

BOOK REVIEWS

H.J. Dufour Woolfley, *A Quaker Goes to Spain: The Diplomatic Mission of Anthony Morris, 1813–1816* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2013), pp. xv + 197. ISBN: 978-1-661146-136-7. Hardback \$70/£44.95.

H.L. Dufour Woolfley is a retired US diplomat with decades of service in Western Europe, a legal background, and a keen historical interest. While pursuing another project, he encountered the Morris family. As he learned more about Anthony Morris, he was drawn to his story, and this book is the result.

Anthony Morris (1766–1860) is not a major figure in Quaker history. Indeed, for two-thirds of his life he was not a member of the Society of Friends. A birthright Friend from Philadelphia, his Quaker ties steadily eroded over the course of his life. The Morrises were part of the Philadelphia Quaker mercantile elite, but his father, Samuel Morris, was one of the Quaker supporters of the American Revolution who formed the Free Quakers. Anthony retained his membership with the larger body of Friends, and in 1790 married Mary Smith Pemberton, the daughter of an even more prominent Quaker family. Anthony, an attorney, went into politics, was elected to the Pennsylvania Senate, and in 1793, at the age of only twenty-seven, was elected its speaker. A year later, that position brought him into conflict with Friends. The legislature passed an act calling out the militia to put down the Whiskey Rebellion. As speaker, Morris did not vote on it, but was required to sign the bill to certify its approval. Philadelphia Friends considered that a violation of the Peace Testimony, and disowned Morris. Although he for a while held to some Quaker peculiarities, like the plain language, he never regained his membership, and in his fifties was baptised into the Episcopal Church, following all of his four children.

One of Anthony's Quaker contemporaries was Dolly Payne, a Friend from Virginia who became a close friend. She, of course, became the wife of future President James Madison, and, after Mary Morris's death, took a motherly interest in the Morris daughters. In 1811 she brought one to Washington for an extended stay that constituted a debut into society. And when Anthony Morris fell into financial difficulties and saw a government post as a welcome source of income, Dolly Madison served as an intermediary and advocate with her husband. In May 1812 Anthony was offered, and accepted, the position of 'informal and nonaccredited interlocutor' (pp. 5–6) to Spain.

The position Morris assumed was fraught with difficulty. By the time he sailed, the United States had begun the War of 1812 with Great Britain, so his voyage was spent dodging British ships, and he could reach Spain only through Portugal. Spain, Anthony Morris's destination, had been invaded by France in 1808, and its ruler, King Ferdinand VII, was a French prisoner. In his place, Napoleon Bonaparte had installed his brother Joseph. This led to a popular uprising, soon abetted by British forces under the command of the future Duke of Wellington. The anti-French forces formed a regency that claimed to act in Ferdinand's name, but which also set up a constitutional framework for a limited monarchy once Ferdinand was back on the throne. Morris thus came to Spain not as an ambassador or minister, since the United States did not want to alienate either the French or the regency government. His mission was to persuade the Spanish regency, allied with Great Britain against Napoleon, to remain neutral in the conflict between the British and Americans, and in particular to refuse the British permission to use the Spanish colony of Florida as a base for incursions against the United States. And when the French were expelled in 1814, the United States appointed as its minister to the Spanish court not Morris, but a career diplomat, George Erving. The Spanish, however, refused to receive Erving, since the United States had raised objections to the Spanish diplomat sent to Washington. So the unofficial Morris remained the intermediary between Spain and the United States until Erving was finally received in 1816.

Woolfley acknowledges that Anthony Morris's mission 'achieved no enduring benefit for the United States' (p. 136). In fact, having sent Morris to Spain, the US government largely ignored him. Most of the book involves details of diplomatic negotiations about how the two governments would exchange representatives. A mass of Morris family correspondence has survived in scattered repositories, giving insights into Morris's travels, his impressions of Spain, and his worries about his children.

Quaker diplomats were few in this period—Morris's neighbour Dr George Logan of Philadelphia is the only comparable figure. Historians of the early American republic will find its connection with the Madisons and its portrayal of family relations of interest. For Quaker historians, the value of this book is in its portrayal of how what was once a prominent Philadelphia Quaker family moved away from Quakerism into the Episcopal Church. Woolfley describes Anthony Morris as a 'devout, though not strict, Quaker' (p. xiv). That characterisation is debatable. Woolfley did not consult the records of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting for the Southern District, which show that when it disowned him on 5th Month 4, 1796 concerns were expressed, not just about his actions in the legislature, but 'also the expediency of his greater conformity to the simplicity of Truth in his dress and address'. And Morris was recorded as acknowledging that 'he was not united with us in some branches of our Christian Testimony, particularly that against defensive war'. When he sailed for Europe, he took with him his son James, who, after prolonged negotiations, was allowed to enter the University of Edinburgh. There he boarded with a Church of England clergyman whose daughter he married. Indeed, all of Morris's children became Episcopalians, and Anthony Morris eventually followed

them. His story is thus a variation on a story familiar to historians of nineteenth-century Quakerism.

Woolfley arranges his work chronologically in three long chapters, followed by copious endnotes. While the subject may be too specialised even for many historians of Quakerism, he tells it engagingly. This is not ground-breaking work, but is a story worth reading.

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Geoffrey Braithwaite, *Rachel Wilson and her Quaker Mission in 18th Century America* (York: Sessions Books, 2012), pp. vii + 224. ISBN: 978-1850724124. Paperback, £9.99.

The travel journal of Rachel Wilson (1720–1775) is a welcome addition to the large number of accounts written by Quaker women about their journeys to the North American colonies during the ‘Quaker Reformation’ just before the War for Independence. Geoffrey Braithwaite has edited and annotated the ‘three little notebooks’ (p. 4) she brought with her, gathering together passages about her adventures, excerpts from her letters home, and his own summaries of certain incidents along the way. By braiding together these strands, Braithwaite invites readers to hear Wilson’s voice, to marvel at her accomplishments, and to find inspiration for their own journeys. Wilson’s journey began with a stagecoach ride in 1768 that took her from her home in Kendal in the north of England, to London, and ended, after two ocean voyages and many thousands of miles on horseback, in 12th Month of 1769, when she was reunited with her husband and children.

