

BOOK REVIEWS

HOLTON, S.S., *Quaker Women: Personal Life, Memory and Radicalism in the Lives of Women Friends, 1780-1930* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), pp. xiii + 288. ISBN 978-0-415-28144-7, Paper, £24.99.

This is a book about the domestic culture of the Priestman, Bright and Clark families, and the way in which their kinship networks were deployed in religious, business and political activity from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries. It is a beautifully structured account that traces this middle-class Quaker circle through the lives of the women of three generations. The lynchpin here is Helen Clark, daughter of the radical statesman, John Bright, and his first wife, Elizabeth Priestman, an account of whose death serves as the introduction to the themes of the book, leading as it did to the extended family care of her infant daughter. It was primarily Helen's patient work of collection and collation of family papers that created the Clark Archive, the principal source material for this work. Many of the papers, of course, were also produced by Helen herself, but she was by no means the only family member who clearly felt that, no matter how irksome it might seem at times, the work of being a 'family correspondent', maintaining the bonds across geographical and generational distance, was 'important to leading a meaningful life' (p. 24). It reinforced, moreover, these women's own sense of who they were and what they stood for.

In the course of her book, Sandra Stanley Holton presents a number of specific findings which make an important contribution to the wider historiography of gender issues among the middle class of this period, notably on 'women's money', the role of single women in households and the preservation of a radical inheritance. The findings cover a whole range of women's activities beyond the purely domestic, from philanthropy, humanitarian and moral reform movements to radical politics, culminating in the women's suffrage movement. But to pick out individual topic areas tends to detract from the much deeper overall insight that is achieved.

Comparing this study of radical Quaker women with Judith Jennings' 2006 study of a somewhat earlier period (*Gender, Religion and Radicalism in the Long Eighteenth Century* [Aldershot: Ashgate]) the reader would be struck by the remarkable difference in the tenor of the 'radicalism'. While Mary Knowles (the subject of Jennings' study) could apparently square her radical beliefs with accepting a gift of £800 from Queen Charlotte in return for a needlework portrait of the king (George III),

Margaret Wood, keeper of a confectioner's shop in Rochdale (and the first subject of Holton's 'collective biography'), would take no interest in the local celebrations for the coronation of George IV, remarking that he was 'na but a pauper, and I have to help keep him' (p. 9). This very contrast, and the difficulties of definition it implies, seems powerfully to justify Holton's adoption of the method of 'microhistory', whereby she explores her subjects 'in terms of their particularity, not for their typicality, or as exemplars' (p. 6).

Holton offers no more explanation of her method than the endnote definition of 'microhistory' as 'a research approach that examines the experience, mentalities and subcultures of subordinate and/or atypical groups or individuals' (p. 235). The comparative brevity of the reference perhaps assumes too much in the way of widespread understanding of a methodology which was pioneered in the 1970s by scholars who wanted to challenge the relativist view then gaining ground that, rather than being an exercise in explaining a complex reality, history could be no more than a linguistic exercise in interpreting texts. 'Microhistory' requires the writer to explain the research process as an integral part of the search for meaning. The findings are often presented in a narrative form which allows the researcher to acknowledge the subjectivity of the sources while also revealing something about the wider social context in which they exist. The results, as here, can be illuminating and authoritative without pretending to be definitive, since what is offered is an insight into the complexity of lived experience and the plurality of individual views.

More specifically, in this study, the approach of 'microhistory' encourages further questioning of the commonly used categories of separate 'public' and 'private' spheres to explain gender roles and relationships in the period. Holton voices disquiet about the use of 'prescriptive material' to interpret actual practice, finding that, in the lives of individuals, the 'public' and 'private' became 'mutually defining worlds' (p. 226). 'Family relations between men and women were actual and part of everyday life, as forcibly shaped by physical and emotional needs as by the language of separate spheres... The two worlds were inextricably mixed in life' (p. 85). What we are presented with is recognisable family life, rarely without disagreement of some sort, (if not over politics then over rice pudding), but where the individual family members, whose religion after all taught them to attend to their leadings, generally found a way to ride out the storms. So John Bright's disapproval of Helen's active involvement in the campaign against the Contagious Diseases Acts led him to write to her in 1872 that 'our sympathy and the harmony of our thoughts must be considered at an end' (p. 171). But it made no difference either to Helen's campaigning or to her continuing care for him when he was sick and eventually dying, when she found him 'very quiet and cheerful and nice' (p. 183).

