various activities and procedures that are necessary for the group to survive, an eventual concentration of power in the hands of a few seems inevitable. A hierarchy will develop among these emerging leaders, within whose ranks will be members whose symbolic status is high or whose functional skills are needed (see Weber, 1947, pp. 363-373). As these emerging leaders perform their functions, opportunities for personal advancement probably will arise (Morrison, p. 687), at least for those among them with functional skills.

Persecution

One occurrence that mitigates against the possibility of schisms is the persecution of the sect by a powerful external force (often the polity). While persecutions attempt to confine the group, break its spirit, or even destroy it entirely, they often have the unintended effect of strengthening the group's cohesiveness (Lebra, p. 204; see Mol, p. 80). Hostility which would otherwise exist between members or between factions within a group now are projected outward onto a common enemy (Kanter, p. 234).

Within the group it may stimulate a re-examination of doctrine,

perhaps to eliminate its most objectionable elements, perhaps to find scriptural explanations for the "evil and injustice" befalling them. Communications between members and between groups in different geographical areas will improve, and the group may even defy the authorities and intensify its efforts at proselytization and recruitment (as attempts to overcome the persecution by the sheer weight of numbers). The group may establish organizational arrangements to respond to the new difficulties it faces, such as providing internal relief funds for the persecuted members or their families. Finally, stories of persons' hardships and forebearances may become sacralized models for group conduct. Thus, it is not uncommon to find that only the most thorough and brutal persecutions are successful in destroying a group, while those that are sporadic and tentative have an effect opposite the intended one.

Violent persecutions can be a tactic the polity (or some other element within the social order) uses against a millenarian group (see Morrison, p. 689). These persecutory activities may themselves be in response to outwardly directed group violence, and they may be part of a series of violent exchanges between the two parties. However, the polity certainly does not feel that it must wait for an upsurge in group violence before it is justified in persecuting a millenarian group: the flagrant violation of social norms, the hostile doctrines, the claims of divinity, and the distasteful and disrespectful behaviours of its members all provide excuses for the polity to persecute (see Zygmunt, p. 255).

While a group needs some hostile doctrines and behaviours in order to sustain the tension necessary to ensure its members' continued

commitment, a balance between too many and too few tensions is very difficult for it to maintain (and here I am referring to the tensions within non-revolutionary groups). Too much hostility toward the polity most assuredly elicits a response of persecution, while too little tension implies accommodation to the ways of the world (Wilson, 1967, p. 39). Certainly as issues and events change along with the personalities involved in them, it seems that at some point any (non-revolutionary) group which tries to walk a middle path is doomed to failure. If it accommodates too much, some of its membership will lose interest, and if it heightens the tension too much the polity itself will respond harshly. If the polity does so respond, the persecution it reigns on the group will inevitably alter important aspects of the group's structure and functioning.

However, over and above both the community-building functions and the structural changes persecutions may generate within a group, many of its members may welcome the opportunity for suffering and martyrdom. If the group doctrines state that the millennium will follow a time of severe hardship on those most loyal to God, members may view the persecutions as an opportunity to both hasten the messianic age and prove their faith. Similarly, they may view the persecution as God "sifting his children by giving increasingly severe steps" for the loyal to climb (Lebra, p. 199). In extreme cases, members may even commit suicide, believing that their deaths will hasten the day of judgement, after which they will gain eternal life (see Worsley, p. 225). Such suicides may take the form of clear psychopathology, or they may involve subtle methods whereby members seek to be martyred (such as by offering themselves for imprisonment, openly disobeying

certain laws, or refusing to leave prison if they could do so by compromising a particular principle or point of doctrine).

Prophecy: Confirmations, Disconfirmations, and Nonconfirmations

In a group's early stages, its millenarian claims usually contain an interpretation of history which says that the world is now living in the last of days, soon to see the arrival of the millennium. As "proof" of the millennial imminence, a group's prominent symbolic leaders or messianic claimants demonstrate their own prophetic and miraculous powers. The demonstrations of prophecy and power can take a number of forms, including healings, foreknowledge, clairvoyance, and at times, even martyrdom (Worsley, p. xii). But whatever forms they take, symbolic leaders and messiahs offer them in large part to convince people that the exhortations concerning the imminent millennial kingdom are as accurate as the supernatural exhibitions are astounding. Exhibitions and demonstrations of this kind are especially important for both building morale and developing doctrine when the group is vague about the precise time of the millennium's arrival, or when the group, usually in its later stages, predicts its arrival for sometime in the rather distant future.

However, regardless of what date the group prophecies for the millennium's arrival, it will have difficulty validating its claims. First, many of the signs and proofs attempted by the believers "apparently" will fail. Next, believers who set a particular time for the divine event to occur must face certain "invalidation" or "disconfirmation" of their claim. Even a group whose prediction of the millennial date is either undetermined or still some time off must

face the difficult task of maintaining believers amidst continual "nonvalidation" or "non-confirmation" of their beliefs (Zygmunt, p. 247). In fact, for those groups (particularly new ones) that believe in an unspecified millennial imminence, nonconfirmation can amount to disconfirmation (Zygmunt, p. 259). While nonconfirmation is itself difficult for a group to explain, disconfirmation can be disastrous. Therefore, the two are common causes of group disintegration. However, they also are causes of group institutionalization (Zygmunt, p. 265), as groups attempt to preserve themselves despite their prophetic setbacks. Whether a group disintegrates or institutionalizes depends upon its ideational and material resources as well as the resourcefulness of the group and its members.

One well known attempt to approach the particular problem of prophetic disconfirmation is that of Festinger and his colleagues. They examine the problem faced by deeply committed believers who are "presented with evidence, unequivocal and undeniable evidence, that [their] belief is wrong" (Festinger, p. 3). In these situations people feel extreme dissonance between their beliefs versus their experience in the world. As a result of this disparity, believers will make "determined efforts to eliminate the dissonance, or, at least, to reduce its magnitude" (Festinger, p. 27). Some may simply abandon their belief. Some even may be able to block the fact that the prophecy has not been fulfilled. Still others may reduce the dissonance by rationalizing the discrepancy. However, often a group will launch a zealous campaign to convince as many others as possible that their belief system in fact is true and correct. Simply put, the more people a group can convince that something is true, the more

validity the particular belief gains, despite apparent evidence to the contrary (Festinger, et al., pp. 27-28). Festinger is claiming that under specific conditions of obvious disconfirmation of a belief, a group may step up its proselytization efforts. If it does it is attempting to receive support through sheer numbers for the fact that its belief is still valid (Festinger, et al., p. 28).

Festinger's theory is premised on the claim that there are times during which believers clearly perceive that their specific beliefs or prophecies have been disproven, invalidated, or clearly refuted. It is against this premise that Zygmunt criticizes Festinger's theory, correctly pointing out "that the empirical evidence--evidence of the senses--and even the testimony of common sense are often quite ambiguous and subject to alternative interpretations" (Zygmunt, p. 247]. Furthermore, the prophecies or claims themselves may be "elaborate but stated in imprecise terms" (Zygmunt, p. 247), thereby allowing for quick reinterpretation, reemphasis, or refocus (see Worsley, p. xx]. As well, the group may weave its unfulfilled claims into much larger belief-systems or ideologies which contain assertions that are unaffected by the disconfirmation. Finally, Zygmunt indicates that the believer may see validation of his or her claim through "other types of confirming evidence" (Zygmunt, pp. 248). Confirming evidence might include various kinds of miracles, visions, etc. In summary, Zygmunt asserts that millenarian groups, "by drawing upon their own ideological resources", essentially can leave their "millennial hopes intact" if they have "ideologically rationalized, explained, reinterpreted, or denied" their prophetic failrues (Zygmunt, p. 248; see Talmon, p. 529).

In these cases where a group experiences an "apparent" disconfirmation of a prophecied belief, one of four responses will occur. First, the group may actually acknowledge that it was incorrect in its expectation of prophecies being realized at that particular time but they still believe that the prophecies will be fulfilled sometime in the distant future (see Worsley, p. xx). Therefore, the movement will still maintain its essential faith in the dynamic of prophecy (Zygmunt, p. 260), but now beieve in a prophecy that is not easily falsified. With the prophecy of the millennial arrival projected into the distant future, the group's self-image will change. Now that the fulfillment of prophecy is not imminent, the group's worldly mission is no longer a temporary one. It may come to see itself as having "the responsibility of maintaining and spreading the faith until the time for complete fulfillment finally arrives" (Zygmunt, p. 265).

Second, the group may acknowledge disconfrimation, but blame it on some particular cause. By doing so, the group soon can initiate strident efforts to correct the cause of the failure. For instance, if the group places blame on an external group of people, it will initiate a round of hostile, challenging, or proselytizing activities against them. At the same time that a group places blame on something or someone else, it enters another period of prophetic anticipation, this time believing that the cause of the first failure soon will be removed. However, it runs the risk of stimulating persecution as a response to its new agitations, and if they occur, they may help solidify the group even further. If the group places blame on internal factors, then it will initiate a period of purgation and purification, perhaps involving a re-examination of the techniques it used to make

the calculation. In either case of a group placing internal or external blame, it still maintains a belief in the legitimacy of prophecy, believing that its expectations will be met once its members have removed the obstacles (Zygmunt, pp. 261-263).

The third response a group can make to what may appear to non-members as a disconfirmation of prophecy is to profess that its claims in fact have been fulfilled, if not completely than at least in part. While the objective facts may have appeared to indicate otherwise to an outsider, for believers the prophecy is so intertwined with larger beliefs and symbols that they can adjust their interpretations accordingly. However, the believers who adjust in this way only are persons who live "in an ideologically structured and socially insulated environment" (Zygmunt, pp. 264; 263-264).

Finally, the group simply may disband. Enough of its members may recognize the disconfirmation for what it is, and it simply may disintegrate. The group may see itself as a failure, and feel defeated, lost, and misguided.

Summary

While a major strength of Denton Morrison's relative deprivation theory is that it explains the psycho-social conditions under which millenarianism arises, a major strength of community-building theories such as Kanter's or Lebra's is that they explain the internal organizational and social development of millenarian groups. Community-building theories are particularly useful in specifying the functions that millenarian ideas play in millenarian groups' development, activities, goals, and self-concepts, as well as in their members'

self-images. Consequently, much of the material in this chapter has been borrowed from several community-building perspectives.

People join a millenarian group by converting to it. They undertake a number of activities to show their commitment to the group at the same time that the group is trying to ensure that they become anchored quickly into a supportive environment. Once they are members, a strict moral discipline is imposed upon them by the group, one that includes sexual proscriptions and numerous occasions for collective mortifications.

Symbolic leaders serve as sources of inspiration for converts, as well as for group members in general. However, other kinds of leaders, functional ones, provide the daily direction the group needs in order to perform collective tasks. While some persons in a group may perform internal leadership tasks and others concentrate on external leadership activities, it can also be that one person serves both internal and external leadership roles at the same time. Similarly, one person can serve as both a symbolic and a functional leader, or different people can serve in each capacity.

By performing their tasks or serving as symbols, leaders receive prestige within the group. Prophets, in contrast, concern themselves primarily with delivering divine messages, with little regard for whatever prestige the group might give them. Messiahs differ from both leaders and prophets by serving as salvific intermediaries between the heavenly and the earthly realms. All three figures can appear in one movement, although their chronological and functional relationships are hard to predict.

Often appearing among the ranks of the group's symbolic and

functional leaders are its recruiters and proselytizers. The important conversionist functions they serve explain why groups have important financial and emotional investments in them, even as they themselves have significant personal investments in their own activities and successes. However, the recruitment of new members is but one of several important internal and external tasks a group must undertake in an attempt to ensure its survival. As well, it must resocialize and control its members, punish deviants, and come to agreement upon its basic doctrines. Furthermore, it must make financial and property decisions, and attempt to regulate its relationship with external authorities.

The group's ability to control its members becomes increasingly important the longer the group exists. In addition to members' tendencies toward occasional psychopathological behaviours, a group's cohesiveness may be threatened by factionalism, hostility between members, and waning confidence in the group's millennialist claims. However, the group may alleviate these internal tensions by projecting their hostilities onto an outside enemy, especially if that enemy persecutes the group.

Despite prophecies, miracles, and other signs, eventually a group must face either a disconfirmation or a non-confirmation of its millennialist claims. As a result, a group might disband, but usually its claims are so woven into a complicated worldview that it will seek to confirm them in new ways, or somehow adjust its beliefs to explain the apparent non-confirmation of prophecy.

CHAPTER THREE

AN ANALYSIS OF THE EARLY YEARS OF QUAKERISM

Introduction

Methodologically, I will proceed in this chapter by analyzing the events of Quaker history through particular aspects of millenarian theories that appear in the first two chapters. My major sources on Quakerism include at least four standard Quaker histories: Henry Cadbury's revised editions of William Charles Braithewaite's Beginnings of Quakerism (BQ) and The Second Period of Quakerism (SPQ); Hugh Barbour's The Quakers in Puritan England (QPE); and the valuable compilations and commentaries found in Hugh Barbour's and Aurthur O. Roberts's Early Quaker Writings: 1650-1700 (EQW). In addition to these histories, I have used a selection of other histories, commentaries, and original sources.

I anticipate the criticisms by historians that a work of this broad scope cannot do justice either to the richness of the period or the nuances within Quaker history, and I am sympathetic to such critiques. However, my purpose here is more sociological than historical, even though I rely on historians quite heavily. I use their information in an attempt to locate specific themes within the early period of Quakerism; themes that a sociologist would expect to see in millenarian groups whose members remain living within the larger social community. I would be cautious in applying the contents of my theoretical discussion too far outside this scope, although probably it would be useful in

limited ways (see Kanter, p. 219; F. Hill, p. 272).

I hope that historians understand why I have been so selective concerning the facts I use, and that they realize the ones I have chosen do not lead to major distortions concerning Quaker history. But I also hope that my sociological orientation provides them with important themes upon which they can write in detail. For the sociologists, I hope my analysis provides conceptual frameworks and methodological techniques that have applicability beyond this limited study. Ideally, my conceptual framework should have utility for analysing the formative years of many other millenarian movements, groups, and sects whose members continue to live in the community.

Quakers and the Millennium

Norman Cohn has noted that sociologists and anthropologists use the term "millenarianism" to mean a type of salvationism or eschatology that is imminent, worldly, collective, miraculous, and total. Groups that believe in a millenarianist salvation consider themselves to be infallible, superior to the rest of humanity, and exempt from human accountability. Cohn has further noted that messianic figures often appear in these groups, and when they do, the groups tend to take on a decidedly revolutionary tone (supra, Chapter One: "Millenarianism and the Millennium").

Quakerism's eschatology was decidedly millenarian, but its distinctive characteristic was that it was twofold. On the one hand, Quakers were convinced that God was going to return, as Christ, to "judge and transform the world" (QPE, p. 182). In these worldly expectations, they share the traits that Cohn describes. On the

other hand, they believed that, within their hearts and souls, Christ already had returned, passed judgement, and begun his reign. In their personal experiences, therefore, Quakers believed in a realized eschatology, one that had already come to pass. The terrestrial millennium would institute on a global scale the salvation that Quakers felt within themselves. The two eschatologies were intimately related, but distinct examples of both appear throughout the early Quaker literature.

Beginning with the terrestrial, expected millennium, Quakers anticipated its arrival at any moment, certainly within their lifetimes (see Ball, pp. 201-202). The fiery and miraculous Day of Judgement for all the world was soon to occur, during which the wicked and the unrepentant would be punished. All people had to repent, or else they would suffer eternal damnation.

A leading Quaker of the era, Edward Burrough, was but one of many Friends to write tracts that reflected these beliefs. In one piece he directed his admonitions to "the poor desolate soldiers" who, in his eyes, desperately needed to repent, since they lived "in lying, in swearing, in drunkenness, in whoredom, in oppression, and in the wickedness of the world". He warned them that "the dreadful day of the Lord God is coming....With the strength of indignation and fury you will be besieged, and fearfulness will surprise you".[1] Judging from the large number of soldiers that eventually became Friends, perhaps many of them heeded his call.

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[1] The Visitation of the Rebellious Nation of Ireland (London: Giles Calvert, 1656), no. pag.; quoted in EQW, p. 92.

One point that Burrough did not specify in his call for repentence was the exact date the Day of Judgement would occur. In fact, no prominent Friend ever did. For instance, in 1652 George Fox, the person generally regarded as the founder of Quakerism, even rebuked another Friend for his precision in pinpointing the Judgement Day to be coming on December 1 of that year (BQ, p. 147).

What mattered more to Quakers than identifying when Judgement Day would arrive was determining who would enjoy eternal life with Christ. In this regard, not only did Quakers consider themselves to be among the saved, but they also saw themselves as the vanguard of the world's redeemed. As William Dewsbury put it, they were the "saints and children of the most high God, whom he hath called and chosen out of the owrld...".[2] Quakers, Dewsbury writes, were members of God's army, working under the commands of Christ:

> Now is the Lord appearing in this day of his mighty power, to gather His elect together, out of all forms and observations, kindreds, tongues and nations; and is making up his jewels, his mighty host, and exalting Jesus Christ to be King of Kings, to lead his Army that he hath raised up in the North of England....[3]

The terrestrial millennium about which Friends such as Dewsbury and others wrote borrowed heavily from passages in the Book of Revelations. Yet many Friends used these same passages to express their experiences of having already realized the rule of Christ within

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[2]William Dewsbury, True Prophecy of the Mighty Day of the Lord (1655), p. 1; quoted in EQW, p. 93. Many Quaker tracts such as this one do not cite the place of publication. However, in most cases they were published in London.

[3]Dewsbury, p. 1; quoted in EQW, p. 93.

their own hearts. Not only were the events prophesied in Revelations about to occur for the entire world, they already had occurred for Quakers as inward events. In short, Quakers "witnessed later day events taking place within themselves" (Ball, p. 209). For Friends, the interior experience of Judgement and redemption had a far greater value than did the expectations of the worldly salvation that was coming. Their internal experiences were proof that God's promised return was about to occur.

The realization of eternal life as a result of an internal judgement is expressed clearly in Francis Howgill's 1655/6[4] conversion account, The Inheritance of Jacob Discovered, After His Return Out of Egypt. As the title itself suggests, the work is laced with biblical imagery. In it he says that he experienced both the terror of the apocalypse and the pain of the crucified Christ, all of which led to the birth of a "new man" into eternal life. "Eternal life was brought in through death and judgement...and the holy law of God was revealed unto me, and was written in my heart" (quoted in EQW, p. 174).

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[4]As Perry explains, up until 1752 the British Isles followed the Julian calendar, beginning the year on March 25. After 1752, the English accepted the Gregorian Calendar, starting the year on January 1. Today the Christian world still follows the Gregorian system. Problems arise, however, when discussing dates between January 1 and March 24 that occur prior to 1752. Therefore, many scholars give both calendar years. For example, "January 1" might appear as January 1, 1655/6. Precise dating of Quaker material is made additionally difficult by Friends' rejections of the "pagan" names of the months, and instead referring to the months in the order of their occurrence (e.g., First Month, Second Month, etc.). In this process they referred to the entire month of March as First Month, even though only seven days of the new (Julian) year fell within it. Needless to say, the process of transferring the numerical month-references into the more traditional name references can be tricky. See Penney, Journal I, pp. xli-xlii.