Braithwaite supplements the chronological account with a number of additions that provide readers with historical context. For example, he comments that Rachel Wilson travelled extensively through the area in which John Woolman lived, and inserts a summary of Woolman’s life and an analysis of the colonial Quaker responses to slavery (pp. 58–62). Later in the volume he adds an excerpt from a sermon preached by Wilson in which she praised John Woolman (p. 139), and he also includes a letter written to her by Woolman during his visit to England in 1772, when he stayed at the Wilson home. Although the two never met, according to Braithwaite (pp. 104–105), they clearly had sympathy for each other’s ministries. The reader benefits from Braithwaite’s approach which adds useful information about the contexts of Wilson’s journey and liveliness to her personal accounts.

From the earliest days of her journey across the ocean until her arrival home, Rachel Wilson’s travel account is filled with expressions of praise for the ‘Divine protection’ (p. 41) that sustained her. All references to struggle, illness, injury, or other hardship were balanced by her gratitude to God. Her ‘awful thankfulness’ (p. 45) was similarly directed toward those who made her trip possible, and those who offered her hospitality during her stay. Before beginning her voyage in a farewell

letter to her husband Isaac she described her feeling for him as ‘that Love that many waters cannot quench’ (p. 19, Song 8:7). This reference reveals her devotion to him and her family, expresses her apprehension as she left them on her long ocean voyage, and testifies to her faith in God’s protecting love. When Wilson arrived she likened her reunion with a woman friend to ‘that of Mary and Elizabeth when the Babe lept in her Womb for Joy’ (p. 45). This image expressed her relief at arriving safely, her sense of Christ’s presence in her daily life, and also suggests her joy in female friendship after spending two months on a ship with only male companions.

Rachel Wilson travelled by horseback over mostly difficult terrain, visiting most of the Quaker settlements in the North American colonies. She endured extremes of weather, including rain, snow, humidity, and heat. She also faced injuries, illness, homesickness, and periods of discouragement as she kept up a rigorous pace. As her journey continued the crowds of people grew larger, and she often had to change her speaking venue to either a larger church, or to the outdoors. This was both gratifying and exhausting.

Rachel Wilson’s journal combines passages that reveal her spiritual power with accounts of her daily adventures that demanded stamina. She noted after one gathering that the ‘Divine favor extended to the truly seeking souls, the afflicted were comforted and the lukewarm stirred up to more diligence’. The next sentence begins, ‘A violent storm developed...’ and she goes on to speak of the details of the weather, how they found shelter, and what happened next (p. 137). She did not divide the parts of her life from each other, but instead perceived the presence of God in everything, even the most inwardly discouraging or outwardly challenging moments.

Along with the stories of Wilson’s participation in public events are descriptions of her private meetings with Friends who were recently bereft or seriously ill. She offered them hope in the face of suffering, and included non-Friends in her ministry of comfort. In one remarkable passage she met with a man sentenced to death for rape. After he confessed his guilt and attested to the justness of his sentence, they prayed together on their knees, and she offered him awareness of God’s mercy (p. 104).

Her family was never far from her mind as she continued on her journey, and her letters reveal her longing to hear news from home. In early winter of 1769 she wrote to Isaac Wilson in response to the news that their chronically ill son, Anthony, had died. She admitted that ‘Theres something in me yt would have Li[c]ked to have bin presnt & Bore a part upon ye occation’ (p. 79—the inserted ‘[c]’ is Braithwaite’s), but she expressed no doubt about the decision to make this journey. She was able to write a happier letter a few months later, when she learned that their daughter had given birth (p. 134).

Readers of this book will encounter not only the indomitable Rachel Wilson, but also a large number of devoted Friends who offered her hospitality and joined her for parts of her way from Virginia to Maine. Braithwaite has added a series of maps that show the routes Wilson travelled, and multiple charts that provide details about the Friends she met. All his editorial work aids readers in their quest to grasp Wilson’s accomplishment, which was Braithwaite’s original purpose. Along the way, he confesses in the introduction, his goal expanded. In his Epilogue he speaks of the

deeper purpose that emerged. For him, Rachel Wilson was no longer just an ancestor. She became a travelling companion for contemporary Friends, who, he thinks, need to benefit from her ministry just as urgently as colonial Quakers did.

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Daniel K. Richter, *Trade, Land, Power: The Struggle for Eastern North America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), pp. viii + 314. ISBN: 978-0-8122-4500-4. Hardback, £29.50.

Trade, land, and power are the essential lenses through which to examine seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Euro-settler and Amerindian intercultural relations, according to historian Daniel K. Richter. Richter's book is a collection of his independent essays, written over the course of thirty years, in which he attempts to listen anew to the desires and values of Amerindian people. Richter found that by paying attention to Amerindian voices they emerged as much more than passive victims in a narrative that was beyond their control. Instead, his research uncovered considerable agency and ingenuity. Reflecting on this body of work, Richter concludes that the common threads linking his research together were the importance and inseparability of trade, land, and power to Amerindians, and the consistent misunderstandings that arose when cultures with different views of them came into contact in the 'New' World.

Trade, Land, Power is divided into two parts, which will be described in turn. Part one, 'Native Power and European Trade', describes the centrality of exchange in the Amerindian and settler relationship. Richter contends that Euro settlers never understood the symbolic significance of trade and exchange to Amerindian leaders. To Amerindians, the accumulation of wampum (ornate, woven strands of shell beads, the more intricate of which signified greater prestige and authority) was of greater significance than the accumulation of gold and silver, because wampum symbolised relationships of exchange and authority upon which Amerindian cultures were built. In a 'prestige-goods economy' political capital was accrued by Amerindian leaders by exercising control over access to the resources that could only be obtained through external exchange relationships (p. 15). Because Euro settlers did not understand the centrality of exchange relationships, they downplayed them and rejected Amerindian efforts to explain what was needed in order to encourage fruitful coexistence (p. 5).

