

BOOK REVIEWS

HINDS, H., *George Fox and Early Quaker Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. xi + 215. ISBN: 0-7190-8157-6, Hardback, £60.00.

In *George Fox and Early Quaker Culture* Hilary Hinds sets out to examine the cultural implications of early Quaker theology as reflected in the writings, preaching and public conduct of seventeenth-century Friends. She argues that the Inward Light or the indwelling Christ was the defining doctrine of the early Quaker movement and that this served to break down the normal distinctions between human and divine, physical and spiritual, producing a quite distinctive Quaker culture. Based on a close reading of early Quaker texts and in particular Fox's *Journal*, Hinds seeks to shed new light on the nature of early Quakerism. Her analysis deals with what she sees as five key dimensions of early Quaker culture: embodied rhetoric, confident agency, temporality, itinerancy and the challenge presented by slavery.

Chapter 1 describes what Hinds sees as the spiritual and theological basis of early Quaker culture. She suggests that this was the doctrine of the Inward Light in which the indwelling Christ regenerates the physical flesh and engenders a new sense of agency and subjectivity. Quakers rejected the dominant Calvinist belief in the radical separation of God and humans since in their experience Christ reconnected the spiritual and physical realms. Hinds argues that this also implied the dissolving of the social divisions of class and gender. Despite this boundary-breaking character, early Quakerism worked with a fundamental distinction between those living in darkness (the profane) and those living in the Light (the sacred). This resulted in a discourse that was vehement and unforgiving when directed at those living in darkness, and rapturous and celebratory when used among those living in the Light. Hinds asserts that the cultural force of early Quakerism came from their belief in the indwelling Christ living through them as a form of referred agency.

In Chapter 2 Hinds argues that, compensating for the deficiencies of fallen human language, early Quakers adopted an embodied rhetoric which maintained a seamless continuity between words and actions. This embodied communication was often confrontational, since it aimed to disturb normal assumptions about the state of things. Hinds suggests that this was deeply disturbing to those in power; fierce opposition to Quakers was provoked as much by their behaviour and preaching style

as by their religious message or theology. Quaker embodied rhetoric sought to engender an emotional response in the hearer/observer by taking what was usually regarded as distant and invisible and making it immediate, tangible and visible. Quakers' own bodies became signs of the real presence of Christ. However, as Nayler's infamous ride into Bristol made clear, the meaning of such signs was somewhat ambiguous and could produce unintended consequences. Those witnessing Quaker signs might struggle to distinguish between the metaphorical and the literal. Hinds notes that, in the case of Nayler, the literal interpretation massively overshadowed the metaphorical in the eyes of observers, turning embodied metaphor into literal blasphemy.

Chapter 3 is the first of three chapters focusing in detail on a key feature of early Quakerism as represented in the narrative of Fox's *Journal*. In this case, Hinds considers how Fox was able to transcend the acute anxiety and uncertainty associated with Calvinism and masculinity and, instead, live a life of unbridled confidence and courage. Seventeenth-century Calvinist soteriology left no room for human agency since predestination placed the entire initiative with God. Quakers were liberated from this anxiety by the limited reintroduction of human choice into the salvation process (i.e. the choice to either receive the Light or to reject it) and, having turned to the Light, by the experience of a new will taken hold of them through the work of Christ within. Fox found that the indwelling Christ removed the unstable and corruptible human self and replaced it with a more secure, divinely endowed agency. Ironically, therefore, it was precisely the loss of autonomy and self-sufficiency and surrender to the divine will that brought the 'sacred self-confidence' of Christ living through the individual Quaker (see Galatians 2:20). Hinds suggests that despite Fox's public role as leader and minister, his subjectivity was based on a feminised or infantilised dependence on an omnipotent Father.

In Chapter 4 Hinds asks why the narrative structure of Fox's *Journal* is so dominated by temporality, given the early Quaker belief that the coming of Christ ended chronological time. She concludes that Fox reached his end time early in the *Journal* narrative through an encounter with Christ which took him beyond the distinction between chronological and kairotic time. The *Journal's* subsequent sequence of events describes the efforts of the regenerated Fox as 'an absence around which the narrative energy eddies' (p. 85) to turn others to the Light. Although Fox had reached the end of self and time, others in the world had not. His divine calling was therefore to work within the world's chronological time to turn people to Christ and so bring them, like him, to the end of self and time.

Chapter 5 looks at the radical itinerancy of early Quakers as a unique feature of the movement. Hinds suggests that the perpetual movement of itinerant ministers appears to be at odds with the Quaker focus on silence and stillness in worship. She argues, however, that continuous travelling operated as a 'peripatetic rhetoric' in which Quaker ministers sought to make people aware of the immediate presence of Christ by personally embodying divine truth wherever they came. In relation to Fox's *Journal*, Hinds notes that the document reads as much as a travelogue as it does a memoir. However, Fox's travelling was not an end in itself but rather served to bring him into new spaces in which transformation and redemption could take place.

The perpetual movement of Quaker itinerant ministry also functioned as a protection from the corruptions of the world and was understood in biblical terms using examples such as the Israelites wandering in the wilderness.

In Chapter 6, Hinds claims that Quaker narratives recording visits to Barbados in the seventeenth century were quite distinct in character and represented a somewhat exceptional example in which the pervasive early Quaker fusion of spiritual and social distinctions was absent. She notes that the Barbados narratives are extremely bland and lacking in detail compared to other Quaker accounts of the time. Hinds proposes that an explanation for this can be found in the fundamental conflict that existed in the circumstances Quakers found in Barbados between their commitment to universal spiritual equality and the personal interest of some Friends in the slave-based economy. In this situation Fox asserted the spiritual equality of slaves, while at the same time advocating a form of 'covenant slavery' which sought to ameliorate the worst excesses of the practice in order to stabilise social relations and maintain public order. Since the principles of spiritual equality and those of covenant slavery were incompatible, they had to be kept separate and this quite exceptional disconnection of the spiritual and the social domains explains the uniqueness of the Barbados accounts.

In *George Fox and Early Quaker Culture* Hilary Hinds successfully applies her well-developed understanding of seventeenth-century writing and cultural practice to shed new light on the character of early Quakerism. Her insights into the 'embodied rhetoric' of first-generation Friends build on previous work by scholars such as Michele Lise Tarter and Carole Dale Spencer, who have highlighted the incarnational physicality of early Quaker prophetic signs and preaching.¹ She makes some fascinating observations about the nature of early Quaker agency and subjectivity, which could form the basis of additional fruitful research, particularly in relation to gender identity within the early Quaker movement. Similarly, Hinds's observations about the spatial and temporal dimensions of early Quaker travelling and itinerancy provide a valuable new viewpoint that might be explored further. Her treatment of the issue of Barbadian slavery may also prompt renewed interest in how early Quakers negotiated the apparent conflicts associated with their claim to live simultaneously in the heavenly life of the spirit and among the still fallen life of the world.

However, there are a number of aspects of the book which may be open to question. The argument that the Quaker response to Barbadian slavery was entirely exceptional is hard to sustain. Although the commitment of early Friends to spiritual equality was radical and ground-breaking for its time, it in no way implied an inevitable reordering of existing social relations and structures. This equality was based on the assertion that Christ might speak through any human vessel, whether young or old, rich or poor, male or female. In Quaker practice this did not necessarily

1. See Spencer, C., 'James Nayler: Antinomian or Perfectionist', *Quaker Studies* 6/1 (2001), pp. 106-17 and Tarter, M., 'Quaking in the Light: The Politics of Quaker Women's Corporeal Prophecy in the Seventeenth-century Transatlantic World', in J.M. Lindman and M.L. Tarter (eds.), *A Century of Wonders: The Body in Early America*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001, pp. 145-62.

challenge the established roles of women or servants within society or the family. The Advices of the Elders at Balby written in 1556 quotes the Letter to the Ephesians (Ephesians 6:5-8) to exhort servants to obey their masters.² By the late 1670s, at the time when Fox was dictating the *Journal*, in his *Apology for the True Christian Divinity*, Robert Barclay states that social and economic inequalities are ordained by God.³ This is not to deny, however, that the unusual character of the Barbados narratives may be understood as a response to the particularly brutal circumstances Quakers encountered on that island.

Hinds recognises some of the issues associated with her use of Fox's *Journal* as a pivotal text. However, it is still important to note that, in terms of understanding early Quakerism, the use of the *Journal*, written in retrospect from the perspective of one of the few surviving leaders of the movement, is highly problematic. It may well have been better to select a wider range of Quaker writings from the period 1653 to 1666, including other important early Quaker writers such as James Nayler, Margaret Fell and Edward Burrough. The relative neglect of women writers is surprising, given Hinds's previous work in this field. This is not to argue that Fox's *Journal* is not a valuable cultural artefact in its own right.

Hinds makes very little reference to the radical changes that took place within the Quaker movement between the 1650s and the 1680s. Might we not expect such changes to be reflected in the writings of the two periods? In particular, she pays no real attention to the significance of fervent end-time expectations on early Quaker writings and action in the first fifteen years of the movement. This factor would seem to be of direct relevance to the unusual confidence and courage displayed by first-generation Quakers.⁴

Finally, Hinds's emphasis on the inward light as a 'doctrine' may give the wrong impression about the founding basis of early Quakerism, since it suggests that it was a doctrine that shaped the character and the culture of the movement. It seems clear that the early Quaker movement emerged out of a particular set of spiritual experiences and that Quaker practice and doctrine flowed from these experiences, rather than vice versa.

Despite these concerns, however, the range of fresh perspectives about the nature of early Quaker discourse and culture that Hinds offers will be of great value to scholars of the period.

Stuart Masters
Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre
Birmingham, England

2. In Hamm, T.D., *Quaker Writings: An Anthology, 1650-1920*, London: Penguin, 2010, pp. 66-67.

3. Barclay, R., *Apology for the True Christian Divinity*, Glenside, PA: Quaker Heritage Press, 2002 (1678), p. 433.

4. See, for example, Wilcox, C., *Theology and Women's Ministry in Seventeenth Century English Quakerism*, Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1995 and Gwyn, D., *Apocalypse of the Word: The Life and Message of George Fox 1624-1691*, Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1986.

HICKS, E., *The Journal of Elias Hicks* (ed. P. Buckley; San Francisco, CA: Inner Light Books), 2009, xxiv + 509. ISBN: 978-0-9797110-5-3, Hardback \$50, Paperback \$30.

