

CHAPTER ONE

AS IT WAS IN THE BEGINNING, IS NOW, AND DOESN'T HAVE TO BE: HOPE IN EDUCATING ADULTS THROUGH DISTINCTIVE PUBLIC SPEAKING

The Quaker¹ minister Lucretia Coffin Mott, in an era filled with events whose significance reverberates today, spoke publicly to educate about issues of societal and ethical [concern](#). A pioneer in women's right to speak about vital issues, she encouraged greater participation by all in arenas of public deliberation. Her eighty-seven years of life began in 1793, near the end of President George Washington's first term. That year, Eli Whitney also filed the cotton gin patent, a Federal fugitive slaves law was enacted, Noah Webster founded the first daily newspaper, and John Woolman wrote the new republic's first call for abolition of slavery.² At her death in 1880, the United States' territory had more than doubled and its population--slave and free, native-born and immigrant--had increased greatly. Commercial, transit and scientific advances had moved a primarily agrarian society into an industrialized, urban nation--one that endured several national economic calamities. In her lifetime, she saw dueling abolished, benefited from invention of the sewing machine that revolutionized women's work, witnessed the Civil and other wars and the end of legal sanctions for slavery. This study focuses on the work of Lucretia Mott as a nineteenth-century female Quaker minister who through public speaking educated adults about the following: abolition of slavery, rights of women, and peaceful ways to address injustice.

Lucretia Mott's speeches and sermons give evidence of her work as an educator of the public. Her Quaker perspective, her way with spoken words, and her womanhood--in a nation that privileged some citizens above others--made Lucretia Mott's public speaking distinctive. She taught "in the name of justice and humanity,"³ advocated for "more moral courage,"⁴ argued that "the importance of free thinking and honest speech cannot be over-estimated,"⁵ and educated with the hope of an increase in the "enquiring state of the public mind."⁶

¹ This study interchangeably uses the terms Friend(s), Quaker(s), Society, and Society of Friends. The names Quaker/Friend/Society of Friends perplexed non-Friends over the centuries. Mott herself spoke to this question, "I know that a large part of this audience [has] no affinity particularly with the Quakers, with the Friends, so called. Some of us are very tenacious of our words. I believe if the words be enumerated, then the phenomena to which they refer will be comprehended. If it be better understood to use the term 'Quaker,' let it be used, although the term 'Friend' is better, is our choice, and shows our nature precisely" Lucretia Mott, "There is a Principle in the Human Mind (1869)," in *Lucretia Mott: Her Complete Speeches and Sermons/Edited [with an Introduction] by Dana Greene. Studies in Women and Religion, Vol. 4* (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1980), 336.

² See *A Word of Remembrance and Caution to the Rich*, John Woolman, *The Journal and Major Essays of John Woolman/ Edited [with Introductions] by Phillips P. Moulton*, A Library of Protestant Thought (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press 1971-- Copyright Phillips P. Moulton, 1989), 238-72.

³ Lucretia Mott, "Righteousness Gives Respect to Its Possessor (1/15/1843)," in *Lucretia Mott: Her Complete Speeches and Sermons/Edited [with an Introduction] by Dana Greene. Studies in Women and Religion, Vol. 4* (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1980), 47.

⁴ Lucretia Mott, "The Truth of God... The Righteousness of God (9/23/1841)," in *Lucretia Mott: Her Complete Speeches and Sermons/Edited [with an Introduction] by Dana Greene. Studies in Women and Religion, Vol. 4* (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1980), 37.

⁵ Lucretia Mott, "To Speak Out the Truth (10/ 20/1846)," in *Lucretia Mott: Her Complete Speeches and Sermons/Edited [with an Introduction] by Dana Greene. Studies in Women and Religion, Vol. 4* (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1980), 54.

⁶ Mott, "The Truth of God... The Righteousness of God (9/23/1841)," 31.

To spark that "enquiring state" Lucretia Mott spoke with what one bright younger woman, Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815-1902), described as "enkindling enthusiasm."⁷ She held out a vision of hope in the face of societal injustices: " Let the true principle of justice be ever exalted in our midst; and let us be desirous to be armed with such a power . . . as will enable us . . . in bringing about a better state of things."⁸ For Lucretia Mott "a better state of things" incorporated the hope of peace and justice.

The first chapter provides the organizational structure of this dissertation about Lucretia Mott's work to educate adults through public speaking. After a brief introduction, the chapter explicates the multifaceted background of the problem that led to this study. The chapter then details the purpose of the study, articulates the questions that guide the inquiry, elucidates the study's significance, explains the research method, and concludes with a description of the study's organization.

The Multi-faceted Background of This Study of Lucretia Mott's Educating Adults

Three overarching components converge to form the background of the problem. The components are each multi-faceted and necessitate a rather lengthy treatment. The background is organized according to these three components.

The first component is the educational needs in the early republic. These educational needs arose both from the U. S. Constitution's proclaimed ideals and from its unspoken limitations. The second component is the development of popular education in the early national era. Popular education responded to the new nation's societal needs. The third component is a review of relevant literature about Lucretia Mott, a Quaker minister whose work spanned much of this early national era. Both her sex and her religious faith are crucial in relation to her educational endeavors. Thus, the multi-faceted components that form the background of this study are organized in the following manner:

- I. Educational Needs in the New Republic
 - (A) Republican Ideas, Ideals, and Unspoken Limitations
 - (1) Schooling for Children of the New Republic
 - (2) Education for Public Speaking Limited to Males

⁷ Elizabeth Cady Stanton, "Lucretia Mott Eulogy," in *History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. 1*, ed. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Matilda Joslyn Gage (Rochester NY: Charles Mann, 1889), 409.

⁸ Lucretia Mott, "We Have Food While Others Starve (3/31/1850)," in *Lucretia Mott: Her Complete Speeches and Sermons/Edited [with an Introduction] by Dana Greene. Studies in Women and Religion, Vol. 4* (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1980), 185.

II. Development of Popular Education in Early National Era

(A) Popular Education to Address Injustice

- (1) A Way to Think about Adult Education
- (2) The Rose and the Thorn in Nineteenth-Century Popular Education

(B) Popular Education in the Lyceum

- (1) The Educational History of Lyceum Speakers Incomplete
- (2) An Example for a More Inclusive Lyceum History

(C) Pioneers in Women's Public Speaking

- (1) Brief Spans in Public Speaking for Several Pioneering Women:
Deborah Sampson Gannett, Maria Stewart, Frances Wright,
Angelina Grimke and Sarah Grimke
- (2) Lifelong Work Speaking Publicly for Lucretia Mott:
 - (a) Overview of Lucretia Mott's Outspoken Concern for Justice
 - (b) Lifelong Member of Society with a Mission to Educate
 - (c) An Impression of Quaker Influence Attributed to Lucretia Mott
 - (d) Quaker Convictions with Enormous Implications

III. Review of Relevant Literature about Lucretia Mott.

I. Educational Needs in the New Republic

Colonial ideology at the time of the American Revolution flowed from the writings of John Milton and other seventeenth-century thinkers who reinvigorated ideas of the Roman republic--republicanism. For these eighteenth-century leaders, republicanism meant more than independence from the English monarchy and the formation of an elected government. Republicanism meant that ordinary people, discontent with matters in the public realm, could offer criticism. These critics were citizens with a goal to live in a land guided by the moral practice of virtue. This republican vision portrayed "disinterested umpires"⁹ who would decide for the good of all the people about public, political, and economic issues. In comparison, in a more democratic vision of society, contested decisions are themselves argued by all the people. The 1828 election of Andrew Jackson, the seventh American president, symbolized the American spirit of democracy. Nevertheless, the path carved out at the inception of the republic began with the ideals espoused in the republican vision.¹⁰

⁹ Gordon S. Wood, "Republicanism," in *The Reader's Companion to American History*, ed. Eric Foner and John A. Garraty (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1991), 931.

¹⁰ Wood, "Republicanism," 930-31.

(A) Republican Ideas, Ideals and Unspoken Limitations

Gordon Wood says, “republicanism in 1776 meant . . . independent, property-holding citizens who were willing to sacrifice many of their private, selfish interests for . . . the good of the whole community.”¹¹ Judith Wellman illuminates some practical implications of that 1776 meaning of republicanism:

Those without property could not be independent . . . autonomous, virtuous citizens. Most Americans believed that such a tie between economic and moral independence, between property and citizenship, eliminated women from any participation in the body politic. Legally, married women had little access to property ownership.¹²

While the Declaration of Independence expresses republican ideals, Wellman emphasizes that its language is “flexible. Such terms as 'liberty,' 'equality,' 'civic virtue,' and 'natural rights' could be defined in different ways.”¹³ Two problematic principles carried ramifications that both heightened inspiration and lacked precision – “just powers from the consent of the governed” and “all men are created equal.”¹⁴ By the early 1800s, according to Wellman, attempts to put the Declaration’s republican vision into action, Wellman says, resulted in the emergence of “one basic response:

Again and again Americans drew boundaries of legal equality and political power along the lines of gender and race. Increasingly, they granted legal and political equality to all adult white males, regardless of wealth. At the same time, . . . they excluded all slaves and women (along with infants and children, idiots, and felons) from full citizenship.¹⁵

At final ratification in 1789, the United States Constitution for “we the people” sanctioned slavery and contained no mention of women.

Clearly, for the founding fathers, white propertied males counted as the citizens to be “politically active.”¹⁶ Significant for America’s future, the Constitution allocated to the individual States power to decide the qualifications for the rights of full citizenship emblematic in the right to vote.¹⁷ Drawn from the classic work by Linda K. Kerber, Wellman’s synopsis illustrates that:

Public opinion eventually coalesced around a vision of republican motherhood This ideal allowed women to play a role both private and public As moral preceptors, women could share in civic virtue by sacrificing their own personal interests

¹¹ Wood, “Republicanism,” 931.

¹² Judith Wellman, “Women’s Rights, Republicanism, and Revolutionary Rhetoric in Antebellum New York State,” *New York History: Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association* 69, no. 3 (1988): 356.

¹³ Wellman, “Women’s Rights, Republicanism, and Revolutionary Rhetoric,” 355.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 353.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 353.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 361.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 360-62.

for the larger good of their children [and] . . . create a future generation of virtuous citizens [As such], she was a citizen but not really a constituent.¹⁸

Notwithstanding such limitations, for most white women in America under the ideals of the republican vision an aim emerged that was considered indispensable: education.

In the earliest decades leaders believed that this new nation's vast size and diverse interests mandated an educated citizenry to learn republican ideals. Writing of this period, Lawrence A. Cremin says, "No theme was so universally articulated . . . as the need of a self-governing people for universal education."¹⁹ Thus, to depict the historical context into which Lucretia Coffin Mott was born necessitates a brief consideration of early American formal education for boys and for girls.

(1) Schooling for Children of the New Republic

Under the colonial regime, meager access to schooling for girls contributed to limited education for females in literate skills. Yet, even in 1804--the only year eleven-year old Lucretia Coffin was not schooled in Quaker education--boys attended public schools "year-round" while girls' attendance was limited to the period "from the 20th of April to the 20th of October."²⁰ Girls were permitted education for half the time devoted to boys. To understand such conditions helps one to grasp the implications significant to the futures of females as citizens in the new republic. Useful in this effort is Kerber's recent examination of the educational prerequisites needed to partake in advanced scholarly endeavors and to participate in public matters.

Kerber prioritized the educational prerequisites by skills: reading, writing, and public speaking. Jennifer Monaghan's study of colonial New England literacy served as the basis for Kerber's analysis. Monaghan's study revealed that the one skill deemed suitable for learning by both boys and girls was the ability to read. In comparison, boys also learned to write. Kerber points to Monaghan's explanation that "writing was considered a craft, . . . a job-related skill [reserved to] males in preparation for professional occupations that ranged from clerk to minister."²¹ To gain skill in the ability to write, however, girls had to await the later eighteenth-century. Kerber explains that, "the republican ideology of the revolutionary years made literacy a moral obligation [and] the diffusion of knowledge was the responsibility of a republican society."²² This ideology, fostered through education, spread the ability to read and to write "to an unprecedented extent" and made white New England females possibly the "most literate in the Western world."²³

¹⁸ Kerber, Linda K., *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), as quoted in Wellman, "Women's Rights, Republicanism, and Revolutionary Rhetoric," 360.

¹⁹ Lawrence A. Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience, 1783-1876* (New York, NY: Harper & Row Publishers, 1980), 103.

²⁰ Penny Fankhouser Pagliaro, "The Education and Radical Thought of Lucretia Mott: A Partial Biography," Thesis, Master of Education in Educational Foundations (Hawaii: University of Hawaii, 1976), 33.