The relationship between religion and everyday life (again inextricably linked almost by definition among Quakers), is, on the whole, deftly handled. The study employs the generally accepted trajectory of Quaker theology but without imposing this artificially on the evidence for individuals' experience. Above all the dislike of dogmatism and a reluctance to be involved in schism is evident. It is, of course, implicit in this study that accepted explanatory devices should not dictate the

ordering of the evidence. Nevertheless, there are occasions where terms are not used with sufficient clarity and create ambiguities. Is it not misleading, for example, to talk of the ‘liberal Quakerism’ of John Bright and his aunt Margaret Wood (p. 66) given that the term has come to mean something quite specific in the context of the later nineteenth century? And I would have liked to see further explanation of the (unreferenced) point that Helen ‘identified herself with the “the liberal party” within the Society’ (p. 125). The use of the term ‘Inner Light’ (instead of ‘Inward Light’), is also glaringly anachronistic, especially when applied to Quakers’ understanding from the later seventeenth century of ‘something quite separate from human nature’ (p. 11). If indeed Margaret Bragg (1761–1840) was sustained at her death by ‘her Quaker belief in the “Inner Light”’ (p. 72, and it is placed in quotation marks here whereas an earlier reference, on p. 11, on the ‘doctrine of the Inner Light’, is not), then it could predate the known period of general use of this term by decades. However, neither the source nor date of the evidence is entirely clear.

Sometimes, then, a paucity of references makes it difficult to follow up individual points. Certainly, to overload a narrative with references can be intrusive, and the ‘light touch’ in this respect does help the flow of the writing. But one of the glories of this book is its potential to inspire further study, so although it may seem churlish to point out problems, it is also testimony to what I would regard as its enormous importance to students of Quaker history. Overall, this is a book which should serve as a benchmark for other studies of ‘networked families’ in this period. To produce such a sustained, coherent and carefully nuanced account from a potentially overwhelming body of source material is a remarkable achievement.

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HAMM, T.D., *The Quakers in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. viii + 293. ISBN 0-231-12363-9, Paper, \$40.00.

DOBBS, Jack P., *Authority and the Early Quakers* (Gloucestershire: Martin Hartog, 2006), pp. 269, Paper, £10.00.

These two books are based on scholarly research: one is an attempt to explain the nature of modern Quakerism, which involves a journey into first principles; the second is a detailed study of the development of the early Quaker movement that originally saw the light of day as an Oxford University DPhil. Thomas Hamm clearly wishes to explain how the modern Quaker life is derived from the early history of the movement, but he is essentially a scholar of the more modern world. Dobbs’ premise is less modern-world focussed, but nevertheless contributes to understanding how the Quakers moved subtly from being wholly inner-light focussed to accepting external authorities, in a complex balance which allowed them to continue to exist.

Hamm is concerned with diversity. He argues that amongst the 100,000 Quakers in the United States there are several distinct strands of belief within the Quaker

movement, which he sets out to explain as an historical issue. The very essence of what constitutes a Quaker is in dispute between them. It is a potentially bewildering diversity encompassed in such a small group, which he argues, is no greater in number than the Catholic population in a smallish US diocese. To find out the origins of this potentially damaging diversity, Hamm goes to the early years in England, and covers the same period as forms the focus of Dobbs' book. But chiefly, Hamm argues, it is in the eighteenth century that crucial and major divisions were appearing within the movement, between reformists and those who had met with commercial success on both sides of the Atlantic. This led in the next century to more important divisions between largely rural Quakers and the more urban-centred groups. The split was devastating and continued up until the civil war. Although the war was followed by the Great Revival, essentially the movement remained divided. Hamm then takes a different approach to the narrative track, and from this point the book provides an analysis of those fragmented segments, examining the distinct debates and practices within the broad 'movement'. The result of this diversity is probably reflected in the size of the movement: there are about the same number of Quakers in the United States as there were at the American Revolution, but their proportion is now minute rather than small. Nevertheless their voices are heard, argues Hamm, and they are associated historically with some of the more positive parts of American history, such as the anti-slavery movement. However, the depressing conclusion Hamm comes to is that their fragmentation and re-fragmentation over first two centuries of Quaker American history has condemned them to being a small group.

