

CHAPTER THREE

ENLIGHTENING OF THE PUBLIC MIND ABOUT SLAVERY (1822-1846)

Regarding contributions to buy [slaves'] freedom: If the sums, raised for this object, were appropriated to the enlightening of the public mind on the enormity of the whole system, how much more effective would it be!

Lucretia Mott, *What is Anti-Slavery Work?* 1846

The abolition of slavery was a significant societal and ethical concern Lucretia Mott addressed publicly. Chapter Three focuses on her work to educate adults during the years 1822 through 1846, about slavery and its abolition. This chapter, divided into four sections

- (A) presents the historical context in which Lucretia Mott worked.
- (B) furnishes the background of perspectives by
 - (1) reviewing what the Friends learned and taught about slavery and its abolition.
 - (2) Exploring what young Lucretia learned about slavery.
- (C) examines ways Lucretia Mott's sermons and speeches¹ through 1846, reflected the Friends' principles and practices related to slavery.
- (D) illuminates her work as a female Quaker minister who educated adults about the abolition of slavery through public speaking.

Chapter Three spans twenty-four years of Lucretia Mott's life from age twenty-nine to fifty-three years.

(A) The Historical Context of Lucretia Mott's Pioneering Public Speaking about Slavery

Slavery was not the foremost theme to capture the attention of the general population in the American republic. Instead, in this early national period Americans focused more on the development of their new nation, the spread of evangelical Christianity in the Second Great Awakening, the rise of Transcendentalist influence, and the extension of democracy under Andrew Jackson by broader electoral privileges for white males. The nation's demands to educate adults in towns throughout the land--met partially through the lyceum--coupled with widespread literacy and establishment of libraries, fostered adult learning. Advances in printing allowed the production of greater numbers but less costly books, weekly and monthly magazines, and newspapers, all of which served adults as lifelong learners.²

The Erie Canal's completion in 1825 and expansion in railroads advanced the forces changing America. The north continued to become industrial and urban. The 1803 Louisiana Purchase brought vast lands with favorable climate that magnified the potential for growing cotton. Tobacco fields, plantations with rice and indigo crops were worked increasingly by

¹ Mott, *Lucretia Mott: Her Complete Speeches and Sermons/edited [with an introduction] by Dana Greene.*

² Stubblefield, Harold W. and Keane, *Adult Education in the American Experience*, 62-96; Stoneburner, "Introduction," 32.

slaves.³ The nexus of such factors increased demand for agricultural products--the cotton/sugar/rice/tobacco grown with slave labor. At last, slavery--owning human beings: people and livestock counted together as chattel--began to grip the attention of more Americans. Yet, while evangelicals in the North deplored slavery, Lawrence Goodheart & Hugh Hawkins said, "they accepted white supremacy as inevitable."⁴

Innovations in printing enabled many newspapers to be founded. Newspapers provided a great source of learning for adults, especially considering the common practice of the 1830s to 1850s that newspaper editors would send three copies of their papers to every other newspaper editor.⁵ Examination of *The Liberator*, for instance, reveals that its editor did print many articles, including those with opposing views, from competing newspapers. By 1817, blacks in the North had begun to organize and in 1827, the first of many black newspapers "*Freedom's Journal*"⁶ was founded. Quaker Benjamin Lundy in 1821 founded the first antislavery newspaper, *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, which advocated "immediate emancipation" for slaves.⁷ In 1831, William Lloyd Garrison founded *The Liberator* abolitionist "I will be heard" newspaper; and Nat Turner led this country's "bloodiest slave rebellion."⁸

Adults responded to these societal changes and developments through educational endeavors: newspapers were established; lectures increased; and anti-slavery societies formed. Of those who responded to the slave question, often they were Christians, many of whom were Quakers.⁹ The expectation for women, however, was public silence.

Open lectures, free discussion, people--men and women--speaking publicly about slavery stirred a whirlpool of proponents and opponents not about slavery but about the right of free speech. Recall from Chapter One that public speaking was a function controlled by the professions of the elite: clergy, lawyers, professors--all degreed, all men. The 1820s saw that social control challenged through public speaking. During this critical time Lucretia Mott advocated for justice and educated about the abolition of slavery as a pioneer public speaker.

(B) Background of Perspectives about Slavery

(1) Friends' Gradual Learning about Slavery Evolves to Popular Education in the Revolution

In a comprehensive exposition of the Friends' continuing revelation about slavery, J. William Frost¹⁰ used "the most crucial Quaker sources relating to slavery for over a century before the American Revolution"¹¹ to investigate the evolution of the Quaker consideration of

³ Lawrence B. Goodheart and Hugh Hawkins, "Introduction," in *The Abolitionists: Means, Ends, and Motivations*, Third, ed. Lawrence B. Goodheart and Hugh Hawkins (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company, 1995), XV.

⁴ Goodheart and Hawkins, "Introduction," XVIII.

⁵ Lecture, Mayer 1999

⁶ Goodheart and Hawkins, "Introduction," xix.

⁷ *The Quaker Origins of Antislavery Edited with an Introduction by J. William Frost*, The Quaker Impact on America (Norwood, PA: Norwood Editions, 1980), 26-27.

⁸ Goodheart and Hawkins, "Introduction," XIX.

⁹ Stoneburner, "Introduction," 33.

¹⁰ A distinguished Quaker scholar, Frost currently serves as director of Friends Historical Library located at Swarthmore College outside Philadelphia.

¹¹ , *The Quaker Origins of Antislavery Edited with an Introduction by J. William Frost*, Preface.

slavery. Frost's seminal scholarly work¹² that resulted in publication of facsimiles of original documents (and transcripts of meeting minutes) affords the opportunity to study these primary sources. The facsimiles begin with George Fox's 1671 "discourse"¹³ when, as Frost notes, "Quakers first encountered the wide spread use of slave labor in the West Indies."¹⁴ The last document is a transcript of a 1796 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting minute¹⁵ reporting the [unity](#) of Friends in the decision that the reception by monthly meetings of "persons into membership...[is] not limited with respect to Nation or Colour."¹⁶ As Frost notes, while some colonial Quakers owned slaves unity was maintained [in the Society of Friends] by adopting partial measures"¹⁷ amounting to over a century of gradual steps toward freeing all their slaves and, eventually, opposition to the system of slavery itself.

Frost's scholarly exposition of this documentary history, with his thorough presentation of the Quaker and historical context, permitted the researcher to rely, almost exclusively, on this work as the main source for Friends' learning about slavery. Frost's work begins with the claim that, "In world history a primary significance of the Society of Friends is that they were the first collectively to endorse the idea that slavery was wrong and the first to move to free themselves from the taint of owning men."¹⁸

Frost explores the steps of Friends' gradual progress toward an antislavery [testimony](#). These steps start with Quakers' initial encounter with slavery in the West Indies in 1676 and continue through their "first time"¹⁹ questioning of compatibility between Christianity and slavery, to the 1688 protest against slavery made by the Germantown [Pennsylvania] Friends,²⁰ and the 1692 issuance at Philadelphia of the "first antislavery pamphlet published anywhere."²¹ A highpoint in this uninterrupted history related to slavery is what Frost calls the "revolutionary conclusion"²² published in a 1754 epistle by the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, that "not just the slave trade but slavery itself was evil."²³ Other Yearly Meetings of Friends--New England, North Carolina, Maryland and London--received the 1754 epistle from the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, learned from it, and by 1776 disowned members who owned slaves."²⁴

The record of adults learning from one another, sometimes over long distances, fits a Society of Friends with a mission to educate. Over the years, adult Friends learned about the moral issue of slavery from personal experience in silent worship, reflection on biblical passages,

¹² , *The Quaker Origins of Antislavery Edited with an Introduction by J. William Frost.*

¹³ George Fox, "Gospel Family-Order," in *The Quaker Origins of Antislavery, Edited with an Introduction by J. William Frost* (Norwood PA: Norwood Editions, 1980, 1671), 36-52.

¹⁴ J. William Frost, "Initial Responses to Slavery," in *The Quaker Origins of Antislavery, Edited with an Introduction by J. William Frost* (Norwood PA: Norwood Editions, 1980), 31.

¹⁵ , *The Quaker Origins of Antislavery Edited with an Introduction by J. William Frost*, 252.

¹⁶ Society of Friends, "Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, Minutes," in *The Quaker Origins of Antislavery, Edited with an Introduction by J. William Frost* (Norwood PA: Norwood Editions, 1980, 1796), 300.

¹⁷ *The Quaker Origins of Antislavery Edited with an Introduction by J. William Frost*, 17.

¹⁸ Ibid., 1.

¹⁹ Ibid., 31.

²⁰ *The Quaker Origins of Antislavery Edited with an Introduction by J. William Frost*, 31; Mekeel 1981: 18.

²¹ *The Quaker Origins of Antislavery Edited with an Introduction by J. William Frost*, 31.

²² Ibid., 23.

²³ Ibid., 23.

²⁴ Ibid., 24.

and from peers. Friends educated others about justice and slavery through various methods. For example, Friends spoke in Quaker meetings, received religious visits from Public Friends, and published and read epistles, pamphlets, and journals, such as the spiritual classic from the eighteenth-century: John Woolman's *Journal*.²⁵

Friends' Beliefs Foundational to Education against Slavery

Frost relates the "particular concatenations of beliefs and practices" that brought Quakerism into existence²⁶ directly to Friends' antislavery stance. These concatenations were previously referred to as "distinguishing convictions."²⁷ For instance, Friends' belief that all persons could "experience God directly"²⁸ was at odds with "alleged natural inferiority of Blacks."²⁹ Friends' belief in the Golden Rule³⁰ --that God's grace was available universally and evident in behavior--brought into question the treatment of slaves by slaveholders. Frost argues that Friends' belief in the "ever present possibility of a new revelation"³¹ allowed for both the first Christian opposition to slavery and continued unity with the scriptural admonition in "Genesis 3:20 that all nations were of one blood."³² "That all nations were of one blood," Frost says, was the Friends' ultimate "proof-text."³³ As Lawrence B. Goodheart and Hugh Hawkins note, Friends' testimony against "the evil of physical coercion" also created opposition to slavery.³⁴

Friend Anthony Benezet, an "exemplar" of eighteenth-century benevolent ventures related to slavery,³⁵ merits the distinction of widening antislavery beyond the confines of Quakerism. Anthony Benezet, Frost says, moved antislavery from "an essentially Quaker-oriented perspective by linking it with the rhetoric of the Revolution"³⁶ through broad distribution of his antislavery publications. Frederick Tolles claims that Thomas Clarkson--who wrote a book that greatly influenced Lucretia Mott--was himself "originally drawn...to the anti-slavery position "by one of Anthony Benezet's books."³⁷ Ultimately, Frost finds that "most of the issues faced by abolitionists after 1831 were first raised and dealt with by Friends"³⁸ before the American Revolution.

Frost's research concluded that, "while external ideas shaped the form of the later Quaker protest, the origins of antislavery lie embedded in Quaker religious practices and ideas."³⁹

²⁵ Woolman, *The Journal and Major Essays of John Woolman/ edited [with introductions] by Phillips P. Moulton*.

²⁶ *The Quaker Origins of Antislavery Edited with an Introduction by J. William Frost*, 2.

²⁷ Comfort, *The Quakers: A Brief Account*, 9; Sheeran, "Friendly Persuasion," 17.

²⁸ *The Quaker Origins of Antislavery Edited with an Introduction by J. William Frost*, 2.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 5.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

³² *Ibid.*, 5.

³³ *Ibid.*, 5.

³⁴ Goodheart and Hawkins, "Introduction," XVI.

³⁵ *The Quaker Origins of Antislavery Edited with an Introduction by J. William Frost*, 172.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 173.

³⁷ Frederick B. Tolles, "Introduction," in *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), 22n.

³⁸ *The Quaker Origins of Antislavery Edited with an Introduction by J. William Frost*, 24.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 18.