²¹ Linda K. Kerber, "Why Should Girls Be Learn'd and Wise?": The Unfinished Work of Alice Mary Baldwin," in *Visible Women: New Essays on American Activism*, ed. Nancy A. Hewitt and Suzanne Lebsack (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 357.

²² Kerber, "Why Should Girls Be Learn'd and Wise?," 358.

²³ *Ibid.*, 358.

(2) Education for Public Speaking Limited to Males

To partake in advanced intellectual enterprises and to participate in public matters carried not only the required literacy but also the elemental educational prerequisite skill of speaking publicly. That component, public speaking, was limited to education for the professions and those professions were restricted to males. Barbara M. Solomon emphasizes that "being an orator was an important expression of masculinity."²⁴ To speak about issues of grave concern in a public forum, Kerber explains, had been reserved to members of "the 'learned' professions – the ministry, law, and the professoriate."²⁵ These professions, Kerber notes, "involved not only reason and argument but also forceful public speaking."²⁶ Thus, most women's education precluded or disadvantaged their participation in professions and public deliberation.

II. Development of Popular Education in the Early National Era

Without fail, the republican ideals that fostered popular education for children and adults and the increase in literacy converged with other advances to give learning opportunities to broader segments of the American citizenry. These advances in educational prospects were assured liberty by the 1791 ratification of the first amendment to the U.S. Constitution that guaranteed freedom of the press, of speech, to assemble, and to petition. To illustrate, educational possibilities increased when advances in printing technology enabled easier production of newspapers--with their serialized literary works--and reproduction of "classics" from Europe, and by the establishment of organized libraries, scholarly and popular journals, magazines, and books.²⁷ Learning also spread through voluntary and religious organizations often by means of public speaking.

(A) Popular Education to Address Injustice

The nineteenth century with its profound changes constituted a crucial and formative time in the history of American society and of American adult education. As the new republic developed, American society faced dilemmas with far-reaching consequences. During this time of change in public life, the continuing education of adults was critical. Lucretia Mott's contemporary, William Henry Channing (1780-1842), an influential Unitarian minister and public speaker suggested to adults that for societal problems "the remedy lies, not in the ballot box, not in the exercise of your political powers, but in the faithful education of yourselves and your children."²⁸ Stubblefield & Keane identified that to describe "the idea of education for a larger audience than the elite world of university students" Channing, in 1835, used the term

²⁴ Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 28-29.

²⁵ Kerber, " 'Why Should Girls Be Learn'd and Wise?'," 351.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 351.

²⁷ Stubblefield, Harold W. and Patrick Keane, *Adult Education in the American Experience: From the Colonial Period to the Present* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1994), 62-79.

²⁸ Channing, William Ellery, "Self-Culture," 1838, quoted in Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience, 1783-1876*, 258.

“popular education.”²⁹ A paramount contribution of such popular or adult education³⁰ focuses on efforts to educate the public about various subjects, including a culture’s dominant values. One important facet of adult education, as applied in this study, deals with issues of justice regarding abolition of slavery, rights of women, and peaceful ways to address injustice.

(1) A Way to Think about Adult Education

Various definitions describe adult education as a field of study and as a practice.³¹ British historian Richard Johnson goes to a historic, though less frequently mentioned adult education root in Christianity. Johnson defines adult education as grounded in alternatives to develop a social order founded on the Christian ethic seen as a “morality of cooperation among equals.”³² Eduard C. Lindeman is said by Stephen Brookfield to be “the major philosopher of adult education in the United States.”³³ Lindeman’s description of adult learning expresses well the researcher’s view of popular education for purposes of this inquiry:

a co-operative venture in non-authoritarian, informal learning the chief purpose of which is to discover the meaning of experience; a quest of the mind which digs down to the roots of the preconceptions which formulate our conduct; a technique of learning for adults which makes education coterminous with life, and hence elevates living itself to the level of an experiment.³⁴

Adult education, viewed broadly by the researcher, consists of the complexity of educational experiences beyond those to prepare for an occupation or vocation. Adult education includes multiple aspects such as intellectual, religious, political, social and personal dimensions across formal, non-formal, and informal settings. These aspects and settings of education receive different emphases throughout history. Furthermore, a society's dominant values determine both who has access to education and who qualifies to educate. A brief look at this history will set the stage for appreciation of the significance of Lucretia Mott's educational contribution to counter society's dominant values and the significance of her experience as a woman pioneering in the right of women to speak publicly.

(2) The Rose and the Thorn in Nineteenth-Century Popular Education

As popular education blossomed in the nineteenth century, contradictions in adult education's aims and purposes arose. Such contradictions Stubblefield and Keane characterize

²⁹ Stubblefield, Harold W. and John R. Rachal, "On the Origins of the Term and Meanings of 'Adult Education' in the United States," *Adult Education Quarterly* 42, no. 2 (Winter 1992): 108.

³⁰ Throughout, the terms popular education and adult education are used interchangeably and apply to the public.

³¹ For instance see Stubblefield, Harold W. and Patrick Keane, "The History of Adult and Continuing Education," in *Handbook of Adult and Continuing Education*, ed. Sharan B. Merriam and Phyllis M. Cunningham (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1991), 2-4; Stephen Brookfield, *Learning Democracy: Eduard Lindeman on Adult Education and Social Change* (Wolfeboro, NH: Croom Helm, 1987), 1; Malcolm Knowles, *The Modern Practice of Adult Education* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall Regents, 1980), 25; Eduard C. Lindeman, *The Meaning of Adult Education* (New York: New Republic, Inc., 1926), 6,7,38,47.

³² Richard Johnson, "'Really Useful Knowledge' 1790-1850: Memories for Education in the 1980s," in *Radical Approaches to Adult Education: A Reader*, ed. Tom Lovett (London: Routledge, 1988), 5.

³³ Brookfield, *Learning Democracy*, 1.

³⁴ Lindeman, Eduard C., "What is Adult Education?" 1925, 3, quoted in Brookfield, *Learning Democracy*, 4.

as “paradoxes.”³⁵ The apparent aims of adult education in the new republic stressed the intellectual and cultural growth of its citizens while the hidden and yet intrinsic aims promoted the dominant social patterns. These patterns gave privilege to some people and disadvantaged others. Stubblefield and Keane analyze this paradox as, “an explicit commitment to progress and creativity . . . often matched by an implicit commitment to social control and the avoidance of controversial issues.”³⁶ The men and women who chose to educate for justice toward the disadvantaged qualified as dissenters or reformers. As Joseph F. Kett writes, “Not infrequently . . . [nineteenth-century] ‘founders’ [of adult education] were deeply distressed by dominant trends or currents of their societies [that] . . . they saw as fundamentally flawed because they embodied the values of elites.”³⁷ Among what Stubblefield & Keane call “elaborate experiments . . . in diffusion of knowledge to the general population” in early national or antebellum nineteenth-century America ranks the lyceum.³⁸

(B) Popular Education in the Lyceum

The lyceum flourished as a vital forum of nineteenth-century popular education from Josiah Holbrook's establishment of the first lyceum at Millbury (Worcester County, Massachusetts) in November 1826.³⁹ The lyceum at Millbury began the development of Holbrook's proposal “for the organization of an educational society which should reach and affect every part of the Nation.”⁴⁰ By 1835, over three thousand town lyceums were organized from the Atlantic seaboard to St. Louis.⁴¹ According to Henry Barnard, the name “lyceum” stems from the name of the grove, near the temple of Apollo Lyceus, where Aristotle instructed and from which it derives its fame.⁴² Thus, Holbrook's design for a “systematic form [of education] . . . for all classes of persons and interests” reflects a similar purpose.⁴³ Clearly, the public lectures delivered in the lyceum framed, as Robert J. Greef says, “a cultural index of the times”⁴⁴ and its speakers represent significant figures in nineteenth-century history. Thus, the historic record--the speakers and topics included or excluded--create for succeeding generations the remembered “cultural index.”⁴⁵

³⁵ Stubblefield, Harold W. and Keane, *Adult Education in the American Experience*, 54.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 54.

³⁷ Joseph F. Kett, “The Dissenter in the History of Adult Education,” VI International Conference on the History of Adult Education: Personality and Biography (Jenna, Germany, 1-5/9, 1996), 1.

³⁸ Stubblefield, Harold W. and Keane, *Adult Education in the American Experience*, 80.

³⁹ “Holbrook, Josiah,” in *American Reformers: An H. W. Wilson Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Alden Whitman (New York: 1985), 440-42.

⁴⁰ Cecil B. Hayes, *The American Lyceum: Its History and Contribution to Education* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1932), 1.

⁴¹ Robert J. Greef, *Public Lectures in New York 1851-1878: A Cultural Index of the Times* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1945), 3.

⁴² Henry Barnard, “Lyceum Origin of Name; Progress,” *The American Journal of Education* VIII (1860): 249-52.

⁴³ Hayes, *American Lyceum*

⁴⁴ Greef, *Public Lectures in New York 1851-1878: A Cultural Index of the Times*.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

(1) Educational Histories of the Lyceum Speakers Incomplete

The most recent scholarly history of the lyceum, Carl Bode's *The American Lyceum: Town Meeting of the Mind*⁴⁶ largely omits from the record the women who lectured from this public platform. In Bode's history, two chapters report the Lyceum speakers representative of the period through the early 1860's. Yet, Bode chose only one woman:

Fanny Wright: The Gadfly of Reform: Frances Wright represented the fringe--sometimes but not always lunatic--of extreme individualists who also stepped on the lecture platform But there was only one Fanny Wright. The Lyceum idea could not have survived many like her.⁴⁷

Bode did not offer as representative any of the many historic women speakers who worked in the Lyceum circuit before and after the 1860s, though earlier histories, and primary sources document women's public speaking.

Donald M. Scott's article provided a broad look at the popular lecture as a means of nineteenth-century popular education. Scott elucidated the qualifications needed by lecturers: "some oratorical experience, some confidence in their ability to perform orally."⁴⁸ He cited, "law and clergy . . . [as] professions with firm oratorical traditions."⁴⁹ As reviewed previously, Kerber accented the limitations placed on women's public speaking by means of their being barred from education for law and clergy.⁵⁰ Scott's well researched article could serve as excellent background to new scholarship again exploring the history of the lyceum to include women who spoke publicly with "oratorical experience."⁵¹

(2) An Example for a More Inclusive Lyceum History

A study of the pioneer women public speakers in the lyceum could broaden the knowledge of nineteenth-century popular education. For example, an exposition of the 1849 lyceum speeches delivered in Philadelphia by Richard Dana⁵² and Lucretia Mott,⁵³ could illuminate the intellectual vitality and the educational force of the lyceum. While the record of women's public speaking can be found through the academic disciplines of women's history and speech communication, the educational aspects of these efforts are not the focus of available scholarship. Thus, the study now turns to oratorical scholarship to find the record of women's public speaking.

⁴⁶ Carl Bode, "The American Lyceum," in *The American Lyceum: Town Meeting of the Mind* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1956, 1968).

⁴⁷ Bode, "American Lyceum," 126-27.

⁴⁸ Donald M. Scott, "The Popular Lecture and the Creation of a Public in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America," *The Journal of American History* 66, no. 4(March 1980): 794.

⁴⁹ Scott, "The Popular Lecture," 794.

⁵⁰ Kerber, " 'Why Should Girls Be Learn'd and Wise?'," 351.

⁵¹ Scott, "The Popular Lecture," 794.

⁵² *History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. 1*, 2nd, ed. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Matilda Joslyn Gage (Rochester NY: Anthony, Susan B., 1889), 367.

⁵³ Lucretia Mott, "Discourse on Woman (12/17/1849)," in *Lucretia Mott: Her Complete Speeches and Sermons/Edited [with an Introduction] by Dana Greene. Studies in Women and Religion, Vol. 4* (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1980), 143-62.

(C) Pioneers in Women's Public Speaking

For public oration and deliberation in early nineteenth-century American culture, one standard accepted as normal for the traditionally prescribed roles for women required their silence. The expectation ruled that a woman would not speak, women's speech being blocked by what Eleanor Flexner calls a "curtain of silence."⁵⁴ Caroline Field Levander claims, "Friends, family, and academic institutions actively discouraged women who wanted to speak publicly and shunned those who actually dared to address the public from the podium."⁵⁵ Yet, some women did speak.