Richter argues that many historians have failed to recognise that well-developed trade networks existed in North America before Europeans arrived and introduced their own. Indeed, Richter contends that Amerindian and European networks then overlapped (pp. 55-58). That these networks persisted shows how important trade and exchange systems were to Amerindians. Nonetheless, the trade routes and the prestige-based leadership structures that those exchange networks supported began to

change as European-altered trade systems developed. While some scholars have viewed this change to Amerindian trade patterns as a demise, Richter suggests these changes are best understood as survival strategies, drawn from an extensive store of past experiences in developing successful systems of exchange (pp. 62–63). Richter's analysis provides a view of Amerindians as agents of change, survival, and adaptation in politics and trade. New patterns were not rejections of a past way, rather new leadership structures were rooted in and validated by traditional exchange relationships (p. 63).

In Part II of *Trade, Land, Power*, 'European Power and Native Land', Richter details the intercultural exchanges between British colonists and Amerindians that concerned divergent views of land-ownership. Quakers feature prominently in this second section, and Richter's appraisal of Quaker interactions is muted. The place of Quakers and Pennsylvania in land dealings will be the focus of my comments.

Quaker leader William Penn (1644–1718) received a royal charter from King Charles II in 1681, which would become the colony of Pennsylvania. In 1681, in advance of colonising the territory, Penn wrote a letter to local Amerindians to establish diplomatic relations. Richter acknowledges that Penn's 1681 letter to the 'Kings of the Indians' was original in that it reflected the first time that a coloniser had attempted to communicate in advance, in writing, with the indigenous people whose lands were about to be colonised. However, Richter argues that by specifically mentioning 'land' in the letter, Penn was entering into the dynamics of trade, land, and power that had determined all previous European and Amerindian relationships, and so perpetuated those same intercultural dynamics which had already been established by previous intercultural encounters (pp. 136–37). In his letter, Penn has a cordial and conciliatory tone, anticipating fair and just relations with Amerindians. Penn understood that the land he had received from British authorities was already occupied by others and that ownership would mean securing both British and Amerindian titles to the land. Richter believes that Penn was sincere when he made these peaceful overtures, but Penn was also clear to his Amerindian readers that he felt the land had been given to him by both God and the King of England and that these 'divine and civil authorities...made Pennsylvania legitimately his to enjoy' (p. 141). Regardless, Richter notes Penn's letter was striking in its emphasis on voluntary negotiations and its lack of emphasis on Amerindian submission to European powers.

However, Richter provides helpful background to Penn's approach by noting that his conciliatory tone was in keeping with changes in British imperial policies. Previously, settlers had been granted the authority to declare war on Amerindian groups if deemed necessary to maintain the boundaries of their colony, and with disastrous results. Before granting Penn his charter, British policy makers had already revoked this war-making capacity and were determined to establish a new diplomatic approach with Amerindians. '[Penn's] Quaker inclination toward pacifism was central to his vision of that new start', Richter maintains, 'but it was also very much in line with broader thinking within imperial circles' (p. 146).

These new policies aside, once land negotiations took place the misunderstandings that had characterised previous intercultural transactions emerged once again.

European and Amerindian leaders had very different understandings of land ownership and title transfer. For example, the Lenape with whom Penn and his successors negotiated did not consider that land treaties with Penn implied that they had to leave their homes on those tracts of land, or that such land grants would not have to be renewed through additional gift exchanges on a semi-regular basis. Additionally, among the decentralised Lenape, multiple groups might assert legitimate claims to payment for rights to use a particular pathway that their ancestors had shared. As a result, colonists would complain that they had to pay multiple times in order to secure title, when these payments were made to different groups all of whom shared the land in common. European understandings of ownership were so different from those of Amerindian groups that much confusion and hard feelings resulted. Penn and his fellow Pennsylvanians thought the exchanges they were engaged in were one-time, clear-cut transactions that transferred absolute ownership in perpetuity. Amerindians considered the exchanges to be symbolic of prestige-based relationships, and, so, contingent on the maintenance of that relationship by the original parties involved. However, Richter contends, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, both sides knew about these conflicting ideas of land and trade, and were creative in extracting maximum remuneration from each other (p. 158).

When, in 1754, the conflict known to Americans as the French and Indian War erupted it was emotionally charged and bloody. When Delaware Indians took up arms, they did so against specific targets with whom they had specific grievances (p. 171). Unable or unwilling to differentiate between Amerindian groups, Euro settlers returned violence in kind, but against any Amerindians they could find. Ironically, Richter argues, Quaker pacifism was in some sense responsible for the random brutality of the French and Indian War, because the absence of a military infrastructure 'forced western settlers to devise their own cruder, ad hoc, means of striking back' (p. 172). Yet, to blame the random tenor of the violence on the absence of a pre-existing Pennsylvania militia is questionable. If the grievances that sparked the French and Indian War were the result of governmental policies, how can we assume that the militarised enforcement of those same policies would have been any more compassionate? Moreover, Richter misses some of the diversity of opinions among Quakers. He contends that the resignation of some Quakers from public office in 1755 allowed the Pennsylvania Assembly to pass a resolution raising a militia for war purposes. In fact, Quakers were divided on the issue and those few Quakers that resigned from public office did so because they could not stop the bill even if they stayed in office—their resignation was not what enabled the bill to pass.

However, Richter is persuasive that the failure of Europeans to recognise the importance of exchange relationships and prestige-based gifts in Amerindian leadership structures bears considerable blame for the violence that was recurrent in the eighteenth century. Without the gift-giving and maintenance of exchange relationships, Amerindian leaders lost the power to restrain their warriors from seeking justice on their own. The British, by contrast, viewed such gift-giving as bribery and prohibited the practice. Moreover, complications in Amerindian-Euro relationships continued as British authorities had little actual control over what

individual settlers did and where they homesteaded. British soldiers would occasionally burn the cabins of settlers who moved illegally onto Amerindian land, but even this was not a permanent deterrent to squatters (p. 185).

Thus, Richter argues that intercultural optimism for enforcing agreed upon boundaries and policing a just trade was a fantasy, especially since two very different conceptions of justice were at play (pp. 190-91). The growing conflicts between British colonists and British politicians in London during the second half of the eighteenth century only made things worse. Taxes imposed on colonists were conflated with the monarchy's policies for dealings with Amerindians, all of which combined to give colonists the feeling that London could not be trusted and that British policies were conspiring to hinder colonist's livelihood (pp. 198, 201).

