

GEORGE FOX'S ATTITUDE TOWARD WAR
A Documentary Study by T. Canby Jones

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I. GEORGE FOX'S ATTITUDE TOWARD WAR

The study of Fox's attitude to war which follows will first examine Fox's own conduct and responses in situations which threatened him with force, violence or participation in war. Then what he had to say about ethics and war will be presented under seven headings:

1. The ground and sinfulness of war;
2. The life and power that takes away the occasion of all wars; The covenant of peace or the royal law to love enemies and bless those who persecute;
3. Reliance not on carnal weapons but on spiritual weapons and the armor of light;
4. The magistrate and in what ways his use of force may be legitimate;
5. The sovereign rule of Christ, king, governor and judge
6. of all men; and
7. The Lamb's war and the final victory of God over all evil.

A. Fox's Own Conduct and Responses to Force, Violence and War:

"But" I stood stiff and still and let him strike."

Although some early Friends remained in the armed forces after their convincement or continued as magistrates with the legitimate use of force thereby implied, Fox refused to get involved in such professions. In his personal life Fox never relied on the use of force or physical violence.

In many cases he was beaten mercilessly but he never resisted or struck back. For instance at Mansfield in 1649 he stood up to speak to a congregation in church after the minister had finished, a practice permissible in those days.

But the people fell upon me with their fists, books and without compassion or mercy beat me down in the steeple house and almost smothered me in it and when that they had thrust and thrown me out of the steeple house I fell down and I got up again and they punched and thrust and struck me up and down and they set me in the stocks and brought a whip to whip me, but did not. And as I sat in the stocks they threw stones at me, and my head, arms, breast, shoulders back, and sides were so bruised that I was mazed and dazzled with the blows:

After threatening to kill him with pistols, if he ever returned, the people of Mansfield let him go.

During a similar beating at Warmsworth in 1652 Fox "warned them of the day of the Lord, and turned them to Christ and to repent. But I received not much hurt, for the lord's power was over them all.

In the same year at Tickhill he went up into the chancel to address the people after the minister was done and was beaten with a Bible until the blood gushed from his face. He was stoned, thrown back and forth over a hedge, beaten with other books, fists and sticks.

Fox's reaction was remarkable:

My spirit was revived again by the power of God; for through their bruising, beating, blooding, stoning and throwing me down, I was almost mazed and my body sore bruised, but by the power of the Lord I was refreshed again, to him be the glory.

Fox characterized himself as "a preacher of righteousness." The positive power he had over people on the street is shown in this incident Which occurred in Kendal, Westmoreland in 1652:

And so I spoke through Kendal upon a market day. I had silver in my pocket and I was moved to throw it out amongst the people as I was going up the street before I spoke, and my life was offered up amongst them, and the mighty power of the Lord was seen in preserving and the power of the Lord was so mighty and so strong that people flew like chaff before me, and ran into their houses and shops, for fear and terror took hold upon them.

Perhaps the most remarkable of all of George Fox's recoveries from beatings occurred in Ulverston, West Lancashire in 1652. Here people had fallen on him in the church. The justice ordered him whipped and put out of town. Fox continues:

And when they had led me to the common moss and a multitude of people following, the constables took me and gave me a whisk over the shoulder with their willow rods, and so thrust me amongst the rude multitude which then fell upon me with their hedge stakes and clubs and staves and beat me as hard as ever they could strike on my head and arms and shoulders, and it was a great while before they beat me down and mazed me, and at last I fell down upon the wet common. There I lay a pretty space, and when I recovered myself again, and saw myself lying on a watery common and all the people standing about me, I lay a little still, and the power of the Lord sprang through me, and the eternal refreshings refreshed me, that I stood up again in the eternal power of God and stretched out my arms amongst them all, and said again with a loud voice. 'Strike again. Here is my arms, and my head and my cheeks.' And there was a mason, a rude fellow, a professor called, he gave me a blow with all his might just atop of my hand, as it was stretched out, with his walking rule-staff. And my hand and arm was so numbed and bruised that I could not draw it unto me again but it stood out as it was. Then the people cried out. He hath spoiled his hand, for ever having any use of it more.' The skin was struck off my hand and a little blood came, and I looked at it in the love of God, and I was in the love of God to them all that had persecuted me.

And after a while the Lord's power sprang through me again, and through my hand and arm, that in a minute I recovered my hand and arm and strength in the face and sight of them all and it was as well as it was before, and I had never another blow afterward.

One other beating ends with a very amusing victory by Fox. Imprisoned in 1653 in Carlisle castle with the threat of death by hanging over him, Fox's cruel jailer forbade him to come near the small grating, the only window in the dungeon. Of this Fox said:

And I could get up to the grate where sometimes I took my meat, and the gaoler was offended and came in a rage with his great staff. And he fell a-beating of me though I was not at the window at that time, and cried, "Come out of the window", though I was far enough off it; and as he struck me I was made to sing in the Lord's power, and that made him to rage the more. Then he fetched a fiddler and brought him into the dungeon and set him to play thinking to cross me: and when he played I was moved in the everlasting power of the Lord God to sing; and my voice drowned them and struck them and confounded them and made the fiddler sigh and give over his fiddling; and so he passed away with shame.

Shortly after this Fox was set at liberty and wrote a paper to the Long Parliament complaining of the breaking up of Friends Meetings by soldiers and insisting on the peaceableness of Friends' principles:

Friends

Is it not known throughout the nation the people of God which are of the seed of God [in] scorn called Quakers are peaceable people and meet peaceably and is known to the chief magistrates of the nation that they do not fight with carnal weapons nor draw out the carnal sword but their weapons are [spiritual], and that they are against murderous plots.

In many cases people ran at George Fox with drawn swords, naked rapiers or with pistols cocked. Above we barely mentioned the first of these which happened at Twycross in 1649. Fox had just prayed by the bedside of a prominent man who was ill and was giving words of counsel to others present when:

...there came one of his servants with a naked sword and run at me ere I was aware of him, and set it to my side, and there held it, and I looked up at him in his face and said to him, 'Alack for thee, it's no more to me than a straw'. And then he went away in a rage, with threatening words, and I passed away, and the power of the Lord came over all.

In 1652 Fox averted a knife attack in Wensleydale in the following manner:

And at last I came to a little alehouse where there were some fellows drinking. And I walked up and down in the house and after a time they began to drink to me. I would not drink with them and I spoke to them the Truth, warning them of the mighty day of the Lord that was coming and bid them take heed of that which showed them sin and evil in their hearts, upon which one rose up against me with a club. I was walking out as to have lien all night out doors, and he that would have struck me followed me, with a batch of knives by his side, under pretense that he would have whispered with me. But I kept him off and warned him to repent. So the Lord preserved me by his power from him.

Just after Fox's terrible beating at Ulverston a friendly soldier with a naked rapier intervened on Fox's behalf. Fox turned around and:

...saw the soldier amongst them with his naked rapier; and I run amongst them and caught hold of his hand that his rapier was in and bid him put up his sword again if he would come along with me, for I was willing to draw him out from the company lest some mischief should be done. And within a few days after, seven men fell upon this soldier aforesaid and beat him cruelly because he had taken my part.

In 1652 while Fox was on Walney island, "In the evening there came a man who bound himself with an oath that he would shoot me with a pistol." Later Fox walked into the yard and:

Fell a-speaking; and then the fellow drew his pistol. And he snapped his pistol at me but it would not go off, though he struck fire. And some held him and some carried me away, and so through the power of the Lord God I escaped.

While in Scotland in 1658 Fox summed up his attitude toward all who threatened him with weapons. "So I saw and felt that I went over their very muskets, cannons, pistols, pikes and

very sword-ends. And the Lord's power and immediate hand carried us over the heads of them all.”

At Halifax 1654 George Fox was rescued from a plot to murder him. Friends rescued him by their non-violent action. In recounting the incident Fox also recorded the final fate of his would-be-murderers:

And then I was moved to come down to Halifax, where there was a great meeting some three miles out. Many hundreds of people and the butchers of Halifax had bound themselves with an oath that they would kill me; and they came to the meeting and was very rude and desperate, but the press of the people was so great that they could not get in to me and they bore friends out of their very places where they stood through their violence, and so the man of the house which was a friend being of repute amongst men, stood upon friends shoulders, and desired them that would not be quiet to go out of his ground; and they shouted for a great time, and said they would make it a common, and so I was moved to stand out and friends about me which was like a ring; and said if there were any man that had reason or understanding of the things of God let him come in unto me; and never one would, and so the truth came over them; and our meeting broke up very well; and so they passed away missing their end; but the judgment of the Lord fell upon some of them, for one of them had killed a man and a woman that had bound himself to kill me and several of them perished sadly, one used to hold out his tongue at friends when they went by [him], and he died with his tongue hanging out of his mouth below his chin; and another died eaten to death with lice; and sad ends came to them, and truth came over all.

Perhaps the most outstanding example of Fox's turning back again to a city which had just beaten him up and thrown him out occurred at Warwick 1655:

And when we were ridden quite through the town I was moved of the Lord to go back again into the street to offer up my life among them, and said to Friends whoever found freedom might follow me, and they that did not might go on to Duncow. And John Crook followed me, declaring the word of life to them. So I passed up the street, and people fell upon me with their cudgels and abused me and struck me and threw my horse down, yet by the power of the Lord I passed through them, and called upon the town and shopkeepers and told them of their immodest state, how they were a shame to Christians and the profession of Christianity....

Fox's physical strength and courage come out in the following attack on him at Falmouth in 1656:

But the next morning Keate brings in his brother; a rude, wicked man, and puts him into the room and he himself stands without. And he walked huffing up and down the room and I bid him fear the Lord; and he come upon me and struck me with both his hands and clapped his leg behind me and would fain have thrown me down, but he could not. But I stood stiff and still and let him strike.

In many instances Fox sensed plots against his life and outwitted his enemies. One of these incidents happened at Brecknock in 1657:

And they had a plot amongst them to have had us out of that room where we went into another room to have supped, a great hall. And so I looked at the room, and perceiving that plot, I bid the woman bring our meat into our own chamber and we

would have none if we had it not in our own room. At last she brought it up in a great rage. Then she wished us out of her house, and we told her we had taken a house of her and grass, and so when she could not by any means get us out, they came by flattery. She would have six men come into the room under pretense to discourse with us. But we told her that no persons should come into our room that night, neither would we go out to them. So the Lord prevented their mischief for they had an intent to have murdered us.

Fox's attitude toward his personal participation in war comes out most clearly in the two instances where people tried to get him to enter the army and in an earlier instance in which Fox convinced a soldier who subsequently laid down his arms. This incident occurred while Fox was prisoner in Derby jail in 1650:

...there came a trooper to me and said as he was sitting in the steeple house hearing the priest he was in an exceeding great trouble and the voice of the Lord came to him saying 'What, dost not thou know that my servant is in prison, go to him for directions?' and he came and I spoke to him and opened his understanding and settled his mind in the light and spirit of God in himself: and told him that which showed him his sin and troubled him for it: would show him his salvation: for he that shows a man his sins is he that takes it away: and so the Lord's power opened to him so as he began to have great understanding of the Lord's truth and mercies: and began to speak boldly in his quarters amongst the soldiers and others concerning truth: and the Scriptures was very much opened to him: so that he said that his two Colonels Barton and Saunders was as blind as Nebuchadnezzar to cast me the servant of the Lord into prison: so they began also to have a spite and malice against him: that when he came to Worcester fight and the two armies lay one nigh the other: two came out of the king's army and challenged two out of the parliament army to fight with them: and they went forth to them and his companion was killed and after he drove the two within musket shot of the town and he never fired his pistol at them: this he told me out of his own mouth: but when the fight was over he saw their deceit and hypocrisy and he laid down his arms and saw to the end of fighting and how the Lord had miraculously preserved him:

While still a prisoner at Derby with the battle of Worcester in prospect Fox was offered a captaincy in the army of Parliament:

...and the soldiers cried they would have none but me. They proffered me that preferment because of my virtue [valor], as they said, with many other compliments, and asked me if I would not take up arms for the commonwealth against the King. But I told them I lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars, and I knew from whence all wars did rise, from the lust according to James's doctrine. Still they courted me to accept of their offer and thought that I did but compliment with them. But I told them I was come into the covenant of peace which was before wars and strifes were.

This classic statement, which serves as the basis for three of our main topics in the following section, cost Fox six extra months confinement in "a lousy stinking dungeon." Just a little later the same justice who had sentenced him in the first place tried to get him into the army again, this time as a common soldier. Again Fox refused:

I told them I was brought off from outward wars. They came down again to give me press-money but I would take none. After a while at night the constables fetched me up again and brought me before the Commissioners, and they said I should go for a soldier, but I told them I was dead to it. They said I was alive. I told them, 'Where envy and hatred are there is confusion'. They offered me money twice, but I would not take it. Then they were wroth and I was committed close prisoner without bail.

During the period 1647-1660 George Fox made three statements concerning his own peace convictions and those of the Quakers Which I will include in this section since they occurred as the result of direct demands for action. The first of these was made 1654-1655 by Fox in response to a demand by Oliver Cromwell that "He not take up a sword against the Lord Protector of the Government as it is now; and that George Fox would write down the words in answer... Fox's answer represents some of his most important words about the ethics of war and peace:

I, who am of the world called George Fox, do deny that the carrying or drawing of any carnal sword against any, or against thee, Oliver Cromwell, or any man. In the presence of the Lord God I declare it.

God is my witness, by whom I am moved to give this forth for the Truth's sake, from him whom the world calls George Fox; who is the son of God who is sent to stand a witness against all violence and against all the works of darkness, and to turn people from the darkness to the light, and to bring them from the occasion of the war and from the occasion of the magistrate's sword, which is a terror to the evil doers who act contrary to the light of the Lord Jesus Christ, which is a praise to them that do well, a protection to them that do well and not evil. Such soldiers as are put in that place no false accusers must be, no violence must do, but be content with their wages; and the magistrate bears not the sword in vain. From under the occasion of that sword I do seek to bring people. My weapons are not carnal but spiritual, and 'my kingdom is not of this world', therefore with a carnal weapon I do not fight, but am from those things dead; from him who is not of the world, called of the world by the name of George Fox. And this I am ready to seal with my blood.

In 1659 as the Commonwealth began to disintegrate, control of the government passed to some radical Puritan major generals led by Sir Harry Vane. Fearful of the return of the king they sought to mobilize assistance from all the radical groups in the country including the Quakers. At this time several Friends were made magistrates and justices and a few others accepted new commissions in the army. Three Friends from Cardiff sent a request to Fox for permission to join up, since the recruiting officer had been very kindly disposed toward Friends. Fox refused, saying it was "contrary to our principles, for our weapons are spiritual not carnal." Even Fox himself was offered the rank of Colonel, "but he denied them all and bade them live peaceable....

To keep Friends from being "drawn into that snare" Fox wrote two epistles to Friends. They are of great importance in the development of the Quaker testimony against war.

All Friends, everywhere, keep out of plots and bustling, and the arm of the flesh; for all these are amongst Adam's sons in the fall, where they are destroying men's lives like dogs and beasts and swine, goring, rending, and biting one another, destroying one another, and wrestling with flesh and blood. From whence arise wars and killing but from the lusts? Now all this is in Adam in the fall, out of Adam that never fell, in

whom there is peace and life. Ye are called to peace, therefore follow it; and that peace is in Christ, not in Adam in the fall. All that pretend to fight for Christ, are deceived; for his kingdom is not of this world, therefore his servants do not fight. Fighters are not of Christ's kingdom, but are without Christ's kingdom; his kingdom stands in peace and righteousness, but fighters are in the lust; and all that would destroy men's lives, are not of Christ's mind, who came to save men's lives. Christ's kingdom is not of this world it is peaceable: and all that are in strife are not of his kingdom. All that pretend to fight for the Gospel, are deceived; for the gospel is the power of God, which was before the devil or fall of man was; and the gospel of peace was before fighting was. Therefore they that pretend fighting, are ignorant of the gospel; and all that talk of fighting for Sion, are in darkness; for Sion needs no such helpers. All such as profess themselves to be ministers of Christ, or Christians, and go about to beat down the whore with outward, carnal weapons, the flesh and the whore are got up in themselves, and they are in a blind zeal; for the whore got up by the inward ravening from the spirit of God; and the beating down thereof, must be by the inward stroke of the sword of the Spirit within. All such as pretend Christ Jesus, and confess him, and yet run into the use of carnal weapons, wrestling with flesh and blood, throw away the spiritual weapons. They that would be wrestlers with flesh and blood, throwaway Christ's doctrine; the flesh is got up in them, and they are weary of their sufferings. Such as would revenge themselves are out of Christ's doctrine. Such as being stricken on one cheek, would not turn the other, are out of Christ's doctrine: and such as do not love one another, nor love enemies, are out of Christ's doctrine.