One contemporary writer on Puritanism sees within Howgill's conversion "the entire range of seventeenth century eschatological expectation appear[ing] here as the direct and personal fulfillment. The last days have passed, Christ has come, judgement and wrath have poured forth, a new creation is here, and all within the experience of one man" (Ball, p. 206). Howgill's account presents in graphic form the overriding importance Quakers assigned to their inner experience of divine, salvific judgement.

Howgill and others like him were certain that they had gained eternal salvation while still living. To realize the fruit of God's blessings, they did not have to wait until after the resurrection of the dead at the end of time. They already had realized salvation, despite the entrapments and sins of the world. Living as they did in the vividness of God's kingdom, "Quakers' apocalypticism was not a mere negative reaction against evil" (QPE, p. 184). Rather, it expressed the certainty and the dynamism of people convinced that they were justified by God (supra, Chapter Two, "The Role of Millenarian Ideas in the Formation of Community Identity"). Thus, as the Quakers awaited the millennium, their apocalypticism allowed them to transcend the world as it enabled them to endure its corruptness.

Quakerism's realized salvationism has important ramifications for general millenarian theory. This is not true of its expected, terrestrial millennial expectations, since they resemble the five characteristics of millenarianism that social scientists anticipate finding in such groups: belief in an imminent, worldly, collective, miraculous, and total salvation. But a realized, personal eschatology differs from an anticipated, worldly eschatology by the fact that the

expected terrestrial events of the final days move powerfully within people's souls as direct and vivid experiences. Keeping both kinds of salvation in mind, the definition of millenarianism that Cohn cites as current among sociologists and anthropologists is one that emphasizes the terrestrial expectations at the expense of the realized experience. A better definition of millenarianism would be "an imminent, miraculous, collective, and total redemption that a group of believers feel will soon affect all people in the world but which "the elect" might already feel they had realized prior to the worldly event". The definition carefully avoids mentioning messianic figures, but it does so for good reason. As the next section will show, they are not necessary figures within millenarian movements.

Messianism in Quaker History

While Cohn notes that many of the medieval millenarian groups of the Rhine valley contained messianic figures (p. 53), Talmon states in no uncertain terms that "most millenarian groups are messianic" (p. 528). Therefore, for this study we must determine whether early millenarian Quakerism contained a messianic figure, and then compare our findings with a more detailed examination of the two researchers' statements.

Although our investigation must concentrate on determing whether Quakers felt that an actual messianic figure appeared within their movement, all the while we must keep in mind that during this time in England many people within different social classes and backgrounds held a general messianic expectation (Lewy, pp. 130-133; Capp, pp. 23-49). Since issues involving Quaker messianism gain their proper perspective

only if we place them within this larger socio-cultural climate, it is to this task that we first turn.

People of the time were saturated with the language and stories of the Bible, and the availability of several English translations (among them the popular Calvinistic Geneva Bible of 1560, and the King James Version) made its contents common knowledge for the general populace. Amidst periods of turmoil, disorientation, and war, people turned to the Bible for comfort, and certainly the decades preceding the appearance of the Quakers was such a period (see C. Hill, 1961, pp. 145-161, 321).

Times had been hard in England. Between 1620-1650 the English were under continuous financial burdens as a result of poor governmental monetary management. James I's (1603-1625) attempts to side-step Parliament through various economic schemes involving import taxes and monopoly charters adversely affected the economy, and the lives of the general populace suffered as a consequence (see C. Hill, pp. 317-321). Continued deterioration of the financial situation occurred under Charles I (1625-1649). The Anglican[5] church's fiscal abuses persisted;

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[5]Anglicanism, also called Episcopalianism or The Church of England, dates from Henry VIII's assertion that the King od England was the "supreme Head of the Church" in the country. From that time, and up through the period of our study, issues involving Anglicanism were among the bitterest of the age, especially its relation to other forms of religious expression. Basically, its doctrines were: (1) the monarch was the head of the Church; (2) the system of bishops was its main governmental body, answering only to the monarch; (3) church government was to use as its model the first six centuries of the early Church, flavoured as it was, with notions of divine right; (4) the only authorized prayers were those found in the Book of Common Prayer; (5) certain formalities, including ministers wearing surplices, were obligatory; and (6) priests could marry. In late 1643 the Long Parliament (November, 1640-December, 1648) rejected Anglicanism by adopting The Solemn League and Covenant, a document that promised to install Presbyterianism (see footnote 7) in England in return for Scottish help in defeating Charles. Anglicanism remained illegal until the Cavalier Parliament, under Charles II, reinstituted it in 1662. The Act required that ministers and schoolteachers swear agreement to all that was contained in the Book of Common Prayer.

and excessive fines marked the ill-fated king's reign. No doubt the Civil War years only added to the financial woes. Trade was disrupted, and the parlaimentary excise tax levied to raise funds for the New Model Army[6] boosted many items of popular consumption (C. Hill, 1972, p. 107). In addition, the harvest of 1648 was critically poor, and many of the parliamentary soldiers found themselves returning home to hunger and unemployment (C. Hill, 1972, p. 108).

Along with growing economic hardships, England had undergone 150 years of religious repression, persecution, and uncertainty. Catholics were widely distrusted and usually outlawed, except of course under Bloody Mary's reign (1553-1558). All the while the relationship between Anglicanism and Puritanism grew to one of the bitterest debates of the era, especially during the reigns of James I and his son Charles I.

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[6]The New Model Army was what its title implies--a new model on which to build a fighting force. Prior to its formation by Parliament in 1645, armies had been composed of ill-disciplined, poorly trained militia men, often whose interest and participation in a battle was only because it was being fought on their homeland. Dissertion was high. Officers often had obtained their positions as political appointments that had little to do with their military skill. In contrast, the New Model Army was a national, not a local, army, controlled by skilled officers who trained their troops and maintained discipline in the ranks. Promotion was on merit, not favoritism. Soldiers received a salary (or at least were supposed to). The cavalry was composed of men whose social standing generally was higher than the infantry's. Often cavalrymen were yeomen and craftsmen, and usually were volunteers. They were known for their strong Puritanism. The infantry, the foot soldiers, probably lacked the stern Puritanism of the cavalrymen. Most had been impressed into the Army and they received a meagre salary. In total, the New Model Army numbered about 22,000 men. All the soldiers must have experienced a widening of their social, political, and religious horizons, since they were taken out of their local villages and towns, befriended by men from distant locales, and fought, side by side with men of social prominence, for a national cause. Independents and Sectarians dominated the ranks, and they formed a formidable opposition to the Presbyterian Parliament that issued their pay. Cromwell was second in command, leading the cavalry. See Shaw, pp. 22-26.

Various forms of non-Anglican protestantism, especially Presbyterianism[7] and other forms of Calvinism, were becoming increasingly visible, but the repressive High Anglicanism of Charles I's trusted and powerful archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud, poisoned the religious atmosphere (Gooch and Laski, pp. 79-86). Nevertheless, large numbers of people sought religious fellowship among diverse sectarian groups (see QPE, pp. 26-28), which one contemporaneous count put at 199 (cited in Vann, 1969b, p. 7). There was so little religious agreement amongst the general populace that even Parliament's attempt to supplant Anglicanism with Presbyterianism was doomed to failure. Adding to the religious tension was an awareness of the violence and mass destructiveness of the Protestant versus Catholic Thirty Years War (1618-1648) raging on the Continent.

Viewed together these were all signs to the people that they were living in the terrible and traumatic times immediately prior to the Second Coming. Scripture was soon to be fulfilled. Many people saw the beheading of Charles I in January, 1648/9 as the removal of the earthly king (Rev. 19.19) in preparation for the Heavenly King (C. Hill, 1972, p. 96). English citizens from all walks of life felt that they were living in the final days.

In this highly charged chiliastic atmosphere, Quakers experienced

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[7]Presbyterianism, or High Presbyterianism, "believed that church rule by synods and assemblies was ordained by God in Scripture. Scotland abounded in High Presbyterians...." (Cook, pp. 337-338). Generally, they opposed a wide religious toleration. Some Presbyterians simply were, as Cook claims, "Broad Churchmen temporarily disaffected from episcopacy" (p. 338). However, they may have been quite numerous at the onset of the Civil War (see Brailsford, pp. 28-29), and were still a potent force all during the Commonwealth and the Protectorate.

the purifying and redeeming Light of Christ move within their souls, and expressed their experience and their expectations in the general apocalyptic language of the day (Ball, p. 195). Early Quaker writings were replete with apocalyptic imagery. Fox constantly spoke of himself as the son of God (a title that James Nayler applied to himself as well), and in a letter to Cromwell written in February, 1655/6 Fox adds to this appellation that his "kingdom is not of this world" (quoted in BQ, p. 79). Furthermore, some Quakers in the 1650's referred to him in messianic, Christ-like language: one letter written by his future wife, Margaret Fell, contains references to Fox as "the bread of life", "our dear nursing father", "fountain of eternal life", "father of eternal felicity", and that one who "alone is our life and peace" (quoted in BQ, pp. 104-105: see Nuttal, 1946, pp. 181-182).

Extravagant language of this type does not necessarily prove messianism within the early Friends. Extravagant language, especially in religious circles, was common. As Nuttal says, the people of the time "felt passionately and wrote vehemently; and, in seeking to recover and to express a religious experience of the biblical type, they naturally adopted a biblical phraseology, itself often extreme, which they knew in a version still consonant with contemporary usage" (1946, p. 182). Therefore, the existence of such suggestive phrases by Fox and Fell does not by itself prove messianism within the early Friends.

Nonetheless, given the Quakers' extravagant language and the widespread millenarian expectation, it is not surprising that some people would see certain prominent Quaker leaders as messiahs. While some Quakers may have set Fox "in place of the Spirit of Christ"

(Watkins, p. 172), it is clear that a small number of Quakers regarded James Nayler as the messiah, even though Nayler may not have seen himself in this way. The incident of Nayler's Christ-like ride into Bristol is among the most extravagant religious displays by a Friend in the era, and Nayler's prominence within the movement at the time makes it an important event to examine.

His ride into Bristol on the back of a donkey, modelled after Christ's ride into Jerusalem (Matt. 21:1-11), took place on October 24, 1656. In front of the donkey walked two women, who spread rain-soaked garments before it. Earlier, Nayler had cut his beard in a short-forked style and let his hair grow long, both in accordance with a contemporary account of Jesus' appearance.[8] In addition to the two women, five others were participating in this messianic procession, and together the seven were chanting, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Saboath" (quoted in BQ, p. 252).

Because of this demonstration of religious extravagance, the party was promptly arrested, and the next day the magistrates began an examination of Nayler. His answers befuddled them: Question: "Art thouh the only Son of God?" Answer: "I am the Son of God, but I have many brethren." To another question Nayler replied "The Lord hath made me a sign of His coming, and that honor that belongeth to Christ Jesus in whom I am revealed may be given to Him, as when on earth at Jerusalem, according to the measure" (quoted in BQ, p. 253).

Unsure about what to do with the self-proclaimed "Son of God",

[8]The spurious document in which Jesus' hair and beard are so described is the "Epistle from Lentulus to the Roman Senate", cited in BQ, p. 243, but compare pp. 564-565.

Parliament was contacted about the matter. A parliamentary committee of fifty-five persons was established to investigate whether or not James Nayler was a blasphemer. After several weeks of investigation, the committee's report was received in the House on December 5. Charging Nayler with having impersonated "our blessed saviour", the evidence initiated nine days of bitter debates, during which the incident became the springboard for Parliament to attack the Instrument Government[9]

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[9]The Instrument of Government was drawn up by the Army officers after the failure of the Barebones (Nominated) Parliament (December, 1653). Politically, it contained a threefold distribution of power between: (a) a Lord Protector, the first one to be Cromwell, who was to rule for life; (b) a continual Council of State, whose fourteen members were named in the Instrument itself and were to serve for life; and (c) a 460 seat Parliament, that was to be elected by the traditional franchise (i.e., by men who possessed forty shillings of freehold land), except that Royalists were excluded from either voting or serving in office. Religiously, it called for the support of worthy ministers by the continued imposition of tithes (at least until another means of finance could be found). It granted a fairly wide religious toleration to those who "'profess[ed] Faith in God by Jesus Christ'", unless the worshippers were Catholics, Anglicans, or libertines. Its practical consequences were significant. Congregational Independents (see next footnote) controlled the Council of State, which was more powerful than Parliament. Parliament was comparatively weak, since it could meet as infrequently as one five-month session every three years. While Cromwell maintained control over the Army, on most matters his general decision-making capacities were constrained by the Council. The Instrument of Government's religious policies were criticized from all sides. Presbyterians and Broad Churchmen (see Chapter Four, n. 3) wanted to put an end to Sectarian religious toleration and reinstitute tighter controls on the state religion. Sectarians wanted tithes abolished along with the state church it supported. Unfortunately for Nayler, he came to epitomize for Presbyterians and Broad Churchmen all that was wrong with the Instrument of Government's toleration policy, and they used him to attack the Instrument of Government and the Congregational Independents who supported it. See Cook, pp. 346-347; 352.

and the Congregational Independents'[10] political dominance under it (Cook, p. 352). Eventually, it sentenced Nayler to a brutal punishment, and the resultant wounds he suffered, along with his nearly three years of imprisonment, irrevocably damaged him.

While Nayler's ride into Bristol had the appearance of a messianic act, it was never accepted as such by the vast majority of Friends, but was more commonly condemned by them. Quakers throughout the world were disheartened and discouraged by what he had done (BQ, pp. 267-268; QPE, pp. 64-65). Furthermore, Nayler's own testimony at

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[10]The Independents, or Congregational Independents, were a small and short-lived group of clergymen, senior army officers, and their families. They maintained at least four doctrines that distinguish them from the other groups of the era. First, they believed that neither the episcopacy nor the presbytery had a basis in Scripture. In fact, Scripture had not specified how churches were to be organized. Therefore, Christians who disagreed over specific organizational issues should be allowed to form congregations of similarly-minded individuals. However, in these independently gathered congregations, ministers were to have final worldly authority on important spiritual matters such as excommunication (Cook, pp. 338, 341). Second, another issue on which Scripture was silent concerned the structure of the civil government, meaning that as long as it maintained "law, order, property, morals...and religion....it did not have to be a government of the saints" (Cook, p. 342). Third, the civil government, in whatever way it was organized, had an important role to play in maintaining true Christianity. Therefore, a system of tithes (or some other system of ministerial maintenance) was necessary. Fourth, Scripture clearly specified certain doctrines that were fundamental to Christian belief, and these doctrines were to be taught throughout the land. They included belief in "the resurrection of the dead, justification by God alone, and worship of God according to [a person's own will]" (Cook, pp. 340-341). Cromwell himself was a Congregational Independent, and, during three years of his Government and the adoption of the Humble Petition and Advice in the spring of 1657, Congregational Independents dominated the powers of government. They first appeared in the 1640's, and died in 1662 with the Act of Uniformity. This Act obliterated the doctrinal distinctions between the Congregational Independents, the Sectaries, and some of the Presbyterians.

the hearing implies that he meant the ride symbolically (see Ball, p. 206), despite the fact that his accomplices probably took it literally.

Therefore, aside from the few individuals who followed Nayler, no clear examples of messianism exist within early Friends. Nonetheless, Nayler's ride, along with the messianic, apocalyptic language Quakers used, indicates the tension within early Quakerism between the members' inner experiences of Christ and their terrestrial, but never fulfilled, messianic hope (Nuttall, 1946, pp. 182-183). For most Friends, the inner appearance of Christ within their souls was sufficient to sustain their faith, despite the non-appearance of the kingly Jesus.

Having established that, by and large, Quakerism was not a millenarian movement, we can critically appraise Talmon's statement, cited in the opening paragraph of this section, that "most millenarian movements are messianic" (p. 528). At least with regard to the Quakers, her statement is not true. Even though much of her perspective on messianism is based on Cohn's work, she overgeneralized his findings. Cohn, taking his lead from Weber, had not made the same broad generalization as did she, but instead was careful to point out that messiahs "appealed particularly to the lower strata of society" (p. 51; Weber, 1963, pp. 101-102). Cohn's location of messianism within the lowest social strata is an important qualification, and helps explain why Quakerism was not messianic.

If by "lowest strata" Cohn means "journeymen and unskilled workers, peasants without land or with little land to support them, beggars and vagabonds, the unemployed and those threatened with unemployment" (p. 59), then it was this group of people that probably

did not appear in any significant numbers among the early Friends. Rather, artisans, husbandmen, and the lower gentry seem to have been prominent among the membership, and much of the leadership was composed of men (and a few women) of notable wealth (Vann, 1969a, p. 90; Vann, 1970, p. 163; compare Hurwich, p. 159; Cole, p. 39). In short, neither most of the Quaker membership, nor any of its leadership, was what Weber called "the disprivileged social strata to whom intellectualism is both economically and socially inaccessible" and to whom messianism is particularly attractive (1963, p. 102; Cohn, p. 51).

Quakers' Orientation to Time

Millenarian theory suggests that a group's vivid expectation of an imminent millennium provides it with a time orientation that is both futuristic and mythical. Christian millenarian groups believe Christ is soon to return, and when he does he will judge the oppressors and correct the social and political wrongs they feel have been committed against them. Members associate themselves with characters who appear in their religious texts (often the Bible), and through these associations they maintain a world view that is both futuristic and mythical. Particularly by identifying themselves with the saints and Christian martyrs, millenarian groups consider that its members will reign alongside Christ in his worldly kingdom, as Christ passes judgement on those persons or groups that previously had oppressed them. The anticipated era resembles a golden age, spoken about in the group's religious texts, and the present time of troubles is a transitional one, during which the godly prepare for the messiah (supra, Chapter One: "Conditions Influencing the Appearance of Millenarianism").

This theoretical material can be readily applied to interpreting the time orientation of the early Friends. Quakers, along with Puritans, expected God's reign over all the earth to begin soon. Where Quakers differed from other groups was in their belief that within themselves Christ had already returned, judged their sinfulness, then freed them forever from it. Certainly Christ would soon rule over all nations and peoples, since he had already appeared within the hearts of Friends.

Because they saw in themselves the first signs of Christ's imminent return, Quakers considered their present era to be one of transition between the last terrible days and Christ's worldly rule. Indeed, to the Quakers, their rapid increases in members bore them out. Barbour estimates that the number of persons "convinced of the Truth" increased from only about 500 before 1652 to at least 20,000 by 1657 (QPE, pp. 181-182). By early 1660/1, the number of Quakers may have increased to between 30,000 and 40,000 within a population of about five million (BQ, p. 512).

The key to understanding Quakers' historically mythical time orientation lies in their belief that they had experienced Christ as the Inner Light. They believed that the same Spirit that had operated in the Apostles was also alive within them. Examples of this claim abound in the early literature. One of the most famous is the statement by which George Fox convinced Margaret Fell (July 1, 1652). In an exchange between the two after a Puritan lecture in Ulverston, Fox reportedly said to her, "You will say Christ saith this, and the apostles say this but what canst thou say? Art thou a Child of Light, and hast walked in the Light, and what thou speakest is it inwardly from God...?" (quoted in BQ, p. 101; see Nuttall, 1946, pp. 26ff.).

Given their belief that they experienced the same Spirit that moved the early Apostles, it is easy to understand why the early Friends believed themselves to be the restorers of the true Church. Fox, for instance, saw himself in a role comparable to Paul, and wrote epistles to Friends throughout the land in much the same manner as Paul had (Watkins, pp. 194-195).