Through a careful exposition of historic events and documents, Frost establishes the primacy of Friends' education about slavery. Frost compared the inception of various philosophies, cultural, social, and literary developments, legal and political change to the historic record of Friends' questioning and eventual opposition to slavery. In particular, in relation to Friends' actions and documents, Frost enumerates and explores, in their historical context, multiple factors outside of and within the Society of Friends such as:

rationalism, benevolence, cult of the primitive, sentimentalization of the family, the Great Awakening⁴⁰ . . . natural law, the rights of Englishmen, the noble Black, disrupted family Enlightenment thinkers, Thomas Jefferson, William Blackstone⁴¹ and various wars.⁴² [Frost claims that] the antislavery Germantown Friends in 1688 and the Chester County [Pennsylvania] farmers in the early 18th century were steeped in the language of the Bible and Quaker apologetic writings, but show no awareness of Enlightenment thought or estrangement from the religious culture of colonial Pennsylvania⁴³

The Society of Friends' experience of learning about slavery led Quakers to educate for the abolition of slavery. Now, the study moves to the young Lucretia Coffin's educational experiences that related to slavery.

(2) Tales of Lucretia as a Child who Learns About Slavery

Earlier writers⁴⁴ seemingly succumbed to the temptation--perhaps because of a desire that the significance of Lucretia Mott's life's work be recognized--to portray her personality worthy to record in hagiographic literature--among the saints of old. Yet, Lucretia herself reports that, according to her mother, even in her early years on Nantucket, she had been "called 'a spitfire'⁴⁵ by her sisters."⁴⁶

This "spitfire"⁴⁷ recalled that Elizabeth Coggeshall--a model Quaker minister--"on a religious visit in a family setting addressed the children on the importance of heeding the inner monitor and of praying for strength."⁴⁸ The Nantucket Monthly Meeting Records show that Public Friend Elizabeth Coggeshall from Newport visited Nantucket for two weeks in 1801, and

⁴⁰ *The Quaker Origins of Antislavery Edited with an Introduction by J. William Frost*, 18.

⁴¹ Item., 19.

⁴² Item., 18-23.

⁴³ Item., 19.

⁴⁴ For example see Hare, *Lucretia Mott*, and innumerable encyclopedic biographers. A closer scholarly examination of biographical writing might begin with the recent work of Jill Ker Conway who ponders the way women write their lives in juxtaposition to the way women experience their lives as "cultural history" in Jill Ker Conway, *When Memory Speaks: Reflections on Autobiography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998), 4. Conway concluded the value of the rich texture of the personal past as "knowledge which changes the emotional and moral climate of . . . childhood, a personal evidence of how much history matters" Conway, *When Memory Speaks*, 184. Conway herself called Lucretia "the renowned Quaker preacher" Conway, *When Memory Speaks*, 92.

⁴⁵ Spitfire the dictionary describes as a girl or woman of fiery temper or prone to outbursts, while etymologically "spit" derives from a pointed piece of wood.

⁴⁶ Mott, "Notes on the Life of Lucretia Mott as Given to Sarah J. Hale."

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid

for two weeks in 1803.⁴⁹ During those visits, Lucretia would have been at the usually impressionable ages of eight and ten. Of these early years on Nantucket, Bacon says, "The history, geography, and customs" of Quaker Nantucket gave Lucretia a "sense of herself that she carried with her all her life."⁵⁰

The economy of Lucretia Coffin's island birthplace, Nantucket,⁵¹ was not supported by slavery. In fact, Nantucket Quakers in 1716, according to Robert J. Leach and Peter Gow, took one of the steps toward the Friends' testimony against slavery when they became the first monthly meeting "to avow the immorality of slavery."⁵² The horrors of slavery were first learned by the young Lucretia, not from observation, but during the years 1806-1809,⁵³ from her formal Quaker [guarded education](#) at Nine Partners Boarding School.

Lucretia Coffin Mott Learned about Slavery

At Nine Partners, Lucretia learned about slavery. She learned by observation of the actions of another Public Friend, Elias Hicks. He provided example--another model--for Lucretia. She volunteered that, "The ministry of Elias Hicks and others on this subject [slavery] as well as their example in refusing all [products made by slave labor] had their effect in awakening a strong feeling on behalf [of slaves]."⁵⁴

Formation of Early Frame of Reference Through Models, Exemplars and School Texts

As Lucretia Mott began her brief, but telling, autobiographical sketch she noted two authors who wrote about the slave trade: Priscilla Wakefield and Thomas Clarkson. Their works were used by Nine Partners students as school readers.⁵⁵ Later, biographers⁵⁶ also reported the influence of these readers used at Nine Partners. These books Lucretia read on the very brink of active adulthood considering that she first taught school, then married at the age of eighteen. Reading as an effective act to facilitate transformative learning is cited in adult education literature. Adult educator Kathleen A. Loughlin⁵⁷ studied women who become activists and found that perspective transformation was facilitated effectively through three actions: reading books--described as "eye-openers"⁵⁸ --listening and speaking.⁵⁹ Loughlin's research bolsters the rationale for a closer examination of the reading material to which Lucretia was exposed as a youthful and receptive learner about to step into adulthood.

To Listen and To Speak As Acts for Mental Improvement

⁴⁹ Nantucket Monthly Meeting, "Register of the Names of the Public Friends That Visited Nantucket," Nantucket Historical Society, no. 13 (Nantucket, MA).

⁵⁰ Bacon, *Valiant Friend*, 8.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁵² Leach and Gow, *Quaker Nantucket*, 40.

⁵³ Bacon, *Valiant Friend*, 20-21.

⁵⁴ Mott, "Notes on the Life of Lucretia Mott as Given to Sarah J. Hale,"

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*,

⁵⁶ See Bacon, *Valiant Friend*, 13; Cromwell, *Lucretia Mott*, 16; Pagliaro, "Education and Radical Thought of Lucretia Mott," 52.

⁵⁷ Kathleen A. Loughlin, *Women's Perceptions of Transformative Learning Experiences Within Consciousness-Raising* (San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, 1993).

⁵⁸ Loughlin, *Women's Perceptions of Transformative Learning Experiences within Consciousness-Raising*, 223.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 223-25.

One text, Priscilla B. Wakefield's 264-page book *Mental Improvement*,⁶⁰ used "the form of dialogue . . . [to] excite the curiosity of young persons."⁶¹ These dialogues or "instructive conversations"⁶² took place among seven participants: Mr. and Mrs. Harcourt, and five young persons, three girls and two boys ranging in age from nine to sixteen.⁶³ The writing has the ring of authenticity reflected in its conversational style, the subjects range from "a description of the whale"⁶⁴ to "Children disgusted with books and learning, by too laborious tasks being imposed upon them."⁶⁵ Dialogue and conversation, words chosen to indicate the verbal exchanges, subtly exhibited the Quaker concern for the use of language.⁶⁶

A School Reader Teaches Values and Norms

Lucretia Mott herself, decades later testified to the effect of one of the school-reader dialogues: "Description of the Sugar-Cane and Of the Slave-Trade."⁶⁷ She wrote, "after a recital of some of the horrors of the middle passage & the daughter exclaims 'Humanity shudders at your account.' The impression made by this was lasting."⁶⁸ That instructive dialogue continued: Cecilia [aged twelve⁶⁹]. *I think no riches could tempt me to have any share in the slave-trade. I could never enjoy peace of mind, whilst I thought I contributed to the woes of my fellow-creatures.* Mr. Harcourt. *But Cecilia, to put your compassion to the proof, are you willing to deny yourself of the many indulgences that we enjoy, that are the fruit of their labour? Sugar, coffee, rice, calico, rum, and many other things, are procured by the sweat of their brow* Cecilia. *I would forego any indulgence to alleviate their sufferings.* The Rest of the Children Together. *We are all of the same mind*⁷⁰ [italics added for emphasis].

⁶⁰ Priscilla Bell Wakefield, *Mental Improvement: Of the Beauties and Wonders of Nature and Arts in a Series of Instructive Conversations by Priscilla Wakefield, Author of Leisure Hours*, First American, from the Third London Edition (New-Bedford: Calab Greene & Son, Printed by Abraham Shearman, Jun., 1799), 7.

⁶¹ Wakefield, *Mental Improvement: Of the Beauties and Wonders of Nature and Arts in a Series of Instructive Conversations by Priscilla Wakefield, author of Leisure Hours*, VI.

⁶² Wakefield, *Mental Improvement*., 7.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 121.

⁶⁶ Consider the etymological source of dialogue--dialectos--derived from the Latin for "a manner of speaking" and from the Greek for "I pick out, choose between, to speak" Skeat, *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*, 167, also related to discourse--from the Latin for "running about." (*Ibid.*, 172) . To contrast, the rather different source of "discussion," which derives from the Latin--discutere--"to strike or shake asunder" (*Ibid.*, 172) and is closely related to "quassare" meaning "to shatter ... crush...annihilate" (*Ibid.*, 491). The word "discussion" does appear in a subordinate position in the etymological definition for dialogue. Here a matter of intent or motivation is important to discern the linguistic intent of a verbal exchange: to speak out or to crush.

⁶⁷ Wakefield, *Mental Improvement*, 76.

⁶⁸ Mott, "Notes on the Life of Lucretia Mott as Given to Sarah J. Hale." The reference is to nine year old Augusta's response to Mrs. Harcourt's account of slaves that reads: "Mrs. Harcourt: [slaves were] put on board the ships...crowded together in the hold, where many die from want of air and room... Those who...survive ...seldom attain the full period of human life. Augusta: Humanity shudders at your account...." in Wakefield, *Mental Improvement*, 78.

⁶⁹ Wakefield, *Mental Improvement: Of the Beauties and Wonders of Nature and Arts in a Series of Instructive Conversations by Priscilla Wakefield, author of Leisure Hours*, 7.

⁷⁰ Wakefield, *Mental Improvement*, 80.

This dialogue could evoke a reader's compassion, could summon courage in a youthful reader to forego pleasure reaped in the face of cruelty.

Reading as a Way to Engage the Will of the Learner

Lucretia Mott later said, "My sympathy was early enlisted for the poor slave by the class books read in our schools--and the pictures of the slave ship Clarkson presented to view... the unrequited bondsman labor."⁷¹ As Margaret Hope Bacon said, "During this impressionable period [Lucretia] read for the first time *An Essay on Slavery*⁷² by Thomas Clarkson, a British abolitionist."⁷³ This was no everyday essay, however; this essay was Clarkson's translation from Latin into English of his prize-winning dissertation from the University of Cambridge in England on the history of slavery.⁷⁴ In the *Essay*, Clarkson began with the historic note that a fifteenth-century Catholic Bishop first wanted "to suppress the abject personal slavery But his intreaties, by the opposition of avarice, were rendered ineffectual."⁷⁵

Clarkson's study anticipated the findings of Frost's previously cited analysis. Clarkson found and Lucretia learned that,

Till this time it does not appear, that any bodies of men had collectively interested themselves in endeavouring to remedy the evil. But in the year 1754, the religious society, called Quakers, publickly testified their sentiments upon the subject, declaring, that 'to live in ease and plenty by the toil of those, whom fraud and violence had put into their power, was neither consistent with Christianity nor common justice' Should slavery be abolished there (in North America) . . . let it be remembered, that the Quakers will have had the merit of its abolition.⁷⁶

Clarkson himself suggested that a reader, "must experience considerable pain...[when told that] since the slave-trade began, nine millions of men have been torn from their dearest connections, and sold into slavery."⁷⁷ Clarkson's biographer claimed for him the accolade of being the lone person in the anti-slavery movement who made his career "fact-finding, pamphleteering and organising the inhabitants of towns,"⁷⁸ that is, learning and teaching. With this examination of two texts about slavery that Lucretia read, the topic now turns to examination of a text *Nine Partners* scholars consulted for "proper answers" about religion, in general, and the Society of Friends, in particular.⁷⁹

⁷¹ Mott, "Notes on the Life of Lucretia Mott as Given to Sarah J. Hale,."

