

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

*New Light on George Fox and Early Quakerism : The Making and Unmaking of a God.* By Richard Bailey. The Edwin Mellen Press, San Francisco, 1992. Pp. xviii + 340. £39.95.

The author of this book was awarded an M.Phil. in 1986 by the University of Waterloo for a thesis on the followers of Melchior Hoffman in the Netherlands. The work under review was a doctoral thesis under Professor J.F.H. New, who writes a commendatory forward. It begins with a return to the supposition that study of early Quakerism within the long mystical tradition, as in the books of Rufus Jones, and study of it in relation to the contemporary Puritan context, as in my own writings, are mutually exclusive and antagonistic. This supposition was shared by a number of Friends in the 1940s (though not by Rufus Jones), but was soon perceived to be a misunderstanding. There is room and to spare for both kinds of study, and for others too, including Richard Bailey's, if only it were better executed. But Bailey writes dismissively of others throughout. Rufus Jones 'was no closer to the real Fox than Barclay' (p. 239, n. 54; 'along with Janney, Jones and Cadbury,' 'Braithwaite's conclusion was tainted by anachronistic assessments' (p. 177, n. 1); Neave Brayshaw, H.G. Wood, Lewis Benson, Maurice Creasey all fall under the axe. To write as if everyone is wrong but little Tommy may feel fine, but does not advance the argument.

Bailey claims that, by what 'we may call' the 'doctrine of celestial inhabitation' (a 'term' used to avoid any misinterpretation', seemingly invented *ad rem*), we see Fox 'casting himself ... as a magus, avatar, ... a new incarnation' (p. 19). One looks in vain for any definition or elucidation of this combination, from various cultures, of titles each of which might be thought ludicrously inappropriate to use of Fox. 'Fox's doctrine of celestial inhabitation was the hub of his entire world of thought' (p. 77). 'Deification was a natural corollary to christopresentism' (p. 81). Bailey proceeds to present Fox as one who 'reserved for himself the pre-eminent status of avatar' and 'expected, even demanded, the respect (even adoration) that came with ... his avatarial status' (pp. 115, 117). James Nayler's 'messianic' entry into Bristol is to be seen in the light of this. It was Nayler's 'bid for the leadership' (p. 137), his 'bid to seize the reigns [*sic!*] of power' as 'an avatar in his own right'; Fox's claims for himself dictated the choreography' (p. 174). Fox 'was very badly burned by Nayler, badly enough to back off from his avatar claims' (p. 181); and the remainder of the book shows us a Fox in 'retreat.' Even so, Fox 'did not alter or refine his belief in the graphic corporeal presence of the celestial flesh of Christ' (p. 186). 'Firm in his views,' he became 'like a solitary soldier ... increasingly out of step' (p. 248) and eventually 'somewhat aloof' (p. 268).

In the early 1650s notions of what Dr. Bailey calls celestial inhabitation, or something like it, are to be found among those known as Ranters. Since Friends were often called Ranters but repudiated the charge and opposed Ranter claims, some comparative analysis, based on the verbal and written disputes between the two groups, would be illuminating and might be expected, but is not provided. Was it Fox's unremitting insistence on ethical standards, at once expounding and balancing the 'celestial

inhabitation,' that made the difference? We hear nothing of this, or of the Fox who could refer to 'Christ my Saviour' (C.J., i.2) and be 'in ye love of God to y<sup>m</sup> all y<sup>t</sup> had persecuted mee' (C.J., i.58). It is in fact a curiously partial, almost an unreligious, Fox who appears here. An 'avatar,' one must suppose, would feel no need to pray? Yet Penn, who was not given to exaggeration, says of Fox that 'above all, he excelled in prayer.' Again, Dr. Bailey presents both Fox and Nayler as much concerned with status. Yet Penn, alongside reverential language in acknowledgement of Fox's leadership, says that he 'held his place ... with great meekness, and a most engaging humility and moderation,' while phrases such as 'mind to keep low' and 'it is the humble and not the high spirits that are taught of God' are, equally, characteristic of Nayler's spirituality from the beginning.<sup>1</sup>

These are matters of judgement. What is not, and is hard to excuse, is the writer's perpetual carelessness. Thomas Aldham, John Kilham, Anne Cargill, Abiezer Cope, Worcester, H.L. Doncaster, even Underhill (for Underwood) may be no more than slips, but Macauley throughout, *nudas veritas, lex gentiles* look more like illiteracy; neither Fenny Drayton nor Grindleton was a town; Lady Claypole's name was not Anne. What is worse is that in a passage (pp. 117-118) which is central to the argument, taken from Penney's edition of Fox's *Journal*, there are more than a dozen minor deprivations of the text. Since the writer is engaged throughout with early Quaker manuscripts and the cavalier treatment of them by later Quakers, this is incomprehensible.