While all Quakers saw themselves as following the model of the Apostles regarding church organization (see Roundtree, p. 57; BQ, p. 308), some additionally followed a literalist interpretation of certain apocalyptic and prophetic stories. Reading instances in the Old Testament of Prophets wearing sackcloth as a sign of repentance,[11] some Quakers followed their stead (Carroll, 1975, p. 314). Similarly, some Quakers who read about prophets going naked took up the practice (post, "Prophecy"), but did so in part as protests against the religious and political policies of both Cromwell and Parliament (BQ, pp. 150-151). Generally, prominent Quakers approved of men and women performing these kinds of prophecies. For instance, a letter by Fox in 1652 clearly shows that he approved of an instance of naked prophecy in Ulverson as a sign "amongst you before your destruction cometh" (quoted in BQ, p. 149; see Carroll, 1977, pp. 70-77).

In addition to identifying with the Apostles and the Prophets, Quakers also identified with the Christian martyrs. We indicated in our theoretical discussion that millenarian groups frequently make this kind of identification, and Quakerism repeats the general pattern.

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[11]Carroll, 1975, p. 314, cites: Is. 3:24; 15:3; 20:2; 22:12; 37:1-2; 50:3; Jer. 4:8; 6:26; 49:3; Ez. 7:18; 27:31; Jonah 3:5-6, 8; but especially Rev. 11:31.

Quakers felt a kinship with all persons through the ages who had been called "heretics", but who really had been persecuted for their faith in Christ. They identified with all those who had been "tortured, martyred and burned, whipped and imprisoned, to this day, who suffered for conscience sake, following the Lamb".[12]

In light of Quakers' identification with Old and New Testament figures, along with their expectation of Christ's imminent return, it is accurate to describe the Quaker orientation to time as one which was both historically mythical and linearly futuristic. Furthermore, Quakers saw the present era as an important period of transition as our theory predicted they would. The era would soon mark the end of Satan's rule on earth and the beginning of Christ's reign as paradisical King of all nations.

Inner Light and Biblical Allegory

We have already stated that when Quakers described their individual experiences of judgement and salvation, they used symbolic language borrowed from Revelations. However, they used an even wider range of Biblical imagery in their writings and in their interpretations of public and private events. Events had divine significance, and they determined what the significance of each was by seeing in it either symbols from the Bible or allegories of biblical stories.

Allegorical interpretation was common among the early Friends, many of whom were converts from floundering religious groups that held

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[12]James Nayler, An Answer to a Book Called the Quakers' Catechism Put out by Richard Baxter..., p. 12; quoted in EQW, p. 280.

doctrines which both allegorized biblical stories and internalized the coming of Christ as an event occurring within each person. Gerrard Winstanley, the articulate leader of the Diggers[13] who seems to have become a Quaker sometime after 1660,[14] believed the Bible to be "but a report of spiritual mysteries, held forth to the eye of flesh in words, but to be seen in the substantial matter of them by the eye of the spirit" (quoted in C. Hill, 1972, p. 143). Certainly many of the early Quaker converts were familiar with Winstanley's and the Diggers' doctrines, and at least twenty-two former Diggers became Quakers.[15] Fox also recruited from Familist[16] groups, and they, like the Diggers, conceived of the Bible as allegory, as well as maintained "that only the spirit of God within a believer can properly understand Scripture" (quoted in C. Hill, 1972, p. 27).

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[13]The Diggers, or True Levellers, were communities of land squatters, pushed onto common- or waste-lands as a result of land shortage, increased population, and poor causual labour opportunities during the 1648-1649 depression. Their political platform called for an end to private property, and for the establishment of a government that held as a primary objective the elimination of starvation. See C. Hill, 1972, pp. 107-150; especially p. 136; Berens; Sabine. On the close religious affinities, despite political differences, between Winstanley and Fox, see Sabine's introduction, especially pp. 33-34.

[14]Vann, 1959, p. 44.

[15]However, "Diggers did not move en bloc into the ranks of Friends. Of 80 names appended to Digger pamphlets or involved in legal proceedings, only 22 can be found among Friends" (Vann, 1962, p. 68).

[16]The Familists, or Family of Love, "believed that man and woman might recapture on earth the state of innocence which existed before the Fall....They held property in common, believed that all things come by nature, and that only the spirit of God within the believer can properly understand Scripture. They turned the Bible into allegories, even the fall of Man complained one contemporary....They believed in the principle that ministers should be itinerants like the Apostles" (C. Hill, 1972, p. 27); see Troeltsch, II, pp. 772-773.

Quakers, like other Sectarians, believed that they had direct inward experience of God as Christ appearing in their souls, and thereby needed no mediating priest to facilitate this inner knowledge. This use of allegory regarding Christ's life distinguishes Quaker writers from the Puritan authors of the day who instead allegorized the Song of Songs (see Nuttall, 1975, pp. 21ff.; Ball, pp. 239-242). For Quakers, Puritan eschatology was to become realized in the hearts of all persons. "'All', says Fox, 'must first know the voice crying in the wilderness in their hearts'" (quoted in Nuttall, 1975, p. 528).

Quaker allegory extended beyond the internalization of the life of Christ; symbolic biblical imagery pervades their writings. For instance, in their spiritual autobiographies, feelings contrary to the seed of God within them were described as "'the power of the serpent'" or a "'flaming sword [Gen. 3.24] barring the way to the Tree of Life [gen. 2.9; 3.22, 24]'" (quoted in Watkins, p. 214). Most early Quakers spoke of the final struggle of the conversion/enlightenment process in terms borrowed from Revelations (e.g., "'the fall of the spiritual Babylon in the heart of the Harlot'" [quoted in Watkins, p. 215]). Another allegory Quakers frequently used when writing about their conversions was "'leaving the slavery in Egypt and traveling to the Promised Land'" (quoted in Watkins, p. 167).[17] What was thereby attained by this conversion was the state of innocence in Christ Jesus that Adam possessed before he fell (BQ, p. 38; Nickalls, Journal, p. 27]. After Quakers attained this original innocence, they felt

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[17]See the discussion of Francis Howgill's 1655/6 tract, The Inheritance of Jacob Discovered, After His Return Out of Egypt, in supra, "Quakers and the Millennium".

eternally freed from the very roots of sin, and began to wage the Lamb's War (see Rev. 17.14) in God's name. This war was "with the god of this world" (i.e., Satan; [see Matt. 4.8]), particularly "with spiritual wickedness exalted in the hearts of men and women, where God alone should be...[see Rom. 1.29]".[18]

As did more traditional Puritan writers of the age, Quakers frequently wailed against the antichrists, a biblical set of figures found in 1 John 2.17 and 22; 4.3, and 2 John 7. While Quakers identified the antichrists as both hireling ministers of the state church congregations and various other opponents, the charge was hurled back against them, as well as against the other sectarian movements and the prophets of the time (in addition to the traditional enemy--the Catholic Church, the Pope, and the Jesuits).

These numerous examples of allegorism demonstrate that Quakers used allegorical interpretations of scripture to infuse personal and social events with divine significance. Their use of allegory was the interpretive means by which they situated contemporary events within the framework of their sacred texts. Allegorical interpretations of events allowed them to believe that they were living in a sacred time (the period immediately prior to Christ's return) and a sacred place (England, the New Jerusalem, where Christ would first appear). Furthermore, their allegorization of Christ allowed them to view important aspects of his life as both historical events and personalized experiences. Thus, allegorization was the literary

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[18] James Nayler, The Lamb's War Against the Man of Sin, (1658), n. pag.; quoted in EQW, pp. 105, 106.

and cognitive tool by which Friends helped build their community identity (supra, Chapter 2, "The Role of Millenarian Ideas in the Formation of Community Identity") as well as rebuild their personal identities (supra, Chapter 2, "Conversion to a Millenarian Group"; "Resocialization and Commitment").

Relative Deprivation Theory and the Origins of Quakerism

Having adjusted Morrison's relative deprivation description so that it is applicable to millenarian movements (supra, Chapter One: "Relative Deprivation--A Fresh Approach"), we can place certain aspects of Quaker origins within the framework of theory. Social historians can identify some of the groups and social classes[19] from which the early Quakers recruited, and a modified version of Morrison's relative deprivation theory complements this research by clarifying the types of deprivations that might have stimulated these persons to become Friends. We will proceed by identifying some of the groups from which early Quakers gained considerable members, and then describe the deprivations they might have felt that could have stimulated them to join.

[19]The most thorough study of the class origins of early Friends appears in Richard T. Vann, The Social Development of English Quakerism 1655-1755 (Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 1969), pp. 47-87. Others include: Richard T. Vann, "Quakers and the Social Structure in the Interregnum", Past and Present 43 (May, 1969), pp. 71-91; W. Alan Cole, "The Quakers and the English Revolution", Past and Present 10, (November, 1956), pp. 39-54; Judith Jones Hurwich, "Debate: The Social Origins of the Early Quakers", Past and Present 48 (August, 1970), pp. 156-162; Vann's reply to Hurwich in "Rejoinder" [to: "Debate: The Social Origins of the Early Quakers"], Past and Present 48 (August, 1970), pp. 62-64. While these studies agree that early Friends contained few if any members from the highest or the lowest social classes, they disagree over the amount of involvement of the gentry, artisans, and yeomen. Each of the researchers studies a different area of England, and each uses a different methodology. Therefore, their conclusions are not directly comparable.

The Levellers and the New Model Army

One group from which the Quakers recruited members was the parliamentary army. Much of the army was composed of the "common people" (see C. Hill, 1972, p. 25), and large numbers of them, especially officers and cavalry, were volunteers. The common people usually were Baptists,[20] Congregational Independents, or Sectarians,[21] and they quickly developed a socio-political consciousness under the direction

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[20]The term "Baptist" refers to two related groups, both of whose origins were English, and a third group, better known as the Anabaptists (see footnote 26). The General Baptists began around 1612, and in 1614 published the first plea for freedom of conscience. They disputed the Calvinist notion of predestination, believing in a more universal salvability. The Particular or Calvinist Baptists arose around 1616. "They desired complete separation of Church and State, and a wide religious toleration, and greatly expanded the rights, privileges, and functions of the laity, even to the allowance of women-preachers. They opposed tithes and 'hireling ministry', and had their itenerant 'messengers of the Churches.' Denne, the most powerful preacher among the General Baptists, advocated the doctrine of the Inner Light in The Drag-net, etc., a book published in 1646, before Fox had begun his public preaching" (BQ, p. 12). The General Baptists seemed to have contributed significantly to the ranks of the Quakers (Brailsford, p. 638). In addition to these two groups, the term "Baptists" was loosely applied to the Anabaptists as well, probably because all three groups held the doctrine that only believing adults of moral integrity (and not children) should be baptized into the Church. All three groups based their belief in adult Baptism upon Scripture.

[21]The Sectaries or Sectarians is an inclusive term covering many different groups. Their common element was their insistence that religious worship be a voluntary activity among autonomous churches separate from state control. They were against any national religion maintained by the government. Therefore, they consistently clamoured for the abolition of tithes (Cook, p. 337; see C. Hill, 1972, p. 72). Quakers were the most prominent Sectarian group of the 1650's. See post, "Relative Deprivation and the Origins of Quakerism: The Sectarians".

of the Levellers.[22] By May, 1647 the Levellers probably had become the dominant force among them (Shaw, p. 50). Even though the Levellers were essentially destroyed as an organized movement two years later when Cromwell put down the mutinied Leveller forces at Burford, their politically volatile ideas lived on in the hearts of men and women across the land.

Quakers increased in numbers soon after the Levellers declined in strength. Little doubt exists that Quakers benefitted, both doctrinally and numerically, from their decline. Throughout the second civil war, Levellers had been influencial in the political debates, and at the end of 1648 it seemed that they were in a position to institute their

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[22]The Levellers were a political and religious group, perhaps 10,000 strong in late 1640's London, that attained much prominence in the New Model Army. Mostly religious Independents and Sectarians, they opposed a national church, instead wanting to select their own ministers and actively participate in the affairs of their own congregations. These religious ideas had their political counterparts, and it is for these that they are most remembered. Their name comes from their wish to obliterate, to level, class distinctions. They called for a biennial Parliament elected by a common vote of all free-born men at least twenty-one years of age, not just by the propertied classes who owned at least forty shillings of freehold land. Philosophically, they contended that social law, political bodies, and sovereignty attained legitimacy only by the people's consent. These ideas became the basis for widespread discussion among the common soldeirs, who, by May, 1647, had elected representatives (known as "agitators") to an army council so that they could press for their beliefs. When the Presbyterian-dominated Long Parliament tried to disband, under very unsatisfactory terms, the Independent and Sectarian New Model Army, the soldiers mutinied under Leveller direction, and the officers reluctantly joined their men. For the first time in their lives, the common people had some say in their political destinies. However, over the next two years their political power peaked, then waned, and, ultimately, they were unsuccessful in implementing their levelling policies in either the army or the country. Several Leveller mutinies occurred, but their crushing defeat at Burford on May 14, 1649, marked the end to any semblance of an organized movement. Their most prominent Leader, John Lilburne, converted to Quakerism in 1655. See Shaw; C. Hill, 1972, pp. 69-70.

radical political and religious demands (Shaw, pp. 73-75). However, they were outmaneuvered by the Grandees, the army officers, and by the end of 1649 they suffered a series of political defeats, many at the hands of Cromwell, from which they could never recover. Having once been a powerful political force, the Levellers deteriorated into a shattered and disorganized party.

The same man who had lead the opposition to the Levellers--Cromwell--was soon to assume leadership of the country. Any opportunities the common people might have had for obtaining a voice in the emerging social arrangement were dashed. As a consequence of a rapidly changing social environment in which the common people could not hope to realize any direct political or social power, many turned to biblical prophecy, longing to be saved by God. For some, the Quaker doctrine of the Inner Light served this salvific, religious function (Brailsford, pp. 637-640).[23] For others, the charged millennialism (and reformist hopes) fo the Fifth Monarcy Men[24] were more akin to their revolutionary

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[23]See the excerpts from the letter, now in the British Museum (Press Mark 4152 b.b. 109), addressed "To the Generals and Captains, Officers, and Soldiers of this present Army. The Just and Equal Appeal, and the state of the Innocent Cause of us, who are now persecuted amongst our Brethren under the name of Quakers.", cited in Berens, p. 85. Berens approximates the date of the letter to be at the time of, or a little later than, Winstanley's 1649 tract, A Declaration of the Well-Affected in the County of Buckinghamshire. The copy of the tract that Sabine reprinted in his book had been assigned the date "May 10" (see pp. 641-647). Interestingly, Braithwaite, 1971, p. 142, claims that the term "Quakers" was not applied to the "Children of Light" until 1650, but the term appears in the letter that Berens cites, and which he appears to be dating in 1649.

[24]The Fifth Monarchy Men saw themselves as the establishers of God's reign on earth as prophesied in Dan. 2:44: "and in the days of these kings shall the God of Heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed: and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand forever". To them, God's reign meant Christ's 1,000 year rule, as

demands (Brailsford, pp. 632-637; but see Capp, p. 230).

Because the Levellers experienced a sudden deterioration in their political opportunities, we can speak of the deprivation they felt as "decremental", in which opportunities declined faster than aspirations. In response to it, some Levellers and their sympathizers became Friends (see BQ, p. 228, et al.). Richard T. Vann (1969b, p. 14) has identified 95 early Quakers who had been in the parliamentary army, but certainly there were even more about which we can never know. Yet, we do know that some of them, such as George Fox the Younger, had been Levellers, and John Lilburne, the Levellers' vociferous (and in the end, tragic) leader, converted to Quakerism in 1655.

Using the terms of our relative deprivation theory, the members of the Sectarian groups experienced aspirational deprivation, beginning after Charles's defeat in the first civil war and lasting through the first years of the Restoration. Although the Sectarians hoped that the

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24 (cont.) predicted in Rev. For the most part this group was peaceful, but it is remembered for its radical element. Fifth Monarchists were a small but radical (and vocal) minority in the Barebones' Parliament (sometimes called the Nominated or Little Parliament) of July-December, 1653. The Monarchists were efficient and well-organized, and their continued efforts to initiate the removal of unqualified ministers caused the majority members to dissolve the assembly and turn its powers over to Cromwell. By July, 1656 radical elements were brewing the overthrow of Cromwell's government, which they considered to be Babylon (Rev. 14:8; 16:29; 17:5; 18:10). The major plot, led by Thomas Venner, was uncovered on April 9, 1657. Cromwell dealt with the instigators leniently, imprisoning but not executing them. Venner was released in February, 1658/9, and soon he and his colleagues were busy plotting again. On the Feast of the Epiphany, January 6, 1660/1, he and perhaps fifty persons attempted a military overthrow of Charles II. When it was over, three days later, 22 insurgents and 22 soldiers lay dead, and 20 Fifth Monarchists, including Venner, were badly wounded. Venner and 16 other conspirators subsequently were executed. See Capp; Lewy, pp. 130-155.

overthrow of Charles I's Anglican monarchy would lead to greater religious toleration, their aspirations continued to be frustrated. Even during the three years of Congregational Independents' influence (1653-1657) when religious toleration reached its peak, their own existence was threatened by possible uniformity oaths and burdened by continued tithe payment. Nonetheless, they maintained their hope for religious toleration, but did so at the expense of social acceptance by much of the Puritan community. For instance, many Puritans saw their "lack of distinction between laymen and ministers" as "potentially subversive" (QPE, pp. 14-15) because it challenged the state's authority to control religious practice. Furthermore, women's prominent participation in Sectarian groups touched off years of hot debates among other Puritans concerning the Christian legitimacy of feminine spirituality (Thomas, pp. 326-335). The staunchness with which Sectarians maintained their beliefs put them at a "crucial point in the opportunity structure" (Morrison, p. 680; [supra, Chapter One: "Relative Deprivation --A Fresh Approach]), distinguished them from other Puritan groups, and opened them to persecution and social ostracism. Upon converting, former Levellers deemphasized some of their specific, but now unrealistic, political demands, yet maintained strong protests against both a state church and a pervasive social inequality. Their conversions allowed them to continue certain kinds of social protests by sacralizing them, so that they now performed them as demands of God.

The Quaker's opponents--justices of the peace, state-supported ministers, sheriffs, army officers, etc.--cared little that Friends claimed their protests were divinely ordered, and they saw their actions only as social insubordination, disrespect, disruption, and even

insurrection. For instance, it was Quakers' protest against the status position of the army officers, not Friends' reputedly pacifistic principles, that explains why so many of them were dismissed from the army during the 1650's (BQ, p. 219: Cole, p. 42: C. Hill, 1972, p. 241; EQW, p. 408). Their behaviour in the army smacked of the Levellers' doctrines. Furthermore, when, in 1657, the politically active Quaker leader, Edward Burrough, attempted to write a systematic statement of the Quaker faith, the political tenets he espoused concerning Parliament were in complete accord with Leveller aspirations.[25]

We are arguing here that converting to the millenarian Quakers allowed some persons to continue practicing certain aspects of their former political and religious beliefs. Conversion did not require that converts make complete breaks with the past (See Vann, 1969b, pp. 26-27]. Rather, in part it involved transforming some political aspirations into religious obligations. In the process of sanctifying the aspirations into obligations, certain specific goals that persons previously had held now lost some of their intensity. However, the imminent return of Jesus would correct the evils that they had been combatting through their political aspirations.

We are making an important qualification to our millenarian theory by claiming that, through the process of conversion, persons can sanctify aspects of their past rather than completely negate them.

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[25]Burrough, Declaration to All the World of Our Faith (1657): "And we believe that the executors of the law ought to be just men,... and ought to be chosen every year or otherwise, by the consent of the people; and that no man be stopped of his free choice. And we believe that all governors and rulers ought to be accountable to the people... (pp. 5-6; quoted in EQW, p. 302).