Dobbs is less openly concerned with the present-day Quakers in his book, although the analysis has important resonance with Hamm's work and present-day Quaker survival. His mission was to look at the reaction of Quakers to external authority. In a religion that centred on inner light and the very personal relationship with God, external authority has traditionally been a major problem. The book is unaltered from a doctoral thesis and is printed in a limited run due, it is said, to the belief that people in the movement might find it of interest, rather than just the scholars who access it through libraries. The book looks first at religious authority in the seventeenth century as a background to the rise of Quakers in the 1650s. This is a swift excursion through the Church of England regimen to the revolutionary period, when structured authority collapsed. From this point on, Quakers have considered themselves free of authority. Naturally, this notion may not have led to longevity: other groups, particularly the Ranters, fade from view precisely because they had no authority structure to create stability and permanence. That the Quakers had realised or recognised this is revealed by the debate over whether or not they had become too authoritarian by the 1670s. In the end there were four authorities which the Quakers had to acknowledge, that of the spirit, of the bible, of the church and of doctrine. That acceptance of these four authorities was not universally smooth and to some extent accepted in degrees is apparent and the sort of divisions that afflicted Hamm's American Quakers can be seen in Britain too. Dobbs argues that in the end even if the spirit was theoretically the main influence on the Quakers, this inner light had to be tempered by external forces—it kept the Quakers in existence long after their contemporary radicalism disappeared, even if that existence was not always

marked by togetherness. The claim in Dobbs' book that it might prove of interest to Quakers is too modest. This is an important examination of the development of the Quaker movement and is of broad scholarly importance. Both books add materially to understanding the diversity of the present-day movement on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

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BURTON, P.F., *A Social History of Quakers in Scotland, 1800–2000* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2007), pp. vii + 370. ISBN 978-0-7734-5452-1, Cloth, £74.95, \$119.95.

BURNET, G.B., and MARWICK, W.H., *The Story of Quakerism in Scotland 1650–1950* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 2007), pp. 230. ISBN 978-0-718-89176-3, Paper, £17.50, \$37.50.

The history of the Society of Friends in Scotland, while it mirrors the history of the Society in England in many respects, nonetheless differs in a number of significant ways. Despite this, little has been written on Scottish Quaker history and historians frequently make assertions about 'British Quakerism' which are based solely on evidence from England. It is a pleasure, therefore, to have two books on Quaker Scottish history, one new and one a reprint of a 1952 text.

Paul Burton's book is a social history, not a theological or institutional one, although as he puts it: 'both theology and the Society as institution will necessarily be considered at times, for all three are intimately bound up with one another' (p. 27). It describes and analyses the changing social history of Quakerism in Scotland during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a period of significant change for most, if not all, churches in Scotland.

Burton examines a number of features of the Society and its members—occupations, class, changing social structures, gender and the role of women, the complex interrelationships of Quaker families and the wider contribution of a number of prominent members, whose work has ranged from art and economics to electrical engineering. He sets this detailed analysis of Scottish Quakerism within the context of developments in the wider society within which it was located, including the spread of evangelicalism, the hotly debated secularisation of British society and the relationship between class and religion.

While much has been written about the complicating factors associated with 'insider research' (research carried out within a group of which the investigator is a member) in relationship to sociological and anthropological research, less work has been done on the implications for historical research projects. Paul Burton is himself a Quaker and was personally known to many of those studied for the latter sections of the book; it is good, therefore, to note his sensitivity to those issues within his work.

The book begins with a brief background to Quakerism in Britain generally and in Scotland specifically. These chapters, while of necessity short, are detailed and do a good job of pulling together material from a wide variety of sources, including archival ones.

Chapter 4 examines migration and social change in the Society in Scotland during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, examining movements in and out of Scotland in order to identify the nature of their contribution to the social makeup of the Society. When a Quaker left his or her Meeting, either temporarily or permanently, he or she was issued with a certificate of removal, and this chapter is based on painstaking analysis of hundreds of certificates. In broad terms, Quakers formed part of the general pattern of migration to and from Scotland, but Burton demonstrates the ways in which they diverged from that pattern. Chapter 5 examines the occupational structure of nineteenth-century Scottish Friends using records of births, marriages and burials, usefully setting this alongside other similar work which has been done on English Friends' occupations and on class and occupation in other Scottish denominations. Chapter 6 looks at the family relationships which were a significant feature of nineteenth-century Scottish Quakerism, exploring the links and connections between prominent Scottish Quaker families and the wider implications of those connections.

