

CHAPTER SIX

AS IT WAS IN THE BEGINNING, IS NOW, AND DOESN'T HAVE TO BE WHY? BECAUSE LUCRETIA MOTT KNEW HER HISTORY, QUESTIONED HER WORLD, AND LIVED HER FAITH SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND FUTURE RESEARCH

This is my idea of this work, that it is much nearer at hand than many suppose, and I am sure our faith should be firm now, that prayers were manifestly answered in regard to the great crime of Slavery. So it seems to me that war should be presented to the people in a way that shall lead them to examine it carefully. Why we know how it was with the practice of dueling only a short time ago and this has been held up to view in such a light that it is no longer considered admissible--so we have had the barbarism of Slavery presented, and we must do the same on the question of war and we may hope to influence the public mind and present the great principles of Christianity, of right, of justice, of peace and love.

Lucretia Mott *Going to the Root of the Matter*, 1868

Lucretia Mott knew her history. She was well schooled in the trials, accomplishments, methods, principles, as well as the story of the valiant Friends of early Quakerism and contemporary role models of the Society of Friends. She understood the dreams of the new republic whose people she worked to educate so all could share justly in its freedoms and privileges. She knew of exemplars, such as Mary Dyer and John Woolman, past Quakers who faced opposition and persecution for their actions. She knew they acted out of a Love greater than the oppression they endured. She was fully aware that, "Any great change must expect opposition because it shakes the very foundation of privilege." She had learned a similar sentiment at Nine Partners. The way to justice takes time and involves learning.

She questioned her world. She had ability to question unceasingly perspectives that unjustly privileged some people at the expense of others. That ability to question grew from her deep knowledge of the Friends' testimony of equality and from her personal experience of finding that her beloved Friends had themselves unjustly privileged by paying a novice male teacher more than an experienced female teacher. Her historic knowledge and personal experience built on one another.

Finally, she lived her faith. Her ability to put her faith into action grew from a spirituality fed by hours and hours spent silently with an Impartial Creator, a loving God who loved not one more than the other, from deep spiritual experience, and an unshakable faith that Truth and justice were meant to rule this world. The practical certainty of her faith grew from extensive experiential knowledge of Friends' ideas and methods in their essentially educational [meeting for worship](#) and [meeting for business](#). Now, this chapter presents the summary and conclusions of this study as well as suggestions for future research.

Summary

Two core questions guided this research:

- (1) How did Lucretia Mott's public addresses reflect Quaker principles and practices? and
- (2) What did she encounter in her work as a nineteenth-century female Quaker minister who educated adults about societal and ethical concerns through speaking in public forums?

Through the organization of the Quaker meetings that is essentially educational, Friends learned and taught the spirituality by which they endeavored to live.

As the transcripts of public addresses,¹ letters, minutes of Friends' Meetings,² and autobiographical writings³ indicate, Lucretia Mott was concerned with many issues including the societal toll from intemperate consumption of alcoholic beverages, the treatment of Native Americans, and education of boys and girls, to name a few. Selection of the following significant nineteenth-century issues, however, was made as the focus for this exploration: the abolition of slavery, rights of women, and peaceful ways to address injustice.

Literature Review Indispensable to Research

To understand the context in which Lucretia Mott educated and acted, scholarly secondary literature and pertinent primary sources explored important aspects of her religious foundation as a committed member of the Society of Friends. That exploration was guided by three supportive questions:

- (A) What teachings--central theological convictions--guide Friends?
- (B) How do Friends exemplify their religious beliefs?
- (C) What engages adult Friends both as learners and as teachers?

Another review of literature, both secondary and primary, considered one additional question related to her upbringing, as follows:

- (A) Before recognition as a recorded minister of the Society of Friends at age 28, how did her Quaker upbringing help to shape Lucretia Coffin Mott's perspective?

