RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The Early Quakers and the 'Kingdom of God': Peace, Testimony and Revolution. By Gerard Guiton. San Francisco: Inner Light Books. 2012. xvi + 506pp., paperback. £20. ISBN 978-0-9834980-3-2.

Gerard Guiton has produced a large and very detailed book that will be of interest primarily to those wanting to understand early Quaker theology, rather than to the historian of seventeenth-century England. In addition to a general analysis of early Quaker religious ideas, Guiton seeks to demonstrate the peaceable intentions of first-generation Quakers and to argue that between 1659 and 1661 a corporate 'Pentecostal' or 'paracletal' experience produced three public 'peace declarations' and a reinvigorated movement with sufficient community cohesion and spiritual steadfastness to withstand the severe persecution of the Restoration period.

The book is divided into two main parts. Part one (chapters 1-3) outlines the Puritan understanding of the Kingdom of God and describes the religious and political complexities of the post-English Reformation context. Part two (Chapters 4-13) provides an extended analysis of early Quaker theology based on the concept of the Kingdom of God as an organising principle, as well as material about the 'peace testimony'. In addition, the book includes a chronology of events between 1599 and 1663, a twelve-page glossary of terms, a set of seven appendices (made up of an analysis of the use of the term 'Kingdom' in early Quaker writings between 1652 and 1662, the texts of the three 'peace declarations' produced by Edward Burrough, Margaret Fell and George Fox/Richard Hubberthorne written between 1659 and 1661, the text of James Nayler's short tract *Not to Strive, but Overcome by Suffering* from 1657/8, an index of phrases taken from the declarations of Fell and Fox/Hubberthorne, a list of 206 early Quaker works using the term 'Kingdom' between 1652 and 1661, a list of 41 early Quaker works written between 1650 and 1660 in which outward violence was clearly condemned, and an analysis of references to Jesus and Christ in Fox's writings between 1657 and 1659), an extensive bibliography of primary and secondary sources and a well-structured subject index.

This book offers a comprehensive and well-written analysis of early Quaker theology. The use of primary references is impressive and the footnotes are extensive and useful. In addition to the focus on the peaceable principles of Friends and his proposition about a Pentecostal/paracletal moment in the period 1659-1661, Guiton takes a wide-ranging look at early

Quaker language, the group's association with popular radical causes, Friends' use of the Bible, the hostile response they provoked, their Christology of divine indwelling, the nature of Quaker testimony, the position of women within the movement and the use of outward signs as theological statements. While Guiton's account of early Quaker theology does not break any significant new ground, it does offer a level of detail beyond that of most other studies in this area. Guiton argues that early Quaker experience and the theology it generated led inevitably to a rejection of Quaker history (represented by scholars such as Christopher Hill and Barry Reay) in which first generation Friends are portrayed primarily as a socio-political movement who, in the face of defeat and the fall of the Commonwealth, adopted a pacifist position as a matter of political expediency. David Boulton has, in this journal, recently published a vigorous critique of Guiton's position, in which he rejects the idea that the violent language and imagery contained within early Quaker writings and the actions of some Friends in the 1650s can be simply explained away in metaphorical terms (*JFHS* Volume 63, 2012).

My sense is that it is possible to find a more nuanced position within this dispute that takes seriously the arguments on both sides. It is clear that, in the theology of early Friends, individual spiritual regeneration involved liberation from the lusts and motivations that lead to violent conflict. In their understanding of the new covenant, it is clear that early Friends believed that ultimately evil would only be defeated by means of spiritual warfare. Fighting evil physically with outward weapons was regarded as a characteristic of the old covenant, which had been superseded. Testimony within the Quaker way was never regarded as a rule to live by but, rather, the fruit of inward spiritual transformation. Therefore, at any one time, individual Friends would be at different stages of spiritual transformation and this would inevitably be reflected in their conduct within the world. Early Friends claimed to be in the world but not of the world. However, this did not mean that they were entirely liberated from the ways of the world. They remained a people of their specific time and place. In particular, they retained the Puritan understanding of divine providence. It is clear from their writings that they witnessed God acting through the violent actions of individuals, governments and the military in order to achieve divine ends.

