

## BOOK REVIEWS

HOPPER, A. (ed.), *The World of John Secker (1716–95), Quaker Mariner* (Norwich: Norfolk Record Society, 2011), pp. x + 194. ISBN: 978-0-9556357-4-8, Hardback, £18.00 + £3.50 p&p, available from the Hon. Secretary, NRS, 29 Cintra Road, Norwich, NR1 4AE, England.

As a child in the early 1720s, John Secker delighted in reading tales of travel. They kindled in him a desire 'to travel into distant countrys [*sic*] and to see those strange things which I had read of' (p. 25). It was a longing which led to twenty-five years as a seaman, and voyages to exotic places far beyond his Norfolk homeland; first to European ports, and later to America, Africa and India. He hunted goats on Ascension Island, watched Arabian eunuchs duelling on horseback and admired the Dutch gardens at the Cape of Good Hope, planted with herbs to cure the ever-prevalent scurvy (pp. 63, 64, 78). Nevertheless, life at sea could be dangerous, and Secker certainly experienced his share of storms, sickness and accidents, as well as the threat of piracy. On one occasion, making notes in a journal during a voyage along the coast of South America, he was arrested on suspicion of espionage (pp. 137-44).

In 1755, John Secker retired from the sea. At nearly forty years old, he 'was very desirous to spend the remaining part of my days on shore' (p. 164). But, a decade or more later, he wrote, for the eyes of his family and friends, an account of the years he spent voyaging around the world. Never intended for publication, the original manuscript and a later copy came into the possession of Yarmouth Quaker Daniel Boulter, and are now held at Norfolk Record Office. Andrew Hopper's scholarly edition of Secker's reminiscences is the first time this fascinating account has been available in print.

Although John Secker came from a Quaker family, married a fellow Quaker, and following his retirement attended many of the Norfolk and Norwich Quarterly Meetings, his reminiscences make little mention of his faith. This is not a spiritual autobiography. He notes at the start of his memoirs that the Quaker examples and principles of his upbringing 'were never wholly erac'd [*sic*], though much defaced by travel and bad company' (p. 25). His early voyages even included a brief spell in the navy (pp. 28-35). Nevertheless, as Hopper notes in his introduction, Secker's faith did leave its mark on his narrative, in that he seems to have omitted what his Quaker

family and friends might find offensive (p. 4). When Secker wrote of drunkenness and violence, it was often disapprovingly, and there is scant evidence in the pages of his memoirs of any womanising by his fellow sailors, and certainly none by himself. There is little on the transatlantic slave trade, beyond his account of the unsuccessful attempt by one disreputable captain to sell a freed slave (p. 55). Secker did take care to give credit to God for preserving him from several misadventures and illnesses during his years at sea. But not until the final pages of his account do Secker's Quaker beliefs become overt, when he refused to serve in a merchant vessel that was being fitted out with guns (p. 158).

This edition of Secker's narrative is a full transcription of the original manuscript, with additional passages at the beginning and end transcribed from the later, less damaged, copy. Secker's illustrations and plans are included as plates. Andrew Hopper's introduction summarises Secker's life, and places this manuscript in the context of other seafarers' accounts from the period. Explanations of nautical terms, and modern spellings of place names, are provided in the footnotes, and there is a map of Secker's main voyages. Secker served on many ships, and it is particularly useful to have the appendix which summarises all the vessels on which he served, with their voyages and cargoes. The volume also includes a transcript of Secker's will, and a family tree. The voyages were inevitably affected by the wars and politics of the period; a timeline of major events is not included, but would have been helpful.

Secker's manuscript is a fascinating account of the life of an eighteenth-century seafarer, and the global maritime trade of the period. It will undoubtedly be of interest to historians of Norfolk, as the personal account of one of its sons, even though much of the narrative is situated outside the county. While Quaker historians will find that Secker said little that directly touched on Quakerism, his reminiscences are evidence that eighteenth-century Quakers did not live isolated lives, but engaged in trade and travel with those of other nationalities and religious beliefs.

Norfolk Record Society is to be congratulated for making this absorbing account available in print.

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CARROLL, S., and HOPPER, A., 'A Yorkshireman in the Bastille: John Harwood and the Quaker Mission to Paris', in N. Lewycky and A. Morton (eds.), *Getting Along? Religious Identities and Confessional Relations in Early Modern England: Essays in Honour of Professor W. J. Shiels* (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History; Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 185-212.

