

BOOK REVIEWS

MARTIN, C.G., *Milton among the Puritans: The Case for Historical Revisionism* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), pp. xvii + 360. ISBN 9781409408567. Hardback, £75.00.

This book is a learned, massively researched argument against the traditional view that the great English poet and political theorist John Milton (1608–1674) was a ‘Puritan’. The detailed case is somewhat overwhelming at times, involving a thorough attempt to situate Milton in the political, literary, intellectual, and religious context of his lifetime, as well as close analysis of his literary work. Aspects of the text are principally of interest to Milton specialists. Other parts make interesting reading for students of seventeenth-century intellectual history, as well as providing a useful tableau of religious thinking at the time of the birth of Quakerism. A certain amount of familiarity with Milton’s works and his biography, as well as some knowledge of the state of scholarship on seventeenth-century intellectual history, are prerequisites to assess the credibility of Catherine Gimelli Martin’s interpretation. She argues that Milton was essentially a tolerant, sceptical, rationalist Christian humanist, rather than a thoroughgoing Calvinist militant on the Bunyan model. Although in general she makes better sense of Milton than the conventional view, her account is perhaps a little too conveniently suited to modern liberal taste.

Martin observes at the outset that ‘not just the godly [i.e. Puritans], but a broad spectrum of Protestants’ (p. 31) rose up against Charles I (to an extent a spectrum of Protestants supported him, too, though his religious policy made it narrower than it might have been if absolute monarchy had been the sole issue at stake). She cites the Latitudinarian Anglican Thomas Yalden’s comment on Milton in 1698, praising his verse and excoriating his ‘seditious prose’ (p. 2). By Yalden’s time, Martin shrewdly remarks, Milton’s ‘political theories had become the property of radical Whigs’, many of whom shared ‘Yalden’s liberal theology if not his [Royalist] politics’. In Milton’s own time the situation was reversed: ‘godly politicians...shared his republican convictions but not his theology’ (p. 2). The point is well made, and is central to Martin’s case: the assumption that a classically minded seventeenth-century republican must be a Puritan in religion is groundless, a hangover from the ‘Whig’ theory of history and its Marxist progeny, whose own version of historical progress involved tendentiously casting Puritans as either bourgeois rebels against feudalism or egalitarian prophets of revolution.

For Martin, ‘godly’ or ‘Puritan’ essentially means a Calvinist, and a Calvinist who ticked all the boxes found in Calvin’s *Institutes*. Ticking all the boxes is important, because in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries there was a spectrum of English Protestant opinion, even among Calvinists. Martin is familiar with recent scholarship which emphasises that old distinctions between ‘Anglicans’ and ‘Puritans’ make little sense. After the Reformation, many English Protestants who conformed to the Elizabethan settlement maintained an unimpeachably Calvinist theology when it came to justification by faith and predestination, but were prepared to regard Elizabeth I’s church settlement, with its bishops, as a ‘thing indifferent’. Scripture was sufficiently vague on the subject of church government to allow latitude in this area.

Other English Protestants only became uncomfortable with episcopacy as a result of the imposition of theological uniformity associated with it under the authority of Charles and Archbishop Laud; and when the political crisis of the 1640s struck, they argued on the very same principles of indifferency and scriptural vagueness that episcopacy could be safely reformed or even got rid of. Yet many of these people suspected the doctrinaire Calvinists for the same reason they suspected Laud. Bishops and the Presbytery were equally to be feared, and theologically, aside from their ecclesiastical and political tyranny, those with an aversion to Calvinist dogmatism on predestination actually considered the Laudians preferable to the extent that they believed in free will (at any rate, that God’s grace could be co-operated with or resisted).

Martin argues that Milton was closer in opinion to those of this mind, than to Calvinists. He hated Laudian tyranny, but he was no double predestinarian anxiously examining himself for signs of Election and writing off the aesthetic as a semi-idolatrous distraction from the serious business of salvation. On the contrary: Martin makes a good case that he exalted human reason and minimised original sin. And his politics owed more to classical Greek and Roman republican models than to the spiritual egalitarianism—or spiritual oligarchy—of Calvin’s Geneva and the Puritan conventicles. Into the bargain, it was a strange sort of Puritan who was prepared to question the scriptural foundations of the doctrine of the Trinity.

English Protestants hostile to political and spiritual authoritarianism, and in favour of a measure of free thinking and free will, included religious radicals, like Quakers and Levellers; but others appeared from among the Laudians, and the radical Whigs of Yalden’s day owed their ‘liberal theology’ as much to these people as to the radicals. Martin compares Milton with Laud’s godson William Chillingworth and his like-minded friends in the ‘Great Tew circle’, which met at the eponymous house of Viscount Falkland. Chillingworth converted to Roman Catholicism but returned to the Church of England and wrote a book arguing that ‘the Bible, and the Bible only is the religion of Protestants’ (Chillingworth, 1637). But Chillingworth and Great Tew understood the Bible in a very different way from the Calvinists. They were strong advocates of free will, but supported a more limited understanding of episcopacy than Laud, and in some cases would have been content to see its abolition. They were much influenced by the anti-Calvinist reaction in the (Presbyterian) Dutch Reformed Church, known as ‘Arminianism’, and notably by the founding father of international law and advocate of sceptical, probabilistic reasoning, Hugo

Grotius. Fear of dogmatic Puritanism and a sense of loyalty led Falkland to die fighting on the king's side during the English Civil Wars; but the point is that there was a spectrum of opinion, and Martin makes a convincing case that for all his violent hostility to bishops, and classical republicanism (shared by Grotius), Milton had Arminian sympathies when it came to free will, and his advocacy of religious toleration reflected a suspicion of hardline Puritans as much as Charles and Laud.

It seems to me that Martin is rather too eager to associate Milton with the outlook of pioneering Latitudinarians sympathetic to the established church, like the Great Tew circle and Jeremy Taylor. All in all his Independency seems to have ended up a great deal more radical than anything Chillingworth and Falkland, let alone Bishop Taylor or Yalden, would have been remotely comfortable with. As an analogy (a very crude one), there is a spectrum of left- and right-wing views, and one can be (say) a left-wing libertarian or a right-wing one. Milton was a left-wing latitudinarian, not a right-wing one like Falkland or Taylor. At times there are some slightly forced or over-imaginative readings of his works, too. But Martin is surely right that he was no Bunyan or Perkins, and opens up a fresh way to read Milton's sublime religious epics and original political tracts, not to mention the political and religious environment in which he lived.

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CHRYSTAL, P., *The Rowntree Family of York: A Social History* (Pickering: Blackthorn Press, 2005), pp. x + 302. ISBN 9781906259358. Paperback, £19.95. E-book, £6.99.