A key part of the cannon of Quaker literature is the writings of influential leaders and ministers, such as George Fox, Robert Barclay and John Woolman. Many of these leading Friends have gained new readers over the centuries as reprints and new editions have become available to make them more accessible to a modern age. Less well known, but especially important in the exploration of American Friends in the transformations of the nineteenth century, are the writings of Elias Hicks. Paul Buckley provides a twenty-first-century edition worthy to the task.

Best remembered for the Hicksite branch of Quakerism, derived from his name, Elias Hicks was an important figure in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Quakerism. He was more than a name to one half of a major schism. His journal provides a glimpse into the journeys, both spiritual and geographical, of a Quaker minister who actively traveled among Friends for over half a century.

Most readers have been limited to accessing the journal through a 1969 reprint of the 1832 edition if they wished to read in hard copy. More recently, the full 1832 edition is freely available online through Earlham College's Digital Quaker Collection (<http://dq.c.esr.earlham.edu>). The digital edition is especially useful for locating keywords, phrases or individuals within the text and is a wonderful resource. However, all of these options are restricted to what was actually included in the 1832 edition and do not include any supplemental materials. One is at the mercy of the 1832 editors to gain an understanding of Hicks and there are notable limitations.

Paul Buckley meticulously restores the Hicks journal to a more original form, creating a much fuller sense of Hicks in the process. In some cases, it is easy to see why nineteenth-century editors censored passages relating to topics such as salvation and sin and some of Hicks's more dramatic leadings due to the climate and controversies of their time. However, these deletions limit our understanding of what Hicks was preaching and important themes in his life. Other deletions may seem less important, such as passages detailing family health and other more private matters, but provide a more complete picture of the experiences influencing Hicks.

Another benefit for modern readers is the many welcome additions Buckley includes to assist those less familiar with scripture, terminology, and early nineteenth-century individuals and place names. Footnotes cite scripture references that Hicks reasonably assumed were known by his readers but might be missed among newer audiences. Terms are defined in footnotes and also the annotated work and phrase list appendix. Other appendices include 'Quaker Structure and Terminology', 'Selected People Mentioned' and 'Places Mentioned'. There are also three indices (people, places and keywords), a bibliography and a list of online resources. Researchers should note that the keyword index is basic and that there are several important terms and subjects covered by Hicks but not easily pin-pointed through indices.

Buckley includes images of meeting houses visited by Hicks and a few maps on travel routes within the text. These are not a significant addition but do not detract

and are there for those that appreciate them. Buckley's appendix for 'Places Mentioned' does not include larger towns or meetings easily located through modern maps. Those less familiar with American geography and wishing to have a clear picture of places mentioned would benefit from access to an atlas or mapping program to provide a fuller context than the one provided within the publication. The maps printed with the text only cover Hicks's journeys in 1803 and 1828–29.

Overall, this is a welcome addition to Quaker studies, which proves that not all editions are equal. Any areas noted for improvement are supplemental in nature. The core text is admirably restored and brings a more complete and human Hicks to another century of readers.

Gwen Gosney Erickson
Guilford College
Greensboro, NC, USA

JACKSON, M., *Let This Voice Be Heard: Anthony Benezet, Father of Atlantic Abolition* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), pp. xv + 374. ISBN: 978-0-8122-4129-7, Hardback, \$55, £36, Paperback, \$24.95, £16.50.

'Anthony Benezet transformed the early Quaker antislavery sentiment into a broad-based transatlantic movement', states Maurice Jackson in the opening of this highly significant account of the emergence of abolitionist ideology and practice in the mid-eighteenth century. In doing so, he sets the context for a far-reaching and impressive book that offers both a detailed analysis of Benezet himself as well as an expansive treatment of the eighteenth-century antislavery movement as a whole. In one sense, there may be some who may raise an eyebrow at the way Jackson's title positions Benezet as the 'father of Atlantic Abolition', instead of a figure of black resistance such as Equiano, for instance. However, for those who are perhaps more likely to be familiar with Equiano's narrative and voice, Wilberforce's parliamentary campaigns or the spectacle of Clarkson's antislavery tours around Britain, this account of Benezet's foundational and often less well-known work and social impact should not be dismissed. It offers a powerful narrative of new information about the formative intellectual influences of those involved in the earliest moments when more collective narratives of resistance towards slavery began being voiced across the enlightenment Atlantic.

Students of Quaker social history will have much to learn here. Benezet's establishing of a free school for blacks (undertaken with a number of other Friends) by 1750 is an important moment in the move towards articulating a sense of racial justice and educational progress in a predominantly racist slave-holding nation. Across his lifespan, Jackson charts not only the social and philosophical influences on Benezet's belief system, but also identifies and examines the nature of responses to his controversial writings and work, providing readers with a well-rounded subject located within an impressive intellectual framework of ideas and ideologies about race, representation, slavery and the slave trade. For students familiarising themselves

with such an important topic being played out across so many global contexts of debate, the author includes a useful 'Chronology of Atlantic Abolitionism'. On a more sophisticated level, Jackson has undoubtedly created an important resource which locates Benezet within a profoundly important range of critical frameworks—transatlantic, intellectual, spiritual and racial. In doing so, Benezet's status as a crucial overlooked forefather of social justice campaigns of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is brought vividly to life.

Andy Green
Library of Birmingham, England

CADBURY, D., *Chocolate Wars: From Cadbury to Kraft: 200 Years of Sweet Success and Bitter Rivalry* (London: Harper Press, 2011), pp. 340. ISBN: 978-0-00-732557-3, Paperback, £9.99.

The latest book from acclaimed historian and author Deborah Cadbury is described as telling 'the tale of a unique family and a beloved product', something which Cadbury does expertly well in an innovatively structured and beautifully crafted narrative. However, *Chocolate Wars* does much more than chronicle the history of Cadbury's chocolate production. The book provides a fascinating insight into the network of Quaker chocolate pioneers operating during the nineteenth century and examines the ways in which the Quaker values of families such as Cadbury and Rowntree shaped their business ventures. Deborah Cadbury's book builds on recent histories of Cadbury by incorporating a detailed account of the company's takeover by Kraft Foods in 2010. This is supported by her thought-provoking analysis which explores the place of the religious, ethical and social values shared by Cadbury's founders in a contemporary commercial culture dominated by globalisation and shareholder capitalism. Cadbury also speculates on the future of Cadbury's cultural heritage in an engaging commentary which is enhanced by her extensive research including interviews with Sir Adrian and Sir Dominic Cadbury as well as with Cadbury's last chief executive, Todd Stitzer.

The focus driving the narrative of *Chocolate Wars* is the story of the Cadbury chocolate enterprise up to the present day, yet the book skilfully incorporates the histories of competing chocolate companies in England, Switzerland and America. This enables the reader to compare and contrast the development of Cadbury, Rowntree, Nestlé, Hershey and Mars from the mid-nineteenth century. These histories offer an intriguing insight into the lives of the chocolate pioneers and their families as well as the relationship between their business enterprises, their Quaker values, their investment in social welfarism and the growth of commercial culture. The book is divided into four parts, beginning with two chapters which examine the development of Cadbury from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards focussing particularly on the role played by Richard Cadbury and his brother George Cadbury in the history of the firm. Chapter 3 in particular illustrates how the Cadbury business concern was infused with the Cadbury family's Quaker beliefs and

provides an overview of the family's philanthropic concern for social reform. The subsequent chapter considers the competition faced by Cadbury Brothers from Quaker chocolate companies established elsewhere in the country, including those founded by contemporary Quaker families, the Rowntrees and the Frys. Deborah Cadbury incorporates a detailed history of the Bristol chocolate giant Fry and Sons, which illustrates how George Cadbury took advantage of Quaker social networks to learn from Fry about the development of a successful chocolate company. The final chapter in Part One examines the ways that the Cadburys reconciled the commercial advertisement of their family firm with their Quaker sensibilities. This is enhanced by Cadbury's use of images showcasing the firm's early advertising campaigns.

Part Two of *Chocolate Wars* focuses on the growing success of the chocolate businesses established by the Cadburys and their Quaker contemporaries, remarking particularly on the purchase and development of Bournville and the growing international chocolate trade. Chapter 8 considers how George Cadbury's innovations at Bournville inspired American entrepreneur Milton Hershey, before Chapter 9 examines the development of trade links by Cadbury across the British Empire. This is contextualised with analysis of the relationship which the Cadbury family negotiated between their growing wealth and Quaker ideals. Part Three of Cadbury's book continues to emphasise the connections between the Cadbury family's commercial success and their Quaker philanthropic endeavours by providing an insight into developments in Bournville at the turn of the twentieth century as well as an overview of Seeböhm Rowntree's contemporary investigations into poverty in York. This section of the book also examines Milton Hershey's investment in the well-being of his workforce with reference to the role of welfarism in American commercial culture. Chapters 12 and 14 examine debate over the relationship between the Cadbury's investment in the social welfare of the Bournville community and the company's use of African slaves in their cocoa production. Cadbury's discussion of this issue includes a comprehensive account of the libel case between Cadbury Brothers Limited and *The Standard* newspaper. The last chapter of Part Three provides a detailed overview of the Cadbury family's response to the First World War as well as the development of Hershey in America during this period, culminating in the death of George Cadbury in 1922.

Part Four of Cadbury's book moves from the 1920s to the present day, exploring how Cadbury dealt with competition from rival firms overseas and examining the impact of the Second World War on the company's chocolate production. Cadbury also provides insight into the development of the Mars company during the early twentieth century. She considers the move away from the religious values and altruism which characterised Cadbury's business methods towards the focus on profit which continues to dominate the commercial culture of the twenty-first century. Chapter 17 examines the development of Cadbury from 1965 onwards, focussing particularly on the transformation of the firm from a private concern into a modern public company. Of particular interest to historians of Quaker culture are Cadbury's comments on the controversy surrounding the merger between Cadbury and Schweppes, a company whose products were used as mixers in alcoholic beverages. Cadbury again examines how Quaker values continued to shape the Cadbury

approach to international business with insights from the Cadbury family themselves and commentary on the company's developing relationship with the Fairtrade Foundation. Chapters 18 and 19 deal with Cadbury's takeover by Kraft Foods and contemporary concerns over the difficulties of maintaining Cadbury's heritage. Cadbury considers the wider implications of the Kraft Foods takeover in terms of the influence which it has had on the ways that foreign takeovers of British companies will be managed politically and financially in the future.