The review of literature revealed the educational context in which the Society of Friends arose. That context consisted of a seventeenth-century England disturbed by change in all its social structures: religious, political, cultural, and economic.⁴ These Friends set a pattern of

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

² "Minutes of the Monthly Meeting of Friends of Philadelphia,"; Women's Meeting Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Hicksite).

³ Mott, *Slavery and "The Woman Question": Lucretia Mott's Diary of Her Visit to Great Britain*; Mott, "Notes on the Life of Lucretia Mott as Given to Sarah J. Hale,."

⁴ Ingle, "From Mysticism to Radicalism," 79-94; Brinton, *Quaker Practice*, 14.

questioning official dogmas and the status quo that was reinforced by proclamations. This fearless questioning of the "authoritative knowledge"⁵ of institutional officials and documents and decrees of Church and State reflected Friends' practical faith--a faith expressed in action for justice.

Friends' Convictions, Testimonies, and Meetings

Friends stressed four "distinguishing convictions" with such "continuous intensity" that they came to be regarded as a "peculiar people."⁶ These four convictions are summarized as (a) every person's ability to be in communion with the Divine because of the Light within, (b) every human has grace to follow the Golden Rule, (c) Christians' universal call to examine society's structures and work for social betterment built on morality, and (d) continuing revelation of God's will beyond--but not opposing--Scriptural texts that enabled the betterment of society.⁷

Testimonies are the ethical component through which Friends exemplify their religious beliefs.⁸ Through testimonies, Quakers--as a Society of Friends--embodied in their everyday lives behaviors that portrayed the "corporate prophetic"⁹ call for society to address needed changes. Testimonies are the practical ways that Friends developed and practiced to examine society and work for moral betterment.¹⁰ Briefly, many behaviors and practices Friends incorporated under four broad categories of testimony: equality, simplicity, community, and peace.¹¹ The Friends' testimony of equality was explored in relation to slavery in Chapter Three and to women's rights in Chapter Four. The best known is the peace testimony, on which Chapter Five focused.

As was shown, the meeting for worship and meeting for business are the Friends' "unique" structures¹² in which to practice their convictions and testimonies as a covenantal "witnessing community."¹³ These meetings are essentially educational in nature and are the Friends' primary "educational agencies."¹⁴ Recall that, as noted before, the Friends consider the prophetic image of Christ in the "role of Teacher by his living presence"¹⁵ to be central. This view moves Friends to live in "new ways of righteousness"¹⁶ that respond to societal problems and the continuing revelation of God's will. The learning and education needed to respond to Divine revelation takes place within the Friends' meetings. This search of the literature, reported

⁵ According to Merriam and Simpson, as noted before, from authoritative knowledge, derived from "sources of truth" such as institutional officials' and the documents and decrees of Church and State, individuals accept as personal beliefs what the institutions interpret and teach as "truth and reality" Merriam and Simpson, *Guide to Research*, 3.

⁶ Comfort, *The Quakers: A Brief Account*, 7.

⁷ Sheeran, "Friendly Persuasion," 17; Comfort, *The Quakers: A Brief Account*, 7-10; , *The Quaker Origins of Antislavery Edited with an Introduction by J. William Frost*, 2-5.

⁸ Frost, "Secularization in Colonial Pennsylvania," 106.

⁹ Cronk, *Gospel Order*, 19.

¹⁰ Brinton, *Quaker Education*, 12; Cronk, *Gospel Order*, 3.

¹¹ Ibid.,

¹² Brinton, *Quaker Education*, 11-12.

¹³ Gwyn, *The Covenant Crucified*, 20.

¹⁴ Brinton, *Quaker Practice*, 58.

¹⁵ Freiday, "Apostolicity and Orthochristianity," 44.

¹⁶ Comfort, *The Quakers: A Brief Account*, 10.

primarily in Chapter Two, proved to be wholly indispensable for understanding various principles and practices of the Society of Friends. Lucretia Mott's speeches and sermons reflected elements of Quakerism as she educated adults through public speaking.