This book is an addition to the already substantial literature on the Rowntree family and its business, political and philanthropic activities. Readers of this journal may be familiar with biographical studies of individual members of the family—by Anne Vernon, Stephen Allott and Elfrida Vipont, for example—with Robert Fitzgerald's mammoth study of *Rowntree and the Marketing Revolution* (Cambridge, 1995), and with my own work on the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust, among many others. Paul Chrystal's book draws on all these secondary sources and many more, as well as a smaller amount of primary source material, to produce an interesting and readable account of the lives of several members of the Rowntree family, which achieves its aim of being a 'social history' rather than simply a series of biographies. As well as a brief background chapter, there are chapter-length studies of Joseph Rowntree I (1801–1859), Joshua Rowntree (1844–1915), John Stephenson Rowntree (1834–1907), Henry Isaac Rowntree (1838–1883), John Wilhelm Rowntree (1868–1905) and Arnold Rowntree (1872–1951), while the best-known members of the family Joseph II (1836–1925) and his second son Seebohm (1871–1954) have four and two chapters respectively. Much of the material is already familiar, but three particular contributions of this book should be noted.

First, Chrystal rightly reminds us of the importance of Joseph Rowntree I, the father of the better-known Joseph II. He shows that many of the concerns of later generations of the family were prefigured in the work of the first Joseph Rowntree, who was a successful grocer in the city of York long before the cocoa works were established. The Rowntrees' interest in statistical research methods, their work in adult education and Quaker schools and their concern for urban poverty can all be identified in the life of the first Joseph (pp. 39-40)—and Chrystal usefully puts this into the context of other Quaker interests in York in this period. This part of the book is usefully read in conjunction with Sheila Wright's *Friends in York: The Dynamics of Quaker Revival 1780-1860* (Keele, 1995).

The second key contribution of this book is its success in linking together the history of the Rowntree business and the family members' wider social and political activities. This has not always been done effectively in other studies of the Rowntree family, including my own, and Chrystal manages to achieve it. He moves easily between detailed descriptions of policy and practice at the York cocoa works, stories of family members' political campaigning activities and various interesting insights into their personal lives. Emphasising the close relationship between Quakerism and social action, Chrystal draws attention to the distinctive outlook that many Friends brought to their public activities. The level of commitment to a range of causes among these busy men is remarkable. In addition to his well-known contributions to British Quakerism, John Stephenson Rowntree (Chapter 4), for example, was at various times Lord Mayor of York, a magistrate, an alderman and member of the Library Committee, secretary of the York Quarterly Meeting Boys' School and treasurer of the girls' school, co-founder of the Association for the Training of Women Teachers, treasurer of the York Extension Society and a Charity Trustee for the city of York, as well as teaching in adult schools for many years.

Finally—and this can be seen as a strength or a weakness of the book, or both—Chrystal emphasises the local dimension of the work and voluntary activities of the Rowntree family. It is a social history of aspects of York as much as one of the family itself. Although some Rowntrees had prominent roles in the Religious Society of Friends, most of their political and philanthropic activity was centred on York and some surrounding towns. Some sat on the city council, including John Stephenson and Oscar, although the latter is not discussed in depth in this book. Arnold was the Member of Parliament for York. Among those considered in this book, perhaps only Seebohm was a truly national figure. The importance of this prominent family's contributions to the city of York can be seen as a good example of what some historians have seen as a the survival and flourishing of localism and urban 'governance' well into the twentieth century.

It could be argued that Chrystal has missed a number of opportunities in this book. Not only are all the central characters male—it could be argued that a modern 'social history' should give more attention to the Rowntree women and their lives—but the decision to end the book with Arnold and Seebohm Rowntree means that the story of the next generation of the family remains unwritten. A different book might have included a chapter on Maurice Lotherington Rowntree, whose experiences as a conscientious objector, peace campaigner and educationalist in the

first half of the twentieth century would be of particular interest to many Quaker readers. Chrystal's focus on York ensures that a fairly predictable group of Rowntrees forms the focus of his book. Nevertheless, this book is a welcome contribution to the literature, and a useful account of a leading Quaker family and its activities over a period of almost two hundred years.

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HERBERT, A.E., *Female Alliances: Gender, Identity, and Friendship in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), pp. xiv + 256. ISBN 9780300177404. Hardback, £39.

This is a fascinating book. I can imagine using it for undergraduate and postgraduate history courses, as it offers an accessible, entertaining and diverse range of topics under the heading of 'female alliances'. Focussing on language, the symbolism and culture of gift exchange, recipe books, spas and religious nonconformity, individual chapters offer a broad, albeit related, set of case studies. Similarly, the geographical range of *Female Alliances* is generous, reaching beyond the British Isles to the West Indies and British colonies in North America, as the individual women discussed—not least the Friends analysed in Chapter 4—travelled over large areas (p. 8). Certainly, although for the purposes of this review the consideration of female Quaker missionaries in the British Atlantic world will be highlighted, the entire book deserves acknowledgment. As Herbert notes, it considers 'every genre of seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century elite female writing' (p. 7), from travel logs to household account books. Such diversity makes the work particularly satisfying, especially when Herbert seeks also to recreate the lives of women of lower status, albeit often mediated through the accounts of the elite: Chapter 3 on domestic labour is a good example.

The chapter specifically considering Quaker women is an interesting inclusion to the work, although in some ways it seems to sit outside the wider discussion. In part this may be because of Quakerism's distinctive character, but it is also, perhaps, because Herbert does not take full advantage of the interesting points made earlier in the book. For example, although she introduces the work as a whole by discussing the idea of 'alliances', 'friend' and 'friendship' in the early modern era (p. 15), when considering a group who termed themselves 'Friends' she does not unpick the term, other than through a brief discussion as part of Chapter 1's analysis of the language of female alliances, which includes reference to Quakers, female society and friendship (pp. 30–31). This is a pity as significant insights might have been revealed. In addition, whilst Catholic (p. 29), Presbyterian (Chapter 5) and of course Quaker women's relationships with female co-religionists are considered in the book, the lack of an overarching analysis of female spirituality and alliances to compare different denominations, other than a brief acknowledgment of British women's ideas of 'spiritualized friendships and religious alliances' (p. 26), seems a missed opportunity,

especially as the Epilogue is brief in comparison to other chapters and might have been used to draw together threads like these.

Chapter 4 begins by considering Sarah Lay and Susanna Heath Morris, British American Public Friends who travelled together and thereby found spiritual support, often in times of physical or spiritual suffering. Herbert is keen to stress that such women were viewed with suspicion beyond the 1689 Toleration Act (p. 143), although the extent to which women such as Lay and Morris suffered in comparison to seventeenth-century travellers like Joan Vokins in the 1670s (p. 153) or indeed the martyr Mary Dyer (d. 1660) is, I would suggest, debateable. Friends became increasingly, although not universally, respected in the course of the eighteenth century; indeed, Herbert's examples of criticism of later female Friends focus upon self-regulation, or the censure of family and meetings, rather than external, non-Quaker responses (pp. 147-48). Certainly, though, she is right to identify how the travels of such women, and men, continued to be dangerous because of the risk of shipwrecks and serious illness (p. 145), and her discussion of female Friends' work in Barbados and Philadelphia amidst slave-holding cultures, viewed negatively by those in authority, is very useful indeed (pp. 153-55). If anything, such examples deserved more elaboration: the chapter is one of the book's shortest and offers only eleven pages on the relationship between women preachers and their 'yokemates': female Friends who accompanied them on their travels, the loss of whom through illness or other hindrances often led to significant distress (p. 159). Perhaps more concerning is Herbert's apparent misunderstanding of the work of Robert Adams Day, whose 1966 book *Told in Letters* is referenced when discussing the 1640 work *The Academy of Complements* (p. 165 n. 93); however, it is unlikely that such an early work would refer to Friends, and more likely she has misconstrued Day's discussion (p. 54) of later anti-Quaker works.