Cf. my 'The Letters of James Nayler' in *The Lamb's War* (Festschrift for Hugh Barbour, 1992), p. 142.

Geoffrey F. Nuttall

*Mary Howitt : Another Lost Victorian Writer.* By Joy Dunicliff. Excalibur Press of London, 1992. Pp. viii + 264. £8.95.

Mary Howitt was a prolific woman writer in the nineteenth century, producing poetry, translations, fiction, journalism and writing for children on a considerable scale. Her husband William was an equally prolific writer and it is sometimes difficult to tell their work apart. How far though is Mary really a 'lost Victorian writer' and who is the 'author' supposed to equate with her? Neither point is satisfactorily addressed here. Her own literary reputation is probably justly ranked as minor though she is of historical interest because of her contribution to the growing trend of female authorship. Her literary friendships were of some importance and the Howitts could claim some credit for the rise of Mrs. Gaskell. Mary and William left the Society of Friends in 1848 and experimented with spiritualism for some years while Mary joined the Roman Catholic church six years before her death in 1888.

Joy Dunicliff writes in some detail about the family background of Mary Howitt (born Botham) in Uttoxeter. There is invariably a good deal of material too about William and their children. Valuable use is made of very extensive quotation from Mary's letters and papers, poems and other publications. The picture of two Victorian writers, earning their livings by turning their hands to almost any sort of paid writing consistent with their principles and of their considerable and varied trials and tribulations is a useful one to balance against the more substantial studies of the great nineteenth-century writers.

The author's grasp of Quakerism in the nineteenth century is not strong but despite their very firm commitment to liberal and reform causes, particularly in their journalism, the Howitts are not most notable as Friends. Joy Dunicliff appears not to have been well served by her publisher. The book would have been much better for careful editing and proof-reading and the reproduction of the illustrations leaves a good deal to be desired.

*David J. Hall*

*Deborah Derby.* By Rachel Labouchere. William Sessions Ltd., York, 1993. £6.50 + £1.55 p&p.

"Read me" invites the cover of this book, taken from a watercolour by Mary Grierson, with the Iron Bridge of Coalbrookdale portrayed on a mug holding flowers and fruit, and enhanced with a microscopic view of Sunnyside, the Derby family home.

Much research has preceded this account by Rachel Labouchere of the life of Deborah Derby - of whom she is a direct descendant. And a very reader-friendly book it is, with a family tree, a selected list of personalities mentioned with tiny biographies, and helpful indexing of places visited by Deborah in England, Scotland, Wales, America and Ireland. Maps and illustrations illuminate the text of this book of some 438 pages.

Deborah Darby, born Deborah Barnard in 1754, the daughter of John and Hannah Barnard (Quakers) of Uppertorpe near Sheffield, married Samuel Derby, son of Abraham Darby II and Abiah Darby, in 1777. Two of their four children survived, the others dying in infancy. Samuel and Edmund were among the children inoculated against smallpox in those early days of immunisation. It is not suggested that the marriage was in any way odd, but Deborah and Samuel spent considerable periods apart. Deborah appears to be travelling almost incessantly, journeying at all times of the year and in all weathers, requiring strength of body as well as fortitude of spirit. Samuel had business in London and suffered from recurrent illness. Deborah's travelling in the Ministry took her all over the country, to Ireland three times, and from 1793-1796 she journeyed in America.