Therefore, ye that are heirs of the blessings of God, which were before the curse and the fall were, come to inherit your portions; and ye that are heirs of the gospel of peace, seeking the peace of all men, and the good of all men; and live in Christ, who came to save men's lives, out of Adam in the fall, where they destroy men's lives, and live not in Christ. The Jew's sword outwardly, by which they cut down the heathen, was a type of the Spirit of God within, which cuts down the heathenish nature within. So live in the peaceable kingdom of Christ Jesus. Live in the peace of God, and not in the lusts, from whence wars arise. Live in Christ the Prince of Peace, the way of God, who is the second, Adam, that never fell; but live not in Adam in the fall, in the destruction where they destroy one another. Therefore come out of Adam in the fall into the Adam that never fell. Live in love and peace with all men; keep out of the bust lings of the world; meddle not with the powers of the earth; but mind the kingdom, the way of peace. Ye that are heirs of grace, heirs of the kingdom, heirs of the gospel, heirs of salvation, saints of the Most High, and children of God, whose conversation is in heaven, that is above the combustions of the earth; let your conversation preach to all men, and your innocent lives, that they who speak evil of you, beholding your godly conversation, may glorify your Father which is in heaven. All Friends everywhere, this I charge you, which is the word of the Lord God unto you all, 'Live in peace, in Christ the way of peace', and therein seek the peace of all men, and no man's hurt. In Adam in the fall, is no peace; but in Adam out of the fall, is peace: so, ye being in Adam which never fell, it is love that overcomes, and

not hatred with hatred, nor strife with strife. Therefore live all in the peaceable life, doing good to all men, and seeking the good and welfare of all men.

G.F.

Nearly every major point in Fox's attitude toward war is found in this letter just cited. In the second one written a little later the same year, 1659, Fox calls Friends to know a kingdom which has no end and to fight for it with spiritual weapons which take away the occasion of the carnal:

All Friends everywhere, take heed to keep out of the powers of the earth, that run into wars and fightings, which make not for peace, but destroy it; such will not have the kingdom. And Friends, take heed of joining with this or the other, or meddling with any, or being busy with other men's matters; but mind the Lord, his power, and his service. Let Friends keep out of other men's matters, and keep in that which answers the witness in them all, out of the man's part, where they must expect wars and dishonor. Friends everywhere, dwell in your own, in the power of the Lord God, to keep your minds up to the Lord God, from falling down to the strength of Egypt, or going thither for strength, after ye are come out of it, like the children of Israel after they were come out of the outward Egypt. But dwell in the power of the Lord God, that ye may keep over all the powers of the earth, amongst whom the just hand of God is come; for they have turned against the just, disobeyed the just, in their own particulars, and so gone on in one against the just; therefore the just sets them one against another. Now he that goes to help among them, is astray from the just in himself, in the unstead state, and doth not know by the All-seeing Eye (that beholdeth,) him that recompenseth and rewardeth, and lives not in the hand, in the power, that mangles and overturns, which vexeth the transgressors, that come to be blind, and zealous for they do not know what. Therefore keep in peace, and in the love and power of God, and in unity and love one to another, lest any go out, and fall with the uncircumcized: that is, they that are from the Spirit in themselves, and they that go from it go into the pit together. Therefore stand (it is the word of the Lord God unto you all) in the fear and dread of the lord God, his power, life, light, seed, and wisdom, by which ye may take away the occasion of wars, and so know a kingdom which hath no end, and fight for that with spiritual weapons, which takes away the occasion of the carnal; and there gather men to war, as many as ye can, and set up as many as ye can with these weapons.

Following these two statements by Fox in 1659 any looseness or inconsistency of the Christian peace testimony as held by Friends came to an end. Up until that time we have seen that George Fox eschewed any reliance on war, force or physical violence for himself and recommended it strongly for all others. Many individual Friends however continued in the armed services while others came to a sudden conviction of the peace testimony, left the armed forces and immediately became Friends. Besides Friends had a great stake in the success of the Commonwealth even though they had been its outcasts much of the time. By 1659 it was clear that there was no hope for the continuance of the Commonwealth. The Friends peace testimony became an anti-government attitude which froze into monolithic consistency with the Restoration of 1660.

With the restoration of Charles II to the throne in May 1660 the dream of Puritan Commonwealth was shattered. Quakers and other radical groups quickly became suspect. As a defense against the suspicions and hostile legislation of the Cavalier Parliament the

Friends peace testimony crystallized into a uniform witness supported by all Friends in opposition to the government and its reestablished Anglican uniformity. In the late spring of 1660 persons whose loyalty to the new regime was suspect were rounded up. George Fox was arrested at Swarthmoor for this reason. Under guard of "thirty horse and foot" he was taken from Ulverston to Lancaster and was met on the way by:

...some considerable Friends and Margaret Fell and the children. And a great party of horse gathered about me and cried, 'Would they rescue him; would they rescue him?' and were mad in fury and rage. So I said to them, 'Here is my back, here is my cheek, strike on'. At which words their heat assuaged.

Fox's indomitable spirit came out again as the entourage entered Lancaster:

...And there was one wicked fellow kneeled down and lifted up his hands and blessed God that I was taken; and a great triumph they thought to have had. And as they led me I was moved to sing praises unto the Lord in his triumphing power over all.

After trial Fox was sentenced to be imprisoned until released by order of the King and Parliament. Whereupon Fox wrote to the King denying that he plotted violence or insurrection against the new government. "And I denied," said Fox, "drawing a carnal weapon against him or any man upon earth, for my weapons are spiritual, that take away the occasion of war and which leads into peace. I never was found in any plots, nor ever took any engagement, nor never took any oath, nor never learned war postures. I was never a common enemy to the King nor to any man's person upon the earth. But I am in the love that fulfils the law and thinks no evil, but loves enemies, and would have the King saved and come to the knowledge of the Truth, and brought into the fear of the Lord. I owe nothing to the King but love, nor to any man, and love doth not kill but fulfils the law." ¹⁵¹ This letter is of equal importance to Fox's declaration of innocence and non-resistance to Cromwell of 1654 especially when this paragraph omitted from most editions of the *Journal* is included:

I am innocent as a child of all these things, who witness the power of God, and am in that which was before wars was, or carnal weapons either, and knows the state where nation shall not learn war anymore, but from that knows redemption, and my kingdom is not of this world, with carnal weapons I do not fight, with flesh and blood I do not wrestle, and my weapons are not carnal but spiritual, who am led by the spirit of God, so the son of God, who am not under the law nor its weapons, but am come to the love which fulfils the law, and doth not kill about the church and worship as the Jews did, but loves enemies, and this was a true Christian state in the days of old, and I seek the peace of all men, that in it their feet might walk, that in the fear of the Lord God all might be preserved and kept.

When Fox was remanded to the King's bench in London by a writ of *habeas corpus*, he posted bond that he would appear and plead his innocence. Reluctant to incur the expense of sending him up under guard the court amazingly enough agreed to Fox's proposal that he go up unguarded and at his own expense. Fox described the decision:

...Nevertheless, if they would let me go up with one or two of my own friends to bear me company, I might go up and be in London on such a day if the Lord did permit, and I would carry my own charge. So they consented and I came out of prison in about three weeks time, I came to London.

Within three months of Fox's release the Fifth Monarchy Uprising against the new regime occurred in London, January 1661. On January 10 by proclamation the King proscribed all meetings of Fifth Monarchists, Baptists and Quakers. Suspects were proffered the oath of allegiance to the crown and jailed if they refused to swear. Within a few days over 4200 Friends were in prison. When they came to arrest Fox:

...there was a soldier clapped his hand to my pocket and asked whether I had any pistols. And I told him he knew that I did not use to carry pistols, why did he ask such a question of me, who he knew was a peaceable man, and did he not know our principle, for our weapons were spiritual and our principles were peaceable.

On the same occasion another soldier drew his sword at Fox "and I asked him wherefore he drew his sword at a naked man, so being ashamed another bid him put it up and so they carried me away prisoner to Scotland Yard." While there officers asked him to take the oath of allegiance. Fox replied:

I told them I never took an oath in my life and so preached the Gospel unto them, which was peaceable, that they should love one another [And I asked them when would they break their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks.] And I asked them what they did with all their carnal weapons and swords by their sides, and When would they break them into pieces and come to the gospel of peace. And there came some great persons who were very full of envy. 'What!' said they, 'Do ye let him preach? Put him in such a place where he may not stir' And though they could confine my body and keep that up, yet I told them they could not stop up the word of life.

Later the same year Fox clarified his opposition to physical warfare in a statement against the Fifth Monarchy men. He said they would look in vain for the second coming of Christ to set up the fifth kingdom promised in Daniel in outward form, because Christ had already come and set it up more than sixteen-hundred years ago:

And when Christ was come he said his kingdom was not of this world; if it was, his servants should fight, but it was not and therefore his servants did not fight. Therefore all the Fifth-Monarchy Men, that be fighters with carnal weapons, they are none of Christ's servants, but the beast's and the Whore's. Christ saith, 'All power in heaven and in earth is given to me', so then his kingdom was set up and he reigns.

Within eleven days of the King's proclamation against Fifth Monarchists, Baptists and Quakers George Fox, Richard Hubberthorne and ten other Friends sent the well known 'Declaration of 1660' to the King. This classic statement has been the standard of the Quaker peace testimony ever since. Most of Fox's attitudes to war are found in it. I quote it in part:

Our principle is, and our practices have always been, to seek peace and ensue it, and to follow after righteousness and the knowledge of God, seeking the good and welfare and doing that which tends to the peace of all. We know that wars and

fightings proceed from the lusts of men (as Jas. iv. 1-3), out of which lusts the Lord hath redeemed us, and so out of the occasion of war. All bloody principles and practices, we do utterly deny, with all outward wars and strife and fighting with outward weapons, for any end or under any pretense whatsoever. And this is our testimony to the whole world.

And whereas it is objected:

'But, although you now say that you cannot fight nor take up arms at all, yet if the spirit do move you, then you will change your principle, and then you will sell your coat and buy a sword and fight for the kingdom of Christ.'

Answer:

As for this we say to you that Christ said to Peter, 'put up thy sword in his place'; though he had said before, he that hath no sword might sell his coat and buy one (to the fulfilling of the law and Scripture), yet after, when he had bid him put it up, he said, 'He that taketh the sword shall perish with the sword.' And further, Christ said to Peter, 'Thinkest thou, that I cannot pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels?' And in the Revelation, it's said, 'He that kills with the sword shall perish with the sword: and here is the faith and Patience of the saints.' (Rev. xiii. 10.) And so Christ's kingdom is not of this world, therefore do not his servants fight, as he told Pilate, the magistrate who crucified him.

That the spirit of Christ, by which we are guided, is not changeable, so as once to command us from a thing as evil and again move unto it; and we certainly do know, and so testify to the world, that the spirit of Christ, which leads us into all Truth, will never move us to fight and war against any man with outward weapons, neither for the kingdom of Christ, nor for the kingdoms' of this world.

First:

Because the kingdom of Christ will grow and flourish in righteousness. 'Not by might, nor by power [of outward sword], but by my spirit, saith the Lord.' (Zech. iv. 6.) So those that use any weapon to fight for Christ, or for the establishing of his kingdom or government, both the spirit, principle, and practice we deny.

Secondly:

And as for the kingdoms of this world, we cannot covet them, much less can we fight for them, but we do earnestly desire and wait, that by the Word of God's power and its effectual operation in the hearts of men, the kingdoms of this world may become the kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ, that he may rule and reign in men by his spirit and truth, that thereby all people, out of all different judgments and professions may be brought into love and unity with God, and one with another, and that they may all come to witness the prophet's words who said, 'Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.' (Isa. ii.4; Mic. iv.3.)

So, we whom the Lord hath called into the obedience of his Truth have denied wars and fightings and cannot again any more learn it. This is a certain testimony unto all the world.

For this we can say to the whole world, we have wronged no man's person or possessions, we have used no force or violence against any man, we have been found in no plots, nor guilty of sedition. When we have been wronged, we have not sought to revenge ourselves, we have not made resistance against authority, but wherein we could not obey for conscience' sake, we have suffered even the most of any people in the nation. We have been accounted as sheep for the slaughter, persecuted and despised, beaten, stoned, wounded, stocked, whipped, imprisoned, haled out of the synagogues, cast into dungeons and noisome vaults where many have died in bonds, shut up from our friends, denied needful sustenance for many days together, with other like cruelties.

And the cause of all this our sufferings is not for any evil, but for things relating to the worship of our God and in obedience to his requirings of us. For which cause we shall freely give up our bodies as a sacrifice, rather than disobey the Lord. For we know, as the Lord hath kept us innocent, so he will plead our cause, when there is none in the earth to plead it. And he that hath commanded us that we shall not swear at all (Matt. v. 34), hath also commanded us that we shall not kill (Matt. v. 21), so that we can neither kill men, nor swear for or against them. And this is both our principle and practice, and hath been from the beginning, so that if we [are] suspected to take up arms or make war against any, it is without any ground for it [never] was in our hearts, since we owned the truth of God; neither shall we ever do it, because it is contrary to the spirit of Christ, his doctrine, and the practice of his apostles for whom we suffer all things, and endure all things.

And whereas men come against us with clubs, staves, drawn swords, pistols cocked, and do beat, cut and abuse us, yet we never resisted them, but to them our hair, backs and cheeks have been ready.

Therefore consider these things plotters, raisers of insurrections these are of this unrighteous world, from the foundation of which the Lamb hath been slain, which Lamb hath redeemed us from the unrighteous world, and we are not of it, but are heirs of a world in which there is no end and of a kingdom where no corruptible thing enters. And our weapons are spiritual and not carnal, yet mighty through God to the plucking down of the strongholds of Satan, who is the author of wars, fighting, murder, and plots. And our swords are broken into ploughshares and spears into pruning-hooks, as prophesied of in Micah iv. Therefore we cannot learn war anymore, neither rise up against nation or kingdom with outward weapons.

And all plots, insurrections, and riotous meetings we do deny, knowing them to be of the devil, the murderer, which we in Christ, which was before they were, triumph over. And all wars and fightings with carnal weapons we do deny, who have the sword of the spirit and all that wrong us we leave them to the Lord.

By May 1661 most of those arrested in connection with the Fifth Monarchy plot had been released from prison and the Cavalier Parliament prepared the Quaker Act which became law in May 1662. This act provided that refusal of the oath of allegiance was unlawful and that no more than four Quakers at anyone time could meet for any purpose. Fines, imprisonment and finally transportation to a penal colony were the penalties.⁶¹ A storm of persecution broke over Friends, which did not let up when the Quaker Act was enlarged to include all Non-conformists in the Conventicle Acts of 1664 and 1670. By 1672 over 6000 Friends had served prison terms under King Charles. During his reign 450 of them died in

prison. An ancient fourteenth century law of Praemunire was revived to deal with those who refused the oath of allegiance. Under its provisions the accused was 1) declared an outlaw; 2) his property forfeit to the crown; 3) imprisoned at the King's pleasure, i.e. indefinitely. The application of this law accounts for the fact that many Nonconformists, Friends among them, were confined for such long terms. ² George Fox's longest imprisonment, January 1664- September 1666, was such a praemunire for refusing the oath. In the face of these penal laws it is surprising how much traveling and preaching Fox accomplished. Authorities all across the country sought to arrest him. After 1663 there was a price of five pounds on his head. With the exception of the imprisonment just mentioned Fox was able to evade or talk his way out of dozens of arrests, "through the power of the Lord," of course. For instance, in 1663 Fox was accosted by a captain and musketeers under the Quaker Act.