In this sense, early Friends appear to have operated with two distinct understandings of divine providence: one for the regenerated people of God living in the new covenant; and one for the fallen world. In seeking to achieve divine ends, God

might work through both the 'harmless' regenerated people of God living in the new covenant (who had been liberated from the urges that led to violent conflict) and through the powers and peoples of the fallen world who were living by the terms of the old covenant and who were still captive to the ways of darkness, violence and injustice. Despite this two-level understanding of divine providence, early Friends do appear to have had an unshakeable conviction that the old way of darkness, violence and injustice was dying and that a new way of light, peace and justice was being born and would ultimately triumph. This may help explain the apparent contradictions in early Quaker writings and conduct.

To some extent, Guiton's attempt to provide a detailed analysis of early Quaker theology combined with his desire to answer the position of the Marxist historians has created a problem. Despite the amount of useful information, there is probably insufficient new thinking here to fully engage the serious scholar of early Quaker theology, but too much detail to make the book attractive or accessible to the more casual reader who is interested in Quaker ideas and history. It may have been better to deal with the two matters separately, particularly given that Guiton has already exercised his arguments about early Quaker peaceable principles and the experience of a Pentecostal/paracletal experience at the end of the Commonwealth in his previous book *The Growth and Development of Quaker Testimony, 1652-1661 and 1960-1994: Conflict, Non-violence, and Conciliation* (Edwin Mellen Press, 2005). Unfortunately, on a few occasions Guiton makes statements that seem to be at odds with the very vision of early Quaker theology he sets out so carefully and thoroughly. He asserts, for instance, that early Friends adopted the Sermon on the Mount ... 'as the absolute rule for their internal and external conduct' (p.2) and ... 'that early Quaker knowledge of the Kingdom resulted from a painstaking analysis of each passage in the Gospels in which it appeared' (p.151/2). However, it is clear that, in the circumstances of the new covenant, these Friends believed that they were being taught directly and inwardly by Christ and that all external rules, including the letter of scripture, had been fulfilled and ultimately replaced by the law written on the heart. He also claims that early Friends ...' disagreed; for instance, with Paul's theology of justification from faith alone rather than from faith and good works as found in the Letter of James' (p.184). Even a casual glance at the writings of early Friends will indicate how significant the apostle Paul was to them (in an analysis undertaken by the Quaker Bible Index, 73 out of the top 100 most frequently quoted Bible passages in the writings of early Friends were drawn from the Pauline epistles. None were

drawn from Matthew's Gospel or the Letter of James). Early Friends firmly rejected the Lutheran/Reformed interpretation of Paul's theology, but this did not mean that they disagreed with Paul. It meant that they interpreted him differently.

Despite the reservations outlined above, this book provides a wealth of excellent information and analysis about the nature of early Quakerism and its religious and political context that will be appreciated by those who wish to draw on such a comprehensive collection of resources all held in one volume. In this sense, Gerard Guiton has made a most valuable contribution to this area of Quaker studies.

Stuart Masters

Making Toleration: the repealers and the Glorious Revolution. By Scott Sowerby. Cambridge, Mass. London: Harvard University Press. 2013. [x] + 404pp., maps, hardback. £30. ISBN 978-0-674-07309-8.

A number of historians in recent years have been engaged in a reassessment of the reign of James II and of his replacement in 1688 by William and Mary in what we are accustomed to refer to as the Glorious Revolution. The events of 1688 are now more likely to be seen as an armed invasion by the Dutch in order to maintain the balance of power in Europe, hand in hand with an Anglican-inspired counter-revolution to prevent the loss of the Restoration religious settlement. That one outcome of this change of government was the Toleration Act of 1689 seems ironical set beside James's campaign in the preceding years to secure toleration and political rights for all those outside the Anglican Church.