Despite this, Herbert's comments regarding female Friends' distinctive spiritual identity (p. 167) are certainly welcome, and would have benefitted from direct comparison with other religious minorities, especially Presbyterians, the focus of the following chapter in which she asserts that 'Nonconformist women experienced social ostracism' (p. 169). It is not altogether clear, however, why she finds that 'even some' Quaker women were prevented from participation in 'social, alliance-building activities' (p. 169); greater elaboration of how and why some female Friends, including perhaps those involved in local philanthropic causes, could participate in such activities may have offered a more nuanced account of nonconformity as experienced by women. Certainly, when she writes of the Presbyterian Sarah Savage's struggle with 'normative female sociability' (p. 183), this is arguably the same struggle Quaker women faced when counselled to dress, speak and deport themselves in a manner distinctively different from that of the majority in order to reflect Quaker testimonies.

Overall, the book offers very interesting insights into early modern women, particularly elite women's alliances and interactions with women of other statuses. The chapter considering Quaker women forms a useful part of this wider analysis, although the experiences of women of different faiths could profitably have been compared further, possibly by contrasting Quakers and Presbyterians more explicitly, or by considering Jewish women to a greater degree (there is a brief comment on the

information which might be accrued by early modern women from 'alien and unusual' sources such as a recipe book's instructions for making a salve 'taught by a Jewe', p. 109). Taken as a whole, the work nevertheless demonstrates the value of positioning Quakers alongside other groups in early modern society, in order to understand better all concerned.

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JEANSONNE, G., *The Life of Herbert Hoover: Fighting Quaker, 1928–1933* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. vii + 539. ISBN 9781137346735. Paperback, £22.50.

Glen Jeansonne's *The Life of Herbert Hoover: Fighting Quaker, 1928–1933* provides readers of the twenty-first century with a detailed historical analysis of the years Herbert Hoover served as President of the United States. Published in 2012 as the fifth book in a series of six, sponsored by the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library Association, Jeansonne attempts to bring a corrective understanding to one of America's most vilified Chief Executives by showing Hoover as an astute administrator working tirelessly in an impossible situation. At nearly 500 pages, and supported with largely primary source material, Jeansonne's work is engaging and by far the most definitive modern account of the Hoover Administration.

At the pinnacle of the Roaring Twenties, Jeansonne shows how Hoover was swept into the White House in a landslide victory as both a humanitarian and successful business leader. A lifelong Quaker, Hoover's initial policies centred on establishing world peace, using the wealth of the nation toward improving social conditions, and bringing moderate regulation to the business and banking sector. Though Hoover was not much of a politician or public speaker, Jeansonne makes the case that he possessed a rare combination of business acumen, international experience, and social compassion.

Less than a year into Hoover's term, though, the stock market crashed triggering the Great Depression. The economic disaster became the defining feature of his time in office, and, by default, shaped his policies on every other issue. Jeansonne takes us on a journey, then, seeing both the tragedy of the Hoover Presidency and the resiliency of Hoover the man. Jeansonne argues that it is largely a credit to Hoover's efforts that the United States mitigated complete collapse. Most experts of the time predicted the economic downturn would be short lived and there were false recoveries along the way. Hoover responded to the crisis initially with a model relying on the altruistic spirit of Americans, private sector growth, improved governmental efficiencies, and a few limited governmental recovery programs. Unfortunately, as the situation worsened, citizens hoarded what resources they had, businesses stopped hiring, banks restricted credit, and politicians blamed one another. Jeansonne's level of detail into nearly every facet of the Hoover Administration allows the reader to see the process of change in Hoover over time, as he was forced to become far more of an interventionist than he preferred.

Jeansonne also shows how Hoover continued to struggle for the remainder of this term between a call to action in such dire times, but also careful to avoid establishing governmental precedent that he believed would be impossible to change once the Depression waned. In an era when the relative size of government paled in comparison to today's standards, Hoover fought against the push from leading economists and politicians to form quasi-governmental cartels and to embrace a likely unconstitutional level of centralised power. Jeansonne's work clarifies how Hoover thoughtfully navigated his way through these tensions as he tried to avoid complete anarchy on the one hand, and, on the other hand, avoid creating what he believed would be the foundations for future totalitarianism.

Jeansonne also highlights the complicated politics in which Hoover tried to establish reconstruction. Despite Hoover's landslide electoral victory, he was never totally embraced by his own Republican party—cobbled together from mostly special interest factions. Old Guard Conservatives and Progressives rallied around him as the most electable candidate of the time, but largely abandoned him during the financial crisis. Likewise, Jeansonne deftly establishes his case that the Democrats, who were otherwise disorganised as a party themselves, eventually united under a banner that the Depression should not end during Hoover's watch lest he get credit for fixing it. On more than one occasion Jeansonne shows how Hoover's opponents intentionally sabotaged his measures in hopes of short-term political gain for themselves. These are strong points made in the book, backed up with an exacting level of research, and show that politics reign even in tragedy. Jeansonne's excellent use of data speaks for itself as he makes his case, though the author rarely misses a chapter where he does not also add editorial commentary on the perceived heroic efforts of Hoover to rise above the subterfuge and do the right thing. Even with the obvious pro-Hoover lean to the book, Jeansonne provides a nice historical corrective toward better understanding America's 31st President.

The only real complaint of Jeansonne's otherwise excellent scholarship is more in regards to what this reviewer had hoped to find in this book. Herbert Hoover has been a neglected focus within Quaker studies, and we have not found many good resources that critically examine how Hoover's lifelong religion influenced his public policy, or if it did at all. This is unfortunate in that he was by all accounts a deeply spiritual man who crossed rigid sectarian lines to work with all four main branches of American Quakerism. Whatever hybrid version of theology he adopted, and how that influenced his time in the White House, has yet to be sufficiently revealed by academia. Perhaps this was not Jeansonne's primary objective, but his choice of title and his frequent reference to Hoover as 'The Quaker' lends itself toward some obligation in that direction. There is some helpful material throughout the book on Hoover's lesser known work on issues of child welfare, global disarmament, labour improvements, and race and gender equality; and those with insider knowledge of the Quaker faith can draw some natural connections to the perceived social ethics of Friends. But those wanting to see in any direct and clear sense how The Religious Society of Friends shaped the Hoover Administration will only find it in the general herein.

That said, those wanting an exhaustive historical analysis of his key Presidential years, with rich use of primary source material presented within the contextual backdrop of unfolding world events at the time, will likely not find a better resource.