Alas, Deborah was not a particularly interesting diarist, her notes on the American journey reading rather like a gazetteer - did NOTHING amusing happen, wasn't the scenery beautiful? One can but wonder at the courage of Quaker women in those days: Deborah rode since childhood, and there are references to phaetons and other vehicles. She was accompanied on her journeys, her most constant companion being Rebecca Young. The War of Independence had finished ten years prior to her visit, which had but one object 'The saving of souls... to follow the pathway through life which led to the Heavenly Kingdom.' Rachel Labouchere includes some earthy touches, however: their stores on the outward journey included a bottle of brandy, with extra corks, and on the return - because of uncertain drinking water - they carried 5 dozen of port, 10 dozen Taunton Ale, 2 gallons of brandy and some peppermint water, and rum for the sailors. One might venture that the result of Rachel Labouchere's research has an interest which would not have been recognised by Deborah. Also recorded is the rather tender tradition of the deer, said to have been given to Deborah when she left America and the ancestors of the herd in the little Deer Park at Sunnyside, banished at the beginning of the Second World War. Deborah and Rebecca arrived back in mid-July 1796, and in September Samuel died at Bilston. He had been "inclined" to go thither with S. Proud.

On 21 September, she set off for York, and continued her travelling ministry, (including two visits to Ireland) until the end of 1809, when she became confined to the house. She died on 14 February 1809 at the age of 56. 'Her voice was sweet and harmonious... and in her air and aspect dignity was mingled with sweetness...' Read this book, and after a couple of months, read it again. You will be much rewarded.

*Patricia R. Sparks*

*'A Wealth of Happiness and Many Bitter Trials' : (The Journals of Sir Alfred Edward Pease) A Restless Man.* By Joseph Gurney Pease. William Sessions Ltd., The Ebor Press, York, 1992.

Pp. xx + 363. Illus. £14.95 + £1.90 p&p.

The title is an apt choice and indicative of the rich promise of the book. The long life of Alfred Edward Pease, 1857-1939, saw a bewildering series of changes and experiences which his Journals allow us to share with a character of courage, integrity and resilience.

Born into a well established Quaker business dynasty in the north-east of England Alfred grew up in a style and standard of living far beyond Quaker ideals of simplicity. The family had already made a distinct contribution to the region, notably with the Stockton-Darlington Railway and the development of Middlesborough. It was a measure of the family's influence that a Pease man sat in every House of Commons between 1865 and 1910, Alfred amongst them. Their complex business empire is well set out in the Introduction and the records illustrate the difficulties of overseeing a disparate group of concerns where sound business decisions might conflict with family or community considerations. Alfred's father's diaries add much useful detail in these matters. Central to these ventures was the Counting House, the family bank, where Alfred was made a partner early in his career, a decision which gave him no satisfaction at all. The collapse of the Bank in 1902, due to both family and business complications, had a traumatic effect on the family, powerfully documented here. Alfred survived to continue later an effective role in local affairs and to manage successfully the affairs of the owners of the Middlesborough Estate, though he had little pride in what his family had built there.

His brief career as a Liberal M.P. produces some interesting material on the Home Rule crisis of 1886 and his friendships with Rosebery and Grey.

Africa was to become a major interest in his life in the varied guises of explorer, Resident Magistrate in South Africa, businessman and hunter, the latter role seeing him organise a lion shoot for Theodore Roosevelt in 1909. These aspects are well covered in the Journal extracts and supported by illustrations and maps.

Glimpses of his Quaker faith are movingly given at various points in the book though he resigned his membership during the First World War and later became an Anglican. However he told the Archbishop of York in 1918 'how in the main I held by my Quaker views...'

Married three times, his family life, with its joys and sorrows and its uneasy relation to business, provides a constant counterpoint to the excitement, controversy and demands made by his public career. Not the least paradox of this book is that of a man with a weak heart for whom, despite accidents, riding to hounds remained a life-long passion, who rode in a steeplechase in his seventieth year.

In making available material of value to the social and economic historian and in his successful evocation of a past era, Joseph Gurney Pease has produced a enjoyable and absorbing book.

*Howard F. Gregg*

*Friends Service Centre 1942 to 1949 : Beginnings.* By Joyce Millington. Sessions Book Trust, York, 1993. Pp. viii + 40. Illus. £3.00 + 55p. p&p.

'Beginnings' is explained in the sub-title of this account: 'Pioneering Quaker Social Work in Liverpool.' Friends Service Centre began in 1942 under Friends Relief Service and its early history is conveniently outlined in the Foreward, an extract from Roger Wilson's "Quaker Relief," and in a brief paragraph in Pat Starkey's pamphlet, "I Will Not Fight" (reviewed in *JFHS*, vol. 56, no. 4, p. 335). Its value was recognised in an independent report of 1944, for which Eryl Hall Williams was partially responsible, and Liverpool Preparative Meeting took over responsibility for the Centre in early 1945. Part of its activities was the case-work used by the Liverpool Pacifist Service Unit and it is here that Joyce Millington sees the centre as playing its part in the beginnings of post-war social work.