This is the context of this book in which Scott Sowerby sets out to tell the story of this campaign, to analyse the characters and motives of those who publically supported James's call for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts (who he refers to as 'the repealers') and to assess its influence on the eventual achievement of the Toleration Act. The interest here for Quaker historians is that this potentially throws new light on the behaviour of William Penn during this period, when he has been portrayed as thoughtlessly pursuing absolutist policies, disregarding the testimonies and acting as little better than James's lackey.

Sowerby is able to show that the movement for toleration had wide support across the country, drawing on both ends of the

political spectrum and from every Christian group in England. Equally their opponents were also broadly based. Sowerby admits that Penn was 'an intellectual architect of James's toleration project', as early as 1679 calling for a 'Magna Charta' to secure religious liberty. In his progress of 1687 James, having published his *Declaration for Liberty of Conscience*, took up in his speeches Penn's call for a 'Magna charta for Conscience' while Penn undertook a parallel but coordinated campaign. Penn published four pro-repealer pamphlets during this time, the only Quaker to have joined him in publication seems to have been Ann Docwra.

However there was further Quaker support. When James asked leading landowners, potential electors, for their attitude to repeal we know that, at Lancaster, Thomas Lower replied in the affirmative. And when in 1688 James reformed a number of town corporations in order to ensure an electorate more prepared to support repeal, Quakers were appointed as aldermen and councillors in twelve towns, including Devizes, Banbury and Norwich. Penn wanted central support for these Friends but the Yearly Meeting of 1688 followed George Fox in not giving outward encouragement to the repealer cause.

Of course the projected election of 1688 did not take place, rather the trial of the seven bishops, and the birth of James's heir led to the Dutch invasion and James II's eventual flight. There is evidence that Penn urged James towards conciliation with the bishops but his public support of James led to a period after the invasion in which he came under suspicion as a Jacobite.

Sowerby's work is solidly based on an analysis of the archival materials which remain from this period, which we must assume underwent some contemporary sifting and redaction in order to reinforce the argument for the legitimacy of the revolution. Nevertheless, James II emerges as a less authoritarian figure, one who was at least as keen as his brother to build consensus and act through established institutions but who was, also, like his brother, keen to remove the legal sanctions from his co-religionists. Penn, who was, we must remember, a family friend [his father and James, as Duke of York, had been prime movers in the building up of the Navy during Charles's reign], saw nothing wrong in helping James to an aim which would move towards the sort of society he had sought to establish in Pennsylvania. Quakers, like all other Nonconformists, were divided as to whether this was a wise course, given the behaviour of the Roman Church in other jurisdictions, particularly in France.

Making Toleration is a lively and readable book, as well as a scholarly one, whose 260 pages of text are supplemented with the usual bibliography, notes and index.

Chris Skidmore

Quakers in Northeast Norfolk, England, 1690-1800. By Sylvia Stevens, with a foreword by Peter Rushton. Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2012. ix + 411pp., map + tables + illustrations, paperback. £39.95 to individual scholars direct from the publisher. ISBN 978-0-7734 2909-3.

Sylvia Stevens was awarded her Ph.D. in 2005 for her thesis on the Quakers of north-east Norfolk. This work, issued by the academic publisher Edwin Mellen Press, is a revised and updated version of her thesis.

The justifications for this study are clear. The Friends who appear in this volume are those whose lives are largely unknown to modern Quakers, members of the Gurney family being perhaps an exception. This does not mean, however, that a study of these obscure Friends is irrelevant. Rather, it is crucial to our greater understanding of eighteenth-century Quakers to examine the lives of those who do not appear in standard histories of Quakerism. Furthermore, the eighteenth century is still an under-explored area as far as provincial Friends are concerned, and studies such as this recover aspects of Quaker history which have receded from view.

The first chapter of this study is an overview of current literature on the period, along with a discussion of the primary sources and methodology used. The breadth of Sylvia Stevens's original research is most fully demonstrated in chapters two to six, which each take a theme and discuss it with relation to Norfolk Quakers, and research undertaken in other localities.

