

CHAPTER FIVE

TEACHING PEACEFUL WAYS TO ADDRESS INJUSTICE (1838 – 1880)

Mind acting upon mind is of much greater power than brute force contending against brute force.

Lucretia Mott, *One Standard of Goodness and Truth*, 1860

This chapter, by exploring Lucretia Mott's work, considers some of the American roots in the history of educating adults about peaceful ways to address injustice. In speaking to promote peaceful solutions to societal discord and injustice, Lucretia Mott educated the public. The focus in this chapter is the education of adults about the ethic and practice of peace--not on the issues addressed non-violently. Various societal issues call forth responses from the public. Possible responses can range on a continuum from violent or passive. Lucretia Mott, however, suggests alternatives that go to neither extreme. Her work as a public speaker demonstrates that the education of adults ranks high among the possible peaceful responses. Adult education is a traditional response to societal issues. Lucretia Mott's decades of personal experience within the meeting for business and her knowledge of Quaker history about such efforts have instilled confidence that adults can learn various ways to address discord or injustice without employing violence or engaging in war. To secure just solutions in the face of societal injustices was a concern for Lucretia Mott during most of her years of teaching adults.

Such studies relate to one of the newer focal points of historical scholarship gathered under the rubric of "peace history."¹ For this study, *peace* means freedom from war and violence through the attainment of more just conditions. Chapter Five illuminates the work of Lucretia Mott who spoke publicly to educate about peaceful ways to address injustice. This chapter is divided into four sections which

- (A) present the historical context in which Lucretia Mott, through her speeches and work, educated adults about peaceful ways to address societal injustices.
- (B) provide the background of perspectives about peace, as follows:
 - (1) review what the Friends learned and taught about the principles of peace.
 - (2) consider what young Lucretia learned about the Friends' peace principle.
- (C) examine Lucretia Mott's transcribed sermons and speeches² to explore how they reflected the Friends' peace testimony.
- (D) illuminate the work of Lucretia Mott as a public speaker through five episodes that exemplify ways she educated about peaceful methods to address injustice in the period that spans the last forty-two years of Lucretia's life from 1838 to 1880.

(A) The Context in which Lucretia Mott Exemplified the Peace Principle

In the advocacy of peace, Lucretia Mott worked for justice. Energized with moral power, she opposed injustice with courage, not violence. "Non-violent" alternatives to war and

¹ Harvey L. Dyck, "Introduction to Part II: Christian Traditions of Pacifism and Non-Resistance," in *The Pacifist Impulse in Historical Perspective*, ed. Harvey L. Dyck (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), ix.

² Mott, *Lucretia Mott: Her Complete Speeches and Sermons/edited [with an introduction] by Dana Greene*.

violence, Lerner says, is an idea deeply rooted in American history.³ Yet in what Lerner calls "the public mind" these kinds of ideas and actions are associated with twentieth-century practitioners such as Gandhi and Martin Luther King.⁴ For over four decades in the nineteenth-century, however, Lucretia Mott taught that justice can be secured through ways that are both non-violent and not passive. This study considers some of the issues society faced over this era.

In 1838, when the period under consideration begins, wars were common and dueling with swords and guns continued to be acceptable practices to settle disputes. When the period ends in 1880, a Civil War had been fought, black American males were extended rights under the Constitution, racial prejudice was widespread, and the struggle to obtain various rights for women--called the most peaceful revolution in history--was continuing.

In 1838, slavery continued to fuel the agricultural economy of the South and, therefore, much of the manufacturing economy of the North. Generally, Americans opposed even the discussion of slavery. An indicator of this desire to silence such a discussion, for example, is the 1836 measure passed by the U. S. House of Representatives--dubbed the gag rule--to table all petitions regarding slavery and its abolition. Former President John Quincy Adams, then serving in the House, led the opposition to the gag rule's challenge to First Amendment rights. The gag rule remained in place until 1844.

As Chapter Three revealed, Pennsylvania Hall was burned by a mob that opposed discussion of slavery. By 1838, the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society celebrated its fifth anniversary of abolition work. In Boston, Lucretia Mott's fellow abolitionist, William Lloyd Garrison, founded the New England Non-Resistance Society.⁵ As a Quaker, Lucretia believed she had a moral obligation to be a peacemaker, to live out the Sermon on the Mount in her own life.⁶ The non-resistants and this Quaker minister shared a belief in moral suasion--educating adults--rather than coercive political strategies forcing solutions for societal issues.