⁷² Thomas Clarkson, *An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, Particularly The African; Translated from a Latin Dissertation, Which Was Honoured with The First Prize in the University of Cambridge, for the Year 1785*, The Second Edition, Revised and Considerably Enlarged. (London: J. Phillips, 1778).

⁷³ Bacon, *Valiant Friend*, 23.

⁷⁴ Clarkson, *An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, Particularly The African*;

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, V.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, vii.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁷⁸ Ellen Gibson Wilson, *Thomas Clarkson: A Biography*, Second (facsimile) edition (York, England: William Sessions Limited, 1989, 1996), 1.

⁷⁹ The Teachers in the *Nine Partners* Boarding School, "The Following Questions,."

Rationale for Examination of School Text about a Simple Faith and Slavery

This exploration was warranted in order, first, to study how Lucretia Mott's sermons and speeches reflect Friends' perspectives and; second, to explore her work as a woman who pioneered in educating about the abolition of slavery through public speaking. To review what she was taught as a Quaker foundation is essential.

To begin, Lucretia Mott's own words gave her estimation of her formative years. In the upcoming quotation, a parenthesis indicates that the words enclosed within the parenthesis appear on the original manuscript but the handwriting was crossed out in favor of the other words which follow the parenthesis. To capture to the fullest extent possible her understanding, her thinking process, the crossed out--though legible--script in the archival text was transcribed and, herein, presented. Lucretia Mott described herself as:

being trained to (according to the principles of ⁸⁰) in the Religious Society of Friends (I was accustomed) had no faith in 'The popular doctrine of human depravity' I 'seakest the scriptures daily' and often found a wholly different construction of the script from that which was pressed upon our acceptance The (simple faith) religion of my education - that the obedience of faith to manifested duty ensured salvation commended itself to my understanding--conscience - the doctrine of human depravity was not taught as an essential of the Christian's creed. The free agency of man was indicated and any departure from the right was ascribed to (the a) willful, disobedience of the teachngs of the light within us. The numerous evils that existed in society (I was accustomed to hear) were traced to this source.⁸¹

"Human depravity" is mentioned three times in her entire, though brief autobiographical account.

This "doctrine of human depravity"⁸² refers to the more familiar concept of original sin, a doctrine held by Roman Catholic and most Protestant denominations. This belief in the flawed or stained condition originating with Adam and Eve and passed down to each child from birth differed sharply from Friends' understanding. According to Jerry W. Frost, Friends considered children to be "innocent at birth."⁸³ Frost cites the premier systematizer of early Quaker belief, Robert Barclay's "syllogism"⁸⁴ about the spiritual state of infants: "Sin is imputed to none, where there is no law. But to infants, there is no law: Therefore sin is not imputed to them"⁸⁵. Briefly, between the dominant Christian denominations and Quakers, there existed a corollary theological difference related to original sin: the need for atonement for the original sin of the first parents. Friends believed that if there is no original sin, there is nothing for which to atone. These two ideas, human depravity and atonement, are expressed in Lucretia Mott's sermons at least five

⁸⁰ A parenthesis indicates the enclosed script was crossed out on the original manuscript sheets.

⁸¹ Mott, "Notes on the Life of Lucretia Mott as Given to Sarah J. Hale,"

⁸² Ibid.,

⁸³ Jerry W. Frost, "As the Twig Is Bent: Quaker Ideas of Childhood," *Quaker History* 60, no. 2(Autumn 1971): 68.

⁸⁴ Frost, "As the Twig is Bent," 69.

⁸⁵ Robert Barclay, *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity*, 13th ed. (Manchester, England, 1869), Prop. IV, Par. Iv (p.59), cited in " Frost, "As the Twig is Bent," 69.

times between 1843⁸⁶ and 1876.⁸⁷ Friends believed that each child was born with the ability to communicate with God directly, that is, without a mediator.

Perhaps, Lucretia most clearly articulated what she understood about these subjects in this address:

It needs not that I should go on stating many particulars in which the Bible has been prostituted. You know how ingeniously isolated passages have been brought together and a creed interwoven and a system based upon the false and wicked assumptions of innate or transmitted depravity of original sin[,]of human depravity[,] in whatever way it may be defined. This scheme of salvation and plan of redemption as it has been called has been pressed upon the people for their acceptance and how many are there who look further than this interwoven belief? They are not examining for themselves, and do not take the trouble to compare text with context, and discover what a very different and opposite creed might be, interwoven and drawn from the very same records. Truth is so in the world that we are not to be dependent upon any record for our belief. Our Christianity must draw from the very truth of God manifested to the souls of the children of men. There must be our faith and it must be an operative one, a faith acted out in life one unto another, in an effort to remove the mighty evils which are crushing humanity. Let our creed be that faith in God which shall inspire us with love one unto another, and having this love let us show our devotion and our worship by our every day duties. Let our daily life be a prayer and our every day_actions be worship.⁸⁸

The importance of these doctrines she expressed near the end of her life.

As the mother of six children, who taught primary school for several years, and served on education committees at her monthly meeting, children's thinking was important to her. She argued:

We should never teach children that they have wicked hearts, or try to give them an idea of total depravity, or that it is easier to do wrong than right, they will soon learn that it is easier to do right than wrong. Children love Peace. The little child knows when it says, mother, I love everybody. There is a Divine instinct in them which prompts to this feeling.⁸⁹

Again, the rationale for a somewhat extensive examination of Lucretia Coffin's learning on the brink of adulthood rested on the requirement for evidence of her education as foundational for her expressed and demonstrated beliefs. This examination established, partially, the context in which this young woman might first have learned the morality and perspectives she espoused

⁸⁶ Mott, "Righteousness Gives Respect to Its Possessor (1/15/1843)," 36.

⁸⁷ Lucretia Mott, "A Warlike Spirit (6/2/1876)," 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), 381-82.

⁸⁸ Lucretia Mott, "Keep Yourselves from Idols (3/17/1850)," 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), 177-78.

⁸⁹ Mott, "A Warlike Spirit (6/2/1876)," 381-82.

in her sermons, speeches, and actions. In turn, they--the sermons, speeches, and actions--provide the background in which to examine her work, founded on a "simple faith"⁹⁰ as a nineteenth-century female Quaker minister who educated about societal issues--a pioneer public speaker.

Frame of Reference for Adulthood Formed on Quaker Primers

Chapter Two explored the primer for students at Nine Partners Boarding School⁹¹ for general or overarching Quaker education about the Society of Friends' beliefs and practices. This chapter now explores what that primer taught about slavery and its abolition. On page twenty of that document's twenty-four pages, the text completes a summary interpretation of the old and new Bible testaments. Then, with no transition--in language seemingly marked with early republican and nineteenth-century thought⁹²--the primer abruptly poses a contemporaneous inquiry about whether mankind is "becoming more enlightened and improved or not."⁹³ The text responded in the affirmative. Evidence for that affirmative response was given as "advances made in civilization, the diffusion of learning, and the benevolence which distinguishes the present times, joined to the increasing attention to read and spread the sacred writings."⁹⁴ The subsequent question that might appear as a disjointed entry asked, "What gave rise to the long, unwearied, and at last successful exertions of Thomas Clarkson in the abolition of the slave trade?"⁹⁵ and recounted Thomas Clarkson's story as a Cambridge student intrigued by a scholarly pursuit of the history of slavery. The uncovering of the history of the "African slave trade turned his attention to that dreadful traffic . . . [and] induced him to dedicate his time and talents, in assisting to put an end to this barbarous commerce."⁹⁶ Again, another exemplar's life experience is presented to the students: "Did he not meet with many difficulties in effecting this desirable purpose? Yes; for he had custom, interest, avarice and prejudice to contend with . . . added to these, all his prospects of worldly advantage were cut off by his devoting himself to this pursuit."⁹⁷ Clearly the students received assurance that to follow such a path would produce hardship. Then, the scholars are further treated to Quaker education by being asked in the present moment, "What do you learn from the example of Thomas Clarkson?"⁹⁸

Then, if the students "found themselves unable to give proper answer."⁹⁹ Students learned the following:

That zeal and perseverance, in a right cause seldom fail of success: that 'no virtuous effort is ultimately lost;' great good frequently arises from small beginnings; and that the faithfulness of individuals to manifested duty, is a means that Providence often uses to effect his gracious designs.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁰ Mott, "Notes on the Life of Lucretia Mott as Given to Sarah J. Hale,."

⁹¹ The Teachers in the Nine Partners Boarding School, "The Following Questions,."

⁹² See Chapter One, background of this study.

⁹³ The Teachers in the Nine Partners Boarding School, "The Following Questions,."

⁹⁴ Ibid.,

⁹⁵ Ibid.,

⁹⁶ Ibid.,

⁹⁷ Ibid.,

⁹⁸ Ibid.,

⁹⁹ Ibid.,

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.,

The text recounted the territories where "all mankind" are considered "free and equal:" New England; the middle states have provided for their gradual emancipation: but in the southern part of the Union, this dreadful evil, and all its baneful effects, prevails to an alarming degree."¹⁰¹

The text presented the Friends' position: "at present there are none" who hold slaves,¹⁰² and yet reflected the "difference of opinion"--the inability to reach unity-- that prevented the universal acceptance of refusal to use "articles . . . produced by the labor of slaves"¹⁰³ as a testimony of the Society of Friends. Significantly, the statement indicates that the Society of Friends was still in a deliberative state--still threshing this issue--and had not yet reached unity. Thus, young Quakers learned an important lesson: continue to dialogue until unity can be reached.

Young Friends were presented with the perspective that it takes time and involves uncertainty in a process where "a difference of opinion in a matter of so much importance" exists. The text said, "No great revolution can be suddenly effected, it requiring time to wear away the bias of custom, and the prejudice of education."¹⁰⁴ Thus ends consideration of these three Quaker textbooks . Through such youthful schooling, Mezirow suggested, childhood perspectives are "uncritically acquired."¹⁰⁵

Reflection on Childhood Perspectives and Adult Learning

Mezirow argues that examination of such childhood perspectives¹⁰⁶ can enable transformative learning in adulthood.¹⁰⁷ Presumably, the learning--through a process of examination and reflection--would allow the early acquired perspective to be transformed. Yet, if these "uncritically acquired"¹⁰⁸ perspectives differed from a culture or society's dominant perspectives, they might have provided the opportunity--in adulthood--to examine and reflect on a culture or nation's dominant perspectives. Contrasting values give opportunity for reflection and could result in motivation for change--becoming active in the pursuit of transformation of the learning that dominates a society. To understand the values and perspectives learned by Lucretia Mott through her Quaker education--values and perspectives that contrasted with those that dominated the general culture--is essential to understand her actions in adulthood as she continued to learn and to educate the American populace.

Having established the context of her early life and education, the study moves to consider how Lucretia Mott's extemporaneously delivered sermons and speeches--recorded by stenographers and transcribed through 1846--reflected Friends' perspectives.

¹⁰¹ The Teachers in the Nine Partners Boarding School, "The Following Questions,."

¹⁰² Ibid.,

¹⁰³ Ibid.,

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.,

¹⁰⁵ Mezirow, "How Critical Reflection Triggers Transformative Learning," 3.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 3.

¹⁰⁷ Mezirow, "How Critical Reflection Triggers Transformative Learning."

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 3.

(C) Examination of Lucretia Mott's Extant Sermons and Speeches to 1846

Lucretia Mott, in accord with the Friends' practice of speaking only when moved by the Spirit, delivered her sermons and speeches extemporaneously¹⁰⁹. Therefore, she had no prepared texts and--on some occasions--stenographers recorded and transcribed these addresses. This record of transcribed speeches, compiled and edited by Dana Greene,¹¹⁰ serves as the source of published primary documents for analysis. About those sermons and speeches, this study seeks to answer the question: How did her public speaking to educate others about the abolition of slavery reflect Friends' principles and practices?

