of religious liberty and the principles of "inclusion, unity, and openness" (101–2). Protestants saw that they differed on denominational particulars, but, believing that they were more united than divided, they enthusiastically supported religious liberty.

Despite its emphasis on inclusion and unity, *A Divinity for All Persuasions* also examines pan-Protestantism's exclusions. In two closing chapters, Tomlin reveals how the authorial eye of the almanac gazed with equal parts horror and fascination upon Catholics, Jews, Muslims, and atheists. Tomlin argues that this posture toward religious others worked dialectically to shore up pan-Protestant identity.

Yet Tomlin leaves largely unexamined those Protestants excluded from the pan-Protestant consensus. For instance, he presents pan-Protestantism as rigidly orthodox. In his account, almanac makers distanced themselves from those corners of astrology deriving from folk traditions that historians have labeled "occult" (which nonetheless long coexisted syncretically with Protestant Christianity). Pan-Protestantism also appears to have overlapped with the old-light religious establishment, keeping itself aloof from the hotter sort of Protestantism ascendant in this period. It seems that few if any almanac makers identified as Methodists or Baptists. Of evangelicalism and revivalism, Tomlin says only that almanacs were "unaffected by these developments in American church life" and that almanacs condemned religious enthusiasm as a perversion (98, 117). Ultimately it remains unclear whether almanacs represented a true Protestant groundswell or might be viewed more accurately as a product of an elite Protestant hegemony. Using Tomlin's evidence, almanacs might also be read as representations of a certain image of Protestantism curated by those respectable, old-light laymen who controlled the means of production in early America. Some discussion of the tensions and internal limits of "pan-Protestantism," as well as more evidence of almanacs' reception, would have been welcome additions to this compelling study.

A significant contribution to early American religious and book history, *A Divinity for All Persuasions* is historiographically ambitious, intensively researched, and well written. It deserves to be read as the authoritative book on the subject of early American almanacs.

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Holy Nation: The Transatlantic Quaker Ministry in an Age of Revolution. By SARAH CRABTREE. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015. 276 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $45.)

In *Holy Nation*, Sarah Crabtree charts the beliefs and values of the Religious Society of Friends during the age of revolution. She focuses particularly on the intersection of religion with the politics of nation and empire throughout the Atlantic world. Crabtree argues that Quakers embraced and appropriated the

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Zion tradition to ensure consistent belief, attitudes, and common purpose during the years of the war for independence, the French Revolution, and Napoleonic Wars. She posits that, by comparing themselves to the "Israel of old," Quakers likened their suffering and devout belief to that of the Israelites. The Society of Friends saw themselves as a distinct and chosen people. As the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries unfolded, Quakers argued that their beliefs fell under God's law, not the laws of empires or nation-states. The Friends' pacifist beliefs and "guarded education" of young members placed them at odds with growing states. However, Crabtree explains, Quakers found themselves unable to remain united in agreement about Friends' place in the world.

Crabtree draws on the journals, sermons, notes, and correspondence of the Society of Friends' traveling ministers to make her case for the Friends' creation of a holy nation and its eventual dismantlement by a nineteenth-century schism. Her arguments draw from the society's spiritual elite and the messages of the yearly meetings rather than the monthly meetings of average Friends. While it is not clear how monthly meetings interpreted these messages, Crabtree does present the reaction of new governments to the greater Society of Friends.

Her argument deftly unfolds over five chapters, taking the reader through an evolution of the society during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Early chapters explore the rise of the Zion tradition and its use by traveling ministers to instill common values and language among society members. She explores the ironic way that Quaker ministers coopted the language of militarism to make a case for "lamb-like warriors" fighting against violence and war. Quakers' rhetoric not only confounded those in government but also struck blows against traditional masculinity.

Crabtree breaks fertile ground with her look at the Quaker-only schools that placed young Friends behind "walled gardens" to provide an education that would promote Quaker values. Using students' commonplace books and other school records, she reconstructs a curriculum that taught students to question authority and embrace their ability to change the world, an education that fledging republics were unlikely to embrace. As Crabtree discovers, those same students went on to be active in significant reform movements of the early nineteenth century. As the new century began, the Society of Friends moved toward a new use of the Zion tradition, emphasizing charity as an integral part of God's work.

Cosmopolitism threads its way through the last part of the book, as Crabtree explores how the Society of Friends served French and British thinkers as a model for good government, rational religion, and moral economy, even when the reality of the society did not reflect those ideals. Quakers briefly offered an alternative to the inevitable march towards fixed national citizenry. *Holy Nation* offers a glimpse of what might have been had the Hicksite schism not divided the Society of Friends.

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