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EVANS, O.G., *Benign Neglect: The Quakers and Wales Circa 1860–1918* (Wrexham: Bridge Books, 2014), ix + pp. 363. ISBN 9781844940974. Paperback, £20. (This book can be ordered from the author c/o The Centre for Postgraduate Quaker Studies.)

On the back cover of this splendid volume Gethin Evans states that ‘historical accounts of Quakers in Wales have largely been confined to their early years, and a modern overarching history has yet to be written’. Well, now it has! This new study furthers the recent investigations into Welsh Friends and the way this small community helped to shape the religious history of the country over the centuries. By exploring Wales/England throughout the mid-Victorian and Edwardian period Evans exposes the way in which members interacted, not only with their co-religionists inside Wales, but also across the border, and particularly through their relationship with London Yearly Meeting. The story is stimulating as it reflects the growing sense of national and political identity in Wales from the mid-nineteenth century to World War One, as well as the reinvigorated missionary spirit of Friends in a time of spiritual renewal or ‘revivalism’. It also suggests that this was a missed opportunity to capture hearts and minds. As Evans points out, many in London Yearly Meeting recognised the potential of the period, but the Quaker response was ‘restricted because they did not have the wherewithal to respond, and because of reluctance to be seen to be taking denominational advantage of an excitement where the will of the Holy Spirit was supreme’ (pp. 231–32). Thereby missionary activity was not always successful and the author shows that it did not penetrate the industrial valley towns, but rather those areas that were largely Anglophone. These issues could perhaps have been given further consideration. The difficulties faced by the small group of missionary Friends as they attempted to proselytise in these areas, particularly among Welsh-speakers, is certainly in sharp contrast to other nonconformist groups who were achieving success in the industrial and more densely populated regions of Wales. And yet, Evans is alive to the intensity of the revival movement and what it meant for the Welsh more generally.

The study examines the way Welsh Friends (or Friends in Wales, as many were not Welsh by birth) conducted their affairs and negotiated the thorny issues of disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Wales and the reform to the provision of education as outlined in the 1902 Education Act. The study also centres on three prominent Friends in the period under study and the internal divisions in the Society. These ‘quiet’ contributors, as Evans refers to them, who sought ‘no publicity

or recognition' are key to a large part of the story of modern Welsh Quakerism (p. 233). The three men were Henry Tobit Evans, the spectacularly named Hercules Davies Phillips, and John Edward Southall, a Worcestershire Friend, who not only learned Welsh but championed its cause. Moreover, the author offers some interesting insights into how changing circumstances compromised their long-held beliefs. For example, he analyses how Henry Evans 'proved to be a prominent supporter of the war [World War One] and the imperial cause' (p. 85), and how these men (and their co-religionists) tried to hold back the tide of secularism. The work of the Home Mission in Wales is fully discussed, and the decline in religious fervour is subtly depicted. And finally, in the last section of the book Gethin Evans incorporates the phrase '*yma o hyd*' (here always/forever). I fully agree with his conclusions in this section, as well as the assessment of Welsh Quakerism by historian H.G. Jones over seventy years earlier that:

In character and content, the Quakers in Wales were English rather than Welsh... When the nineteenth century dawned, the Quakers yet stayed in some pockets in Wales—as snow in the shadow of the wall.

(Mewn ffurf a chynnwys, Seisnig yn hytrach na Chymrieg oedd y Crynwyr yng Nghymru... Pan wawriodd y Bedwaredd Ganrif ar Bymtheg, arhosai'r Crynwyr eto mewn ambell lecyn yng Nghymru—megis eira yng nghysgod clawdd. [p. 329]).

Yma o hyd is thereby not a tribute to the Dafydd Iwan Welsh-language song, but it is a fitting comment on how the Friends coped with the prevailing issues of modern Welsh society and provided a lasting legacy.

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COOKSEY, P., *Joseph Wood 1750–1821: A Yorkshire Quaker—Introduction to his Life, Ministry and Writings* (York: Quacks Books, 2010), pp. iv + 112. Illus. ISBN 9781904446279. Paperback, £10. With CD: *The Large and Small Notebooks of Joseph Wood*. Transcribed by Pamela Cooksey. Volumes 1–5. High Flatts Quaker Meeting, 2011. £95.

Transcribing the notebooks of Joseph Wood was no small undertaking, and Pamela Cooksey is to be warmly congratulated for her stamina as well as for the result of her labours—an enormous contribution to Quaker studies in every way. In 40 large notebooks and 63 small ones, Joseph Wood compiled a treasure-trove for future generations. In *Joseph Wood 1750–1821*, the introductory book accompanying her transcription of the notebooks, Cooksey supplies—and with generous illustrations—the contexts necessary for our understanding of Wood's archive. As well as biographical information about Wood's life, his background, work, social milieu, travels and ministry, she gives a description of the larger archive of Wood's papers and of the notebooks themselves. It is to be hoped that everyone accessing the transcriptions electronically, whether on CD or via the Woodbrooke website, will take time to

familiarise themselves with this introductory volume so as fully to appreciate the notebooks' origins and their vast potential as a newly available research resource.

Joseph Wood was born near Penistone in Yorkshire into a family of farmers and clothiers. His grandfather, Abraham Wood, was the first family member to become a Quaker; his son, Joseph's father Samuel, was among those imprisoned for failure to pay church tithes. Like his father, Joseph was apprenticed as a clothier and he eventually inherited the tenancy of his father's farm at Newhouse. Boarding at a small Quaker school at High Flatts nearby gave the young Joseph both a basic education and an established circle of lifelong friends, with whom he stayed on his subsequent travels. At the age of seventeen he dedicated his life to ministry, leaving his work as a weaver and beginning the journeys which took him through many northern and midlands counties and, occasionally, beyond. His continued engagement with the business of farming and of buying and selling cloth is only tangentially mentioned in his notebooks; but it seems likely that he used his travels to conduct his own business as well as to visit Friends and hold meetings. Cooksey points to his interest in finding suitable situations in Quaker businesses for Friends he met in his travels. That he was an attractive and sociable figure seems likely. He made friends among 'strangers' as well as Quakers, and recorded his meeting and enjoying time spent with, for example, local Anglican clergy and Methodist ministers.

Joseph Wood's gifts in ministry were early recognised by the prominent York Quaker, Esther Tuke. It seems that he learnt from her some of the practicalities of arranging, publicising and holding public meetings. A powerful preacher, he was also a prolific writer as these notebooks testify. His memoranda, copies of letters and of other papers received (such as newspaper articles, poetry and printed Quaker material) indicate both his range of reading and his constant engagement with wider Quaker networks, maintained through manuscript and print as well as through his personal visits. The material gathered in the notebooks—accounts of journeys, public meetings, Quaker business meetings, readings of Queries and Epistles, providential events, testimonies and day-to-day encounters—constitutes a record not only of his Quaker ministry and of Quaker practice but also of the minutiae of daily life in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Historians of many aspects of social and economic life, therefore, as well as students of Quaker history, will find them immensely rewarding. There is indeed much here about Wood's spiritual life, his ministry, his travels and the corporate life of the Society of Friends; but so many other aspects of life are recorded here, often incidentally but in engaging detail, that the Wood archive will quickly become a well-known resource. Historians of travel, for example, will find much material on distances covered, inns and accommodation, food and drink, all of which Wood records meticulously, noting prices paid as well as the details of his entertainment. Local information about meetings, places and people is here in abundance, with lists of innkeepers and pubs visited, for example. Subscription lists are recorded, giving not only names of donors but also the amounts given. Paper historians, too, will be drawn to the generous selection of images provided by Pamela Cooksey of the notebooks' covers: Wood used a colourful variety of marbled and decorative wallpapers to protect his manuscripts, and occasionally decorated them himself with pen and ink drawings.