Lucretia clarified in a speech that the Friends' peace testimony meant more than opposing armed combat. She said, "this is no isolated Quaker doctrine against war, because for two hundred years we have settled our differences peacefully, without even going to law one with another, by reference, by arbitration."⁷ By arbitrating their differences or referring differences to others for reconciliation, Friends had learned to unite in a resolution. Lucretia Mott saw an educational value in the Quaker peace testimony. She said, "And thus we have interested the serious, thinking public to advocate peace; and it is beginning now to be advocated beyond the pale of our religious society or of any other."⁸ Lucretia worked, in particular, to educate adults about peaceful but not passive ways to address concerns such as the abolition of slavery and the rights of women.

³ Lerner, *Why History Matters*, 73.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 59.

⁵ Goodheart and Hawkins, "Introduction," XXI.

⁶ *The Quaker Origins of Antislavery Edited with an Introduction by J. William Frost*, 3.

⁷ Lucretia Mott, "When the Heart is Attuned to Prayer (11/24/1867)," 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), 307.

⁸ Mott, "When the Heart is Attuned to Prayer (11/24/1867)," 307.

Lucretia Mott pioneered--as a woman--in speaking publicly and over this time became more devoted to the cause of peace. She worked to settle disputes peacefully--as she said by arbitration or referral, as does the Society of Friends. She rejected passivity in the ongoing search for justice and educated adults to seek peaceful settlement of disputes.

(B) Background of Friends' Perspectives about Peace

(1) Friend's Education on Early Principles about Peace and Its Practice

Friends' have a strong commitment to peaceful settlement of conflict. In fact, as Frost notes, "Quakers are best known for their peace testimony."⁹ From their beginning early in the 1650s, Friends agreed on the belief in "that of God" in everyone--the equality of humans before God. They also agreed on their organizational structure. Yet, according to Peter Brock¹⁰, before 1661, the Friends did not agree on a universal militaristic or pacifist Quaker ethic.¹¹ While pacifist, Quakers were not "the first to espouse pacifism in the British Isles."¹² Brock concludes that the Friends' "peace testimony was woven from...many different strands."¹³ He clarifies that "pacifism...was an evolving witness borne from the first by the sect's founder George Fox."¹⁴ The author admits that research into when "pacifism" became a "consistent viewpoint" is "admittedly a complex issue."¹⁵ Brock identifies a struggle between competing virtues that George Fox and many subsequent Friends experienced. That struggle manifested itself in "a tension between peace and justice."¹⁶

Englishmen, after the English Civil Wars and years of cultural turmoil in the mid-seventeenth century, leaned toward the restoration of the monarchy.¹⁷ The Quakers, a growing sect, were suspected by authorities of "planning violence."¹⁸ According to Brock, by the end of 1659, George Fox was advising all the Friends,¹⁹ "'keep out of plots and bustling and the arm of the flesh.' Theirs was the path of peace and not the way of war 'Therefore fighters are not of Christ's kingdom, but without Christ's kingdom'."²⁰ Then, as Brock says, George Fox took "the decisive step and denied the compatibility of military service, even in an army of the Saints,

⁹ *The Quaker Origins of Antislavery Edited with an Introduction by J. William Frost, 2.*

¹⁰ Much of the work in this review relies on the seminal work of Peter Brock the "pre-eminent historian of pacifism."¹⁰ The editor of the compilation of papers presented at the 1991 "international conference, 'The Pacifist Impulse in Historical Perspective'" cited in Dyck, "Christian Traditions of Pacifism," ix. praises Brock's "unmatched scholarly attainments" in the field of peace history.

¹¹ Brock's extensive scholarship "represents the first attempt" to reexamine the Quaker pacifism since the work of Margaret Hirst--seventy years before--who pioneered in studying this aspect of Quakerism. For a review of knowledge about this early period of Quakerism and the peace testimony, see Brock, *Quaker Peace Testimony*, 9-23.

¹² Brock, *Quaker Peace Testimony*, 1.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 22.