The book changes methodology in the seventh and eighth chapters which look at the social makeup of the Society in Scotland today. These two chapters are based on a questionnaire which was sent to every adult member or attender of the Scottish Society. The questionnaire (a copy of which is included in the appendices to the book) sought

...to identify the social background of Scottish Quakers as indicated by their occupations and those of their parents. It was also considered important to establish the overall make-up of the Society through a series of demographic questions on age, education, etc., as well as Friends' 'spiritual background'—had they come from a Quaker family or had they come to Quakerism via another route. It also sought comments and views on perceived changes in the Society and reasons for joining, either as member or attender (p. 198).

The final number of adult members and attenders surveyed was 1193. A follow-up questionnaire was later sent personally to non-respondents; the final response rate was 65.5%, a good result allowing a generally valid set of conclusions to be drawn. Burton's analysis of the results provides both a useful 'snapshot' of the Society at the beginning of the twenty-first century and a provocative exploration of issues raised by some of the responses to the survey.

Paul Burton's work is to be warmly welcomed. It is good, too, to see George B. Burnet and William H. Marwick's *The Story of Quakerism in Scotland 1650–1950* back in print and therefore available to a wider audience. This edition is a reprint of the original 1952 edition with no additional material.

While dated in some ways, this book remains the most extensive discussion of Scottish Quakers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Based on his original 1936 doctoral thesis, Burnet describes the Society's history in Scotland from 1653 to

1850, but the nineteenth-century material is brief and much less detailed than that on the earlier periods. A nine-page supplement by William H. Marwick covers the period from 1850 to 1950. It is an institutional history with an emphasis on the struggle of Quakerism to survive in a hostile environment; there is little social history.

George Burnet was a Church of Scotland Minister and his personal religious views come through strongly in the chapter titled 'Why Quakerism Failed in Scotland' which argues that 'neither the psychological nor the spiritual climate of Scotland suited it' (p. 192). Nonetheless the book provides a valuable starting point for any historian of Scottish Quakerism and a wealth of information and sources for further work.

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WILLIAMS, P.A., *Quakerism: A Theology for our Time* (York: Sessions, 2007), pp. 198. ISBN 978-1-85072-364-6, Paper, £10.

Patricia Williams makes a vigorous claim: that Quakerism is the best theology for our time, at least in the context of modern Christianity. Other forms of Christianity have proved themselves inadequate. Specifically, they fail by the criteria of modern biblical criticism and empirical science. Williams is well qualified to use these criteria, since she herself is a philosopher of science and an active participant in biblical research. It is the philosopher that comes through most strongly, however, as she draws the contrast between early Quakerism and orthodox Christianity, and subjects both to the tests of modern critical knowledge.

The book is in three parts. Part 1 characterises Quakerism as a spirituality and theology grounded in the experience of the Light. It is an experience open to everyone, whatever their culture or belief, since the Light is found to be present in everyone, and to be effective in them if they give it attention (Chapters 2, 3). This experience, once accepted, leads people to the divine and proves to be sufficient to guide them in the practicalities of life (Chapter 5) and to unite them with others who are similarly open (Chapter 4). They do not require beliefs as a basis for life since they can experience the reality of life for themselves, and they do not need rules to live by since they can (if they choose) discern what needs to be done. This discerning, it is true, may need to be checked by the community, but the community's guidance is principally in the form of lived testimonies to its truth (Chapter 5).

This presentation is fresh and clear, but the summary on p. 61 sits somewhat oddly with it.

The foundational Quaker doctrine is that all people have a measure of the divine Light within them. . . . The remainder of the core Quaker theology follows logically from this foundational doctrine. Because the Light is divine, everyone should heed it. To heed it, people must listen for it, and a good listener listens in silence.

It is the words 'doctrine', 'logically' and 'should' that jar. The philosopher seems to have taken over here, to define Quaker faith in a way that makes it directly comparable with other forms of Christianity, and susceptible to the modern critiques.

The challenge from biblical studies comes in Part 2. It hits orthodoxy very hard. Both Protestant and Catholic theology are shown to be so dependent on a Bible-based way of thinking that they cannot survive (intellectually) the critique of the Bible that has developed over the last 300 years. They are committed, for example, to the idea of 'the fall' of Adam and Eve and the corresponding atoning work of Jesus that reverses it. Williams has a delightful passage in which she shows that the so-called fall of human beings is better understood, in the light of modern scholarship, as a rise (pp. 69-70)! The Quakers, by contrast, are shown to be not dependent on past ideas and therefore not vulnerable to the academic study of the past. On the contrary, what they say and have said about the Bible fits surprisingly well with what modern biblical scholars are saying (e.g. pp. 79, 91). The Bible is understood, not as laying down what we should believe, but as recording the experience of people in the past, from which we can nonetheless learn.