Chapter two examines the pattern of settlement and the social context of Quakers in north-east Norfolk. Chapter three discusses Quaker travel in the service of truth. A number of Norfolk Friends were recognised ministers, some travelling widely throughout England and into Ireland and Scotland. Furthermore, Norfolk Quarterly Meeting hosted ministers from other meetings, some who had come in their ministry from as far away as North America. In chapters four to six, Sylvia Stevens

considers tensions over Quaker beliefs and practices. Despite the alleged 'quietism' of Quakers in the eighteenth century, there were several debates in the course of the period between Quakers and opponents. Though most were conducted in print, a notable public debate was that held between Quakers and the Anglican clergy at West Dereham in 1698 over whether or not Quakers could be considered Christians. However, a more usual cause of dispute between rural Quakers and parish clergy, or on occasion lay impropriators, was over the non-payment of tithes, though Sylvia Stevens does suggest that some Quakers may have adopted strategies to avoid prosecution for tithes. But many debates and challenges were internal to the Quaker movement. As this study illustrates, some involved a spirited individual at odds with authority, though more usually the difficulties faced by a meeting involved such issues as a member running into debt, or marrying before a priest. As the author shows, this latter offence would appear more frequently in the minute books from mid-century onwards, though this may have been due to an earlier reluctance to record such cases, rather than to them not occurring at all.

Quakers in this part of Norfolk may be little known because they left few accounts of their lives. Two exceptions were the mariner John Secker, and the museum keeper Daniel Boulter, both of whom left manuscript autobiographies. While neither could be called a spiritual autobiography, each account shows a man living and working among non-Quakers, perhaps at times making compromises to integrate themselves in that world, but never abandoning their faith. (John Secker's autobiography has now been published by the Norfolk Record Society.)

This is a specialist work, but its focus is by no means solely provincial. Sylvia Stevens takes the Quakers of north-east Norfolk and compares her research with other studies, resulting in a volume which is a valuable addition to the existing, and growing, corpus of material on eighteenth-century Friends.

Rosalind Johnson

From Peace to Freedom. Quaker Rhetoric and the Birth of American Antislavery, 1657-1761. By Brycchan Carey. London and New Haven: Yale University Press. 2012. xi + 257pp., hardback. £25. ISBN 978-0-300-18077-0.

This is an extremely important book which will be of great interest to all students of Quaker history. But it is also a vital

text for anyone interested in the history of African slavery and its abolition. At first glance it might seem that Carey is treading a familiar path. And although others have outlined the Quaker origins of abolition, no one has undertaken the kind of detailed forensic research we find here, and no previous scholar has teased out so persuasively the deep intellectual and theological roots of abolition sentiment. In large part Carey does this by what he calls a 'close reading' of texts. But there is more to this book than re-interpretation. It is highly original in conception, in research and in its literary execution.

It had become a commonplace among historians of abolition (that drive to end first the Atlantic slave trade, and then slavery itself) to see its political origins in the Society of Friends. Carey's claim to originality lies in pushing back that process much further than generally accepted. Indeed his prolonged research, on both side of the Atlantic, in manuscript and printed sources, takes the process back to the earliest days of the Society itself. Unusually, he also locates much of the original debate in that remarkable Quaker community which developed, not in Pennsylvania, but in Barbados (the initial and pioneering centre of British slavery in the Americas). Carey persuasively illustrates the critical origins of abolition to lie in Barbados. In a way this ought not to surprise us. After all, British slavery (and sugar) first flourished in Barbados. The initial worries about slavery among founding Quakers were compounded by the fact that they faced the apparently insurmountable obstacle of widespread commercial and social support for slavery (and not merely on that island). Indeed the success of slavery was to prove a major hurdle for abolition from its founding days through to its triumph in the early-nineteenth century: how could the philosophical and theological objections of a relatively small band win, in a transatlantic community which was increasingly carried forward on a tide of slave-based prosperity?

As slavery boomed in that island, the Society of Friends withered - largely under persecution - and Quakers found a more sympathetic home in Pennsylvania. But there too, slavery grew. So too did Quaker objections. Throughout the Delaware Valley, Friends discussed and worried about the institution of slavery (visible all around them, though not as violently oppressive as its sister model in Barbados). And long before the Society struck out in public opposition to slavery, its members had debated, written and spoken out against the issue. The foundations for a more overt opposition and an openly political campaign, was laid in the late years of the seventeenth century.