Conclusions

This exploratory examination of her forty-nine transcribed public addresses found that Lucretia Mott's sermons and speeches consistently reflected both the Friends' principles and their practices. Quaker ideas and ways differed remarkably from customs and perspectives that were dominant in American culture for much of the nineteenth-century. Chapter Two, through a review of scholarly secondary literature and some primary documents, articulated the salient aspects of the Society of Friends' beliefs and practices. Presenting some of the historic context in which Friends' developed their insights and embodied their practices enables adults at the last breath of the twentieth-century to understand the seemingly unalterable atmosphere--the circumstances--in which seventeenth-century adults allowed themselves to be receptive to new insight and open to their own experience. Thus, her life spoke to the American public in a way that presented alternatives: Lucretia Mott was well informed about historic and current events, skilled at public speaking, and purposeful in her exposition and demonstration of ethical perspectives. Her presentation of alternative ways afforded Lucretia's listeners an opportunity to think critically--as today's adult educators would say--because she presented perspectives that differed from governing viewpoints.

Her Quaker perspective set her on a path to envision and work for "a better state of things."¹⁷ In particular, her understanding of what she called "manifested duty"¹⁸ was made evident to her by the Light Within--that of God--which she encountered in the reverent covenantal silence of the Friends' meetings for worship. This experiential knowledge gave her a surety of faith and a freedom of speech from which to address 'the state of things' over her lifetime. Admittedly, her prodigious knowledge of the Bible--artfully portrayed in almost every public address--often gave her the words she used to meet her hearers on common ground, but it was not the source of her knowing. Undoubtedly, the Society of Friends' tenets and practices were foundational to the work of Lucretia Mott as one who educated adults through public speaking. However, more needs to be considered to understand sufficiently her perspective, the frame of reference from which she perceived the world.

First, consider for a moment the "silence" in which Lucretia Coffin Mott listened. As a child, she learned no creeds, was given no formulaic words with which to speak, to address, to meet the Divine presence. She learned to listen in the meeting for worship for guidance for action needed to address societal wrongs. The term "unprogrammed," which is used today to describe Friends' silent meetings for worship, may help to depict the mental state of persons for whom their religion provided no rote prayers. To be expressive it would have been necessary for her to answer the question posed originally by George Fox: "What canst thou say?" of the Christ.¹⁹

¹⁷ Mott, "We Have Food," 185.

¹⁸ Mott, "Notes on the Life of Lucretia Mott as Given to Sarah J. Hale,"

¹⁹ The Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in Britain, *Quaker Faith and Practice*, 19.07.

Lucretia Mott, from the Friends' testimony of equality, had a vision unlimited by a hierarchical ranking of individuals by sex, ordination, crowning, counting, or color. She had a vision uncluttered by an assumption of human predisposition to evil. She had a vision trained to look at life and people for evidence of the golden rule's operating in their lives. She was dedicated to her life's purpose, which she saw as a duty to work toward social betterment through the peaceful attainment of justice.

Recognizing the Tangled Web that Injustice Weaves

One opportunity to learn that she presented, for example, related to listening to the poetic words of Isaac Watts in the well-known hymn that praised God for blessings received. She demonstrated how one can engage in questioning even classic hymns to become more alert to the tangled-webs that injustice weaves. Watts' hymn thanks God that "I have food while others starve or beg from door to door."²⁰ To which she said,

I remarked that I did not know that we need pause long for the spirit of thanksgiving and praise for blessings and enjoyments; but that I could not feel that it would be right to return thanks for anything like peculiar blessings of special favors.²¹

She takes note of what is implied in this hymn: some people are starving and some people have more than enough--which they attribute to God's "blessings." She came to realize that her own prosperity was not completely isolated from the situation. She continued,

For indeed, my heart at times smote me with the feelings that there belonged to us at least our share of the reproach and condemnation that things are as they are. That there was a broad distinction in society as so truly portrayed by this simple yet sublime poet that 'we have food while others starve or beg from door to door.'²²

Then she suggests a possible course of action:

I often feel it to be a profitable reflection to dwell on this subject because it may lead to the laying of the axe at the root of the corrupt tree, rather than leading to a blind dependence upon an imagined providence to bring about a different state of things without man's agency.²³

Lucretia Mott's spiritual training as a Quaker armed her with values that gave her a perspective from which to question the ethics of privileging one person above another and the practice from which to speak publicly for justice.