Fox retorted:

I told him I knew no such law and he brought out the law that was made against Quakers and others. And I told him that was against such as were a terror to the King's subjects, and were enemies and held dangerous principles. For we held Truth and our meetings were peaceable and we loved all people and were enemies to none. And they told me I was an enemy of the King. I told them I had been cast into Derby dungeon because I would not take up arms against him fourteen years ago about Worcester fight, and was brought up by Colonel Hacker to London as a plotter to bring in King Charles, and kept there till I was set at liberty by Oliver the Protector. Our principles was peaceable and I spoke to them to live in the fear of God and to be tender toward their neighbors that feared God, and mind God's wisdom by which they might come to order all things to God's glory. And so they came to be very civil to us; and they said, if they set us at liberty we would laugh at them. We said, nay we should rather pity them; for the Act was to take hold only of such as met to plot and contrive insurrections against the King. So after a great debate they set me at liberty.

During Fox's long imprisonment he suffered terribly from exposure. He describes his condition after his release in 1666:

But I was so weak with lying about three years in cruel and hard imprisonments, my joints and my body were so stiff and benumbed that I could hardly get on my horse. Neither could I well bend my knees, nor hardly endure fire nor eat warm meat: I had been so long kept from it.

Four years later in London the second Conventicle Act had just come in force. Fox went to meeting for worship in Gracechurch street. Friends were locked out of the meetinghouse and soldiers guarded the doors. So they had their meeting for worship outside in the courtyard. Fox delivered a message against persecutors on that occasion:

And after I had spoken a pretty many words, in came the constable with an informer, and an officer with a file of musketeers, and I cried, 'Blessed are the peacemakers.'

Then they plucked me down and pulled me out and the officer said I was the man he looked for...

In this instance the Lord Mayor turned out to be very "loving" and Fox was released. During this decade of persecution Fox wrote many letters of comfort to those in prison. Here is one of the most beautiful:

My dear Friends,
The Seed is above all. In it walk, in which ye all have life. Be not amazed at the weather; for always the just suffered by the unjust, but the just had the dominion. And all along ye may see, by faith the mountains were subdued; and the rage of the wicked, and his fiery darts, were quenched. And though the waves and storms be high, yet your faith will keep you to swim above them, for they are but for a time. Therefore keep on the mountain of holiness, ye Who are led to it by the light where nothing shall hurt. And do not think that anything will outlast the Truth, which standeth sure, and is over that which is out of the Truth; for the good will overcome all the false. So be faithful and live in that which doth not think the time long.

G.F.

Although Fox did not suffer as many violent attacks upon him during this period as he had previously, there were some notable ones. Fox showed his characteristic courage in London in 1661. He heard one of a company of Irish colonels and other rude men say:

...he would kill all the Quakers and Baptists and Presbyterians and Independents and Monarchy people. So I went down to him and was moved in the power of the Lord to speak to him, and it came over him. And I told him 'The Law said, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, but thou threatens thou wilt kill all and the Quakers though they have done thee no hurt but here is gospel for thee, here is my hair, and here is my cheek, and here are my shoulders' and turned them to him. He and his company were so amazed that they said if that was our principle, and that we were as we said, then they never saw the like in their lives. So I told him and them I was the same in life as I was in words and the Truth came so over him that he grew loving.

Four years later Fox was challenged to a fight by a drunken fellow prisoner at Scarborough castle. By his refusal to fight Fox won the admiration and friendship of his captors. He relates the incident:

And there were two bad prisoners that often would drink with the officers and soldiers, and because I would not sit and drink with them they made them worse against me. One time when they were almost drunk, one of them, Will Wilkinson a Presbyterian who had been a captain came and challenged me to fight with him. And they were both full of beer, and when one would be at me the other withheld him, and when the other would be at me, then the other would withheld him. And the next morning when they were more sober I told him that challenged me I was come to answer him, with my hands in my pockets, and reaching my head towards him, said there was my hair and my back, and What a shame it was for him to challenge a man whose principle he knew was not to strike; he should have challenged some of the soldiers that might have answered him again. But he skipped away and went into another room, at which the soldiers fell a-laughing, and the officers said, 'You are a

happy man that can bear such things.' After a while he took the oath, gave bond, and got out of prison and the Lord soon cut him off in his wickedness.

After this incident "the officers and soldiers were mightily changed and respective. And said, 'He is as stiff as a tree and as pure as a bell, for we could never stir him.'"

Because of leadership and courage both passengers and crew turned to Fox for advice on his voyage to America in 1671 when a Barbary pirate ship bore down on their vessel and capture seemed imminent. Capture meant enslavement at Tunis or Algiers; fear gripped everyone on board. Fox described the incident:

And so about the eleventh hour at night, towards the setting of the moon, he was just upon us. I could see him out of my cabin on the other side of the ship. And they came down to me to my cabin, the master and the other mariners; and then all the company and the passengers were in great fear; and as I was getting up I was made to lie still. And I charged them all to be still and quiet, and to put out all their candles but the one they steered by. And I remembered my words, how that the Lord's power and spirit was placed betwixt us and him. And I saw out of my cabin he was rather before us, but we being of the dark side of the moon, and it being upon going down, we missed him. And after midnight we discovered him about two miles or half a league off us. And the moon set and there came a fine gale, and we steered the compass off three points at large, and we saw him no more, which was the almighty hand of God that delivered us. To him alone be all glory, honor and praise for evermore. And the wild passengers were all humbled.

In a similar spirit Fox describes a storm on the return journey in 1673, "...a great storm we had, and it lasted all the night, that it made the sea like mountains, and roar like cannons in the ship but the Lord preserved us over all.

Fox was especially interested in the American Indians because he was convinced that they knew the Light and Spirit of God within them as well as any Europeans did. In North Carolina Fox got into a dispute over this with a doctor who denied that Indians could know the Spirit of God. So Fox:

...called an Indian because he denied it to be in them, and I asked him if that he did lie and do that to another which he would not have them do the same to him, and when he did wrong was not there something in him, that did tell him of it, that he should not do so, but did reprove him. And he said there was such a thing in him. So we made the doctor ashamed in the sight of the governor and the people.

All Fox's encounters with Indians were friendly except one. In that incident he escaped an Indian ambush, rejoiced in the Lord's deliverance and mentioned that one of the Indians was caught and hanged.

On his return from America in 1673 Fox landed at Bristol and was met there by his wife Margaret, whom he had married in 1669, and some of his stepchildren. On the way north to visit his mother he was arrested at Tredington and committed to Worcester jail. Accused of holding an illegal conventicle Fox was tendered the oath of allegiance. He refused. As he was committed to jail Fox stretched out his arm and said, "The Lord forgive thee, who casts me in prison for obeying the doctrine of Christ."

His case was reviewed at the Quarter Sessions in July of 1674. Fox tried to point out the errors in the indictment against him, refused the oath once more and retorted to the judge:

You know we are a people that suffer all things and bear all things, and therefore you thus use us because we cannot revenge ourselves, but we leave our cause to the Lord.

After Fox had been praemunired, he was offered a pardon by the King. Fox refused the pardon on the ground that he was unjustly imprisoned because of errors in the indictment and said, "For I had rather have lain in prison all my days than have to come out in any way dishonorable to truth." Fox made his point and was finally set at liberty in February 1675 after one year and two months of custody.

This turned out to be Fox's last imprisonment but in the ensuing fifteen years he went right on deliberately exposing himself to arrest wherever it was expected that the authorities would try to close a meetinghouse or break up a meeting for worship. In several instances Fox reacted to such intrusions with characteristic courage. Fox reports a meeting held in 1682 at the meetinghouse in Gracechurch street. William Penn spoke first followed by Fox:

As I was thus speaking, two constables came in with their great 'staves, and bid me give over speaking and come down; but feeling the power of the Lord with me, I spoke on therein, both to the constables and to the people. To the constables I declared, 'that we were a peaceable people, who meet to wait upon God, and worship him in spirit and in truth; and therefore they needed not to come with their staves amongst us, who were met in a peaceable manner, desiring and seeking the good and salvation of all people'. ...while I was speaking the constables drew out towards the door; and the soldiers stood with their muskets in the yard.

At the same place in the next year the constables got to the meetinghouse first and kept Friends out so they met in the courtyard in front. As Fox was speaking one of the constables took him by the hand and told him to come down. Fox went right on speaking until, "after a little time, he pulled me down, and had me into the meeting-house. I asked them if they were not weary of this work. One of them said, 'indeed they were.' "

In a letter written during the last decade of his life Fox reiterated that "The children of God are peace-makers, and strive to make peace in the truth; and to live in peace with all men, if it be possible." For preaching at the Savoy in London in 1683 Fox was arrested and the judge declared, "he would send me to Newgate, that I might preach there." But after the judge had dined the justice had a change of heart and set Fox free.

Previously in 1675 Friends on the West Indian island of Nevis who had been asked to help stand watch against Spanish attacks on the island wrote to Fox for advice. His answer is one of his most revealing both concerning his attitude toward war and his attitude toward the responsibility of Friends towards the magistrate. Fortunately the governor of the island had agreed to let Friends stand watch unarmed but some scrupled even at this. So Fox wrote:

Truly Friends, this I declare to you, That it is a great Mercy of the Lord that he [the governor] will permit you to Watch in your own way, without carrying Arms, which is a very civil thing. For, could Friends obtain the same in Jamaica, and other places, they would willingly have done it. But because that they would not bring Swords

and Guns, and other Arms, to watch against the Spaniards their standing fine was about 17 shillings each man's neglect.

And now as for Watching in it self: Don't you Watch your Plantations against Thieves in the Night? And are not common Watches, set to discover House-Breakers, or such as might wickedly Fire Houses? Such civil things we were subject to, and do submit our selves for Conscience sake. For if any should come to Daughters, or a Company should come to Fire a City or Town, or come to Kill People; don't you watch against all such Actions? And won't you watch against such evil things in the Power of God in your own way? You cannot but discover such things to the Magistrates, who are to Punish such things; and therefore the Watch is kept and set to discover such to the Magistrate, that they may be Punished; and if he does it not, he bears his Sword in vain. So if thou watches in thy own way, which thou art desired, for the good of thy self and Neighbors, against such as would Destroy and Rob you, wilt thou not discover this to the Magistrates who is set for the Punishing of Evil Doers, and Executing Wrath upon them, and for the Praise of them that do well? Surely Yes. And you that are Righteous, you watching, discovering and declaring against such Evil doers, and things, you clear yourselves, and demonstrate that your testimony is against such things.

During the last fifteen years of his life Fox made two journeys to the continent of Europe. In 1677 just before his return from the first of these Fox was in Holland at the same time that the ambassadors from the involved countries met at Nimwegen to end the second Dutch War. Characteristically Fox sent them a manifesto which includes some of his most important pronouncements on war and peace. As is so frequently the case, this manifesto consists of a long series of appeals from scripture. After noting Christ's blessing on peacemakers and that God has called all Christians to peace Fox continues:

...And the apostle saith to the Christians, 'Be at peace among yourselves, , 1 Thess. v. Now all Christians should obey this command, and be at peace among themselves; not in wars and strife. And further the apostle exhorts.'If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men' : this should be the endeavor of all Christians. For it is no honor to Christ, that Christians should war and destroy one another who saith, 'He came to save men's lives, and not to destroy them.' For Christians are commanded to love enemies; therefore much more, one another. But if Christians war and destroy one another, this will make Jews, Turks, Tartars and Heathens say, that you are not disciples of Christ. Therefore, as you love God, and Christ, and Christianity, and its peace, all make peace, as far as you have the power .

And the apostle exhorts Christians, 'To follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord, , Heb. xii. 14. Why should Christians war and strive with one another, seeing they all own in words one King, Lord, and Savior, Christ Jesus, whose command is, that they 'should love one another'; which is a mark that they shall be known by. And Christ, who is King of kings and Lord of lords, saith, 'This is my commandment, that ye love one another, as I have loved you, , John xv. 12, and John xiii. And the apostle saith, Christians ought to be patient towards all men, , I Thess. v. 14.

In a plea for liberty of conscience to Johannes III, king of Poland, Fox made a notable statement on the necessity of using only the Lamb's weapons:

Seeing Christ is a Lamb, whom you profess to be your head and captain, then it behoveth you to be sheep, and to use the same weapons that he made use of; for he will not be shepherd of wolves and wild beasts, but only of sheep. Wherefore, if you lose the nature of sheep and be changed into wolves and wild beasts, and use fleshly weapons, then you will exclude yourselves out of his calling, and forsake his banner; and then will he not be your captain, &c.

In 1680 Fox once again sought to clear the name of Friends from the accusation that they were involved in a "popish plot." He insisted:

It is our principle and testimony, to deny and renounce all plots and plotters against the king, or any of his subjects We desire the safety of the king and of all his subjects. Wherefore we declare that we will endeavor to our power, to save and defend him and them, by discovering all plots and plotters (which shall come to our knowledge) that would destroy the king or his subjects. But as to swearing and fighting, which in tenderness of conscience we cannot do, ye know that we have suffered these many years for our conscientious refusal thereof.

Just a little less than two years before the death of George Fox there was a great persecution of Nonconformists by the state Lutheran church in the free city of Dantzic among whom were many Friends. This weighed heavily on Fox's mind and he wrote to the magistrates of Dantzic in 1689 pleading with them to cease. Part of his argument insists that Peter and the apostles never drew the outward sword after the incident in the garden of Gethsemane:

And Christ bids Peter, 'put up his sword' : they that draw the sword concerning him, to defend him, and his worship and faith, should perish with the sword. Peter and the apostles never drew the outward sword after; but said their weapons were spiritual, not carnal; and they did not wrestle with flesh and blood. Christ never gave any such command, that they should banish any by the hangman that were not of their religion...

Summary

In summary we find that George Fox's personal conduct and responses to force, violence and war fall into three categories.

First, in cases of attack or threats of violence on his own person we find that he never resisted by violence or by force. He stared down the man who set upon him with the naked rapier, or rebuked those who snapped their pistols at him intending to kill. On other occasions he sensed the intent of men to murder him and frustrated their intentions by intelligent plans or escape. Most of the time he reasoned with his attackers and we have seen him frequently offer them his head, his hair and his back, standing still to let them strike. In many cases his attackers were shamed into desisting by his naked courage and in others Fox was soon raised up again from the stoning or the beating "through the power of the Lord." The subhead we chose for this section characterizes Fox's personal conduct, "But I stood stiff and still and let him strike."

Participation In the Army

As to participation in the army, in the second place, either for himself personally or for Friends, Fox insisted as early as 1650 that it was against his principles, and by implication

against Friends principles. He declared that he knew that wars arise from the lusts of men and that he lived in that life and power Which takes away the occasion of all wars. Fox felt along with his followers that they had been called to a covenant of peace whose only legitimate weapons are the spiritual ones of love, persuasion, propaganda and non-resistant standing for the Truth.

Thirdly we notice a shift of attitude by Fox concerning Friends serving in the armed forces of the Commonwealth. We note that there were at least ninety-one members of those forces who became convinced Friends and that most of them had resigned from the forces by 1657. They resigned, however, from a refusal to obey orders and observe military discipline and apparently not because of opposition to military service on principle. Some few members of the armed forces, on the other hand, immediately left the service and became Friends when they found they could no longer conscientiously shoot at or kill other men. George Fox's attitude toward all this had been thus far permissive. It was only with the imminent demise of the Commonwealth in 1659 and the suspicion and persecution of Friends under the restored king, Charles II, that Fox insisted in his epistle of 1659 to Friends and his declaration to King Charles of 1660 that all Friends everywhere must never under any circumstances serve in the armed forces or in occupations to which violence was necessary, because spiritual weapons and the war of the Spirit are the sole weapons and warfare legitimate to the Christian.

Overall we must join in the witness of the admiring soldiers who had kept Fox confined so long at Scarborough castle, "He is as stiff as a tree and as pure as a bell, for we could never stir him." Fox was quarried of the flint of the Old Testament prophets. Throughout his life both in personal conduct and in principle, through attacks on his person, imprisonment and in winning his enemies through courageous non-resistance and love Fox never doubted that the power of the Lord would quench all the fiery darts of evil, bring the victory of the Lamb and establish Christ's universal kingdom of righteousness and peace of which there would be no end.