At an early mention in Lucretia's orations of a specific principle or practice, it will receive a sufficiently fully explanation to clarify its significance and distinctiveness in Quaker meaning. Friends' idioms will also be explored. Thereafter, since she repeated some items, for instance her opposition to belief in "human depravity," that item will be explored only once.

Lucretia Mott's Speeches Teach about Slavery

Chapter Three includes twenty-four years of Lucretia Mott's life from age twenty-nine to fifty-three (1822 to 1846). Over these years, no doubt, she spoke in numerous meetings and assemblies. The extant record of her public speaking for this period, however, consists of only three orations delivered extemporaneously. These two sermons and one speech, recorded between 1841 and 1846, nonetheless, provide an excellent opportunity to begin analysis of how her public speaking to educate others about the abolition of slavery reflect Quaker principles and practices.

The First Record of What Lucretia Mott Taught

In Boston, Massachusetts, on September 23, 1841, Lucretia Mott delivered extemporaneously the first of her sermons recorded and transcribed by a stenographer.¹¹¹ She was living out one Quaker maxim that urges "Let your life speak." A speaker had to be well known before a stenographer would be engaged to transcribe the talk. The spontaneous delivery of this sermon itself reflected Quaker principles and practices. Friends speak when they feel they have a message to speak, and not before. Lucretia Mott, herself, reflects a Quaker perspective in three ways: a) the minister is a woman in an age dominated by an all-male ministry in non-Quaker denominations; b) this sermon was delivered seven years before the first Woman's Right Convention held in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, in an age when most women were barred from speaking publicly in any setting; and c) this woman is speaking authoritatively about matters of consequence to individuals and to society in a society that barred women's speaking authoritatively by enforced restrictions on educational opportunities. Friends, as we have seen,

¹⁰⁹ As noted in Chapter Two, a characteristic of vocal ministry for Friends is that it is spontaneous and extemporaneously delivered.

¹¹⁰ Dana Greene compiled and edited the sermons and speeches that stenographers recorded and transcribed. Mott, *Lucretia Mott: Her Complete Speeches and Sermons/edited [with an introduction] by Dana Greene*, serves as the source of published primary documents for analysis.

¹¹¹ Mott, "The Truth of God... The Righteousness of God (9/23/1841)."

believed in at least the spiritual equality of all individuals--regardless of sex or race--and in the need for useful education for all.

Themes that Teach A Quaker Story

The principal theme of her first transcribed sermon rests on the scripture that "those who 'fear God, and work righteousness, are accepted of him'."¹¹² Lucretia Mott considered "the principles and working of righteousness--the willing and the doing good"--¹¹³ to be principles "common to all, and are understood by all."¹¹⁴ Though she acknowledged "the various creeds and forms,"¹¹⁵ yet, she urged,

let us not place these above the pure and practical fruits of righteousness. Is not this the reason why these fruits are so few in the world? Look at the low state of public morals; look at the prevalence and the general justification of war, and slavery.¹¹⁶

Her alarm is evident when she considered "how the greatest abundance of creeds, and the utmost exactitude in forms, co-exist with them all, and judge ye, whether these are not held up, rather than doing justice and loving mercy."¹¹⁷ Lucretia Mott's belief in the Friends' practice of practical righteousness, "doing justice" instead of reciting creeds or rituals: action not words.

She reminded her audience that, "'he that doeth righteous is righteous,' of whatever sect or clime."¹¹⁸ She acknowledged that in Boston, "appeal has often been made to you in behalf of the suffering slave."¹¹⁹ She then called into view her "practical" righteousness by telling the listeners that "the time has come for you, not merely to listen to them, but to seek the means of aiding in the working of this righteousness."¹²⁰ She assured all within listening that, "we all have a part of the work to perform, for we are all implicated in the transgression."¹²¹ Then in the tradition of the eighteenth-century Quaker John Woolman, she issued this challenge to see if in their personal lives the listeners weren't benefiting from slave labor and trade, that is, "the transgression."¹²²

Let us examine our own clothing--the furniture of our houses--the conducting of trade--the affairs of commerce--and then ask ourselves, whether we have not each, as individuals, a duty which, in some way or other, we are bound to perform."¹²³

¹¹² Mott, "The Truth of God . . . The Righteousness of God (9/23/1841)," 25.

¹¹³ Ibid., 26.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 30.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.,

¹¹⁶ Ibid.,

¹¹⁷ Ibid.,

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 31.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.,

¹²⁰ Ibid.,

¹²¹ Ibid.,

¹²² Ibid.,

¹²³ Ibid., 31-32.

She asked,

Are there not men and women here, whom these things shall yet constrain to exertion, that they may be remedied? You have pens and voices to commend their cause to others, and to portray their miseries so as to gain sympathy. To how many towns you might go, and awaken their inhabitants to the relief of these sufferings"¹²⁴ !

She, in essence, urged others to be doers of the word, not just hearers.

Lucretia Mott's call for righteousness, that is, "the willing and the doing good" in the process of every day living related to partaking in the fruits of slave labor drew, on long-standing Quaker principles. In particular, the Friends' belief in "that of God" in everyone that precludes valuing one individual--regardless of race or sex--over another and eventually led to the testimony against slavery. As Frost noted, Friends' belief that all persons could "experience God directly"¹²⁵ was at odds with "alleged natural inferiority of Blacks."¹²⁶ The Friends' testimony of simplicity was reflected in her suggestion to "examine our own clothing--the furniture of our houses"¹²⁷ to see if our desires for extravagant luxuries or inexpensive commodities benefited from slave labor provided evidence of Friends' ideas and practices related to the abolition of slavery.

Lucretia Mott suggested that her listeners consider if "forms and ordinances" have taken on more importance than "the inner sense which all possess." The Friends' central tenet is belief in the Light Within each person, "that of God" in everyone. As documented in Chapter Two, Friends believed that the ultimate authority for each person is the guidance of the Inner Light--that of God--in each person. Lucretia suggested,

It becomes us to inquire, whether the plain precepts and principles, which find a response in the soul of every human being, are confirmed by the inner sense which all possess, and which have not their origin in any sect, or body, or division, have not thereby been thought of less importance than forms and ordinances.¹²⁸

She summarized her belief, her hope, and her message: "the principles of righteousness can be carried out through the land, and that we show our reverence for God by the respect we pay his children,"¹²⁹ the practical Quaker religious faith.

An Opportunity to Learn

The relationship between the consequences of "educational prejudices," which Lucretia Mott introduced in this sermon, gave listeners an opportunity to reflect on their own beliefs and actions--and to learn. The concern about "educational prejudices" is reminiscent of her Nine

¹²⁴ Mott, "The Truth of God... The Righteousness of God (9/23/1841)," 32.

¹²⁵ *The Quaker Origins of Antislavery Edited with an Introduction by J. William Frost*, 2.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, , 2.

¹²⁷ Mott, "The Truth of God... The Righteousness of God (9/23/1841)," 31.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 26.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 34.

Partners school text that taught, "No great revolution can be suddenly effected, it requiring time to wear away the bias of custom, and the prejudice of education."¹³⁰

This Quaker preacher through a series of questions--a very Quaker practice, as seen in Chapter Two-- in her sermon offered the hearers an opportunity to compare and contrast systems of belief that she said may require the setting aside of "educational prejudices and sectarian predilections."¹³¹ She asked,

What is it to work righteousness? What is the situation of most sects? What is their standard of righteousness? What evidence do they require of the fear of God? Is it not a confession of some creed, or a joining of some denomination? And have not many thus blended the fear of God and the working of righteousness with outward and ceremonial rites.¹³²

Lucretia Mott asked listeners to consider if the substitution of religious words and ceremonies for righteous actions resulted in "a lowering of the standard of peace and righteousness, and of common honesty?"¹³³

Educating Adults about Learning by Public Discussion

Lucretia Mott, at the Unitarian Convention in Washington, D.C. in 1843, presented listeners with the idea that "It is considered a delicate subject to speak of the slaveholder [She asks] Is there not a fear as regards the question of slavery, a fear to permit it to be examined? She set forth her belief that "more mouths should be opened upon this subject [In the Nation's Capital she urged: Oh ye statesmen!... fear not to speak aloud, fear not to discuss this subject in your public councils."¹³⁴ At a time when the "gag rule" enabled Congress to table--without discussion--all citizen petitions that favored abolition of slavery, Lucretia advocated for public discussion. The idea of talking and expressing thought until unity is reached is a Quaker way.

Teaching A Different Idea about Slavery as an Endorsed Institution

In 1846, at a Unitarian Convention in Philadelphia, this Quaker minister's speech drew on the Friends' belief in ongoing Revelation--beyond the text of the Bible--that allowed the Friends' to develop a testimony against slavery while other Christian ministers were still "quoting texts of Scripture to prove slavery a patriarchal institution!"¹³⁵

As Frost noted, Friends' belief that all persons could "experience God directly"¹³⁶ was at odds with "alleged natural inferiority of Blacks"¹³⁷ as was the "popular doctrine of human

¹³⁰ The Teachers in the Nine Partners Boarding School, "The Following Questions,."

¹³¹ Mott, "The Truth of God... The Righteousness of God (9/23/1841)," 25.

¹³² Ibid., 26.

¹³³ Ibid., 26.

¹³⁴ Mott, "Righteousness Gives Respect to Its Possessor (1/15/1843)," 44-46.

¹³⁵ Mott, "To Speak Out the Truth (10/ 20/1846)," 55.

¹³⁶ *The Quaker Origins of Antislavery Edited with an Introduction by J. William Frost*, 2.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 2.

depravity"¹³⁸ espoused by other religious denominations--particularly in the Second Great Awakening's spread of evangelical Christianity. This theme of disbelief in human depravity threaded through many of Lucretia Mott's sermons and speeches¹³⁹

These three extemporaneous addresses provided the opportunity for this study's initial analysis of Lucretia's extant remarks for evidence of how her public speaking to educate adults about the abolition of slavery reflected Quaker principles and practices. Therefore, the study now turns to the examination of another research question: 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?

(D) Quaker Minister Lucretia Mott Educates Through Speaking Publicly about the Abolition of Slavery

In 1818, during a [meeting for worship](#) at Philadelphia's 12th Street Meeting of the Society of Friends, Lucretia Coffin Mott first spoke publicly. She prayed:

As all our efforts to resist temptation and overcome the world prove fruitless unless aided by thy Holy Spirit, enable us to approach thy throne, to ask of Thee the blessing of thy preservation from all evil, that we may be wholly devoted to Thee, and thy glorious cause.¹⁴⁰

Six decades later, among thousands gathered to bury Lucretia Mott, one mourner asked, "Will no one say anything?" Another replied, "Who can speak? The preacher is dead!"¹⁴¹ This section illuminates Quaker minister Lucretia Mott's work from 1822 to 1846 as she sought to educate the public about the abolition of slavery.

Lucretia Mott recalled her entrance into ministry:

In 1818, at 25 years of age surrounded with a little family and many cares, I still felt called to a more public life of devotion to duty . . . & engaged in the ministry in our Society. My convictions led me to adhere to the sufficiency of the light within us resting on [Truth](#) as authority--rather than "taking authority for truth."¹⁴²

She continued to speak over the years. And, in January 1821, at the age of 28, she was recorded by the Society of Friends as a minister,¹⁴³ a lifetime-recognition of her calling, spiritual wisdom,

¹³⁸ Mott, "Notes on the Life of Lucretia Mott as Given to Sarah J. Hale."

¹³⁹ For instance, see Lucretia Mott, "Unity of Spirit in the Bond of Peace [9/2/1849]," 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), 97,99; Mott, "Keep Yourselves from Idols (3/17/1850)," 177; Lucretia Mott, "Religious Aspects of the Age (1/3/1869)," 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), 318; Mott, "A Warlike Spirit (6/2/1876)," 381-82.