In the New Republic, dealings with Amerindians took a turn for the worse as a conquest policy developed, justified by widely shared conceptions of Amerindians as 'savages'. While Quakers did not often excuse conquest policies, they did accept the caricatures and feed into the justification for conquest by not recognising how developed Amerindian culture and economics already were. Instead, Quakers at the turn of the nineteenth century, for philanthropic reasons, sought to convince Amerindians to model their political and economic structures after European ones. This perspective was in line with popular opinion and dismissed the successful political and economic patterns already practiced among Amerindians (pp. 233-35). Richter contends that when seemingly well-meaning folks like the Quakers could not understand Amerindian culture one sees 'just how bleak the future was for Indians in a White man's republic' (p. 250). Richter's sober assessment of Quaker-Amerindian intercultural endeavours is a helpful corrective to scholarship that has lionised Penn and his successors.

In short, *Trade, Land, Power* is persuasive that key to the European and Amerindian intercultural encounter were very different understandings of exchange relationships and land ownership. The depiction Richter leaves is that the encounter never could have worked out well for both sides; it was destined to be acrimonious and deadly. Richter used as his objects of study the Dutch, French and British, as well as Huron, Iroquois, Delaware, Seneca and Cherokee among others. As a result, Richter's study is broad and wide-ranging, yet focused and coherent. It does read more like a collection of related essays than a monograph, but Richter weaves the chapters together well with introductory and concluding remarks. Historians of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century North America and scholars of colonial North American Quakerism will find in Richter's book a helpful counterbalance to the Eurocentric perspectives on the intercultural relationships that took place in the colonies, as well as a more nuanced view of the ways Amerindians successfully developed market-based economics while maintaining traditional structures of symbolic meaning.

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Rachel Muers, *Testimony: Quakerism and Theological Ethics* (London: SCM Press, 2015). ISBN: 978-0-334-04668-4. Paperback, £35.

Rachel Muers is probably the leading theologian within British Quakerism, and yet this is her first volume specifically and wholly about Quaker theology. It has been worth waiting for. In an accessible yet very thoughtful and reflective tone, Muers interrogates the Quaker concept and articulation of ‘testimony’ as a study in Quaker theological ethics, and draws out the distinctive Quaker understanding and use of the term. Muers defines testimony as

patterns of action and behavior that are understood as an individual and collective response to God’s leading and call; that are shared, intergenerationally sustained, communicated in stories and deliberated collectively, and that develop over time; that are located in everyday life, rather than (only) in specified liturgical contexts; and that work in communicative, challenging and transformative relation to a wider context (p. 7).

Following other academic commentators of recent years, Muers takes testimony as a complete collective witness rather than dividing it into constituent lists, as has been the popular Quaker practice in the last seventy years. This book is not about any one part of Quaker ethical response, but about the singularity of its entirety. It presupposes Quakers as a religious group whose authority is based in their spiritual experience and whose ethic hinges on a universality of grace for all of humanity. It is written largely from a British Liberal Quaker perspective where worship is unprogrammed and where a creedal attitude to behaviour and action displaces any form of explicit doctrinal confession. Muers takes pains to explain the ‘gathered’ nature of Quaker worship and discernment and the ongoing guidance of the Spirit at the heart of this form of Quakerism. She does not mention the critique of the Quaker witness against war by Reinhold Niebuhr, who saw twentieth-century Liberal Quakerism as simplistically over-optimistic about human nature, basing its peace testimony on a naïve reading of human nature as opposed to, say, the Mennonite scriptural basis. She avoids such criticism by emphasising the way testimony is rooted in the collective spiritual experience. It is not about secular values but a response to God’s call. She writes that Quaker ‘Worship forms people in a new way of knowing the world’ (p. 76), but also reveals how incomplete that knowledge is and thus invites people continually to extend their knowledge—its collective nature compelling forward motion rather than retreat. Quakers cannot help but be moved into patterns of action and behaviour based on spiritual transformation, the in-breaking of God’s light (p. 44).

Key to her treatment is the idea of what she terms ‘negative testimony’ or ‘bearing testimony *against*’. In particular, she identifies this against-ness as being an opposition to a lie or destructive value or behaviour, a denial of a worldly denial, or a double negative. In this way, Quaker theological ethics open up a counter-cultural reading, an oppositional set of actions and behaviours that point to a positive alternative. Quakers move from negation to holy experiment (pp. 56ff.).

In Peter Collins's anthropological terms, Quakers play a *vis a vis* with the received order where it manifests social inequality, injustice and the seeds of war and division. For example, the part of Quaker testimony that is set against war inherently suggests a programme for peace. As Muers details towards the end of the book, Quakers appear, after sociologists' Gay Pilgrim's and Helen Meads' work, as almost heterotopic, creating dissonant utopian gestures in a justice-denying culture. In philosopher Grace Jantzen's terms, we can see this ethical response as being about the choosing of life and beauty over death and violence. The latter are exposed as the lies of the world, the against-ness that Quaker testimony sets itself against. Quakers appear almost like the (albeit holy) Cynics of French philosopher-historian Michel Foucault's writing (p. 90), stripping away these lies and seeing the world as it really is.

The only hesitation I have with the book—and it may just be that I need to spend more time with it—is the emphasis on religious freedom in the account of Mary Dyer. Mary Dyer's 'martyrdom' on Boston Common in 1659 is described in terms of a witness for religious freedom (p. 142), rather than one for the perceived new way of being in relationship with God that early Friends had found. Dyer's behaviour, and that of her companions, can be seen to be negative testimony against the apostasy of the Massachusetts Puritans, not a bid for the right to ecumenical understandings. I wondered if here, the book betrays a twenty-first-century Liberal Quaker bias.

Overall, this book is of tremendous value to anyone exploring Quaker theology or theological ethics in general. This book, which uses case studies once it has set up its theological premises, systematises the distinctive Quaker theology of testimony as no previous text has. Predecessors have either been over-simplistic, bogged down in the lists, or treated testimony sociologically rather than theologically. Maybe Rachel Muers can be persuaded into explorations of other areas of distinctive Quaker thinking. Let us hope so.