Harper's Weekly, at her death, recalled that from her youth Lucretia Mott had "a taste for oratory" and was a "profound student of Scriptures."²⁴ She participated in revolutionary changes in society through public speaking to educate adults. She educated across a broad range of

²⁰ Mott, "We Have Food," 182.

²¹ Ibid.,

²² Ibid.,

²³ Ibid.,

²⁴ "Personal Reminiscences of Lucretia Mott," *Harper's Weekly*, December 2 1880, 779.

subjects and merits a place in the history of American adult education as well as further study. Her words and her actions, so purposeful in their motivation, present a question for today's scholars of adult learning and human resource development, if asked about the philosophy and purposes of this field: "What canst thou say?"

Speaking Freely As An Issue

Women's speaking in public was expected to be an issue for this research. Unexpectedly, during research for this dissertation, a surprise social concern became apparent: who gets to speak in a public way was a central question for decades beginning in the 1820s. By 1848, the women of Seneca Falls in their Declaration were well aware of the irony in women's being disparaged for endeavoring to address "a public audience" all the while being encouraged to appear publicly to entertain--even in the circus.²⁵ However, the issue was not limited to only women's speaking. Wendell Phillips was so concerned about controls on public deliberation and that he gave up his legal career to work for freedom of speech and abolition. In the Hicksite Friends' meetings, Elias Hicks' speaking, not his publications, brought great objections.

Who controls the topics of public discussion and public speaking might be related not to women's presence in public but women's speaking authoritatively. Interestingly, as noted in Chapter One, officials of the religious, legal, and educational professions--and the documents and decrees of church and state institutions--serve, for the public, as sources of what Sharan B. Merriam and Edwin L. Simpson call "authoritative knowledge."²⁶ They suggest that individuals accept as personal beliefs, for them "truth and reality," what is preached or taught to them through the profession of elites empowered to speak publicly.²⁷ Exclusion from participation in the promulgation of authoritative knowledge created a great challenge to women's access to full citizenship in the republic. Is control of collective conversations and public discussions an issue today? What can help adults practice speaking publicly and learning to exchange views in a conversational format about societal and ethical issues? Can we learn to exchange views civilly and to listen to learn from another's experience? How can adults be empowered and encouraged to dialogue about issues that are indispensable to the ethics practiced through public policy and commercial trade?

Gradual Development Leads to Long Lasting Agreement: An Observation of Interest for Adult Education and Fostering of Civil Discourse

Lucretia Mott continued to call the Society of Friends to live up to its own testimonies. As a young woman, she recognized injustice in earnings received by male and female teachers in a Quaker school and promised to work for justice. As an elderly woman, she headed a committee that saw justice expanded in the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting: unity was reached "that the women Friends shall have the same voice as men in all business meetings of the Society."²⁸ Clarkson's history noted that a "distinction is made as to the powers of usefulness between the men and the women" only as "correspondents, arbitrators, legislators, or on committees of

²⁵ *History of Woman Suffrage, vol. 1, 72.*

²⁶ Merriam and Simpson, *Guide to Research*, 3.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

²⁸ Bacon, *Margaret Hope Bacon.*, 219-21.

appeal."²⁹ Lucretia Mott's dedication to the work of justice for women helped to bring the Society of Friends' ideal of equality into alignment with its disciplined practice of the idea of equality.