While Cadbury draws a contrast between the altruistic culture of Cadbury's 'Quaker capitalism' and the modern, commercially driven approach to business focussed on shareholder profit, the epilogue to *Chocolate Wars* concludes on a positive note. She remarks on the enduring legacy of the philanthropic schemes founded by Quaker chocolate pioneers such as Rowntree and Cadbury, and comments on the prominent role played by Quakers in contemporary international humanitarian projects. Her book responds to fears expressed during the period of Cadbury's takeover by Kraft Foods concerning the future of Cadbury's cultural heritage by ensuring that the history of one of our most iconic brands remains synonymous with its Quaker history of ethical concern for social welfare reform.

Helen Smith
University of Birmingham, England

Early Muggletonian Polemics; The Muggletonian Works of Laurence Clarkson; The Collected Works of John Reeve; The Collected Works of James Birch; The Collected Works of Lodowick Muggleton: Quakers, Witches and Acts; The Collected Works of Lodowick Muggleton: Letters and Epistles; The Collected Works of Lodowick Muggleton: Works on the Book of Revelation; The Collected Works of Thomas Tomkinson & John Sadlington; Celestial Harmonies and Divine Songs; Later Muggletonian Interest: Academic, Literary and Scientific (ed. M. Pettit; London: Muggletonian Press, 2010/2011). Available in paperback, £25/£30 per volume; eBook format £10 per volume, from <http://www.muggletonianpress.com>.

All the works of Reeve and Muggleton have been carefully preserved. There cannot be a better history of the Church than that which may be gleaned from their writings.⁵

The Muggletonians began in 1651/52, when two London tailors, John Reeve (1608–1658) and Lodowick Muggleton (1609–1698), received revelations which led them to declare themselves to be the Two Witnesses spoken of in the eleventh chapter of the book of Revelation. Gradually gathering converts, they set themselves up in direct opposition to Quakers. An early debate with George Fox in 1654 established a fierce antagonism between the two groups who cursed and opposed each other in dozens of pamphlets and tracts, and it seems that Muggletonians may have been involved in more confrontations with Quakers than with any other group.

5. *Faith and Practice of the Muggletonians*, 1 January 1870, British Library Add. MS 60170, fol. 32-32v, cited in William Lamont, *Last Witnesses: The Muggletonian History, 1652–1979*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006, p. 1.

Although their policy of non-proselytization after the Restoration meant that the group remained small, they survived until the twentieth century, the last known Muggletonian dying in 1979.

Until recently, little Muggletonian material has been available in modern editions. A three-volume collected edition of some works by Reeve and Muggleton was printed in the 1830s, and T.L. Underwood, *The Acts of the Witnesses* (1999), provided a selection of tracts, letters and songs. Nonetheless, the majority of Muggletonian material remained in special collections and academic libraries.

A recent project has gone a long way to remedying that situation. The Muggletonian Press, part of the Muggletonian Library Project,⁶ has republished a substantial amount of historical Muggletonian documents in their entirety. All publications have been freshly typeset; original spellings have been preserved. The Press's stated intention is 'to provide ready access to historic Muggletonian documents for the first time in one hundred and fifty years, with many publications being available for the first time in over three hundred years'.

The ten volumes reviewed here are the fruits of that project. Edited by Mike Pettit, they provide a solid collection of Muggletonian texts. Six volumes cover the writings of the seventeenth century; the volume on *Early Muggletonian Polemics* runs from 1659–1760; and three volumes, *The Collected Works of James Birch*, *Celestial Harmonies and Divine Songs* and *Later Muggletonian Interest*, date from the nineteenth century.

The paperback volumes are well-produced. There are occasional transcription errors but these are usually minor—a comma instead of a semi-colon, for example, and a close checking of one of the tracts showed the quality of the transcription to be of a generally high standard. Each volume is prefaced with a short introduction to the individual books, tracts or letters contained within that volume; *The Collected Works of John Reeve* also includes a four page summary of the history and theology of the Muggletonians.

Quaker Studies scholars will be particularly interested in those volumes which allow the tracking of some of the seventeenth-century pamphlet wars between the two groups. While six of the volumes contain either Quaker-written or Muggletonian anti-Quaker material, two are particularly rich. *The Collected Works of Lodowick Muggleton: Quakers, Witches and Acts* includes 296 pages of Muggleton's anti-Quaker writing, including 'The Neck of the Quakers Broken' (1662), 'A Looking Glass for George Fox' (1668), 'An Answer to Isaac Pennington' (written 1669; published 1719) and 'An Answer to William Penn, Quaker' (1673). *Early Muggletonian Polemics* includes the full text of a wide variety of Quaker attacks on Muggletonian writings, including writings by John Harwood, Richard Farnworth, George Fox, William Penn, Isaac Pennington and William Henderson. The inclusion of anti-Muggletonian attacks from other contemporary writers allows interesting comparisons to be drawn between Quakers and other sects active at the time. Letters from Muggleton and Reeve to various Quakers in *The Collected Works of Lodowick Muggleton: Letters and Epistles* and *The Collected Works of John Reeve* usefully supplement the longer works.

6. Online: <http://www.muggletonian.org.uk> (accessed December 2011).

With few exceptions, the material reproduced in these volumes comes from printed works. The extensive collection of manuscripts at the British Library still await attention. But this does not detract from the general usefulness of these ten volumes or from the insight they give us into the Muggletonians and their milieu.

Betty Hagglund
Centre for Postgraduate Quaker Studies
Birmingham, England

ALLEY, E., *Discovering New Earswick: Essays from the New Earswick Bulletin 2000–2007* (York: William Sessions, 2009), pp. vi + 210. ISBN: 978-1-85072-393-6, Paperback, £6.50.

This collection of essays on miscellaneous topics from the *New Earswick Bulletin* is both informative and enjoyable to read. It mixes historical accounts of particular aspects of life in the village with contemporary comment, often focusing on issues of voluntary action and ‘community development’. It is organised thematically, with chapters containing essays on the ‘original village’ and the natural environment followed by various chapters on the social, political and community life of New Earswick. Most of the contributions were written by Elisabeth Alley, who wrote regularly in the *Bulletin* during this period, but this collection also contains pieces by other resident authors.

New Earswick was established in the early twentieth century with the support of the Joseph Rowntree Village Trust, now the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, which continues to play an important role in the management of community affairs through its offshoot, the Joseph Rowntree Housing Trust. New Earswick was one of a number of model communities established during this period, the best known being Bournville in Birmingham, created by the Cadbury family and managed by the Bournville Village Trust. A history of the first half-century of New Earswick, *One Man’s Vision* by Lewis Waddilove, was published in 1954, and this source is mentioned at one or two points in Alley’s collection. However, it is clear from the essays contained in this volume that, while ‘one man’ may have envisioned the community, its evolution and contemporary life result from the contributions of many individuals and groups. From the New Earswick Parish Council (established in 1934; there is a photograph of its first minute book on p. 93), to the volunteers who run the New Earswick All Blacks Rugby League team, to the group of teenagers who in 2004–2005 renovated a local garden for the use of young people in the village, to the theatre group which organised ‘a unique theatrical story–exchange’ (p. 150) in 2007 between pupils of Joseph Rowntree School and residents of Hartrigg Oaks retirement community, *Discovering New Earswick* describes and illustrates the patchwork of public and private local initiatives that shape the character of local community life. As Alley commented in an article on ‘community spirit’ in 2007, ‘New Earswick consists of a cluster of small communities, most of them working from the grass roots up’ (p. 163).

Unsurprisingly, many residents do not participate in the activities described in these articles, which contain familiar complaints about local apathy and anti-social behaviour. The former is perhaps less apparent in New Earswick than in many other places, although the open day at the quaintly named Folk Hall in October 2007 was poorly attended (pp. 152–53), while elsewhere Alley notes the negative impact of cars and televisions on community life (pp. 199–200), a development sometimes referred to as ‘mobile privatisation’. Anti-social behaviour, and particularly vandalism, has been a problem in New Earswick; casualties of the latter have included a mural in the Youth Shelter (pp. 142–43), the skateboard ramp (pp. 133–35) and the Friends’ meeting house (p. 145).

Quakers and Quakerism are not at the centre of these accounts of life in New Earswick, although the influence of the village’s Quaker origins and the high incidence of Quakers in the population can be seen at various points in *Discovering New Earswick*. Conscientious objectors appear in the historical accounts, and the Quaker influence on the development of Hartrigg Oaks is emphasised (p. 190), but the relatively small number of entries for ‘Quakers’ in the index—there are nearly as many references to Methodists—is evidence of the indirect importance of the Society of Friends at New Earswick, exercised in particular through the Joseph Rowntree Housing Trust.

The articles have been minimally edited, which produces some difficulties for the reader. For example, some of the internal references to the *New Earswick Bulletin* (e.g. on p. 144) are redundant in the context of the volume, while references such as ‘March of last year’ (p. 112) require the reader to be continually aware of the dating of each article. Sometimes the selection of articles causes frustration: for example, an article from February 2004 discussing crime and anti-social behaviour in New Earswick advertised an open meeting of the Residents’ Forum that was to be held in the Folk Hall. It would have been interesting to read an account of this meeting, which does not appear in the volume. Such, however, are the problems associated with publishing a selection of articles, and on the whole those in this book seem to have been well chosen. Overall, this is an interesting local study, and will be a useful resource for historians in the future.

Mark Freeman
School of Social and Political Sciences
University of Glasgow, Scotland

BERNET, C., *Rufus Jones (1863–1948): Life and Bibliography of an American Scholar, Writer, and Social Activist* (foreword by D. Gwyn; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2009), pp. ix + 146. ISBN: 978-3-631-58930-4, Hardback, £18.00, \$30.95.

This slim book is mostly a bibliography of writings by and about Rufus Jones, but this is preceded by a brief biography and a few selections from his early writings. In the biography, some basic facts of Rufus Jones’s family history, education, health status at various points in his life, and his service work to the wider world and to the

world of Quakers are presented. A brief summary of his views on mysticism and his interest in radical Reformation figures such as Jacob Boehme is also included alongside mention of his autobiographical writings, his church history works, and his voluminous religious journalism.

The author notes that Jones's protégés, including Douglas Steere, Thomas Kelly, and Howard and Anna Brinton, 'shared Jones's mystical view of Quakerism and proclaimed a liberal theology which became increasingly concentrated along the East Coast' (p. 17). This hints at some of the controversy that surrounded Jones's theology, which was in fact present throughout his adult career, not just after his death, as this sentence might imply. His critics, who included evangelical Christians such as Walter Malone, and also younger scholars influenced by Neo-Orthodoxy such as Wilmer Cooper and Lewis Benson, generally believed that Jones portrayed human nature in too optimistic a light, not giving sufficient attention to the place of sin. Consequently, evangelical Christians like Malone would give a far greater priority to Christian missions to the unsaved than did Jones, who preferred social service such as that performed by the American Friends Service Committee, which performed little or no proselytisation. Jones's Neo-Orthodox-influenced critics like Cooper and Benson, however, generally preserved Jones's prioritisation of social service over mission.