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Adrian Chastain Weimer, *Martyrs' Mirror: Persecution and Holiness in Early New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. xi + 218. ISBN: 9780199743117. Hardback, \$55.00.

The narrative of martyrdom, a defining collective identity for Christians since the emergence of Christianity, may well have reached its apogee in the seventeenth-century puritan milieu of colonial New England. Weimer's careful six-chapter study provides a fresh perspective on the way different puritan groups (Congregationalists, Separatists, Antinomians, Baptists, Quakers) competed for legitimacy as the 'True Church', appropriating the historical and folkloric martyrology in creative and diverse ways for their own cause. Among dissenting sects the 'True Church' was always understood as a persecuted one. When the Congregationalists in New

England obtained power and authority, they had to find ways to justify their new-found position within the narrative of the persecuted church. The most fascinating paradox examined is how both the persecuted and the persecutors used the rhetoric of martyrdom to justify their religious and political legitimacy. The Congregationalists who executed four Quakers in Boston continued to see themselves as the persecuted church and Quakers as the Antichrist's agents sent out to poison the true church. Quakers were 'false martyrs', a menace to the Commonwealth. The Boston magistrates defended their violent actions toward the Quakers (and the Algonquian Indians during King Philip's War) as protecting the true church from Satan's attacks. The same inversion of the perception of martyrdom occurred in the antinomian crisis precipitated by Anne Hutchinson, when both Hutchinson and her authoritarian judges claimed the mantle of martyrdom. The use of martyr rhetoric was so malleable that it could both reinforce difference and encourage tolerance, as 'reverence for martyrs could overcome...distaste for heresy' (p. 97).

Weimer centres her study on the 1632 version of *The Mirror of Martyrs*, a popular abridgement of John Foxe's sixteenth-century classic, *Acts and Monuments*, and explores how it shaped the way Quakers and other sectarians entered into the biblical drama of holy suffering using the power of persecution to legitimate their cause. The text 'established a path by which men, women and children across the social spectrum could become spiritual exemplars, could represent an ideal of suffering saints' (p. 151). Weimer argues that Quakers were shaped by the martyr-based devotional ideal of Foxe's work just as much as other puritan groups, even though Foxe's martyr tradition highlights the bishop-martyrs who died for the Anglican Church the Quakers had rejected. Weimer maintains 'Quakers were surprisingly comfortable envisioning themselves within the broader history of Christian martyrdom', though her conclusion that they 'refused to let the martyrs' mirror be clouded by doctrinal or ecclesiological haze' (p. 105) might be open to further analysis.

Weimer maintains that Quakers were the most heavily persecuted, and thrived more than other sectarians on 'suffering for Truth's sake'. Quakers used the power of suffering in an apocalyptic framework, taking martyrdom in a more extreme direction than other groups. Their model of martyrdom was the most absolute and uncompromising, epitomised by the four Boston martyrs who cheerfully gave their lives for truth's sake. Quakers 'sought out experiences of persecution in order to stage a public witness of the truth of their faith, a prime weapon in the battle against Antichrist' (p. 101). The 'Lamb's war' was fought against the false worship of all other churches, and the weapon was holy suffering. 'Suffering was not to be endured as a tragic by-product of the battle but rather to be sought out and embraced as a glorious offensive weapon' (p. 103). George Fox and other early leaders saw themselves as prophet-martyrs in a cosmic battle. Weimer explores the Lamb's war as their mission to bring in the kingdom of God on earth, as well as the metaphor for the internal battle between flesh and spirit.

Weiner asserts that pain and deprivation opened the sufferer to the experience of God as well as serving as a powerful witness for Truth. For Quaker missionaries, persecution, rather than being a deterrent, was a strong attraction that reinforced

their mission. 'They became experts at turning episodes of judicial violence into scenes of poignant, cheerful endurance and intimate communion with God' (p. 150). Models of extraordinary faith through suffering strengthened Quaker communities, reinforced identity and difference, and strengthened recruitment and evangelisation. Quakers used performance martyrdom more effectively than other groups. The author argues that even onlookers who opposed their theology, might be drawn into respecting their courage and piety. And finally their suffering became politically effective as they wore down their oppressors, and contributed to eventual toleration.

And while Weimer notes the weapons were not outward, but inward in the suffering of the saints, she does not develop discussions about Quakers' distinctive theology of divine indwelling that contributed to their martyr rhetoric. But her compelling work provides further insight into the martyr identity of James Nayler, an early Quaker leader she does not cite. Nayler's famous ride into Bristol in imitation of Christ's entry into Jerusalem provides a vivid illustration of performance martyrdom at its most radical, as an ultimate witness to be a 'sign' and enter into the biblical drama of the suffering of Christ in the most literal, embodied way. Nayler wrote: '...I durst not resist it, though I was sure to lay down my life for it'.¹

Her intriguing chapter on Quakers and the witness of suffering provides valuable insight and a fresh perspective on the motives and extent of joyful suffering in early Quaker history. One area ripe for further exploration which differentiated the Quaker brand of 'suffering for Truth's sake' from other sectarians is the deeper connection with mystical experience, a mystic communion with God experienced through their pain. Weimer's solid work could also be expanded by examining Quaker suffering in England and their tension with the Congregationalists who did not separate from the Church of England, rather than only the Separatists in colonial America.

This is a persuasive work that helps elucidate a unique understanding of suffering as a sign of truth and holiness that is worlds apart from how Quakers of all persuasions across the contemporary spectrum of belief struggle to find any meaning in suffering and pain today.

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Bryan S. Turner (ed.), *War and Peace: Essays on Religion and Violence* (London: Anthem Press, 2013), pp. xi + 217. ISBN: 9780857283078. Hardback, £60.