Making this material accessible in electronic form—and thereby easily searchable—is a brilliantly generous move. Hard copy volumes of transcriptions are lodged with Friends House and at the Brotherton Library, Leeds (where the Wood archive is now housed) and the CD is simple to use; but the additional and universal ease of access achieved by mounting the transcriptions on the website of the Quaker Studies Resource Centre (<http://www.woodbrooke.org.uk/pages/notebooks.html>) will ensure that this resource attracts the wider attention it deserves, encouraging a range of researchers to mine Wood's writing for projects as yet unimagined. The nature of the transcription, intended as a faithful reproduction of Wood's original text, is clearly described at the beginning of each of the volumes, and the inevitability of some errors in such a vast amount of writing is frankly acknowledged. Confidence in the p. ii claim of every volume that 'Spelling, punctuation, the use of capital letters and written style are unaltered' is somewhat undermined, however, by the error rate in the short transcriptions supplied in Cooksey's book beneath page images of Wood's texts. On p. 21, for example, the transcription appearing beneath a page of Wood's notes on 'Places & Servants wanted' silently expands ampersands, ignores superscript, omits some punctuation (five full stops and one comma), renders 'Bridlinton' and 'Tootal' in the original as 'Bridlington' and 'Toothill', and omits the word 'School' after 'Wanted at Ackworth'. Similarly, on p. 27 'Wedensday' in the original appears as 'Wednesday' in the transcription. These are minor discrepancies as far as most readers are concerned and do not affect the sense; but it is to be hoped that the transcriptions of the notebooks have been more carefully checked if the corpus of Wood's writing is to be used as a research resource for historians of the language. Contents lists and indexes are provided individually for each notebook, and thus a little laborious to use, so family and local historians in particular, who will be searching for individual names and places, will welcome the publication of a cumulated index: *Joseph Wood (1750–1821): A Yorkshire Quaker—People and Places noted in the Large and Small Notebooks 1773–1821* (Falkirk and Huddersfield: Riley Dunn & Wilson, 2012).

Adequately to describe the cornucopia of Wood's notebooks is impossible here, but one small example of their potential will perhaps tempt readers of *Quaker Studies* to explore them further in pursuit of their own particular quarry. As a book historian, I was keen to track down the evidence here for the uses of print, of reading practices and of the distribution and circulation of books by and amongst Quakers. A quick search, for example, on the one word 'print' alone yields a fascinating variety of contexts. These include Claude Gay's account (from his journey to the Channel Islands and France in 1776) of arranging the printing of his address to the people of Guernsey in French; a set of verses to the memory of Joseph Brown by his admirer Montgomery, a Sheffield printer whose imprisonment in York Castle for seditious libel during the 1790s coincided with Brown's incarceration there; and a list of subscribers in response to a printed appeal for the relief of prisoners in France in 1811. Valuable information about print runs and costs can be glimpsed: Wood's copy of Gay's narrative, for example, includes the information that

I [Gay] had been at the Printers to desire him to print me as many copies of that call to the people as he could for one Guinea, but he not being at home, his men printed me fifteen hundred.—And our friend M:W. having with me translated it into English, he had two Thousand of them printed at his own charge, for the same money, afterwards I had two Thousand more printed in French for one Guinea, some of them were sent to the two Islands where I had been, some were were [sic] reserved for Jersey, wherein is no Printer, but the greatest number were dispersed in Guernsey (*Large Notebook* 3, I, p. 10).

Printing and publishing might also fuel dissent within Quaker meetings. ‘The Testimony of Friends of Nailsworth Monthly Meeting in Gloucestershire against Daniel Roberts’ (1811), copied by Wood into his notebook, records disapproval of Roberts’s enthusiasm for ‘certain visionary and absurd notions of one Joanna Southcott’. The rift was exacerbated when Roberts ‘unwarrantably printed and published an account of some of our proceedings; in which he has inserted divers misrepresentations, and liberal reflections on our motives and conduct; which had uniformly been those of love, and a regard for his good’ (*Large Notebook* 29, II, p. 3). In 1773 Wood records the Welsh Yearly Meeting’s concern for distributing ‘a great number of Books printed in the Welsh language’ and he records that ‘it was likewise ordered to print a considerable number of other friends Books in the Welsh language’ (*Small Notebook* 4, III, pp. 3–4). The everyday engagement of Quakers with printed texts is a constant thread, from commissioning the printing of handbills, pamphlets and epistles to the reading of printed matter sent by other meetings and from London. In 1792, for example, ‘An Epistle from Esther Tuke was read, addressed to this Meeting, and upon solid consideration thereof, a sufficient number for every family one was ordered to be printed’ (*Small Notebook* 22, III, p. 21). On one occasion Wood’s personal encounter with a notable old book is recorded: ‘I read in a Bible supposed to be the first edition of the Scriptures printed in England in the year 1562, before they were divided into verses’ (*Small Notebook* 50, V, p. 10).

Until now Joseph Wood has been little known, hidden in the past he so voluminously documented. For putting Wood’s notebooks on the scholarly map, and in particular for making freely available her transcription, Pamela Cooksey deserves the thanks of researchers of many kinds, present and future. Begin your own exploration by visiting <http://www.woodbrooke.org.uk/pages/notebooks.html>.

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HARLOW, J. (ed.), *The Ledger of Thomas Speed, 1681–1690* (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 2011), pp. lii + 553. ISBN 9780901538321. Hardback, £15. Includes DVD with complete images of original manuscript.

The late seventeenth century was a crucial period for the development of British overseas trade. At the time, Bristol was England’s third largest port, and Thomas Speed one of the city’s leading merchants. His ledger of the 1690s is the only such

extant document of a Bristol merchant in this period, which Bristol Record Society has reproduced with an introduction from editor, Jonathan Harlow. This makes it an exciting source for research on trade, institutions, merchant networks and Quakerism.

Almost twenty years ago, Avner Greif's work on the role of the Maghrebis in the commercial revolution of the medieval Mediterranean triggered new interest in explaining what exactly enabled some religious minorities to prosper in trade.¹ Moreover, since Simon Dixon's work on the integration of Quakers into the London parishes, a trend of revisionist historical research on the position of Quakers within English society has been gathering momentum, changing our understanding of the community in the early modern period.² *The Ledger of Thomas Speed* is a valuable source which enables us to push research further: How did Friends interact with others? How exactly did they organise their trade? What was it that enabled Quakers to become so dominant in the early modern Atlantic?