Bernet then presents selections from Jones's second, sixth, and seventh books (out of 57 published during his lifetime). Inasmuch as his selections were all published prior to 1906, there is nothing from the last half of Jones's life. Still, these selections are representative of Jones's theology in some important respects. One gets a good sense of the clarity, profundity, and fluency of Jones's writing about some difficult matters. In his plea that one not think of heaven as a state to be postponed, Jones writes, 'Love becomes the law of life, and the soul realizes that heaven is not a remote place, but a present fact' (p. 22). When writing about Jesus, Jones emphasises our human similarity to our saviour: 'I think of Him as the type and goal of the race—the new Adam, the spiritual norm and pattern, the Son of Man who is the revelation of what man at his height and full stature is meant to be' (p. 30).

In an extract from Jones's keystone work, *Social Law in the Spiritual World*, an attentive reader might appreciate why it might be more illuminating to label Jones a 'Personalist' (an influential early twentieth-century school of liberalism) rather than a 'Mystic': 'If we are to get to any adequate idea of God, we must have just this deeper view of the meaning of personality, for all our search and research are plainly showing us that the one path to the divine Person is through the human person' (p. 37). A personalist believed that ultimate reality is best disclosed through personality. Only personality, both finite and infinite, is real, and the person of Jesus is our surest guide to the personality of God. Thus, according to Protestant personalists of Jones's generation, a factor that made modern liberal Protestantism especially close to Christ's spirit was its greater reverence of personality.

The bulk of Bernet's book is given over to an extensive listing of Jones's own writings, and a generous selection of secondary sources on Jones that have appeared in print up to 2006. In many ways, this is quite welcome, inasmuch as the last major

effort to collect Jones's bibliography occurred three-quarters of a century ago, in 1944, by Nixon Rush. However, this part of the book is disappointing in an important way. Jones's writings are categorized into twelve sections: Education, Autobiography, Mysticism, Quakerism & Quaker Issues, and eight others. One will have a difficult time finding writings one is looking for unless one can divine correctly the category under which the desired writing will appear.

Some writings could easily be classified under more than one category, but there is no cross-referencing. Thus, for example, Jones's autobiographical 'Trail of Life' series, *Finding the Trail of Life* (1926), *The Trail of Life through College* (1929), and *The Trail of Life in the Middle Years* (1934) might all be presumed to be found under the category of 'Autobiography'. But no, only the last of these can be found there; *Finding the Trail of Life* is categorized under 'Mysticism', and *The Trail of Life through College* falls under 'Education'. Admittedly, a thorough system of cross-referencing would have added some bulk to this thin volume, but the usefulness of Bernet's diligent gathering of sources is limited without it.

By all means, acquire this book in order to complete your Rufus Jones collection or to aid your Rufus Jones searches, but also keep close at hand Nixon Rush's bibliography, and even the list of Jones's books to be found in Elizabeth Gray Vining's 1957 biography of him, *Friend of Life*.

Stephen W. Angell
Earlham School of Religion
Richmond, IN, USA

ADAMS, K.H., and KEENE, M.L., *Alice Paul and the American Suffrage Campaign* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008), pp. xix + 274. ISBN: 978-0-252-07471-4, Paperback, \$26.00.

This book begins and ends with the suggestion that Alice Paul has not yet been assured a place in history, perhaps because 'her story disparaged both Democrats and Republicans and revealed dirty truths about American police and jails, as well as the President [of the day, Woodrow Wilson]' (p. xv). She may also go unnoticed because she moved on with her work 'and never told her own story' (p. 247). Adams and Keane portray Alice Paul as an astute political strategist and activist, who in 1913 took on the President of the United States, the Government and the Opposition Parties. Though there were others campaigning, Alice Paul and her National Women's Party, in less than eight years, were responsible for winning the right to vote for American women in 1920. The first two chapters establish the foundations of this book, and the remaining seven examine the tactics employed in the campaign. The structure of the book enhances it, facilitating analysis more than chronological storytelling.

In the first chapter, the authors write of Quaker testimony as a way of living one's life to change the world. They claim that the aim of Quaker education is to lead towards the development of testimony. It was Alice Paul's saturation in the Hicksite Quaker tradition which informed and drove her work, and her aim in pursuing

postgraduate education was to acquire the knowledge and skills which would better equip her to live out her testimony. Understanding testimony and Quakerism are fundamental to appreciating Alice Paul and her work, and Adams and Keane deliver this message emphatically to the reader. This greatly contributes to producing a book with broad appeal to feminists, historians, political scientists, and Quakers.

The second chapter is devoted to non-violence, the method Alice Paul employed throughout the suffrage campaign. While she is credited with bringing militant tactics to the America Suffrage Campaign, Adams and Keane explain that her method was far closer to Gandhi's than to the Pankhurst's. Her choice of non-violence as a method was also grounded in her Quakerism. Her approach to social reform was carefully planned 'passive opposition and passive resistance. It was deliberate and based upon a deep knowledge of the history of all reform movements'.⁷ Adams and Keane quote Gandhi's writings on non-violence, emphasizing the strength and self-control required, and of the development of self-government and self-knowledge which participants develop and are liberated by. They suggest that Alice Paul was developing a similar philosophy in America, for the campaign she was planning. In 1913, Alice Paul began to revive the ineffective and fragmented suffrage movement through a Federal Amendment campaign. The authors show that she knew exactly what she was doing and that she was determined and single-minded in doing it. She believed one person could make tremendous progress, as her campaign subsequently proved.

The remaining seven chapters each deal with specific strategies and tactics she employed in the campaign for a Federal Amendment, and the authors analyze these tactics. They look at the carefully constructed weekly journal she produced, and the dramatic parades and events she organized. They describe the infamous card catalogue Alice Paul and her colleagues maintained on every politician and which they used in their regular and extensive lobbying. They reflect on the organized political boycott of the party in power (the Democrats) in the 1914 and 1916 elections. They describe in detail the picketing of the White House and the slogans on the banners which were the only weapons employed by the pacifist suffragists. These banners became very controversial during wartime, and the women were arrested and imprisoned. The prison conditions were brutal, and the suffragists went on hunger strike in jail to further their cause. When the imprisonments proved counterproductive for the government, and the arrests halted, the campaign was again escalated by burning President Wilson's words, and eventually his effigy, in urns near the White House.

Since the Seneca Falls Declaration of 1848, women had been asking politely for the vote. Alice Paul changed all that by engaging in a ruthless pacifist political campaign, and in eight years she beat the politicians at their own game. Many of Alice Paul's tactics were novel, relentless, and shocking, and they eventually forced the politicians to capitulate and vote for suffrage for women. This book is a worthy study of her campaign for suffrage, and it reads like a serious political assessment as opposed to a biography. The disadvantage, if it is one, of this book, is that it does not

7. Stevens, D., 'Militant Campaign', *Suffragist* 8-9 (19 July 1919), p. 21.

entertain trivia, such as Alice Paul's great enjoyment of detective stories, or that she did not allow herself the time to read any during the entire campaign for suffrage.⁸

The authors acknowledge that in Alice Paul's single-minded focus on suffrage she had to make some difficult and pragmatic choices, such as keeping her anti-war beliefs to herself.

The book deals with only a portion of the life and work of Alice Paul. Having succeeded in bringing about the vote for women in America, Alice Paul continued during her long life to campaign tirelessly for equality. As the authors suggest, her entire life was Quaker testimony. Her motivation was pure, coming from her early experience of social work in New York, Birmingham, and London, and her understanding of the causes and effects of poverty for many women and children. She was determined to change the system, using her extensive education in political science, economics, and sociology. She campaigned for equality at the highest level, taking on the President, the Government, and the Opposition Parties of the United States. This book fittingly honours her work for suffrage.

Julianna Minihan,
Cork, Ireland

BACON, M.H., *But One Race: The Life of Robert Purvis* (New York: SUNY Press, 2010), pp. 293. ISBN: 978-0-7914-7008-4, Paperback, \$24.95.

Margaret Hope Bacon's detailed biographical coverage of the life of Robert Purvis, one of the lesser known figures of nineteenth-century abolition debates, is an important reminder that the work in reconstructing the complex memory of antislavery activists is still by no means complete. Identifying key aspects of Purvis's achievements, this book also foregrounds how individual American and African American campaigns for social liberty cannot be properly heard or understood without recognising a wide, and often fragmenting, range of competing narratives about the nature of social justice. Across these contexts, the powerful engendering influence of religious sentiment in nineteenth-century society is a constant, if ambiguous factor. Antislavery activist Purvis was not himself a Quaker, but Bacon nevertheless adroitly charts how his ideas of social change were closely caught up with political arguments circulating the Friends' meeting house. The relationship was, however, by no means always a comfortable one and the author occasionally points out a number of uncomfortable truths about the relationship between Quakers, race and slavery. This includes the story of how, when Purvis purchases a new residence in Byberry in 1844, 'not only were some of his Quaker neighbours resentful of his buying a farm in their midst, but Purvis was painfully aware that other blacks had been denied membership in the religious Society of Friends' (p. 105). In mid-nineteenth-century

8. Walton, M., *A Woman's Crusade: Alice Paul and the Battle for the Ballot*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, p. 61.

America, public antislavery politics and private feelings about race could often run in what now seems to us racist or counterintuitive directions.

Indeed, Bacon's account of Purvis's complex racial and class identity is developed in a number of suggestive ways throughout her work. As this biography develops, readers gain an increasing sense of his life caught between a tendency towards 'hero worship' of leaders such as William Lloyd Garrison, and his own independent judgments about the best means of resistance to slavery. One of the many valuable stories unearthed here is the evidence of Purvis's integral involvement in the dangers of the 'underground railroad'. Through such details, we seem to glimpse an entirely more radical and physical Purvis standing in the shadows of a more reconciliatory, oratorical figure. Moreover, the sheer length of time of his commitment to antislavery causes allows us to see the multi-layered story of an individual negotiating with complex social pressures generated through a changing milieu of shifting ideologies. Clearly, much more attention and research will be needed to contextualize Purvis's responses and strategies amidst extended transatlantic debates about freedom. Ultimately, Bacon's approach here is securely in the camp of opening up and celebrating his achievements rather than risking a more overtly scrutinizing critique about his identity, beliefs and social status. But this book does well to open a new line of approach for Quaker scholars of social justice movements and scholars of antislavery alike.