The Friends' principles seem to be ideals brought to fruition through gradual steps, as in the full participation of women in all the business meetings. So too with the peace testimony that evolved from 1652 to 1660, and the antislavery testimony that took a century to come to go from an idea to a testimony. Perhaps gradual--but agreed upon--steps ought to be considered as a way of advancing peace in civil society. For instance, adults could deliberate what small steps could most people agree to before the next step is considered?

Future Research

A brief examination of Lucretia Mott's letters reveals that she regularly recommended and loaned books to many of her friends and associates. An annotated bibliography--a "virtual library"--could be developed from Lucretia's reading catalogued from her letters. A study of her informal and self-directed learning through reading could illuminate additional aspects of this remarkable woman's interests and adult education as a lifelong learner.³⁰ What might today's women and men concerned for adult education and for social justice learn?

The Lyceum's Work

A more complete and accurate history is required for analysis of women's participation and educational influence in the lyceum. A review of the literature on the lyceum revealed that a comprehensive history of this notable and influential popular education forum awaits future scholarship. Indication of this needed historical study comes from a brief review of available literature. An informative article by Waldo W. Branden, "The Lecture Movement: 1840 – 1860" adds to Pond's roster the names of more female speakers to include the Grimke sisters, Lucretia Mott, and Anna Dickinson.³¹ Yet, most recent literature eclipses the female speakers.

In addition, no current exploration of the educational history of the lyceum exists related to the nineteenth-century populace. Often speakers went from locale to locale delivering the same speech. However, nineteenth-century newspapers indicate that lyceums proposed questions that were then debated after the scheduled address by those who attended the lectures. Some potential research questions include: What questions were being considered by lyceum participants? Were the same questions debated in Lyceums in different locals? Or, did each lyceum develop its own questions for debate following the programmed lectures?

²⁹ Thomas Clarkson, *A Portraiture of Quakerism As Taken from a View of the Moral Education, Discipline, Peculiar Customs, Religious Principles, Political and Civil Oeconomy, and Character, of the Society of Friends*, Vol. 3 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1806), 295.

³⁰ For an initial survey, one might consult Cromwell, *Lucretia Mott*, 28. See also Bacon, *Valiant Friend*, 37.

³¹ Waldo W. Braden, "The Lecture Movement: 1840-1860," *The Quarterly Journal of Speech* 34 (1943): 206-12.

Adult Education Theories and Practices to Study in the Friends' Society

The ability to question was fostered through Friends' practice of questioning--[queries](#)--the current state of their own lives and their own Society. This questioning stance merits study related to the process of perspective transformation through which, according to Mezirow, adults can question the uncritically accepted but dominant "power and social relationships."³²

Exploration of different components of adult learning--collaborative, small group, self-directed, and experiential education, both non-formal and informal--could be compared and contrasted to Friends' practices for future learning.

Of additional interest is consideration of the research interests of Marcie Boucouvalas related to levels of consciousness,³³ since silence as a part of learning, individual and group, is practiced by Quakers. Various epistemologies also offer areas for future research since, as has been cited, "Lucretia Mott's experience as a Quaker enabled her to hold a theory of knowing that valued reasoning, intuition, and personal experience equally."³⁴ Women's ways of knowing for Friends included the history of women's influence and their activism. What lesson might be drawn for consideration of the development of adult women today?

Commercial Ethics a Topic of Concern

Lucretia Mott had an interest in commercial ethics. An indication of her interest is seen in her comment about "fluctuations in the commercial world."³⁵ Investigation of her ethics considered in the context how she worked to educate adults about economic calamities and commercial ethics could serve to inform the history of adult education. Economic calamities occurred numerous times in the nineteenth century and materially influenced Lucretia Mott's life and experiential learning.