Joyce Millington's account begins with her arrival at the Centre in August 1945 'for a brief respite from teaching.' Her account is personal in two ways. The booklet is based on Joyce and her colleagues' memories of the Centre since no records, minutes or reports appear to have survived. The Centre proved decisive for Joyce since she stayed there until its closure in 1949 and, in August 1948, married its Fieldwork Organiser, Tom Millington, in whose memory the booklet is compiled.

Joyce concisely describes the role of the Centre as providing 'help and support for some families and individuals in the neighbourhood.' How this was pursued is clearly and vividly set out in chapters which detail the premises, the workers, the assorted clients, finances and the daily routine. Even the cats have a chapter to themselves! Estimates of the effectiveness of the team's work and contrasts with modern social service practice make thoughtful reading. With all its problems the experience, both within its historical context and wider social issues, has been well worth the effort of recording.

*Howard F. Gregg*

*A Page of History in Relief : Quaker Relief, 1944-1946.* By Eryl Hall Williams. Sessions Book Trust, York, 1993. Pp. viii + 124. Illus. £5.00 + 75p. p&p.

Like several recent publications already reviewed in this *Journal* this is an invaluable first-hand account of taking part in one aspect of an important phase of Quaker relief work at the end of the Second World War. Eryl Hall Williams gives 'a personal account'

of Quaker Relief Team 100 (RT100/FRS), formed in the autumn of 1944 and its work, largely in defeated Germany, from spring 1945 to the summer of 1946. The team was involved in two main areas of work. Firstly, the team's contribution to the relief operation mounted in the terrible aftermath of the discovery of Belsen concentration camp. The tension this experience caused for Professor Williams between the horror of what he saw and his deeply felt pacifism is movingly and honestly expressed. Mistaken for a sanitary team they were moved to Sulingen in May 1945 from where they were sent to Brunswick, for their second and longer assignment.

This was being responsible for a camp for Polish refugees (Displaced Persons), its population exceeding 2,000 for much of their time there. The sheer challenge of this work in an ever changing and far from certain situation is vividly conveyed with the frustrations, the dangers, the demands and the achievement seen. The measure of working in the difficulties of an unstable post-war context is well expressed in the author's recollection, about August 1945, 'that the Germans hated us, the Poles disliked us, and by now we were by no means sure that we liked ourselves.' The occasional concert, visit to a ski resort or the Folk and Dance Festival attended in April 1946 clearly stand out as the welcome respite from so many pressures. The team's effective witness was recognised in notices of thanks placed in two British newspapers by 'grateful D.P.s - their friends' in the summer of 1946.

In recording 'it as it was' Professor Williams gives a chronological account based on diaries, letters and other materials, well supported with photographs and personal recollections of others. Nine appendices illuminate different parts of the main story. This publication is a welcome addition to the printed record of the dedication, courage and goodwill of those who undertook Quaker witness in such overwhelming areas of need.

*Howard F. Gregg*

*Records of Conscience : Three Autobiographical Narratives by Conscientious Objectors 1665 to 1685.* Edited by Professor Peter Brock. William Sessions Ltd., York, 1993. £6.00 + 75p. p&p.

Peter Brock points out that during this period of 200 years before the introduction of universal military service conscientious objectors rarely wrote about their experiences. This was partly because their involvement with the military was usually brief or, as in America, because it was often possible to arrange a legal way of escape. Hence the value and interest of these narratives.

Richard Seller was a Friend and long-shore fisherman from Kilnsea, Yorkshire. He was taken by the press gang and hauled on board the flagship *Royal Prince*. Since he refused to do the King's work, he would not accept the ship's rations. He said his warfare was spiritual and that he dared not fight with carnal weapons.

He was constantly and brutally beaten and lay in irons for a fortnight, deprived of food and water, though he was sometimes kindly treated by the crew. He was condemned to death and ordered to be hanged at the yard-arm. Although pitifully weak, he was able eventually to stand up and say that he was not concerned with his body because he was at peace with God and all men. The Admiral finally set him free, probably because of his obvious sincerity and the fact that no evidence was offered against him.