Andy Green
Library of Birmingham, England

WALLS, J. (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Eschatology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. xi +724. ISBN: 978-0-19-973588-4, Paperback, £30, \$55.

Eschatology, or the theology of 'last things', is sometimes treated as an appendix to religious belief or regarded implicitly as in the *Westminster Confession of Faith* (1646) and Quaker theologian Robert Barclay's *Apology for the True Christian Divinity* (1676). Among modern people of faith, eschatology is often associated with conservative premillennialist theologies and sometimes dismissed as radical. *The Oxford Handbook of Eschatology* (hereafter referred to as the *Handbook*) provides an important, head-on, critical analysis of eschatology from biblical, historical, theological, philosophical and cultural disciplines and is relevant for practitioners of these perspectives.

This voluminous, 724-page *Handbook* is a broad scholarly collection divided into three parts. The first part, 'Historical Eschatology', contains essays on biblical and early church eschatologies as well as essays on Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist and Hindu eschatologies. Part two focuses on 'Eschatologies in Distinct Christian Traditions and Theological Movements' such as, Protestant, Fundamentalist and Feminist perspectives. The final part is broadly labeled 'Issues in Eschatology' and expands on eschatological questions and controversies topically in such essays as 'Millennialism', 'Heaven', 'Universalism' and 'Near-Death Experiences'. Most of the 38 essays are about 20 pages in length. While this *Handbook* does not claim to be comprehensive,

this reviewer was impressed by the variety of perspectives included and the opportunity for comparative study this diversity of research provided.

Since this reviewer's discipline is historical theology focused on eighteenth-century Quakers, and since a tome of this size is too large to be reviewed generally in this space, I wish to suggest a couple of implications for Quaker studies from material in the *Handbook*. This *Handbook* is helpful in understanding early Quaker eschatology if for no other reason than it expands the realm of eschatology beyond discussions of the Second Coming and into topics of hope, heaven, judgment and 'in brief, final salvation or damnation' (p. 74). As Jerry Walls states in his introduction, 'it is important to understand that eschatology is not only a temporal concept, but a teleological one as well. Things will reach their end when they achieve the purposes for which God created them' (pp. 4–5). Gerhard Sauter contends that there is no common denominator that characterises teleological emphases in eschatology. 'However, certain characteristics can be mentioned, which are at times interconnected: for example, there is the conviction that God has a plan for humanity and its history and that this plan is somehow perceptible, from which it follows that Christian action must converge with this plan; within the divine plan, the cooperation of Christians is essential in deciding the course of events' (p. 253). In historical research about the first generation of Quakers in the 1650s and early 1660s, it has been rightfully noted that Quakers understood themselves to be on the cusp of the Second Coming, initiated by the Second Coming of Christ into the individual's heart. However, scholarship has tended to see a decline in eschatological sentiment beginning in the second generation as the historical moment of urgency faded away and Friends relinquished expectations of an imminent Second Coming. Scholars have argued that the early Quaker focus on the end of time was replaced with a 'meantime theology' of waiting and a diminished sense of eschatological expectation.

However, by expanding definitions of eschatology beyond the temporal, this *Handbook* gives Quaker scholars categories for interpreting the eschatology of succeeding generations of Quakers. For example, scholars can ask questions such as: What do understandings of God's will for the Church and society say about eschatological hope? Are Quaker ethics and 'testimonies' directly related to an understanding of the way 'final things' will work out? Are corporate discipline, mysticism, discernment and social dissent among Quakers part of an unrecognised eschatological schema?

Perhaps Quaker scholars have not sufficiently defined and extrapolated eschatological theologies among Quakers after the first generation. While contemporary groups like the Levellers, Diggers, Fifth Monarchy Men and Pietists are mentioned in the *Handbook* the Quakers as a group are not discussed at all—only one oblique reference to George Fox spiritualising 'the concept of the kingdom of God' (p. 494), a claim that is correct, but insufficiently regards Fox's understanding of the kingdom as *merely* spiritual and not also born out in concrete historical events. The dearth of Quaker research in the *Handbook* is striking, especially since Quakers are considered by some recent scholars to have coalesced around eschatological and apocalyptic ideas.

Within the study of eschatology, 'millennialism' refers to a supernatural break in the historic sequence of events wherein God's will comes to bear directly on indi-

viduals and the world for a period of time (pp. 192-93). But even within this aspect of eschatology the *Handbook* lays out a helpful diversity: 'Millennialism', Timothy Weber argues, 'has taken various forms and been embraced with varying degrees of intensity throughout the history of Christianity. Depending on how its devotees view their own times in relation to the coming golden age, millennialism can also have far-reaching social and political implications' (p. 365). Many millennialists, he contends, 'cite Old Testament passages that describe a "peaceable kingdom" in which all God's covenantal promises are fulfilled, human society is transformed, and a new covenant is written on human hearts' (p. 365). Latent in this definition of millennialism is the connection between eschatology and ethics which is later taken up directly by Max Stackhouse. Stackhouse argues that the Deuteronomic covenant renewal is a foundation of biblical, Jewish and Christian eschatology wherein specific religious practices are formed so as to sustain the divine covenant. If the practices of the covenant were obeyed, blessings would ensue, and judgment would be the result of apostasy, Stackhouse explains. Over the course of biblical history the idea of covenant, blessing and judgment fed hopes for a messianic figure who would create a new paradigm of covenantal faithfulness and unite humanity and God together in a perfected society (p. 553).

Under this rubric, the sense of covenantal and eschatological contingency expressed in some eras of Quaker history and seen most strikingly in periods of discipline-intensification and reform can be understood as part of concrete yearnings for the establishment of God's kingdom. The *Handbook* provides suggestive and expansive versions of eschatological categories that scholars of Quaker studies would do well to learn from. It might be that Quaker eschatologies can bring clarity to historical understanding of 'last things'. Conversely, approaching Quaker studies with a specifically theological perspective might help to situate historical periods of Quaker theology within larger cultural longings and assumptions.

Jon Kershner
University of Birmingham

AMORY, H., and HALL, D.D. (eds.), *A History of the Book in America*. I. *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), pp. 664. ISBN: 978-0-8078-5826-4, Paperback, \$34.95.

This paperback edition of volume one of *A History of the Book in America*—the first of the national histories of the book to reach print—is a welcome addition to the bookshelf for anyone interested in the cultural history of North America. Originally published in 2000, the work remains a benchmark in the development of the American history of the book as a field of study. Its account of printing and bookselling, writing and reading from the earliest colonial period until 1790 has over the last decade informed, encouraged and provoked much new work, generously acknowledged in the preface to the paperback edition. All five volumes of the series are now in print, the latest having appeared in 2010. During the same decade, other massive

national histories of the book have raced to production: the *History of the Book in Canada* (6 volumes), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* (7 volumes), *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland* (4 volumes) and *The Oxford History of the Irish Book* (5 volumes) are all now either complete or nearing completion. For the period to 1790, therefore, there is now a great deal of comparative material available on the production, circulation and readership of early modern books. Criticized inevitably for the constrictions imposed by their national focus, these vast collaborative projects have nonetheless laid secure foundations for the burgeoning discipline of the history of the book.

The importance of crossing national boundaries, both geographically and in terms of conceptualising the whole history of the book, is immediately signalled here by the title's focus on 'the Atlantic world'. Relationships between the Old and New Worlds are central to this volume, covering a period in which the early European settlers relied—at first, completely—on imports of materials, presses, familiar books and ideas from 'home'. The volume's initial arrangement of contents chronologically and by regions enables the reader to see clearly the differences in the nature and development of often quite separate book cultures in those thirteen mainland British colonies which in 1776 formed the United States. The ways in which the colonists' initial dependence on the European book trade was giving way by the eighteenth century to new local and independent systems—of commerce, censorship, patronage and civic organisation—and the various local religious, political and material circumstances involved form the focus of much of the volume. In later chapters, the earlier arrangement by specific colonies and periods gives way to sections which range more broadly across a colonial culture which was, in the eighteenth century, becoming more homogenous. Particular attention is paid to journalism, the popular press and press freedom; to the practices of reading (literacy, schoolbooks, book buyers, libraries and ways of reading); and to learned and literary cultures.

Though principally concerned with Anglophone books, texts in other languages (and the peoples and cultures producing, buying and reading them) are also considered here: books in Native American languages; Latin, Hebrew and Swedish books; and not least the printing of German and Dutch books, to which a chapter is devoted. The heterogeneity of colonial America's religious and political, as well as cultural history is kept firmly in view. Not surprisingly Quaker books, authors and printers feature, at times strongly. Of particular interest to readers of *Quaker Studies* will be Chapter 6, on 'The Book Trade in the Middle Colonies 1680–1720', in which James N. Green tackles the career of William Bradford, who at the age of nineteen accompanied Penn to America and, after returning to England to finish his apprenticeship and to marry Elizabeth Sowle, his master's daughter, returned to Pennsylvania as its printer. The story of Bradford's work for Friends, his part in the Keithian controversy, his move to New York and the eventual monopoly of the Bradford family in controlling the press of the whole of the middle colonies is well known. What Green's fresh examination of Bradford's career offers, however, is a detailed and indeed eye-opening account of his output, and an analysis of the economics as well as the politics of his business. Green's scrutiny of the development of the Bradford business demonstrates at every turn the 'tension between a licensed

press and a commercially viable press'; and, moreover, shows that the issue of who controlled the press (state, church or English law?), answered variously at different times in each colony, could make or break the earliest printers. Presses needed to be as fully employed as possible to offset the initial investment in the press itself, types and paper. But Bradford's press seems to have been seriously under-employed. He printed relatively little for Pennsylvania Friends (only 54 imprints in nine years), yet was prevented by them from printing other things. On moving to New York he was more financially secure and less constrained in what he could print (24 imprints in the first two years of his employment), being employed directly by the state, which paid him £40 a year. In 1703 he began to print for New Jersey, too, for a significant rise in salary, and as well as buying up land and property he invested in the first paper mills in North America. When his son, Andrew, took printing back to Pennsylvania it was as an employee of the Assembly, rather than of Friends, enabling him to print for both. Printing alone was still not, on its own, economically viable, and Green reports fascinating details from British export records in the early eighteenth century demonstrating printers' continued reliance on bookselling. In particular, he shows that the market for books in Pennsylvania and New York remained tiny compared with those of New England, Virginia and Maryland.