It provides a kind of mirror that confirms our faith and strengthens our hope... The Spirit that moved the ancients provokes in us a response to their stories, for the same Spirit prods us (p. 86).

Part 3 is devoted to the encounter with modern science, which Williams is able to describe with authority and clarity. Her interest here is not so much its undermining of orthodox belief, as its capacity to harmonise with and invigorate spirituality. Her descriptions of the new science are often quite poetic in fact, and the logician's measuring rod is left behind. The 'attributes of science', for example, are surprisingly similar to those of Quakerism (pp. 105-10). They are both based on experience, as against authority, both accept the role of intuition as well as of reason and both accept a discipline of checking in the community and the virtues of honesty and humility, among others. They both arose, of course, in response to the same crisis of authority in the seventeenth century. But they differ also. Quakers give priority to intuition, not to reason, and their experiments are inward, not outward and public (pp. 109, 112). The orthodox are, by contrast, out of step with science. As Williams puts it (rather bluntly again, as the logician comes into play),

Orthodoxy does not need experiment, reason or intuition to find truth, although it may use reason to defend itself. Indeed, orthodoxy does not need to seek truth, for it has already grasped it. For orthodoxy seeking is dangerous. It may carry the seeker away from established truth into error (p. 110).

Her conclusion, then, is that Quakerism is the spirituality best able to incorporate the knowledge we have gained in science (pp. 133-35) and therefore best able to foster our integration and progress as human beings. It resonates so well with the image of the world that we have been given by science that we are able to celebrate the world and our own intimate place within it. It enables us to see, for example, that our basic dispositions, inherited by evolution, have to be fully accepted but also transcended (pp. 123-32).

The spiritual Light pervades all. Shining in the evolved person, it transforms superficial individuals into characters of depth, purpose, and spirituality (p. 140).

(An appendix contains a useful discussion of metaphor, as understood by evolutionary psychologists and philosophers, which makes the point that all our language for spiritual things has to be metaphorical.)

I have hinted already at a tension in the book between evocative description and over-clear logical distinctions. Williams herself admits to occasionally simplifying (p. 183 n. 364), aware that she may not be doing Protestantism justice. But she has a polemical purpose here, and perhaps in America, from where she writes, she has something to be polemical about. The distinctiveness of Quakerism has so rarely been emphasised and clarified that a bold propagation of it like hers has to be welcome. So my real question about the book is not whether it is really fair to orthodox, but whether it does full justice to the Quaker distinctiveness. The emphasis on the Light as the central and distinguishing theme of Quakerism is surely sound. But the tendency to reduce this to a 'doctrine' which Quakers 'believe', and which then makes it comparable to other faiths that give priority to doctrine, blurs this very theme. I have given one example already, where the 'theology' of Quakers is said to 'follow logically' from the 'fundamental doctrine' of the Light (p. 61). Another, in the concluding chapter, reads,

This theology has consequences, logically entailed corollaries. If everyone has the Light within them then treating anyone violently must be rejected, for everyone warrants respect (p. 138).

To many modern Quakers this may well seem unexceptional, or perhaps pleasingly concise. But it sits uncomfortably with the early Quaker thinking that Williams has been largely drawing on. She even quotes Barclay on this very point, though she is aware of the irony of her doing so 'as a philosopher myself'.

If you want to make a man a useless fool, teach him logic and philosophy. Before that he may have been fit for something, but after it he will be good for nothing but speaking nonsense (p. 28).

Barclay's own writing shows that he himself was no fool in logic, so he must have been joking. But he had a serious point. The wisdom needed to illuminate and guide a life cannot be gained by logical inference. It can be gained only by opening yourself to the truth that the Light will show you, and then holding on to it and 'obeying' it. It is a process of experience and life, not of reflective thought. Thought can then be applied to this process to clarify what is going on, as Barclay does so well in his *Apology*, and as Williams does here. But it has to be distinguished from the fundamental insights on which Quakerism is based. If the two are confused, the insight and the reflection, our understanding of Quakerism gets distorted. Quaker life, for example, can be described as attempting to follow certain 'rules' which are derived logically from basic 'doctrines' (p. 61) rather than flowing naturally from the understanding and desire transformed by the Spirit. It also leads to the artificiality of acting according to how you *think* you should act. Notice the process at work here:

Furthermore, if everyone has a measure of the Light, then logically, everyone deserves equal respect. To live as if everyone deserves equal respect results in the Quaker testimonies of equality, truth-telling...simplicity...and peace (p. 61).