²⁰ Brock, *Quaker Peace Testimony*, 22.

with membership of the Quaker community. 'All that pretend to fight for Christ, are deceived; for his kingdom is not of this world, therefore his servants do not fight.'"²¹

A Lesson of Peace for the Future

With the restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660 under King Charles II, the Quakers lost a vision fueled by what Brock calls "the utopian millenarian hopes."²² That same year, the Friends established their peace testimony as "an official tenet of the sect."²³ From that time, he says, began "a new period in the history of Quakerism."²⁴ The Friends have since participated in a "collective witness . . . enforced by a series of sanctions [including] expulsion" for anyone not faithful to the testimony.²⁵ Brock concludes that, "the loosely knit Quaker movement now became a Society of Friends bound together not only by a common religious faith but by an efficient organisation and a discipline enforced against those who overstepped the limits of allowable behaviour."²⁶

The Friends peace testimony, according to Brock's analysis "Became in fact 'an important means of disarming the old order,' political and social as well as ecclesiastical, which had been re-established" with the 1660 Restoration of the monarchy.²⁷ In January 1661, Brock reports, George Fox made a formal Declaration "against all plotters and fighters in the world...in behalf of the whole body of the Elect People of God who are called Quakers."²⁸ The Declaration of 1661 proved to be a definitive event in Quaker spirituality and history. From that event, as Brock says, Quakers have practiced and borne their peace testimony as a "hallmark" of their Society of Friends.²⁹

New Thinking Added to Quakerism

Robert Barclay's³⁰ *Apology* details the Friends' peace principle that Brock says emphasizes "the spirit of Jesus' message rather than the letter of the text. For him the Sermon on the Mount--'Matt. V. from verse 38 to the end of the chapter'-- is all important."³¹ Moreover, says Brock, Barclay added "something new in Quaker thinking."³² Brock credits the Quaker scholar Geoffrey Nuttall with suggesting "'the Renaissance strain in Quakerism,' a humanist strand in their thinking on war and society that eventually blossomed out into the humanitarian relief activity that has become so closely associated with the Quaker name."³³ This component

²¹ *Journal of George Fox*, ed. John L. Nickalls, Cambridge, 1952, p. 237 as cited in Brock, *Quaker Peace Testimony*, 23.

²² Brock, *Quaker Peace Testimony*, 23.

²³ *Ibid.*,

²⁴ *Ibid.*,

²⁵ *Ibid.*,

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 24.

²⁷ *Ibid.*,

²⁸ *Journal of George Fox*, ed. John L. Nickalls, Cambridge, 1952, pp. 398-404. The Declaration was dated 21 January 1661 as cited in Brock, *Quaker Peace Testimony*, 25.

²⁹ Brock, *Quaker Peace Testimony*, 25.

³⁰ See Chapter Two for a discussion of the significance of Robert Barclay and his writings.

³¹ Brock, *Quaker Peace Testimony*, 27.

³² *Ibid.*, 29.

³³ Brock, *Quaker Peace Testimony*, 29.

of Quakerism is apparent in much of "pacifist writing" in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.³⁴ This "humanist strand," Brock says, is "largely absent in the exponents of Anabaptist-Mennonite nonresistance or in the very first proponents of Quaker pacifism."³⁵ These two--the Declaration of 1661 and Barclay's *Apology*--Brock says, "laid a foundation on which Quakers erected a firm structure of war resistance. In addition to a personally nonviolent stance, conscientious objection to military and naval service . . . now became the established practice of the Society of Friends."³⁶

George Fox Taught the Covenant of Peace

George Fox records in his *Journal* that he "knew from whence all wars did rise, from the lust according to James' doctrine; and that [he] lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars."³⁷ "James' doctrine" refers to the biblical Letter of James. Rufus Jones' footnote in Fox's *Journal* identifies that the "true ground of opposition to war" resides in a life lived in a way "that does away with the occasion for war."³⁸ George Fox calls this the "covenant of peace which was before wars and strifes were."³⁹ Friends carried this testimony as they settled in the American provinces.

The American Test of the Peace Testimony

During the War of Independence--the American Revolution--the Friends' peace testimony was "severely tested."⁴⁰ The struggle for American Friends in the 1770s is one that earlier Quakers also had experienced. The difficulty arose from the "tension" between Friends' commitment to justice and their covenant of peace.⁴¹

As the strife began, some Friends inclined toward one and some toward the other of the opposing sides. However, no matter which side they favored politically, the Friends witnessed to a greater value. As Brock says, Friends "stood wholeheartedly behind the peace testimony and were prepared to make considerable sacrifices to maintain it intact."⁴² Brock describes the Quakers as going through "a period of slow adjustment to the new political circumstances"⁴³ at the beginning of American republic. Within five years of that inauguration, Lucretia Coffin was born into the Coffin Quaker family and the Nantucket Quaker community.