¹⁴⁰ *James and Lucretia Mott: Life and Letters. Edited by Their Granddaughter, Anna Davis Hallowell.* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1884), 62.

¹⁴¹ *James and Lucretia Mott: Life and Letters. Edited by their Granddaughter, Anna Davis Hallowell.*, 466.

¹⁴² Mott, "Notes on the Life of Lucretia Mott as Given to Sarah J. Hale,."

¹⁴³ Bacon, *Valiant Friend*, 37.

and vocal gifts. To understand Lucretia Mott, one biographer said, "It must be remembered, that deeply interested as she was in every cause that could better humanity, she was, before all, a Friend."¹⁴⁴

Learning on Many Levels

In the five years from 1823 to 1828, James and Lucretia Mott had three more children.¹⁴⁵ In her biographical sketch, Lucretia told how she managed her time to do the reading she loved: My life in the domestic sphere has passed much as that of other wives and mothers in this country. I have had 6 children. One son died at 3 years of age. Not accustomed to consigning them to the care of a nurse, I was much confined to them, during their infancy & childhood. Being fond of reading, I omitted much unnecessary stitching and ornamental work in the sewing for my family, so that I might have more time for this indulgence, and for the improvement of the mind. For novels & light reading, I never had much taste. The Ladies Department in the Periodicals of the day had no attraction for me.¹⁴⁶

Threaded through her letters are references to books: read, recommended, loaned, delivered, and requested.¹⁴⁷ Reading across various subjects of interest remained a lifelong source of learning for Lucretia. In a letter to her husband's grandfather, James Mott, Sr. she recounts some of her reading material:

Phila. 6th mo. 29th, 1822. I have re-perused thy book on Education since our return, and hope its instructive contents will be usefully remembered by me. We are now engaged in reading 'Southey's Life of Wesley, with the Rise and Progress of Methodism'.¹⁴⁸

James Mott, Sr., who was also a Public Friend, had served as headmaster at Nine Partners during Lucretia's schooling. His book¹⁴⁹ advocated against the use of corporal punishment for children, supported the education of women, and recommended that students be motivated to learn by reliance on example and a high degree of expectation.

Learning from Reading Useful in Speaking Publicly

During these child-rearing/early ministry years, Lucretia absorbed William Penn's writings of which she had a "folio copy."¹⁵⁰ According to her granddaughter, ". . . with her baby on her lap, she would study the passages that had especially attracted her attention, till she had them stored in her retentive memory."¹⁵¹ In her preaching, Lucretia used Penn's Quaker

¹⁴⁴ *James and Lucretia Mott: Life and Letters. Edited by their Granddaughter, Anna Davis Hallowell.*, 110.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 91.

¹⁴⁶ Mott, "Notes on the Life of Lucretia Mott as Given to Sarah J. Hale,."

¹⁴⁷ A project beyond the scope of this study, but one of merit for the future, would be an annotated bibliography-- a "virtual library"--of Lucretia Mott's reading catalogued from her letters. What might women, anyone, concerned for adult education and for social justice learn? For an initial survey see Cromwell, *Lucretia Mott*, 28.

¹⁴⁸ *James and Lucretia Mott: Life and Letters. Edited by their Granddaughter, Anna Davis Hallowell.*, 78.

¹⁴⁹ Sr. Mott, James, *Observations on Education* (1797).

¹⁵⁰ *James and Lucretia Mott: Life and Letters. Edited by their Granddaughter, Anna Davis Hallowell.*, 91.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*,

classics, according to her granddaughter, "to illustrate, or confirm, the views she advanced. This familiarity with venerated authorities often served her in good stead in the contests drawn upon her by fault-finding critics."¹⁵² For example, consider this story her granddaughter relayed about Lucretia:¹⁵³

She was visited by two Elders (women) . . . who said that 'Friends' had sometimes been unable to unite fully with the views she advanced, . . . particularly . . . with an expression used by her . . . in Meeting on the previous First-day; they could not exactly remember the sentence, but it was something about 'notions of Christ.' She repeated the entire sentence, 'Men are to be judged by their likeness to Christ, rather than by their notions of Christ,' asking if that was the one they had objected to. On their saying it was, she quietly informed them that it was a quotation from their honored William Penn. The Friends again sat in silence a few minutes, then arose and went their way.¹⁵⁴

Reading, children, and the Separation of 1827¹⁵⁵ among Friends overlay Lucretia Mott's concerns in the next years. In light of the later discussions about the right of free speech, it is interesting to note here that Margaret Bacon says, the Separation developed over Elias Hicks' "right to speak" in Quaker meetings.¹⁵⁶

Living Out the Lessons of Justice

From the early 1820s to about 1830, the Motts were busy with their young family and with living out their Quaker beliefs. James earned the family's livelihood during this period from a business that included "the sale of cotton."¹⁵⁷ Their family's livelihood and "Elias Hicks' powerful preaching against any voluntary participation with slavery" brought a disquieting dilemma to the young couple.

Margaret Bacon well described the process through which these two deeply spiritual young Friends--James and Lucretia--might feel called to different actions as a result of their earnest prayer. Bacon says, "By minding the Light within--the Inward Light that illuminated

¹⁵² Ibid.,

¹⁵³ See also Bacon, *Valiant Friend*, 37.

¹⁵⁴ *James and Lucretia Mott: Life and Letters. Edited by their Granddaughter, Anna Davis Hallowell.*, 91.

¹⁵⁵ This subject--also beyond the scope of this study--in Hallowell's treatment notes that "It will only be necessary to state that what is known as the liberal party [Hicksites] was that with which James and Lucretia Mott sympathized, as the one whose sentiments and principles accorded more with their own, and, in their opinion, with those of George Fox, William Penn, and other 'early Friends' ", *James and Lucretia Mott: Life and Letters. Edited by their Granddaughter, Anna Davis Hallowell.*, 98. Thomas D. Hamm provides a helpful and brief synopsis of historical perspective, "Taking their name from the Long Island minister Elias Hicks, their best-known leader, they tended to de-emphasize the authority of Scripture and the divinity of Christ, emphasizing instead the traditional Quaker doctrine of the Inward Light of Christ. Some historians have argued that Hicksite Friends were generally less prosperous and less successful in adapting to the emerging market economy than their Orthodox opponents. Others have emphasized questions of power and authority, with the Hicksites as traditional Friends resisting the encroachments of evangelical religious culture" cited in Hamm, "Hicksite Quakers and the Antebellum Nonresistance Movement," 557. For a full treatment see H. Larry Ingle, *Quakers in Conflict: The Hicksite Reformation* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986); Hugh Barbour and J. William Frost, *The Quakers* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988).

¹⁵⁶ Bacon, *Valiant Friend*, 44.

¹⁵⁷ *James and Lucretia Mott: Life and Letters. Edited by their Granddaughter, Anna Davis Hallowell.*, 86.

their consciences--one could learn where one's duty lay. Then it was just a matter of obedience."¹⁵⁸ In a letter, Lucretia described her decision to renounce use of slave-produced products :

About the year 1825, feeling called to the gospel of Christ, and submitting to this call, and feeling all the peace attendant on submission, I strove to live in obedience to manifest duty. Going one day to our meeting, in a disposition to do that to which I might feel myself called, most unexpectedly to myself the duty was impressed upon my mind to abstain from the products of slave labor, knowing that Elias Hicks long, long before had done this It was like parting with the right hand, or the right eye, but when I left the meeting I yielded to the obligation, and then, for nearly forty years whatever I did was under the conviction, that it was wrong to partake of the products of slave labor.¹⁵⁹

James, on the other hand, wrestled with renouncing slave-labor products. For him, that would include giving up his cotton-selling business from which his family derived support. By 1830, James was no longer dealing in cotton but sold woolen goods.¹⁶⁰ During this time, also, James and Lucretia Mott joined the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting in the newly built Meetinghouse on Cherry Street under the "reorganized Yearly Meeting"¹⁶¹ of what came to be called the Hicksite Quakers.

The Learning Context of Yearly Meeting for Lucretia Mott

The [Yearly Meeting](#) of Women Friends to which Lucretia Mott belonged after the Separation convened in Philadelphia from the "15th of the 10th Month, 1827."¹⁶² The Yearly Meeting's [minutes](#) suggest many educational components integral to the organization and methods of the Society of Friends.¹⁶³ This is one important--in fact, foundational--context in which Lucretia Mott continued to learn and to educate during this period of her adult life.

Minutes record the opportunities for women ministers and elders to meet together with men ministers and elders for deliberation about the care of the Yearly Meeting--such opportunities to meet with men as ministerial equals were not available to women outside the Society of Friends.¹⁶⁴ Philadelphia Women Friends composed--and sent to distant Yearly Meetings in New York, Ohio, Indiana, and Baltimore--Epistles that informed other Friends across large distances about their condition. The procedure for such Epistles suggests some of the ways this exercise can be educational.

The Epistles would be composed by a Committee and reported to the assembled Representatives in the Yearly Meeting, and would "have been read, and with some alterations

¹⁵⁸ Bacon, *Valiant Friend*, 14.

¹⁵⁹ *James and Lucretia Mott: Life and Letters. Edited by their Granddaughter, Anna Davis Hallowell.*, 86-87.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 86-87.

¹⁶¹ *James and Lucretia Mott: Life and Letters. Edited by their Granddaughter, Anna Davis Hallowell.*, 98.

¹⁶² Women's Meeting Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Hicksite), (Friends Historical Library, 1827-1842), 1.

¹⁶³ Remember, an individual joins with other Friends in a monthly meeting, the smallest unit of Quaker membership. From a number of Monthly Meetings representatives meet Quarterly for business of the several meetings. Then, Friends represent the several Quarterly Meetings at the Yearly Meeting level. Each level is representative and those who represent the Quarterly Meetings conduct the business of Friends in a large geographic area in the Yearly Meeting. The methods for Meeting for Business are identical at each level.

¹⁶⁴ Women's Meeting Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Hicksite).

united with by the meeting and directed to be signed by the Clerk on behalf thereof."¹⁶⁵ The opportunity to collaboratively compose and shape the Epistles provided experiential learning and skill development. Epistles, at times, received wide circulation: "six thousand copies of the Epistles, and five hundred of the Extracts of last year, printed and distributed."¹⁶⁶ Philadelphia Friends met with visiting Friends from distant Yearly Meetings.¹⁶⁷

The women also accounted for the funds, what they referred to as their "stock." For example, the minutes record, "Contributions to the Yearly Meeting Stock have been received from all the Quarterly Meetings, amounting to one hundred sixty seven dollars, fourteen and a half. Cts..¹⁶⁸ On another occasion, "The committee to collect the Annual Subscription, and on account of Sufferings in support of our Testimony against War, reported having collected and paid to our Treasurer, 1037 Dollars 25 cents; and that no cases of Sufferings had come to their knowledge."¹⁶⁹

The Yearly Meeting of Women Friends in March 1830 further recognized Lucretia Mott's abilities. After deliberating, Quarterly Meeting Representatives reported to the Yearly Meeting that,

they agreed to propose the name of Lucretia Mott for [clerk](#) and Lydia L. Lundy for assistant clerk, with which this meeting expressing unity they are appointed to those stations for the present year.¹⁷⁰

And, in 1832, she was appointed Assistant Clerk.¹⁷¹

For three of the following four years,¹⁷² the Yearly Meeting of Women Friends appointed Lucretia as Clerk. In 1835, Lucretia visited Nantucket. According to Leach and Gow, she "filled four appointed meetings and two meetings for worship--including one to which she specifically invited all African-American islanders."¹⁷³ This extended service as Clerk occurred while other developments gained the nation's attention. For example, women--as evidenced by Maria Stewart's 1821 address¹⁷⁴, Frances Wright's 1828 speech,¹⁷⁵ and Angelina Grimke's 1838

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.,

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.,

¹⁶⁷ Visitors such as Friend Edward Stabler from Alexandria, Virginia as recorded in Women's Meeting Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Hicksite).