Our theoretical discussion had stressed the renunciations involved in conversion--material and symbolic abandonments, severing old familial ties, etc. All these claims can be certified by examples from the lives of many of the early Friends. However, conversion need not involve persons completely negating their past; rather, it can involve them achieving a new synthesis of ideas, many of which they had held previously. Levellers or their sympathizers who became Friends underwent conversions that involved processes of synthesis, in addition to whatever abandonments they had to perform.

The Sectarians

In addition to the early Quaker recruitment successes among the soldiers and veterans, each of whom was familiar with Leveller doctrines, early Friends drew large numbers of converts from various Sectarian groups. Sectarian groups were scattered throughout the land, and Quakerism had its first successes among the ones situated in northern England (QPE, p. 41; Martin, p. 66). In 1654 the Quaker mission spread southward and was successful in a number of locations, particularly Bristol and London (BQ, chs. VIII and IX; C. Hill, 1972, pp. 74-75). No doubt, many of the Sectarians that the Quakers recruited were also army veterans.

The Sectarians throughout England shared characteristics which allow us to speak of them as a group. First and foremost, they strenuously opposed the continuation of mandatory tithe payment (Cook, p. 343), in which each man had to pay "one-tenth of his produce or his profits" to the government for maintenance of the state church system (C. Hill, 1961, p. 75). The Sectarians' opposition to the tithes

in part was based upon their resentment at having to financially support a national religion with which they disagreed. During Cromwell's reign, state support for parish churches was guaranteed by the ordinances of 1654 (Cook, p. 348).

A second characteristic of the Sectarian groups is closely related to the first. Their opposition to obligatory financial support of the civil religion complemented their opposition to the civil government's "control over the selection of ministers" (Cook, p. 343). During the Commonwealth this control also was ensured under the ordinances of 1654. The ordinances established a system of "triers" who decided which schoolmasters and ministers were fit to receive financial support, and "ejectors", who removed unfit ministers and schoolmasters (Cook, pp. 348-349). In contrast to the methods used by Cromwell's government the Sectarians, as well as some Congregational Independents, selected their own ministers whom they felt best represented their particular views. Understandably, they could not support a civil religious system whose ministers preached doctrines and dogmas that were unpalatable to them.

Third, most Sectarians opposed the imposition of a universal statement of fundamental religious belief. They believed that having to swear to such a statement would further curb religious freedom. Such required statements had a long and unsavory history, dating at least back to Henry VIII's insistence that his subjects swear allegiance to the supremacy of the King over the Pope. The Sectarians feared that the Congregational Independents would impose an analygous requirement, forcing all persons to swear agreement to certain religious principles. Undoubtedly, some of its principles would conflict with their

personal beliefs (Cook, p. 343). Indeed, for many sectarians such as the Anabaptists,[26] their personal beliefs required that they refuse to take any oaths.

Fourth, the Sectarians tended to emphasize "the spiritual equality of the two sexes", which was the logical extension of their belief in the "direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit". If women demonstrated their sanctity to a Sectarian group, they were accepted as full members in it (Thomas, p. 320). Not surprisingly, women numbered heavily in the Sectarian sects existing around the civil war (Thomas, pp. 320-327), probably because they could not participate in Presbyterian, Anglican, or other major denominations except as church attenders (see Thomas, pp. 330-331). In contrast, numerous Congregational Independent and Baptist congregations allowed women

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[26]The term "Anabaptism" refers more to common tendencies within as many as forty different German sects than it does to any one group. Generally, their doctrines include: (1) the ideal of a communistic community of goods; (2) mutual aid among members; (3) minimal social contact with non-members; (4) avoiding the state as much as possible; (5) obeying the state except when its demands contradict personal conscience or faith; (6) refusing to take up arms for the state; and (7) rebaptizing adults, symbolizing their entrance into the community and their separation from the world. Most Anabaptists were peaceful, but its revolutionary exceptions turned the title "Anabaptist" into a label of odium, one that elicited widespread fear. Many of its sects were messianic, and were especially excitable regarding communal land ownership. Radical Anabaptism had its history of unsuccessful revolts, and (especially pacifistic) Anabaptism had its share of brutal persecutions. Its most well known messianic revolutionary was John of Leyden (i.e., Jan Bockelson), who controlled the town of Münster along with its 10,000 inhabitants for over a year (1534-1535). The orchestrator of the Peasants' Revolt of 1535, Thomas Münster, often is called an Anabaptist, although he never actually referred to himself as one. Existing Anabaptist groups, all pacifistic, include the Mennonites, Amish, Brethren, Hutterites, and Bruderhof. On Anabaptism, see Cohn, pp. 252-280; on Thomas Münster, see Cohn, pp. 234-251.

preachers (Thomas, pp. 324). Furthermore, women had been prominent in the civilian activities of the Levellers (Shaw, p. 84), and were active in the Fifth Monarchists as well (Capp, p. 82).

Quakers continued the Sectarian tradition of allowing extensive female participation in its activities, and justified the practice through references to Scripture (Sewell, II, pp. 416-417). Women played prominent roles in the movement, and found many opportunities for increasing their prestige (supra, Chapter Two: "Status and Structure"). Eight of the first sixty or so Quaker preachers (i.e., "the Valiant Sixty") were women (see Raistrick, pp. 28-29), and "'women were the first to preach the principles of Quakerism in London, in the English universities, and in the American Colonies', as also in Dublin and Cork" (Nuttall, 1946, p. 87, quoting Penney, Journal II, pp. 463-464).[27] The most famous early Quaker woman was Margaret Fell, whose functional leadership was indespensible to the fledging movement (BQ, pp. 134-135, et al.; post, "Leadership").

Although women's participation in early Quakerism probably surpassed that of any other religious body in 1650's England (Nuttall, 1946, p. 87), their direct involvement in church government did not occur until after Fox's efforts to establish Women's Meetings in late spring, 1671 (SPQ, p. 273). Even then the efforts met with resistance, and women still had not realized full disciplinary capacities by the beginning of the eighteenth century (Thomas, p. 325). Nonetheless, for women in Cromwell's time whose religious yearnings or social talents took them among the Sectarians and gathered churches, Quakerism

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[27] On Elizabeth Fletcher, the first Quaker preacher to sermonize in Dublin and Cork, see Penney, Journal II, p. 470, n. 326 16.

offered a unique set of opportunities to experience an equality unparalleled in the rest of society.

Even though the opportunities for equality were unparalleled, they still might fall short of an ideal by which people of our time measure such things. Nonetheless, it is at least true that women were the spiritual equals of men even if they were not entirely their social equals. All Quakers, men and women, had gone through eternal judgement, and all now lived in eternal salvation. They were freed from the burdens and uncertainties of Puritan predestination, yet still acted within the confines of a strict Puritan morality. Quakers had a certainty about their salvation that was appealing to the religious Sectarians (Vann, 1969b, p. 26), and many important Friends were recruited from their ranks, especially from the Baptists (Vann, 1969b, pp. 24-25). It is no accident that George Fox's first converts came from a Baptist group that was under the spiritual leadership of a woman, Elizabeth Hooten, who went on in Quakerism to distinguish herself in her own right.[28]

Conversion, Resocialization, and Commitment

Earlier in this chapter we discussed how particular allegorical interpretations of the Bible related to the Quakers' Lambs' War, a struggle designed to prepare the world for Christ's return by destroying the root of sin within the hearts of all who would accept their message (supra, "Quakers' Orientation to Time" and "Inner Light and Biblical Allegory"). As a religious group whose primary response to the world

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[28]See Penney, Journal, II, p. 463.

was conversionistic, Quakers' mission was to convince all persons to adopt their views. They undertook their mission with zeal, and waged their conversionist war using a number of tactics.

One of their most effective conversion tactics was their preaching (see QPE, pp. 41-51; EQW, pp. 78-79; BQ, pp. 89-90), which took many forms. Some of the more common forms included challenging the state-supported ministers after (and sometimes during) their sermons, speaking in private houses to interested people, and organizing and addressing large meetings in open fields or public places (BQ, pp. 133, 167, 374). Sometimes they even preached and prophesied through the streets.

Their most effective preachers usually were travelling ministers, men (and on occasion, women) who were given official approval by a local meeting to travel about, spreading the Quaker message and visiting among Friends. Their primary goals were to nurture established Quaker meetings, and convert people to the movement. Around their conversionist efforts they developed particular strategies, no doubt learning from their own and others' experiences. For instance, if travelling ministers were able to convert even a few people in each area, they would use them as a core group for further efforts in the community. They were particularly eager to convert persons of wealth, because such persons could both provide lodging for other travelling ministers, and use their influence to minimize persecution against the converts. From these initially small groups the movement could spread outward, provided that the core groups were continually nurtured and guided by the ministers themselves. Eventually many travelling ministers had to limit their widespread preaching and either return to nurse the seeds they had already sown in these core groups, or else send epistles

of care and direction to them (QPE, pp. 45-46; 52-53; Vann, 1969b, pp. 9, 14; EQW, pp. 486-491).

It seems that travelling ministers in part accepted the very status hierarchy against which they usually protested, even if they did so for practical reasons (supra, Chapter Two: "Proselytizing and Recruitment"). Although it is true that the conversion of wealthy or influential persons in the community gave an important financial and power base to the movement, some of the recruiters also may have undertaken their efforts to convert the rich and influential because their membership would have significantly enhanced the image of the group. This fact may help explain Quakers' persistent efforts to convert Cromwell (see Sewell I, pp. 135-136, 214-218; EQW, pp. 382, 384, 408).

In addition to Quakers' proselytizing efforts through preaching, another popular tactic among the early Friends was to engage noted Puritans in public debates. Sometimes these debates were contests of verbal acumen, yet fierce debates raged as well on the printed page. By the end of 1662, Friends had published at least 1446 works totalling over 4100 pages of print, and at least 265 of the works involved disputes with the Puritans, Episcopalians, Baptists, and Roman Catholics (EQW, pp. 568-569). Barbour indicates that "out of the 150 authors who wrote against Quakerism between 1653-1660, only 6 went without an answer" (QPE, p. 53).

In these written debates, Friends occasionally used some forms of scholarship and higher learning. Generally, most Friends felt that scholarship was at best useless, and at worst hindering, distracting, and prideful, for people trying to know the true meaning of Scripture. Repentance, not learnedness, was the only way. However, a few Quakers

were well-educated, and they used their erudition in their writings to further Quaker principles. For instance, Samuel Fisher was a Quaker who had a Master's degree from Oxford. He knew Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, and by using them he was able to challenge some of the leading Puritan ministers of his day (including the influencial Congregational Independent, John Owen), on their assertion that the Scriptures were the true authority of faith. Fisher asked questions concerning the validity of manuscripts versus translations, the relationship of apocryphal writings to the accepted Scriptures, and the possibility of Gospel writers having borrowed from each other. He, more than any other Friend, understood some of the technical problems regarding textual reliability and authenticity (BQ, pp. 288-294; EQW, pp. 304-314). But the most striking example of Quakers valuing scholarship in their printed debates was one in which Fox himself had a hand. In an elaborately constructed grammar book published in 1660, the unschooled Fox and two other Quakers (both of whom had university training) justified the use of the pronoun "thou" instead of "you" by citing examples from thirty-five languages. The languages included Coptic, Armenian, Arabic, Portuguese, Hebrew, German, Polish, Irish, Persian, Aethiopic, plus twenty-five others (BQ, pp. 496-499; QPE, p. 154; Wright, pp. 139-140).

Through preaching, public debates, and various kinds of writings, (proclamation tracts, epistles, doctrinal statements, etc.), Quakers waged the Lamb's War. Their goal was nothing less than the conversion of the world. However, as our earlier theoretical discussion indicated, the decision to convert to a millenarian group such as the Quakers often was not an easy one for people to make. Even though millenarian

doctrines provide persons with divine justification for making intense commitments (supra, Chapter Two: "The Role of Millenarian Ideas in the Formation of Community Identity" and "Conversion to a Millenarian Group"), social and familial ties, coupled with the perception of probably persecution, can offset the attractiveness group membership might hold for a potential convert. In the face of competing interests a group must attract converts, and then make sure that the converts will not renege upon their commitments after the initial enthusiasm wears off.

Part of Quakerism's attractiveness, despite the hardships converts experienced, stemmed from the salient issues its doctrines addressed. Its ideology provided a religious justification by which people could protest a pervasive social inequality. Quakers' dress, manner of speech involvement of women, etc., all have protest significance (supra, "Relative Deprivation Theory and the Origins of Quakerism: The Levellers"). In addition, its unique theology offered persons an escape from the heavy burden Puritans placed on themselves concerning their own sinfulness. Quakers believed that persons were permanently freed from evil as soon as they allowed their lives to be governed by the Inner Light (Nuttall, 1946, pp. 157-158).

Undoubtedly Quaker doctrines were attractive on both political and religious grounds, and many persons must have joined the movement because of them. After having joined, they often enhanced their commitments by engaging in activities that reinforced their doctrinal beliefs. Some of the most striking examples involved converts and other members engaging in collective abandonments of objects which had both material and symbolic meaning for them as well as for the movement itself

(supra, Chapter Two: "Conversion to a Millenarian Group", and "Resocialization and Commitment"). For instance, in the Yorkshire twon of Malton in October, 1652, Quaker men "burnt their ribbons, silks, and other fine commodities, 'because they might be abashed by pride'" (quoted in BQ, pp. 71-72; see QPE, p. 44). Other less dramatic instances exist where large numbers of people were moved to cast off their finery (see BQ, pp. 166, 169 et al.). Similarly, some Quaker converts whose occupations involved clothing or furnishings abandoned certain kinds of products or services in order to bring their occupations more in line with their new beliefs (Raistrick, p. 41). The most dramatic instance of Friends engaging in a collective abandonment that was charged with symbolic significance occurred in Kent in 1657, during which Quakers burned their bibles. Apparently they felt they knew within their hearts the Light that was spoken about in Scripture, and therefore had no more need for the written word (QPE, pp. 158-159). All these abandonments, charged as they were with both symbolic and material significance, strengthened converts' commitments to Quakerism by increasing thei emotional investments in both the group's doctrines and the group's success.

In addition to the abandonments, another collective opportunity Quakerism offered converts was a group setting in which to release pent-up emotional, if not religious, anxiety (see Chapter Two: "Psychopathology"). For instance, Charles Marshall of Bristol, who was convinced in 1654, wrote jubilantly, "'Ah! the seizings of Souls, the pricklings at heart, which attended that season; some fell on the Ground, others crying out the sense of opening their States...".[29]

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[29]Probably quoted from The Memory of the Righteous Revived (1689), in Vann, 1969b, p. 37.

Emotional demonstrations like this were common, even expected, as people struggled with, and then gained freedom from, the power of sin. In fact, it was from these displays of emotional exuberance that the name "Quakers" was derived. Robert Barclay, the famous Quaker theologian, described, in 1678, the connection between the emotional releases and the name in this way:

> ...sometimes the power of God will break forth into a whole meeting, and there will be such an inward travail, while each is seeking to overcome the evil in themselves, that...trembling and a motion of body will be upon most, if not upon all, which, as the power of truth prevails, will from pangs and groans end with a sweet sound of thanksgiving and praise. And from this the name of Quakers, i.e., Tremblers was first reproachfully cast upon us; which though it be none of our choosing, yet in this respect we are not ashamed of it but have reason to rejoice....[30]

The attractiveness of Quaker doctrines, the collective abandonments of material and symbolic objects, and the provisions for emotional releases all helped bind the converts to the group. Yet the Quakers themselves realized how difficult it was for people to make the total commitment demanded of them. Therefore, Quakers distinguished between those who were merely "convinced" and those who were truly "converted". The convinced persons were those who only made adjustments in their thinking or judgements, but stopped short of total commitment. In contrast, the truly converted persons knew the Inner Light within their hearts, and acted according to it in all aspects of their lives (Vann, 1969b, pp. 39-41). While conversions

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[30]Robert Barclay, An Apology for the True Christian Divinity ...of the People Called Quakers (1678; rpt., Philadelphia: Kimber, Conrad, & Co., 1805), Proposition 11, para. 8, cited in BQ, p. 36.

may have occurred as sudden experiences, the body of Quakers only accepted converts after a period of time (but one having no prescribed duration), during which they had to prove themselves through the quality of their lives. This trial period for Quaker converts is important to note because it has theoretical consequences. It helps substantiate Weber's claim that "there existed a period of probation" among all sects (Weber, 1976, p. 317; cited in Vann, 1969b, p. 45).

The social consequences for persons converting to Quakerism were extremely demanding (post, "Persecution"), and the consequences were even more severe for those who became the travelling ministers who spearheaded the conversionist efforts. One of the more taxing consequences for them was that they were separated from their families for months, sometimes years, at a time (See Brayshaw, p. 155). In addition to the economic hardships that continual travel placed on these ministers, the wives, who were usually left behind, were put under great hardships as well. Many of them had to struggle to survive on restricted incomes and were burdened with added responsibilities for maintaining the household and the family (Wright, pp. 184-186). No doubt it was because of both these hardships and periods of long separations that the wife of Miles Halhead lamented, "'Would to God I had married a drunkard, then I might have found him at the ale-house; but now I cannot tell where to find my husband'".[31]

Gradually Quakers suffered the dilemma that all millenarian groups face--their proclaimed worldly millennium never materialized

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[31]Probably quoted from Miles Halhead's autobiography, Book of Some Sufferings (1690), cited in Sewell, I, p. 103.

(supra, Chapter Two: "Prophecy: Confirmations, Disconfirmations, and Nonconfirmations"). In addition to the stress caused by the non-confirmation of their worldly millenarian claims, many Friends saw in Nayler's near-blasphemous ride an apprent disconfirmation of their realized eschatology (see QPE, pp. 64-65). They felt that such an act only could have been committed by one possessed by sin, yet they had been maintaining that conversion to Quaker doctrines provided eternal salvation by eliminating the very root of evil (BQ, p. 271). Nayler's actions had brought disgrace to the entire movement, and as a result Quaker proselytizing in England dropped off sharply (QPE, p. 66).

Structural Responses to Organizational Needs

Our theory suggests that, for a group to continue, it must make several kinds of basic decisions that determine how it is to function. Many of these decisions directly involve questions concerning membership in the group, but all of them are interrelated. Specifically concerning questions of membership, the group must decide how it is going to recruit new members, how it will accept them into the group after they have been recruited, and how it will discipline them (and the older members as well). Similarly, the group must decide how group meetings are to be organized and controlled. In addition to these questions, the group must also decide upon related ones, such as how its teachings are to be disseminated, how it is to handle financial matters, and how it will regulate its involvement with external authorities (i.e., representatives of the polity, the established religions, etc.).

During the era we are studying, Quakers were evolving their formal organizational structure, and much of it had yet to solidify.

Nonetheless, some of the organizational decisions the group made were of great importance, not only for Quakers' immediate concerns, but also for future issues they were to address. Among the most important organizational decisions the group made involved the formation of the Kendal Fund, beginning in early June, 1654 (BQ, pp. 135-137; EQW, pp. 474-476). Margaret Fell was instrumental in both its creation and its direction, as she and others tried to respond to the economic and material hardships travelling ministers and Quaker prisoners experienced. For 40 months, Fell was in the forefront of efforts to collect money from Friends, which was then used to buy such items as clothes for the ministers to wear and books for them to distribute. As well, money was used to buy supplies for prisoners, since, at least under ideal conditions, they could receive food and clothing, books, and even tools while they were serving their sentences (QPE, p. 229). Eventually the money-collection system developed into a national effort requiring extensive organization and coordination (BQ, pp. 317-321). For the entire period, some £ 270 were collected and dispersed (BQ, p. 217).