In the first quarter of the new century, Quaker discussion

about slavery became increasingly focused in Philadelphia, New Jersey and London. This was the axis on which the subsequent Quaker campaign was to hinge. Yet the debate remained 'in-house', and its participants were not yet ready to embark on a more public and overtly political campaign. The debate was promoted by figures familiar to historians - notably Benjamin Lay and John Woolman - but the extent of that debate has been largely ignored - until Carey's meticulous researches.

From the mid-eighteenth century this largely internal discussion took an entirely new direction. Through publications, peripatetic preaching and personal correspondence, leading Quakers moving around the communities of North America and across the Atlantic - created a remarkable climate of increasingly strident anti-slavery sentiment. The effect was to persuade the major Quaker communities in London and Philadelphia to insist on a ban on slave trading. And the outcome was the resolve of Philadelphia Quakers to ban local slave trading. It was Anthony Benezet's work which was critical in expanding the case for a total ban on Atlantic slave trading. By 1761 the Quakers had laid the basis not merely for the Society's antipathy to the slave trade, but had created the intellectual and social foundations for a much wider political hostility to the trade - and indeed to slavery itself. It was a quite remarkable achievement, forged by persistent and continuing intellectual and theological discussion among Friends. Their arguments, available in printed format, began to reach an ever-growing circle of readers on both sides of the Atlantic, and formed the substantive case against the slave trade which became so political in the 1780s.

The scholarly detail of Carey's study, the clarity of its exposition and the persuasiveness of the argument will establish this as a work of major importance.

James Walvin

Dr John Rutty (1698-1775) of Dublin: a Quaker polymath in the Enlightenment. By Richard S. Harrison. Dublin. Original Writing. 2011. xxii + 271pp., illustrations, hardback. £22. ISBN 978-1-908024-17-6.

John Rutty is an interesting character in his own right but also one who illuminates many of the characteristics of eighteenth-century Quakerism. A second-generation Quaker from Wiltshire, he studied to become a physician at Leyden,

settled in Dublin and practised there for the rest of his life. Beside his practice he devoted his life to the Society of Friends and to scientific study. He wrote books on meteorology, natural history and on medicinal plants, but is best known for continuing Thomas Wight's history of Quakers in Ireland (1751) and for a pioneering study of the mineral waters of the British Isles and their medicinal properties (1757).

Rutty followed the French Quietists in his religious practices, practising self-denial and searing self-examination: from 1753 until 1774 he wrote a spiritual diary which was published after his death as *A spiritual diary and soliloquies*. The review of this volume caused Dr Johnson some hilarity 'particularly at his mentioning with such a serious regret occasional instances of "swinishness in eating and doggedness of temper"'. But Rutty's Quakerism was not purely inward-looking as, unlike some other Quaker doctors, he deliberately limited his practice and concentrated on serving the Dublin poor.

In his book Richard Harrison tells the story of this humble man, good but not great. It is not always an easy read. As Harrison himself admits, he has had to struggle to interpret Rutty's scientific works to the modern reader since chemical and mineralogical terminology has changed so greatly in the last three hundred years. In sticking largely to that old terminology he has not helped the reader. His attempt, as his subtitle indicates, to place Rutty firmly within the context of Enlightenment thought is also not wholly successful. Rutty did not extend his scientific methodology to his religious beliefs and he was critical of deism, saw the links between Methodism and Quakerism [he acted as physician to Wesley on more than one occasion] and exhorted his fellow Quakers to keep to the good old ways.

Richard S. Harrison has a deserved reputation as a historian of Irish Quakerism and this is a well-researched and scholarly book. As the only modern biography of Rutty, the book repays reading by anyone interested in eighteenth-century medical and Quaker history. The Quaker historian will regret that so little is available to illustrate the Quaker aspect of Rutty's life but will be grateful to Richard Harrison for illuminating a little further the obscurity into which the Quakers of the eighteenth-century have been allowed to recede.

Chris Skidmore