¹⁶⁸ Women's Meeting Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Hicksite).

¹⁶⁹ Monthly Meeting of Friends of Philadelphia, "Minutes" (Friends Historical Library, 12th 18/33 to 12/22/1841, 1833-1841), 431.

¹⁷⁰ Women's Meeting Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Hicksite).

¹⁷¹ Ibid.,

¹⁷² Lucretia Mott also served as Clerk in 1833 Women's Meeting Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Hicksite), in 1834 Women's Meeting Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Hicksite), and in 1836 Women's Meeting Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Hicksite).

¹⁷³ Leach and Gow, *Quaker Nantucket*, 171.

¹⁷⁴ 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 Ross-Gordon and Dowling, "Adult Learning in the Context of African-American Women's Voluntary Organizations," 236.

¹⁷⁵ For instance see Yoakam, "Women's Introduction to the American Platform," 157; Oliver, *History of Public Speaking in America*, 438.

legislative testimony¹⁷⁶ --began to claim the right to speak on matters of importance in the public domain. In the 1830s, slavery and its abolition rose as significant matters in the public domain.

Transformed Learning about Slavery at the Outset of Ministry

Hallowell, the granddaughter and editor of the first published letters of Lucretia Mott,¹⁷⁷ suggested a transformation or heightening of Lucretia's consciousness of slavery and the resolve of her will to act against it:

the question of slavery had engaged her attention . . . only so far as Quaker tradition imposed that duty upon all conscientious minds. But in the severe mental discipline of the Separation . . . Her whole spiritual vision widened, and she beheld directly before her extended fields of labor To see, with her, was to do.¹⁷⁸

According to Hallowell, Lucretia Mott accompanied Quaker minister Sarah Zane "in a religious visit to Virginia. They travelled in Sarah Zane's private carriage, and together attended many meetings."¹⁷⁹ Lucretia wrote of that trip during which she began to learn experientially about slavery as she witnessed for the first time its horrors:

12th mo. 15th 1819. I have not many fine traveller's stories to relate. We took the direct road We met with many clever Friends in and near Winchester It was the time for their Quarterly Mg at Hopewell . . . which we attended, and there met Edward Stabler¹⁸⁰ and wife We lodged at the same house, and sat up very late to hear him talk. The sight of the poor slaves was indeed affecting; though in that neighborhood, we were told their situation was rendered less deplorable, by kind treatment from their masters.¹⁸¹

Unimaginable as it seems, by 1830, one sixth of the total population of the United States was enslaved: two million individuals. Only about 320,000 black Americans were free.¹⁸² Countless other Americans were involved or benefited--jobs, a sense of superiority or blessing, cheap goods, lower-cost foods--from the slave system. Slavery seemed to be a tendon holding together the nation or its economy. Despite this, the 1830s saw individuals and organizations arise to work in myriad ways for the abolition of slavery.

Adults Educate and Learn about Slavery and its Abolition from Newspapers

Lucretia Mott, beginning in the early years of her ministry, shared a source of much learning with other adults¹⁸³: the newspapers of the times. For instance, she learned abolition

¹⁷⁶ Matthews, "Consciousness of Self and Consciousness of Sex in Antebellum Feminism," 67.

¹⁷⁷ *James and Lucretia Mott: Life and Letters. Edited by their Granddaughter, Anna Davis Hallowell.*

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 110.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 69.

¹⁸⁰ Lucretia would again meet Edward Stabler while he visited the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting when she was Clerk of the Women's Meeting.

¹⁸¹ *James and Lucretia Mott: Life and Letters. Edited by their Granddaughter, Anna Davis Hallowell.*, 69.

¹⁸² Goodheart and Hawkins, "Introduction," XXXI.

¹⁸³ For further information see Stubblefield Harold W. and Keane, *Adult Education in the American Experience*, 63.

news from another Quaker, Benjamin Lundy, the editor of the first antislavery newspaper, *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, advocating "immediate emancipation" for slaves.¹⁸⁴ 1828 saw the initiation of William Lloyd Garrison as *The Genius'* co-editor. In 1831, Garrison founder of *The Liberator*¹⁸⁵ which, as previously mentioned, frequently published differing views submitted by publishers of other newspapers. In addition, as her correspondence makes clear, both Benjamin Lundy and William Lloyd Garrison were personal friends of the Motts. Thus, it is significant that the printing innovations made newspaper publishing easier and information more accessible to adults. Among the abolition papers was *Freedom's Journal*, the first black newspaper founded by Samuel Cornish and John Russworm in 1827 in New York City. Lucretia Mott recognized the educational work of such newspapers:

The labors of the devoted Benjm. Lundy and his "Genius of Universal Emancipation" published in Baltimore, added to the uniting exertions of Clarkson, Wilberforce, and others in England, and of William Lloyd Garrison in Boston, prepared the way for a Convention in this City in 1833 - to take the ground of immediate not gradual emancipation, and to impress the duty of unconditional liberty without expatriation the following year, the Philad Female Anti-slavery Society was formed.¹⁸⁶

During this first part of the 1830s the Motts corresponded with Benjamin Lundy who assured them of his "strong hopes of ultimate success"¹⁸⁷ In context, it would be another quarter-century before the first appearance in 1851-52, of the first serially published installments of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The printed word, however, was but one of the way adults learned about slavery and educated about its abolition. Freedom of expression was one of the republican ideals in the American Constitution.

Learning to Practice Republican Ideals and Religious Beliefs

Civily, the efforts of those opposed to slavery rested on the Bill of Rights, the Constitution's first amendment that included as rights freedom of the press, the right to petition Congress, and freedom of speech. The practice of these rights was challenged in this decade. Efforts centered not on advocating the system of slavery but on silencing all who would speak of any way to abolish--gradually or immediately--the entrenched system of slavery. According to Aileen S. Kraditor,

abolitionists had had to fight constantly for the freedom to advocate their cause, and in the course of the battle had learned, and proclaimed, that free speech and slavery could not coexist for long in any society; the spirit that would cut off free speech was the spirit of slavery.¹⁸⁸

Civil rights motivated some. Nevertheless, many were motivated, as were the Quakers, by religious beliefs.

¹⁸⁴ *The Quaker Origins of Antislavery Edited with an Introduction by J. William Frost*, 27.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 26-27.

¹⁸⁶ Mott, "Notes on the Life of Lucretia Mott as Given to Sarah J. Hale,."

¹⁸⁷ *James and Lucretia Mott: Life and Letters. Edited by their Granddaughter, Anna Davis Hallowell.*, 119.

¹⁸⁸ Aileen S. Kraditor, *Means and Ends in American Abolitionism: Garrison and His Critics on Strategy and Tactics, 1834-1850* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1967, 1969), 62.

Speaking freely from one's knowledge or experience has been, from its beginning, an essential component of Quaker spirituality. One is reminded of the critical questions posed by the first Friend to preach, George Fox: "What canst thou say? . . . and what thou speakest is it inwardly from God?"¹⁸⁹ In these struggles to be heard about the abolition of slavery, many Friends responded to *The Liberator* newspaper editor William Lloyd Garrison's call to assemble in convention at Philadelphia in December 1833, "for the purpose of forming a National Anti-Slavery Society."¹⁹⁰ Though attentive to abolition efforts, Lucretia Mott did not attend the first day's assembly. Why? As was customary, only men were expected to answer Garrison's call. On the horizon, however, was an historic moment: women received an invitation from the convention. Lucretia Mott was among the few women who responded to the invitation.

Educating in a Receptive Environment

Lucretia Mott recalled that first American Anti-Slavery Society's second day of Convention when a delegate went to the Mott home "with an invitation to women to come there as spectators or as listeners."^{191, 192} She accepted the invitation and during the Convention, as Carolyn L. Williams' notes, "Lucretia Mott was the first woman to speak out"¹⁹³ though Esther Moore and Lydia White also participated in the proceedings.¹⁹⁴ Lucretia recollected the event:

When I rose to speak, with the knowledge that we were there by sufferance, and it would be only a liberty granted that I should attempt to express myself, such was the readiness with which that freedom was granted, that it inspired me with a little more boldness to speak on other subjects.¹⁹⁵

During deliberations of the draft of the Convention's Declaration of Sentiments, Lucretia Mott, by then forty years old, and--from the Friends' meetings-- well practiced at speaking publicly and participating in deliberations, offered what could be considered a point of grammar but, more importantly, a point of principle. She recalled that:

When . . . we were considering our principles and our intended measures of action; when our friends felt that they were planting themselves on the truths of Divine Revelation, and on the Declaration of Independence, as an Everlasting Rock, it seemed to me, as I heard it read, that the climax would be better to transpose the sentence, and place the Declaration of Independence first, and the truths of Divine Revelation last, as the Everlasting Rock; and I proposed it¹⁹⁶

As she recalled this incident thirty years later, the audience's delight and amusement registered in laughter, as noted in the Proceedings, no doubt in recognition of the changes in American culture

¹⁸⁹ The Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in Britain, *Quaker Faith and Practice*, 19.07.

¹⁹⁰ American Anti-Slavery Society, "Proceedings," American Anti-Slavery Society, at Its Third Decade (New York: American Anti-Slavery Society, 3rd and 4th/December, 1863).

¹⁹¹ The status of women at the founding Convention of the American Anti-Slavery Society will be discussed in Chapter Four.

¹⁹² American Anti-Slavery Society, "Proceedings," 42.

¹⁹³ Carolyn L. Williams, "Religion, Race and Gender in Antebellum American Radicalism: The Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, 1833-1870," *diss* (University of California, Los Angeles, 1991), 180.

¹⁹⁴ Williams, "Religion, Race and Gender," 180.

¹⁹⁵ American Anti-Slavery Society, "Proceedings," 42.

¹⁹⁶ American Anti-Slavery Society, "Proceedings," 42.

that had occurred over the three decades since that incident. For, as Lucretia recalled, when she spoke at the 1833 Convention one young delegate turned "to see what woman there was there who knew what the word 'transpose,' meant."¹⁹⁷

J. Miller McKim, by his own account distinctive only by "being the youngest member of the body"¹⁹⁸ also recalled that first meeting. He said, "There were some sixty or seventy delegates present, and a few spectators, who had been especially invited."¹⁹⁹ The sixty or seventy were all men and the spectators were "Lucretia Mott, Esther Moore, Lydia White, [and] Sidney Ann Lewis."²⁰⁰ McKim commenting on Lucretia's remarks said, "I had never before heard a woman speak at a public meeting."²⁰¹

This Convention adopted resolutions urging, "That the cause of Abolition eminently deserves the countenance and support of American women . . . [and] that we hail the establishment of Ladies' Anti-Slavery Societies as the harbinger of a brighter day."²⁰² Within a week, Lucretia Mott and over one hundred women met and on December 9, 1833, formed the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society (PFASS).²⁰³

Lucretia Mott Begins to Learn another Way to Meet for Business

In recalling that initial meeting, Lucretia Mott--who served as PFASS President²⁰⁴ for most of its thirty-six years²⁰⁵ --mused on the differences between Quaker and non-Quaker ways. She said, "I had no idea of the meaning of preambles, and resolutions, and votings. Women had never been in any assemblies of the kind . . . I had attended only one convention . . . and that was the first time in my life I had ever heard a vote taken...being accustomed to our Quaker way of getting the prevailing sentiment of the meeting."²⁰⁶ Carolyn L. Williams' dissertation²⁰⁷ "entails a detailed investigation" for the entire period of PFASS's existence, 1833-1870, and is the only extensive, scholarly study undertaken to date of a female anti-slavery society. Public speaking by women in the 1830s was but one aspect that arose regarding free expression in consideration of issues. Challenges to the right to speak freely and publicly involved both men and women.