The Kendal Fund is the best example of Quakers making decisions about issues that were key to their survival. They had seen the financial difficulties of their travelling ministers, and they responded to them. But the response was more than just altruistic, since ministers performed crucial functions that the group needed to maintain. They recruited new members, disseminated the group's teachings, and controlled the newly formed "core" groups in local communities of recently convinced and converted persons.

Specifically regarding efforts to control its members, one

other development from this period is worth noting. It involved the selection of reliable persons in different geographical areas who were given the authority to call and control meetings. By the end of 1652, Quakers were establishing General Meetings for Friends, which were regular gatherings of Quakers from particular local districts. These General Meetings were organized and managed by responsible persons living in the area, and who were chosen from each local meeting. Among their duties were instructions to, as William Braithwate says, "see that those who came among Friends walked orderly", and "to deal plainly" with any who did not (BQ, p. 141, pp. 140-144). These persons came to be known as "elders", and to this day persons with this title serve important counseling and disciplinary functions within the Society.

In cases where Elders met with unacceptable deviance among the members, their responses varied according to the incidents. For minor cases, Elders simply spoke to the person or persons involved. But if Elders considered the deviance to be more severe, they responded to it with more drastic measures. Such a drastic response occurred in the summer of 1655, when a Quaker minister, Christopher Atkinson, corrupted himself in Friends' eyes by "committing lewdness" with a maid-servant who was imprisoned with him in the Norwich jail (supra, Chapter Two: "Proselytizing and Recruitment"). Having violated Quakers' strict moral discipline, Friends first made him renounce and condemn his action, and then disowned him because he was a "filty spirit" (Vann, 1969b, p. 18; EQW, p. 581; BQ, pp. 164-165). By doing so, the Quakers were establishing a precedent for responding to deviance within their ranks. The response involved disowning the act, and sometimes, as in this occasion, disownment of the person as well (EQW, pp. 471-473, 481-485).

Leadership

Within millenarian movements, our theory distinguishes between functional and symbolic leaders. Both kinds of leaders have a status higher than regular members, although the sources of their status are different for each. Functional leaders gain their status by their perceived skill at performing tasks for the group. Symbolic leaders gain their status by their perceived proximity to the central foci of group meaning. Often one person can serve both functions, since these functions can be complementary.

In addition to distinguishing between functional and symbolic leaders, our theory has further noted that functional leadership can be of two types. One type of functional leader deals with the tasks necessary for the internal functioning of the group. Such internal tasks usually include group maintenance activities, resocialization efforts, monetary disbursement, property management, and deviance control. The other type of functional leader deals with tasks necessary for the external functioning of the group. These external tasks usually include proselytization and recruitment, and relations with civil and religious authorities. As was possible with symbolic and functional leadership, one person can fulfill internally functional leadership roles and externally functional leadership roles within the same group. This is most true during the group's early stages, less true as the group ages.

In Quakerism, certain people exhibited several different kinds of leadership, and were considered to be leaders by most group members. For instance, throughout his career, George Fox served not only as a symbolic leader for the group, but also as an internally functional

and an externally functional one as well (see BQ, pp. 237-239). But many other early Quaker leaders seemed to distinguish themselves by performing special leadership tasks, and because they did we can place them within the various types of leadership descriptions our theory provides.

Symbolic Leadership

Perhaps the clearest example of a symbolic leader among the early Friends is the tragic James Parnell (Sewell I, pp. 145-149; BQ, pp. 188-193). Convinced to Friends' doctrines when he was 15 or 16, he soon began an active preaching campaign, especially in Essex county. Imprisoned "for contempt of the magistracy and the ministry" (BQ, p. 190) in July, 1655, he was to die in jail about eleven months later, having suffered shocking prison conditions which caused him to sustain severe injuries through a fall in his cell. He became the first Quaker preacher to die in jail, and perhaps only the second Friend to lose his life in prison. The circumstances of his death became the topic of a small tract controversy between Friends and the jailers (BQ, p. 192; Penney, Journal I, p. 419).

But more important for our purposes was the eulogy[32] Stephen Crisp wrote about him in 1662 (see EQW, pp. 163-164). This eulogy, in large part written to praise Parnell's exemplary behaviour while suffering great hardship, appeared at a time when increasingly large numbers of Quakers were suffering imprisonment for their beliefs.

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[32]Stephen Crisp's Testimony Concerning James Parnell, quoted in EQW, p. 166.

Under these circumstances, Parnell's life among Friends, and his death for his beliefs, became a model for other Quakers to follow, since his life had been one devoted to convincing people to accept "'the light of Jesus'". He had been a model to others in this regard: "'the wisdom, power, and patience of Christ appeared very gloriously'" through the example he set. By this example, as well as by his preaching and his skillful disputations, he convinced many persons, even though some became "'hardened and rebelled against the appearance of Truth, and became enemies'". Before long, enemies such as these would cause his death.

When he finally was arrested and imprisoned, he remained "'in great self-denial and carefulness'", even continuing to be "'truly watchful over the flock of God'" that he had convinced throughout the country. But the conditions of the prison, compounded by the cruelty of his jailer and jailer's wife, proved too much. "'And at last, having passed through many trials and exercises, both inward and outward and fulfilled his testimony in patience, courage, and faithfulness, and been a comfort to us who had believed, he at length laid down his head in rest and peace, stretching forth himself, saying, "Here I did innocently"'". He had lived, and died, in such a manner that "'his testimony doth live in the hearts of many, and will live through generations to come'". Crisp concludes this eulogy to the Friend that had convinced him to Quakerism by offering Parnell as a model for all those within the Quaker fellowship of Christ, saying "'the faithful shall also be partakers of that crown immortal with which he is crowned'". While living, Parnell had been a functional leader, having cared for several gatherings of Friends in Essex. In death,

he had become a symbolic leader, having maintained Quaker principles even at the cost of his life.

Functional Leadership

Similar to symbolic leadership, both internally functional leadership and externally functional leadership need not be vested exclusively in one person. For example, probably all Quaker ministers encountered state ministers, justices of the peace, and other public officials (externally functional activities) while they nurtured new converts in the ways of Truth (an internally functional activity). But among the 200 persons known to have been Quaker ministers during these early years (Taylor, p. 39), one of them played a dominant role with regard to internally functional tasks. That person was Margaret Fell. She was the wife of Judge Fell (d. 1658), and therefore of considerable wealth. Her house became the haven for travelling ministers in the Furness area. Fox frequently stayed there, and the two were to marry in 1669. She distinguished herself within the movement by becoming the major correspondent with Quaker missionaries who were spread throughout the country and the world. By 1660, Fell had received nearly 700 letters from them (Taylor, p. 43). Furthermore, as a natural outgrowth of her responsibilities for coordinating communications for itinerents, she was instrumental in establishing the Kendal Fund to aid Quaker ministers and prisoners (supra, "Structural Responses to Organizational Needs"). Edward Burrough referred to her as "'a nourisher of the father's babes and children'",[33] and certainly

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[33]Edward Burrough, Letter to Margaret Fell from Dublin, September, 1655; quoted in EQW, p. 477; see Nuttall, 1946, p. 183.

no one deserves to be called "the mother of Quakerism" more than she.

Burrough himself was a leader among the early Friends, but primarily one that we would call an externally functional leader. He had been a separatist preacher, and had converted in 1652. Aside from Nayler, he was the most successful Quaker minister in London. During the late 1650's and the early years of the Restoration (he died in jail in 1662), he was the foremost Quaker spokesperson on politics (Cole, p. 45; Reay, p. 111). In this political vein he wrote pamphlets (EQW, pp. 90-92), letters to Cromwell (Sewell I, pp. 214-218, 241-245), testified before Parliamentary hearings (SPQ, pp. 22-23; Brockbank, pp. 119-121), met with King Charles (Sewell I, pp. 354-355; Brockbank, p. 118), and recorded Quaker sufferings accounts (EQW, pp. 117-118).

In September, 1661, Burrough twice appeared before the Royal Court, both times concerning the persecution of Quakers in New England. He was able to move the King to such an extent that he issued a mandamus which directed the New England settlers to cease their punishments of the Quakers and send any Friends accused of lawbreaking to England for trial. Burrough, perhaps as a parting blow to the persecutors in Massachusetts, even arranged that the order be delivered to Boston by a Quaker who had been banished, on pain of death, from the city. As a consequence of the mandamus that Burrough had instigated, 27 Quaker prisoners were released from prison, and the death-sentence against the group was lifted (Sewell I, pp. 354-357; BQ, p. 405; see EQW, pp. 137-140).

One final note about Burrough and his political influence--apparently the King had been favourably impressed by him, for the

sovereign tried to free him from his imprisonment at the infamous Newgate Gaol. Sadly, the King's efforts failed, and Burrough soon died there (Brockbank, pp. 118, 143). His death was grievous to the Quaker movement, which was soon to lose almost all of its prominent leaders to the diseases and filth of the prisons.

Prophecy

The theory of prophecy that we have offered in Chapter Two ("Leaders, Prophets, and Messiahs") takes its lead from Weber in distinguishing between ethical and exemplary prophets. Ethical prophets transmit a divine message, and then demand obedience to it as a matter of moral imperative. Exemplary prophets convey their message by personal example, and by so doing demonstrate the way to salvation. In both cases, the prophets are more concerned with delivering the message than with enhancing their status in the group. Simply put, prophets deliver a divine message, either by proclamation or example, and are more committed to its content than to serving either task functions for the group or committing themselves to the group's central meanings.

The relationship between prophets, leaders, and messiahs is complex. In some instances prophets appear before leaders and messiahs, and provide the focal points and expectations around which leaders can evolve. In other cases the prophets appear after the leaders have given some shape and direction to the group and its directions, thereby providing the prophets with some guidelines concerning what kind of prophecies the group might receive favourably.

Exemplary Prophets

In early Quakerism, those persons who most nearly resemble

Weber's description of exemplary prophets probably are the Quaker ministers. By their dress, speech, social customs, and strict morality the Quaker ministers demonstrated the salvation about which they preached. The same Spirit that lived in Jesus and his apostles lived in them, they claimed, and the manner in which they conducted themselves proved it. Regarding the exemplary nature of Quaker ministers' lives, Fox delivered an epistle to the ministers on March 31, 1657, saying, "...'That which Friends speak they must live in, and so may they look that others may come into that which they speak'".[34]

But having designated the Quaker ministers as examples of exemplary prophets, we immediately encounter problems. At best the designation is a general one, in part because of historical realities, in part because of limitations of the theoretical category itself. To begin, Quakerism, as a conversionist movement, demanded that everyone who was a true convert live by a strict discipline and morality that was nothing less than exemplary. True converts were to avoid all that was sinful or prideful, and by doing so they were to live exemplary lives, just as were the ministers. Nonetheless, the fact remains that the travelling ministers had dedicated their lives to the propagation of their message and prophecies, and perhaps this dedication justifies us continuing to call them "exemplary prophets".

A second problem regarding Quaker preachers as exemplary prophets is that many persons during the era saw Quaker ministers' (as well as Quaker members') behaviour as anything by exemplary.

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[34]George Fox, "Address to Friends in the Ministry" 31st March, 1657, quoted in EQW, p. 490.

What was exemplary behaviour to the Quakers was heresy and insolence in the eyes of many Puritans. For instance, the Puritan minister, Francis Higginson, refers to the Quaker preachers and proselytizers as "satan's seeds-men" and "the emissaries and ministers of Satan".[35] Finally, a difficulty we encounter with labelling the Quaker ministers as exemplary prophets is that many of them necessarily served as leaders (especially functional ones) in the group as well. It seems that after they had convinced persons to adopt the Quaker message, they soon had to become religious guides to the new members, nursing them in their new faith (supra, "Conversion, Resocialization, and Commitment").

While it is still true that Quaker ministers exhibited behaviours appropriate for exemplary prophets, some of the ministers evolved into functional leaders. Through them we have clear illustrations of one possible evolutionary relationship between exemplary prophets and functional leaders. The distinction between the two is a fine one, and Weber himself neglected to draw it. He cited, for instance, the Buddha as an example of an exemplary prophet (1963, p. 55) whereas we would say that he seems to have been an exemplary prophet who evolved into a functional leader, and, no doubt, a symbolic leader.

Ethical Prophets

Ethical prophets within early Quakerism are easier to identify. Numerous examples exist of Quakers exhibiting prophetic signs of imminent judgement while demanding immediate repentance. The two most

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[35] Francis Higginson, A Brief Relation of the Irreligion of the Northern Quakers 1653, pp. 1, 2; quoted in EQW, pp. 64, 65.

common manners in which ethical prophets proclaimed their message was by appearing either in sackcloth and ashes, or naked (Carroll, 1975 and 1978). "Going naked as a sign"[36] appeared within the movement before the end of 1652, and in May, 1655, the first recorded instance occurred of a Quaker prophesying in sackcloth and ashes (1975, p. 314). Both techniques of prophecy reached their peaks around 1661-1662 (1975, p. 317; compare QPE, p. 66). Nakedness seems to have symbolized the nakedness persons are expected to feel as they stand before God at the Last Judgement,[37] and in this way served as a call to repentence. Prophecy by sackcloth and ashes also had its origins in biblical scripture.[38] In addition to it serving as a sign of both the imminent judgement and the need to repent it was also a sign against pride. Quakers demonstrated other forms of prophetic judgement and repentence during this era, including blackening the face, using images involving (candle) light, and sewing. The last of these three is particularly perplexing, and researchers still do not know what Quaker women meant by it.

We get some insight into the status differential between these ethical prophets and the prominent symbolic and functional leader, George Fox, by an incident that happened in 1660. A Quaker minister wrote to Fox on behalf of a woman who frequently was moved to

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[36]Carroll has published an article by this title, scheduled to appear in the Autumn, 1978 edition of Quaker History.

[37]See, for instance, Lam. 4:21; Mic. 1:8; Is. 47:3; Nah. 3:5.

[38]Carroll, 1975, p. 314, and n. 1 cites Is. 3:24, 15:3, 20:2, 22:12, 37:1-2, 50:3; Jer. 4:8, 6:26, 49:3; Ez. 7:18, 27:31; Jonah 3:5-6 and 8; but especially Rev. 11:31.

appear in sackcloth at church services, and who was troubled by the opposition she was encountering among some Friends. She solicited Fox's opinion on the practice, requesting that Fox send her "a line or two...about it". We do not know whether Fox ever replied to this specific request, but other evidence clearly indicates that he at least approved of this kind of prophetic technique (Carroll, 1978, pp. 70-71). For the purposes of our study, it is interesting to note that an ethical prophet sought guidance, perhaps approval, from a symbolic and functional leader who both represented the central values of the group and gave the movement much of its direction.

The fact that ethical prophecy in the form of nakedness did not appear until the latter part of 1652, and the practice of wearing sackcloth and ashes until 1655, implies that ethical prophets become active only after the Quaker ministers began their activities. They seemed to have needed an ideological framework within which to prophecy and even then their prophecies did not receive the support of all Friends. Chronologically, exemplary prophets (as ministers) appeared before ethical prophets.

Schism and Defections

Defections from a group occur for a variety of reasons (supra, Chapter Two: "Status and Structure"), and can involve any number of people. The specific reasons why people leave a group are quite varied. Some people may decide to disassociate themselves from a group after the promised millennium fails to appear. Other people may grow dissatisfied with the group's doctrines, especially people such as the proselytizers who are in frequent contact with different elements in

society (supra, Chapter Two: "Proselytizing and Commitment"). Still other people might choose to leave the group because they do not approve of a growing (and inevitable) concentration of leadership in the hands of a few, especially in a religious group that more or less had believed in the spiritual equality of its members. Some group members will give into persecution, and simply leave the group. Groups may fragment over leadership rivalries. Finally, persons who had been recruited by incentives that offered immediate rewards may balk at having to meet the larger and sometimes more demanding requirements of the older members.

When defections occur over particular leaders or over points of doctrine, they can have serious consequences for the group. If the defections or schisms occur over non-organizational issues of doctrine, then the schismatics who continue to meet probably will inherit the organizational structure of the parent body. In contrast, if the fissure occurs over matters of organization, then the new group's organization probably will differ significantly from that of the parent body.

We get some idea why individuals defected from Quakerism by reading the anti-Quaker tracts[39] the defectors wrote. Many of the defectors wrote against the dangers inherent in Quaker doctrines, citing the extravagant and emotional behaviours of some of the Friends. Others stated that their entry into the movement was itself a fall from

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[39]The only extensive listing of anti-Quaker tracts, which is incomplete, is Joseph Smith, Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana, London: Joseph Smith, 1873.

grace, one from which they could recover only by abandoning it (Watson, pp. 172-173). Aside from dissatisfactions with Quaker doctrines, some people abandoned the movement because of the persecution it was experiencing (Anderson, p. 262).

More threatening to the movement than the individuals who left it were at least two schisms that occurred during the era we are studying. The first occurred in 1654, when Rice Jones and his followers, the "Proud Quakers", distanced themselves from the main body of Friends, especially Fox and his followers. Their disputes with the larger body were primarily doctrinal, although personality clashes played some role in them as well. The Proud Quakers believed in the light within, but felt that it could not be dimmed by involvement in worldly affairs. They were unwilling to publicly avow their faith, and by refusing to do so they exempted themselves from having to face the social consequences of their beliefs. Furthermore, they denied that Christ suffered and died at Jerusalem, a denial that was blasphemous for the times (BQ, pp. 45-46; Nickalls, Journal, pp. 63, 178, 337-338).

Beneath these doctrinal debates and personality conflicts between Fox and Jones lay a basic dispute over the collective nature of worship, a dispute that is to resurface again in the schism around John Perrot. In contrast to the highly individualistic claims of Jones and the Proud Quakers (who on many points resembled the Ranters),[40]

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[40] Ranterism was perhaps more of a mood than a movement, but one that persisted for several centuries (see Cohn, pp. 287-330). McGregor claims that, for a brief period probably around 1649-1651, it showed "the rudiments of an organization". Its basic tenets "set antimonianism within a framework of mystical pantheism which denied the reality of the carnal world to the spiritual man. All acts were inspired by God" (p. 350). The group was decidedly amoral (if not immoral) because of its "belief in the freedom of the justified from

Fox was trying to build a church that was guided collectively by the Holy Spirit (see Acts 13:2) and whose members would bring their public and private activities in harmony with their knowledge of the salvific Light within. Quakers were ripe for antinomianism, since its members claimed to be freed from the root of sin by the personal experience of the inner Christ. Certainly their opponents suspected them of it (McGregor, pp. 350-51). Therefore, many Quakers, including Fox, seemed especially concerned with disassociating themselves from the "ranterish" groups and persons so prevalent around them, and occasionally, among them.