Karlyn Kohrs Campbell describes as "unique" in the history of public address the place of women public speakers in nineteenth-century America.⁵⁶ For the first time in history, American women exercised, as their legitimate due, a new practice: speaking in public. As Suzanne Schnittman argues, women "assumed a right they never had held--the right to speak in public before a mixed audience."⁵⁷ During these decades, Mott began to educate on many public issues especially abolition of slavery, rights of women, and peaceful ways to address injustice.

Mott's efforts to educate the public about matters of justice admitted her to the company of American women who pioneered in the practice of public speaking. These same endeavors also admitted her to the company of women who endured criticism, insults, and peril in response to their speaking to "promiscuous" audiences, those comprised of adult males and females. Sara M. Evans says these women "met with ridicule and even violence."⁵⁸ Through a process of education, these women changed history and shaped culture.

This historic change provoked opposition. For example, Mott experienced antagonism because she spoke publicly to educate about the injustice of slavery. While acknowledging the antagonism, she spoke of her steadfast resolve: "the misrepresentation, ridicule, and abuse, heaped upon this, as well as other reforms, do not in the least deter me from my duty."⁵⁹ Lucretia Mott, by her efforts to educate the public, ranks as a pioneer female public speaker. Hence, this study explores the history of women's public speaking.

⁵⁴ Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States, Revised Edition* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1959, 1975), 44.

⁵⁵ Caroline Field Levander, *Voices of the Nation: Women and Public Speech in Nineteenth-Century American Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1998), 3.

⁵⁶ Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak for Her: A Critical Study in Early Feminist Rhetoric* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1989), 9.

⁵⁷ Suzanne Schnittman, "Address Before the New York Historical Society," New York State Historical Society Meeting (Brockport NY, June, 1995), 1.

⁵⁸ Sara M. Evans, "Afterword," in *Talking Gender: Public Images, Personal Journeys, and Political Critiques*, ed. Nancy Hewitt, Jean O'Barr and Nancy Rosebaugh (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 193.

⁵⁹ Lucretia Mott, "Notes on the Life of Lucretia Mott as Given to Sarah J. Hale," MOTT MSS., 1 (Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, PA, 1834-40).

(1) Brief Spans in Public Speaking for Several Pioneering Women

Doris G. Yoakam called the early nineteenth century an "age of experimentation," and claimed that "almost anything could happen--even public speaking by women."⁶⁰ In fact, that is precisely what happened. Among the females "who initiated" women's public speaking in the United States, Campbell includes Deborah Sampson Gannett who served in the Revolutionary War "disguised as a male" and later defended her army service by lecturing.⁶¹ According to Jovita Ross-Gordon and William D. Dowling, Maria Stewart, the first African-American woman to speak publicly, informed her audience that "knowledge is power." In 1821, Stewart addressed Boston's "Afri-American Female Intelligence Society" established by participants "to associate for the diffusion of knowledge, the suppression of vice and immorality, and for cherishing such values as will render us happy and useful to society."⁶² However, Frances Wright (1795-1852), a white woman, often mistakenly receives credit for giving the first public speech by a woman in the United States on July 4, 1828.⁶³ Histories mark Angelina Grimke (1805 - 1879) as the first woman to address publicly an audience with men, specifically the first woman to address a "legislative body,"⁶⁴ a committee of the Massachusetts Legislature in a February 1838, appearance. In a letter to her husband, Grimke describes the fear she experienced:

I was so near fainting under the tremendous pressure of feeling, my heart almost died within me. The novelty of the scene, the weight of responsibility, the ceaseless exercise of mind I well nigh despaired, but our Lord and Master gave me his arm to lean upon, and in great weakness, my limbs trembling under me, I stood up and spoke for nearly two hours.⁶⁵

Both Angelina Grimke and her sister Sarah entered early the public speaking arena, but also withdrew early from that arena, as did Stewart and Wright. As can be gleaned from a study of their notable endeavors, these pioneering women did not persist in their public speaking.

(2) Lifelong Work Speaking Publicly to Educate Adults for Lucretia Mott

Acknowledging the significant pioneering steps of these women public speakers, Campbell claimed for Lucretia Mott a place of merit in the history of women's rhetoric. Campbell said Quaker minister Lucretia Mott was a "skilled speaker" whose work "preceded

⁶⁰ Doris G. Yoakam, "Women's Introduction to the American Platform," in *History and Criticism of American Public Address* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1943), 153.

⁶¹ Anderson, Judith, *Outspoken Women: Speeches by American Women Reformers, 1635-1935* (Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt, 1984) cited in Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak for Her*, 17.

⁶² L. Perkins, *Black women and Racial 'Uplift' Prior to Emancipation* in F. Steady, *The Black Woman Cross-Culturally* (Cambridge MA: Schenkman) 317-333 cited by Jovita M. Ross-Gordon and William D. Dowling, "Adult Learning in the Context of African-American Women's Voluntary Organizations," *International Journal of Lifelong Education* 14, no. 4(July-August 1995): 236. See also Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America*, 29.

⁶³ For instance see Yoakam, "Women's Introduction to the American Platform," 157; Robert T. Oliver, *History of Public Speaking in America* (Boston: Ally and Bacon, 1965), 438.

⁶⁴ Jean V. Matthews, "Consciousness of Self and Consciousness of Sex in Antebellum Feminism," *Journal of Women's History* 5, no. 1(Spring 1993): 67.

⁶⁵ Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, 344.

both the abolitionist and woman's rights movements."⁶⁶ According to Yoakam, this skill eventually earned Lucretia Mott recognition as "the diplomat among pioneer women orators."⁶⁷ Her speaking publicly in meetings for worship began in 1818⁶⁸ and influenced her recognition in 1821 as a minister of the Society of Friends.⁶⁹ In 1878, Lucretia Mott delivered her last public address.⁷⁰ Undoubtedly, she was a pathfinder over the first half-century of women's public speaking to educate adult men and women in gatherings of the American populace.

(a) Overview of Lucretia Mott's Outspoken Concern for Justice

Near the end of a well-rounded and eventful life, Lucretia Mott, a lifelong learner, teacher, wife, and mother of six, received tribute as "a prophesy of the future of woman."⁷¹ Histories link her most often to anti-slavery and women's suffrage activity.⁷² Yet, she thought of herself and contemporaries recognized her as a Quaker minister, a woman active in many domains of public concern.⁷³ Within these domains--moral, social, economic, and political--established standards generally prevail: those who dominate a culture, the elite, set established cultural standards. While these cultural customs often are characterized as normal or traditional, some people saw in various accepted nineteenth-century social standards a lack of justice. In response to public injustice Lucretia Mott declared, "I have no idea . . . of submitting tamely to injustice I will oppose it with all the moral powers with which I am endowed. I am no advocate of passivity."⁷⁴ Societal injustices moved her to speak about justice related to abolition of slavery, rights of women, and peaceful ways to address injustice.

Animated with the moral power of her religious beliefs, Lucretia Mott taught adults in multiple ways but primarily through public address. For over fifty years, she educated others in public forums and settings that ranged from religious meetings to the lyceum and conventions called to consider issues of national import, for instance abolition of slavery and the rights of women. What could have prepared this Quaker minister, this woman who sought to educate the public, for a place among the pioneers who advocated and practiced the right of women to speak purposefully in public forums?

⁶⁶ Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak for Her*, 38.

⁶⁷ Yoakam, "Women's Introduction to the American Platform," 169.

⁶⁸ Oliver, *History of Public Speaking in America*, 441.

⁶⁹ Margaret Hope Bacon, *Valiant Friend: The Life of Lucretia Mott* (New York, NY: Walker, 1980), 37.

⁷⁰ Lucretia Mott, "Place Women in Equal Power (July, 1878)," *Lucretia Mott: Her Complete Speeches and Sermons*/edited [with an introduction] by Dana Greene. *Studies in Women and Religion*, vol. 4 (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1980).

⁷¹ Lucy Stone to Lucretia Mott, 11-1-1880. Mott Manuscript Collection, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, as cited in Bacon, *Valiant Friend*, 228.

⁷² For instance, see Samuel Eliot Morison, Henry Steele Commager and William E. Leuchtenburg, *The Growth of the American Republic*, Sixth Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), 487, 502; Stubblefield, Harold W. and Keane, *Adult Education in the American Experience*, 118.

⁷³ Frederick B. Tolles, "Lucretia Coffin Mott," in *Notable American Women: A Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Edward T. James, Janet Wilson James, et al. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), 592-95; Margaret Hope Bacon, "In Souls There Is No Sex: Pioneers in Antislavery and Women's Rights," in *Pendle Hill Lecture Series*, Pendle Hill Monday Evening Lectures (Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill, 4 November, 1985).

⁷⁴ Lucretia Mott, "I Am No Advocate of Passivity (10/25-26/1860)," in *Lucretia Mott: Her Complete Speeches and Sermons/Edited [with an Introduction] by Dana Greene. Studies in Women and Religion, Vol. 4* (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1980), 262.

(b) Lifelong Member of Society with a Mission to Educate

Central to the foundation of Mott's convictions and actions as an educator of the public was her lifelong membership in the Society of Friends. Quaker historian Edwin B. Bronner recounts that George Fox (1624–1691), the first Friend to preach, believed he had a “message--the Word of God--to share.”⁷⁵ Bronner says Friends had a mission and “felt impelled to move among their fellow human beings to share the Good News which had been revealed to them” through the preaching of George Fox and “by the Light within.”⁷⁶

From the Society's inception in England and its introduction in America in the 1650s, Quaker worshippers exercised what John Ferguson calls “liberty of speech.”⁷⁷ Ever since the Friends embarked on their mission to reclaim early Christianity's “apostolic faith”⁷⁸ women participated in Quaker meetings not only as worshippers, but also as ministers and Public Friends. A [Public Friend](#) signifies one who expresses religious beliefs as a preacher.⁷⁹ Public Friends traveled among groups of Quakers, and interacted “with the larger society”⁸⁰ to educate and speak about societal concerns. Lucretia Coffin Mott ministered as a Public Friend.

For a Public Friend, the sectarian and secular roles converge through the practice of speaking. Richard Bauman's classic scholarly study of speaking and silence in early Quakerism explains the importance of this central practice. To clarify this vocal role Bauman says “the religious speaking of the ministers represented a link between the spiritual mission of the Quakers out in the world and their own collective worship in the famous Quaker ‘silent meeting’.”⁸¹ In the role of Quaker minister, Lucretia Mott not only connected the Society of Friends and its beliefs and practices to non-Quakers, that is, the public, she also entered the sphere of nineteenth-century public culture. Dana Greene, an eminent Mott scholar, asserts that “In the person of Mott, the long-standing [Quaker] belief in female spiritual equality was transformed into a full-blown claim for the secular equality of women.”⁸²

⁷⁵ Edwin B. Bronner, “Quaker Discipline and Order, 1680-1720: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and London Yearly Meeting,” in *The Worlds of William Penn*, ed. Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn (Philadelphia PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 323.

⁷⁶ Bronner, “Quaker Discipline and Order,” 323.

⁷⁷ John H. Ferguson, *Politics Quaker Style: A History of the Quakers from 1624 to 1718*, Stokvis Studies in Historical Chronology and Thought, vol. 15 (San Bernardino, CA: The Borgo Press, 1995), 56.

⁷⁸ Dean Freiday, “Apostolicity and Orthochristianity: Church of God - Methodists - Quakers - Baptists-Mennonites,” in *Apostolic Faith in America*, ed. Thaddeus D. Horgan (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1988), 34-49.

⁷⁹ Carol Stoneburner, “Introduction,” in *The Influence of Quaker Women on American History: Biographical Studies*, ed. Carol and John Stoneburner (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1986), xiv.

⁸⁰ Stoneburner, “Introduction,” 1.

⁸¹ Richard Bauman, *Let Your Words Be Few: Symbolism of Speaking and Silence Among Seventeenth-Century Quakers*, Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Culture, vol. 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 16.

⁸² Dana Greene, “Introduction,” in *Lucretia Mott: Her Complete Speeches and Sermons/Edited [with an Introduction] by Dana Greene. Studies in Women and Religion, Vol. 4* (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1980), 10.

(c) An Impression of Quaker Influence Attributed to Lucretia Mott

Highlighted in a letter attributed to Lucretia Mott is the weighty influence of the ideas and practices of the Society of Friends on many Quakers' actions. Excerpts from this letter appear below. Her most recent biographer, Margaret Hope Bacon,⁸³ says the letter, which originally appeared in a book introduction published in England in 1869, was not published again until now.⁸⁴ In the letter, Lucretia Mott relates convictions of the Society of Friends to particular actions:

The stand taken by George Fox, the founder of our Society, against authority as opposed to the immediate teachings of the 'Light within,' gave independence of character to women as well as men. Their ministry recognised, . . . they went forth among the nations 'preaching the Word,' and spreading their principles. Adopting no theological creed, their faith was shown by their works in the everyday duties of life, 'minding the Light' in little things as well as in the greater

The [Testimonies](#) of the Society against war, slavery, the forced maintenance of the ministry, and the extravagant and luxurious indulgences of the age . . . have prepared our members to unite in many reformatory movements of the day.⁸⁵

Lucretia Mott sees the complex of beliefs, actions, and practices as important.