The editors identify several important shifts in the eighteenth century, during which a more homogenous, secular and independent book culture developed in the American colonies. Competition—the arrival of a second printer in town—could encourage existing factionalism and generate printed controversy. A growing and increasingly literate population became an important market for British printers and booksellers, not only in London but in Ireland and Scotland too. Importing booksellers became extremely powerful figures in their communities. Alongside established 'official' printing, sponsored by state, church or other cultural organizations—and the usual jobbing printing (always important) of forms, labels, letterheads, handbills and other such necessary items—printers became more entrepreneurial in their publishing ventures. Most significant of these was the growth of the newspaper, which in the Boston trade, for example, had by 1765 become the largest single item produced. The 'age of Franklin' and the rise in particular of the newspaper trade and American journalism is a central part of the story of this volume. The contributors are to be congratulated on the depth and extent of the research presented here, and the generosity of the tables, graphs and illustrations supplied in support of their arguments.

The history of the book is not, of course, concerned only with production and the book trade, and this volume has much to say about the wider culture of books: manuscript and oral transmission as well as print; access to books; and attitudes to learning and the circulation of knowledge. In a history of change and development it is of course inevitable that continuities are noticeable. Warnings about the deleterious effects of reading on women, for example, were frequent in the mid-seventeenth century. David D. Hall, in his chapter on 'Readers and Writers in Early New England', reports that 'too much reading' was a diagnosis applied not only to those who challenged orthodoxy, like Anne Hutchinson, but also to otherwise exemplary females. Hall quotes John Winthrop, explaining the mental illness of Ann Hopkins,

wife of the governor of Connecticut, as the result of ‘her giving herself wholly to reading and writing... For if she had attended her household affairs, and such things as belong to women, and not gone out of her way and calling to meddle in such things as are proper for men, whose minds are stronger, etc., she had kept her wits’ (p. 140). By the middle of the eighteenth century anxiety about women’s reading, as in Britain, had a new focus in the reading of romance, which might drive women mad through excess of feeling or, as Jefferson proposed, might just conceivably lead to virtue. Although the context—and reading matter—have changed, disquiet about women’s access to printed texts remains a (principally male) concern across the centuries.

This is a massive work of scholarship and readers are urged to sample the many delights scarcely touched on in this review. The volume will remain at least for another decade the first port of call for anyone interested in colonial America, its books and its reading culture. To study any aspect of American religious, political or literary culture of the colonial period without consulting it is unthinkable. Most readers will no doubt use it as a source of reference on specific places, texts, people and topics, and will read selectively to suit their interests. The tables, graphs and appendices provide welcome statistical data and the ‘Select Bibliography’, coupled with the list of more recent works in the new Preface, will be especially useful. We owe a debt of gratitude to David D. Hall and the late Hugh Amory for having directed such a thoroughly researched, engagingly written and coherently organized account of the place of print in pre-Revolutionary America.

Maureen Bell
University of Birmingham, England

OPIE, A.A., *The Collected Poems of Amelia Alderson Opie* (ed. S. King and J. Pierce; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. lxx + 647. ISBN: 978-0-19-921890-5, Hardback, £139.

Amelia Opie was born in 1769, only daughter of a Norfolk physician and his wife. Raised by a rational mother who encouraged the young girl to carry out acts of charity, and shaped by the events of the French Revolution, she became involved with the controversial circle of radical thinkers and writers that included William Godwin, Mary Wollstonecraft and Thomas Holcroft. Her first poems were printed in *The Cabinet*, a political magazine produced in Norwich, and throughout the 1790s and the first decades of the 1800s she published novels and volumes of poetry, became a significant literary celebrity⁹ and played an active part in radical London social life.

In 1825, however, Amelia Opie became a Quaker, influenced at least partly by her friendships with the Gurney family. She had attended Quaker worship sporadically since 1814 and, as Shelley King and John Piece argue, ‘Opie’s decision to enter

9. The critic Gary Kelly has described her as ‘the most respected woman fiction writer of the 1800s and 1810s after Maria Edgeworth’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

the Society of Friends in 1825 was no sudden choice, but rather the culmination of decades of discussion (p. 1). She found the demands of her new involvement challenging; it was particularly hard to give up non-sacred music and the writing of novels and she struggled to adopt Quaker forms of speech.¹⁰ Nonetheless, she continued to write, publishing didactic essays, factual articles, poems and hymns.

Despite her popularity and significance during the nineteenth century, Opie has until recently lacked a scholarly biography and a collection of her poems, and most readers' knowledge of her poetry is confined to a few frequently anthologised poems focusing on her response to the war in France and her support for the anti-slavery movement. Thus, *The Collected Poems of Amelia Alderson Opie* is a very welcome volume. The first collected scholarly edition of Opie's poems, the book covers the entire range of Opie's career, starting with her earliest surviving works from the 1790s and continuing through her last poems in 1850. Arranged chronologically, it 'brings together poems from a variety of sources, including three volumes of poetry assembled by the author, annual anthologies, periodicals, songs, manuscripts, fictional tales, broadsheets, and separately published pamphlets' (p. lvi). It therefore provides an opportunity to trace Opie's development as a poet and to explore the full range of her published works. Extensive textual footnotes and endnote commentary add considerably to the usefulness of the book. A long bibliography at the end of the volume with details of Opie's printed texts and manuscripts, including her contributions to gift books, annuals, anthologies, periodicals, newspapers and song collections will be an invaluable tool for those who wish to explore further, although as the editors themselves write, 'There is little doubt that more poems and even more versions of the poems included here will be discovered' (p. lxx).¹¹ The entire volume has an air of having been scrupulously and intelligently edited and it is a pleasure to use. The biographical information in the 33-page introduction goes considerably beyond what is available in the *New ODNB* and there is a particularly useful discussion of Opie's relationship with the press, drawing on, *inter alia*, the archives of the Longman publishing house held at Reading University.

Quaker studies scholars will, of course, be particularly interested in the post-1825 works, but there are some interesting and relevant poems from the decade leading up to Opie's formal conversion that would repay close study. (See, for example, 'The Convert's Prayer', 'Thoughts in a Place of Worship' and 'Reflections during Silent Worship', all published in 1822.) Of interest as well will be those poems reflecting Opie's sustained interest in the world of politics through the 1820s and 1830s which shed an interesting light on Opie's careful negotiation of the tensions between religious faith and political belief. A number of poems are addressed to members of the Gurney and Fry families and the endnotes provide substantial information about the context for the poems.

10. 'Plain Friends' of the period rejected the use of titles and used the familiar forms of 'thee' and 'thou'. Fiction was regarded as a form of lying and therefore unacceptable. Before becoming a Quaker Opie had written songs and taken singing lessons.

11. It is worth noting that the periodical *The Friend: a religious and literary journal* referred to on p. 618 of the bibliography is the Philadelphia-published magazine and not the London magazine of a similar title.

This is a substantial and well-edited book which fills a real gap in Opie scholarship. One can only hope that a scholarly literary biography of comparable quality will not be too long in coming!

Betty Hagglund
Centre for Postgraduate Quaker Studies
Birmingham, England

HARRISON, R.S., *Dr John Rutty (1698–1775) of Dublin: A Quaker Polymath in the Enlightenment* (Dublin: Original Writing, 2010), pp. 271. ISBN: 978-1-908024-17-6, Hardback, €25.

This is a welcome biography of one of Ireland's notable Quakers, and much more comprehensive than earlier accounts. The author suggests that this is the first time that Rutty has been treated in a 'synoptic' way, but admits that dealing with such a many-faceted individual presents problems for a biographer. The book is divided into five sections, broadly in chronological order, but which also allow for thematic focus and some discussion of the broader context of Rutty's activities. The first section deals with Rutty's early years; he was born in Wiltshire into a Quaker family and moved to Dublin (then the second largest city in the British Isles) in 1724, after graduating from Leiden University. The second and third parts describe his professional life as a physician and his researches and experiments in medical matters and the natural world; the fourth examines Rutty as a Quaker; and the last section sums up his final years. Barbara Dempsey's illustrations throughout the book are a delight.

John Rutty is revealed to have been a highly motivated and sometimes eccentric individual who reflected many of the maxims and the rational mood of 'Enlightenment' thinking. A man of strong views, he also seems to have been rather self-effacing, and no known portrait of him exists. Whilst primarily committed to his medical vocation, he appears to have deliberately limited his medical practice to his poorer patients, in order to find time to read widely and to pursue his own scientific studies, sometimes continuing projects over several decades. Such studies encompassed meteorology and natural history, natural mineral waters and their healing properties, other medical issues, and also mathematics; aspects of chemistry and botany, especially where they were medically relevant, particularly fascinated him. Rutty advocated the importance of a simple, wholesome diet for health, and was also concerned with matters of public health. He built up an extensive network of scientific and medical friends and correspondents in Britain and Ireland and beyond, and his publications on mineral waters, *materia medica*, and the natural history of the Dublin area, drew both on his own observations and those of his many contacts.

Rutty was also passionately concerned about his life as a Quaker, as well as the wider legacy and the future of Quakers in Ireland. Harrison asserts (correctly, in the opinion of this reviewer) that no direct connection should be inferred between the traditional Quaker emphasis on the primacy of personal spiritual experience and the interest many eighteenth-century Friends shared in science. This is an area that the

author might have pursued further. One of the most intriguing aspects of Rutty is the way he wrote, sometimes with disarming frankness, about his perceived failure to live up to the standards he set himself, and of the inner conflict he experienced between his enthusiasm for science and his spiritual life as a committed Quietist. In his *Spiritual Diary*, he prays that God will deliver him from the twin evils of natural history and strong drink!

A minor irritation throughout the book is the rather erratic spacing of words and punctuation marks in the text. It would also be helpful to the reader if the longer quotations had been inset within the main text. Overall, however, this is a readable, well-contextualized and very informative account that will be enjoyed not only by students of eighteenth-century Quakers and Quakerism, but also by anyone interested in the history of science and medicine in western Europe.

Geoffrey Morries
Clitheroe, England

ABBOTT, M.P., CHIJIJOKE, M.E., DANDELION, P. and OLIVER JR. J.W., *Historical Dictionary of the Friends (Quakers)* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2012), pp. xxiii + 574. ISBN: 978-0-8108-6857-1, Cloth, \$99.00.

The first edition of the *Historical Dictionary of the Friends (Quakers)*, published in 2003, provided scholars, students and the interested general reader with an invaluable single-volume compendium of information on Friends world-wide and across the movement's 350-year history. Nine years on, what does the second edition have to offer that would convince this readership to part with £50.00 of their hard-earned cash to replace the earlier volume? The extended Introduction, written by Margery Post Abbott, provides a good indication of what the authors have attempted to achieve. First and foremost, it is clear that the new edition seeks to reflect more adequately the significant growth of Quakerism in the global South. The first edition may have been a little too preoccupied with North American and British subjects and concerns. Abbott notes more explicitly the Christ-centered character of Friends world-wide and provides greater detail about nineteenth-century developments and separations that are the source of the principal divisions within Quakerism today. Crucially, she significantly expands her references to Friends outside Britain and North America, giving particular attention to the development of Quakerism in Africa, Central and South America and Asia. This new emphasis is evident throughout the revised edition.