The other two narratives, in contrast, seem rather less dramatic. John Smith of Datmouth, Massachusetts, who had become a Friend, endured sufferings both in the militia and, following impressment, in the Royal Navy. He suffered imprisonment for not paying a fine for refusing military service and was ordered to sail on a vessel to Boston where he was again imprisoned. After his release he sailed for England where he was taken on board a man of war and asked to fight against the French. He refused and was roughly handled and beaten about the head, but was finally allowed to leave the ship.

John Wesley Pratt, a follower of William Lloyd Garrison, was, it seems, the only Garrisonian pacifist to be inducted into the Union army against his will. The narrative is written in the form of a letter to Garrison and is based on official correspondence about Pratt and a spirited dialogue between his and military officers about his refusal of military service.

All three narratives illustrate the same firm determination to adhere to principle and seem to have had a happy ending.

*Cecil Evans*

*The Quakers of Melksham 1669-1950.* By Harold Fassnidge. Bradford on Avon Friends. Pp. 186. Illus. £4.50.

Friends out of their affectionate attachment to their particular meeting write a history of that meeting. The title of Harold Fassnidge's book seems to focus on one town, but his canvas is intentionally wider; perhaps that wider context could have justified a larger format and a longer book incorporating the considerable material in the eight appendices, material gathered from County and Quaker records.

The early chapters give a brief, cogent description of George Fox, the rise of the Quaker movement, its organisation and its testimonies, and Friends' endurance under persecution. The chapter on the Melksham/Pickwick school shows the steps taken to remedy for poorer Friends their exclusion from the local church grammar school, and points out the distances which boys might travel at a tender age to enter a school of their parents' choice.

The major chapter "Weighty Friends" illustrates the vital support given to Melksham meeting by those families whose character and social position could protect and buttress the whole, and whose connections linked them into the great family web of the Society - the Beavens, Ruttys and Fowlers. We learn of the vigorous and innovative activities of those families in the ministry, in medicine, and in invention.

The changes brought about by the industrial revolution meant in Melksham so severe a decline in membership that not even the self-denying efforts of Norman Penney, sent by the Home Missions Committee in 1892, could prevent its closure in 1914.

The illustrations in this book by Jane Townesend are charming line-drawings; there are also reproductions of some fine photographs and drawings, by courtesy of Friends Library and of the University of Reading. I should have welcomed, in addition, a map of the county to show the less-well-known places which are mentioned in Appendix B.

*Kathleen L. Cottrell*

*The York Retreat (in the light of the Quaker Way)*. By Kathleen Anne Stewart. William Sessions Ltd., 1992. £5.00 + 75p. p&p.

The publication of this paper is opportune, first for the obvious reason that it has been printed in 1992, the year accepted as the bicentennial year of the founding of the York Retreat, and secondly because it appears at a time when there is much discussion, and not least within the Religious Society of Friends, about the future provision of health services. Stuart C. Haywood in generously acknowledging these points in his Foreward calls the book 'a welcome challenge.'

This is not a history of the York Retreat but rather a study of medical ethics within the Society. Kathleen Stewart considers whether the principles upon which the establishment and its regime were founded accorded with the beliefs of early Quakerism or whether it was the evolution of Quaker faith which by the end of the eighteenth century made possible the foundation of the Retreat.

To set the background to her book she offers a résumé of Samuel Tuke's Description of the Retreat and of some nine other books and papers on the subject of Mental Illness with reference to the Retreat. Some of these are Quaker, some of non-Quaker authorship; some are American, some are English. There is, therefore, a wide range of view. One appreciates that Kathleen Stewart's purpose is to endeavour to modify the extremes of that range.

An interesting chapter is included in which the Archives of the York Retreat are much drawn upon for a description of the environment, staffing and treatment in the asylum. Would it have been possible from Case Books and Reports to have had a fuller view of the doctors who practised at the Retreat and their increasing fund of experience?

There is one comment which I found surprising. In writing of the 'century gap between the ideas of George Fox and the founding of the Retreat in 1796' I think that Kathleen Stewart may undervalue seventeenth-century Quakers and the steps taken then, though in a personal and local way rather than through an institution, to care for those groups which George Fox asked Friends to be 'tender of.' Women's Meetings' Minutes and Weekly Committee Minutes might offer a fully picture.

Some intriguing questions are raised in this thesis, and although the Afterword suggests that 'there is no final truth,' we are encouraged to further reading by a considerable bibliography of archival and published sources.

*Kathleen L. Cottrell*