The 500-page ledger includes roughly 2000 accounts from the period December 1681 to September 1690, which are reproduced by the editor both in print and as images on the accompanying DVD, allowing readers to view them in their original format. Individual accounts are clearly separated from each other through ruled headings, stating the years in which they were opened. Accounts include columns stating months and days of entry, debit, pounds (£), shillings (s), and pence (d). Debit entries are found on the left-hand side, and credit entries on the right. The ledger therefore conforms to standard seventeenth-century practice for sole traders. Very few pages of the original document appear to have been lost.

Jonathan Harlow completed a PhD thesis on Thomas Speed in 2008 and the publication of the ledger is a spin-off from that work. He is clearly an expert on Speed and his world, and his introduction to the ledger reflects this broad knowledge. He supplies a synopsis of Speed's life and the development of his business, introducing those of his associates and relatives who most frequently appeared in the ledger. An overview of Bristol's trade in the period is included, as is a clear and understandable introduction to contemporary accounting and how this differs from modern-day practices. Harlow evaluates how careful Speed was in his book-keeping—or rather was not, concluding convincingly that many accounts must have been posted long after the transactions had taken place. He adds some interpretations of inaccuracies and inexplicable entries, which are clearly marked as conjectures, and may point the reader to avenues for research.

Speed was a prosperous merchant, but the ledger, as was custom in this period, was not used to calculate profit or gain. Instead it served to keep track of his obligations. It therefore provides ample evidence of Speed's business practices. In the 1690s, he traded predominantly with the Iberian Peninsula, exporting stockings and importing wine. In this, his business was representative of Bristol's trade. The ledger

1. Greif, A., *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy: Lessons from Medieval Trade*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

2. Dixon, S., 'Quakers and the London Parish, 1670–1720', *London Journal* 32/3 (2007), pp. 229–49.

reveals how Speed carried accounts in arrears for decades without pursuing the debtor through the courts. This suggests that Speed preferred not to resort to lawsuits in commercial dealings, again in line with late seventeenth-century attitudes towards litigation. In addition to trading, Speed provided loans, without demanding significant interest. Harlow interprets this as indication of a social responsibility that Speed was fulfilling as an established member of Bristol merchant society. This was, however, not unusual practice for early modern business people, reflecting the dense web of credit within which they moved. As the period knew no clear distinctions between the commercial and the private, the ledger also includes household expenses. It therefore provides a very rounded picture of Speed as a business and family man, making it a rich source for both social and business historians.

Finally, the ledger gives ample evidence of the constitution of Speed's commercial network. Within the first 20 pages I tallied the names of 185 contacts, among them 15 women (pp. 2–21). Speed counted Quakers and non-Quakers among his close relatives. His business associates included Friends and other dissenters, but also Anglicans, Whigs and Tories. Interestingly, and contrary to what one would conventionally expect, Harlow argues that Quakers 'do not seem to have figured any more prominently in his business dealings than their presence in the city would warrant' (p. xxxviii). Indeed, his major business contacts in the city were not Quakers.

Harlow has provided us with an exciting source for exploring early modern business, trade networks and Quakerism. *The Ledger of Thomas Speed* certainly enriches historical research.

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Andrew Newman, *On Records: Delaware Indians, Colonists, and the Media of History and Memory* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), pp. xiii + 308. ISBN 9780803239869. Hardback, \$45.00.

Newman's highly original, complex and specialist-oriented *On Records: Delaware Indians, Colonists, and the Media of History and Memory* is an analysis of how four particular traditions in the colonist–Amerindian encounter have been understood through generations, and how the meaning of those traditions has been debated by scholars and interested parties.

The focus of Newman's book is the Lenape, also known as 'Delaware Indians'. The Delaware are particularly important in Quaker studies because they were the original owners of the land that would become Pennsylvania. However, Newman's tack is not to rehearse the history of the Delaware and their interactions with Europeans. Rather, he examines the relationship between records (the documents that record facts and events) and representations (depictions, portrayals). While historical records are usually considered objective and neutral at the time of

recording, they often become seen as imprecise and subjective representations of the recorded events. Over time, historical records might lose their connection to the original meaning those records were intended to document, and so interested parties can claim a particular interpretation of the record to be unreliable. These records need not be in written form, and, in fact, part of Newman's goal is to examine historical records in the form of oral tradition and art.

If the reader is looking for a history of the Delaware, this is not the book. Because Newman's focus is on the legacy of records, their meanings and memory, much of his analysis centres on how the participants had alternative conceptions of what those events meant, and how later scholars interpreted the events. As a result, there are sustained portions of Newman's book that read like an extended literature survey, recapping how authors have evaluated a particular historical event and how generations of authors have attributed meanings to these records in ways that often said more about the political climate of their own day than about the events as they unfolded. Newman skilfully traces these interpretations and traditions of meaning into the later debates that featured them, but the reader should note that considerable chunks of the book concern scholars who have debated about how to interpret the Delaware, rather than the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Delaware themselves. This is by design, as Newman notes: 'as a study of communications between cultures and across generations, this book taps into the multidisciplinary fields devoted to the concepts of collective memory and language ideology' (p. 7). The interactions between 'memory communities'—like the Delaware and their descendants, colonists and their descendants, and scholars in several fields—were defined not only by their collective memories but also by the ways those memories were transmitted and shared through media (i.e. spoken and written word, images, relics, monuments).

Newman applied this methodology to four instances in the Delaware–European encounter: (1) the question of Delaware origins, and its implications; (2) the tradition of the bullock's hide; (3) Benjamin West's painting, *Penn's Treaty*; and, (4) the 1737 Walking Purchase. These four examples comprise the four main chapters of Newman's book and will be presented, here, in that order.

In Chapter 1, Newman shows that the tradition of Delaware origins became a part of the nineteenth-century American political justification for Indian removal. Newman notes that Amerindian origin traditions were pertinent to Amerindian claims to the land, and so to the desire of the American government to remove them. In a narrative called the *Walam Olum*, Delaware Indians were said to have come to America from a distant country, and carried on a war of conquest to take land from others. This origination story was modified and republished in the nineteenth century. The origination tradition allowed those interested in removal to view the Delaware claim as based on conquest, which could then be superseded by another conquest.

The thrust of Newman's analysis concerns the way the document was used and the life it had among Euro-Americans rather than its historicity. Newman shows how the document's proponents neglected to question its veracity because the *Walam Olum* was believed to be a national treasure and an important prize of

American antiquity. Thus, the dubious elements of the document were downplayed. Newman shows that from the early nineteenth century through the mid-twentieth century scholarly analyses of the *Walam Olum* were given too much weight by Euro-American scholars, 'a great burden or representativeness', who read into the fraudulent document a litany of meanings that said more about the needs of Euro-American concerns than it ever could have about the Delaware people it was said to describe (p. 51).