Reflection on the Research

The research for each chapter presented the researcher with surprises. But, clearly, they built toward the conclusion that --what Merriam and Simpson say comes from officials and documents of the institutions that are dominant in society and form "truth and reality" for vast numbers of adults--that is, those that control "authoritative knowledge" and who gets to speak and teach in public is a vital issue. One can delight at the insight and the wisdom of the women of Seneca Falls who recognized the importance of this truth through their resolution that emphasized that while women were shunned for the inappropriateness of speaking publicly, their appearance "on the stage, in the concert, or in feats of the circus" was praised and applauded. Certainly, their resolution showed they could analyze their experience, and question the purpose of that particular social constraint.

³² Mezirow, "How Critical Reflection Triggers Transformative Learning," 15.

³³ Marcie Boucouvalas, "Consciousness and Learning: New and Renewed Approaches," in *New Directions in Continuing Education*, ed. Sharon Merriam (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1993).

³⁴ Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, Ed. *Women Public Speakers in the United States, 1800-1925*. 1993, Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, p. 128.

³⁵ Mott, "Notes on the Life of Lucretia Mott as Given to Sarah J. Hale,"

Lucretia Mott literally embodied the Friends' testimony of equality as she spoke publicly for the abolition of slavery, and in time, for the rights of women. She enlivened the peace testimony as she escorted black women on the streets of Philadelphia in the face of a destructive mob of thirty thousand men that burned Pennsylvania Hall. As this research shows, there is no doubt that her words, her life reflected Quaker principles and practices. However, perhaps the most instructive lessons for adult education as a field of study, rest on her demonstration of the sure-footedness that knowledge of your history can give one in your practice. Lucretia Mott knew why she was educating the public and why she continued to learn throughout her life: to work towards a more peaceful world through the securing of justice for human beings.

To my initial and continuing surprise, the research demonstrated repeatedly the necessity, the importance, the privilege, of verbal exchange of ideas in a public setting. The research showed--in a negative sense--the magnitude of the value of free speech through the very opposition by classes who claimed privilege and power to control public speaking and public deliberation of societal issues. Recall Lucretia's 1839 declaration 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."³⁶ In a sense, if we live and work in a world--be it economic, academic, or religious--where injustice, war, and coercion prevail, then we are all in a reformatory society if we face injustice. For many fields, for instance adult education and learning, public administration, social justice, this research shows that Lucretia Mott provides an exemplar of one who respected and practiced the idea of questioning our world, and asking questions that truly seek--and listen to--an opinion, and the public deliberation of values and issues.

Found in Lucretia Mott's life and work is "a pearl of great price": the importance and value, the treasure we have in the right of free speech and the responsibility we have in our professional lives to foster and protect that gift. She is an exemplar of one who advocates speaking publicly for justice and one who educates adults in ways of peaceful, respectful deliberation when opinions differ. Lucretia Mott worked toward "a better state of things." Her legacy asks for what do we work?

³⁶ "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."³⁷

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."³⁸

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."³⁹

Concern: "A course of action taken under deep religious conviction."⁴⁰ A concern "is felt to be a direct intimation of God's will."⁴¹

Discipline: The *Book of Discipline* summarizes the faith and practice to which Quakers are "committed."⁴² 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."⁴³

Epistles: "A public letter [sent among] Friends groups to supply information, spiritual insight, and encouragement."⁴⁴

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."⁴⁵ 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.⁴⁶

Guarded Education: For Quakers, "divine revelation was a gift, its application a skill."⁴⁷ William Kashatus, historian of Quaker education, described "'a religiously guarded education' as

³⁷ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice: A Book of Christian Discipline* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1997), 215.

³⁸ Lyn Cope-Robinson, *The Little Quaker Sociology Book: With Glossary* (Melbourne, FL: Canmore Press, 1995), 180.

³⁹ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 216.

⁴⁰ Trevett, Christine, *Women in the 17th Century*, Ebor Press, York, England, 1991: 5 as quoted in Cope-Robinson 1995: 198

⁴¹ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 216.

⁴² John Punshon, *Portrait in Grey: A Short History of the Quakers* (London: Quaker Home Service, 1984), 138.