B. What Fox Said and Believed About War in His Epistles and Polemical Tracts

As indicated above I have organized the material which follows into seven headings. This material covers most of the period of Fox's life as a publishing author from 1652 until 1689 two years before his death. *The Journal of George Fox*, which has been our chief resource thus far, was actually written as Fox dictated it to Thomas Lower, his step-son-in-law, during 1675-1676 with an ending written by Thomas Ellwood after Fox's death except *The Short Journal of 1664*. Thus much of the material we are about to consider goes back farther in time of composition and publication than the *Journal* and may therefore reflect different emphases and developments than those found in it. In point of fact we find all of the same themes in Fox's attitude toward war but in greater depth and with several new points of emphasis.

1. The Ground and Sinfulness of War

As seen briefly in the evidence from the Journal we find Fox in his Epistles and doctrinal tracts maintained that the root and origin of war was the lust, covetousness and disobedience of men, the design of the Devil and the treason of men to Jesus Christ. All of these things Christ has come to condemn and destroy. In 1656 he wrote: "Men in the fall are in wars and strife. and so, all that are in Adam in the fall, both men and women, and remaining in the fall,

they never are in rest nor peace, but are in travails, wars, strife, fightings; the lusts being the ground of all this."

He explains the different kinds of lust and their relation to each other and to war in his epistle number 154 written 1657:

For from the lusts are the wars and strife and so the spirit of this world lusts to envy, it lusts to strife, it lusts to contention, it lusts against the spirit of God; the lusts of the eye, the pride of life, the lusts of the flesh, clothed with the flesh, covered with flesh, not with the spirit, such are unchaste, and follow the lust, not the Lamb, and so live in that which the war proceeds from, and in strife and contention. Keep ye all out of that from whence contentions and strife, and wars arise, which are the fruits of them that live in the lust, which lust will defile all that receive it.

In an epistle to officers and soldiers in the armies written in 1657 Fox strikes the same note:

...from whence doth the war arise but from the lusts; and so you that follow the lusts, go from the light, you go from the Sword of Justice, and so in the light ye come to be condemned; and let nothing rule in you but the light, that with it Christ Jesus you may all come to see, and him rule and reign; and ye who would not have him rule, ye are for the Sword, and must be slain.

It is not clear whether this last sword just mentioned is a spiritual or a physical one. I suspect it is the latter.

The devil also receives credit for originating wars. Fox spoke of:

...the devil, who is the author and cause of wars and strife, and bringing of men and people into the earth, where the war, strife, and pride are.

Fox was convinced that "Christ Jesus destroys the devil the author of strife." But he felt that this conquest began first in the hearts of individual people by the "ministry of condemnation." Of this process he said:

Friends, where there is strife among any of you, mind the light to judge it down and condemn it; by which light your minds may be guided up to Christ, where there is not strife to learn of him, and to condemn all that with the light. So first learn the ministry of condemnation in Yourselves, that life may arise, before ministry in the spirit be known, Which preacheth peace by Jesus Christ, where there is no strife.

In 1661 and in later years Fox reiterates the lust of men and the design of the devil as two of the causes of war but puts new emphasis on the spirit of disobedience, which is a fruit of Adam's fall, and treason to Jesus Christ as important causes of war.

In 1661 Fox wrote to the Jews on the earlier themes:

...and those Kingdoms in which are wars, the ground thereof comes from the Lust, and [from] the state as Adam and his sons and daughters be in the earth, in the fall, drove from God, among whom is the wars, and fightings, and learning wars, one Nation against another. So who are in Christ's Kingdom are in peace and knows him who destroys the Devil who is the Author of all War and Strife, and Misery of

peoples destroying one another, for the Wars arise from the Lust; therefore [he] who comes to the Kingdom and to the Messiah, comes] over all this, and have it destroyed in them by the power of the Messiah.

In 1672 Fox wrote to New England stressing disobedience inspired by the devil as a cause of murder and war:

And God having divided the sons and daughters of Adam, and scattered them up and down the face of the earth, being in the transgression and sin, led away with the god of the world, the wicked one, the devil .who causes people to destroy one another, and to murder one another about earthly things: this is the prince of darkness, that rules in all the hearts of the children of disobedience; disobedient to that which is righteous in them which discovers the unrighteous actions and words.

The great act of betrayal which led to war and every other evil occurred, said Fox, "When [man] went from that of God in himself." Elsewhere Fox called those who persecute and kill "traitors to the Lord Jesus Christ" and not of Christ's mind. He expressed this forcefully:

And is not his [Christ's] Sword he killeth withal the Words of his mouth? and hath not all your killing been with outward Swords, with Goals, [read jails] Inquisitions, Racks, and Fires? and so have you not been Traitors to the Lord Jesus Christ, who saith love Enemies, overcome evil with good, and when they persecute you, not that you should persecute again; and Christ was persecuted and blasphemed by them that lived in Error, more than any man upon Earth, who was the End of the Law, and he did not turn them to the Jews Law, which was yet standing to put them to death, but rebuked the blind zeal of such that would have had fire come down from Heaven to consume People, and told them he came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them, and told them they did not know what Spirit they are of, that persecute men about Religion, Church, and Worship, and Ministry, that slays and destroys men's lives, and not save them; they are not of Christ's mind.

2. The Life and Power that Takes Away the Occasion of All Wars

George Fox saw the origin of war in the lusts of men and in their disobedience and treason toward Jesus Christ. As a corrective Fox sought to live in 'the power that takes away the occasion of all wars.' He first used this distinctive phrase, as we have seen, When he refused a commission as an officer in the Parliamentary army before the battle of Worcester. We have put great stress on this phrase and its accompanying expressions as the basis for the first three of the major categories of Fox's attitude toward war which are being examined in this section of this study. And yet, curiously enough it appears that Fox stopped using this phrase after 1659 and the subsequent fall of the Commonwealth. In his later life he used many equivalent phrases such as, "Christ the new Adam ends all war," "Come to the inward war," "Walk in the light of the Lamb .which was before enmity was," "In the power of the Messiah .here is no War," or "the power of the Gospel doth pluck up the Roots of War." Even so, we reiterate as central to Fox's attitude toward war his claim that he lived in that life and power which takes away the occasion of all war. Although this phrase does not occur in Scripture, it is intended, as Fox himself says in his *Journal*, to represent the doctrine of the book of James. In a letter by Fox cited in the preceding section of this study Fox used this phrase twice. Outside the *Journal* he referred to the phrase in a tract of 1653 and the same wording is repeated in "To All that Love the Lord

Jesus Christ," of 1654:

And whereas we are a People accused to raise up a new War, it is false; for dwelling in the Word, it takes away the Occasion of Wars, and gathers our Hearts together to God, and unto one another, and brings to the Beginning before wars were; for the Ministers of God, which had the Word of Reconciliation to draw them from the Occasion of all Wars, working out that Nature that occasions War, said, 'Whence do Wars arise? Even from the Lusts.' Therefore all dear People be not Talkers of the Truth but mind the pure Light of God in you and if you love that Light you love Christ, and walking in the Light in Measure, there will be no Occasion of stumbling, for all stumbling is in being disobedient.

In answer to Magnus Byne's book, *The Scornful Quakers Answered* (written 1656) Fox used the phrase, 'takes away the occasion of wars' again:

I know the power, and spirit, and sword of the saints that executes the judgments, to bind, and chain, and fetter kings and nobles; thou art out of it, but it is now among the saints; and that scripture is fulfilled, yea in England among the saints. And such as are more than conquerors, see the end of wars, and that which causeth wars. He that is a conqueror may be in the war; but he that is more than a conqueror, is in that which takes away the occasion of wars, and is come to that which was before wars were. And he that hath this hope; (which is Christ,) hat that which purifies himself, even as he is pure, and comes to witness the kingdom of God that stands in joy, peace, and righteousness.

On at least two other occasions in the same book, *The Great Mystery*, published 1659, Fox notes that the Apostles preached a message which brought men out of the occasion of wars. In addressing officers and soldiers he insisted that the inward wars take away the occasion of the outward:

Christ who ends the wars who is the heir of all things the covenant of God; who reconciles all things in one, things in heaven, and things in earth. And this the apostles preached ... and brought men out of the occasion of wars into that which ended them, which was the power of God.

Likewise on another occasion Fox wrote to officers and soldiers:

Come all you officers and soldiers, now, after ye have ease and have overcome your enemies without; take heed lest you sit down in your ease and fulness, and fall down into the earth and not come down to the witness of God in you; whereby the enemy of God & of your own soul might be slain and so come to the inward wards, which take away the cause of the outward whereby you may all come into the true understanding to answer that of God in every one.

In three epistles written in 1657 Fox calls men to dwell in the light from Jesus, in the love of God and to walk in the light of the lamb which leads out of strife and into the spirit which was before enmity was:

For all dwelling in the light that comes from Jesus, it leads out of wars, leads out of strife, leads out of the occasion of wars, and leads out of the earth up to God, out of

the earthly-mindedness to heavenly-mindedness, and bringeth your minds to be in heaven.

To Friends in Ireland he wrote:

And be low and still in the life and power, and not hasty nor rash; that ye may in the life and power answer that of God in everyone, that crieth for peace and rest. So dwell in the love of God, your faith standing in this and in the power of God, then ye will feel the presence of the Lord God among you.

In the third epistle he said:

Therefore all walk in the light of the lamb, that by his blood ye may be washed; that through it and the testimony of the Lord Jesus ye may overcome. So live in love, peace and unity, one with another. In that live which was before enmity was.

In another letter Fox exhorts men to Christ who end all types, shadows and all evil things resulting from the fall, which by implication includes war:

He that is the first and the last, this is the beginning and the ending, sit down in him, not in Adam in the fall, but sit down in Christ that never fell; and there that life ye will come to know, which was with the Father before the world began. And so live in the substance, which is the seed, Christ, who ends the prophets, first covenant, first priesthood, and all the types, and figures and shadows given after the fall.

After 1660 Fox used different phrases to express the same life and power which takes away the occasion of war while apparently no longer using the phrase itself. In 1661 he wrote of the power of the Messiah in which is no war or strife and the law of the gospel which plucks up the roots of war:

And let them be whatsoever name or people, if they be in the power of the Messiah's they are one, and here is no War in the Kingdom, nor strife, that is all without in the fallen estate from God. So all them that be in the Wars, and Fighting and Strife, and Nation against Nation, when they come to own the Kingdom of the Messiah, live in the Power and Kingdom, then they shall lay all their bustling away, and break all those weapons a pieces. And I say, the Law of the Gospel doth pluck up the Roots of War, Covetousness, and Lusts which Gospel is the power of God, that sets people from such things, therefore it is glad tidings, and brings into peace.

In 1664 Fox added the challenge to ...”you that be in Christ Jesus, that never fell, who makes the first Adam's sons and daughters to break their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks, that they shall not learn war anymore.”

In the following decade Fox called men to a spiritual struggle which is 'the moral equivalent of war.' He called them to:

...therefore be valiant for God's truth upon the earth, and fear him, that can break their fetters, their jails, an their bonds in sunder, and can make your fleece grow again, after the wolves have torn the wool from your backs.

3. The Covenant of Peace or the Royal Law to Love Enemies, Accept Suffering and Bless Persecutors.

From a life which takes away the occasion of war Fox calls men next into a covenant of peace which means obedience, as he expressed it, to “the royal law of love,” which teaches men to love all enemies, accept suffering as God's gift and the price of faithful witness and to bless and pray for those who persecute. I feel certain Fox calls the law of love the royal law, since it is the commandment of Christ the king, “to whom all authority in heaven and on earth has been given.” (Matt. 28:18), Fox has more to say about this royal law of suffering love after 1660 when Friends and other Nonconformists suffered restraint of property and imprisonment under the penal laws passed specifically for that purpose. The period of persecution lasted for nearly thirty years and probably is sufficient reason that Fox put more emphasis on praying for persecutors during this period than he had previously.

To recapitulate, the themes of the royal law of love which follow are:

1. Love enemies and pray for persecutors as Christ commanded.
2. Accept and be patient through suffering
3. Be Confident that God will only permit persecution and suffering to last as long as is needed for truth's sake and the purification of the individual.
4. For he who suffers conquers and finds the victory which brings in the eternal covenant of Christ's, the King of kings, peace.

In 1656 Fox wrote of this royal law: "So in the time of the law among the Jews there was fighting outwardly; but in the time of the gospel of Christ Jesus, who came to end the law, they were to love enemies, and not to kill them; and love them that hate them, and not kill them. ,,

In 1657 Fox exhorts soldiers to rule in power and love and to do violence to no man:

The word of the Lord to all you Soldiers, Governors, and Rulers, to rule in Power and Love, to that in your Consciences I speak, which is of God, that your minds may be guided up to God, that you may see what you must rule over; for all you dwelling in the Light which comes from Jesus, it leads all to Christ's Government, and it leads from the world, and it leads from under the occasion of war. All you Soldiers know a Soldiers place, and see that ye be Soldiers qualified, that ye do accuse no man falsely, that ye do violence to no man, and that ye be content with your wages; so then you will see What the Sword is to, and is to be laid upon all that do violence, and all the false accusers.

Fox was obviously here assuming, like John the Baptist whom he quotes, that a soldier's chief duties were of a police nature. The sword in question seems to be a physical one to be used to punish those who do violence and accuse men falsely.

Fox wrote in 1659 a very pungent condemnation of those who break the royal law of forgiveness and loving enemies by persecuting men about religious beliefs:

Forgive us. as we forgive them, cry Papists, cry Episcopal, cry Presbyterians, and Baptists and Independents, these cry and say the Lord's Prayer, Forgive us our debts and Trespasses, as we Forgive them, that Trespass against us; and then like a

Company of senseless Men, without Understanding fall a Fighting one with another about their Trespasses and Debts and taking their Brethren and Fellow-servants by the Throat about Religion, which in their Prayers they said, Forgive Us, as we Forgive them. All Religions will fight about Religions and Worships, and Kill like the Heathen about their Gods; Jews, Gentiles. Papists. Protestants of all Sects, which are out of the Power of the Lord, and the Spirit that the Apostles were in: And so, they are all out of the Royal Spirit, that hath the Royal, Spiritual Weapons, and out of the Royal Seed, which saith, Love Enemies, which is the Royal Command to the Royal Priesthood.

Obedience to the royal law further requires that if a conflict occurs between obedience to the commands of men and the higher law of God, the Christian must obey the command of God. In this connection Fox reminds us of Peter's stand in Acts 5:29: "Whether was it better to obey God, or man? This spake Peter, he that stood against man's ordinance, which was contrary to the command of God.

But loving enemies is so difficult for human nature, it would be impossible for men to fulfil and obey this royal law unless God gave man power to obey. Central to Fox's ethics is his belief that God or Christ would never command man to do something without also giving him the power to do it. Fox expressed this:

And God is equal and righteous, and commands nothing but what is equal and just, and measurable and reasonable, according to that which men may perform; and such as he gives the law to, he gives power. The Lord that gave man the law, gave him power and ability and they were then to love God with their strength, and their souls, and their neighbors as themselves.

In like manner Christ gives men power to love enemies:

This is wickedness and impudency to say Christ scorned men when he bade them be perfect. This is antichrist and the devil's doctrine, to say that Christ did command that which men could not come to; for neither Christ nor God commanded any thing, but what should be attained unto; and it will be attained unto, and hath been attained unto. Christ said, be perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect. And so he did speak that which he knew people should come into, if ever they came into the kingdom of God. What is this to thee who cannot love enemies? for they that love enemies, shall know perfection, and perfect love and patience have their perfect work Jas. 1.4.

One of the important signs that men have obeyed the royal law to love enemies is their willingness to accept suffering and persecution, loving the oppressor, praying for the persecutor and thereby having fellowship with Christ in his sufferings.

Even before 1660 we find Fox emphasizing this point:

So all people examine yourselves, and see if ye have fellowship with Christ in his sufferings, and be brought conformable to him in his death, and to have fellowship with him in his temptations, and reproachings and scornings, and the contradiction of sinners, and to be spitted upon as he was; and he that hath fellowship with him in his sufferings, shall have fellowship with him in his glory....