*Getting Along* is a Festschrift to mark the career of historian William J. Shiels. Lewycky and Morton have attracted important scholars in the area of Reformation and Post-Reformation studies, who have contributed ten chapters to the collection. The editors' introduction presents a useful historiography, anchored in pushing the

prevailing notion from ‘tolerance’ of different denominations to neighbourliness—or at least ‘getting along’. In their paper, Carroll and Hopper explore whether this ‘getting along’ coalesced around a Quaker mission to Paris and missionary John Harwood; described as an often-overlooked founding Friend. The chapter begins to redress matters. Based on the transcripts of two interviews with Harwood during his short imprisonment in 1657 at the Bastille, Paris, the paper not only provides a biography of Harwood—and to a lesser extent of his fellow missionary, George Bayly—but also suggests the complex formation of Quaker belief. Apparently arrested after an Irish priest from Montaigu College informed the authorities of contraband religious material, Harwood was interviewed by the French authorities with the help of an Englishman working in Paris. While the transcripts are short (reproduced in the original French and in English as an appendix), they reveal valuable details, allowing the authors convincingly to argue for an established and well-connected Quaker support network in France, especially in its capital. The nuances of belief are also depicted. Harwood articulated to the curious interviewers the hallmarks of his faith, such as the attitude to oath-swearing and the call of the Spirit. The Paris interlude is here embedded in Harwood’s life story, which was one punctuated by publication, imprisonment, a charged fallout with George Fox, and an apparent later re-engagement with Meetings.

In some senses, one might wish for a little more from the chapter. Its structure is organic; some context thin: clarifying early on, for example, the atmosphere of religious suspicion in Paris would have leant greater understanding to Harwood and Bayly’s arrests. The main chapter does not refer to the appendix at all; it would be instructive for readers first to peruse this. However, these minor issues may even add to the utility of the work—for sure, time invested in reading will generate interest in knowing more about Harwood and to explore how early Friends understood and communicated the tenets of their faith. Carroll and Hopper’s work is a welcome and valuable contribution to the history of early Quakerism.

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BROWN, J. (ed. with a foreword), *Autobiography of Allen Jay, 1831–1910* (Richmond, IN: Friends United Meeting, 2010), pp. xx + 398. ISBN: 978-0-944350-75-1, Paperback, US \$25.00.

In a conversation with John Wilhelm Rowntree on a cliff overlooking Robin Hood’s Bay in England, Allen Jay of Richmond, Indiana, reviewed with his friend the life of Yearly Meetings in England, Ireland and America and reflected on the tensions surrounding their future direction and changing leadership. The world of 1901 was very different from the world of today, but, I believe, the relevance and the urgency of this same discourse of the two men remains true in our world of uncertainties and rapid change. Joshua Brown, pastor of West Richmond Friends in Indiana, has provided a service to Quakers across at least two continents in reviving

the autobiography of Allen Jay (1831–1910), a faithful and much-loved Friend of his time. Originally published in 1909, it is now re-issued, one hundred years after his death, with notes and a helpful index by Joshua Brown and added appendices of some of the testimonies of this remarkable man. The foreword by Joshua Brown and new introduction by Thomas Hamm reflect the respect in which the memory of this Friend is held.

Jay wrote this autobiography over the last few years of his life, drawing from his own memory, his personal letters, and, with help from his many friends, with research and editing to ensure its accuracy. It is clear from the text that this was a man who, from early maturity, had devoted himself to the service of Friends in responding to what God required of him in love and in truth. Jay's story covers the history of the revival movement in the United States as Friends found new life in Christ through prayer and the reading of scripture; it charts the tension that this caused in Meetings as ministers and eldership adjusted to this new reality with varying degrees of success at remaining united over issues of doctrine. The slow-burning realisation through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that slavery was unacceptable in any form, benevolent or otherwise, in a Religious Society of Friends that espoused equality before God, created further challenges between individual Friends and between Meetings. The Civil War (1861–1865) exacerbated these pressures and placed an intolerable strain on Quaker families south of the Mason-Dixon Line, and many moved west from North Carolina and Tennessee. One Friend, Jay tells us, that refused to flee from North Carolina—as a consequence of his leading through prayer—was Dr Nereus Mendenhall, who stayed behind to provide an education to the young that remained in his community.

Following the defeat of the Confederacy, Allen Jay's service to the Baltimore Association of Friends to Assist and Advise the Friends in the Southern States was pivotal in his ministry, shaping and deepening his valued contribution among Quakers. Schools and model farms were provided by Friends, with significant financial help from London and Dublin Yearly Meetings. Such assistance became the backbone of North Carolina's reconstruction.