³⁴ Ibid.,

³⁵ Ibid.,

³⁶ Ibid., 31.

³⁷ Fox, *The Journal of George Fox, Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Rufus M. Jones, With an Essay on the Influence of the Journal by Henry J. Cadbury*, 65.

³⁸ Jones, "Introduction," 128.

³⁹ Fox, *The Journal of George Fox, Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Rufus M. Jones, With an Essay on the Influence of the Journal by Henry J. Cadbury*, 65.

⁴⁰ Brock, *Quaker Peace Testimony*, 145.

⁴¹ Ibid., 17.

⁴² Ibid., 153-54.

⁴³ Ibid., 155.

(B) (2) Young Lucretia and the Peace Testimony

Unquestionably, from her primary schooling on Nantucket and her [guarded education](#) at the New York Friends' Nine Partners Boarding School, Lucretia learned about the beliefs and practices of the Society of Friends. As explored in earlier chapters, that education included certain texts. Lucretia and her classmates studied Barclay's *Catechism*,⁴⁴ Woolman's *Journal*,⁴⁵ and the writings of Fox. Of particular interest, however, at Nine Partners from the "Answers for Scholars" primer. In response to an inquiry, these young Friends learned that one of the ways Friends "principally differ from" other religions is that Friends believe "that war and oaths are unlawful"⁴⁶

Lucretia learned the principles and history that undergirds the reason why Friends "refuse to bear arms or contribute to the support of war."⁴⁷ These young adults learned,

The words of our Saviour are, 'It hath been said to you of old time, love your friends, and hate your enemies; but I say unto you, love your enemies; do good to them who hate you, and pray for them who despitefully use you, and persecute you.' Believing this command obligatory on christians, and that war is a direct violation of it, we can neither render personal services, nor pay any fine or tax in lieu thereof.⁴⁸

The superintendent of Nine Partners--and grandfather of Lucretia's future husband--James Mott, Sr. published *The Lawfulness of War for Christians, examined*,⁴⁹ a book about Quaker pacifism.

At the age of twenty-four before she spoke in the ministry, she later recalled, she worked to educate adults through a practical and common means: by use of an almanac. She assisted her brother-in-law, "in stitching small Peace pamphlets to the almanacs of that year."⁵⁰ Her family, her schooling, her monthly meetings, and her personal experience of "that of God" within all supported Lucretia's learning of this notable Quaker peace testimony. These experiences helped her to develop voice for responding to George Fox's prophetic and searching question "What canst thou say?"⁵¹ Speaking for Lucretia Mott was a gift and a skill. Through her gifted orations she also responded to the Quaker maxim to "Let your life speak." The study now explores these speeches in response to the research question: How did Lucretia Mott's public speaking to educate others about peace principles reflect Friends' principles and practices?

⁴⁴ Barclay, *Catechism and Confession*.

⁴⁵ Woolman, *The Journal and Major Essays of John Woolman/ edited [with introductions] by Phillips P. Moulton*.

⁴⁶ The Teachers in the Nine Partners Boarding School, "The Following Questions,,"

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*,

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*,

⁴⁹ Brock, *Quaker Peace Testimony*, 158.

⁵⁰ Lucretia Mott, "The Spirit of Peace Must Be Cultivated in Our Own Hearts (6/2/1875)," 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), 372.

⁵¹ The Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in Britain, *Quaker Faith and Practice*, 19:07.

(C) Lucretia Mott's Speeches Teach about the Peace Principle

In her addresses, spoken extemporaneously and recorded and transcribed from 1841 to 1878, educating about the peace principle remained a growing concern over her lifetime. As noted previously, for this study, peace is defined simply as freedom from war and violence through the attainment of more just conditions. Lucretia's speeches make evident that several aspects were involved. To examine Lucretia's meanings, peace will be looked at as if it were a prism or kaleidoscope presenting different ways to see various representations and images in the pursuit of peace.