The only kind of retaliation against persecution which Fox recommends, other than a barrage of tracts and a confrontation of persecutors to change their minds, is to keep a list of all sufferings and distraint of property to be sent to London to expose the persecutors. In 1657 he directed:

Let a true and plain copy of such suffering be sent up to London under the hands of two or three witnesses. That the things may be laid on the heads of them that caused the sufferings. That the truth may be exalted. That the truth may stand over the heads of the liar.

The royal law also functions to bring men into Christ who is God's everlasting covenant of peace to mankind. Of this Fox wrote in 1654:

And so, all awake to the righteousness of Christ, the righteousness of God, whom man was departed from, Christ the righteousness of God, who 'enlighteneth everyone, that cometh into the world, that all men through him might believe. So, all having a light from Christ Jesus, whom God gave for a covenant of light, life and peace. Everyone in your measures wait, that ye may see him, and come to witness the covenant of life and peace with God.

In this covenant the mystery of iniquity is broken down by the mystery of godliness and the end of war is experienced and true peace known:

But now is the power of God made manifest, which breaks down the mystery of iniquity, and raiseth up the mystery of godliness. And we say Christ is come a priest after the order of Melchisedek who ends the similitude and likeness. In Christ is the end of similitudes and likenesses, and of wars in whom is peace.

True peace is known only in Christ's kingdom:

And such as are here come to know peace and the end of war, and the occasion of war taken away. And there is no true peace until they come into the kingdom which stands in joy, in peace, in righteousness. And such are made free from sin, and dead to it, and cannot live any longer therein, these have peace.

After 1660 Fox went on to maintain that Christ's command to love enemies was not only a test of obedience but a requirement for membership in Christ's kingdom:

The practice of the Christians killing, and persecuting one another, it is not the mind of the Messiah, for he saith, love one another, and love enemies; so they should not kill enemies, and they should love them that persecute them and hate them. And it is the mark whereby Christ's Disciples are known if they love one another; So they that have killed one another, and persecuted one another have not been the Messiah's Disciples, and they that have not loved enemies, neither are they the true Christians, neither are they that are fighting and killing and destroying one another in the Kingdom of Christ.

On the contrary the law of love requires that men:

...love one another, instead of persecuting one another; and be meek, and not high; entreat, and not threaten; bless and not curse; and love, and not hate; and do good, and not evil; live in the will of God, and be not self-willed and mind the religion of Christ, and not your own.

In 1668 Fox wrote a very important tract, "Gospel Liberty and the Royal Law of Love." from which, in part, I have derived the topic of this section. In this tract he stresses Christ's command to love enemies, that love overcomes through patience and that love will unite all Christendom in Christ:

Christ commands men to 'love one another, and to love enemies', so they that do not love one another, nor enemies, do not obey the commands of Christ, who hath all power in heaven and earth given unto him: for this is his royal command, 'love one another'; by this you are known to be the disciples of Christ Jesus. So it is plain, that these called Christians, that love not one another, are no friends to Christ Jesus. This love bears all things, endures all things, hopes all things, is not provoked; for that which is provoked will run into words and actions, enmity and persecution, malice and hatred. which are judged all down by the law of love. So love overcomes the enmity, and the light overcomes darkness and the righteousness overcomes the unrighteousness, as life overcomes death and so good overcomes evil. 'To love one another, and enemies', this is it that must unite all Christendom in a uniformity and conformity to their head Christ Jesus, their law-maker, and commandment-giver.

During this period of severe persecution after 1660 Fox wrote frequently to Friends in prison exhorting them to faith and patience; reminding them that Christ suffered with them; that God would not lay on them burdens heavier than they could bear; and that the time would seem short in the light of Christ's eternal rule Which was being set up. Calling Friends to the patience of the saints, Fox said:

But here was the Faith and Patience of the Saints, he that led captive, should go into Captivity, and he that killed with the Sword, should perish by the sword, showing the Saints Patience and Faith was it by which they overcame. Not ravening, -nor fighting with outward carnal Weapons for their Religion, for the Apostles saith, it is not only given you to believe, but also to suffer Persecution.

Christ is the strong tower in whom those who suffer may find refuge:

For his name sake have ye suffered all along by many powers; his name is a strong tower. So who have bowed to the name, and gathered in the name of the Lord, ye are in the strong tower, in which is safety and peace.³

Beyond the prison lies the power of God and suffering becomes a trial of faith:

And be of good faith, and valiant for the truth. You who are gathered in the name of Jesus. Look over all prisons and outward bonds at the power of God look, which hath no end, in which your life peace, crown and dominion [is], and think not the time

long that the rod of the wicked should lie on your backs: but rejoice in tribulation and persecutions, which are for the trial of your faith.

Do not mind the cords of the ungodly for the cords of love are stronger:

Never heed to prisons, for they are but for a time; and mind him who hath all times and seasons in his hand. And never heed the raging waves of the sea, nor be troubled at his tongue that speaks nothing but tribulation, anguish, and bondage; nor be troubled at the cords of the ungodly; for the cords of love, the power of God are stronger.

Christ suffers with you, will lay no more upon you than you are able to bear and will overcome all his enemies:

My dear Friends and brethren, The Lord is with you all. . Who suffer for his name and truth's sake, in all your bonds and afflictions be of good comfort, for the Lord is with you; neither be dismayed at your sufferings, for if you suffer, Christ suffereth; and if you be persecuted, it is Christ that is persecuted; if you be not visited, it is Christ that is not visited; and if you be oppressed, it is he that is oppressed. And he will lay no more upon you than you are able to bear; and Christ hath a fellow- feeling with you all, in all your bonds and afflictions; and Christ who suffereth, will overcome all his enemies. He reigns, and they must be his footstool to stand upon.

The faithful in all ages have suffered, wrote Fox in 1675, which was joy a gift of God and the experience of God's upholding them through it:

And consider how all the faithful in all ages suffered, from righteous Abel to just Lot, and children of Israel by Pharaoh, and the true prophets by the false, and Christ and the apostles by the vagabond professing Jews and what rejoicing it was for them to suffer for the Lord Jesus, and how it was given unto them, not only to believe, but also to suffer; so it was the gift of God to them not only to believe but to suffer, and to bear them up in their sufferings.

Fox also wrote in 1684 of God upholding the imprisoned through their suffering:

And though for a time ye may suffer for the name of Jesus, and for his truth, and be cast into prison, and suffer the spoiling of your goods; the eternal God knows, and his son Christ Jesus, it is for him alone and for truth's sake, we suffer, and not for any evil doing, or doing wrong to any man but to suffer for his name and truth's sake; and so it is the gift of God that doth uphold us in all our sufferings.

Because God has made of one blood all the nations of mankind to dwell on the face of the earth, George Fox calls Friends and all men to live at peace with one another in Christ Jesus the covenant of peace:

Christ Jesus, the Covenant of God, with all Men, is Peace, and Life, and Light, and Salvation to the ends of the Earth, which is our Testimony to all Men upon the Earth, and is not to destroy Men's lives, but to save them and in that is our peace, which is the Covenant, in which is no Murderer, nor Plotter, nor Contriver, nor Betrayer, so in that we seek the good of all men.

Blessed are all those whose minds are staid upon the Lord, for they shall be kept in perfect peace; so where the mind is staid upon the Lord there is a perfect peace, for it is a whole peace which cannot be broken; So here is not only a perfect peace, but a blessing; a perfect peace which comes from the God of all peace...

All my dear Friends Live in Peace with one another in the Truth of God for that is peaceable; and take heed of Strife, but all Learn the Humility of Christ Jesus, and Love one another in the Truth and Power of God, for that is a mark that you are Disciples and Learners of Christ, and not Disciples nor learners of Old Adam nor the Serpent, , , but stand in the Power of God ... his Light and Spirit [that] you may come to answer that of God in everyone...

Fox's appeal for a covenant of peace reaches a crescendo in an Epistle of 1672:

And now is the day approaching to you, (this covenant of light) by which you shall come to have peace with the Lord God, the king of the whole earth, This is the King of kings, and Lord of lords, in whose hands is the breath of all mankind: this is the God of the spirits of all flesh, who hath made all nations of mankind of one blood, to dwell upon the face of the earth, , , And Christ, the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, saves men from sin; who is the prince of peace and of life, and the covenant of God, who brings men to have peace with God, and one with another.

Again, in 1681 Fox calls for the King of kings' peace:

If all that profess Christ, did walk in Christ, they would walk in peace, and be in unity; for the apostle exhorted the Christians in his day to keep the unity of the Spirit; which is the bond of peace, yea, of Christ the King of king's peace ... Likewise all that profess the truth of Christ, should live in it; for it is peaceable, and the gospel is the gospel of peace; which, if all Christians lived in, they would be at peace with one another....

During the long years of persecution Fox continued to exhort Friends to take seriously the counsel of Jesus and Paul to pray for and bless those who persecuted them:

And you in that state, are to pray for the enemies that put you there; and if they curse and hate you, you are to bless them, and do good to them and you are to pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you, and love your enemies, that you may be children of your Father which is in heaven. 'Be not overcome with evil, but overcome evil with good': this is the command. So it is the good that must overcome the evil; and what hath the children of God to overcome evil withal, but the good?

In one of Fox's finest tracts, "Concerning Persecution," written 1682 he cited Jesus' words to bless those who persecute almost *in toto* and ended thus: "And Christ saith to his Disciples, You shall be hated of all Men for my Name sake; But he that endures to the End shall be saved. In 1675 Fox assured those in prison that Christ would save them to the uttermost: In all their sufferings and afflictions, he suffers with them, and is afflicted with them; who is able to save to the uttermost, and to help succor you in all distresses.

More remarkable than his exhortations to patience are Fox's affirmations that he who suffers conquers and finds victory. He declared, " they that suffer with him shall reign with him. But

they that shuffle, and flee in the time of persecution, and deny him before men, such he will deny....” Those who suffer do so with confidence in God because: ...”the Word of God is not bound, which is everlasting and endures forever; and they who are in that which is not everlasting cannot bind the Word. And if we suffer with Christ, we shall reign with Christ.” To Friends captive and in slavery in Algiers, who refused to honor and bow to their misters as slaves were expected to do, Fox wrote calling them to an inner victory in which they would be more than conquerors:

And now, friends, we understand that some have come lately among you, [who] have been under great sufferings and abuses by their patrons, because they cannot honor them with that honor as other slaves do. Now, if you wait in patience. The Lord in his time can mollify that nature in them. And when they have seen, it is for conscience sake towards God they have been overcome. And now, friends, consider, they are blessed that suffer for Christ's sake. As it is written, for thy sake are we killed all the day long: we are counted as sheep for the slaughter; in all these things we are more than conquerors through him that loved us.

Other prisoners Fox exhorted to stand fast because none could pluck them out of the Lord's hands: “And if the Lord suffer you, who are his lambs, and sheep, and are as doves and chickens, that Christ hath gathered under his wings, none are able to pluck you out of his hands who hath all power in heaven and earth given to him.”

In 1686 King James II set free a large number of Friends, many of whom had been in prison for years. Fox wrote in jubilant thanksgiving of the deliverance:

And now for you who have been partakers of [Christ's] power, and are sensible of it in this day of his power, that is over darkness and its power; by whose power the hearts of the king and rulers have been opened, and your outward prison-doors set open for your liberty, my desires are, that all may be preserved in humility and thankfulness, in the sense of the mercies of the Lord; and live in the peaceable truth, that is over all; that ye may answer God's grace, and his light and Spirit in all, in a righteous, godly life. And so praise God through him who was dead, and is alive again, who reigns over all, and liveth evermore, blessed for ever; Hallelujah. Amen!

4. Rely on Spiritual Weapons and the Armor of Light not on Carnal Weapons

The royal law of love to enemies and persecutors leads directly to George Fox's next major emphasis that spiritual weapons are the only kind of weapons that can be used by a Christian in resisting or overcoming evil. In Fox's statement to Cromwell 1654 we have already seen how strenuously Fox denied any personal reliance on material or carnal weapons and how he insisted that his weapons were strictly spiritual. Also, the main point of the 1659 letter by Fox, which we quoted in the section on Fox's conduct, which began, "All friends everywhere, keep out of plots and bustlings;" was the illegitimacy of carnal weapons. In that letter he said, "All such as pretend Christ Jesus, and confess him, and yet run into the use of carnal weapons, wrestling with flesh and blood, throwaway the spiritual weapons." These were Fox's trenchant words and are central to his testimony against war. In distinguishing spiritual weapons from material ones Fox relied heavily on the description of the whole armor of God found in Ephesians 6:10-17 and on 2 Corinthians 10:3-4, which describes the nature of spiritual weapons.

In the material which follows we will see that Fox admitted that the physical sword and material weapons were legitimate under the Old Testament dispensation. But under the new

dispensation of the Spirit of Jesus Christ under which all men now live, they are no longer legitimate. Fox's basic rule here is taken from the words of Jesus, "They that take the sword will perish by the sword."

The weapons of the Spirit are kindness, unfeigned love, propaganda of the truth, persuasion, rebuke of sin in high places and fearless preaching. In the language of Ephesians the weapons of a Christian are the armor of light or righteousness including the breastplate of righteousness, the shield of faith, having the feet shod with the gospel of peace and above all the sword of the Spirit which is the Word of God.

Men are called above all to allegiance to God and his kingdom and the only weapons which will promote its coming are the weapons of the Spirit. Such a spirit meant that Friends were not against any man but sought only to bring them blessing.

Outward war with its physical weapons is a futile blind-man's war resulting only in misery and spiritual defeat. How happy Christendom would have been had it refused Caesar's weapons and kept faithfully to the armor of light which reconciles instead of killing and brings in the kingdom of God and the reign of eternal peace.

The distinction between the physical sword and the spiritual weapons and the superiority of the latter was drawn sharply by Fox in this statement of 1652:

That Which is set up by the Sword, is held up by the Sword, and that which is set up by Spiritual Weapons, is held up by Spiritual Weapons, and not by Carnal Weapons. The peace-Maker hath the Kingdom and is in it; and hath the Dominion over the Peace-Breaker, to calm him in the Power of God.

In 1656 Fox declared that Jesus Christ ends outward and carnal weapons, that his followers do not wrestle with flesh and blood, that he slays only with the sword of the Spirit and that Christ came to save men's lives not to destroy them. See Luke 9:54-55:

And take heed of striving about earthly things. that is out of the paradise and the garden of God. Then came up the fightings about earthly things. The Jews did kill with the outward sword [both] the heathen and one another; but Christ Jesus, the prince of life fulfills the law, and ends the outward Jews' types, figures and shadows, ordinances and carnal weapons, who is the king of the whole earth, who comes to save men's lives, yet slays and 'kills with the sword of the spirit which is the word of his mouth.' And the apostles, who followed Christ, wrestled not with flesh and blood; so all, who come to witness Christ to reign, and to rule. .and to follow him, do not wrestle with flesh and blood, nor seek to destroy men's lives. But in the times since the days of the apostles, in the apostate Christians' time, they are crying up the outward sword again; and this is the dragon's and the beast's power, the prince of death, which hath reigned since the apostles' days. But (those] who come to follow Christ, they come to reign in spirit, over all these fighters with carnal weapons are come now in the power of the Lord God, and to the seed that is royal. And with which ye may spiritually reign, and have dominion over all the world, and rule in it over them and their vanities, and work them down without a carnal weapon in the power of God.

In the troubled year of 1659 Fox wrote twice to Friends reminding them that they were those "who are dead to all carnal weapons, and have beaten them to pieces, stand in that which takes away the occasion of wars, and in the power which saves men's lives, and destroys none. In the second instance Fox not only called Friends and all men to live in the seed that gets rid of war but indicated that there was a time when physical weapons were legitimate but that time is no longer:

Live in the seed of God that destroys the devil, who is the author and cause of wars and strife, and bringing of men and people into the earth, where the war strife and pride are; here the outward swordsmen have not learned yet to beat their swords and spears into ploughshares and pruning hooks. So there was a time the Jews were to fight with outward weapons, with sword and spear; but there is a time, when nations shall not learn war any more, but shall come to that which shall take away the occasion of wars, which was in the beginning before wars were.