The nine central chapters in this volume, edited by renowned sociologist, Bryan S. Turner, were originally presented as part of a weekly seminar series at New York City University, where global-commuter Turner holds one of his academic

1. Nayler, J., *The Works of James Nayler*, Vol. IV, ed. L. Kuenning, Glenside, PA: Quaker Heritage Press, 2003, p. 616.

positions. The book, divided into two sections entitled 'War' and 'Peace', continues his recent association with Anthem Press. The overall aim of the volume is to explore the relationship between religion and politics in terms of war and peace. Chapters, as in many edited collections, reflect disparate research interests and disciplinary approaches, but play to the strengths of their authors. Turner's role is to offer thematic coherence and he does this by contributing an introduction, on the intricate relationships between religion and politics and religion and war, two chapters on Max Weber (one in the first section of the book in relation to Norbert Elias, the other in the second section and relating to Leo Tolstoy), and a conclusion. The introduction covers the overall framing of the volume, and the conclusion offers an important overview of the territory explored by the chapters, allowing a more in-depth engagement with the theorisation of the introduction.

The chapter of most interest to readers of this journal is the opening paper in the 'Peace' section by Ana Acosta on the origins of the Quaker peace testimony. Acosta's main argument, following a familiar outline of the historical chronology of statements against war, is that growing tax resistance in the eighteenth century cannot be read as part of the lingering death throes of a once radical group defeated by quietism, but represents an evolution of the 'peace testimony' which finds mature fruition in the war tax resistance of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. In this way, Acosta critiques the Marxist historiography of Quakers and war and suggests it is based on the notions that fervour was lost after 1660 and that pacifism is equated with passivity. Acosta is more inclined to Peter Brock and others who claim that Quaker attitudes to war are rooted in the beginnings of the movement and resonates with Meredith Weddle's work. Acosta does not identify the recent third line of scholarship, which locates the anti-war testimony in the foundations of Quakerism, but sees its written expression as the beginning of the end of a covenantal understanding of testimony. Acosta's main argument, however, is about war tax and in disputing the claim by W.C. Braithwaite and Margaret Hirst that Quakers held different attitudes towards conscription and taxes which should be rendered unto Caesar and that attitudes to tax contributed to the falling popularity of the movement.

For Acosta, the withdrawal of Quakers from the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1756 over the Militia Act proves the counter-example that steers Quakers in a new direction on this issue for the following centuries. In this analysis, Acosta is interrogating how Quakers viewed their role as citizens or counter-citizens in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. She then moves to the latter twentieth century and charts numerous examples of US Quaker war tax resistance, highlighting its historical lineage and suggesting that this has attracted people to the movement rather than contributed to its decline. Acosta concludes that the radical fervour of an organisation cannot be identified in simplistic either/or terms, but rests on a set of complex attitudes and actions. The chapter is certainly thought-provoking and its framing of Quaker citizenship in terms of attitudes to tax and the right of governments to identify religious legitimacy (a theme of Turner's introduction) deserves attention.

Ultimately this chapter and the volume as a whole succeed. The book impels the reader to consider the management of religion by the political realm and how religion has attempted to subvert the state and its ideological construction of what counts as citizenship. Raja Abillama's excellent chapter on the diverse religious and ethnic composition of the Lebanon highlights this dynamic between religion and politics, between faith and citizenship. For such an unlikely beginning as a weekly seminar series, one can only wish that more of such events produced collections of work of so strong a calibre.

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Susan Robson, *Living with Conflict: A Challenge to the Peace Church* (Lanham, Toronto, Plymouth: Scarecrow Press, 2014), pp. vii + 225. ISBN: 9780810886742. Hardback, £44.95.

Susan Robson has written a thought-provoking account of a thorny, some might say intractable, subject in an engaging style. In aiming to explore internal conflict by harnessing the power of narrative, Robson practices what she preaches by giving the book itself a narrative structure, framing each of the ten chapters with a pertinent anecdote. But the easy, conversational flow of the book should not mislead the reader—it belies a cogent analysis. Generated by the author's PhD research, the text is augmented by many more years of on-the-ground research, conversations and observational experience garnered from her life and work within the Quaker community.

Although Quakers are the main focus, and Robson from the outset declares herself an 'observing participant', she draws from secular academic research and studies of other faith communities. As such, it would be accessible to anyone engaged in peace and conflict studies, the study of organisational structures, the sociology of religion, or simply with an interest in how organisations dedicated to peace handle conflict within their own ranks. Whilst grounded in academic analysis, Robson's aim is a practical one. She frequently reiterates the main question driving her research: How can individuals—as part of a collective wedded to an ethos of harmony and peace—frame conflict, not as dangerous and divisive, but as a potentially creative expression of difference? I would argue that although the answers she closes with may not be as definitive as is the norm for a results-focused study, this fits with the unique values of the Quaker community itself: these are suggestions left open for further discussion, experiment and practical development.

Using narrative tools of analysis, and drawing on the methods of contemporary organisational theory and psychological concepts, and the earlier research of Quaker social theorists such as Dandelion, Robson argues that conflict cannot be considered separately from its social context, which has a profound influence on individuals' patterns of thought and behaviour. Yet, at first glance, the question motivating the research might appear irrelevant to an organisation that celebrates the diversity of individual spiritual experience. However, Robson illustrates how Quakers'

non-hierarchical organisational structure contains unspoken rules and norms that create a specific 'behavioural code'—a code that exerts as much psychological power as any hierarchical organisation. This power, however, is intuited rather than openly discussed. Indeed, one of the problems Robson identifies early on is the way certain concepts such as 'power' and 'conflict' (and their systematic investigation) are avoided. Denying the existence of conflict precludes an understanding of what it means and how it arises, inhibiting the development of effective conflict-handling strategies. Robson acknowledges the recent strides that have been made in the study of internal conflict within the Quaker community, but her interviews and conversations with Friends yield a more problematic picture. Despite the fact that most Friends lead multi-faceted lives, and are often involved in resolving conflicts in the outside world, many lack confidence when it comes to acknowledging and dealing with conflict within their community.