With this experience behind him and service as treasurer and minister at Providence School, Rhode Island, Allen was well placed to serve as superintendent and treasurer of Richmond's Earlham College. Allen's ability to raise money from individuals and institutions among Friends and non-Friends became legendary, and his ability to work with others raising capital and income saved many Quaker educational institutions and enabled them to survive and thrive. The concern for sound biblical knowledge and the proper training of ministers and others in service to the Society was writ large on his heart.

The text and the testimonies make the clear case that this was a man who had become a Quaker elder statesman, senior administrator and successful fundraiser, but above all remained a man with an easy openness who could speak plainly to people of all ages with a rare combination of compassion, authority and the simple directness of a robust Christian faith.

Joshua Brown, in his introduction to Jay's, autobiography argued that 'if you want to understand the complex challenges and changes faced by Friends in the 1800s, you have to read the autobiography of Allen Jay' (p. xvii). Further to Brown's statement, it is clear to me that if you wish to know how Truth prospered in foreign missions and in matters of discipline among Friends in this period, and if you wish to sense its repercussions today, read this book. His ministry, travelling among Friends in Britain and Ireland and across the United States, was part and parcel of his very being and was personal and spirit led.

Thank you, Joshua Brown, for your helpful and well-researched footnotes. Thank you for your enthusiasm to let it be known this Friend was clear that separation among Quakers would not help advance the kingdom and that our young men and women needed and desired plain speaking about faith and witness to come to maturity—perhaps these are at least some of the lessons that we should read in this echo from the past.

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APPELBAUM, P., *Kingdom to Commune: Protestant Pacifist Culture between World War I and the Vietnam Era* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), pp. xiii+330. ISBN: 978-0-8078-3267-7, Hardback, \$46.95; e-book, \$30.00.

Patricia Appelbaum organises this book around a fruitful insight: twentieth-century Protestant pacifism in North America can better be characterised as a culture than an ideology. In their patterns of belonging, arts and literature, spirituality, communitarianism, and ways of life, Protestant pacifists created a culture that dissented from the more warlike mainstream, but for the most part, did not seek to be separate from it. She sees similarities between pacifist culture and fundamentalism, inasmuch as both were movements 'in abeyance...building strength for the next revival' (p. 44). In the aftermath of World War I, Protestant pacifism was definitely an ecumenical movement, as she points to all the Presbyterian, Unitarian, Methodist, and Disciples of Christ pacifists. During World War II there were somewhat fewer Methodist conscientious objectors, 673, than there were Quakers, 951, but, as compared to Quakers, the Methodist denomination supplied a more comparable number to Civilian Public Service camps, in absolute figures, than did any other denomination (p. 37).

Yet liberal unprogrammed (or 'silent meeting') Quakers played a central role in this movement, just as Protestant pacifism helped to transform early twentieth-century Quakerism into something that was much less sectarian. Appelbaum describes liberal Quakerism as 'one of the most important social spaces for the preservation and transmission of pacifist culture' (p. 39). Friends had considerable prestige throughout the period for a number of reasons, including: the high profile of Quaker spokesmen like Rufus Jones; the awarding of the 1947 Nobel Peace Prize; and the theological flexibility of Quakerism that 'made it possible for members to espouse a generalised theology that accommodated Christian confession but did not

require it' (p. 40). Consequently, the Religious Society of Friends tended to attract more converts than other denominations renowned for peace witness such as the Mennonites and Church of the Brethren.

There are substantial chapters on several of the cultural dimensions of the American Protestant pacifist movement, including social networks, theology, spirituality, pageantry, iconography, training and initiation, and literature and storytelling. Appelbaum's analysis is both persuasive and fascinating. Many of her 'peace heroes' remain familiar names at this writing: St Francis, William Penn, Mohandas Gandhi. But we are also re-introduced to Toyohiko Kagawa, a street evangelist and Christian labour union organiser from Japan; Muriel Lester, the travelling secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) and a founder of an urban workers' community in London; Frank Laubach, a missionary in the Philippines; and other now forgotten but once highly admired icons for pacifism. Laubach's and Lester's books on spirituality were widely read as guides to 'practicing the presence of God,' a phrase borrowed from the seventeenth-century Catholic lay monk Brother Lawrence.