Fox had more specific things to suggest about the nature of spiritual weapons, especially the sword of the Spirit. In 1654 he described the nature and function of the sword of the Spirit which is the Word of God:

All who know the Word, which is a Mystery, are come to the Beginning, are sanctified by the Word, and clean through the Word, for this Word is a Fire, burning up all Corruption, as an Hammer beats down all high Minds. As a Sword cuts to pieces, and divides asunder the Precious from the Vile, and makes a Separation inwardly and outwardly from Uncleaness; and this is the Word of Reconciliation, that reconcileth together to God, and gathers the Hearts of his together.

Fox called all Friends in 1657 to "wait to receive the love of God which bears all things; and so come to receive the armor of righteousness, which quenches all the fiery darts of Satan, that the patience that bears and suffers all things may be witnessed."

Fox frequently protested the use of carnal weapons to promote or protect the cause of religion. He usually drove his point home with the words of Jesus: "He that killeth with the sword must perish with the sword...."

After the declaration of 1660 by George Fox and other Friends to King Charles cited above, there could no longer be any shadow of doubt among Friends that the only weapons legitimate to a Christian are spiritual weapons. Fox reiterated and reenforced his statements of the earlier period on this question. He became much more specific about the nature of 'the armor of light' with which the Christian warrior should be clothed, and made clearer the functions of the sword of the Spirit. Plotting, riots and insurrections were out of the Covenant:

To plot and confederate, or to raise insurrections, or to gather riotous meetings, or taking up arms outwardly, we utterly deny, and it is not our Principle, not is it in the Covenant, for it is out of the Covenant, and Life and Peace with God.

It is interesting to speculate at this point what Fox's attitude would have been toward modern protest marches and picketing. Obviously inciting to riot, or any protest which involves either explicit or implicit recourse to violence Fox would oppose as contrary to the weapons and the warfare of the Spirit. On the other hand Fox saw the spiritual war to bring in the kingdom of God as a cosmic and titanic struggle. Therefore, peaceful demonstrations and

protests both by individuals and large groups are legitimate weapons for furthering the cause of Christ and his kingdom. Fox was a crusader of the Spirit and a great protestor in the name of justice and religious liberty not just for Friends but for all.

To the Emperor of Austria Fox wrote of apostasy from the spiritual weapons with obvious reference to the Thirty Years War which had just concluded in 1648:

There hath been a mighty breach in Germany, about Religion, and much killing and slaying one another, and that is because they have been out of the Patience, out of the Life of the Prophets, of Christ, and the Apostles, whose weapons were not Carnal, but Spiritual; which life did not lead to kill men, but to save men's lives. The Apostle saith they warred not with Flesh and Blood, Their Weapons were not Carnal, but Spiritual, might through God to the plucking down of strong holds. Let the Mind of Christ be in you, and the Apostles that followed Christ [they] did not kill the Creatures: So all the wrestlers with Flesh and Blood and killing Creatures, hath been learned from the Devil.

In one tract, " Truth's Triumph in the Eternal Power Over the Dark Inventions of Fallen Man etc.," Fox discusses spiritual weapons and their source in a higher power to which all men owe obedience:

And our weapons are spiritual, our shield is our faith, by which we have victory over all that which separates from God, and our sword is the word of God, and our baptism is that of the spirit, which plungeth down all corruption that hath been got up since the transgression. And our swords are broken into ploughshares, and spears into pruning-hooks, and we cannot learn war anymore with the carnal sword whose weapons and swords are spiritual, not carnal, but warring with the devil, and his works, saving and preserving the creatures, and loving all the creation of God, obeying Christ's commands, who said, 'love enemies.'

And so what is of Faith, is not against the higher Power that keeps the peace, for the higher Power which God hath ordained, goes over all transgressors and is a terror to the evil doer, who acteth contrary to the Power and Spirit of God in themselves; and is a praise to them that do well, which are led by the Power and Spirit of God in themselves.

The purpose of sole reliance on spiritual weapons is to bring the blessing of God to men:

We are not against any Man, but desire, that the Blessing of the Lord may come upon all Men, and that which brings the Curse may be destroyed; and in patience do we wait for that, with Spiritual Weapons against it do we wrestle, and not against any Man or Woman's Person.

In a beautiful epistle Fox called men to don the armor and weapons of the Spirit called for by Paul in Ephesians. He concludes the appeal:

Put on the helmet of salvation, and take the sword of the spirit, (the word of God,) your helmet being on, nothing can destroy nor hurt your salvation, Christ Jesus being your helmet and your head, who destroys the devil and his works, the sword of the spirit that mortifies, that crucifies, baptizes, cuts off, plunges under all corruptions

that have gotten up since the transgression; then in the spirit ye will worship God, and have fellowship and spiritual weapons, and come to be spiritual men...

Of all spiritual weapons the chief continues to be the sword, the Word: "yea sharper than a sword with two edges; which will cut down all, the word that makes clean and reconciles to God."

George Fox often cites 2 Corinthians 6:3-10 as an example of the way a Christian warrior, who relies solely on spiritual weapons, should conduct himself:

And the Apostle saith to the Corinthians, 'give no offence in anything but in all things approving yourselves as the Ministers of God. By Kindness, by the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned, by the Word of Truth, by the Power of God, by the Armor of Righteousness, as Chastised, and not killed; as Sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as poor yet making many rich; as having nothing, yet possessing all things. ' These are good Examples for the true Christians to follow.

From 2 Corinthians 10 Fox reiterates the non-carnal nature of the conflict:

For though the Church of Christ do walk in the Flesh, yet the Apostle saith, 'We do not War after the Flesh; for the Weapons of our Warfare are not Carnal, but mighty through God, to the plucking down of strong Holds (to wit, of Satan) casting down Imaginations, and every high thing that exalts itself against the Knowledge of God, and bringing into Captivity every Thought, to the Obedience of Christ having in readiness to revenge all Disobedience.' This is with Spiritual Weapons, not Carnal, 2 Cor 10.

In a controversy with Roger Williams, sometime Baptist of Rhode Island, Fox clarified which weapons belong to Caesar and which to Christ:

Now these Weapons, and the Armor, the Ministers of Christ, the Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, Teachers and Elders of Christ Jesus, they had them not from Caesar, but from God and Christ; for Caesar did not Arm them with them, though he may Arm his own Natural Ministers with outward Carnal Weapons: but the Ministers of Christ were Armed by God and Christ with Spiritual Weapons and Armor.

In the same controversy Fox wistfully noted how happy Christendom would have been had Christians stuck strictly to spiritual weapons, and sarcastically adds that the apostles would have made few converts had they used force as Christians in his time did:

And happy had all Christendom been, had they kept to these Spiritual Armor and Weapons to this day; then they would not have stirred up the Magistrates, or help Caesars against the Friends of Christ, and true possessors of Christianity, as the Jews did against the Apostles, and so fall upon them with Carnal Weapons, and run to the Cuttlers for Swords, and Smith's Shops for Fetters, Bolts and Chains, and Gun-Smiths for Guns and Halbards, and to Rope-makers for Halters and Whips, and to Carpenters to make Gallows; if the Apostles had used any of these Weapons they had gathered but few to Christianity.

Curiously, George Fox mentions spiritual weapons in a commentary on the parable of the wheat and the tares:

The Kingdom of Heaven is like unto a man that Sowed good Seed in his Field, but while men slept his Enemy came, and sowed Tares among the wheat, and went away Mat:13. And therefore be all awaked to Righteousness, and keep in the knowledge of the Truth that ye may be ready to blow a Trumpet in Sion, and Sound an Alarum in God's Holy Mountain against the Evil Seedsman that Enemy: for ye do see that after the good Seed is Sown, then the Enemy doth Sow his Seed while men did Sleep, And therefore it concerneth all to be awakened and Armed with the Light and Righteousness, and have on the Helmet of Salvation, and to have their Holy Armor, the Shield of Faith, and the Sword of the Spirit, the Word of God, that you may stand in the Evil day, and Resist the Enemy, the Evil Seedsman.

G.F.

In one of his latest tracts Fox declared that outward war is a futile blind man's war which brings only spiritual defeat:

If you do pretend a Warfare, without the Light of Christ, and his Faith and Spirit of Grace, which brings Salvation, and overcomes, and is the Victory; then you may War all your Life time 'till you go to the Grave in your own Wills, and not overcome, nor have the Victory; and that is the Blind Man's War and Warfare, without the Light of Christ and Faith, which is the Victory and the Spirit of Grace, which brings salvation.

In 1684 Fox composed one of his most important statements on the nature and use of spiritual weapons and the Armor of light contrasted with material and physical Armor and weapons. He entitled it, "A Distinction betwixt Wars and Weapons and Armor in the Old and New Testaments." Early in the discussion he cited Romans 13:12 and commented on it:

'The night is far spent, and the day is at hand, let us cast off therefore the Works of Darkness, and put on the Armor of Light' : This Armor of Light is not Natural, but Divine and Spiritual, to all the Children of the Light, and of the day; this Armor of Light is afore Darkness was, and the Devil the Power of it, and he the Power of Darkness cannot pierce through this Armor of Light; and this Armor of Light is above all natural and carnal Armor.

In the same tract Fox went on to discuss three Old Testament passages from Isaiah chapter 2:4, Micah 4:3-4 and Psalm 46:8-9 which promise the destruction of outward weapons and the end of wars. Fox then proceeded to Hebrews and Second Timothy to show that spiritual weapons are stronger than outward weapons:

And the Apostle saith to the Hebrews, in the IIth Chapter, 'who by Faith subdued Kingdoms, stopped the Mouths of Lyons, quenched the violence of Fire, escaped the edge of the Sword'; this was the Shield of Faith, a stronger weapon than outward Swords, and is a stronger weapon than Fire, and can quench the violence of it, that stopped the mouth of Lyons; this is beyond Carnal Weapons, which Fire and Lyons may overcome.

And the Apostle exhorts Timothy, 2 Tim. 2 'Thou Therefore, my Son, be strong in the Grace that is in Christ Jesus, and endure hardship, as a good Soldier of Jesus

Christ.' But Timothy did not War with Flesh and Blood, with Carnal Weapons, as he was a Soldier of Christ, but with Christ's Heavenly Arms and Armor.

Fox concluded this tract, and we our discussion of spiritual weapons, with an appeal for men to rely solely on the armor of light:

So light, you see, is your Armor, which will defend you against Darkness, and the Prince of the Power of it, and their Weapons, and all such that hate the Light of Christ, and are against it, are naked, and are without the Light, which is the true Armor; and you may see what the Saints did do, and what Victory they had with the Shield of Faith. Therefore as the Apostle saith to the Thessalonians, 'Let us who are of the day, be sober, putting on the Breastplate of Faith, and Love, and for a Helmet, the Hope of Salvation': This was the Children of Light's Heavenly Armor, and Defense, which they had from God, and Christ, and not out of Smith's Shops; for such will not defend them from the Devil, I Thes. 5.8.

5. The Magistrate and the Ways in which His Use of Force May Be Legitimate

Since George Fox has built such a strong case for spiritual allegiance, spiritual power, spiritual weapons and the spiritual kingdom of Christ to which all men are subject, it may come as something of a surprise that Fox approves of the office of magistrate with the physical power, authority and coercion which that office may involve. But Fox was following Scripture in so doing. He follows the counsel of Paul in Romans 13:1-7 in which Paul maintains that the powers that be are ordained of God to cherish those in the state who do well and bear the sword to punish the evil doer if necessary. Hence, Fox believes in physical police power but, as we shall see, with some important qualifications.

Some may question the relevance of treating the authority of the magistrate in a study of George Fox's attitude toward war. It seems to this writer important to include, since most Christian views of a "just war" in which a Christian must participate are based on the authority and command of a magistrate that the individual should come to the defense of the state. Also, the fact that Fox granted earthly police power to magistrates is an important demonstration that he was not so spiritual in the power and weapons he called for as not to be connected in a practical way with the human institution of magistracy. Fox qualified the power of the magistrate first by carefully distinguishing the things that belong to God from those that belong to Caesar. When the magistrate as "Caesar's" agent uses the sword to persecute about religion or related concerns, he usurps what rightfully belongs to Christ and thereby serves the devil. Christians must obey the magistrate, Fox asserted, pray for him and pay him his due but cannot bear arms for him, nor worship as he may dictate for such actions would be contrary to the Higher Power to which both are subject.

We find one of Fox's most lucid discussions of the magistrate in a tract addressed to them in 1657. After exhorting them to be awake to righteousness and to heed the measure of God in themselves, to give true weight and measure to all and to answer that of God in every man, Fox showed how magistrates must act in the higher Power which is from God. He continued in a negative vein:

And none is worthy to have the name of a Magistrate, that is proud, peevish, selfish, crabbed; or that is wilful, or wicked, or is heady, and high minded, for the Higher Power is to chain such from their mischievous ends. God is not in their thoughts,

those feel not the burden of the oppressed, they feel not the burden the innocent groans under .

So as all ye Magistrates be kept in the fear of God, and in the higher power, in the true understanding, and the true wisdom which is pure, gentle, from above and easy to be interested, it will bring you to instruct all others in the wisdom and ways of God, Peace Righteousness, and Truth, and Meekness and Patience, whereby you may all come to love as the family of God but with wisdom, order and rule the creatures, by which they were created; for with that must all be governed to the glory of the Lord God.

Fox frequently addresses magistrates in terms of Romans 13:3-5 reminding them that their sword should be a terror to evil doers but a praise to those that do well. In 1653 he wrote about this:

To you magistrates which should bear the sword, which should be a terror to evil doers, and that which is a terror to the evil doers keeps peace, and it is for the praise of them that do well, the righteous whom the law was not made for, but for transgressors which law was added because of transgression, now [is] this sword being borne in vain, and the evil doers at liberty.

In 1659 Fox seemed to say that the magistrate's sword should be used in the inward war. Perhaps he meant the sword of the Spirit here but he is not clear:

And all magistrates' swords upon the earth should reach to that which is pure in everyone to the soul, so it takes away that which wars against it and breaks the outward. So the soul comes to be subject to the higher power that is above the transgressor, which ail the magistrates and rulers upon the earth must give an account to.

Especially in the later period when persecution increased but also from the beginning Fox firmly protests that the magistrate has no right to persecute anyone about matters of religious faith. This complaint of 1653 is typical:

When any of the servants of God, sons or daughters, is moved to come into their assemblies, synagogues and markets, to speak against these things which are contrary to the Scripture, and the life that gave them forth, and the commands of Christ, and the law of God, they are hailed out by the commands of the unpeaceable priests and people and he that is called justice and are punished, and beat, and knocked down drawn and tumbled up and down, and struck with cudgels and fists and their blood shed, and yet they not lifting up a hand against them, but stocked or prisoned and railed at as peace breakers but here the edge of the sword is turned backwards, and the way of peace is not known such are pummeled and prisoned as peace breakers, by such magistrates as be without the fear of God whose sword should have been turned against those peace breakers before mentioned.

Fox therefore appeals to magistrates to set prisoners free and in the future to use only spiritual weapons:

Let all the Gaols [read jails] be opened and the prisoners brought out of the nasty holes and straw and dungeons. (where many lie, let them not lie perishing under your power, for that power that prisons them and keeps them the Lord hath overturned);

You having so many teachers that by the law are maintained. Let them never shame them and not trouble the magistrates about church worship and religion and ministry, but let them come to spiritual weapons, (for the) gospel teachers and ministers have spiritual weapons.

Fox, likewise, prompted Christians to obey the powers that be, pay taxes to them and pray for them but not to bear arms for them or worship as the magistrates dictate. Fox then adapted his phrase, "takes away the occasion of" to laws. Christians must live in that life and power which takes away the occasion of laws. Since the occasion of laws is the evil of men, living righteously takes away the occasion of them. In 1654 Fox wrote of this as "the Light and the Word [which] draws from under the Occasion of all Laws outwardly, working out that filthy Nature which the outward Laws takes hold on."