The other schism among early Quakers that we will consider raised doctrinal questions similar to the ones that surfaced during the problems involving Rice Jones. This schism took place over the new spiritual "leanings" of John Perrot, a Quaker missionary who had travelled as far as the Near East as an emissary for the Quaker message (see SPQ, pp. 228-250). In 1661 he claimed to have "leanings" that placed a greater reliance on the activity of the Spirit than was acceptable to Friends such as Fox, Farnworth, and Dewsbury. For

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40 (cont.) guilt for sin", the logical, if not extreme, conclusion to the Calvinistic doctrines of predestination and election (McGregor, p. 354). Quakers, rejecting predestination, believed that all possessed the inner Light and could be saved by turning to it. Quakers did not deny the existence of sin (as did the Ranters did for themselves) but said instead that they had been freed from the inclinations to comit them. Quakers may have recruited some Ranters (but not great numbers [McGregor, p. 353]) into its membership, and at least in the Puritans' eyes Ranters and Quakers were often synonymous (C. Hill, 1972, p. 203). In turn, Quakers often "applied the term to a wide body of both religious and irreligious opinion" as a derogatory slur on their enemies (McGregor, p. 351). Ranters were very hard to eliminate because they would quickly (and sometimes deviously) recant, but still continue to hold the same opinions. Quakers, in contrast, became known for the tenacity with which they publicly maintained their views, even amidst severe persecution.

instance, he (or at least some of his followers) opposed the practice of gathering for worship at fixed times and places, but rather thought that meetings should be held only when the Spirit moved persons to do so. Perrot also disagreed with certain social practices that Quakers had come to adopt, such as men doffing their hats when someone prayed, or people shaking hands when they met. These customs, he felt, were nothing more than worldly formalities, and therefore sould be abolished. Several important Quakers, including Isaac Penington and Thomas Ellwood, were at least temporarily convinced by Perrot's emphasis on the openness of the Spirit. Penington, and no doubt others, believed that Perrot's ideas might have been "the beginning of a new revelation" (SPQ, p. 235, 232).

For people like Fox, the issues Perrot stirred up were similar to the ones that the followers of Rice Jones had raised: what was to be the relationship between individual leanings and the larger community of believers? Fox's position on the matter was clear; as an important Quaker historian put it, "tenderness to the individual must be subordinated to the welfare of the [Quaker] Church" (SPQ, p. 242). While Perrot's ideas only may have "led to disaffection rather than to open separation" among Friends, the disaffection ran deep for several years, and some former Quakers seemed to have been lost to him and his ideas.

The disaffection or schism Perrot caused was the result of at least two factors, both of which are mentioned in our general millenarian theory. First, Perrot was an attractive, even charming, personality who had high symbolic value for Quakers, in part stemming from his far-reaching missionary efforts and the mystical letters he

wrote during his three year incarceration in a Roman insane asylum (SPQ, p. 229). Something of a personality cult probably formed around him while he was in the midst of his leadership controversies with Fox.

But in addition to factors involving his attractive personality, some Quakers apparently had grown somewhat dissatisfied with the movement as the millennium failed to arrive (supra, Chapter Two: "Prophecy: Confirmations, Disconfirmations, and Nonconfirmations"). Perrot's message offered them new hope for receiving further revelations at a time when some members had begun to question the spiritual receptivity of the Quaker leaders (SPQ, p. 235).

Finally, some Quakers may have become more fearful of persecution as the Restoration government continued to solidify its power, since their usual practice of holding regular meetings for worship made them easy targets for harrassment by hostile citizens and arrest by local sheriffs. Perrot's opposition to fixed meetings would have minimized their susceptibility to persecution, but Fox would have none of it. Quakerism was a spiritual community living according to the eternal Spirit of God, and they were required by that Spirit to publicly acknowledge their beliefs, regardless of the social consequences.

Religion and Politics

While we realize that the realm of religious experience is within the individual, our theory points out that the context in which individuals interpret religious experience is socio-cultural (supra, Chapter One: "Religion and Politics"). When a religious experience is millenarianistic, a distinguishing characteristic of the socio-cultural interpretation is the people's belief that a previously

unfulfilled want or desire soon will be satisfied as Christ returns to rule the world. As members of a group that hold such an expectation, individuals are in anxious anticipation of the divine event, and this anticipation gives meaning, purpose, and direction to their lives.

The purpose and direction that the millennial expectation gives to the group members usually stands in opposition to some elements of the existing dominant social order. Members usually have collectively held expectations in the socio-cultural sphere that have been denied fulfillment, but which they expect to have fulfilled when Christ returns to rule. By these expectations, millenarianism conflicts with the polity's efforts to maintain a certain legally sanctioned civil order. Millennialists expect God to change some important aspect of the present social order, and group members live in anxious anticipation of that change.

By living in this way, a millennialist group and the polity engage in power struggles, each soliciting support from the population for their desired social arrangement. Thus, it is incorrect to say that millenarianism is a pre-political phenomenon (supra, Chapter One: "Millenarianism as a Pre-Political Phenomenon--A Critique"), because it neglects the important interplay millenarianist groups usually have with the polity and its institutions.

When a millenarian group engages in power struggles with the polity, it uses power in two general ways. First, it attempts to affect persons presently outside of the group's membership boundaries by attempting to convert them, or at least to make them sympathetic to the group's doctrines. refer to these attempts as externally

directed activities, and in many ways they resemble the kind of activities social movements undertake. On the other hand, a group also uses power among its members to ensure conformity to its norms, and I refer to this kind of use as an internally directed activity.

When a group engages in externally directed political activities, its members may experience conflicting power demands. Those group members, if not the entire group itself, who challenge the polity, can expect the polity or its institutions to respond with some sort of economic or physical punishment against them, which can even include imprisonment and death. On the other hand, if members do not support the group's efforts, then the group may inflict internal social sanctions (such as ostracism, reprimands, denouncements, etc.) against them.

During our era of study the interplay between religion and politics within England was both constant and complicated. Every government in and around our period of concern, whether it was that of the Lord Protector, Parliament, the Committee of Majors-General or the King, considered it an essential duty to design and control the proper religious practices and beliefs of its subjects. All authorized religious institutions were either directly controlled by the government or heavily influenced by it. The authorized forms of worship (and several came and went during our period) were determined by the particular lawmakers of the day, and the authorized ministers were financially supported by the state. This financial support came through citizens' payment of mandatory tithes, and the system was legally maintained throughout most of the Interregnum. Understandably, these state-supported ministers often worked closely with local justices of the peace in identifying and punishing religious rebels and dissenters.

In addition to the close working relationship between the ministers and the enforcers of the law, frequently those persons who were influential in the affairs of the church were also the same persons powerful in the politics of the state. Bitter power struggles between competing individuals and groups often had at core some issues of worship. In a phrase, to know a person's religious affiliations in this era was to know his or her politics (see C. Hill, 1966, pp. 75-100, 162-173).

Quakers' doctrinal disputes with the Puritans, translated into acts of status- and religious protest, raised the ire of Puritan clergy. In retaliation, ministers often incited their congregations to violence against the challenging Friends by labelling them as Roundheads, a charge full of odium among the poorest classes of the population (see C. Hill, 1966, p. 124). A study examining Quaker sufferings in Lancashire shows that nineteen, perhaps twenty, of the thirty-six recorded incidents of persecution against Friends between 1652-1659 involved assaults for preaching (Anderson, p. 251). In actuality the Roundhead charge was not far from the truth, since between 1651-1653 some Quakers entered the northern counties under military protection with the full sanction of the Committee For the Propagation of the Gospel, the latter being an arm of the government attempting to politically and religiously reeducate the Tory north (C. Hill, 1972, pp. 234; see BQ, pp. 121-122). Realizing that many of the earliest Quaker men had served in the New Model Army, the binds between Friends and the military (at least the rank and file) were natural ones.

But Commonwealth support of Friends could not last. Quakers' consistent attack on the state ministry and their social insults

against the upper class (taxation on whose wealth the foreign policy of the Commonwealth depended [C. Hill, 1966, pp. 160-161]), doomed Friends to be at odds with the government. In addition, Friends gradually lost their earlier official support of the army as increasing numbers of Quakers were discharged from it for insubordination (no doubt because of their levelling behaviours [Cole, p. 42]).

The early associations between Friends and the military--both by official army support and large numbers of religious converts among army ranks--suggests that the famous Quaker peace testimony was not one of the Quakers' earliest doctrines. This is true: Quaker refusal to bear arms for any secular or heavenly king was not an official policy until the political realities had both frustrated their radical demands and endangered the physical well-being of a large number of members. In addition to Fox's feeling that he was above the causes of war (e.g., lust, as written in James 4:1), one interpreter of early Quakerism suggests that his refusal to accept an army commission in 1652 in part may have been because of his disapproval of the Commonwealth government.[41]

By 1655 Quaker persecution by the government was mounting through such bills as the Proclamation of 15th February, 1654/5, and at the time of Nayler's trial in late 1656 the political acrimony against them was fierce. Even the tone of the interactions between George Fox and Oliver Cromwell deteriorated: their meeting in March,

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[41] C. Hill suggests this in 1972, p. 242. On Fox's refusal, see Nickalls, Journal, p. 65. Hill cites evidence on p. 242 that in 1657 Fox "urged 'the inferior officers and soldiers' of the Army on to conquer Rome". However, I doubt Hill's suggestion; compare BQ, pp. 179-180.

1654/5 was cordial, almost intimate; in October, 1656 the two persons were estranged, and Fox's demands regarding cessation of Quaker persecution went unmet (Jones, pp. 119-122, 125-126; BQ, pp. 437-441).

Reacting to their growing political isolation, many Quakers hailed the 1659 army coup and subsequent return of the Rump of the Long Parliament[42] as a new opportunity to institute radical demands. And indeed, for a time Quakers' expectations seemed well founded. On May 10th the Rump appointed a committee to investigate the cases of persons imprisoned for reasons of religious conscience, and numerous Friends testified before it, even some who were serving prison sentences at the time. Some imprisoned Friends were thereby freed (BQ, pp. 453-459).

Testimony before this committee is but one example of the flurry of political activity in which Friends engaged during the brief

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[42]The Long Parliament was that body which was first convened by Charles I on November 3, 1640 in his desperate attempt to meet the treaty and monetary demands of the Scots who were occupying the northern areas of the country. When news of the Irish rebellion of late 1641 reached Parliament, the assembly balked at putting an army under the King's command, fearing that he would use it to dismiss them. Instead, they demanded that the army be under their command, and when the King refused and began raising his own troops, the Civil War began. This Parliament stayed in session until December 6, 1648, on which day Oliver Cromwell, with the help of Colonel Pride and his musketeers, purged it of about 100 Presbyterians who were favouring a compromise with Charles. Those Independents who were left numbered about 90, and were called the Rump of the Long Parliament. It sat until April, 1653, when it was expelled by Cromwell. Its accomplishments included certain fund-raising activities, but it had not instituted religious reform. Some years later in early May, 1659, 42 members of the old Rump Parliament reconvened themselves, having been encouraged to do so by an army disgruntled over Henry Cromwell's forced dismissal of his first Parliament in April of that same year. For a while the Rump gave clear indications that it would respond to the radicals' demands for religious toleration. However, it was dismissed by the army officers in October.

existence of the restored Rump. In late June, Friends from several counties acted with considerable coordination and presented to Parliament a petition[43] protesting tithes that contained more than 15,000 signatures. This was supplemented on July 20 by an additional petition of 7,000 signees, all collected by Quaker women (BQ, p. 458; Cole, p. 46). Still another list--this one of persecuting magistrates--was presented to the Council of State, with the accompanying suggestions of both moderates and Friends who could be substituted for them.[44] In late summer, seven Bristol Quakers were chosen to serve as Commissioners of the militia, although evidence tentatively shows that Fox was opposed to Friends accepting these offers.[45]

But the Rump's recalcitrance regarding tithe abolition cooled the feeling of most Friends toward it, and the rapid deterioration of all forms of government, first to anarchy and then to the Restoration[46]

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[43] Levellers were well known for their use of political petitions. See Shaw, pp. 18-19.

[44] BQ, p. 460, Cole, p. 46. BQ, p. 454, cites evidence that 1,960 Friends had been imprisoned between 1653 and April 1659, and 21 died in jail.

[45] BQ, p. 462. See also the note of the textual page 461 (pp. 580-581), which gives another instance of Quakers serving in the military in late June, 1659.

[46] BQ, p. 581, n. (on p. 469), gives the following course of events: "on 22nd April Richard [Cromwell] was forced by the Army leaders to dissolve the Parliament. On 7th May the army leaders were obliged by the under officers and civilian Republicans to recall the Rump. Richard's letter of 25th May is usually taken as his formal resignation from the Protectorate. On 13th October [Major General] Lambert closed the doors of Parliament. The army leaders with a few civilians like [Sir Henry] Vane tried to rule until 24th December. On 26th December the Rump sat again". As the Rump was being recalled. General Monck was marching south from Scotland. After capturing London, Monck dissolved the Rump. Soon a new election was held, and the elected Presbyterian-Royalist body, known as the Convention Parliament, first met on the 25th of April, 1660. It immediately began arranging for the restoration of the monarchy, and on May 25th, 1660, Charles II received the English crown. See Hill, Century, pp. 117-118.

convinced Friends of the futility of their political attempts to persuade the polity to adopt a policy of wide religious toleration. With the restoration of an Anglican monarchy whose Cavalier Parliament was extremely hostile to Friends, all hopes of political or even military solutions to the toleration question were extinguished.

In part because military solutions no longer seemed viable, Fox and his associates had little trouble removing themselves from the possibility of activity in the army when, in January 1661/2, 4,000 Friends were arrested in the aftermath of Thomas Venner's abortive Fifth Monarchy revolt (Cole, p. 48). Fox declared "that the Spirit of Christ which leads us to all Truth will never move us to fight and war against any man with outward weapons, neither for the Kingdom of Christ, nor for Kingdoms of this World".[47] While the declaration was designed to dissociate Quakers from the Revolutionary Fifth Monarchists, it had the effect of preventing Friends from serving as soldiers in the military. In addition to the historical justification the declaration had within the earliest Quaker doctrines concerning "carnal" warfare, it also was a realistic response to a political situation that, for all Sectarians and other non-Anglicans, was rapidly deteriorating.

Persecution

Violence, especially physical violence, is a common technique the polity uses to persecute the millenarian groups it considers to be disruptive (supra, Chapter Two: "Persecution"). Sometimes

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[47]Declaration of 1660 (January, 1661), quoted in Nickalls, Journal, pp. 399-400.

the violence a polity uses against a millenarian group is in response to the group's own violent activities or declarations. Yet the polity will prosecute a religious group for other reasons--its social hostility, its doctrinal heresies, etc.

Although the polity intends its persecutions to either eliminate or control a group, often they have the effect of strengthening and invigorating it. Although in response to persecutions the group may reexamine its doctrines and eliminate its most objectionable elements, the group also gives its sufferings divine meaning by placing them within the context of its sacred scriptures. Once persecution has become sacralized, the group may undertake a number of behaviours that the polity had not anticipated, and certainly had not wanted. For instance, the group may increase its proselytizing efforts, now having a clear enemy to wail against, and perhaps hoping to overcome the enemy through the sheer weight of numbers in its membership. Furthermore, the persecuted group may view its present difficulties as brought by God, as He sifts his faithful from the unfaithful, and the worthy from the unworthy. As a consequence, most of its members will remain steadfast in the face of incredible suffering. Group members may welcome persecution, even martyrdom, seeing both as a chance to prove their faith. In extreme cases, some persons may believe that their suffering, and even their martyrdom, will hasten the millennium's arrival, and willingly offer their lives in the hope of gaining eternal life. To non-members, many of these behaviours will appear to be psychopathological.

The psychological effect of having an external enemy helps prevent schisms and hostility among the members themselves. Internal

tensions between members are projected onto the persecutors, and members have little time to explore potentially disruptive differences between themselves.

However, there is a point at which persecution can break the back of a group. This point is reached when the group antagonizes the polity too much, and the polity responds with stunning force. On the other hand, if the group fails to sufficiently challenge the polity because it fears the resultant persecution, members may feel that the group is accommodating itself too much to the world. Therefore, groups may find themselves trying to maintain their doctrines in the face of certain opposition from the polity, while at the same time not trying to antagonize the polity too severely.

Our study ends just after the polity's persecutions of Quakers begin to dramatically increase. During the Restoration era (1660-1684/5), over 15,000 Quakers were to suffer punishment, mostly by imprisonment (SPQ, p. 115). But by 1662 Quakers already were no strangers to imprisonment. Quakers had served prison sentences over 2,100 times during the Cromwellian era (QPE, p. 207), and fines, seizure of goods, physical and verbal harassament, and beatings had been common. In fact, during the 1650's Quakers were frequently assulated, sometimes even after they had been arrested and imprisoned (Anderson, pp. 251-252; BQ, pp. 293-295).

The state officials charged with enforcing the law were the local sheriffs and magistrates (usually called the justices of the peace). Justices "seem to have used nearly every means at their disposal, including the very suspect information of some...informers, to ensure that the Quakers under their jurisdiction should suffer for their

opinions" (Anderson, p. 254). Sooner or later, most Friends probably fell victim to the law, and often to other forms of persecution as well (Anderson, pp. 248, 250). Legally, justices could try Quakers on any number of charges, including non-payment of tithes, attending a Quaker meeting, failing to contribute to the upkeep of the community church (Anderson, p. 249), vagrancy, and refusal to swear various oaths of loyalty (see QPE, p. 173). The intensity with which magistrates prosecuted Friends seems to be proportionally related to the social distance between the two (Anderson, pp. 255, 261), although occasionally Quakers would be tried by justices who were sympathetic to them (Margaret Fell's husband being the most well known example). But often if the justices showed leniency, they did so only because stricter or harsher enforcement of the laws only would have driven the Quakers into the ranks of the poor, whose numbers already were alarmingly high (Anderson, p. 255).

Among the unintended (and in our theory, unexpected) aspects of the persecution is the manner in which members of the community often helped allay the polity's persecution against their Quaker neighbours. Relatives and friends often eased the burdens of property confiscation by temporarily "borrowing" pieces of property before the sheriffs arrived, sometimes paying Friends' fines, sometimes repaying them owed money (Anderson, 255-256; 258, 261). This point is an important one for our study because, although our theory states that Quakers, as persons joining a millenarian group, rejected many of their previous social ties (supra, Chapter Two: "Resocialization and Commitment"; Chapter Three "Conversion, Resocialization, and Commitment"), they were not introversionists who withdrew from the world. For the most part

they continued to live as members of the community.[48] Some Friends, through their strict moral integrity and exemplary behaviour, even seem to have won the respect of their neighbours, friends, and associates (post, "Response to the World: Manipulationist Response").

In one way or another Quakers were persecuted from their earliest days, but they were able to survive as a group because they saw divine forces at work in their hardships and sufferings. To suffer persecution was but part of the Lamb's War against the sin and pride, and the hostility Friends aroused in others they took as examples of the evil forces in the world that they already had conquered inwardly during their own conversions (Martin, p. 169; QPE, p. 207). In this vein, Isaac Penington writes that "when the Lord hath conquered and subjected the darkness in our own hearts in any measure, then we meet with a new fight abroad in the world, the same principle and power in them fighting against us, as did at first in ourselves...".[49] Persecution and war, Friends had come to believe, were but the outward projections of the evil in men's hearts that could only be conquered by Christ. For this reason, Quakers usually accompanied appeals for toleration of their views with pleas for the persecutors' conversions (QPE, p. 210), at least in their early days. In the terms of our theory, the point to remember is that Quakers were able to interpret their sufferings and persecution as part of a divine struggle. By doing so they sacralized their

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[48] While it is true that travelling ministers left their local communities, usually their families stayed behind.

[49] Penington, Concerning Persecution--Which is Afflicting or Punishing that which is Good under the Pretence of its being Evil, London, Printed for Robert Wilson in Martins le Grand, 1661, p. 12, quoted in EQW, pp. 376-377.

sufferings, making their holy enemy the very root of evil within the hearts of their enemies (QPE, p. 210).