Learning from the Elimination of Public Discussion

Instances of challenges to public discussion abound in the history of the 1830s. For instance, the history of how Lyceum lecturer²⁰⁸ and abolitionist speaker Wendell Phillips left a

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 42.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 37.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 34.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 40.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 36.

²⁰² Ibid., 41.

²⁰³ Williams, "Religion, Race and Gender," 184-86.

²⁰⁴ *James and Lucretia Mott: Life and Letters. Edited by their Granddaughter, Anna Davis Hallowell.*, 127.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 121.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 121.

²⁰⁷ Williams, "Religion, Race and Gender."

²⁰⁸ See Stubblefield Harold W. and Keane, *Adult Education in the American Experience*, 88, 92.

career in the law to advocate the exercise of free speech appeared in *Harper's Weekly* at Phillips' death:

When the Boston 'Broadcloth Mob'--so called because it was instigated and led by men of high social position--broke up an antislavery meeting in October, 1835, and dragged WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON through the street with a rope round his waist, the disgraceful scene was witnessed by WENDELL PHILLIPS, then a young graduate of Harvard, and recently admitted to the bar The sight of this dastardly outrage upon the right of free speech so stirred his blood that he determined to devote his life to the great cause of human liberty.²⁰⁹

The issue of who could speak publicly and what could be discussed in the meeting divided many anti-slavery organizations in this decade.²¹⁰ More than members of abolition groups sought restraints on free discussion--even at a time when the Lyceum was flourishing. Another instance, the history of The Pennsylvania Hall in Philadelphia, provides an opportunity to examine more closely an episode that was significant in the life of Lucretia Mott.

Educating the Public in Philadelphia

Opposition to the public discussion of slavery and its abolition became so widespread that, in Philadelphia, no space--church or Quaker Meetinghouse--could be secured for that purpose. So came the proposal to construct a building where discussion could take place. The Mott's were among those "raising money"²¹¹ for Pennsylvania Hall. In the Spring of 1838--between May 14th and May 17th-- the building was first dedicated with a large crowd and, then, destroyed by a mob. Histories seem to record that the mob raged only against abolitionists. The documents of the building's management make clear, however, that this building was intended and used for more than abolition.

The Pennsylvania Hall Dedicated to Free Discussion

The Hall's dedication began with the following announcement:

A number of individuals of all sects, and those of no sect--of all parties, and those of no party--being desirous that the citizens of Philadelphia should possess a room, wherein the principles of Liberty, and Equality of Civil Rights, could be freely discussed, and the evils of slavery fearlessly portrayed, have erected this building, which are now about to dedicate to Liberty and the Rights of Man....The building is not to be used for Anti-Slavery purposes alone. It will be rented from time to time, in such portions as shall best suit applicants, for any purpose not of an immoral character. It is called "Pennsylvania Hall," in reference to the principles of Pennsylvania; and our motto like that of the commonwealth is 'Virtue, Liberty, and Independence'.²¹²

²⁰⁹ "Wendell Phillips," *Harper's Weekly*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1416, 9/2 1884, 97.

²¹⁰ To gain an appreciation of these factors see Kraditor, *Means and Ends in American Abolitionism*; Goodheart and Hawkins, "Introduction.."

²¹¹ Bacon, *Valiant Friend*, 75.

²¹² Samuel Webb, *History of Pennsylvania Hall, Which Was Destroyed by a Mob, on the 17th of May, 1838*. (Philadelphia: Merrihew and Gunn, 1838), 6.

Some of the speeches of the three-day celebration of the Hall's dedication reflect the Hall's directors' intention to foster, beyond the topic of abolition, free discussion. For example, an address on Temperance was delivered, Lewis C. Gunn, of Philadelphia, extemporaneously addressed the audience on the "Right of Free Discussion," and Charles C. Burleigh spoke on the subject of "Indian wrongs."²¹³ Furthermore, The Philadelphia Lyceum held exercises over a two-day period.

The Philadelphia Lyceum Educates in Pennsylvania Hall

The Minutes of the Pennsylvania Hall Association, the group dedicated to raising funds and constructing the Hall, record the interest of the Philadelphia Lyceum:

A communication was laid before The board . . . from James Bryan, M.D. President, P.T. of The Philadelphia Lyceum²¹⁴ requesting to know whether there would be an apartment in the proposed Pennsylvania Hall to lease permanently and if the grand Saloon could be obtained for the use of The Lyceum on ea.. 7th day afternoon throughout the year."²¹⁵ [Another entry inquired about the Lyceum's renting] "the Lecture room for every Second Seventh Day in the month excepting the eighth month from three o'clock until Sundown - - and of the east committee room one day in every week throughout the year."²¹⁶ The Board authorized these rentals for Eighty Dollars per annum.²¹⁷

Another group, "The German Congregation of Evangelical Christians, requesting to know upon what terms per annum The Saloon would be rented for on Sabbath mornings"²¹⁸ also expressed interest in using this grand new building:

²¹³ Webb, *History of Pennsylvania Hall*.

²¹⁴ Laura E. Beardsley, of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania wrote to advise the researcher, "The Minute Book of the Board of Managers of the Pennsylvania Hall Association include several mentions of the Lyceum [photocopies enclosed].... Unfortunately, I was less successful locating information on the Philadelphia Lyceum. I found no references to the organization in any of our card catalogs, including both library and manuscript materials. I found a few brief references in secondary sources.... I have also searched the holdings of the Library Company of Philadelphia for...the Lyceum, without result." The Historical Society's building is in restoration and closed to outside researchers until July, 1999. Data may be accessed only through requesting paid research from the Historical Society itself. The information supplied was in response to researcher's request for information on The Philadelphia Lyceum The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Letter from Laura E. Beardsley (Philadelphia, PA, Jan. 4, 1999).

²¹⁵ Board of Managers, "Minute Book," AM.3125, Pennsylvania Hall Association (Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1837-1838), 2.

²¹⁶ Board of Managers, "Minute Book,."

²¹⁷ Ibid.,

²¹⁸ Ibid.,

During the opening days, the Lyceum exercises²¹⁹ consisted of an extended lecture on

The Physical Education of Children by J. L. Peirce, M. D.,²²⁰ and two other essays written by females, were read by the Secretary - one on 'Female Decision of Character,' and the other on 'Rhetoric'.²²¹

Further activities of the Lyceum, as printed, included:

Answers to questions proposed at a previous meeting were then read as follows:

1. What is the cause of Earthquakes?-- Referred to Lydia Gillingham. Answer.
2. What is the origin of those Meteoric Stones which have fallen to the earth, at various periods of time since the creation? -- Referred to Mary R. Wetherald.
3. What is the cause of the fog, which sometimes overspreads London,... why are its returns periodical, and why is London the radiating point? Do clouds, rain, mist, dew, frost, snow, and hail, proceed from the same cause? -- Referred to Samuel Webb²²²

The newspaper article announcing the Philadelphia Lyceum's three-day agenda included educational components that helped to develop an individual's ability to discuss issues. The first and second days closed with a discussion of the following questions, respectively:

Which is the greater influence, *Wealth or Knowledge*? The debate will be opened by two members of the Lyceum; after which any member or visitor may participate.

Which is the greater proof of a man's merit, the opposition, or the approbation, of his fellow men?²²³

The schedule called for at least one hour for question discussion before the days' Lyceum adjournment. However, in light of the upcoming destruction of the hall, the last question about the "proof of merit" is ironic.

The Paradox Evident in the History of Adult Education

The documentation of the Lyceum's resolutions about the printing of these exercises²²⁴ reflects the paradox that Stubblefield and Keane say was inherent in adult education at the time. For example, the Lyceum's initial refusal to allow its proceedings to be printed with the *History of Pennsylvania Hall* necessitated the Lyceum's activities being added at the end of the publication. The Lyceum did not want to be associated with the abolition issue. The Lyceum wanted to focus on its contributions as a literary institution.

²¹⁹ Most references in secondary sources to The Pennsylvania Hall omit the issue of "free discussion" and fail to mention The Philadelphia Lyceum. The Lyceum exercises are presented in detail to highlight its presence in the historical record of American adult education. That information, presented here, appears in Webb, *History of Pennsylvania Hall*.

²²⁰ Webb, *History of Pennsylvania Hall*, 156-64.

²²¹ Ibid., 156-64.

²²² Ibid., 164-66.

²²³ *The Liberator*, 11/5 1838, 82.

²²⁴ See Appendix C.

In addition to the Lyceum and other speeches, however, the Hall's records also indicate that it rented "The Lecture Room to the Female Anti-Slavery Society the Second 5th day in each month alternating afternoon and evening for thirty dollars per annum."²²⁵

Lessons in Public Deliberations by Women

The Hall's managers made clear that, with the Dedication celebration ended, any meetings that followed were the responsibility of their sponsoring organization.²²⁶ Excerpts from the *History* succinctly tell the story of the evening meeting held on the may 17th:

During the day, application was made to the Managers by a gentleman, who was one of a committee of arrangements, for the use of the Saloon this evening 'for a public meeting, to be addressed by Angelina E. G. Weld, Maria W. Chapman, and others'.²²⁷

The managers make clear their understanding about who sponsored the meeting:

At the time, we understood the meeting was to be one of the anti-slavery Convention of American Women, then in session in this city; and in our communications to the Mayor and Sheriff we so stated it.²²⁸

The conflict over who rented the Hall also reflected the conflict about the propriety of "public addresses of women to promiscuous assemblies"²²⁹ that reigned among the female abolitionists themselves. The managers corrected their understanding of sponsorship in one of the latter pages of the history:

But we have since ascertained that many of the members of that Convention disapproved of the public addresses of women to promiscuous assemblies, and that, therefore, the meeting was not called or managed by them as a Convention, but by a number of individuals whose views were different, and who were anxious that such a meeting should be held.²³⁰

Lucretia Mott later explained that the gathering was not a meeting of the anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, as was supposed by some. She explained:
the reason why their meetings were confined to females--to wit, that many of the members of the Convention considered it improper for women to address promiscuous assemblies.²³¹

She expressed the "hope that such false notions of delicacy and propriety would not long obtain in this enlightened country."²³² Lucretia also "made some impressive remarks respecting the riot

²²⁵ Board of Managers, "Minute Book,,"

²²⁶ Webb, *History of Pennsylvania Hall*, 101.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, 117.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 117.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 117.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 117.

²³¹ Webb, *History of Pennsylvania Hall*, 127.

of the preceding evening, and exhorted the members of the Convention to be steadfast and solemn in the prosecution of the business for which they were assembled."²³³

First William Lloyd Garrison spoke, though some opponents hissed and shouted at him. While "rioters within the building made great efforts to create confusion and break up the meeting,"²³⁴ women began to speak. Initially Mary W. Chapman, then Angelina E. Grimke Weld, and finally Abby Kelly stood and spoke. Abby Kelly for the first time "addressed a promiscuous assembly"²³⁵ and said

I ask permission to say a few words. I have never before addressed a promiscuous assembly; nor is it now the maddening rush of those voices which is the indication of a moral whirlwind, nor is it the crashing of those windows, which is the indication of a moral earthquake, that calls me before you. No, not these But it is the still small voice within, which may be not withstood, that bids me open my mouth for the dumb Is there one in this Hall who sees nothing for himself to do?²³⁶

This was the last meeting held in Pennsylvania Hall!

The Convention adjourned late in the afternoon, when the mob which destroyed the building had already begun to assemble. But these "American Women passed through the whole without manifesting any sign of fear, as if conscious of their own greatness and of the protecting care of the God of the oppressed ."²³⁷ The managers reported that Pennsylvania Hall "was attacked by an infuriated mob They attacked and destroyed our building with a demoniacal fury, only equaled by the savage delight with which they enjoyed the down fall of this Temple of Liberty."²³⁸ Chapter Four considers newspaper reports about the perspectives of both the mob and the convention participants.