Robson uses organisational theories to show how the submerging of individual identity within a normative community with a dominant narrative (in the case of the Quakers, one that positions the community as a microcosm of the ideal 'Peaceable Kingdom') generates defensive routines: 'don't ask, don't tell, don't even think about it' (p. 7). Consequently, conflictual feelings create internal dissonance and re-emerge as polarising identity conflicts. By concentrating on narrative, she demonstrates how the history of the Quakers has in some senses been smoothed into a story that excises the frequent struggles that have arisen over interpretation of the Peace Testimony, for example, and the way the testimony itself has changed according to its social or political context (Chapter 3). In the past, Robson argues, Friends recognised conflict as inevitable and there were processes to deal with it, but these structures have fallen into abeyance or disappeared. She illustrates how, instead, the essential qualities that lie at the core of Quakerism, silence and unity in decision-making, can be used unreflectively and defensively, suppressing the expression of difference. Silence does not necessarily mean 'active listening' (p. 57) and can turn into avoidance, or even intimidation of dissent; the need for communal harmony is regarded as paramount, but without an exploration of differences there can be no true unity (p. 72). She stresses the need for self-reflection, to respect others, and to avoid the rush to force reconciliation (p. 75). Harmony, Robson argues, perhaps needs to be interpreted as respect for the existence of difference.

Robson's prescription for achieving this lies in giving space to alternative narratives that encompass stories of conflict and different forms of conflict handling. This means creating forums for reflexive dialogue where the dominant communal narratives can be made explicit and permission granted to question them, and where individuals can interpolate and juxtapose their personal narratives and counter-narratives (p. 161). The title of the final chapter, 'Living with Conflict', encapsulates Robson's conclusion: conflict within a group is normal and is in fact 'an index of the strength of connection' (p. 191); a lack of overt conflict does not equal peace, but rather indicates submerged differences that can in the long run endanger communal health. Conflict may be endemic in organisations, but it can, she argues persuasively, be experienced as a creative force and an opportunity for learning.

More in-depth evidence from her studies of other value-based groups and peace churches (Chapter 5), and their parallels and distinctions with the Quakers, would have provided ballast to the investigation. Overall, however, Robson manages what is always a difficult task: she has written a study aimed at ‘the intelligent and thoughtful [general] reader’ (p. 12), eschewing an academic style—she makes limited use of references and footnotes—yet retaining enough of her extensive background research to give it essential credibility. The book is in many ways imbued with the spirit of Quakerism, submitting conceptual ideas to the test of personal experience.

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Dawn G. Marsh, *A Lenape among the Quakers: The Life of Hannah Freeman* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), pp. xii + 213. ISBN: 9780803248403. Hardback, \$27.95.

Hannah Freeman was a Lenni Lenape Indian, who, as a sexagenarian woman in 1797, was required to submit to a judicial examination in which she recounted her life story, mostly lived in the Brandywine River Valley of southeastern Pennsylvania. This 500-word narrative has been preserved, along with a contemporaneous document of similar length, entitled ‘Kindness Extended’, in which more than 30 of her neighbours committed to monetary or in-kind contributions for her care. (Transcriptions of both documents are given in the appendices of Marsh’s book.) When she died in a poorhouse in 1802, she was misleadingly remembered as ‘the last of her kind’, when in fact thousands of Lenape Indians then lived in Pennsylvania, and even today, many still live in Oklahoma and other locations. This betrayed a viewpoint among white Pennsylvanians, of Freeman as ‘the living embodiment of the destiny awaiting those native peoples who refused to accept the inevitable wave of “progress” that swept her people to a distant and tragic end’ (p. 12).

This book explores the little that is known about Freeman, and its six chapters ground her story in both women’s and Native American history. The bulk of the book, however, is an extended meditation on, and examination of, the policies toward the Native Americans by William Penn and his heirs, and this is probably its most important contribution to Quaker studies. Much of this subject matter is well-trodden ground. Penn intended a more humane and peaceful policy toward Native Americans than any of his English colonising predecessors. Marsh sides with the skeptics who maintain that Penn’s benevolence was greatly overrated.

But Penn was mostly an absentee proprietor, living in Pennsylvania for less than four years, and so, in most respects, his actions pale in importance beside those to whom he bequeathed the rule of Pennsylvania during his absences, and, even more so, after his death in 1718. Historians have justifiably viewed the actions of these subalterns with suspicion, even indignation, especially the infamous 1737 Walking Purchase engineered by Penn’s one-time secretary James Logan. The relevant

documents have disappeared from Pennsylvania's archives, but historians generally give credence to Lenape claims that they were cheated by the Walking Purchase. This burning grievance eventually paved the way for widespread attacks by Lenape Indians and their allies against outlying Pennsylvanian settlements in the year 1755 and thereafter.

Marsh's most important discovery deepens the indictment against Penn's successors like Logan. She finds that Pennsylvania's Quaker settlers, such as the Brintons and Newlins, willfully transgressed the terms of certain of Penn's treaties in the 1720s. (She primarily relies upon documents from the Logan family papers, and also from the [now published] Pennsylvania Archives from 1757 to 1759—a time when, in the aftermath of warfare with Native Americans, Pennsylvanians were re-examining their past relations with the Lenapes.) Lenape Indians repeatedly and clearly protested these actions, and they sought redress of grievances, but in general the courts ignored their claims, or, on the rare occasion when they acted on behalf of the Lenapes, the penalties were woefully inadequate to deter further misbehaviour. This is relevant to the case of Hannah Freeman, because one of the treaty provisions most transgressed was one that reserved a two-mile-wide swath adjacent to the Brandywine River, her home region, exclusively for the use of the Lenni Lenape. Yet Pennsylvania Quakers, in stark contradiction to treaty terms, parceled up these coveted lands among themselves, and Freeman apparently spent much of her long life in service to these Quakers who had illicitly, but without fear of dispossession, settled on her rightful lands. This land grab was not accompanied by outward violence, as it often was in other European colonies. Still, the effects were hardly dissimilar: the Lenape peoples were driven off their lands, with only few exceptions like Hannah Freeman. Thus the 'progress' occasioned by white Quakers was not 'inevitable', but rather carefully engineered and no less vicious for its accomplishment through concerted legal inaction rather than outward violence.

Marsh's book is an illuminating addition to the literature on the history of early Pennsylvania and deserves a wide readership.

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Douglas Gwyn, *Personality and Place: The Life and Times of Pendle Hill* (Philadelphia: PA, Plain Press, 2014), pp. xi + 499. ISBN: 1-5005-4936-3, Paperback, £12.58.