But to 'live as if' people are a certain way when actually they are not, or not found to be, is not to act truthfully, and not to act on the basis of experience. So something has gone amiss in the way Quakerism is being described. This could be prevented, I think, by paying closer attention to the basic experience of the Light, as this was understood by early Friends. Williams gets near to it:

In us, the Spirit does three fundamental things. First, it reveals itself... Second, the Spirit transforms us... Third, some transformed people carry the good news to others (pp. 136-37).

Yes, but it does these things by first showing people themselves. That is, it makes them aware of what they are doing and who they really are. This self-knowledge frees them from self-deception and false idols, which inflame desire, the 'four dispositions' (p. 137), which had led them to act wrongly. They are free to see reality as it is (as in Zen), to see 'the truth', as early Friends put it. It is a truth fundamental to their life, but they had previously turned a blind eye to it. So when the Light shows them the truth, and they accept it, it transforms their life. This is then the basis for their action in the world. They will act from the new understanding and the new desire that the Spirit has brought about in their hearts, without any need to consult doctrines or ethical rules.

This understanding would correct and complement Williams' work, I feel. It would not undermine it. As it stands, it is a strong and clear-headed presentation of what Quakerism today is, and can be.

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MILLIGAN, E.H., *Biographical Dictionary of British Quakers in Commerce and Industry 1775-1920* (York: Sessions Book Trust, 2007), pp. 606. ISBN 978-1-8507-2367-7, Paper, £30.

It is difficult to overstate the importance of Ted Milligan's authoritative reference work for students of late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century British Quakerism and, more widely, for social, economic and family historians working on this period. The disproportionate importance of Friends (relative to their numbers) in the economic life of the British Isles at the time is well known so I believe there is a place for this book in every university and major public library in the English-speaking world. At the extraordinarily modest cover price there is really no reason not to buy it! Very many individual scholars and Friends will also want to own it and certainly the Woodbrooke Library copies are already well used.

There are approximately 2800 biographical entries and the period covered usefully extends and complements the 1860–1980 scope of David J. Taylor's *Dictionary of Business Biography* (6 vols.; London: Butterworths, 1984–86). The entries are largely based on the (unpublished) *Dictionary of Quaker Biography* which is accessible only in typescript form at Haverford and Swarthmore Colleges in Philadelphia and Friends House in London, with a further copy in the author's own possession. Typical of the author's attention to details are the indexes of illustrations, occupations, places, apprentice masters and schools attended. It is very useful to be able to 'disambiguate' identically named individuals (e.g. the five John Thistlethwaites) and trace family relationships.

Importantly, the author acknowledges the limitations of his work in the *Prologue*; for example, coverage is almost exclusively male, salaried employees are omitted, as are farmers and the professions. Thus the four sons of Emmanuel Cooper and Alfred Waterhouse's son Edwin, who founded the accountancy firms Cooper Bros and Price Waterhouse respectively, are mentioned only in passing in their fathers' entries. Loosely affiliated and disowned Friends are also beyond scope, thus excluding such personal favourites as Sampson Hanbury, gentleman brewer and Master of the Puckeridge Hunt in the 1820s, and James Humard, Colchester brewer and poet of the 1860s. The entries are heavily reliant on secondary sources, but as the author also says, the book is not so much an end product as a stepping-off point for further work.

The value of the book is considerably enhanced by the illustrations and accompanying essays and appendices on, *inter alia*, the Quaker background and calendar, Books of Discipline and local and regional structures.

Until the projected digital version of the full *Dictionary of Quaker Biography* becomes available, Ted Milligan's book must remain the standard work. It has 'broken the ice' and will provide a stimulus for research in Quaker Studies, as well as much enjoyment for readers, for many years to come.

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YOUNT, D., *How the Quakers Invented America* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), pp. 159. ISBN 978-0-7425-5833-5, Cloth, £12.99.

GUITON, G., *The Growth and Development of Quaker Testimony, 1652–1661 and 1960–1994: Conflict, Non-Violence, and Conciliation* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2005), pp. 520. ISBN 0-7734-6002-0, Cloth, £84.95, \$139.95.