(d) Quaker Convictions with Enormous Implications

Clearly, Lucretia Mott assumes the influence of some tenets and practices of the Society of Friends on Quaker actions, specifically “‘preaching the Word’ and “‘spreading their principles.” These efforts relate to education of the public, popular education.

Mott's activities arose from the foundation of convictions and conduct shaped by a lifetime spent as a Quaker. A reader must be conversant with the Friends' ideas and practices to grasp adequately the enormous implications inherent in a person's being a committed member of the Society of Friends, a Quaker. Even as she preached that, "the standard of creeds and forms must be lowered, while that of justice, peace, and love one to another must be raised higher and

⁸³ Margaret Hope Bacon, Personal conversation at her home in Philadelphia (03/14, 1996).

⁸⁴ Margaret Hope Bacon gave this researcher a photocopy of a letter attributed to Lucretia Mott and published in the Introduction to *Woman's Work and Woman's Culture*, ed. Josephine Butler (London: MacMillan, 1869). The researcher later examined Butler's book to verify its publication source. In the process to determine if this letter is both genuine and authentic the researcher contacted Beverly Wilson Palmer, at Pomona College, Claremont, CA, the editor of the projected year 2000 publication of a one-volume edition of selected letters of Lucretia Mott. Historians serving on the Lucretia Coffin Mott Papers Project are Janet Farrell Brodie, Ann D. Gordon, Dana Greene, Thomas Hamm, Nancy Hewitt and Kathryn Kish Sklar. Professor Palmer e-mailed the researcher: "I have the Josephine Butler you mention, also supplied to me by Margaret Bacon. Unfortunately I don't have an original, and fear it may never surface because I visited the Fawcett Library in London where all Butler's papers are housed. All I found there was a fragment of another letter from LCM (which does show at least, that the two probably communicated with each other). I will use the letter in my forthcoming edition...unless I find evidence to indicate that LCM didn't write it, but it sounds authentic to me (e.g. she always misspelled Wollstonecraft) and it is a wonderful letter!"

⁸⁵ Lucretia Mott, "Letter in Introduction," in *Woman's Work and Woman's Culture*, ed. Josephine Butler (London: MacMillan, 1869), xlv-xlvi.

higher"⁸⁶ her perspective, nevertheless, was rooted in Quakerism. Mott's grounding in both Quaker philosophy and experience are reflected and embedded in the content of her speeches and sermons, in the persistent practice of her Quaker ministry, and in the perspectives through which she endeavored to educate the public, as this study will demonstrate.

The ideas, practices, and methods to conduct meetings for worship and meetings for business are singular in Quakerism and unfamiliar to non-Quakers. Penny Fankhouser Pagliaro's master's thesis about Lucretia Coffin Mott's early formal education raised the problem of a researcher's being unfamiliar with Quaker ways. Pagliaro points to "great . . . rewards for mastering the cultural differences" and suggests that possibly "modern scholars are put off by the 'peculiar' aspects of the Quaker culture, its language, theology, and customs."⁸⁷ Thus, the uniqueness of the ideas and practices of the Society of Friends and general unfamiliarity with Quakerism necessitated a review of scholarly and denominational literature.

To grasp what enabled Lucretia Coffin Mott to be a pathfinder among women who spoke publicly to educate, her Quaker foundation must be understood. Therefore, Chapter Two seeks to present an exploration of Quaker history, spirituality, and practices to inform for purposes of historic educational analysis and interpretation. The [meeting for worship](#) and [meeting for business](#) are most uniquely Quaker and are their primary educational structures. Thus, they are examined in most detail. Chapter Two also presents a review of the literature and pertinent primary documents to help illumine the context of Lucretia Coffin Mott's formative education.

III. Review of Relevant Literature about Lucretia Coffin Mott and Her Theory of Knowing

Adult education literature associated with the early history of adult education as a field of study and related to Lucretia Mott consists of two works. Mary Ritter Beard's⁸⁸ monograph simply mentions that Lucretia Mott was a Quaker.⁸⁹ Mary L. Ely and Eve Chappell's work, as part of the series *Studies in the Social Significance of Adult Education in the United States*, failed even to note Lucretia Mott's religious foundation.⁹⁰ This omission seemingly contradicted Ely's own assertion in the Foreword: "it is only against the background of women's past that any fair estimate of the significance of their present work can be made."⁹¹ No more recent adult education literature focused on Lucretia Mott.

⁸⁶ Lucretia Mott, "Progress of the Religious World (3/23-24/1848)," in *Lucretia Mott: Her Complete Speeches and Sermons/Edited [with an Introduction] by Dana Greene. Studies in Women and Religion, Vol. 4* (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1980), 67.

⁸⁷ Pagliaro, "Education and Radical Thought of Lucretia Mott," 167.

⁸⁸ While historians of adult education have focused more on Mary Ritter Beard's husband, Charles, a reader interested in the educative and historical interests of Mary Ritter Beard can consult Mary Ritter Beard, *A Woman Making History: Mary Ritter Beard Through Her Letters, Edited with an Introduction by Nancy F. Cott*, ed. Nancy F. Cott (New Haven: Yale University Press 1991).

⁸⁹ Mary R. Beard, "Lucretia Mott," *The American Scholar* 2, no. 1 (January 1933): 5-12.

⁹⁰ Mary L. Ely and Eve Chappell, *Women in Two Worlds*, *Studies in the Social Significance of Adult Education in the United States* (New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1938), 81-82.

⁹¹ Mary L. Ely, "Forward," in *Women in Two Worlds*, ed. Mary L. Ely and Eve Chappell (New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1938), viii.

Of the two recent broad histories of American adult education,⁹² only *Adult Education in the American Experience* introduced Mott--and other Quakers noted for their educational innovations--into this historical record.⁹³ Kett's major work on the history of adult education failed to mention Lucretia Mott or other educators who dissented from dominant values.⁹⁴ Yet, in "The Dissenter in the History of Adult Education," a 1996 address,⁹⁵ Kett described research into the work of nineteenth-century dissenters or reformers as an opportunity "to reflect back on the age of the founders, on a time when adult education had yet to experience bureaucratization . . . when its leading lights set themselves resolutely against the mainstream values of their cultures."⁹⁶ Kett chose not to include Quaker "founders" when he considered the nineteenth century in his major work on adult education history.

Again, one must look to the discipline of Rhetoric or Speech Communication to consider what Karlyn Kohrs Campbell called Lucretia Mott's "theory of knowing."⁹⁷ Campbell ascribed to "Lucretia Mott's experience as a Quaker [the resources that] enabled her to hold a theory of knowing that valued reasoning, intuition, and personal experience equally."⁹⁸ The academic discipline of Speech Communication professionalization began during the era of the nineteenth-century lyceum, from which Adult Education also gained some roots.

Published rhetorical analysis of Lucretia Mott's various speeches begins with Yoakam's 1943 article.⁹⁹ Yoakam mentioned several qualifications related to Quakerism and briefly considered two of the forty-nine speeches that were included in Dana Greene's anthology¹⁰⁰ in 1980. The two speeches Yoakam considered are "Reforms of the Age," in which, she says, Lucretia Mott "skillfully wove together discussion of theology, slavery, peace, capital punishment, and temperance"¹⁰¹ and her most frequently cited work "Discourse on Woman."¹⁰² The next exploration of Lucretia Mott's public speaking appeared in 1989 in Campbell's study of women's early rhetoric.¹⁰³ This analysis clearly related the speech content to some aspects of Quakerism. Lucretia Mott's other forty-eight speeches were not considered in the analysis. In 1993, a scholarly rhetorical analysis of this same speech by Lester C. Olson and Trudy Bayer cites her ability "to connect spiritual insights to contemporaneous contexts."¹⁰⁴ The analysis failed, however, to explain what these insights might be. In 1994, A. Cheree Carlson again

⁹² Joseph F. Kett, *The Pursuit of Knowledge Under Difficulties: From Self-Improvement to Adult Education in America*. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994); Stubblefield Harold W. and Keane, *Adult Education in the American Experience*.

⁹³ Stubblefield, Harold W. and Keane, *Adult Education in the American Experience*, 118.

⁹⁴ Kett, "Dissenter in History of Adult Education."

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁹⁷ *Women Public Speakers in the United States, 1800-1925: A Bio-Critical Sourcebook*, ed. Karlyn Kohrs Campbell (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1993), 128.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 128.

⁹⁹ Yoakam, "Women's Introduction to the American Platform."

¹⁰⁰ Lucretia Mott, *Lucretia Mott: Her Complete Speeches and Sermons/Edited [with an Introduction] by Dana Greene*, Studies in Women and Religion, vol. 4 (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1980).

¹⁰¹ Yoakam, "Women's Introduction to the American Platform," 170.

¹⁰² Mott, "Discourse on Woman (12/17/1849)," 143-62.

¹⁰³ Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak for Her*, 37-48.

¹⁰⁴ Lester C. Olson, Trudy Bayer and , "Lucretia Coffin Mott (1793-1880), Religious Reformer and Advocate of the Oppressed," in *Women Public Speakers in the United States, 1800-1925*, ed. Karlyn Kohrs Campbell (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1993), 139.

analyzed "Discourse on Woman."¹⁰⁵ Carlson considered several aspects of Quakerism. In particular, Carlson claimed that Lucretia Mott "uses the Quaker concept of the 'inner light' to balance the tension between her conservative cultural milieu and her radical goals."¹⁰⁶ None of these works presented a sufficiently broad explication of Quaker ideas and practices for a fuller analysis of Lucretia Mott's many speeches and sermons. Nor do any of these articles examine Lucretia Mott's work as a pioneer who educated the public through speaking about a broad range of societal issues.

Primary Reports and Biographies of Lucretia Mott

Lucretia Mott's published diary of her trip to attend the 1840 World's Anti-Slavery Convention held in London, England, records her experience of being denied participation as an official delegate because she was a woman. The diary also included events such as her initial meeting with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, visits with Harriet Martineau, and encounters with many others. Regrettably, the diary covers a short, albeit, historic period, a three month trip to England.¹⁰⁷ This diary--and "Notes"¹⁰⁸ given to Sarah J. Hale--are the only known autobiographical efforts Lucretia Mott penned.

The eulogy that Elizabeth Cady Stanton delivered two months after Lucretia Mott's death is the first published biographical sketch. This contemporaneous reflection praised her character, ascribed influence to her Quaker foundation, notes her anti-slavery work and reports primarily on Lucretia Mott's efforts related to the rights of women.¹⁰⁹

Publications of full-length or major works on Lucretia Mott, while few in number, stretch the century from 1884 to 1980. To appreciate the connection of these works with their times, book reviews are considered as part of this review of literature.

The first full length biography of Lucretia Mott, *James and Lucretia Mott: Life and Letters*, edited by their granddaughter, Anna Davis Hallowell, was published sixteen years after the death of James Mott and just four years following the death of Lucretia in 1880. A contemporaneous *New York Times Book Review*¹¹⁰ while admitting of the possibilities common when a family member writes biography, portrayed an account "not abound[ing] in adulation . . . not o'erflowing full of minor details, and . . . is not wanting in appreciation of the subjects' public careers, nor in fair judgment of the residuary value of those careers."¹¹¹ The reviewer admitted, however, "any life of Lucretia Mott, even if told by the merest tyro [novice] would be interesting."¹¹² Suggesting that the book could have been shorter, the review pointed out that the

¹⁰⁵ A. Cheree Carlson, "Defining Womanhood: Lucretia Coffin Mott and the Transformation of Femininity," *Western Journal of Communication* 58, no.2 (Spring 1994): 85-97.

¹⁰⁶ Carlson, "Defining Womanhood: Lucretia Coffin Mott and the Transformation of Femininity," 85.

¹⁰⁷ Lucretia Mott, *Slavery and "The Woman Question": Lucretia Mott's Diary of Her Visit to Great Britain*, ed. Frederick B. Tolles, Ph. D., Journal of the Friends' Historical Society, no. Supplement No. 23 (Haverford, PA: Friends' Historical Association and Friends' Historical Society, 1952, 1840).