The content in all the main sections of the book has been significantly developed. Entries in the Chronology have increased by 44% (from 98 to 141 entries). Dictionary entries have grown by 25% (from 570 to just over 700); the Bibliography has been extended by 47% (from 269 to 396 entries). In order to achieve this, the number of contributors has risen by 28% (from 104 to 144). This suggests that what the authors have achieved goes well beyond simply bringing the material up to date.

Reviewing the new Dictionary entries for individuals and organisations reveals the more balanced global perspective. Around 30% of all new entries about individuals relate to African Friends and around 40% to women. Likewise, African organisations account for about half of all new organisational entries. This includes a number of substantial new entries on notable African Friends such as the Kenyans Gladys Kang'ahi and Zablon Isaac Malenge. A few existing entries for individuals have been revised and extended. These include the entries for Norman James Morrison, A.J. Muste and Benjamin S. Ngaira. Finally, a number of notable British and North American Friends gain new entries, such as past Woodbrooke Directors of Studies H.G. Wood and Maurice Creasey; peace workers and writers John and Diana Lampen; and writers and theologians Chuck Fager, Philip Gulley and Rex Ambler.

A range of new subjects have been added to the Dictionary. Some of the entries, such as Convergent Friends, Freedom Friends Church and Peace Education for Children reflect recent developments. Others, such as Community, Music and Religious Liberty offer an insight into peculiarly Quaker perspectives on more general topics. The addition of a sizeable new entry on the Separation of East Africa Yearly Meeting reflects again the corrective attention given to Quakerism outside Britain and North America. A further group of new entries deals with traditional Quaker terms that one might have expected to have appeared in the first edition. These include: Birthright Friends; Epistles; Recorded Minister; and Traveling in the Ministry. Perhaps the most surprising omission from the first edition, but included in the second, is the subject of World War I, which gets an extensive new entry, along with a related entry on the Friends Ambulance Unit.

A number of entries from the first edition have been withdrawn in the new volume. Many of these relate to defunct organisations, but it is also evident that a range of short entries for seventeenth-century British Friends has gone too. This is entirely understandable, given space limitations. However, the loss of entries for such influential early Friends as George Bishop, Samuel Fisher and James Parnell seems regrettable.

The expansion of the Bibliography includes a significant number of new references in the areas of Faith and Theology (+30), Peace (+28), Equality, Race Relations and Rights of First Nations (+21) and Women's Issues (+19). Although small in scale, references relating to African subjects have increased by 140% (from 5 to 12) and those relating to Central and South American topics have grown by 125% (from 4 to 9).

It is difficult for a dictionary such as this to be entirely exhaustive. The entry on God would have benefited from information about the nontheist position and the section on Creeds might have included reference to the 'behavioural creed'. In view of its influence on the development of Quakerism, an entry on Wesley and Methodism would have been welcome, particularly given that Pentecostalism warrants an entry. That said, these are very minor niggles. The authors have achieved a great deal in the revision of this volume. The scope, breadth and depth of the content is most impressive and, compared to the first edition, the theological, geographical and ethnic diversity of global Quakerism is more comprehensively represented. Entries are written in an accessible style, making the Dictionary of value

to both the scholar and the general reader alike. This publication should find a place not only in the academic library but also, translations permitting, in the homes of Friends and on the shelves of meeting house libraries around the world.

Stuart Masters
Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre
Birmingham, England

STANLEY, M., *Practical Mystic: Religion, Science and A.S. Eddington* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. x + 313. ISBN: 978-0-226-77097-0, Cloth, \$40.

Stanley's book sets out the thesis that 'valence values', that is, values which tend and are able to facilitate interaction between science and culture (p. 6), affect the practice and role of science. Eddington (1882–1944) was a gifted and eminent British mathematician, astronomer and physicist, one of the most important scientists of the early twentieth century. He was widely known internationally in his time for his analysis of data from the 1919 eclipse expedition which evidenced Einstein's law of relativity. Eddington was pivotal in disseminating Einstein's theory of relativity both academically and popularly. He was also a birthright and practising Quaker, a pacifist and internationalist in and immediately after a time of war. He gave the 1929 Swarthmore Lecture, *Science and the Unseen World*.

Stanley examines incidents from Eddington's professional life to show how Eddington's seeking, mysticism, internationalism, pacifism and experience transferred from his personal life to his scientific methodology. Stanley takes a synoptic approach: this is neither a biography of Eddington, nor an exposition of Eddington's scientific achievements, but rather draws on episodes in his career to argue powerfully that science and religion are not mutually exclusive categories.

Stanley argues convincingly that Eddington's methodology in his early work on stellar structure arose directly from his Quaker seeking. Eddington eschewed the accepted mathematical deductive approach (that is, to proceed only after defending his assumptions) and instead moved beyond what he could prove and simply attempted to advance the theory. The uncertainty of Eddington's foundations was justified at the end when he was able to demonstrate that his theory was insensitive to variations in the basic parameters (p. 55). Similarly, in his 1927 Gifford Lectures Eddington emphasised that his interest was in the *use* rather than the *truth* of the theory of relativity. His main goal in the Lectures, however, was to show that religion was not incompatible with physical science.

The chapter on pacifism gives a keen insight into the jingoistic nature of British patriotism and the complex difficulties conscientious objectors (including Eddington) experienced during the First World War. Stanley shows how episodes of difference brought out aspects of Eddington's approach. Eddington's dispute with James Jeans (Chapter 2) revealed his innovative methodology; his later philosophical dispute with Chapman Cohen (Chapter 6) shows how his science influenced his religious thinking.

Stanley argues rather grandly in his final chapter that his use of the vocabulary of values allows investigation of a field of interaction between science and religion which the theological presuppositions and scientific a priori of traditional historiography on science and religion has missed. This may be true of the history of science, but not of Quaker Studies.

The book reads as though it were a PhD thesis. Stanley received his PhD from Harvard in 2004 and has published several articles whose abstracts suggest a striking resemblance to the contents of Chapters 3, 2 and 6 respectively,¹² so it may indeed be the book of the thesis, although no such reference is made. Using the term 'valence value' for seeking, mysticism and experience rather forces a point, since they are not values at all and personal experience (whether religious or not) influences the choices anyone makes. Unlike in an examined piece of work, the book's main argument does not need to rely on such a device.

A general reader might struggle to understand all of the scientific nuances (several times Stanley refers to $G_{\mu\nu}$ without explaining what it is or what it means),¹³ but the drift of the argument can be followed nonetheless.

Whilst Stanley is strong on the history and science, his references to mysticism and religious experience are slight. He neither defines what he means by, nor describes the content of, Eddington's religious experience. To be fair, however, Eddington's personal papers were destroyed in 1944, so there is unlikely to be any record of his religious experience. Stanley relies solely on Rufus Jones's peculiar 1917 definition of mysticism as 'affirmative', 'practical' and 'conative' with no distinction between the inner and outer life (p. 38), whereas a scholar of religion would expect reference to fleeting experiences of God.¹⁴ Stanley seems unaware of scholarly discussions of mysticism. The book's index is also irritatingly sparse.

For the Quaker scholar there are some glaring misunderstandings and omissions. Stanley describes 'the Quaker value' as reliance on 'individual' experience (p. 190), ignoring the corporate dimension which is so germane to Quakers. He uses secondary, largely American sources to discuss British Quakerism. This can be justified only where Stanley discusses Rufus Jones's influence on Eddington, but some of the references post-date the point under discussion; for example, he refers to the 1908 Kendal Summer School with Jones's 1912, 1917, 1922 and 1928 writings (pp. 37-38 and notes p. 253)—only the 1909 reference could be justified by its

12. Stanley, M., 'An Expedition to Heal the Wounds of War: The 1919 Eclipse and Eddington as Quaker Adventurer', *Isis: Journal of the History of Science Society* 94/1 (2003), pp. 57-89; 'So Simple a Thing as a Star: The Eddington-Jeans Debate over Astrophysical Phenomenology', *British Journal for the History of Science* 40 (2007), pp. 53-82; 'Mysticism and Marxism: A.S. Eddington, Chapman Cohen, and Political Engagement through Science Popularization', *Minerva* 46/2 (2008), pp. 181-94.

13. $G_{\mu\nu}$ is called the 'Einstein tensor' and describes the geometry of space-time. It is an element of Einstein's theory of General Relativity. See online: http://www.phys.washington.edu/users/dbkaplan/555/lecture_02.pdf (accessed 30 January 2012).

14. Hay, D., *Religious Experience Today: Studying the Facts*, London: Mowbray, 1990; James, W., *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature*, London, Penguin, 1982 (1902); Stace, W.T., *Mysticism and Philosophy*, London, Macmillan, 1960.

proximity. His usage also morphs without explanation from 'Inward Light' in the book's early discussion to 'Inner Light' in its later conclusions. He consistently uses the misnomer 'Society of Friends' instead of the correct 'Religious Society of Friends'. Whilst Stanley quotes minutes from Monthly Meeting business, he nowhere describes how Quaker Meeting for Worship differs from other Christian practice of the period, concentrating instead on activism, thought and belief. A fruitful consequent speculation might have been that there was a link between the unique way in which an insight can occur unexpectedly in the stillness of meeting with Eddington's innovative methodology in his early work. (But perhaps only a Quaker insider could apprehend that possibility.)

Overall, however, such criticisms are minor; the book is excellent value and well worth the attention of any reader interested in the period in general or in the history of developments in early twentieth-century science and philosophy in particular.

Helen Meads
Huddersfield, England

MCDANIEL, D., and JULYE, V., *Fit for Freedom, Not for Friendship: Quakers, African-Americans, and the Myth of Racial Justice* (Philadelphia: Quaker Press of Friends General Conference, 2009), pp. xxvii + 548. ISBN: 978-1-888-30580-7, Hardcover, \$45.00; Paper, \$28.00.