Newman's second chapter addresses the Delaware oral tradition of the arrival of the first European colonists to New York: the Dutch. This tradition includes a tale of land acquisition in which the Dutch asked the Delaware for a plot of land the size of a cow's hide. However, when the cow's hide was produced the Dutch colonists cut the hide into thin strips and claimed as much land as the material encircled, enough land to establish a fort (p. 55). This tradition is striking because it is so similar to the ancient story of Dido, the Phoenician Queen, who founded the colony of Carthage by the same method. Newman notes that oral traditions are less attributable and less stable in content, and less independently verifiable. Yet, he also argues that documentary, historical records, favoured by Europeans, are often patchy, easily distorted, or even simply dishonest. In light of this, Newman argues, 'it seems mistaken to ignore whatever oral traditions may retain of opposing perspectives on events' (p. 58).

Newman goes to considerable length evaluating the ways European scholars have interpreted the appearance of the Dido motif among the Delaware. Newman ends his discussion of the tradition with salient points about the nature of oral tradition and its historicity: He argues that the question of the historicity of the Delaware tradition is important because it raises the possibility that 'oral traditions can furnish information not only about the subjective experiences of the peoples who share them, but also about the actors and actions they depict' (p. 92). That the tradition is not documented in the colonial records might make the oral tradition all the more valuable, because it would tell us something that the colonists did not. Oral tradition, later recorded by ethnographers, can thus be seen as telling something about the actual events of the earliest European–Amerindian encounters. The work of scholars engaged in memory studies can then show how those events have taken on larger meaning, and relate additional information about the nature of the European–Amerindian relationship (p. 93).

The third chapter of Newman's tome deals with Benjamin West's depiction of William Penn's 'great treaty' with Delaware leaders under an elm tree in 1682. Outside the oral tradition among Delaware and Quaker colonists, there is no evidence that the event occurred as depicted in West's 1771–72 painting. Newman notes that the painting has received considerable criticism for its anachronisms and inaccuracies that reflect its late eighteenth-century production rather than supposed events in the seventeenth century.

Newman argues that West's painting demonstrates a 'dynamic' and fluid relationship between present needs and past realities. In this fluid understanding of the painting, it is both an allegory of colonial America, and a signifier of colonial history and the Penn family legacy (p. 103). A dynamic interpretation would view the

painting as an important stage in the history of the oral tradition of Penn's dealings with the Delaware, 'in which the memory of the first treaty meeting, or meetings, between Penn and the Indians was shaped by present concerns and repackaged for popular consumption' (p. 104).

In Chapter 4, Newman addresses the infamous 1737 Walking Purchase in which Penn family representatives produced a deed from 1686 that claimed Delaware leaders had agreed to sell as much land as a person could walk in a day. Almost twenty years after the event, Delaware leader Teedyuscung cited the Walking Purchase as the root cause of the hostilities then occurring in Pennsylvania between the Delaware and the colonists. The Quaker Party in the Pennsylvania Assembly agreed with the Delaware, while the Proprietary political faction and the Iroquois asserted the legitimacy of their 1737 actions based on a dubious record of a 1686 land transaction.

The memories of the 1686 meeting from which the deed was to have originated were very different. The Delaware argued that the treaty would not have covered the Delaware River forks area because such an event would have been publicised to all Delaware implicated in the sale, which did not happen. Newman notes that a key issue in the 1756 debate over the Walking Purchase, and the debate about whether or not good faith was practiced, concerned how memory of the original event was maintained. The British believed that a written deed was a static and objective record, and that once signed by Delaware leaders it held higher authority than oral and symbolic representations of the meaning of the events. However, written records have shortcomings, too, and are limited in what they can portray. A written deed could never define precisely the exact meaning that was agreed to, and so the deed presented to the Delaware was interpreted in the most advantageous way by the literate British.

In conclusion, Newman notes that 'memory studies' have experienced a recent boom in popularity, but has remained largely Europeanist, and is focused on events of the past 80 years, such as the Holocaust. Newman contends that there is good reason for memory studies intersecting with Native American Studies. Recent attention to Amerindian tradition and the role of memory in Amerindian studies has developed outside of the memory studies specialisation (p. 187), and Newman's book addresses this gap in scholarship. For scholars of eighteenth-century colonial Quakerism, Newman's book illustrates how the meanings of the records examined by European-American scholars carry with them the particular memories of the originating event or tradition that might vary from that of other groups. Moreover, Newman's work helps scholars view records and traditions as dynamic sources with changing meanings and multiple uses, and these fluid interpretations can reveal important information about the concerns of their day.

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AUMAN, W.T., *Civil War in the North Carolina Quaker Belt: The Confederate Campaign against Peace Agitators, Deserters and Draft Dodgers* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2014), pp. vii + 267. ISBN 9780786477633. Paperback, \$39.95. www.mcfarlandpub.com, 800-253-2187.

Do not let the main title of *Civil War in the North Carolina Quaker Belt* mislead you. Quakers play only a tertiary role in the dramatic stories this book tells. The author's intent is not to study North Carolina's Quaker community during the Civil War. He makes no use of Yearly, Quarterly, or Monthly Meeting minutes to assess actions or positions of the Religious Society of Friends. His extensive bibliography lists only three primary sources from Quaker authors: a general reference to Guilford College's Quaker Collection; a pamphlet entitled *An Account of the Sufferings of Friends of North Carolina Yearly Meeting in Support of their Testimony Against War from 1861–1865*; and the *Memorial of John Carter*, from the Minutes of Cottonwood Quarterly Meeting, Cottonwood, Kansas. John Carter, superintendent of the New Garden Boarding School and a man active in the Underground Railroad, is one of only a small number of Quakers mentioned by name in the monograph. Rather than being a focus of the book, Quakers provide the historical context. Auman identifies fifteen counties in North Carolina's piedmont as the centre of dissent against the secession. From the fact that settlements of anti-slavery and pacifistic Quakers and Moravians and abolitionist Wesleyans concentrated in this region, making the Quaker Belt 'culturally unique in the antebellum South' (p. 7), Auman infers that the Quakers helped infuse the region with anti-slavery sentiment and produce a supportive environment for those who dissented from Confederate policy, the peace agitators, deserters, and draft dodgers of the subtitle. Of greater centrality to Auman's narrative than Quakers, however, are the 'diehard anti-secessionist Whigs' who 'composed a majority of the populace of the Quaker Belt' (p. 7).

The term *Civil War* in the book's title refers not to the armed conflict between the Union and the Confederacy but to North Carolina's inner civil war, a violent contest between the state of North Carolina and its own dissenting citizens. The work relates essentially three stories: the story of the deserters and draft dodgers; the story of the peace movement; and the story of the government's campaign to suppress the dissenters.

Confederate Army deserters and draft dodgers in the North Carolina Quaker Belt were numerous and acted in concert with each other, forming armed bands and even a secret pro-Union organisation called the Heroes of America. They eluded capture by hiding out in woods, hills, and caves, through a system of signals and communications from family members and other sympathisers, and by intimidation and reprisals against anyone who aided the authorities in hunting them. Auman explains the motivation of these deserters and draft dodgers as a mixture of 'persistent Unionism, lingering Whiggery, rampant inflation, poverty, hunger, opposition to the conscription laws, class antagonisms, persistent inter-South sectionalism, states' rights ideology, fear of a central military despotism in Richmond, and defeatism' (pp. 5–6).