¹⁰⁸ Mott, "Notes on the Life of Lucretia Mott as Given to Sarah J. Hale.,"

¹⁰⁹ Stanton, "Lucretia Mott Eulogy," 407-31.

¹¹⁰ "Motts," *New York Times Book Review*, 28/September 1884.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid.

work "could not have been more lucid."¹¹³ A great contribution and marked strength of this work is publication of many Lucretia Mott letters. Yet, the volume and selected letters focused primarily on the Motts' anti-slavery work.

A half-century elapsed before Lloyd C. M. Hare wrote the next full-length popular biography, first published in serial form in the magazine *Americana* [Somerville, 1936, volumes 30 and 31].¹¹⁴ Written in 1937, this book is titled simply *Lucretia Mott*. Carter G. Woodson, educator, historian, and now renowned for his efforts to reclaim the history of American blacks and hailed as the Father of African-American History, reviewed Hare's popular biography. Woodson's review appeared in the *Journal of Negro History*, founded by Woodson 1916.

Woodson begins the review of Hare's book on a cautionary note:

We are too close to the most dramatic period of American history. We retain so many of our prejudices and predilections that few of us can dispassionately write concerning the makers of American history The author . . . summarized . . . the characterization of the subject as the flower of Quakerism, the soul of the woman's movement and the black man's goddess The book is . . . an interesting and valuable biography¹¹⁵

The New York Times Book Review concluded,

Her power as a speaker lay in the quiet force of her personality which appealed to reason rather than emotion, never temporizing, yet seldom antagonizing even those who differed with her Emerson said, 'No mob could remain a mob where she went.'¹¹⁶

In 1970, Hare's book was re-published by The Negro Universities Press under the title *The Greatest American Woman, Lucretia Mott*.¹¹⁷

Of interest to this research, the book's introduction by Roberta Campbell Lawson, President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs--historically a locus for women's adult education--applauded Lucretia Mott. Lawson depicted her as, "a woman of rare refinement, yet she was not afraid . . . to speak upon the public platform, an act then considered unwomanly and indecent."¹¹⁸

In 1958, Otelia Cromwell wrote the first major scholarly Mott biography. Contemporary reviews presented the subject as, "a pioneer and the leading figure . . . of the Woman's Rights Movement, which included the higher education of American women as well as the general elevation of women economically, socially, and politically to a position equal to that held by

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ *Dictionary Catalog of The Research Libraries of The New York Public Libraries* (New York, 1979), 335.

¹¹⁵ C. G. Woodson, "Book Review of Lucretia Mott," *Journal of Negro History* 23 (1938): 372-74.

¹¹⁶ Anita Moffett, Lucretia Mott and Her Crusades: The Story of a Personality Which Left a Far-Reaching Influence on Her Time and on Our Own. *The New York Times Book Review*. 1 August, 1937,.

¹¹⁷ Lloyd C. M. Hare, *The Greatest American Woman, Lucretia Mott*. New York: Negro Universities Press, 1970, c1937.

¹¹⁸ Roberta Campbell Lawson, "Preface," to Lloyd Custer Mayhew Hare, *Lucretia Mott* (New York: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1937), 13.

men¹¹⁹ Historian M. H. Rice, in reviewing Cromwell's work, cited the "treatment of Mrs. Mott's religious views and activities" as the least effective aspect of this biography.

Margaret Hope Bacon wrote two books, in addition to several shorter monographs, which focused more light on the subject: *Valiant Friend: The Life of Lucretia Mott*¹²⁰ and *Mothers of Feminism: The Story of Quaker Women in America*.¹²¹ Acknowledged by a reviewer as "an experienced popular writer on Quaker history,"¹²² Margaret Bacon grounded her Lucretia Mott biography in primary documents. One book reviewer cited Bacon's "skillful evocation of Mott's personality and the physical, social, and intellectual environment in which [she] lived."¹²³ Another sensed that the full depth and understanding of Lucretia Mott has not been plumbed, since, "The full complement of Lucretia Mott's political positions is only hinted at, such as her analysis of the relationship between economic exploitation and war."¹²⁴ The *New York Times Book Review* of *Valiant Friend* affirmed the already reported view that "Quakerism was the cornerstone of . . . [Lucretia Mott's] activism."¹²⁵ While Bacon masterfully wove into this biography various aspects of Quakerism, still broader knowledge of Quaker ideas and methods is required to explore Lucretia Mott's spiritual foundation and her efforts to educate adults through public speaking.

Dana Greene's scholarship contributed incalculably to the study of Lucretia Mott's work by compiling her speeches and sermons.¹²⁶ In her clear-sighted and thought-provoking introduction, Greene confirms that, "it was from her religious experience in the Society of Friends that [Lucretia Mott] fashioned her critique of society and her vision of its restructuring."¹²⁷ Another review pointed out that "This Quaker preacher served also as a model for younger feminists such as Lucy Stone and Susan B. Anthony."¹²⁸ This invaluable publication, with its insightful analysis of Mott's pivotal position in the development of women's less restricted position in society, made available text transcripts.

¹¹⁹ Lorenzo D. Turner, review of *Lucretia Mott* by Otelia Cromwell *Journal of Negro History* 44:1 (January, 1959): 186-187.

¹²⁰ Bacon, *Valiant Friend*.

¹²¹ Margaret Hope Bacon, *Mothers of Feminism: The Story of Quaker Women in America, 1st ed.* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1986).

¹²² *Choice* 18, 1 (September 1980): 310.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 310.

¹²⁴ Wendy Schwartz, review of *Valiant Friend: The Life of Lucretia Mott*. *The Progressive* 44: 60-61.

¹²⁵ Book Review. *Valiant Friend: The Life of Lucretia Mott*. *New York Times Book Review*. 29 June, 1980, 15. The *New York Times Book Review* begins, "If Margaret Hope Bacon's bibliography is accurate, this full-length, well-documented life of the revered 19th-century Quaker reformer Lucretia Mott . . . is the first." However, Bacon's bibliography lists the manuscript collections, minutes and proceedings, diaries and 19th century periodicals consulted. While the chapter Notes include the Hallowell biography¹²⁵ and Lucretia Mott's diary Mott, *Slavery and "The Woman Question": Lucretia Mott's Diary of Her Visit to Great Britain*. The Hare and Cromwell books do appear in the bibliography of Bacon's 1980 pamphlet, written for a Quaker audience. That publication Margaret Hope Bacon, *Lucretia Mott Speaking: Excerpts from the Sermons & Speeches of a Famous Nineteenth Century Quaker Minister & Reformer*, Pendle Hill Pamphlet 234 (Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill Publications, 1980), is considered later in this section.

¹²⁶ Greene, "Introduction."

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹²⁸ Martha T. Mooney, Robert E. Klaum, Eds. *The Book Review Digest Seventy-Seventh Annual Cumulation* (March 1981 to February 1982 inclusive): 1019.

Greene's compilation permits readers--and researchers--to consider Lucretia Mott's thoughts as she addressed societal issues. Greene's compilation will be used as the primary source of published speeches and sermons for this study. The book was reviewed in only two library journals and two religious journals. As Quaker writer and historian J. William Frost observed in his review, “. . . these surviving speeches provide the base for an evaluation of her significance.”¹²⁹ Understandably, this compilation does not elucidate the work of Lucretia Mott as a public speaker.

The two more scholarly full-length biographies,¹³⁰ presented comprehensively researched and thought-provoking elucidations of the life of Lucretia Mott. While, the literature on Lucretia Mott is invaluable to research focused on particular aspects, nonetheless, these books present necessarily brief and confined views of Quaker tenets and practices. In particular, the educational aspects of the meeting for worship and the meeting for business are essentially unexamined.

Lucretia Mott's Foundation in Quaker Ways to Learn and to Educate

Two articles,¹³¹ each written in 1980, the centennial year of Lucretia Mott's death, most closely resonate with an observation developed in this dissertation: Lucretia Mott's Quaker foundation is formative for her activity in life. The scholarship in these works served to increase curiosity.

Greene's article presented the moral, philosophical, and religious stance of Lucretia Mott as clearly linked first to her Quaker foundation and then to the context of the times.¹³² Greene concluded that her "religious experience as a Friend"¹³³ was foundational for all Lucretia Mott's activities. Greene succinctly described some Friends' principles, compactly pointed to some Quaker structures and practices, and asserted that Lucretia Mott's Quaker education was "seminal for her future development."¹³⁴ Nonetheless, the brevity of this discriminating article precluded explication of the Friends' ideas and practices that set the context for Lucretia Mott's learning and future efforts to educate. Greene's knowledge of Quakerism obviously comes from prior scholarly exploration since no references or sources for Friends' tenets or ways are cited.

The other work, *Lucretia Mott Speaking*,¹³⁵ drew almost exclusively on primary sources--speeches, sermons, letters, newspaper articles--to let Lucretia speak to the intended audience for Bacon's pamphlet: Quakers. Bacon suggested that as historical interest and research develops, the most important factor about Lucretia would be:

¹²⁹ J. William Frost, "Book Review of Lucretia Mott: Her Complete Speeches and Sermons," *Church History* 52, no. 2(June 1983): 278.

¹³⁰ Otelia Cromwell, *Lucretia Mott* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958, reissued, 1971); Bacon, *Valiant Friend*.

¹³¹ Dana Greene, "Quaker Feminism: The Case of Lucretia Mott," *Pennsylvania History* 48(April 1981): 143-54; Bacon, *Lucretia Mott Speaking*.

¹³² Greene, "Quaker Feminism."

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 148-49.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 144.

¹³⁵ Bacon, *Lucretia Mott Speaking*.

Her role as a nineteenth-century Quaker minister, blessed with a deep spiritual insight, and a keen analytic mind.¹³⁶

Speaking to other Friends, Bacon urged that:

For reform-minded Friends, it is important to rediscover the Christian basis for this tradition. For those who fear and question the role of reform in religion, it is equally important to investigate the spiritual basis from which Lucretia Mott drew her strength.¹³⁷

These foundations, of course, were beyond the limits of that extraordinary 31-page pamphlet.

The message, however, is clear: one needs to understand her spirituality to understand Lucretia Mott's efforts to educate through public speaking. Not only "reform-minded Friends"¹³⁸ but historians of American history, women's history, and the history of American adult education require knowledge of her spirituality to describe and interpret her work in educating through public address. This study will explore some of the particulars of Lucretia Mott's spiritual foundation in relation to her speeches and to her work in educating adults by speaking publicly.

To illustrate the need to know about the Friends' ideas and customs, consider Anna M. Speicher's 1996 dissertation that explored the anti-slavery work of five women, including Lucretia Mott.¹³⁹ Speicher's informative study concluded that for these women "religion [was] an essentially personal phenomenon, existing independent from affiliation with religious organizations, grassroots movements, or folk practices."¹⁴⁰ Speicher's analysis lacks an in-depth exploration of the beliefs and practices of the Society of Friends. Further, Speicher does not explore Lucretia Mott's childhood education in Quaker schools nor Lucretia's lifelong learning as an intellectually inquisitive woman actively living her religious faith. Such an exploration might have altered Speicher's conclusion about the source of Lucretia Mott's expressive spirituality.

Another biographical effort, Penny Fankouser Pagliaro's Master of Education thesis,¹⁴¹ was focused on the years ending in 1840. She suggested further study in Lucretia Mott's "special interest in women's education."¹⁴² This work especially aided in the identification of works included in Quaker pedagogy during Lucretia's schooling. However, while Pagliaro identified the texts, she did not explain the ramifications related to Quaker faith and practice. Neither did Pagliaro relate some of Lucretia's expressed beliefs to her Quaker foundation nor clarify the perspectives of Friends' spirituality.

Certainly, the literature about Lucretia Mott to date is significant in the development of scholarship about this important nineteenth-century woman. They have provided broad biographical explorations as well as the texts of addresses and some letters. These works provide the background from which to pursue further scholarly inquiry. Currently, scholars are

¹³⁶ Ibid. 3.

¹³⁷ Bacon, *Lucretia Mott Speaking*, 3.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 3.

¹³⁹ Anna M. Speicher, "Faith Which Worketh By Love': The Religious World of Female Antislavery Lecturers," diss (Washington, DC: George Washington University, 1996).

¹⁴⁰ Speicher, "Faith Which Worketh By Love'," 229.

¹⁴¹ Penny Frankouser Pagliaro. "The Education and Radical Thought of Lucretia Mott: A Partial Biography." Master of Education in Educational Foundations Thesis, University of Hawaii, 1976.