This study examines first, the purposes, second, the uses, and thirdly, the prospects Lucretia sees related to the principles of peace. Bringing these perspectives to the attention of a public accustomed to wars from their study of history and from events in their own times, she offers another alternative to settling disputes.

First, some of the purposes she saw in the practice of peace include, "to arrest the progress of war";⁵² to "no longer indulge the spirit of retaliation";⁵³ to help "the intelligent mind... behold the enormity of the crime of war";⁵⁴ "to settle our individual differences";⁵⁵ and to "have a concern not to contribute towards the support of war in any way."⁵⁶

Second, some of the uses Lucretia saw in the practice of peace include, "best mode of settling international disputes";⁵⁷ "measures to which nations may resort for a pacific adjudication of national difficulties";⁵⁸ and "to settle individual differences."⁵⁹

Thirdly, some of the prospects she saw in the practice of peace include that "the time may come when violence and war will cease to crimson the land"⁶⁰ and that "men will discover the principle of forgiveness."⁶¹ Nevertheless, in relation to humanity, she confidently suggested: "I believe Peace is the natural condition, and war the unnatural."⁶² Her "hope that the good will ever prevail"⁶³ rested on her Quaker foundational belief in "that of God" in all individuals and a dedication to the possibility of the perfection of society, and the ongoing revelation of God's will.

⁵² Mott, "The Truth of God... The Righteousness of God (9/23/1841)," 30.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁵⁴ Mott, "Progress of the Religious World (3/23-24/1848)," 49.

⁵⁵ Lucretia Mott, "Going to the Root of the Matter (11/19-20/1868)," 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), 314.

⁵⁶ Lucretia Mott, "A Faithful Testimony Against Bearing Arms (9/19/1875)," 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), 376.

⁵⁷ Mott, "The Truth of God... The Righteousness of God (9/23/1841)," 30.

⁵⁸ Mott, "Progress of the Religious World (3/23-24/1848)," 49.

⁵⁹ Mott, "Going to the Root of the Matter (11/19-20/1868)," 314.

⁶⁰ Mott, "Progress of the Religious World (3/23-24/1848)," 49.

⁶¹ Mott, "The Truth of God... The Righteousness of God (9/23/1841)," 31.

⁶² Lucretia Mott, "The Natural Instincts of Man Are For Peace (9/16/1877)," 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), 390.

⁶³ Mott, "Going to the Root of the Matter (11/19-20/1868)," 314.

Recognizing that change and conversion are slow processes, she nevertheless advocated that the work begin. She said, "We are not to wait until all are converted to pure non-resistants, any more than we had to wait for all to be made anti-slavery in heart. We are not to wait until there shall be no disposition to take revenge, but to declare that revenge shall not be acted out in the barbarous ways of the present."⁶⁴

Almost at the end of her life, Lucretia reflected on the need to educate about peace even though there were so many "professed Christians." The Peace testimony, Quakers believed, rested on the New Testament teachings. She commented,

The natural instincts of man are for Peace, and this has ever been the case. It seems strange that in all Christendom there should be any war, considering that He whom they all have delighted to honor as the Prince of Peace, and rightly so, because His advocacy of Peace was beyond almost any other subject which He treated. Yet we find it necessary to bring this subject up among these professed Christians.⁶⁵

The gap between what the Prince of Peace preached and what professed Christians practiced becomes evident in Lucretia Mott's words and the catalyst for more education of the subject of peace.

In addition to the peace principle opposing war, the peace principle also confronts the practice of capital punishment. About opposition to capital punishment, she resonates with the efforts of the Peace Society:

I was glad to hear how this peace principle was progressing. If we can once do away with the practice of taking life, it will be a great advance in the world. I have been glad that in the Peace Society a strong protest has been made against capital punishment. That we have petitioned to remove the death penalty on the ground of right. Let us never be afraid to take hold of the right, however error and wrong may be sanctioned by usage, and by some quotations from Scripture.⁶⁶

Perhaps the greatest challenge for each individual--man or woman--begins with the self. Lucretia again takes the opportunity to express her belief that neither man nor woman is inherently superior in the realm of morality. She says,

It is true, as our friend has well remarked, that the spirit of Peace must be cultivated in our own hearts, and the spirit of war eradicated before we can expect to make much progress I have often resisted the impression that woman differs so widely from man, and I think we have not the facts to substantiate it. I cannot believe that if woman had her just rights, which I desire she should have, that all these evils will cease."⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Mott, "There is a Principle in the Human Mind (1869)," 341.