In this detailed and engaging book, which is suitable for both scholars and the serious but non-academic reader, Douglas Gwyn has produced a work that offers something far more complex and wide-ranging in scope than a simple history of a Quaker institution. He describes his approach as *historical theology*, which '...examines how religious ideas, ideals, and practices have evolved over time through a particular institution, interacting with changes in the wider culture' (p. vii). There are many riches on offer here. In addition to a detailed timeline, an extensive bibliography and

comprehensive indexing, there are chapters on the social and religious context in which Pendle Hill was founded and on its first six years (1930–36), three chapters on ‘the Brinton years’ (1936–52), indicating the importance of this period, and a chapter for each of the remaining six decades from the 1950s to the 2000s. Finally, in an appendix, Gwyn provides a short comparative analysis of Pendle Hill and Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre, with an emphasis on how these two institutions have responded to changing circumstances over time and, in particular, the challenges of ensuring on-going financial viability. Throughout the book and at each stage of its history, Gwyn highlights the significant place that publishing has played in the life of Pendle Hill and he offers a number of concise but informative profiles of notable individuals associated with the community whose lives and writings have been influential among Friends in North America and beyond. These include profiles of Rufus Jones, Henry Hodgkin, Anna Brinton, Howard Brinton, Parker Palmer, Sandra Cronk, and Chuck Fager. In many ways, this story of the life and times of Pendle Hill represents a fascinating case study about how groups establish and maintain counter-cultural intentional communities within a wider society which is unsympathetic and often actively hostile to their values. In particular, to use a common Quaker phrase, it raises key questions about how such a community can successfully negotiate the challenges, dangers and obstacles of being ‘in the world but not of the world’. In this study, Gwyn considers such matters at three main levels: how does the community provide a sustained and practical alternative way of life to the rest of its faith community and to the wider world; how is the community impacted by the dominant economic, social and political forces that surround it; and how is its life impacted by changes within its own denomination?

In terms of offering a positive alternative to the world, Gwyn notes how Pendle Hill was founded and sustained by a Personalist philosophy and a strongly communitarian ethic, making the community a tiny residual enclave of Penn’s ‘Holy Experiment’ (p. 2). In particular, the life of Pendle Hill has been characterised by a monastic-style combination of work, study and worship that seeks to engage the mind, body and spirit of those participating in its daily life (p. 18). In the context of the domination of Capitalist economic relations, the community has focused on nurturing people and relationships within the confines of a specific place in opposition to globalised commodification. By this lived witness it has proclaimed, contrary to the logic of the market, that social capital really does matter (p. 15). Gwyn concludes that ‘the Brinton era was surely the classic period of Pendle Hill’s eighty years, a heroically anti-heroic time of prophetic counterpoint to the global cataclysms of depression and war’ (pp. 433–34). He argues that, in this sense, Pendle Hill has been an on-going experiment in the life of the transcendent reality and not some kind of theoretical utopia (p. 434). Inevitably, despite its counter-cultural ethos, the community has found itself influenced and, in some cases, dominated by the powerful economic, social and political forces that surround it. As well as telling the story of Pendle Hill, Gwyn uses this narrative to trace key aspects of twentieth-century American history (p. 439). In particular, the impact of the twin crises of World War Two and the Vietnam War on the life and mission of Pendle Hill is clearly hard to over-estimate. Gwyn acknowledges that all places are socially

constructed (p. 10) and that the relationship between the Personalist philosophy of the community and the Capitalist commodification of nature and human activity in the surrounding world has been an on-going tension and challenge (p. 13).

It is also the case that a faith-based intentional community will be shaped by the characteristics of its own faith community and how these change over time. Gwyn notes that Pendle Hill has exemplified some of the limitations associated with the social and ethnic profile of the wider Liberal Quaker community. In particular, this has led to a real and sustained failure to adequately address issues of racial justice and inclusion. In addition, changes in the culture of American Liberal Friends has been reflected over time in a general shift away from an intellectual world-changing focus on economics and historic Quaker concerns towards a more individualistic, therapeutic and pluralist approach (pp. 444–45).

A persistent theme in this story is the community's struggle to survive within an economic and political environment which is not sympathetic to its ethos and values. It seems inevitable that this has revealed itself at times in a division between those who have explicit responsibility for the organisation's governance, and are more inclined to follow the path of pragmatism and realism, and those whose principal loyalty is to the alternative vision of the community, who resist any perceived watering-down of this vision. Gwyn suggests that during the 1970s and 1980s in particular, there was a community versus institution tension in which the community had a more idealistic/utopian identity compared to the pragmatic and rationalizing imperatives embodied by the institution (p. 436). It seems that such tensions between potentially competing visions of the institution's future and survival are likely to remain pertinent for the foreseeable future.

In considering what the 'angel' or collective gestalt of Pendle Hill might be, Gwyn concludes that the community has represented 'a Quaker/pacifist/personalist experiment that, although diminished over time in its visionary clarity, is still potently experienced in its effects upon participants' (p. 432). Clearly, over its eighty-year history, Pendle Hill has successfully equipped and strengthened individuals, enabling them to resist, reform and even revolutionise the world around them (p. 433). For example, the fruitful partnership between Pendle Hill and the American Friends Service Committee has made a significant impact in addressing the imperialism and military-industrial establishment of American society, exemplified especially in the influential 1955 publication *Speaking Truth to Power* (p. 435). And what of the comparative position of Pendle Hill and Woodbrooke, given that the former was modelled in part upon the latter? Both have experienced life-threatening institutional crises, but the institutional responses have been somewhat different. Gwyn implies that although the reshaping of Woodbrooke has been successful in terms of financial and business viability, this has been at the expense of a reduced emphasis on the joys of community life and, by implication, a less visible imaging of an alternative way of living (p. 464). He therefore recognises the value in Pendle Hill's sustained commitment to longer-term residential programmes and to the proto-monastic mix of worship, study and work, even if this continues to make the community's future look somewhat precarious.

Through this rich and nuanced study of the joys and struggles of a Liberal Quaker educational community set within twentieth- and early twenty-first-century American society, Douglas Gwyn has produced a wealth of valuable material that will engage and fascinate anyone interested in the study of faith-based education, community-building and the relationship between counter-cultural movements and their wider economic, social and political contexts. It should inspire and provoke further research in all these areas.

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