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**Richard C. Allen and Rosemary Moore (eds), *The Quakers, 1656–1723: The Evolution of an Alternative Community* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2018), pp. x + 345. ISBN 978-0-271-08120-5. Hardback \$39.95.**

The second period of Quakerism is a neglected chapter of the movement's early history that has attracted far less scholarly attention than its enthusiastic beginnings. *The Quakers, 1656–1723* thus makes an important contribution to this historiographical oversight and provides a powerful case for revitalising our understanding of the movement in this period. The result is a nuanced, sensitive, and ambitious collection of chapters that synthesise the major recent breakthroughs in Quaker history, whilst also furthering debates on particular dimensions of second-generation Quakerism.

Aimed at both a specialist and general audience, the collection is broadly chronological in its focus, beginning with the consolidation of the movement since its beginnings in the 1650s, and ending with the outlook of the movement in 1723 with the death of George Whitehead, 'the last of the first Friends' (p. 308). The volume is comprised of thirteen chapters, the majority of which have been authored by Allen and Moore, with specialist contributions from other scholars interspersed throughout. There is also a useful appendix providing a timeline of 'significant Quaker events' and 'significant historical events' (pp. 313–19). Each chapter makes a valiant attempt at integrating the history of English Quakerism with material about the Quaker communities in Scotland, Ireland, British North America, the West Indies, and Europe, and also includes extensive discussions about the Quakers 'in relation to the society in which they lived' (p. 5). The experiences of early Quaker women and specific local studies are not singled out for discussion in separate chapters but, instead, are seamlessly interwoven into the wider narrative of the movement's evolution and development across Europe and the British Atlantic.

Chapters 1 and 2 by Rosemary Moore and Richard Allen respectively, offer an accessible introduction to the first years of Quakerism and its international missionary development. Both authors are attentive to the issue of chronology and stress that the shift from first- to second-generation Quakerism is not a story of linear progression and did not fundamentally alter in its character with the return of the monarchy in 1660. In Chapter 2, the challenging encounters of the early Quaker preachers are coherently woven into a narrative about Quaker westward and eastward expansion, covering the different corners of Britain and the Channel Islands, the West Indies, North America,

Europe, and the wider world. Rosemary Moore's chapter on the development of Quaker organisation in Chapter 3 delineates the complex organisational structure of the Quaker meeting system with coherence and precision.

The next chapter by Richard Allen, 'Living as a Quaker During the Second Period', provides a change of pace to the volume. The discussion aims to show that Friends were 'governed by an increasingly centralized code that regulated their behavior' (p. 97). The main focus is thus on how Friends negotiated the movement's often rigid testimonies within their daily lives. The next chapter, also authored by Allen, provides another ambitious yet thorough discussion of the development of Quakerism in Europe and the Americas between 1666 and 1682. In similarity to Chapter 2, Allen integrates a range of material on the history of Friends from across Europe and the Atlantic world, which makes an important contribution to our understanding of the different regional complexities informing the early history of the movement.

'Quakers and Dissenters in Dispute' is the focus of Raymond Brown and Alan P. F. Sell's chapter in the collection. It provides an innovative exploration to the much under-researched topic of the Quakers' relationship with other dissenters and dissenting groups. It stresses the theological and practical significance of the public disputations that took place between the Quakers and Baptists between 1672 and 1674 in consolidating their messages and encouraging group unity. Chapter 7 by Rosemary Moore offers a coherent analysis of Quaker beliefs before the death of George Fox in the 1690s, and George Southcombe's chapter on 'The Quakers and Politics, 1660-1689' is successful in assessing the major political events of the Restoration period alongside the actions and writings of leading Quakers. Chapter 9 by J. William Frost continues the theme of Quaker relations with the wider world by focusing on the ways in which the Quakers chose to accommodate and prove their loyalty to the new government under William and Mary. Much of the chapter is focussed on the consolidation of Quakerism in colonial Pennsylvania, with particular emphasis on the causes and consequences of the Keithian schism in the 1690s. Like Southcombe, Frost argues that there is no sense from the surviving reports and minutes that this was a movement in decline. Indeed, it continued to have strength and political significance in the aftermath of the 1689 Toleration Act.

As the first Quaker leaders began to die out, the movement was forced to confront a series of ideological questions about its future in the absence of those

charismatic first publishers or Truth. Among them was the question of 'how would the truth discovered by the seventeenth-century visionaries be transmitted to a new generation?' (p. 218.) This issue forms the central focus of Emma Lapsansky-Werner's excellent chapter on Quaker life and communities on the eve of the eighteenth-century. Chapter 11 on 'The Quakers and Business' by Richard Allen and Rosemary Moore offers interesting insights into the less well-known reasons for the financial success of some of the early Friends. Erin Bell's chapter 'The Quakers and the Law' follows a similar trajectory and considers the impact of persecution on the evolution of the early Quaker community, the role of the Meeting for Sufferings in solidifying Quaker testimonies, and the implications of the 1689 Toleration Act on Friends. The volume closes with an important chapter by Robyn Rogers-Healey on the Quaker movement in the eighteenth century. It stresses the need to revise the traditional image of eighteenth-century Quakerism as static, and to see quietism as not simply a retreat from mainstream society but providing a culture in which Quakers 'actively engaged in worldly concerns that affected the well-being of the society' (p. 288). By foregrounding the tensions between Quaker principles and individual experience, Rogers Healey argues that 'quietism' ensured the survival of the movement over the next century by encouraging those Friends caught in 'the snares of the world' to return to the experience of the early days (p. 295).

The second period of Quakerism was far from mundane, and the volume is entirely successful in demonstrating how this was a 'dynamic and responsive' moment in the movement's early history (p. 312). It expertly showcases a range of important research and is alert to the complexities, nuances, and tensions of talking about this group of disparate and geographically dispersed believers as a single entity. The issue of unity is a recurring theme throughout the chapters, and by paying attention to the ambiguities and tensions inherent in Quaker doctrine and discourse, the book avoids presenting a teleological narrative about the rise and subsequent decline of the early Quaker mission.

The scope of the volume is ambitious, and whilst the editors recognise that the relatively short length of the volume will naturally result in omissions (p. 7), most of the chapters are successful in adopting an approach that looks beyond both the 'great men' of Quaker history and the English context of the movement. At times, this approach is not always as successful as it could be, and there are places where the focus on regional

case studies makes the discussion feel a little unbalanced. In Chapter 5, for example, a great deal of attention is paid to the developments of Quakerism in the Netherlands and in the Caribbean, but the origins of the Quaker colony in Pennsylvania and the individuals who made up the majority of the early settlers is almost completely absent from the discussion and never fully-addressed elsewhere in the volume. Similarly, the chapters on the Quaker meetings, business, and the law tend to focus on the experiences of English Friends rather than the international community more widely, which would have added some important points of comparison. Moreover, whilst the importance of women in the history of the early movement is frequently acknowledged, there are only sporadic references to the domestic situation of Friends and life within the Quaker household. Despite these imbalances, there is no doubt that the collection is entirely successful in its aim to 'awaken interest and to suggest topics for further investigation' (p. 7) into this overlooked period of Quaker history. It is well-written and authoritative in its conclusions and will thus be a valuable resource for future generations of students and researchers of early Quaker history.

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