These are two very contrasting books despite both outwardly dealing with the historical nature of Quakerism: one is an attempt to look at the 'essence' of the United States in relation to the nature of the Quaker faith; the other looks at the practical application of Quaker 'ideology' during two different periods of history. It might be expected that the scholarship in one is reflected in the reflective thought of the other

in an exploration of the Quaker (and other) present. This is not the case. David Yount has produced a book which considers basic tenets of Quaker thought, including 'equality' and 'tolerance', as well as attitudes to sport, leisure and personal names and then seeks to find in them the origins of modern America. At some points this is a politically motivated task: he suggests, for example, that the US constitution is of Quaker origin because it is based upon the Massachusetts constitution. On the other hand the centre of the book explains in a simple yet non-patronising manner the nature of Quakerism, setting it into the general context of Christian worship and demonstrating its clear independence of structured Christianity. It is probably here that the book has its strengths. The first part does not rise above the level of 'fireside' musings. To argue that American identity is a Quaker identity is no different to arguing that English identity is so too. The attributes ascribed to Americans fit the English character and probably to differing degrees everyone else too, and thus only work if we come to believe that there is a unique 'American character and way of life'. The book is much stronger the more closely it relates to specific, modern worship and thought and links to Thoreau and other contributors to the American psyche.

Guiton's book takes the difficult task of connecting two time periods three centuries apart. If one of my students suggested such a project to me, I would probably try to dissuade them and guide them towards looking at one or the other period. Nevertheless this ambition is worth it. The work looks at the traumatic period of construction, when under the cloud of a reconstructing society the Quakers first made their mark on English thought, only to be cast into the great wen of disappointment: the Restoration. The latter forced a massive reconstruction of the being of the Quakers and turned them towards eschewing carnal weaponry, but not away from radicalism.

Quaker religious and physical radicalism carried the revolutionary idea forward into the increasingly hostile post-revolutionary period, and enabled the development of the religious pluralism of the failed Episcopal Restoration. This is an important qualification in itself. The Quakers of the 1660s could be seen as withdrawing from the material world into a spiritual and introverted existence. Indeed some of the other sects that were born of revolution faded away in just such a manner at the revolution's end: Quaker survival and development suggests that the revolution itself was not completely ended by the return of a monarchy. Moreover, this development of a new testimony is important for the role of Quakers in the modern world and from this premise Guiton takes on the second part of the book. He looks at how the Quaker reaction to the Restoration enabled them to play a central role in twentieth-century issues, using as his case study South Africa during Apartheid. Guiton defines six active roles: conflict resolution; mediation; legal support; health work; and service with the police liaison committees and community development, all conducted within the definition of apartheid as a 'military setting'. The argument of the book is that the experience of the 1650s and 1660s enabled Quakers to play a role in conflicts that is unique: with their anti-formalism being of particular value in dealing with situations where structured organisations of belief systems might raise ire or mistrust.

This book is a work that involved a wide range of historical approaches, from the use of primary sources from the seventeenth century to oral history from the twentieth century. It is a risky venture at first glance, because it appears to tie together distinct periods. This is offset by the maintenance of a central proposition that the development of a Quaker Apocalyptic Testimony in the seventeenth century enables active intervention during the intervening years. In this endeavour the book is a successful one and presents us with a clear link between present and past that is both valuable in itself, but also an exemplar of historical relevance.

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GRAHAM, S. (compiler), *The Diary of Joshua Whiting from 1861 to 1873* (York: William Sessions, 2006), pp. xxiii + 122. ISBN-85072-318-4, Paper, £9.50.

This is a charming and lovingly compiled little book which interweaves original entries from the diary of Joshua Whiting, ‘citizen, countryman and Quaker’ of Hitchin, Hertfordshire, with expert comment on beekeeping by Will Messenger, and editorial notes by Sarah Graham. The diary (the original of which is now in Friends’ House Library) offers some valuable insights into the life of middle class English Quakers of this period. This edition would be of particular interest to beekeepers and gardeners, and illustrates a time when Friends were generally rather more in tune with nature, and able to sustain a domestic economy with the fruits of their own outdoor labour. Lavishly illustrated, and dealing with often idyllic subject matter, the contents are nevertheless far from sentimental. They also suggest an ever-present, if not always wholeheartedly supported thread of environmental concern among Quakers.

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