In calling on men to obey laws Fox added the proviso that they be not against the command of God: "Be subject to that ordinance that punishes evil, that doth not punish the good, that doth not go against the command of God, nor Christ..."

On the whole question of obedience to magistrates Fox wrote in 1659:

And as for the rulers, that are to keep the peace, for peace's sake, and the advantage of truth, give them their tribute. But to bear carnal weapons to fight with, the men of peace (which live in that which takes away the occasion of wars,) they cannot act in such things under the several powers; but have paid their tribute. Which they may still do for peace sake, not [to] hold back the earth, but go over it.

In 1669 Fox published a leaflet called, *The Quaker's Testimony Concerning Magistracy*. In it Fox maintained that Friends should support magistracy in the fullest sense by calling men out of the misconduct which made them run afoul of the law into a life of righteousness which will merit the praise of the magistrate:

You have branded us as being against Magistrates: Now is not the Magistrates Sword to take hold upon the Unrighteous? Was not the Law made for such? And is not the higher Power, that the Soul must be subject to, above all Wickedness, Swearers, Cursers, Adulterers, Cheaters, Lyars; are not such actions acted in the lower Power? And is not the higher Power above all such to which the Soul must be subject, and he that resists it, resists the ordinance of God? Now, they that seek to bring People out, and from under all these gross evils, as before mentioned, do they not ease the Magistrates, and help the Magistrates, and are one with the Magistrates that be true Magistrates, that he should not have so much cumber to bring People from that which his Sword is against? So is it not clear here, That we are one with, and own Magistracy, that is a praise to them that do well. ...and one with 'the true Magistracy, and the higher Power. ...And so there are no people upon the Earth that are one with true Magistracy and the Higher Power but such as Walk in Righteousness, Holiness, Justice and Equity.

Fox sharpened his distinction between what belongs to God and what to the magistrate in his tract cited above, *Caesar's Due Rendered*. In it Fox first insisted that the things of God and the things of Caesar must be sharply distinguished and each rendered to each:

Now here Christ's words were plain, 'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things which are God's.' So Caesar must have his things; for his

Image and Superscription manifests his Things, his Tributes, his Custom, &c. And render unto God the things that are God's; for God's Image and Superscription does manifest his things, and his Stamp or Seal is upon his things, which belongs to him.

So Caesar must have his things, and God must have his. But Caesar must not have God's Things, that which must be rendered to God; if he doth, he will go beyond his Superscription and Image, which manifests his Due. So Caesar's things are kept in their place for him, and God's things must be kept in their place for God, as Christ hath distinguished them.

The work of Christ is to order his church and instill it with the Spirit, while Caesar's work is to punish evil doers and praise those who do well:

And this is the work of Christ, and not Caesar's, to order his Church with his Power and Spirit, and to govern it with his Power and Wisdom, which is his Spouse, Bride and Wife, and not Caesar's Wife, which is Christ's Due and Things, and not Caesar's. For Caesar's Weapons are for the Punishment of the Evil-doers and for the Praise of them that do Well; for which he is to have his Tribute, his Custom, his Due.

So Caesar cannot make or give Faith, for it is the Gift of God, and Christ Jesus is the Author and Finisher of that Precious, Holy, Divine, Catholic Faith, which is the Victory, and purifies the heart, by which People have access to God, and in which Faith they please God. And this Divine, Precious, Faith bears God and Christ's image, and is their Things, and belongs to them, to give and work it in Peoples Hearts, and not Caesar.

With sarcasm Fox went on to accuse the state of embezzling functions that rightly belong to God and Christ:

But if you Caesars will have all, not only that which belongs to you, but that also, which belongs to God and Christ, his Worship, his Faith, Religion, Praying, Singing, Preaching, and of Begifting Ministers, and Making of them, and sending them forth to preach, and whosoever walk contrary to your Commands in these Things of God and Christ, which belong not to you, you will Whip, Banish, Hang, Cut off Ears, & Brand them with your Hot-Irons, & Persecute and Spoil the Goods of such as do not conform to your Wills and Commands herein, Where then hath God and Christ their Due, and the Things that belong unto them, when Caesar will have all?

But Fox was not content to berate magistrates for over-stepping their authority. He encouraged Christians to pray for their welfare:

For Christ hath tasted Death for every man, and Christ's Love in that is manifested to all men; and so must his Peoples Love be manifested in their praying for Caesars, and all in Authority, and all men.⁴

Fox even had a kind word for King Charles under whom Friends had suffered so much: "And it is said, God save the King, or God Bless the King; we would not have him nor any Man Destroyed, but Saved; and so Blessed."

6. The Sovereign Rule of Christ, King, Governor and Judge of All Men

The last two categories we have selected for delineating Fox's attitude toward war are the most basic and far reaching of them all. The sixth category which we discuss here is the most basic because it represents Fox's fundamental faith assumption. For him Jesus Christ is sovereign Lord of the earth and universe, has authority, jurisdiction and power over all men and therefore all of them owe him allegiance. It will be obvious to the careful reader from all the foregoing that Fox's conviction of the universal kingship of Christ is the keystone of his faith and also of his attitude toward war. Remove this keystone and both the faith and the argument against war collapse.

Fox believed that Jesus Christ rules universally over all the earth because he has both power and authority from God so to do. Christ upholds all things by his word and power. He begins his rule in the hearts of his saints and through them he will reign over all the world. Christ has this sovereign power since God has made him the second Adam, God's new representative man, whose mission is to overcome both the old Adam and the sins and warfare of Adam's descendants. God has put all kingdoms both spiritual and physical under the Son's dominion.

Christ as king has come to judge all nations, to punish them if they be wicked and reward them if they be righteous. His winnowing fan is in his hand and the judgment has already begun. Vengeance belongs solely to him because he overcomes his enemies with spiritual rods, weapons and punishments. His access to men and nations is through heart and conscience where the sword of the Spirit slays the evil and raises up the good in its place. Christ's righteous ones have nothing to fear from his kingly rule or judgment. For them his judgment is a day of fulfillment, rejoicing and witnessing the overthrow of evil and the triumph of the kingdom of God. Christ's faithful ones are filled with courage because Christ, the sovereign ruler, has overcome the world and is establishing his kingdom among men and they are experiencing it.

Fox beautifully expressed this foundation of his faith of the sovereign rule of God in Christ in an epistle of 1659:

The Lord is King over all the Earth, and Christ hath all Power in Heaven and in the Earth; and he is King of Kings and Lord of Lords, let him rule and reign in all your Hearts by Faith, exalt him in the Land.

In 1656 Fox spoke of "Christ, who is come to reign, and has set up his kingdom in power and authority, and majesty, who raiseth up jealousy as a man of war against all unrepented ones."

In 1657 he again wrote of Christ:

Who upholds all things by his Word and Power, and [all] comes under the government of the Lord Jesus Christ. who hath all Power in Heaven and Earth given to him, whose Kingdom is now set up, and setting up, to whom the glory is given.

The Lord exercises his kingship in and through his saints:

He is risen and come in his Saints who is Lord and King, who will reign over all the World, and bear the government upon his shoulders, and so farewell World, for ever adieu: for the Lord is king in his Saints: he guards them and guides them with his

mighty power, and doth preserve his seed and children from the Seed of evil doers, into his kingdom of glory and eternal rest.

Christ, the king, is the second Adam who overcomes the first Adam in the fall and rules as Lord from heaven: "The second Adam goes over Adam in the fall, and his quarreling sons and daughters, who war with one another with their carnal weapons. "The second Adam which is from above is obedient, the first Adam which is of the Earth earthly is disobedient and so shut forth; and therefore the second Adam we witness the Lord from heaven, he that brings from beneath out of the deeps and is ascended far above all principalities and powers which raises up and sets in heavenly places with Christ Jesus and we are in the heavenly places.

Christ, the king, is not only exalted above spiritual principalities and powers of sin, but he has dominion over them: "I will exalt my kingdom and set it upon the highest throne, to tread dominions and principalities under my feet, who put down the authority, who bear my government upon their shoulders.

A chief function of Christ's kingship is the promise that he shall come on the great day of the Lord to judge all nations, rule them with a rod of iron, send the wicked to eternal torment and bring immediate joy and deliverance to the righteous. Fox wrote of this to Colonel Bennett who imprisoned him in Derby in 1650: "The day of the Lord is appeared and a sword is drawn, and the Battle of the Lord is begun with all the inhabitants of the earth, his fury is gone out (woe) is pronounced, the vials are pouring out.

In *Newes out of the North* (1654) Fox foretold God's judgment to come on England for killing their king and on the sins of the parliaments which followed. He went on to promise that the Lord Jesus would come to rule immediately and forever:

Tremble all Nations before the Lord God Almighty of power, who is now setting up his own kingdom, whose dominion is a dominion for ever, who now will bear his own government upon his shoulders. Oh, England, thou hast forsaken thy visitation so you just be cut down with the same power that cut down the King who reigned over the nation. But the Beast and the false Prophet is standing still. So another Parliament grew, and God hath cut down that. Beware of yourselves, for the Lord will pluck you down.

The Lord Jesus Christ who bears the Government upon his shoulders, he is come and coming to rule all Nations with a rod of Iron the Lord who will bear the government himself, and rule all Nations with his own mighty power, and women shall not rule the people, there shall be one Judge and one Law-giver, one King, Glory and honor for ever. Sing all ye Saints and rejoyce, clap your hands and be glad, for the Lord Jehovah will reign, and the government shall be taken from you pretended Rulers, Judges and Justices, Lawyers and Constables, all this tree must be cut down, and Jesus Christ will rule alone, and true justice shall stand up and true judgment there shall be, and the righteous Lawgiver shall judge eternally; and the great King will reign and doth reign, who reigns for evermore, whose dominion is over all, who is the King of kings and Lord of lords to him be praise for evermore; who will take his government from you, and he alone will bear it upon his shoulders.

After such a statement as this it is easy to see how some royalists and conservative Puritans believed that Quakers believed in the radical overthrow of the government. Except for the use of violence eschewed by Friends and advocated by the Fifth Monarchy men there appeared

to be little difference between them. We have heard Fox speak previously of the sword of the Spirit which is the Word of God. Now it glitters and hangs over the heads of the:

Heathen that know not God, the glittering Sword is drawn, furbished, hangs over you heads, is shaken and glitters . and trembling shall there be among you, the day of the mighty God is dawning, and the Glory of the mighty God is rising, and the God of the world shall be judged; and the Prince of the Power of the Air by and with the Power of Truth, and all Idol-Worshippers shall be confounded. They shall be overthrown; the Lord will get himself a Name, the Heathen shall know it, for the uttermost parts of the earth is his Seeds possession; he that sits upon the throne of David shall reign.

Likewise a day is coming on which all nations will tremble:

Therefore, give attention to your maker, to your Creator, and dread before Him; for before Him, the Lord God of might and power, shall all nations tremble in this his day, in this day of his power, for his mighty power has gone forth to gather all nations which doth compass them, and all nations before Him is but as the drop of the bucket.

The wrath of God burns hot or, his promised day of reckoning especially for the city of London. Fox sounded forth with the following in 1660:

For your Whoredoms in the city of London, is the hand of the Lord stretched forth against thee, the Sword of the Lord God drawn to hew thee down. Ye proud, ye are for the fire which cannot be quenched. Ye lustful ones, the plagues and dread of the Lord is to come upon you, who are up in the air, clouds without water, trees without fruit, in your lusts burning, filled with unrighteousness Which under the judgment must be brought, with the terrible God, which is a consuming fire to the proud. And the day of the Lord shall burn the wicked. Oh you stink before the Lord ye corrupted ones. The Lord sees your works, your actions, your deeds. And the light in all your consciences, shall make you confess his judgments just, his wrath just, his vengeance just, his plagues just, his destruction just in the day of the Lord's slaughter.

Again, vengeance belongs solely to God. It is for no man to exercise it: "Would you take vengeance out of God's hand? Who saith, 'Vengeance is mine, and I will repay it'; and everyone that doth wrong shall receive for the wrong that he doth. For God would give them their reward according to their deeds, whether they be good or evil. ." In another place Fox described the vengeance of Christ in other terms: "Therefore as the Flaming Fire devours the Stubble, and as the Chaff is consumed for the Flame, so their Root shall be as Rottenness, and their Bud shall rise up like Dust, because they have cast off the Law of the Lord of Hosts, and contemned the Word of the Holy One of Israel. And won't he render Vengeance in Flames of Fire against all such as obey not the Gospel, and walk not as becomes the Gospel?"

The reader is at liberty to interpret this "vengeance" as he may understand it. It is this writer's contention, however, that the flames of the fire described is not a process of oxidation of flesh but a vivid simile for a process of spiritual judgement, spiritual punishment and spiritual destruction.

At an earlier time Fox described the eternal torment of the wicked thus:

Whereas thou wouldst know how the Wicked should be tormented; there thou wouldst learn thy Porcion, Rev 20. 13. 14. With that Fire that cannot be quenched; look upon the Fire and Brimston and it may teach thee, and thou mayst read thy Figure daily, who art to be tormented from the presence of the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb and all his Saints and Angels. Rev. 20. 10. and if thou call that a Local place take it.

Much later Fox promises that persecutors will be “!ground to powder:” “Though they may seem to flourish, and make a boast and a noise for a time, yet the Seed is on the head of such, and will grind them to powder.”

Not only the disobedient or persecutors but those who fail to do works of mercy to their fellow men, Fox felt sure would suffer punishment:

Christ saith, 'I was hungry, and ye gave me no Meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me no Drink; I was naked, and ye Clothed me not; in Prison, and ye came not unto me; I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; and sick, and ye visited me not, &c. And Christ saith, in as much as ye did it not to one of the least of these, you did it not unto me: And such shall go into everlasting punishment'; and the righteous to life eternal.

The day of the Lord will be, however, one of great joy to the righteous. In that day, “The Saints shall stand upon Mount Sion, who are redeemed from the Earth by the Blood of Jesus Christ, who sings Hallelujah forevermore.” On that day, and already for that matter, the redeemed, "witness the scriptures and the power of them to be fulfilled, and fulfilling, We witness the happy day of the Lord is come, the good and happy day and glad tidings to souls; the day of Christ, prays be unto him forever,"

After 1660 Fox had less to say about God's wrath, vengeance and judgment. He continued to express beautifully the transcendent power of Christ's kingdom, its eternity, peaceableness and the citizenship of all true Christians in it. In 1660 he penned one of my favorite passages:

The Lord God so loved the World, that he gave his only begotten Son into the World, who hath all Power in Heaven and in Earth given to him, and that all Power and Thrones, and Rule and Government should be subject to him who is Lord of Lords, and King of Kings: And the Lord saith, This is my beloved Son, hear ye him: this is the Prophet, ., that speaks from Heaven. Now in the last days hath spoken to us by his Son, which is the heir of all things, upholding all things by his Word and Power.

In 1661 Fox asserted there were no wars in Christ's kingdom, because he has subdued all kingdoms under his feet and his kingdom is over all and will last forever:

And there is no wars at all in his Kingdom, for all the wars that be are in the world without, which he doth subdue. The Messiah is come, and his Kingdom is set up, that stands in power and peace, and is everlasting. ., to Rule and to Reign until he hath put all power and Authority under his feet, and until he hath subdues all things to his own Kingdom, in which is peace. Whose Kingdom reaches from Sea to Sea, and happy are they that are in this Kingdom, and have received it. An everlasting Kingdom it stands. It never alters, it never changes, it is not divided as the Kingdoms of the world are; and it stands in Power and Righteousness, and goes over the world. I say the

Kingdom is over all the powers of darkness, the power of God is over it, and before it was, and stands when it is gone, in which Kingdom Christ reigns, and all which believes in him, and live in his life and power, are partakers of his Kingdom which is everlasting, and so they that are in the Kingdom are all Christians, owning his power and his Light, and feeling it, and living in it.

Fox explained how the reign of Christ expressed itself within the fellowship of believers: "For amongst us Christ is King, who bringeth the Blessing, and destroyeth that which brought the Curse: And whoever dwells in Righteousness (Man or Woman) and loves mercy, and doth Justly, and walks Humbly with God, and hath the Humility, which goes before the Honor, we are not against. But whosoever, doth Unrighteously, or doth not Justly, nor walk Humbly before God, and will have Honor before Humility, God will overturn such by his Power: And in that let your Faith be; for we look not at Persons, but at the Power of God; and know the reign of Christ amongst us."