In chapters alternating with those giving an account of the deserters and draft dodgers, Auman examines the peace movement, which he views as the handiwork of former leaders of North Carolina's pro-Union, anti-secessionist Whig Party. The author presents a well-reasoned thesis supported by careful documentation that these leaders were not followers of President Lincoln, but rather that they endorsed the policy of the Copperheads, a faction of Northern Democrats who opposed war measures and wanted to negotiate peace premised on a guarantee of no interference with slavery in the South. These North Carolinians sought to persuade the seceded states to abandon the Confederacy, which they believed was doomed to defeat, and return to the Union with the condition that slavery would be preserved in the slave states. Ironically, leaders of the peace movement in the anti-slavery Quaker Belt saw a return to the Union as a means of preserving slavery while considering a stubborn insistence on fighting for the independence of the Confederacy to the last soldier to be a sure way of destroying slavery and introducing racial chaos.

The heart of *Civil War in the North Carolina Quaker Belt* is the account of seven military campaigns to capture and discipline deserters and draft dodgers, each campaign increasingly repressive of civil rights. Early on, North Carolina's military and law-enforcement authorities began seizing livestock and agricultural equipment vital to the livelihoods of the families of deserters and draft dodgers in order to persuade the renegades to surrender themselves, but later engaged in incarcerating and even torturing those family members. Auman finds North Carolina's inner civil war particularly vicious and brutal.

Confederate and state troops often engaged in illegal acts such as torture, rape, woman and child abuse, stealing, pillaging, house demolition, and other atrocities directed toward the dissident population. Both deserter gangs and the Confederate and state troops routinely committed criminal acts, the deserters mostly out of necessity, the troops typically out of malice (p. 203).

By assuming unconstitutional powers of suspending *habeas corpus* and imposing martial law, Governor Zeb Vance, Auman judges, bore responsibility for extensive violations of civil rights.

The late William Auman based this study, an expansion of his masters and doctoral work, on exhaustive research in relevant sources ranging from official archives to dozens of private papers collections. By investigating the region that held the largest concentration of dissent within the Confederacy, he underscores the pluralism of mid-nineteenth-century Southern society and makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of what historian Carl N. Degler called 'the other South'.³

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3. Degler, C.N., *The Other South: Southern Dissenters in the Nineteenth Century*, New York: Harper & Row, 1974.

SNOW, H.J., *William Wordsworth and the Theology of Poverty* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. viii + 150. ISBN 97814094659111. Hardback, £60 (excl. VAT).

Students of the poet William Wordsworth will find in this volume a thorough survey of the intellectual milieu and social provisions of his day in respect of the poor and of population theory. It is scrupulously researched and closely referenced at a level and in a manner befitting a doctoral thesis. It contrasts the means of relief offered by statutory agency in the form of the established Church and by voluntary initiative by the Quakers. The interpretative principle with regard to the variety of obligation and disposition is the distinction between identifying the poor as a group and identifying *with* the poor as individuals.

Its title and range notwithstanding, this book is a rich source for students of Quaker attitudes and actions in respect of the poor at the close of the eighteenth century.

While the poet William Wordsworth was having to borrow money from his friend Coleridge, his sister Dorothy records in her diary several encounters with struggling vagrants and mothers with hungry children, both in the countryside and at the door of the house. Though not comparable in magnitude, the economic condition of the Wordsworth household was enough to enable Dorothy to identify with the poor and to spare them attitudes of blame and disapproval.

Contemporary provisions for the poor relied heavily upon secular patrons and the endeavours of the Anglican clergy who were there and then predominantly Evangelical. In her review of an albeit small sample of their sermons, the author discovers an undue emphasis upon the duties and appropriate attitudes of the poor to the rich rather than the obligations of the comfortable classes. The attribution of poverty to idleness and the prescription of the workhouse may well have been prevalent in the sermons the author cites but it hardly constitutes what she frequently characterizes as 'orthodox theology'.

An extensive essay at the heart of the volume juxtaposes the local evidence of the Quaker response. Wordsworth was schooled in Hawkshead with Colthouse Meeting just across the field. In the English Lake District, '1652 country', Quakers were numerous, and poverty, vagrancy and begging were pervasive. Heidi Snow supposes that Wordsworth would have witnessed from the Colthouse Meeting a response to the poor that they would not have enjoyed from Methodist, evangelical and Anglican ministries. A significant difference was the legal obligation of the established Church to provide for the poor born within each of its parishes, while Friends had the option—though not the inclination—to decline support for the poor among them. The voluntary response of Friends' meetings is expressed in the spirit of compassion, identity and dignity, in the eschewing of judgment and in the recognition of the inner light in all persons. This draws from the leadings of *inter alia* George Fox, James Naylor and Margaret Fell. With these dispositions there is the recognition of the extent to which social, economic and medical conditions bear upon impoverishment. Snow stresses that after Fox the assumption of blame and fault was not the Quakerly disposition and that the poor were to be embraced as part of

the human family. Marks of servility such as the doffing of men's hats were not practised. And in contrast to the parish system she notes in the neighbourhood of Colthouse several examples of practical and personal relief including the repair of a woman's cottage, the provision of a gown and the payment of funeral expenses.

Such a generous response would have been conspicuous and, we are assured, would have been noticed by Wordsworth. But the account stops short of establishing the direct influence of Quaker ideas upon those of the poet. He was surrounded by Friends but we do not know that he ever entered Colthouse Meeting. His friend Thomas Clarkson wrote with high regard for Quakerism and his crusade against slavery was shared by Dorothy and William, though Clarkson was not himself a Quaker. Indeed, we have to ask whether the writing of poetry had the effect of distancing and even desensitizing the author from his subject matter. There is no lapse of reverence for the poor but nor is there the impulse to relieve their condition.

The thesis is that Wordsworth rejects Anglican views and provisions for the poor and gravitates toward Methodist and Quaker views. However, the concern to align Wordsworth with one denominational orientation and the rejection of another relegates a more serious problem which is raised in Chapter 3 but does not survive. It is the possibility that the poet indulges an aesthetic awareness in place of a more radical response to suffering. Perhaps he runs with Quaker theorizing about human dignity but not with the social action that distinguished their presence. It is arguable that the writing of poetry has the capacity to desensitize moral awareness and in Wordsworth it may have this effect. The old Cumberland beggar, whom Wordsworth has known from his youth, appears as an inevitable and even endearing image of the local landscape. And the leech-gatherer, an old man obliged to wander from one pond to another in 'employment hazardous and wearisome' abides in the poet's mind in the same way as the song of the solitary reaper or the famous field of daffodils: 'I'll think of the leech-gatherer on the lonely moor'. By the reported standards of Colthouse Meeting, this is not proactive.

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