¹⁴² Pagliaro. *Education of Lucretia Mott*, (1976): 158.

transcribing and annotating all known Lucretia Mott correspondence. This project, under the direction of Beverly Wilson Palmer, will culminate in the year 2,000 publication of one volume of selected letters of Lucretia Mott.

From Early Republican Values to New Research in Popular Education

These exemplary works, the major biographies and compilation of speeches, make this research practical. They also bolster its rationale: adequate explication of Quaker tenets and practices and the influence of membership in the Society of Friends on Lucretia Mott, as a lifelong learner and educator of adults, is required. A recent dissertation in the history of adult education explores the educational work of another Quaker and Lucretia Mott contemporary, Benjamin Hallowell.¹⁴³ This study examines well Friend Benjamin Hallowell's exemplary work in education. Yet, the study points to only one of the four critical beliefs (explored in Chapter Two), explores very briefly the Quaker meeting and organization as a structure for problem solving, and mentions Quaker testimonies by name without regard to corporate or individual instructive aspects. Nonetheless, to further plumb Quaker ways to know, to teach, and to live instructively requires a broader and deeper examination.

To date, no work in the history of adult education has sufficiently explicated aspects of Quakerism to enable historical analysis of Lucretia Mott's sermons and speeches. Further, no work has sufficiently explored her experience in educating through public speaking about societal issues related to abolition of slavery, rights of women, and peaceful ways to address injustice. Moreover, both contemporary social issues and Quakerism provide the context for an exploration of one whose work can be included among nineteenth-century practitioners of popular education. Thus, Lucretia Mott's educational activities especially through public speaking and considered in sufficient connection to a Quaker foundation remain largely unexamined.

Purpose of this Inquiry into Popular Education Voiced by Lucretia Mott

This investigation aims to elucidate two components of the instructive work of Public Friend Lucretia Mott, a lifelong learner and educator of the public. First, her public addresses will be examined to illuminate how they reflected Quaker principles and practices. Second, the study explores the work of Lucretia Mott, a nineteenth-century female Quaker minister who through public speaking educated adults. Three selected nineteenth-century social and ethical concerns help to illuminate the Quaker principles and practices reflected in Lucretia Mott's sermons and speeches as well as her work in public speaking to educate adults: abolition of slavery, rights of women, and peaceful ways to address injustice.

In addition, through a review of literature, this dissertation aims to elucidate salient theological convictions and related practices of the Society of Friends. Adequate comprehension of the weighty ramifications intrinsic in a person's being a committed Friend necessitates a review of Quaker literature, particularly sources related to meetings for worship and for business.

¹⁴³ Jr. Winston, Lewis E. Jr., "Benjamin Hallowell: Educational Leader of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania 1799-1877," diss (Blacksburg, Virginia: Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1998).

As Sharan B. Merriam and Edwin L. Simpson emphasize, consideration of the historical context of educational applications and the consequences of such education can contribute to a field's sensitivity to present practice.¹⁴⁴ This study of Quaker minister Lucretia Mott's work to educate the American populace through public speaking provides just such an opportunity.

The Questions that Guide this Research about Educating the Public

The following two questions guide this research:

(1) How did her public addresses to educate others about societal and ethical concerns reflect Quaker principles and practices?

(2) What did Lucretia Mott encounter in her work as a nineteenth-century female Quaker minister who educated adults about societal and ethical concerns through speaking in public forums?

Though Lucretia Mott sought to educate the public about many important nineteenth-century social and ethical concerns, the following significant issues served as the focus for this exploration: the abolition of slavery, rights of women, and peaceful ways to address injustice. Each topic is explored in a chapter and covers that topic over a period that is pertinent, appropriate, and sufficient to allow for historic analysis and interpretation of the guiding questions.

To comprehend the experience and context from which Lucretia Mott educated and acted, understanding certain salient aspects of her religious foundation is necessary. Therefore, Chapter Two presents a review of appropriate literature and seeks to answer the following supportive questions:

- (A) What teachings--central theological convictions--guide Friends?
- (B) How do Friends exemplify their religious beliefs?
- (C) What engages adult Friends both as learners and as teachers?
- (D) Before recognition as a recorded minister of the Society of Friends at age 28, how did her Quaker upbringing help to shape Lucretia Coffin Mott's perspective?

The Significance of the History Remembered in the Study of Adult Education

The presentations and interpretations of history--historiography--shape individual and collective worldviews; the historiography of adult education is significant and carries consequences of great magnitude for today's adult education scholars and practitioners. Distinguished historian Gerda Lerner portrays such consequences:

Our self-representation, the way we define who we are, . . . what we remember, what we stress as significant, and what we omit of our past defines our present. And since the

¹⁴⁴ Sharan B. Merriam and Edwin L. Simpson, *A Guide to Research for Educators and Trainers of Adults*, Second (Malabar, Florida: Krieger Publishing Company, 1995), 75-76.

boundaries of our self-definition also delimit our hopes and aspirations, . . . that history affects our future.¹⁴⁵

Awareness of adult education's past is vital to its future. Ignorance of its past is detrimental to its future.

Merriam and Simpson underscore the importance of historical research. Consideration of an event's "context," an examination of "assumptions" and an exploration of the "impact on the lives of participants"--taken together--hold "potential" to add significantly to the body of knowledge in a field like adult education.¹⁴⁶ Historians agree numerous gaps remain in the historical record about efforts to educate adults. Many adult education scholars have called for historical exploration that considers various conceptual frameworks, such as gender and economic theory.¹⁴⁷ Thus, examination of the work of Lucretia Mott presents an opportunity to fill a gap in the historical record of American adult education. This exploration can provide increased knowledge of the practice of popular education both in the nineteenth century and, more significantly, from a spiritual or ethical standpoint.

Popular Education Grounded in a Christian Religious Ethic

Lucretia Mott's lifetime of education provides an opportunity to examine a form of adult education grounded in a religious perspective based on the broad belief of "that of God" in everyone. This foundational tenet of the spiritual equality of all humans armed this Quaker minister's anti-slavery efforts, call for woman's rights¹⁴⁸, and sustained movement towards peaceful ways to address injustice.

The educational activities of Lucretia Mott are particularly well suited for such research. Lucretia Mott drew on two centuries of Anglo-American Quaker practice as her Christian religious ethic. She activated that Quaker religious ethic to educate, that is, to speak, preach and act in opposition to unjust privileges inherent in many cultural customs and social standards of the day. Accordingly, this inquiry hopes to advance knowledge of Quaker ideas and ways to contribute to the historical tradition of spiritually rooted adult education about public social issues.

¹⁴⁵ Gerda Lerner, *Why History Matters: Life and Thought of Gerda Lerner* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1997), 199.

¹⁴⁶ Merriam and Simpson, *Guide to Research*, 77.

¹⁴⁷ Kathleen Rockhill, "The Past as Prologue: Toward an Expanded View of Adult Education," *Adult Education* 26, no. 4 (1978): 196-207; Phyllis M. Cunningham, "Making a More Significant Impact on Society," in *New Directions for Continuing Education*, ed. B. Allan Quigley, *New Directions for Continuing Education*, no. No. 44 (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., Winter, 1989), 33-45; Jane Hugo, "Adult Education History and the Issue of Gender: Toward a Different History of Adult Education in America," *Adult Education Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (1990); Fred M. Schied, *Learning in Social Context: Workers and Adult Education in Nineteenth Century Chicago* (DeKalb, IL: LEPS Press, Northern Illinois University, 1993).

¹⁴⁸ "Woman's Rights" was the term used in the nineteenth-century.

Values Cultivated Through Adult Education

As noted before, the historiography of adult education influences the enterprises stressed in the field of adult education today. The recounted history influences the purposes and philosophy of the field. Some of adult education's untapped historic roots may be found in the Friends' ideas and practices and in Lucretia Mott as one of the pioneer female advocates of women's public speaking about significant societal issues.

Lerner bolsters John Dewey's assertion that, "We learn from our construction of the past what possibilities and choices once existed This in turn enables us to project a vision of the future."¹⁴⁹ Lerner represents the importance of historical interpretation: "It is through history-making that the present is freed from necessity and the past becomes usable."¹⁵⁰ Research into Lucretia Mott's thoughts and her influence upon popular education can be a vital contribution. It may contribute to the practice of adult education what the distinguished nineteenth-century British historian, Lord Acton, says is one of the most important warrants for the study of history:

History must be our deliverer not only from the undue influence of other times but from the undue influence of our own, from the tyranny of environment . . . [and] contemporary surroundings by familiarity with other ages and other orbits of thought.¹⁵¹

With the press of technology, the speed of communication, historic grounding increases in importance.

This research offers the opportunity to deepen analysis of the historical record and to examine the aims and purposes of adult education in relation to the field and practice today. Thus, examination of the educational activities of Public Friend Lucretia Mott may shed new light on the controversies inherent in, as well as the values cultivated through, adult education in the current critical time. As an agency in the movement toward a more just society, this exploration offers a vision of popular education.

Adult Education History Revisited

Scholars of adult education's past have revisited this history, often with new questions to clarify or expand knowledge. To clarify the past, to include factors previously considered as being insignificant, presents a two-fold challenge: first, to portray exemplars who can serve as role models or historic mentors; second, to represent a critical analysis of that history.¹⁵² Vital for such a critical re-analysis of history is the interpretative framework used by the researcher. Arthur L. Wilson¹⁵³ in his commentary on the historiography of adult education questioned the conceptual framework traditionally used to interpret the history of adult education. According to

¹⁴⁹ Lerner, *Why History Matters*, 217.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 117.

¹⁵¹ Theodore S Hamerow, *Reflections on History and Historians* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 209.

¹⁵² Joyce Antler and Sari Knopp Biklen, "Introduction," in *Changing Education: Women as Radicals and Conservators*, ed. Joyce Antler and Sari Knopp Biklen (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), xxvii.

¹⁵³ Arthur L. Wilson, "Telling Tales Out of School - Whose Story Needs Telling?" *Adult Education Quarterly* 45, no. 4(Summer 1995): 240-44.

Wilson, the conceptual framework that forms a theoretical basis for analysis of our past remains “central to the social practice of adult education.”¹⁵⁴

The stories of some have been blurred or entirely omitted--sometimes because of the questions guiding research--in the history of adult education. A study of history by issues, such as gender, class or race or in disjointed times, Wilson asserts, is insufficient. Wilson underscores the work of Raymond Williams who calls for analysis of the “complex interaction”¹⁵⁵ of various critical aspects of our past. Williams includes in the “complex interaction” three concepts. These concepts are the democratic revolution (which is connected to the use of power), the industrial revolution (which is connected to economic matters) and the cultural revolution (which is connected to the extension of “the active process of learning” to all groups). This process of interactive change over time, Williams calls “the long revolution.”¹⁵⁶ Though begun over three hundred years ago, Williams sees the democratic, industrial and cultural revolutions as still in process. Williams’ analysis resonates with that of historian Christopher Hill’s, who places the start of this “long revolution” in England during the seventeenth century.¹⁵⁷ During the mid-1600s, a time of social, political, economic, and religious turmoil in England, the Society of Friends arose and was brought to Colonial America.¹⁵⁸

Popular Education, Experiential Learning, and The Society of Friends

The Friends’ revolutionary influence reflects what Cremin identified as the “essentially educational character of Christianity, as a movement, as a complex of institutions and as an ideology.”¹⁵⁹ Cremin concludes that Henry VIII’s command to have an English language translation of the Bible placed into every church had “irrevocable” consequences in the lives of clergy and laity alike in what today would be called “popular education.”¹⁶⁰ From this bedrock spawned various transformations and reformations including the Puritan movement. Yet, as historian Jack Marietta suggested, the Quakers may be regarded as “the fullest expression of the Reformation.”¹⁶¹ According to Quaker theologian Howard H. Brinton, the Society of Friends “arose not from theory but from experience.”¹⁶² Friends’ experiential learning served as the model for their educational structures: the meeting for worship and the meeting for business.

As cited earlier, Johnson sees a locus of education as grounded in alternatives to develop a social order founded on the Christian ethic seen as a “morality of cooperation among

¹⁵⁴ Wilson, “Telling Tales,” 240.

¹⁵⁵ Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1961, 1975), xi.

¹⁵⁶ Williams, *The Long Revolution*, xi.

¹⁵⁷ Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (England: Penguin Books, 1972), 384.

¹⁵⁸ H. Larry Ingle, “From Mysticism to Radicalism: Recent Historiography of Quaker Beginnings,” *Quaker History* 76, no. 2(Fall 1987): 79-94; Howard H. Brinton, *Guide to Quaker Practice* (Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill, 1955), 14.

¹⁵⁹ Lawrence A. Cremin, *American Education: The Colonial Experience 1607-1783* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 139.