In his later years Fox continued to exalt the power and kingship of Christ and the day of his power which was both come and still to come. Christ, said Fox, "is King of Kings and Prince of Princes, the only Potentate reigning over all, whose dominion is an Everlasting Dominion blessed for Evermore."

The focus of Christ's reign is within the heart of every man and woman: "For Christ, who is the Truth, reigns in the Truth, and in his Grace: And therefore in every Man and Woman, must with this Grace and Truth in their Hearts feel and see Christ's Reign, and Rule. And Him in his heavenly, Eternal everlasting Government.

Christ's government shall be by light and by life and it shall have no end:

Concerning the Government of Christ and his Peace, the increase of which there shall be no End upon Throne of David, and upon his Kingdom to order it, and to establish it with judgment, and Justice, from henceforth, and for ever.

Christ Jesus the Second Adam, the Lord from Heaven, it is He who Rules and Reigns, and Governs in the Hearts of his Saints. And Christ's Government is by Grace and Truth, by who all things were made, who doth enlighten every Man that cometh into the World, which Light is the Life in Him; he saith, 'Believe in the Light, that you may become Children of the Light': and such have the Light of Life. So Christ is the Governor, the Counsellor, the Orderer, He orders and governs with his Light (his Life) and all the Believers in the Light, have the Witness in themselves, of Christ 'their Ruler, heavenly Governor, and of his Judgment, Justice, and Peace; and that of the increase of his Government there is no End.

Christ's kingship was also demonstrated to George Fox by the fact that Christ had overcome the world and shares with his followers the power to do likewise:

Dear friends and brethren. In the world you have trouble, But 'be of good cheer, Christ hath overcome the world', and in him you all overcome the devil and his works, and 'without him you can do nothing'; but through Christ, and his power and strength, you will be able to do all things.

7. The Lamb's War and the Final Victory of God Over All Evil

The seventh and final category and the distinctive concept which sums up George Fox's attitude toward war, and his whole faith for that matter, is a very warlike one, the war of the Lamb. As far as this author knows this concept of the Lamb's war is unique to Fox and the

early Friends. It represents a universal extension to all nations, to all strata of human society and throughout all history of the sovereign rule of Christ the king which we have discussed in the preceding section. The Lamb's war is an eschatological vision in which all obedient followers of Christ the King, who is at once the suffering and all-conquering Lamb, enlist in a total and unending struggle against evil in all of its forms in this present world until the Lamb and his army win victory and history comes to an end with the triumph of good over evil and the coming of God to dwell with men. Doubts the reader may have had about the relevance or application of spiritual weapons and spiritual conflict to a discussion of war should be removed by the concept of the Lamb's war which is a program of social and religious revolution in the name and through the power of Jesus Christ.

To understand the Lamb's war we first need to understand who the Lamb is and what are his nature and functions. It is common for Christians to think of the "Agnus Dei," the lamb of God pictured in the Gospel of John whom John the Baptist testified had come "to take away the sins of the world." Christ is here portrayed as a sacrificial lamb whose blood sacrifice atoned for the sins of mankind. Fox occasionally refers to Christ in this manner: "Lo the lamb of God which was prepared before the world was, which takes away the sins of the world, him we witness, which hath taken away our sins and brought us to reign above the world." Christ as this kind of lamb symbolizes the forgiveness of sin.

But Fox uses another suffering lamb image about Jesus. We usually refer to Isaiah chapter 53 as the Suffering Servant passage. But Fox identifies Jesus with the "suffering lamb" of Isaiah, thus:

And Isaiah, speaking by prophecy of Christ, how he was oppressed and afflicted: yet opened not his mouth, and was not he brought as a Lamb to Pilate's and the Jews slaughter, and as a Sheep before the Shearers; 'and he was taken from Prison, and from Judgment'; who shall declare the generation of the suffering-Lamb, slain from the foundation of the World; for the Transgression of his people was he stricken the Lamb of God.

But the main understanding of the Lamb of God in the book of Revelation, in the mind of George Fox and necessary to the idea of a Lamb's war is the figure of the active conquering Lamb who is an alter ego in the book of Revelation for Christ the universal king mounted on a white horse with eyes like flames of fire ready to tread out the winepress of his wrath. Both the identity of the Lamb and the spiritual nature of his weapons are made clear in the following quotation from Fox which draws heavily on Revelation:

The Lord Jesus Christ is come to reign, and his everlasting Kingdom and Scepter is set up, and the Bar of Judgment, and he calls all up before it and now is the Marriage of the Lamb come, the Bride, the Lamb's wife, the true Church known again and the Man-child is brought forth, which will rule all Nations with a Rod of Iron. But now the Man-child, the Lamb is come to reign, who makes war in Righteousness, and rides on the white Horse conquering, and to conquer, and the Lamb and the Bride his Wife is witnessed. He is come to make work with you, and the Lamb, and the Saints shall have the Victory over the Beast, over the false Prophet, over this [he] will kill with his Sword, and slay with his Sword, which are the words of his Mouth, and Blessing and Honor will be given to the King of Kings, and the Lord of Lords, who is Lord Omnipotent, and Everlasting.

Turning to the nature of the conflict which the Lamb's war represents, we find it originates in an inward dimension. Early Quakers refused to take off their hats, bow or scrape or say

“you” to single persons regardless of their social station. This was part of the Lamb's war. In order to be inwardly pure of motive in leveling down the socially mighty by the means mentioned, a Friend had to first have purged himself of all inner desire to be honored by others. When the Lamb had won this inward victory then the Quaker was ready to witness against the shallow niceties of courtly courtesy. “Hat Honor,” and insisting on “thee and thou” to all men were relatively minor outgrowths of a total change of inner life orientation and allegiance to which Fox testifies in this manner:

And the Lamb must have the Victory over all the Wilde Beasts, Heifers, Dogs, Wolves and Horses. And is not this a mystery to you all, that the Lamb should take away your Sins that the Lamb should have the Victory over the Dogish, and Wolvish, and Heiferish, and Swinish nature in you the clean and Holy Lamb must have the Victory over all this in you; therefore join to him that hath the Victory, who is Captain of your Salvation, who breaks the Serpent's Power, and crusheth him to pieces; who opens and no man shuts. So he that opens to you by his Light none can shut from you.

The conflict of the Lamb's war assumed many social dimensions. Since Christ forbade it, Friends refused to swear oaths. More Friends went to prison for refusal to swear that they were not Roman Catholic agents or for refusing the oath of allegiance to the crown than for any other cause. This was part of the Lamb's war. After the penal laws of 1661 Friends broke the Conventicle Act, the Five Mile Act and the Quaker Act every time they held meeting for worship and met in the courtyards, when the soldiers barred the doors against them. This was a campaign in the Lamb's war. In the economic sphere Friends invented the fair price for articles on sale as a testimony against the cheating involved in much common haggling over prices. This was a function of the Lamb's war. Fair treatment for the insane, just treatment of Indians and Negroes, as also men for whom Christ died, were other aspects of the Lamb's war. Some other phases of the conflict are reflected in the passages from Fox which follow. In the first, Fox stresses that the Lamb's war will put an end to the apostasy of the church since the apostles' days with all the human inventions accumulated by it. Christ has come to end this and the law and war:

Now Christ is come to end the law, and to end war. The redeemed of the Lord shall reign upon the earth . Now is Christ come who will make war in righteousness, and destroy with the sword of his mouth all these inventors and inventions since the true church went into the wilderness. And the everlasting gospel shall be preached again to all nations. In this the Lamb's day, before whom you shall appear in judgment. You have no way to escape.

Since Fox and the Quakers believed so firmly in the judgment and final victory of the Lamb, they could suffer violence and imprisonment confident that the Lord would soon redress their grievances. They expected to see the Lamb “hew down all false justice which is not justice, hew down all powers of the earth, cleanse the land from all filthiness. The sword of the Lord is drawn against you all and in the powers of darkness ye stand. A day of slaughter is coming to you who have made war against the Lamb and against his Saints, for destruction you are, the sword you cannot escape, and it shall be upon you ere long.” In 1650 at Derby Fox promised the Lamb's victory and condemned his captor Bennett as “one of the beast's heads.”

Another promise of the conflict is that false justices, rulers and magistrates will be unseated

and “the Lord alone will place his law in the hearts of his people, that true justice, and that true judgment may stand.” One of the surprising and compelling facts about Fox's vision of the Lamb's war was his confident expectation that this widespread overthrow of social and ecclesiastical evil was not only imminent but that it was already happening and the Quakers were the spiritual revolutionaries to speed it along.

Consistent with the fourth category examined above, all the weapons of the Lamb's war are spiritual. Previously the Armor mentioned in Paul's writings was the dominant motif, here the sword of the Spirit, which is the tongue of the majestic figure on the white horse, dominates the scene. With the Lamb's war as with interpreting the book of Revelation it is hard to avoid the mistake that physical punishment and carnage are being described. In each case the mistake must be avoided. In each case the victory of faith and the triumph of the Spirit over spiritual evils is being described.

Fox drives this point home by taking care to show that the rod of iron described in Revelation wielded by Christ is not ferrous metal. Fox says that rod of iron "by which Christ rules the nations is a figurative speech of Christ." That it is a spiritual conflict with spiritual weapons from start to finish is made unmistakably clear in this passage:

Now the Holy Angels of God are Spirit, so then they had Spiritual Weapons, and not Carnal Swords, Muskets, Pikes, and Pistols, &c. to fight with the Dragon [he then goes on to quote Revelation 19:11-16 describing Christ leading the army of the Lamb to victory] And were these, think you, Carnal Weapons, that Christ and his Followers made War with, against the Beast and the false Prophet, and they that worshiped the Beast and his Image, and received his Mark, and took them, and overcame them, and cast the Beast and the false Prophet into the Lake that burns with Brimstone? And was that an outward Carnal Sword that went out of his Mouth, by which he slew the Beast's Worshipers. Do you think that Christ or his Army, that sate on White Horses, and followed him that they had outward Swords, and Pistols, and Pikes, and Muskets, and Guns, and Cannons, by which they overcame the Beast and the false Prophet? No: it is said: That Christ's Army was clothed in fine linen; and Christ's Vesture was dipped in Blood, which Army followed him in Heaven.

The unavoidable implication that Fox and his followers drew was that the same heavenly conflict was going on here on earth and that they were called to fight in the Lamb's army with the weapons of the Lamb. To such warriors victory comes by faith and obedience to the mind of Christ. Thus they will participate in his eternal victory. Fox expressed it: "By faith the holy men of God had victory. So let the same mind be in you as was in Christ Jesus; for the apostle said that they had the mind of Christ, and the Lamb overcame and had the victory; and his sanctified ones, that follow him, are partakers of."

We need to mention a few more aspects of the Lamb's war before going on to describe its victory and the results. One characteristic of Fox and the early Friends lay in their constant attempt to redress injustices by going directly and in person to the leaders of governments to expostulate with them or failing that sending them massive letters or manifestoes. Fox went to see Cromwell, Penn to Charles II and James II for this purpose. Characteristic of this strict sense of justice was the refusal of Fox and other early Friends on several occasions to leave prison, even when invited to, until the judge who had committed them under a false charge had publicly admitted his error. All this was part of the Lamb's war.

Another phase of the Lamb's war was universal mission to bring all men to an inward knowledge of Christ and his power. Early Friends were convinced that they lived in the same

life and power in which the Prophets of the Old Testament and the Apostles of the New Testament lived. They went naked as signs, like the Prophets, in protest. They sent missionaries to try to convert the Sultan of Turkey, King Louis the XIV of France (feature that!), and even the Pope in Rome. Fox wrote letters to the kings of Spain, Austria and the Grand Turk not only to warn them that the Lamb was about to judge them down for their wrongdoing but to try to win them to the faith. This struggle was part of the Lamb's war. Each of the early Friends was fired with zeal to remake all of Christendom and if possible non-Christendom, over into a very-similitude of the peaceable gospel kingdom of the Lamb.

Four Quakers were hung on Boston Common by the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay. They had been whipped out of the colony tied to carts' tails and banished on pain of death. But they refused to stay banished and so were hung. This, again, was another phase of the Lamb's war.

It should now be more clear why early Friends could speak with such enthusiasm of the coming victory of the Lamb. They were seeing it happen all around them, were helping bring it about and were confident Christ would carry it to completion. In the following passage from Fox we find this confidence that the victory of the Lamb is assured and that it will bring in the reign of virtue, love and peace:

And Friends, Let the Waves break over your Heads: There is rising a new and living Way out of the North, which makes the Nations like Waters. Hurt not the Vines, not the Oil, nor such as know, that the Earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof. The Days of Virtue, Love and Peace are come and coming, and the Lamb had and hath the Kings of the Earth to war withal, and to-fight withal, who will overcome with the Sword of the Spirit, the Word of his Mouth; for the Lamb shall have the Victory.

The victory will occur and is already happening as, in Fox's words, the "Kings of the Earth make War with the Lamb and the Saints, but he shall kill with the Sword, and slay with the Sword which are the words of his mouth." The beast, the dragon, the false church, the great city, all the false prophets of the institutional church and state are overthrown by the power of the Lamb. In this victory of the Lamb "nothing shall reign or rule but righteousness itself."

Many wonderful results accrue from the victory of the Lamb and his Saints. First, the original spirit and power of the apostles and the gospel are restored. The Lamb is "redeeming and recovering things that were in the Apostles' Days, and now the Gospel of God is known, the Power of God." Secondly, through the victory of the Lamb the fallen image of man will be conquered and by implication the original restored: "For the Lamb must have the victory. And not the Rough Nature, which hath gotten up, since Man fell from God's Image; the Lamb must have the Victory over that." Thirdly, both a result and a part of the conflict will be that: "Sons and daughters are going abroad joyfully in the power and strength of the Almighty, the arm of the Lord, in whose hands is the Lord's sword, the Lord will Honor himself, the Lord will get himself reknown, the Lord will be known to be King." But the climactic result of the Lamb's War will be what Fox and the early Friends believed was already coming into being: a new heaven, a new earth, a new covenant with mankind, a new Jerusalem coming down from heaven to earth, and a life-giving tree planted by living waters whose leaves will be for the healing of the nations; Fox expressed it:

And then John 'saw a new Heaven and a new Earth, when the Dragon, Beast, Whore, and false Prophets, and Devil were cast into the Lake of Fire: And Babylon was fallen, &c. And the first Earth passed away, and was no more to be seen. And he saw the holy City, the new Jerusalem come down from God out of Heaven, prepared as a Bride trimmed for her Husband, and I heard a great Voice out of Heaven, saying, "Behold the Tabernacle of God is with Men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his People, and God himself shall be their God with them." And this we witness, blessed be the Lord for ever, who dwelleth with his People.

And he that sat upon the Throne said, Behold I make all things new, and he said unto me, Write. It is done, I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and end, to wit, Christ. I will give unto him that is a thirst of the Well of the Water of Life freely. ' And this we witness. and he that over cometh, shall inherit all things, and I will be his God, and he shall be my Son.

Fox spoke also of the tree of life mentioned in this part of Revelation, "for the leaves that this seed brings forth, never fade nor fall; for the leaves thereof heal the nations which are wounded."

After all this cosmic and universal victory in the Lamb's war with its remarkable results there is nothing left but to sing praises to God who brought it about. The saints of the Lamb sing in triumph over all who oppose them: "They who are born of the word, and in the power which upholds all things have victory, and sing over the false prophet, the devil, and the beast, that makes war against the lamb and his saints." The saints and warriors of the Lamb also render thanksgiving and honor to God: "All Honor and glory, and thanks be to him for ever, who now is come to rule alone in his Saints. Rejoyce, O all you Prophets and righteous ones, the Lamb hath gotten the victory. Powerful Father and eternal God, to thee alone be all glory, Honor, and thanks for ever." Already on earth among his Saints the kingdom of heaven has begun. There "there is no curse, but the blessing. ..the power of God in which the saints shall have liberty, where the sons of God sing together, and praise, glorify, and Honor their Father for evermore!"