This is the first book to provide an in-depth narrative history of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) as it relates to the vexed central question of the history of the United States: relationships between African Americans and European Americans, both as manifested in death-dealing forms of oppression and injustice, such as slavery and segregation, and also in life-giving acts of liberation, fairness, and justice. The authors of this book provide us with their orientation to their subject matter right upfront: that the relationships between Quakers and African Americans were primarily ordered around issues of racial justice, they tell us, is 'a myth'. Their narrative is more subtle than their title, and the lives and actions of Quakers who witnessed for freedom, both European American and African American (they embrace these terms to describe racial distinctions as the 'most respectful' ones available to them), are amply surveyed, as well as those who owned slaves (in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) and those who doggedly opposed racial integration in Quaker schools in the middle of the twentieth century.

The initial chapter (of the eleven in total, and the epilogue) undertakes the ambitious task of describing both the considerable Quaker enmeshment in slavery and the international slave trade, from the time that European Americans in Rhode Island, Barbados, and elsewhere in the English colonies began embracing Quakerism in the 1650s, and the anti-slavery movement that also arose among Quakers, with early opposers such as the four Friends who submitted a protest against slavery to their Pennsylvania meeting in 1688. Their protest was deemed too hot to handle and was kicked upstairs to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, which decided not 'to give

positive judgment in the case, it having so general a relation to many other parts'. The authors rightly discern that this last phrase meant that 'too many Friends of European ancestry profited from the labor of enslaved Africans'. The authors are unsure whether 'Quaker enslavers...were generally kinder to enslaved people than non-Quakers' but they note that 'several historians believe that...Quaker slaveholding practices were less severe than elsewhere'. This seems to be very much an open question, one that needs further research. The earliest opponents to slavery were often condemned within their Quaker meetings. Robert Southeby and John Farmer were both disowned by their meetings in the 1710s for insisting on publishing or reading aloud in meetings papers denouncing slavery. In 1738, Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting placed a newspaper advertisement 'disassociating Friends' from Benjamin Lay's controversial *All Slaveholders Apostate*. The authors also describe the 'turning point': the generational movement among Quakers, starting in the 1750s, against slavery. They give ample coverage to John Woolman's and Anthony Benezet's roles, although readers interested in this period may also want to consult a wave of new scholarly studies on this period, especially Maurice Jackson's biography of Anthony Benezet.

Subsequent chapters address the growing campaign against American slavery and Quakers' role in it, the work that Friends undertook in relation to the freed slaves prior to the American Civil War, the 'Civil War and its failed reconstruction', and the issues related to African American membership in the Religious Society of Friends. These chapters address the core issue identified in the book's title, namely, that while there was an often impressive record of European American Quakers undertaking philanthropic and humanitarian work on behalf of African Americans, there was, with only rare exceptions, a corresponding unwillingness or lack of effort on behalf of including African Americans within the Religious Society of Friends as valued members. Was it a matter of a spirituality that was not especially accessible to African Americans? There were African Americans who deeply appreciated Quaker spirituality; 'Old Elizabeth', for example, treasured the 'remarkable overshadowing of the Divine presence' (p. 205) that she experienced in one Quaker meeting. But many other African Americans sought out a more physically embodied spirituality, with singing and shouting. The authors emphasise, however, that the true explanation for the low numbers of African American Quakers lies elsewhere: 'Many Friends did not fully accept people of African descent as "fit" for membership in their society, or, for that matter to be their friends' (p. 207). African American Sarah Mapps Douglass, for example, wrote searingly of the practice of her Philadelphia Quaker Meeting of segregating African Americans on a back bench in the meeting house. Of European American Quakers, she wrote that 'I believe they despise us for our colour', and 'Often times I wept, at other times I felt indignant & queried in my own mind, are these people Christians?' (p. 76).

The last five chapters deal with 'Twentieth-Century Challenges and Beyond'. This is path-breaking work, because so little has been written on this subject previously. In a chapter on 'Working for Desegregation', for example, one learns about the ground-breaking work of many Friends, including African American George Sawyer, a lawyer and activist who took a leading role in desegregating

restaurants in Richmond, Indiana, and European American Rachel Davis DuBois, who took a particular interest in facilitating friendly conversation and interaction among people of different races. The role of the American Friends Service Committee in race relations comes in for particular attention. There is an especially important chapter on the desegregation of American Quaker schools, which happened shockingly late, at various times in the middle third of the twentieth century. This chapter especially draws upon primary sources, to a greater degree than many of the earlier chapters. The resistance of many European American Quakers to desegregation of Quaker schools is sobering to read about. Thus the theme of 'fit for freedom, not for friendship' continued into the twentieth century. In the epilogue, Vanessa Julye urges that Friends work much more intentionally 'toward an inclusive community' in our present century. Julye and McDaniel's book is definitely a work of great and indefatigable historical digging, and of inspirational advocacy and pot-stirring, all at the same time.

While this book is ground-breaking and has met a great need within the area of Quaker historical publication, there are, of course, some areas of caution and also some areas where further research will be most welcome. It is mostly centred on the story of American East Coast Quakerism, and the story of race relations among pastoral and evangelical Friends in the Midwest and West garners little attention. Much of the authors' work, especially in the earlier chapters, is based on secondary sources, and the sources that their narrative relies upon occasionally seem at times a bit thin. Future works grounded in primary sources, such as Elizabeth Cazden's forthcoming work on New England Quakers and slavery, will be certain to revise and to deepen the story told here quite a bit. Similarity in last names is always a potential pitfall for researchers into early American history. Thus Betsy Cazden has noted that the authors confuse eighteenth-century New England Quaker Thomas Richardson, for whom there is no evidence of involvement in the international slave trade, with a Philadelphia Quaker, Francis Richardson, for whom there is such evidence (pp. 5-6). One particularly perplexing problem is deciding who is and who is not a Quaker, and determining with accuracy which New Englander with the last name of Wanton or Hazard is a Quaker can be a particularly painstaking process. So certain kinds of details in *Fit for Freedom* are definitely worth checking against other sources.

But none of this should be taken to diminish McDaniel's and Julye's accomplishment in this labour of love. It is enormously helpful to have such so much significant and thought-provoking information and insights about African Americans and Quakerism in one volume. It is to be hoped that Friends, and scholars of Quakerism and race relations, will make much use of this wonderful work, at last available to what should be a very broad readership.

Stephen W. Angell
Earlham School of Religion
Richmond, IN, USA

ISBA, A., *The Excellent Mrs. Fry; Unlikely Heroine* (London: Continuum, 2010), pp. 237. ISBN 978-1-84725-039-1. Hardback \$44.95.

To write her biography of Elizabeth Gurney Fry, Anne Isba set out to ‘unpick the tapestry’ [p. xi] of Fry’s life as revealed in her diaries, memoirs, and correspondence. She then ‘re-wove the narrative’, adding observations from family members and correspondents who travelled with Fry, or benefited from her work. The result is a welcome addition to the scholarship on Fry that concentrates on her career as a prison reformer.

The book begins with a chronicle of Betsy Gurney’s life before 1813, the year she first visited Newgate prison. Key diary passages reveal an anxious child, a lonely adolescent, and a young woman hungry for a deeper sense of purpose in life. Two Quaker mentors, Stephen Grellet and Deborah Darby, joined with influential family members to guide Betsy toward adulthood. She married Joseph Fry in 1800, and over the next twenty-two years they had eleven children. Throughout these years Elizabeth Gurney Fry found solace and purpose as she balanced family life with efforts to relieve human suffering.

Isba summarises the history of Quaker involvement in prisons, and the particular horrors of Newgate prison. She then describes the earliest days of Fry’s ‘Newgate Experiment’. Against the advice of prison officials, she would enter the women’s section of the prison alone, carrying her Bible. After worshiping and meeting with inmates she would emerge with a list of ‘improvements’, such as hiring a female matron-in-charge, separating convicted prisoners from those awaiting trial, and establishing schoolrooms for the children. Fry would also present prison authorities with rules of conduct that were developed by the inmates themselves. Isba includes samples of these rules, which reveal what women in prison wanted: to be clean and safe, to learn, and to work in order to earn some money. They also wanted their children to be safe from harmful influences. Although initially dubious, prison officials accepted these changes and were astonished at their efficacy.

To demonstrate the widening influence of Fry’s reform efforts, Isba incorporates into her biography the stories of ‘transported women’ who were sent into exile. Before they began their voyages, Fry visited more than one hundred ships, holding worship services and Bible study sessions with the women. She also delivered donated items from local support committees, such as sewing and knitting materials, a knife and fork for daily meals, and a Bible. Among the photographs Isba includes in the book is of the *Rajah* quilt, which was embroidered with words of thanks from Newgate women who landed in Tasmania.

During the next decades Fry testified in front of Parliament, travelled widely, published a handbook called *Observations on the Visiting, Superintendence and Government of Female Prisoners*, and followed up on previous trips to assess the progress of reforms. The accounts of her journeys are enhanced by Isba’s use of others’ observations: sometimes from family members who joined her efforts, and sometimes from appreciative or critical prison officials from European countries.

In addition to the prison projects, Fry developed libraries for coast guards, collecting and distributing books for those families living in isolation. In 1840, twenty years

before the work of Florence Nightingale, she established a nursing school that supplied trained professionals for service throughout the country. In addition to her indomitable will, the key to her success was the collaborative work with local female volunteers, which generated on-going support for future changes.

Elizabeth Gurney Fry's final years were filled with sorrow, in part because of the deaths of beloved family members. Although heartened by the knowledge that many of her prison reform projects continued, the suffering that remained haunted her. Her spiritual struggles continued as well, and her health continued to fail until she died in 1845, surrounded by family. In her memory, friends and admirers established the Elizabeth Fry Refuge for destitute women, and later founded an institute dedicated to the reformation of women prisoners. In 1913 a marble sculpture of her was erected in the refurbished Old Bailey. (Her face also appears on the British five pound note!)

This biography offers a distinctive portrayal of Elizabeth Gurney Fry, going beyond the story that has usually been told by admiring Quakers and awed historians. Isba argues that Fry was an 'unlikely heroine' who responded to the sufferings of women in prison while balancing the needs of her own large and complicated household. She was usually filled with resolve in her public efforts, but she was sometimes wracked with doubt, especially in relation to her domestic responsibilities. Through it all she demonstrated courage and stamina, even while she struggled with fear and fatigue. Her times of despair linked her to the lives of those she sought to help.

Anne Isba pays tribute to Fry's lasting contributions to prison reform by framing her biography with references to life in today's prisons. She quotes a 2007 report that calls for attention to the particular needs of women in prison, on the basis that it is 'a human rights approach to prison management' and also 'common sense' (p. 206) and she concludes that incarcerated women and girls will always need 'the spirit of Fry's endeavours' (p. xiii).

Mary Garman
Earlham College
Richmond, IN, USA