¹⁶⁰ Cremin, *The Colonial experience*, 141-43.

¹⁶¹ Jack D. Marietta, “Quakers,” in *The Reader's Companion to American History*, ed. Eric Foner and John A. Garraty (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1991), 894.

¹⁶² Brinton, *Quaker Practice*, 14.

equals."¹⁶³ Adult educator Michael Law also links one of the roots of Anglo-American adult education to the “theological precept of equality in the sight of God.”¹⁶⁴ Law cites Edward Thompson’s work that relates this historic root of adult education to the “dynamics, the informality and systematic character . . . of the inherently educational practice”¹⁶⁵ of seventeenth-century Anglo-American Christians. An example of such Christians would be the Society of Friends. An exemplar of the Society of Friends would be the Quaker minister, Lucretia Mott.

Historical Research Methods in the Study of Lucretia Mott's Work

The design of this research uses the historical method of inquiry to consider the work of Lucretia Mott, a Quaker minister, in her endeavors to educate the American populace through public speeches and sermons. These orations speak about significant societal issues to adult participants in the realm of civic life. Cremin highlights the importance of historical knowledge about education. He says, “Whatever history teaches, it helps set the stage on which [people] act. And that has always been its power in human affairs.”¹⁶⁶ The arenas selected for inquiry--abolition of slavery, rights of women, and peaceful ways to address injustice--provide particularly rich avenues for investigating intersections of important and divergent directions conspicuous in the nineteenth century.

The historical method of inquiry guides this study about Public Friend Lucretia Mott and consists of typical historical components that Krathwohl lists as “discovery, selection, organization, and interpretation of evidence.”¹⁶⁷ This limited and focused biographical study explores the work of Lucretia Mott as an educator of the public. Education historian Ellen Lagemann argued that there are “compelling historiographical reasons” to employ a biographical approach to any historical consideration of education, broadly defined. Lagemann suggested the use of biography allows the researcher “to analyze the personal and social factors that define the educative meaning of a wide range of experiences, and to trace the effects of these experiences over time.”¹⁶⁸

A biographical approach as a constituent component of the historical method of inquiry, according to Geraldine Joncich Clifford, supports exploration “of teaching and learning in actual lives.”¹⁶⁹ Clifford notes that when a subject “shaped events” or when such an exploration can serve to “bring neglected groups forward,” that research has particular significance.¹⁷⁰ The design of this focused biographical study combines a thematic organization of three arenas--

¹⁶³ Johnson, “Really Useful Knowledge,” 5.

¹⁶⁴ Michael Law, “Rediscovering Hope in a New Era: Possibilities for the Radical Tradition of Adult Education,” in *Proceedings, 37th Annual Adult Education Research Conference* (Tampa, Florida: University of South Florida, 16-19, May, 1996), 208.

¹⁶⁵ Law, “Rediscovering Hope in a New Era: Possibilities for the Radical Tradition of Adult Education,” 208.

¹⁶⁶ Cremin, *The Colonial Experience*, ix.

¹⁶⁷ David R. Krathwohl, *Methods of Educational and Social Science Research: An Integrated Approach* (New York: Longman, 1993), 501; see also Merriam and Simpson, *Guide to Research*, 9-11.

¹⁶⁸ Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *A Generation of Women: Education in the Lives of Progressive Reformers* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 4.

¹⁶⁹ Geraldine Joncich Clifford, “The Life Story: Biographic Study,” in *Historical Inquiry in Education: A Research Agenda*, ed. John Hardin Best (Washington DC: American Educational Research Association, 1983), 69.

¹⁷⁰ Clifford, “The Life Story,” 66-67.

abolition of slavery, rights of women, and peaceful ways to address injustice--through which to examine Lucretia Mott's popular education activities. Each of the three thematic arrangements considers a specific time to allow for historic analysis. This organization of themes over specific times allows for development of what Jacque Barzun and Henry F. Graff call a "historical pattern."¹⁷¹ Such a pattern accommodates the human need for order.¹⁷² These groupings allowed a sufficiently full consideration of each topic presented in a way a reader can comprehend.¹⁷³ Barzun and Graff characterize this kind of configuration as one that allows a topic to be dealt with "completely as far as that subject goes."¹⁷⁴

In order to interpret Friends' ideas and practices, one must be vigilant about "presentism," or what Lerner calls "present-mindedness." This, Lerner defines as "a shallow attention to meaning, and contempt for the value of precise definition and critical reasoning."¹⁷⁵ Eisenstadt notes that because historians must inevitably write from the present while they look at the past, each age "writes a different history."¹⁷⁶ To guard against this bias requires that researchers, according to Lerner, make a "meaningful connection to the past."¹⁷⁷ Such a connection, according to Lerner, presents several challenges:

[Historical interpretation] demands imagination and empathy, so that we can fathom worlds unlike our own, contexts far from those we know, ways of thinking and feeling that are alien to us. We must enter past worlds with curiosity and with respect.¹⁷⁸

To enter the Friends' world with both curiosity and respect, sufficient comprehension of the linguistic constructs Friends employ was essential to this inquiry. For, as David R. Krathwohl emphasizes, historic analysis requires comprehension of "constructs in the culture and at the time studied."¹⁷⁹ Consequently, an exploration of these constructs, the focus of Chapter Two, and development of a glossary constituted essential components of this study.

A vast number of primary documents and scholarly secondary sources exist about this study's three areas of public interest--abolition of slavery, rights of women, and peaceful ways to address injustice--in the nineteenth century. This documentation resides in archival collections of national, state, educational, and private institutions. What is more important, these arenas of interest are documented sufficiently to provide the breadth and depth of analysis required for an historical interpretation of the educational efforts of Lucretia Coffin Mott. Krathwohl's discussion of historical methods cites the importance of historical interpretation as an attempt "to throw light on a corner of history not yet illuminated from that angle."¹⁸⁰ The historical method

¹⁷¹ Jacque Barzun and Henry F. Graff, *The Modern Researcher*, Fifth (Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers, 1977, 1992), 183.

¹⁷² Barzun and Graff, *The Modern Researcher*, 181.

¹⁷³ Barzun and Graff, *The Modern Researcher*, 185.

¹⁷⁴ Barzun and Graff, *The Modern Researcher*, 206.

¹⁷⁵ Lerner, *Why History Matters*, 123.

¹⁷⁶ Abraham Eisenstadt, "History and Historians," in *The Reader's Companion to American History*, ed. Eric Foner and John A. Garrity (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1991), 499.

¹⁷⁷ Lerner, *Why History Matters*, 201.

¹⁷⁸ Lerner, *Why History Matters*, 201.

¹⁷⁹ Krathwohl, *Methods of Educational and Social Science Research*, 511.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 504.

of research, which guided the study of the subject and issues under investigation, provided the opportunity to make just such a contribution to the history of the field of adult education.

Historic Quaker and Nineteenth-Century Primary Documents

The Friends Historical Library (FHL) is the principle repository for the collection of primary source materials and manuscripts of Lucretia Coffin Mott. FHL is located outside Philadelphia, Pennsylvania at Swarthmore College, an educational institution that Lucretia Mott helped to found. The Mott Manuscript Collection holds Lucretia Mott's only known diary that records an account of Lucretia Mott's trip to England as a delegate to the World's Antislavery Convention of 1840. Frederick B. Tolles' published transcription of her diary will be used as a primary source for this research. Another folder, titled Notes on the life of Lucretia Mott as given to Sarah J. Hale, contains several undated sheets of paper with handwritten reminiscences. The researcher transcribed these notes and used them in this dissertation to convey Lucretia's thinking. These two items constitute the only known autobiographical works outside of her letters.

Also in the FHL collection are "photostats" of other Lucretia Mott's letters and documents. The originals of these letters are located at Smith College Library, Cornell University, Harvard College Library, Syracuse University, Atwater Kent Museum and Historical Society of Pennsylvania, both located in Philadelphia, and the National Archives, Washington DC. The complete collection of both original and photostatted materials, arranged chronologically, dates from 1831 to within a year of Lucretia Mott's death.

The Mott Manuscript Collection contains published primary copies of stenographers' transcriptions of some sermons and speeches Lucretia Mott delivered extemporaneously, in accord with Friends' practice. These works are included in the now classic 1980 publication of Lucretia Mott's sermons and speeches that, as mentioned before, Dana Greene compiled, edited and introduced.¹⁸¹ With permission of the publisher, Greene's work served as the researcher's source for published sermons and speeches. The researcher also read a copy of the only master's thesis, also archived at FHL, written about the education of Lucretia Mott.

Also at FHL are minutes of the Monthly Meetings to which Lucretia Mott belonged. These minutes cover from the time Lucretia Mott became a recorded minister in 1821 to her death in 1880,¹⁸² and include the years she served as clerk of the Women's Meeting. The researcher examined the microfilms of these minutes. During 1998, FHL became the repository for the historic records of the New York Yearly Meeting. This collection contains primary data from the Nine Partners School, a Quaker secondary school she attended. The researcher examined and reported on some of these materials.

The Nantucket Historical Society archives several primary documents of interest. Included among the letters and other pertinent documents held by that institution are minutes from the Quaker Meeting. The Historical Society allowed the researcher to obtain photocopies of all her letters and some minutes in their archives. Lucretia Mott lived on Nantucket Island for

¹⁸¹ Greene, "Introduction."

¹⁸² Bacon, *Valiant Friend*, 37.

the first eleven years of her life. The local libraries and bookstores have a wealth of secondary sources related to the history of Nantucket and its Quaker past.

In or near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, three repositories exist for extensive primary and secondary sources related to the Society of Friends. One repository is the already mentioned Friends Historical Library (FHL). The other two repositories are the Quaker Collection (QC) at the Magill Library of Haverford College and the Henry J. Cadbury Library (CL) of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, Religious Society of Friends. The original printings of revisions of the *Book of Discipline* effective during the life of Lucretia Mott were examined at CL.

The Library of Congress (LOC) in Washington, DC holds among its periodical collection the few publications in which articles appeared with a Lucretia Mott by-line. Collections at the LOC, located within easy access of the researcher, included the published history of the woman's suffrage movement, a primary document that treats Lucretia Mott at length. The LOC also has microfilms of newspapers and periodicals that report the circumstances experienced by Lucretia Mott as a public speaker. Newspapers containing contemporaneous accounts served as primary evidence to document, from the view of the reporter and editor, the experiences women confronted upon entry onto the public platform. Of particular importance among the secondary sources available at LOC are microfilmed dissertations that were read. These count Lucretia Mott among their principals, though none has focused exclusively on her. Other dissertations read related to the Society of Friends. In addition, the LOC has a vast array of both primary and secondary sources that were consulted and that inform about the context of the time and scholarship related to the research topics.

Technology Aids in Collection of Data

Essentially, the researcher collected data for this dissertation through extensive reading of sources previously enumerated and by note taking. Notes were recorded on both laptop and desktop computers through the use of academic software known as Citation 7 which is a "textual database manager designed especially for academic ...and research writers."¹⁸³

Collection of data from primary sources began in July 1995 during the first of the researcher's many visits to CL and FHL. These two libraries provided access to ample primary documents needed for analysis of this subject. Each of these libraries also has an immense collection of secondary sources that allowed for reading and note taking both for background and for inclusion in this research.

The researcher also visited Nantucket Island in July 1996 and August 1997 to examine data located at The Nantucket Historical Society. The archivist at this facility photocopied for the researcher all the Lucretia Mott letters in that collection. Subsequently, the researcher read these letters and made notes. Other pertinent documents, for instance the records of visits of Public Friends to the Nantucket Quaker Meeting, were photocopied or reviewed on site and notes taken.

¹⁸³ *Citation 7* (New York: Oberon Resources, 1995), 2.

Lucretia Mott's archived handwritten documents, contemporaneously published articles written by Lucretia Mott, and posthumously published letters, speeches and sermons provided important data which the researcher read and recorded notes for development of this study. Thus, these materials, together with pertinent data from the Society of Friends, such as school texts and minutes, provided diverse primary materials to examine.

The researcher read excerpts from an extensive number of published books and journal articles that include but do not exclusively treat the work of Lucretia Mott. These works were available at the LOC and FHL and CL. Some books and dissertations were obtained from libraries of local universities. The Northern Virginia Center Library of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University Library provided access to an almost limitless variety of secondary sources either from Newman Library, on the main campus, or from other public and private institutions through inter-library loan.