Lucretia Mott wrote about the burning of Pennsylvania Hall and this historic women's anti-slavery meeting which she said, "was not seriously interrupted even by the burning of the Hall."²³⁹ Her letter continues,

Our proceedings tho' not yet published have greatly aroused our pseudo-Abolitionists, as well as alarmed such timid ones . . . [who] . . . left no means untried to induce us to expunge from our minutes a resolution relating to social intercourse with our colored brethren,--in vain we urged the great departure from order & propriety in such a procedure after the Convention has separated [Dr. Parish] and Charles Townsend were willing to take the responsibility if the publishing Committee would consent to have it withdrawn--and when he failed in this effort, he called some of the respectable part of the colored people together at Robert Douglas's and advised them not to accept such

²³² Ibid., .

²³³ Ibid., 130.

²³⁴ Ibid., 117-22.

²³⁵ Ibid., 126.

²³⁶ Ibid., 126.

²³⁷ Ibid., 135.

²³⁸ Board of Managers, "Extracts from Report to the Stockholders of Pennsylvania Hall Association," AM.31250 (The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 5/30, 1838).

²³⁹ Lucretia Mott, "Letter to Edward M. Davis" (18/6, 1838).

intercourse as was proffered them--& to issue a disclaimer of any such wish--This they have not yet done--but it has caused no little excitement among us.²⁴⁰

Two newspaper accounts reflects the dominant perspective:

A description from *The Philadelphia Gazette*, reprinted in *The Liberator*:
The crowd around the Pennsylvania Hall at the time of the destruction of the building, must have comprised from twenty-five to thirty thousand men, generally respectable and well dressed, and determined almost to a man, to protect interruption of immediate agents in the destruction of the building. The whole affair took place without unnecessary violence or noise. The firemen seemed fully to participate in the feelings of the assembled populace, and though the surrounding houses were completely protected, not a drop of water fell upon the building devoted to destruction.²⁴¹

We cannot, on reading the accounts, see that the course of the Abolitionists could result in anything else. If people insist upon outraging all decency and the proper courtesies of life, they cannot expect anything else than to create a riot. *Boston Courier*.²⁴²

The outrage in this case is the exercise of free speech, a freedom dear to Lucretia Mott.

Lucretia Mott Educates about the Wisdom of Discussion

Lucretia Mott steadily advocated for the right of free discussion. For example, notwithstanding all the challenges to free discussion, in 1839, Lucretia Mott clarified a committee's meaning in a resolution that "the only basis upon which a reformatory Society can stand and effect its work in the hearts of men, is a sacred respect for the right of opinion"²⁴³

After some discussion, Lucretia further clarified the resolution referred not to opinions, but to the right of opinion. The right we cannot deny, and ought to respect, though the opinion may be such as we disapprove This resolution, if heartily adopted, will bring good out of all our discussions. It will, like the philosopher's stone, transmute base metal into gold²⁴⁴

In response to a concern for a resolution's being passed by an overwhelming majority, she added:

I think my brother again confuses opinion with the right of opinion. The ninety-nine hundredths can adopt such resolutions as they choose, in this spirit of love and freedom. But it forbids them to require of the one in the minority to adopt them, under penalty of disgrace.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁰ Mott, "Letter to Edward M. Davis,."

²⁴¹ *The Liberator*, 18/5 1838, 82.

²⁴² *The Liberator*, 82.

²⁴³ "First Annual Meeting of the New-England Non-Resistance Society," *The Liberator*, 11/10 1839, 164.

²⁴⁴ "First Annual Meeting."

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ *The Liberator*, 18/5 1838, 82.

Just before the resolution was unanimously adopted, Lucretia expressed her opinion that the resolution "expresses...distrust of ourselves."²⁴⁶ Perhaps years of Friends' meeting for business reaching unity based on trust provided the perspective from which to suggest that a resolution pledging "respect for the right of opinion" expressed distrust.²⁴⁷

Preaching Against Slavery Brings Opposition within the Society of Friends

By the late 1830s, anti-slavery was opposed both by many in the public and by many within the Society of Friends. The Mott's grand-daughter records the growing disposition: The popular opposition to the Anti-Slavery cause was growing more bitter The South . . . combined with the large cities of the North, where the mercantile interest preponderated, to demand that the abolitionists should be crushed at any cost. This feeling found large sympathy among Friends in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. Much indignation was shown that any member of the Society--and especially a woman, an approved minister--should be an active co-worker with those who were constantly agitating the question of slavery; a question which threatened the peace of the whole country, and endangered the fortunes of those engaged in the cotton business²⁴⁸

This contention within the Society of Friends is considered in Chapter Four.

Transformed Learning from Denied Participation

Lucretia Mott was elected a representative to the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840. Yet, the convention dedicated to the abolition of slavery refused to honor the credentials or seat her or any of the other women who had been delegated to attend the Convention. The women were denied participation because of their sex. This affront is the well-known incident that sparked the idea to hold a convention to discuss the rights of women. The young, honeymooning Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the experienced Quaker minister Lucretia Mott, who had met during the 1840 Convention, determined that upon their return to the United States they would call a convention dedicated to the rights of women. The new bride reported,

The question of woman's right to speak, vote, and serve on committees, not only precipitated the division in the ranks of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in 1840, but it disturbed the peace of the World's Anti-Slavery convention, held that same year in London.²⁴⁹

That subject--the rights of women--is the focus of Chapter Four.

²⁴⁵ *The Liberator*, 82.

²⁴⁵ "First Annual Meeting of the New-England Non-Resistance Society," *The Liberator*, 11/10 1839, 164.

²⁴⁶ "First Annual Meeting."

²⁴⁷ "First Annual Meeting."

²⁴⁸ *James and Lucretia Mott: Life and Letters. Edited by their Granddaughter, Anna Davis Hallowell.*, 201.

²⁴⁹ *History of Woman Suffrage, vol. 1*, 52.

Summary

This chapter examined the speeches and sermons that Lucretia Mott delivered to 1846, and found evidence of how these public addresses reflected the Friends' principles and practices. In addition, this chapter described some of the highlights in her work as a skilled nineteenth-century female Quaker minister who through public speaking educated adults about the abolition of slavery. It traced the events and circumstances, beginning in 1818, when Lucretia Mott first spoke publicly, to 1840. Educational efforts to read, to listen, to speak, were important in the work of Lucretia Mott as an educator of the American populace in the first half of the nineteenth century. The right to speak, to discuss freely, to express opinions, to converse openly, to educate from your point of view, to learn and teach till unity of understanding can be reached can be difficult to describe for its cumulative effect. Opportunities to practice and defend free speech offer the possibility to find, through mere words, meaning. Lucretia Mott left us with a metaphor for the action and outcome of respectful verbal exchange and public deliberation. True conversation offers the possibility to "transmute base metal into gold."²⁵⁰

²⁵⁰ "First Annual Meeting."

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."²⁵¹

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."²⁵²

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."²⁵³

Concern: "A course of action taken under deep religious conviction."²⁵⁴ A concern "is felt to be a direct intimation of God's will."²⁵⁵

Discipline: The *Book of Discipline* summarizes the faith and practice to which Quakers are "committed."²⁵⁶ 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."²⁵⁷

Epistles: "A public letter [sent among] Friends groups to supply information, spiritual insight, and encouragement."²⁵⁸

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."²⁵⁹ 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.²⁶⁰

Guarded Education: For Quakers, "divine revelation was a gift, its application a skill."²⁶¹ William Kashatus, historian of Quaker education, described "'a religiously guarded education' as

²⁵¹ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice: A Book of Christian Discipline* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1997), 215.

²⁵² Lyn Cope-Robinson, *The Little Quaker Sociology Book: With Glossary* (Melbourne, FL: Canmore Press, 1995), 180.

²⁵³ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 216.

²⁵⁴ Trevett, Christine, *Women in the 17th Century*, Ebor Press, York, England, 1991: 5 as quoted in Cope-Robinson 1995: 198

²⁵⁵ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 216.

²⁵⁶ John Punshon, *Portrait in Grey: A Short History of the Quakers* (London: Quaker Home Service, 1984), 138.

²⁵⁷ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 215.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 216.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 217.

²⁶⁰ Sandra L. Cronk, *Gospel Order: A Quaker Understanding of Faithful Church Community* (Wallingford PA: Pendle Hill Publications, 1991), 3.

²⁶¹ 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."²⁶²

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."²⁶³ A sense of being called by God to undertake a specific course of action. A leading often arises from a concern.²⁶⁴

Meeting for business: These meetings are essentially educational in nature and are the Friends' primary "educational agencies."²⁶⁵ Within a meeting for business are made what Sheeran describes as "decisions by mutual consent."²⁶⁶ Douglas Steere says the meetings for business function for Friends as the "corporate method of arriving at decisions."²⁶⁷ 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."²⁶⁸ The meeting for worship and meeting for business are the Friends' "unique" structures²⁶⁹ in which to practice their convictions and testimonies as a covenantal "witnessing community."²⁷⁰ 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."²⁷¹

Minute: "The record of a corporate decision reached during a meeting . . . for business."²⁷² Official records of proceedings kept for all Quaker business meetings (preparative, monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings), along with their committees."²⁷³

Openings: What early Friends experienced as being "directly revealed in [the] soul so that [a person] assuredly knew it to be true"²⁷⁴ or "a spiritual opportunity or leading."²⁷⁵

²⁶² William C. Kashatus, Personal telephone conversation, Nineteenth-Century Quaker Education and Lucretia Coffin Mott (Philadelphia, July 3, 1995).

²⁶³ Michael John Sheeran, "Friendly Persuasion: Voteless Decisions in the Religious Society of Friends," diss (New Jersey: Princeton University, 1977), 24.

²⁶⁴ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 218.

²⁶⁵ Howard H. Brinton, *Guide to Quaker Practice* (Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill, 1955), 58.

²⁶⁶ Sheeran, "Friendly Persuasion," 4.

²⁶⁷ 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.

²⁶⁸ Sheeran, "Friendly Persuasion," 2.

²⁶⁹ Howard H. Brinton, *Quaker Education In Theory and Practice* (Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill Press, 1967), 11-12.

²⁷⁰ Douglas Gwyn, *The Covenant Crucified: Quakers and the Rise of Capitalism* (Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill Publications, 1995), 20.

²⁷¹ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 218.

²⁷² Ibid.,

²⁷³ "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."²⁷⁶

Public Friend: A Public Friend signifies one who expresses religious beliefs as a preacher.²⁷⁷ Public Friends traveled among groups of Quakers, and interacted "with the larger society"²⁷⁸ 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."²⁷⁹

Sense of the meeting: "An expression of the unity of a meeting for business on some . . . concern."²⁸⁰

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 ."²⁸¹

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."²⁸²

Traveling Minister: "Friends recognized both women and men ministers who felt called...to speak to a specific group or person."²⁸³

Truth: "The revealed will of God, as experienced in communion with the Inner Light or Inward Christ."²⁸⁴

Unity: "The spiritual oneness and harmony whose realization is a primary objective of a meeting for worship or a meeting for business."²⁸⁵

²⁷⁴ 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.

²⁷⁵ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 219.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 219.

²⁷⁷ 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.

²⁷⁸ Stoneburner, "Introduction," 1.

²⁷⁹ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 219-20.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 220.

²⁸¹ Cope-Robinson, *Little Quaker Sociology Book*, 195.

²⁸² *Faith and Practice*, North Pacific Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, 1993, quoted in Cope-Robinson, *Little Quaker Sociology Book*, 195.

²⁸³ Cope-Robinson, *Little Quaker Sociology Book*, 195-96.

²⁸⁴ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 221.

²⁸⁵ *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."²⁸⁶ 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."²⁸⁷

²⁸⁶ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 221.

²⁸⁷ "Guide to Genealogical Resources," D-7.