The fact that Quakers identified as their enemy the powers of darkness within the hearts of their persecutors explains why, time and again, Quakers were incited by the very persecutions that were designed to destroy them. Nowhere is this seen more clearly than in the Quakers' "assault" on Boston during the late 1650's. The Massachusetts Puritans, fearful of this new sect against which their English brethren had written so much (see Gooch and Laski, p. 236), banned them from their settlement. Bostonians threatened any Quakers arriving in their twon with banishment on pain of death, along with whipping, and the removal of an ear. Despite all this, Quakers still entered the colony, and in late 1659, three Quakers, previously banished, defied Boston's authorities by returning. Soon all three paid with their lives. One of the three, William Robinson, announced on the gallows: "'We suffer not as evil doers, but as those who have testified and manifested the truth: This is the day of your visitation, and therefore I desire you to mind the light of Christ which is in you, to which I have borne testimony, and am now going to seal my testimony with my blood'" (quoted in Gough I, pp. 390-391). For Robinson and the others, the pains of persecution, even unto death, were overshadowed by Christ's truth, and the certainty of eternity He assured.

The case of the first three Boston martyrs illustrates the tensions existing between Quakers and the civil law. Quakers felt that their leanings of the Spirit held a higher authority than the laws of this world, riddled as worldly laws were with the pride of the Anti-christ. Quakers, seeing themselves as performing God's work,

felt themselves above civil authorities. "Friends were entirely subject to the Spirit and ultimately to nothing else" (QPE, p. 220). They advocated a "rule of the Saints", not unlike many others during the era, except that they saw themselves as the only saints. No doubt because of this elevated self-conception of themselves, many persons considered Quakers to be a dangerous threat to civil liberty and order, little different from anarchists or antinomians.

By the early 1660's, Friends had realized that many people were fearful of the antinominaist, anarchistic potential within their doctrines and activities. Therefore, during the time when a sympathetic king seemed on the verge of granting a wide religious toleration, some Friends, such as Edward Burrough, attempted to clear the group from any further suspicion, especially of sedition. In the spring of 1661 Burrough wrote that "in all just and good commands of the King and the good laws of the land relating to our outward man, we must be obedient by doing...'". However, if any of the "laws of the land" conflicted with the authority of God, they would "'obey God and deny active obedience [to the worldly laws] for conscience' sake, and patiently suffer what is inflicted upon us for such our disobedience to men...'".[50] In the light of our theory, it is important to see the balance Quakers were trying to establish between maintaining a relationship with the larger society while still maintaining important religious principles. In essence, they were affirming for the country and the polity their stance of civil obedience, while maintaining that, for those laws they could not in conscience follow, they were willing to peaceably

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[50]Burrough, Works, between pp. 785 and 787, quoted in SPQ, p. 17.

suffer the consequences.

However, events were soon to bring Quakers under suspicion for the very kinds of rebelliousness Friends such as Burrough had been trying to deny. On January 6, 1660/1 about fifty Fifth Monarchists attempted to establish themselves as the Saintly rulers of the land. The rebellion was put down, but only after the loss of nearly forty lives. Quakers, still suspected of seditious plots, were prohibited from assembling, as were the Fifth Monarchists and the Anabaptists. Justices were instructed to issue the King's Oath of Allegiance to anyone brought before them for having violated the assembling prohibition. In conscience Quakers could not obey either law, and within a few weeks 4,230 Quakers were in jail (SPQ, p. 9). A new era of Quaker persecution had begun, and before it would subside, at least 450 Friends would die in prison (SPQ, p. 115). Its effects were to direct, and some might say scar, the movement for decades.

Prophetic Disconfirmations and Nonconfirmations

A group's initial millenarian claims contain an interpretation of history that says the world is in its final days. To support this millenarian claim, a group's symbolic leaders and messianic figures demonstrate divine, prophetic powers, hoping to convince people that their millenarian claims are as accurate as their supernatural exhibitions are astounding. Certainly their exhibitions do much to bolster group morale and verify group doctrine, especially if the group is vague about when the millennium is to arrive, or its arrival is not anticipated until the rather distant future.

However, a group can have trouble validating its millenarianistic claims. For instance, many of the attempted signs and supernatural

exhibitions simply do not work. Events predicted to occur at specific times do not do so. Events predicted to occur at an unspecified time never occur, and people come to see the continuously nonconfirmed event as disconfirmed. Disconfirmations can destroy a group, or they can stimulate the group to institutionalize. Which of the two occur depends upon the ideational and material resources of the group, and the resourcefulness of the group's members.

I take a somewhat different approach to questions involving prophetic disconfirmation than does Festinger. He believes that when a group's claims are disconfirmed, often the group's members readily see that this is the case. In response, they may increase their proselytization efforts, hoping to gain support for their disconfirmed view. These increased proselytization efforts are an attempt to reduce dissonance between their expectations and the event itself by gaining a fresh confirmation for the expectations through the sheer weight of large numbers of new believers.

While it is true that this response may occur in certain situations, Festinger's argument is based upon the assumption that the group clearly can see that its expectations and prophecies have been disconfirmed. However, often this is not the case. The group's ability to see a disconfirmation can be mitigated by at least four factors. First, the disconfirming evidence could have been ambiguous. Second, the initial claim or prophecy could have been stated in such a way that it is easily reinterpreted or reemphasized. Third, the claim could have been part of a larger ideology, which in its totality was not disconfirmed. Finally, the group may have received validation of its claims through other kinds of evidence.

In the cases where a group's claims seem to have been disconfirmed, it can react in at least three ways not anticipated by Festinger, and which does not include disbanding. First, it can maintain faith that its prophecies will be fulfilled in the distant future. Second, it can believe that, more or less, its claims were fulfilled. Third, it can acknowledge disconfirmation, but blame it on a cause either within the group or outside of it, and set about correcting the inhibiting factors.

During the era we are examining, Quakers experienced at least one disconfirmation of an important millennialist claim--freedom from the root of sin--and the general non-confirmation concerning the return of Jesus to rule the world. The disconfirmation of their claim concerning freedom from sin came about from Nayler's messianic-like ride into Bristol (supra, "Messianism in Sociological Theory and Quaker History"). While it is true that even after Nayler's ride Friends continued to claim that they were freed from sin, they came to realize the adversities and numerous sins of the world were even more powerful than they initially thought. Nayler himself, writing about his "fall" into sin, says that "'my adversary, who had long waited his opportunity, had got in, and bestirred himself every way...'" (quoted in Sewell, I, p. 194). The powers of this world were strong indeed, and the war against them had to be both constant and diligent, much more so than Quakers had thought initially.

Some persons may have been so disheartened by Nayler's behaviour (or in our terminology, Nayler's disconfirmation) that they left the Quakers (see BQ, p. 267). However, many did not abandon the group, and perhaps we can offer a partial reason to explain why they remained.

Quakers were able to interpret the disconfirmation of an important doctrine by placing it within the larger context of the Lamb's War. Simply put, they believed that the powers of this world had won a temporary victory over Nayler. They always had maintained that the powers of this world were formidable indeed, and Nayler's fall simply showed how powerful and persistent they really were. They were to continue the Lamb's War, but now their soldiers had to be even more careful to guard against the forces of sin than they had imagined initially. But by placing Nayler's fall within the larger context of their doctrines, many Quakers, as our model predicted, did not see his ride as a total disconfirmation of their views. Rather, it was a caution to them against underestimating the enemy and overestimating themselves.

Nayler, along with most other Quakers, expected Christ to appear on earth as his ruler. Of course he never did appear, yet during the entire era we are discussing Quakers continued to believe that it would occur. Our theoretical discussion indicates that a continued non-confirmation eventually can become a disconfirmation. Apparently, however, Quakers did not feel that the nonconfirmation of their millennialist claim constituted a disconfirmation of their basic beliefs (QPE, pp. 223-224). As suggested by our model, I propose that part of the reason why Quakers did not view the nonconfirmation as a disconfirmation was because they received validation through another kind of evidence. That evidence, interestingly, was the occurrence of increasing persecution against them.

Quakers fully expected persecution as they waged the Lamb's War against the evil powers of sin and pride that ruled the world (supra, "Persecution"). The more Quakers attacked worldly sins, the

more they expected a hostile reaction. The Quaker's war, Nayler writes in 1658 (after his own fall and brutal persecution) "'is against the whole work and device of the god of this world, his laws, his customs, his fashions, his inventions....And therefore no wonder why [the Quakers] are hated by the god of this world, and his subjects, who come to spoil him of all at once and to destroy the whole body of sin...'".[51] As long as Friends were persecuted, they could maintain their belief that they were doing God's prepatory work. Said another way, Quakers received confirmation of Jesus' imminent return by the extent to which they were persecuted.

In addition to receiving confirmation of their millennialist claims through persecution, Quakers also received confirmation by receiving converts to their movement. The process of conversion meant bringing forth the light of God within the person, so that "'God may wholly rule in the heart of man, and man wholly live in the work of God'".[52] As God was ruling in the hearts of more and more people, God's rule on earth seemed soon to begin. In fact, given the reality of growing persecution, the self-enhancement the group must have felt by receiving new converts would have been great.

Except in the case of published, self-glorifying attacks against Presbyterian and Baptist doctrines, it seems not to be the case that, in the face of continued non-confirmation, Quakers increased their proselystizing efforts, as Festinger would have expected. Rather, it

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[51] Nayler, The Lamb's War Against the Man of Sin (1658), quoted in EQW, p. 106.

[52] Ibid.

seems that the movement shifted, reinterpreted, the techniques it used in dealing with the polity, and this shift may have made membership in the group more desirable. No longer did Quakers demand that political figures convert to the movement. Rather, its basic demand was for them to grant a wide religious toleration (QPE, p. 70) which, if had they done so, Quakers would have taken as proof of the godliness of their own doctrines and activities. Quakers' efforts to secure toleration seemed on the brink of success, first with the Rump and later with Charles (supra, "Persecution"). The group was becoming an important political instrument, and no doubt its effectiveness drew new converts.

As long as it did draw converts, and as long as persecution continued in its various forms, Quakers did not feel that the non-appearance of Jesus was a disconfirmation of their doctrines. Their prepatory work for the return of Jesus continued, although in somewhat different ways than it had when the movement was first beginning. But soon the powers of the world were to grow more hostile, and the doctrine involving the imminence of Christ, which was already losing some of its fervor, would have to be sacrificed in the group's struggle to survive.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESPONSE TO THE WORLD

Introduction

Brain Wilson's Magic and the Millennium makes an important sociological attempt to identify patterns in the salvific efforts among the new religious groups. Using as his primary data-base new religions in third world countries, Wilson identifies seven "ideal-types of response [which] appear useful as hypothetical points of orientation for movements that reject established cultural resolutions of the problem of theodicy" (p. 27). He is sensitive to the problems a researcher faces in identifying a dominant "response to the world", given the inevitability of "changes in composition, opposition, general circumstance, and shifting orientations" a group undergoes (p. 27). Nonetheless, he considers it possible to locate general responses to the world for new religious groups, "not only in [their] activities, but also in [their] lifestyle, association, and ideology" (p. 20).

Even though Wilson's seven-fold construction is designed to facilitate comparative studies (which, of course, ours is not), a modified application of his classification system is still useful for our study of a single group. Wilson is attempting to develop "propositions of high explanatory value" by measuring groups' "variations from the ideal typical" (p. 20). Our attempt will be to identify different kinds of ideological, behavioural, and lifestyle responses within one group, using the ideal types as kinds of behaviour that might

have occurred. Wilson uses his seven responses to the world as ideal types to explain the dominant forms new, non-normative religions take. We use them as guideposts for determining the different kinds of responses that might have occurred within the early Quakers, in addition to its over-all dominant response. Said another way, we will identify Quakerism's dominant response to the world, but then use the other six kinds of responses as indicators of types of behaviours and attitudes that Quakers themselves might have exhibited. We will devote a section to each of the seven possible responses to the world, and in each we will summarize Wilson's description, then try to find examples of it in Quaker history.

Conversionist Response

The conversionist response to the world offers salvation from worldly evil through advocating "a profoundly felt, supernaturally wrought transformation of the self". Certainly at some future time the objective, evil world will be transformed in ways that will harmonize it with members' transformed inner states, but even before this worldly transformation occurs, persons feel saved by having undergone a conversion into an unchanging state of eternal freedom. The conversion, not the expected change of the objective world, is what saves.

The dominant Quaker millenarian response was a conversionist one. The Lamb's War that the Quakers waged was against sin and pride, and was not an attempt to politically overthrow the state. However, it was an attempt to convert the state's leaders (QPE, ch. Seven). We have amply discussed the Lamb's War earlier in this chapter (supra, "Inner Light and Biblical Allegory"), and little would be gained by

restating the evidence here. However, later in this chapter we will explore further the dynamics involved in converting to Quakerism (post, "Conversion, Resocialization, and Commitment").

Revolutionist Response

The revolutionist response arises when a group believes the world's evil is so great that people's salvation from it can only come after both the natural order and the social order has been purified by destruction. Group members do not necessarily believe that they will cause the worldy destruction as much as they believe they will participate in it. For them, supernatural forces are both responsible for the destruction and capable of providing the subsequent salvation. Said another way, the cataclysmic revolution is an objective reality brought about by supernatural forces that are in no way affected by the subjective conditions of individuals in the world. Very soon, supernatural forces will cause the destruction of the world, and now, during the final days, persons can only participate in the inevitable (Wilson, 1973, p. 23).

Aspects of the early Quaker response to the world resemble Wilson's description of a revolutionist response to evil. In fact, Wilson erroneously labels early Quakerism as a revolutionist group (1973, p. 37), although he does not specify why he thinks they were. Possibly he was misled by the revolutionary[1] tone of early Quaker

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[1]Wilson distinguishes between a revolutionist response and a revolutionary response. Revolutionists believe that Jesus' return is imminent, and when it occurs the social, and perhaps the physical order will be dramatically overturned. While they expect to participate in the event, they can not bring it about. They are participants, but

language, not realizing that Friends meant their passages allegorically. Even many contemporaries of the early Quakers had difficulty distinguishing between the Quaker allegorical language and the more literal calls to revolution (Ball, p. 196). For instance, in 1654, when people read a tract from the influential Quaker, Edward Burrough, which said that "Quakers...conquer by the sword of the Lord" (quoted in C. Hill, 1972, p. 246), could they distinguish an intent different from the revolutionary Fifth Monarchy Men? Many could not (see Ball, pp. 199-200), and this may explain why 4,000 Friends were arrested after the abortive Fifth Monarchy revolt in 1660/1 (Cole, p. 48).[2]

Literary examples such as Burrough's abound, and, taken out of context, they could imply that the early Quakers were revolutionists. However, the historical evidence does not support this conclusion. They meant their militant language allegorically, and by it were referring to the experiences of spiritual struggle, judgement, and salvation. Despite the evil in the world, Christ had already

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1 (continued) nothing more. In contrast, revolutionaries expect to (for our purposes) implement God's will, and are much more involved than are mere participants. However, Wilson acknowledges how fine the differences can be between the two, and says that "in less-developed countries this point of distinction cannot always be drawn so readily" (1973, p. 196). In this study, I am not concerned with keeping the terms distinct, if indeed the historical material would even let me do so.

[2] In January, 1661/2, 4,000 Friends were arrested in the aftermath of Thomas Venner's abortive Fifth Monarchy Revolt. In response to the arrests, Fox and twelve other Friends sent a document to the King in which they clearly disassociated themselves from the revolutionaries. They wrote, "that the Spirit of Christ which leads us to all Truth, will never move us to fight and war against any man with outward weapons, neither for the Kingdom of Christ, nor for Kingdoms of this World". This statement remains the classic Friends' peace testimony. Declaration of 1660 (January, 1660/1), quoted in Nickalls, Journal, pp. 399-400; EQW, pp. 405-406.

returned and lived within the hearts of the converted. Massive social and physical changes would come as the culmination to the growing number of individuals who were saved, but for the Quakers the important point was that salvation had already come to the converted before the external changes took place. In short, the category, "revolutionist" cannot accommodate the realized eschatology of the Quakers. Moreover, Wilson's erroneous classification of Quakers as "revolutionists" does not allow the reseracher to distinguish the Friends from the radical Fifth Monarchy Men, even though Quakers themselves took great pains to make this very distinction after the abortive revolt in 1660/1.

Reformist Response

Briefly, Wilson's reformist response to the world describes groups whose members believe that the evil in the world can be overcome by making divinely inspired changes in the social systems of society. "Although man will save himself he will not do so without the prompting of supernatural agencies" (1973, p. 25).

Many of the Quakers' activities resembled reformist responses. Quakers justified them by appeals to divine admonitions in the Bible, or by assertions that God had given them specific commands. However, all of these reformist activities were part of the conversionist Lamb's War against sin, pride, and worldly vices. They felt that their efforts were ordained by God, and were in anticipation of Christ's physical return. Therefore, they were able to consecrate their social and political activities through their identification with the futuristic mythology of Revelations. the Lamb's War involved preparing the world for Christ's return, and Christ was actually directing the preparatory

efforts through the Inner Light. As our theory predicted, through their millennial beliefs the Quakers acquired a sense of divine purpose about their activities (supra, Chapter One: "The Role of Millenarian Ideas in the Formation of Community Identity"), even the ones that had clear political overtones.

Friends insisted continually that the actions they undertook were religiously motivated, but to many persons in society and political implications of their activities were obvious (supra, Chapter One: "Religion and Politics"). Other millennialist groups of the period had goals that were avowedly more political than the Quakers (i.e., Diggers, Fifth Monarchy Men, etc.), but the prominence of Quakerism during the Interregnum made them a particular focus of social and political distain by Broach Churchmen,[3] High Presbyterians, wealthy gentry, and local enforcers of the law. None of their protest activities was itself new; each had been performed by other groups that had preceeded them. But by synthesizing the protests into part of obligatory religious practices, Quakers gave to them a particular pungency (supra, Chapter One: "Millenarianism as a Pre-Political Phenomenon--A Critique"). In short, Quakers saw their activities as "breaking down the proud" rather than "exalt[ing] the humble" (QPE, p. 163), but those in power felt otherwise.

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[3]Broad Churchmen, or Latitudinarians, were "broad" in their outlook on Puritanism, believing that a church could take a number of forms while still maintaining basic Puritan beliefs. The civil government had a responsibility to design a church within these wide parameters, yet they felt that neither an episcopacy or a presbytery were divinely sanctified. They were moderates, sometimes even moderate Anglicans, who desired basic decency and virtue and at least an outward confirmity to Puritanism. Behind their periodic efforts to institute a national confession of faith probably was their fear of anarchy rather than a desire to dominate (Cook, pp. 336-337).

Hat Honor, Plain Dress, and Plain Speech: One prevalent greeting ceremony among men involved each man doffing his hat as he bowed and exchanged a verbal salutation. If a status differential existed between the men, they chose particular pronouns that acknowledged the social distinction. These elaborate greetings were also practiced within gentry families, between fathers and sons.

In the spirit of the Levellers who had wished to obliterate class distinctions, Quaker men refused to remove their hats to any man, and used the biblical pronouns, "thee" and "thou" whenever speaking to another person or referring to someone in conversation. Fox, using divine justification, says in his Journal that "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" (Nickalls, Journal, p. 36; see QPE, pp. 164-166). In addition, Quakers' refusal to offer hat honour to parents was a divisive challenge to parental authority (and possibly parental values), as clearly seen by the beatings Thomas Ellwood received from his father (Ellwood, pp. 51-53, 59, 61, 68).[4] Similarly, Quakers' refusal to socially defer to magistrates by removing their hats often made their subsequent punishment additionally severe.