Many recent, scholarly pertinent works were readily available at the sources previously detailed and were consulted. These works included scholarship on the Quakers, American women, and public speaking and popular education in the nineteenth-century. The social, political, and historical conditions that formed the environment for popular education and the work of Lucretia Mott in the nineteenth century also have been subjects of extensive study. Examination of such works, accompanied by adequate note taking, enabled a broad contextual comparison with primary texts of Lucretia Mott, the Society of Friends, and records of various organizations. The extensive collection of contemporaneous microfilmed newspapers and periodicals at LOC provided additional contextual sources from which data were gathered for analysis of the activities of Lucretia Mott. Taken together, these sources provided resources for historic analysis and interpretation.

Analysis of the Collected Historical Data

For analytical purposes, the researcher categorized the collected data into three principal areas. These areas--abolition of slavery, rights of women, and peaceful ways to address injustice--commanded the attention of Americans through much of the examined period. These issues were of concern to and addressed by Lucretia Mott as an adult learner and lecturer in popular education. Data analysis and interpretation sought to ascertain and elucidate the work of Public Friend Lucretia Mott as a pioneer advocate of women's right to speak in public about societal concerns. Analysis of the data identified the Quaker influence reflected in her addresses. Both contemporaneous sources, such as news accounts, and respected scholarly interpretations of events provided a broader context for analysis and interpretation.

Exploring Popular Education through the Work of Lucretia Mott

Organized around three thematic areas of interest--abolition of slavery, rights of women, and peaceful ways to address injustice--this dissertation explored popular education in the work of Lucretia Mott, a Quaker minister. Public Friend Lucretia Mott undertook much of this popular education through speaking that placed her among the pioneers who advanced women's right to address social and ethical concerns in the public realm. Within each theme, a

chronological approach was used. The time spans for the three areas of investigation sometimes overlap.

This chapter presented the study's organizational structure, introduced Lucretia Mott and furnished the background of the problem that led to exploration of her work as a nineteenth-century Quaker minister who educated the public about societal concerns. At a time when tradition barred women's speaking publicly, she advocated and practiced women's right to educate men and women through public speaking in gatherings of adults. This chapter also explored the purpose of the study, presented the questions that guided the study, illuminated the significance of the study, articulated the research method, rationale, and organization of this study.

Chapter Two explores literature related to the Society of Friends' teachings and practices that are salient to this study. This inquiry focuses on the two primary Quaker educational structures: the meeting for worship and the meeting for business. While this literature review consists principally of scholarly secondary sources, pertinent primary Quaker sources are included. Most important, Chapter Two explores the formative experiences and influences, rooted in the Society of Friends, that helped to shape the perspective from which Lucretia Coffin Mott educated adults. This survey covers the twenty-five years from birth to just before she spoke publicly in the meeting for worship in 1818. Reviewed also is literature about a [guarded education](#) common in Quaker schools of her time.

The organization of Chapters Three through Five, later described individually, is similar. Each chapter begins with a review of the dominant themes related to that subject. Then, building on Chapter Two's review of Quaker principles and practices, the chapter reviews what the Society of Friends learned and taught about the chapter's topic. Then, the chapter examines what the young Lucretia Coffin Mott learned about the chapter's topic. Next, Lucretia Mott's speeches and sermons about that topic, within the time considered, will be explored for evidence of Quaker ideas and practices reflected in them. Following the exploration of speeches and sermons each chapter examines Lucretia Mott's work as a nineteenth-century female Quaker minister who educated adults about societal issues by speaking in public forums. Primary documents provided the principle sources of evidence for this study. Finally, each of these chapters concludes with a summary.

Organized Themes to Present, Analyze and Interpret

Chapter Three examines initial efforts when Lucretia Mott first spoke out as a teacher of adults in anti-slavery efforts both within the Society of Friends and in the culture at large, the public realm. Examination of her work in enlightening the public mind about slavery covered the quarter century between 1822 and 1846.

Chapter Four examines the development of the women's rights effort from 1833 to 1856. Lucretia Mott's work in publicly speaking about women's rights to educate through public speaking is studied. This chapter includes an examination of her 1849 Discourse on Woman lyceum speech.

Chapter Five examined Lucretia Mott's activities from 1833 to 1880. The chapter describes and analyzes Lucretia Mott's work in educating through speaking publicly about viewpoints that encouraged peaceful ways to address injustice.

Chapter Six presents the conclusions and provides an interpretation of the findings. The appendix, a glossary, and the reference list then follow Chapter Six.

GLOSSARY

Advices: "Extracts from minutes and epistles of early Friends intended to supply guidance, caution and counsel to monthly meetings and their members on various aspects of daily life."¹⁸⁴

As way may open or As the way opens: "Proceeding with a proposed project "as way opens" means taking one step at a time (prayerfully), so as to become clear what to do."¹⁸⁵

Clerk: A clerk functions as one "responsible for the administration of a Friends meeting for business [to include] preparation, leadership, and follow up of" of matters considered."¹⁸⁶

Concern: "A course of action taken under deep religious conviction."¹⁸⁷ A concern "is felt to be a direct intimation of God's will."¹⁸⁸

Discipline: The *Book of Discipline* summarizes the faith and practice to which Quakers are "committed."¹⁸⁹ For instance, the Book of Discipline for the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and the Yearly Meeting in England describes "a yearly meeting's history, structures, and procedures, including advices, queries, and often quotations...from the experience of Friends.... The word discipline comes from the root word disciple."¹⁹⁰

Epistles: "A public letter [sent among] Friends groups to supply information, spiritual insight, and encouragement."¹⁹¹

Gospel order: Phraseology used by George Fox and other early Friends "to describe the new covenant order of the church under the headship of Christ."¹⁹² Sandra Cronk writes that George Fox spoke of gospel order to describe the relationship among the "practices of worship, decision-making, and daily living" for Friends.¹⁹³

Guarded Education: For Quakers, "divine revelation was a gift, its application a skill."¹⁹⁴ William Kashatus, historian of Quaker education, described "'a religiously guarded education' as

¹⁸⁴ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice: A Book of Christian Discipline* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1997), 215.

¹⁸⁵ Lyn Cope-Robinson, *The Little Quaker Sociology Book: With Glossary* (Melbourne, FL: Canmore Press, 1995), 180.

¹⁸⁶ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 216.

¹⁸⁷ Trevett, Christine, *Women in the 17th Century*, Ebor Press, York, England, 1991: 5 as quoted in Cope-Robinson 1995: 198

¹⁸⁸ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 216.

¹⁸⁹ John Punshon, *Portrait in Grey: A Short History of the Quakers* (London: Quaker Home Service, 1984), 138.

¹⁹⁰ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 215.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 216.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 217.

¹⁹³ Sandra L. Cronk, *Gospel Order: A Quaker Understanding of Faithful Church Community* (Wallingford PA: Pendle Hill Publications, 1991), 3.

¹⁹⁴ Nancy Reid Gibbs, *Children of Light: Friends Seminary, 1786-1986* (New York: Friends Seminary, 1986), 11.

an idiosyncratic education that would have required every Quaker child's reading the works of William Penn, Robert Barclay, and George Fox."¹⁹⁵

Leading: Sheeran defines "leadings," an ongoing part of the Quaker experience from their founding, as "inner religious movements which 'lead' one to believe...that God is calling one to a particular action."¹⁹⁶ A sense of being called by God to undertake a specific course of action. A leading often arises from a concern.¹⁹⁷

Meeting for business: These meetings are essentially educational in nature and are the Friends' primary "educational agencies."¹⁹⁸ Within a meeting for business are made what Sheeran describes as "decisions by mutual consent."¹⁹⁹ Douglas Steere says the meetings for business function for Friends as the "corporate method of arriving at decisions."²⁰⁰ This process differs from value-free consensus, defined in the dictionary as "mutual agreement or harmony." Friends' decision-making process is rooted in worship with the expectation of "divine guidance manifesting itself through the unity of decisions."²⁰¹ The meeting for worship and meeting for business are the Friends' "unique" structures²⁰² in which to practice their convictions and testimonies as a covenantal "witnessing community."²⁰³ This exclusive Quaker process is identical for a meeting for business at the monthly, quarterly and yearly meeting levels.

Meeting for worship: "A gathering of individuals in quiet waiting upon the enlightening and empowering presence of the Divine; the central focus of the corporate life of the Society of Friends."²⁰⁴

Minute: "The record of a corporate decision reached during a meeting . . . for business."²⁰⁵ Official records of proceedings kept for all Quaker business meetings (preparative, monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings), along with their committees."²⁰⁶

Openings: What early Friends experienced as being "directly revealed in [the] soul so that [a person] assuredly knew it to be true"²⁰⁷ or "a spiritual opportunity or leading."²⁰⁸

¹⁹⁵ William C. Kashatus, Personal telephone conversation, Nineteenth-Century Quaker Education and Lucretia Coffin Mott (Philadelphia, July 3, 1995).

¹⁹⁶ Michael John Sheeran, "Friendly Persuasion: Voteless Decisions in the Religious Society of Friends," diss (New Jersey: Princeton University, 1977), 24.

¹⁹⁷ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 218.

¹⁹⁸ Howard H. Brinton, *Guide to Quaker Practice* (Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill, 1955), 58.

¹⁹⁹ Sheeran, "Friendly Persuasion," 4.

²⁰⁰ Douglas V. Steere, "The Quaker Meeting for Business," The 19th Annual J. Barnard Walton Memorial Lecture, Southeastern Yearly Meeting, (Avon Park, FL: Southeastern Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, 1995, 10/4, 1982), 2-3.

²⁰¹ Sheeran, "Friendly Persuasion," 2.

²⁰² Howard H. Brinton, *Quaker Education In Theory and Practice* (Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill Press, 1967), 11-12.

²⁰³ Douglas Gwyn, *The Covenant Crucified: Quakers and the Rise of Capitalism* (Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill Publications, 1995), 20.

²⁰⁴ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 218.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.,

²⁰⁶ "Guide to Genealogical Resources at Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College" (Swarthmore, PA, n.d.), D-3.

Preparative Meeting: "An organized group of members of an established monthly meeting which ordinarily gathers for worship at another place."²⁰⁹

Public Friend: A Public Friend signifies one who expresses religious beliefs as a preacher.²¹⁰ Public Friends traveled among groups of Quakers, and interacted "with the larger society"²¹¹ to educate and speak about societal concerns. Lucretia Coffin Mott ministered as a Public Friend. For a Public Friend, the sectarian and secular roles converge through the practice of speaking.

Queries: "A set of questions, based on Friends' practices and testimonies, which are considered by Meetings and individuals as a way of both guiding and examining individual and corporate lives and actions."²¹²

Sense of the meeting: "An expression of the unity of a meeting for business on some . . . concern."²¹³

Testimony: "Friends testimonies (religious and social) are an outward expression of inward spiritual leadings and discernments of truth and the will of God. Testimonies are the application of Friend's beliefs to situations and problems of individuals and society ."²¹⁴

Threshing Meeting: "A meeting held to discuss a controversial issue. At such a meeting all points of view are heard, but no decision is made."²¹⁵

Traveling Minister: "Friends recognized both women and men ministers who felt called...to speak to a specific group or person."²¹⁶

Truth: "The revealed will of God, as experienced in communion with the Inner Light or Inward Christ."²¹⁷

Unity: "The spiritual oneness and harmony whose realization is a primary objective of a meeting for worship or a meeting for business."²¹⁸

²⁰⁷ Rufus M. Jones, "Introduction," in *Journal of George Fox*, ed. Rufus M. Jones, with an introduction and notes (New York: Capricorn Books, 1963), 74-75.

²⁰⁸ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 219.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 219.

²¹⁰ Carol Stoneburner, "Introduction," in *The Influence of Quaker Women on American History: Biographical Studies*, ed. Carol and John Stoneburner (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1986), xiv.

²¹¹ Stoneburner, "Introduction," 1.

²¹² Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 219-20.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 220.

²¹⁴ Cope-Robinson, *Little Quaker Sociology Book*, 195.

²¹⁵ *Faith and Practice*, North Pacific Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, 1993, quoted in Cope-Robinson, *Little Quaker Sociology Book*, 195.

²¹⁶ Cope-Robinson, *Little Quaker Sociology Book*, 195-96.

²¹⁷ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 221.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 221.

Yearly Meeting: "Those Friends from a geographically extended area who gather in annual session to worship and conduct business together . . . [and] denotes the total membership of the constituent monthly meetings."²¹⁹ The Yearly Meeting meets for "several days...annually to conduct business, formulate the discipline, receive reports and concerns from its constituent meetings, review the state of the Society, and communicate with other yearly meetings and non-Quaker organizations."²²⁰

²¹⁹ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 221.

²²⁰ "Guide to Genealogical Resources," D-7.