Especially illuminating are Appelbaum's thumbnail sketches of organisers of this culture of Protestant pacifism, such as Pendle Hill faculty member Richard Gregg, who, in an influential training manual, advocated that pacifists make extensive use of folk songs and folk dancing in their lives, because they strengthened community spirit and feelings of equality. Pacifist iconography, including the art of Fritz Eichenberg, is thoroughly analysed; while some elements, such as the use of doves to signify peace, have long roots in Christian arts, others, such as the depiction of the beating of swords into plowshares, were new in the twentieth century. One chapter considers the many reasons that many twentieth-century pacifists turned toward agricultural communes as especially virtuous. Appelbaum states, 'In the context of pacifists' ambivalence about modernity, the cooperative farms represented a decisive step away' (p. 156).

Appelbaum argues that Protestant pacifist culture underwent a paradigm shift between 1939 and 1942. It 'moved from a mainstream position to a sectarian and marginal one; from an embrace of modernity to skepticism about it; and from a Christian center to a pacifist one' (p. 204). A critical difference between early twentieth-century pacifist culture and the later variety was that in the earlier culture, Christian themes had been paramount, but from the 1940s onward, pacifism became the chief organising principle, not Christianity. This eventually paved the way for many liberal Quakers and other Protestant pacifists to move toward a universalist spirituality. Pacifist drama, which had previously played out in church pageants, tended to move into the streets as nonviolent direct action. Still, Appelbaum sees many similarities between the antiwar movement of the Vietnam era and earlier Protestant pacifism. 'That movement invoked an ideology of love, a spiritual practice of meditation, a folk aesthetic, and, later, a renewed back-to-the-land movement. It insisted on consistency of word and action, and its members were confident of basic human goodness and human improvability' (p. 203). Appelbaum admits that she is just beginning the endeavour of recovering this history, and much other research needs to be done.

One implication of Appelbaum's work is that most American Quakers from the Midwest and the West did not partake in the Protestant pacifist culture that she delineates. Most Midwestern and Western Friends were far more influenced by other religious cultures that were holding out in abeyance, awaiting very different evangelical, fundamentalist, or charismatic revivals. The Friends' place in the latter movements awaits its historian, but this implication from Appelbaum's book—that the differences among North American Quakers are not only ones of theology or ideology but also a clash of cultures—is a helpful insight into the depth of controversy to be found among Friends on that continent. Appelbaum's work is highly innovative, and it is essential reading for anyone who seeks to understand twentieth-century American Quaker history.

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TOMLINS, C., *Freedom Bound: Law, Labor, and Civic Identity in Colonizing English America, 1580–1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. xvi + 617. ISBN: 978-0-521-76139-0, Hardback, \$120.00; 978-0-521-13777-5, Paperback, \$41.00; e-book, \$33.00.

The learned author of this wide-ranging book deploys incisive and illuminating legal history in combination with an impressive command of the voluminous secondary literature on American social history. It is certainly not unprecedented for scholars to observe that, throughout human history, robust freedom for a few is often dependent on a nasty unfreedom—that is, a bound condition—for many others. However, never before has this case been made so thoroughly for the lands that became the United States of America, during the several centuries from European contact and colonisation, up to the American Civil War. While varieties of oppression are considered in turn (including the co-opted labour of Native Americans, servants, apprentices and housewives), this book's best and longest chapter explores the development of slavery and race in North America. A shortcoming of this book is the general lack of attention given to the religious and theological underpinnings of unfreedom. If Tomlins had surveyed how much theological differences between Puritans, Anglicans and Quakers actually affected the development of forms of (un)freedom in British North America, this would have added a helpful dimension to his otherwise penetrating analysis.

For this journal, it will likely be most helpful to concentrate on the implications of his analysis for our understanding of Quaker history. Tomlins has the most to say about Pennsylvania Quakers, but little to say about North American Quakers who preceded the establishment of Pennsylvania (e.g., Quakers in Rhode Island). The sweeping scope of this book makes such choices inevitable.

Tomlins notes the 1512 Spanish *requerimiento*, which permitted 'wars of enslavement launched to suppress indigenous resistance' (p. 104) and the debates among

Spanish legal scholars such as Francisco Vitoria as to the degree to which such wars were really justified. While the actions of British colonists were clearly undergirded by this prior Spanish legal debate, Tomlins does not analyse the degree to which William Penn's diplomacy with local Native Americans in the 1680s represents a departure from previous lamentably violent colonial norms.