⁴³ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 215.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 216.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 217.

⁴⁶ Sandra L. Cronk, *Gospel Order: A Quaker Understanding of Faithful Church Community* (Wallingford PA: Pendle Hill Publications, 1991), 3.

⁴⁷ 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."⁴⁸

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."⁴⁹ A sense of being called by God to undertake a specific course of action. A leading often arises from a concern.⁵⁰

Meeting for business: These meetings are essentially educational in nature and are the Friends' primary "educational agencies."⁵¹ Within a meeting for business are made what Sheeran describes as "decisions by mutual consent."⁵² Douglas Steere says the meetings for business function for Friends as the "corporate method of arriving at decisions."⁵³ 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."⁵⁴ The meeting for worship and meeting for business are the Friends' "unique" structures⁵⁵ in which to practice their convictions and testimonies as a covenantal "witnessing community."⁵⁶ 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."⁵⁷

Minute: "The record of a corporate decision reached during a meeting . . . for business."⁵⁸ Official records of proceedings kept for all Quaker business meetings (preparative, monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings), along with their committees."⁵⁹

Openings: What early Friends experienced as being "directly revealed in [the] soul so that [a person] assuredly knew it to be true"⁶⁰ or "a spiritual opportunity or leading."⁶¹

⁴⁸ William C. Kashatus, Personal telephone conversation, Nineteenth-Century Quaker Education and Lucretia Coffin Mott (Philadelphia, July 3, 1995).

⁴⁹ Michael John Sheeran, "Friendly Persuasion: Voteless Decisions in the Religious Society of Friends," diss (New Jersey: Princeton University, 1977), 24.

⁵⁰ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 218.

⁵¹ Howard H. Brinton, *Guide to Quaker Practice* (Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill, 1955), 58.

⁵² Sheeran, "Friendly Persuasion," 4.

⁵³ 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.

⁵⁴ Sheeran, "Friendly Persuasion," 2.

⁵⁵ Howard H. Brinton, *Quaker Education In Theory and Practice* (Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill Press, 1967), 11-12.

⁵⁶ Douglas Gwyn, *The Covenant Crucified: Quakers and the Rise of Capitalism* (Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill Publications, 1995), 20.

⁵⁷ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 218.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*,

⁵⁹ "Guide to Genealogical Resources at Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College" (Swarthmore, PA, n.d.), D-3.

⁶⁰ 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.

Preparative Meeting: "An organized group of members of an established monthly meeting which ordinarily gathers for worship at another place."⁶²

Public Friend: A Public Friend signifies one who expresses religious beliefs as a preacher.⁶³ Public Friends traveled among groups of Quakers, and interacted "with the larger society"⁶⁴ 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."⁶⁵

Sense of the meeting: "An expression of the unity of a meeting for business on some . . . concern."⁶⁶

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 ."⁶⁷

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."⁶⁸

Traveling Minister: "Friends recognized both women and men ministers who felt called...to speak to a specific group or person."⁶⁹

Truth: "The revealed will of God, as experienced in communion with the Inner Light or Inward Christ."⁷⁰

Unity: "The spiritual oneness and harmony whose realization is a primary objective of a meeting for worship or a meeting for business."⁷¹

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

⁶¹ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 219.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 219.

⁶³ 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.

⁶⁴ Stoneburner, "Introduction," 1.

⁶⁵ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 219-20.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 220.

⁶⁷ Cope-Robinson, *Little Quaker Sociology Book*, 195.

⁶⁸ *Faith and Practice*, North Pacific Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, 1993, quoted in Cope-Robinson, *Little Quaker Sociology Book*, 195.

⁶⁹ Cope-Robinson, *Little Quaker Sociology Book*, 195-96.

⁷⁰ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 221.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 221.

constituent monthly meetings."⁷² 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."⁷³

⁷² Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 221.

⁷³ "Guide to Genealogical Resources," D-7.