A realted levelling behaviour also appeared in the Quakers' adoption of plain, black and white dress. "Plain dress" was an attempt to eliminate amongst their members the visible class distinctions

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[4]See Francis Higginson, The Irreligion of the Northern Quakers (London, 1653), p. 28; quoted in EQW, p. 77.

revealed by clothes (Gummere, p. 17).

Refusal to Pay Tithes: While refusals to offer hat honour or to acknowledge social distinction through speech and dress were not criminal offenses, many of the Quaker policies regarding their members' protests against the state church were illegal. Once again the Quaker position reflected the radical attitudes of the time. Never being satisfied with state control of the churches, Sectarians and radicals continuously clamoured for the abolition of tithes and church courts, and protested against dominance of state financed priests or ministers in religious and social matters. Instead of the state church and the "hireling minister" deciding upon questions of sin, the radicals felt that sin was an individual problem best resolved by a person in dialogue with the congregation. civil authority should control the lawless and the unruly, but punishment regarding religious transgression should be religious in nature and imposed by the congregation instead of by a court judge in collusion with the local minister (see C. Hill, 1972, p. 99).

The focal point of the church/state controversy rested on the issue of mandatory payment of church tithes. Their payment supported the entire state-sanctioned church system, including maintenance of the church building, salaries of the ministers, and financial bases for the universities where the ministers received their training. In addition, their constant payment was a considerable financial burden on the common people. For these reasons, Quakers' refusal to pay tithes must in part be viewed as social protest, and one that they carried out with great enthusiasm. For instance, in 1656 William Edmonson and other Irish Friends bought farms just so that they could subsequently refuse

tithe payment.

As a group, Quakers did not extend their attacks on tithes or social status to include attacks on private property, even though it was from the propertied classes that ministers were recruited (often through a system of patronage [see Cook, p. 348]). However, Fox did expand his criticism to discuss the use of church property. In a 1659 pamphlet entitled To Parliament and the Common-wealth of England he advocated that both manorial fines and all church-related buildings (and presumably church-owned land) be used to relieve the conditions of the poor.[5] The basis for this advocacy was the radical belief that the government could finance extensive poor relief by selling its church land (QPE, p. 171).

Puritan Ministers and the Discussion of Sermons: In addition to tithe refusal, Friends launched direct verbal and written attacks against the church clergy, "the hireling ministers" as the Quakers called them. Evidence exists of long-standing hostility towards the clergy in 1640's London (C. Hill, 1972, p. 30), in part arising from the fact that paid ministers often did not reflect the views of their congregations. In addition, the Protestant (and Calvinistic) emphasis regarding inward reflection on Scripture was usurped by the dominant role of the state minister in people's religious and political lives. Bibles were available for public purchase and literacy was increasing yet congregational involvement in interpreting religious doctrine still

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[5]Cited in C. Hill, 1973, p. 244. I am not certain as to what kind of manorial fines Fox is referring, but they in part may involve charges imposed against illegal squatters on poor manorial land.

had to remain within governmental boundaries, even when the Congregational Independents were in power. Sectarians, including Quakers, preferred a lay ministry composed of articulate members of the religious community whose ideas bespoke popular attitudes. Often these members held secular jobs during the week, which meant that congregational funding of them was unnecessary unless their ministry involved travelling among other local groups.

One particular manner in which Quakers demonstrated this social protest against the clergy was through direct confrontation with the state-supported ministers. Quakers often used the discussions following the sermons to challenge the state minister on the extent to which he had experienced firsthand the meaning of the words he preached. More unrestrained Friends would even interrupt sermons to challenge the minister on this point. However, up until the end of the final Parliament under Cromwell (February, 1658) state priests were protected against such interruptions by an earlier act of Parliament passed during Mary's reign (C. Hill, 1972, p. 215). In addition, three acts were passed by Interregnum Parliamentary against such sermon interruptions. One of the three--the Proclamation of 15th February, 1655--specifically mentions Quakers as disrupters of ministers, and orders "'all officers and ministers of justice to proceed against them accordingly'" (quoted in BQ, p. 182). This law was reinforced by the Lord's Day Act of 1656 and the Vagrancy Act of 1656 (C. Hill, 1972, pp. 106, 49).

Utopian Response

Wilson states that the utopian response to the world is more radical in its vision than the reformist response. Often under God's

command, utopianists undertake such a reworking of the social structure that worldly evil will be eliminated completely (1973, pp. 25-26).

The utopian response in Quakerism does not clearly emerge until the late 1670's, well after our period of study. By this time, Friends had become wearied by persecution, and for several years had been "look[ing] for a spot in the New World where they could control their own destinies" (Bronner, p. 16). Their first opportunity to establish a Quaker state came after 1674, when Edward Billing acquired land grants for West Jersey. By 1676 Billing, with William Penn's assistance, had drawn up a constitution (EQW, pp. 422-429), containing many of the Leveller doctrines he had stated in his 1659 tract, A Mite of Affection (EQW, pp. 408-410).

But the most ambitious Quaker utopian experiment took shape under the primary direction of William Penn. On March 4, 1680/1, Charles II signed Penn's land charter for the territory in the New World that was to bear his name. Penn's motivation for acquiring the land was other than monetary, since he turned down a £6,000 offer to allow the establishment of a monopoly on Indian trade. Rather than attempt to amass wealth through his new land acquisition, Penn stated that he wanted to "'honor [the Lord's] name and serve his truth and people'" (quoted in Bronner, p. 14). His vision, and the vision of Friends who settled in Pennsylvania, was utopianistic. Quakers believed that they had embarked on a "holy experiment" (Bronner, pp. 1-2, 14-15).

To say more about this later utopian response would take us far afield from our concentration on Quakerism's early period. However, many of the political ideas that Quakers attempted to institute in these New World settlements have their origins in the earliest period of Quaker

history, especially the settlers' attempts to establish a wide toleration for religious Christians (Beatty, pp. 14-15, 24-25; Bronner, p. 36).

Introversionist Response

A group that demonstrates an introversionist response to the world shares with the revolutionists and the reformists the belief that the world is evil. However, it differs from them in its response to evil: it withdraws from the world as completely as possible, rather than trying either to reform it or overthrow it. "The community itself becomes the source and seat of all salvation. Explicitly [the] prospect of salvation is only for those who belong" (Wilson, 1973, p. 24; see p. 23).

Although we find no clear examples of an introversionist response within Quakers' early years, Friends did adopt an increasingly introversionist profile beginning around 1670 (Vann, 1969b, pp. 202ff.). They did so in part from weariness, having suffered years of both brutal political persecution (especially over their refusal to take oaths), and persistent social persecution (resulting from their social manners concerning plain speech and plain dress [Vann, 1969b, p. 202]). The persecutions it first suffered in its early years were eventually to take their emotional toll on the group.

Manipulationist Response

Another possible response to the world is the manipulationist one. As Wilson defines it, "the manipulationist response is to seek only a transformed set of relationships--a transformed method of coping with evil". Groups seeking salvation in this way desire the rewards

of this world, not of another. Salvation involves people learning the proper techniques for overcoming their problems. In large part this type of salvation requires that group members reorient their thinking in order to avoid the mental limitations that hinder their worldly, salvific efforts. Clearly this response demands a subjective change, but afterwards "the objective world will be brought into harmony with this new perception and manipulated by it" (1973, p. 24).

Quakers did not exhibit significant manipulationist responses. Their salvation did not seek the rewards of this world; rather, the salvation they sought often cost them money, goods, health, and family. Quaker merchants did follow one religious practice that, had political and social circumstances been different, could have brought them increased and lasting wealth. However, when we weigh the financial gains they accrued through their religious practices against the financial losses they incurred through them, it becomes obvious that Quakers were not practicing their faith in order to enhance their worldly goods.

Had circumstances been different, Quaker merchants' fixed, non-negotiable prices might have significantly boosted their business. At first, customers disliked not being able to barter for a lower price, but, after seeing the honesty of the Quaker merchants, many changed their attitudes, and Quaker merchants benefitted as a result.[6] However, the possible increase in business was an unintended result of their honesty (Weber, 1951, p. 151), and it was not the result of a deliberate attempt to manipulate the money market in their

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[6]See William Edmonson to Margaret Fell, 27th June, 1656, Swarthmore Collection iv.77, quoted in BQ, p. 211; see Raistrick, p. 44.

own favour.

The fixed price system was part of the Quakers' application of a religious obligation concerning honesty. For instance, Fox admonished merchants to "be faithful to God, be just, be innocent, and ask no more for the thing that you will have: Be at a word 'so say and so do'".[7] It is probable that, after an initial decline in sales, some Quaker merchants increased their businesses as their honest reputations grew.

Had Quakers been manipulationists, they would have taken their modest successes in their business dealings as (at least partial) fulfillment of their worldly aspirations. This was not the case. In fact, if they had experienced any financial successes in their business dealings, their profits probably were absorbed by the rising monetary needs of the group, and an almost certain persecution against themselves. Persecution financially strained many Friends, and bankrupted a few (Anderson, p. 258). Even in this early period some Friends had goods seized as punishment for refusing to pay tithes or church upkeep, as well as for attending Quaker meetings (Anderson, p. 258). Furthermore, any Friend in jail could not attend to his (or her) livelihood, and therefore incurred financial loss during the imprisonment. The Kendal Fund was an attempt to partially offset the economic burdens resulting from persecution, but, since its money was collected from the membership, it represented another financial obligation to its members (BQ, pp. 135-137; EQW, pp. 42, 47).

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[7] Fox, A Warning to All the Merchants in London..., (1658), p. 1; quoted in EQW, p. 431.

In contrast to those Quakers who benefitted financially because of their religiously honest business practices, other Quakers certainly lost money by following the same beliefs. Many merchants and craftsmen had to curtail their sales of luxury items in order to conform to a lifestyle that was above the vanity and sin of worldy pride. Raistrick points out that "many Friends who were tailors or who were concerned in crafts associated with clothing and furnishing, found themselves impelled to withdraw from much of what was regarded as normal trade at that time" (p. 41; see pp. 35-50).

In short, Quakers' business practices in this early era were not designed to manipulate the marketplace in their favour. Their salvation did not include a heightened desire for worldly goods. Their true wealth, they felt, was within their purified hearts and souls, forever untarnished by the ways and the longings of this world.

Thaumaturgical Response

The thaumaturgical response to the world is perhaps the most narrow and particularistic of the seven possible responses. An individual, acting within a group framework, seeks "relief from present and specific ills by magical dispensations". These magical dispensations appear as miracles, and have application only to the specific case and ones similar to it. Therefore, it is unusual for a group to develop a general ideology about them (Wilson, 1973, pp. 24-25).

After adjusting this "response to the world" so that it becomes but one possible response that could have appeared, along with others, within early Quakerism, we find numerous examples of it within the movement. We also see how thaumaturgical behaviours fit into the group's larger

millenarian beliefs.

Miracles are not unusual among persons who identify themselves with prominent early Christians, and who believe that they are living in the last days before Christ's return (supra, Chapter One: "Conditions Influencing the Appearance of Millenarianism"). Certainly Quakers considered themselves to be similar to Christ's early disciples (see Cadbury, p. 5), and believed as well that they were the Christian martyrs who were soon to rule beside Christ in the millennium (as Revelations predicted). Examples of Quaker miracles or attempted miracles indicate the group's close identification with biblical occurrences. Among the most striking is an instance in February 1653/4 of an imprisoned Quaker, Dorothy Bensen, expecting her childbirth to be painless, as was Mary's (Cadbury, pp. 22-23). Equally striking is Dorcas Erbury's insistence at James Nayler's hearing that he had raised her from the dead (Cadbury, pp. 5-6).

Believing as they did that they were acting under God's authority (supra, Chapter One: "Conditions Influencing the Appearance of Millenarianism"), some Quakers, such as Nayler, expected to be able to perform miracles. When their attempts failed, they were confused. For instance, in 1654, Francis Howgill wrote a letter to Fox about the confusion he felt when he and Edward Burrough failed in their repeated attempts to heal a lame boy (Cadbury, p. 12). However, Quakers do seem to have been successful at performing a number of miraculous healings (Cadbury, pp. 8-11; Penny, Journal I, p. xviii, et al.). Members, and especially leaders, enhanced their status by performing these miracles (Cadbury, pp. 6, 10; supra, Chapter Two: "Status and Structure", "Leaders, Prophets, and Messiahs") which, if done publicly, also had recruitment

value for the group (see Cadbury, p. 8).

Quaker claims at having performed miracles as well as their unsuccessful attempts to do so subjected them to ridicule, no doubt in an attempt to break their spirit and hinder their further recruitment efforts (supra, Chapter Two: "Persecution"). Opponents first taunted Quakers in 1652 for their unsuccessful attempts at performing miracles (see Cadbury, p. 21), and they continued their taunts well beyond the period of our study (see Cadbury, pp. 19-26). Some of the incidents for which Quakers were criticized involved fatal misjudgements on their part. For instance, in February, 1656/7, a Quaker martyred himself by committing "suicide, with the expectation of a miraculous resurrection. A woman Friend promised to raise him from the dead. Neither expectation came true" (Cadbury, p. 13; supra, Chapter Two: "Psychopathology").

Numerous other instances of thaumaturgical responses could be cited. For the most part, however, these responses did not become the dominant or preoccupying responses that Quakers exhibited. Quakers saw themselves as God's missionaries, destined to convert the world, and they usually viewed their attempts to perform miracles within this mission. Some members, however, seemed to have attempted miracles for reasons other than ones related to their conversionist efforts, but the group's dominating sense of its mission, its strong group morality, and the criticisms from outsiders all combined to prevent these activities from becoming paramount for Friends.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

EARLY QUAKERISM AND MILLENARIAN THEORY

The most important aspects of this study involve the clarification and consequent application of several terms that are important for general millenarian theory. The medium of early Quakerism provided a rich and largely unexplored area in which these theoretical refinements could be applied to concrete historical examples. Nonetheless, if they are correct, the theoretical refinements should have a broad applicability, and toward this end, this concluding section is devoted to restating them.

This study distinguishes between a social movement and a millenarian movement. As Morrison's relative deprivation theory indicates, a social movement locates blockage to its members' aspirations or opportunities within the social structure, and collectively acts to eliminate it through its own exercise of power. A millenarian movement also locates blockage to its own members' aspirations within the social structure, but it perceives the blockage to be demonic in nature and ultimately expects God to eliminate it during the final Day of Judgement. Nonetheless, a millenarian movement can still engage in political activity, to the extent that it identifies the blockage as a group of people whom it sees as the antichrists, and proceeds against them as soldiers under the edicts of God. The theoritical implications for identifying millenarian movements as potentially active political groups counters that portion of general

millenarian theory which considers millennialist movements to be "pre-political phenomena". Under the proper conditions, millenarianism is a political phenomena, at least in part.

One of the "proper conditions" involves the kind of "dominant response to the world" a millenarian group makes. Quakers' dominant response was a conversionist one (and on this point Brian Wilson stands corrected), since they demanded that the population repent in preparation for Christ's imminent appearance. At first view, a conversionist response to the world might not appear as one that would lead to political activity, but in the case of the Quakers, the activities and attitudes that Friends demanded people reject gave the movement its political edge. In our analysis of early Quakerism, the political importance of its conversionist doctrines became most clear when we used the remaining six possible responses to the world as indicators of kinds of behaviours and attitudes that could have existed in addition to the predominant conversionist one. By applying the remaining six resonses to the world in this manner, it was seen that Quakers advocated important politically reformist doctrines as part of their conversionist demands, and even used language that resembled revolutionary decrees. Researchers examining other millenarian movements might benefit from this methodological innovation: namely, identifying both a group's dominant response to the world and then using the other six types of responses to locate activities and attitudes that probably buttress its dominant one.

The type of responses to the world a group takes will greatly influence, and be influenced by, the kinds of prominent characters that appear within the movement. Rather than blurring these different

prominent characters into the vague term "charismatic leaders", the methodological approach chosen was one that distinguished between "leaders", "prophets", and "messiahs", and even refined "leaders" and "prophets" into more precise subgroups. The distinctions between the three types of prominent figures encouraged a subtle analysis of early Quakers' activities and development, and allowed some of the strengths of certain prominent figures to show forth. The tacit assumption behind role distinctions such as internally-functional and externally-functional leaders is that a millenarian group which survives the inevitable nonconfirmation of its millennialist claims must institutionalize in several important ways, and as it does, it comes to share characteristics which appear in developing organizations. Therefore, researchers into millenarian group development might benefit by examining sociological and social-psychological literature on both organizational development and organizational management.

The development of Quaker organization could not have been described adequately had the primary sources been limited strictly to an analysis of literary tracts. Historical works on the movement provided material that supplemented various doctrinal tracts, personal letters, autobiographies, epistles, and other literary sources. In addition, the organizational needs of the group were clarified further by examining the complicated socio-cultural history of the era. Put simply, the dynamics of the movement were understood only after examining the larger socio-cultural and ideational context in which the movement arose, as well as its own historical records and literary sources.

The methodology of examining a wide range of material in order

to understand the dynamics of Quakerism serves as the basis for a brief but interesting critique of Max Weber's interpretation of the movement within The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. Not only did Weber rely almost exclusively on a literary source in describing the Quakers' religiously oriented business ethic, the source he used was written nearly a quarter-century after the movement first appeared. Had he chosen his sources with more regard to the intricacies of its earlier history, the conclusions he drew regarding Quakerism might have been more cautious, if not significantly different. Despite all the research done on the Protestant Ethic, further research along the lines suggested by this study would be revealing and informative.

Further research also might be done concerning the ways in which millenarianism can either generate psychopathology or relieve its symptoms. On the one hand, millennialists' inflated self-conceptions, their certainty concerning their divine mission against the anti-christ, or their belief in the imminence of the Second Coming all can generate antinomian, anti-social, and even socio-pathological behaviours. On the other hand, participating in a group that considers itself to be God's messenger can relive people from overpowering feelings of anxiety and guilt, and uncertainty. Millenarians can either cause psychopathology or cure it, and the processes by which it does both are ground for fruitful study.

Finally, just as this study took a broad view of the socio-cultural, historical, and literary sources needed to explain the early years of Quakerism, it also took a broad view concerning the kind of millenarian theory that would best explain it. Therefore, the general theoretical framework was one that combined relative deprivation

theory with community-building theory, both of which were supplemented by a modified version of Wilson's "dominant response to the world" approach. Only by using a combination of all three approaches could the complexities of Quakerism's formation, community-building, and organizational development be described. The approach was multifaceted, but the richness and complexity of the material demanded it to be.

APPENDIX

SCHEMA CONCERNING ROLE RELATIONSHIPS AT DIFFERENT STAGES OF COLLECTIVE MILLENARIAN RESPONSES

In the section of Chapter Two entitled, "Leaders, Prophets, and Messiahs", I pointed out that the evolutionary and operational relationships between the six key roles in millenarian groups (i.e., messiahs, exemplary prophets, ethical prophets, symbolic leaders, internally functional leaders, and externally functional leaders) are very complex, and therefore need to be further researched. The following chart helps clarify some of the issues future researchers need to consider. It places the six roles in relation to each other through five different stages of millenarian expectation. By doing so, the chart offers a means for plotting role relationships within millenarian groups from their early, fervent days through some of their later, more difficult times.

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