Tomlins states that 'Penn's *Frame of the Government* appears to have been designed with the interests of the largest first purchasers firmly in mind' (p. 284). Penn himself 'was no leveller' (p. 278). Many of the earliest Quaker settlers in Pennsylvania, however, were less-well-heeled individuals from northern England, and consequently Pennsylvania was imprinted by an 'ethos of instinctive anti-authoritarian localism, carried over from the North West England pastoral cultures from which its early migrants had come' (p. 286). He states that this led to chronic factionalism, in which the 'lesser men' often prevailed or were able to bring about a stalemate. Drawing on the works of scholars such as Barry Levy, Tomlins asserts that 'the goal in the Delaware Valley, as formerly in England, was household-centred social peace' (p. 286). Quakers valued kinship and an extended sense of family and their 'radical domesticity' led to practices that would have been unusual elsewhere in North America, such as the use of arbitration conducted by Quaker meetings to resolve differences, rather than resort to courts of law (pp. 226-27).

But the idealism that was present in societies in the Delaware Valley had limited reach. These societies made ample use of the labour of servants and slaves. True, their economies were somewhat less dependent on an unfree work force than colonies to their south; they were 'societies with slaves; not 'slave societies' (p. 479). While Tomlins' analysis includes European indentured servants, English convicts, youthful apprentices, and wives subject to patriarchal laws, his most searching and extended examination is of enslaved African Americans. Tomlins succinctly defines slavery as 'an alternative to death, a conditional permission to continue to live granted the slave by the enslaver, at the enslaver's pleasure. The purpose of the [slave] regime was [to impose] as absolute a degree of control as (humanly) possible' (p. 507).

One contribution of Tomlins' book is to highlight the influence of the West Indies on the development of slavery regimes, predominantly in English North American colonies. Barbados was 'the seed crystal for the slavery regimes' in late seventeenth-century North America (p. 428), a fact reinforced by the numerous immigrations of Barbados planters with their slaves. Although Tomlin does not mention it, slaveholding Quakers were a significant presence in Barbados and undoubtedly influenced the early evolution of slavery in the Delaware Valley.

Slaveholding rates were generally lower in Pennsylvania than in other English North American Societies, although they could vary significantly from decade to decade. This reviewer was fascinated by Tomlins' statistics, which handily quantified varying levels of slavery in these societies. Outside the South, New York had the highest incidence of slavery, averaging about 12 to 15 per cent from the mid-seventeenth century through the 1760s. About 2.5 per cent of Pennsylvania's population were slaves, although the incidence from 1700 to 1720 was much higher, around 6.5 per cent, returning to the mean thereafter. Rhode Island, where there



was a significant Quaker presence, fell in between New York and Pennsylvania in this particular measure; it averaged a percentage of about 5.8 slaves in its population. In the agricultural Narragansett region of Rhode Island, over 30 per cent of the population was enslaved (p. 478).

Anti-slavery activists such as Anthony Benezet and John Woolman are not mentioned in this book. One can only deduce the effects of their labours (and that of other campaigners) from the decline of slavery in the northern states in the new United States, albeit a decline that was shockingly gradual. Pennsylvania's abolition statute of 1780 was so gradual that it freed no one for nearly three decades. In Rhode Island, slavery was not formally abolished until 1843; in Pennsylvania, not until 1847.

Tomlins' final chapter makes effective use of the majority decision and dissents in the 1857 US Supreme Court decision in the case of Dred Scott, a slave who claimed his freedom because his master had taken him to live in the free territory of Illinois. The court denied Scott his freedom, and in fact even denied that Scott was a US citizen, stating that African-Americans constituted 'a subordinate and inferior class of beings' who had no 'rights which the white man was bound to respect' (p. 530). The author of one dissenting opinion, Justice Benjamin Curtis, disagreed with the court majority on whether Scott was a citizen—Curtis said he was—but, in this context, emptied the term 'citizen' of much of its meaning. Curtis' opinion allowed for various grades of citizenship in which it would be perfectly legal to permit all manner of discrimination among citizens. In Abraham Lincoln's rejection of the Dred Scott decision, Tomlins sees the glimmer of a new order, one that lies beyond the already sweeping scope of this book to explore.

Christopher Tomlins' work is a very impressive work that, in its examination of various forms of oppression in early North American societies of English origins, fills in authoritatively a shadow side of those societies, whether formed by Quakers or other religious groups. It is well worth anyone's perusal and careful study.

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