⁶⁵ Mott, "The Natural Instincts of Man Are For Peace (9/16/1877)," 389.

⁶⁶ Lucretia Mott, "The Subject of Peace is Taking a Deep Hold (9/19/1869)," 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), 348.

⁶⁷ Mott, "The Spirit of Peace Must Be Cultivated in Our Own Hearts (6/2/1875)," 371.

With that Quaker perspective reflecting the equality of humans and each individuals need to arrive at communion with the Divine spirit, this study turns to examine the work of Lucretia Mott as she educated adults through application of the peace principle in various situations.

(D) Lucretia Mott Educates to Peacefully Address Injustices (1838-1880)

This section presents various episodes to explore the work of Lucretia Mott as she educated adults about peace. The kind of peace she envisioned is built on justice. Moreover, she worked toward the realization of justice through moral suasion--educating adults about societal issues. Justice related to slavery continued to concern reformers and Friends, including Lucretia Mott. The abolition of slavery, however, was itself an issue not supported by a majority of Americans.

Lucretia Mott's endeavors to educate adults in peaceful--non-violent--ways is called forth by the societal issue of slavery. In particular, this section elucidates five episodes.

The context of the first episode concerns public meetings held in Pennsylvania Hall. The second episode illustrates her life experience in relation to the practice of non-resistance and a Quaker response to her involvement with non-resistance organizations. The third episode considers some qualifications Lucretia sees as necessary to teach about justice peacefully. The fourth episode briefly explores a personal response to a dilemma Friends faced at the time of the Civil War. Finally, this section illustrates Lucretia Mott's view about the importance of newspapers to help adults learn from one another as they consider societal issues peacefully.

Episode 1: Pennsylvania Hall and a Peaceful Demonstration

This first episode explores primarily through the columns of newspapers Lucretia Mott's response to violence at the time Pennsylvania Hall was destroyed through fire by mob action and governmental inaction. First, a Philadelphia newspaper column reprinted in *The Liberator*⁶⁸ describes the scene and places Lucretia Mott among the most prominent women. The quoted newspaper was not part of the abolition press. It reported:

Philadelphia National Gazette: Riot and Arson in Philadelphia

We have received an account of a riot which took place last evening outside of the large, new building called the 'Pennsylvania Hall,' lately opened in this city for scientific and political discussions and lectures, including the discussion of the question of ABOLITIONISM . . . Last evening the hall was crowded with about three thousand persons, to hear a lecture by Mr. Garrison and others. Of the audience, about one half were females. It was promiscuously composed of white and black people. At the close of Mr. Garrison's address, a mob outside was very noisy. Mrs. Maria W. Chapman, of Boston, then addressed the meeting for several minutes. She was followed by Mrs. Angelina E. Grimke Weld, Lucretia Mott, of this city, and Abby Kelley. In the meantime, the mob increased and became more unruly . . .⁶⁹

⁶⁸ At this time, newspaper editors sent three copies of their newspapers to all other newspaper editors. *The Liberator* regularly reprinted such columns if they considered issues of societal concern.

⁶⁹ *The Liberator*, 82.

This newspaper portrays that Philadelphians--or at a minimum the reporter--recognized Pennsylvania Hall as dedicated to public discussion and education, even if one of the discussion questions concerned abolitionism. The capitalization within the column certainly must have caught the eyes of readers.

This column reports that the crowd inside numbered about three thousand people. According to other accounts, the mob outside numbered around thirty thousand men. Imagine what the people leaving the hall, especially the women, faced. The column reported:

At a quarter before ten, the company retired amid the cries and groans of the mob who blocked up the street on every side. One black man was knocked down with a club.⁷⁰

What that column fails to say, another newspaper column reports:

We learn from passengers just arrived from Philadelphia, that after the destruction of the Hall The stories respecting the white and colored abolitionists promenading the streets, it is said, arose from the colored women retiring from the hall, when first attacked, under the escort of the white ladies belonging to the convention--*Post*.⁷¹

These women showed that they could peacefully face a potentially dangerous situation without recourse to brut force in any way, including a demand for a police escort. Before they faced this dangerous mob, Margaret Bacon reports, Lucretia "arranged for the women to leave the hall two by two, a white woman in arm with a black one."⁷²

Newspapers Teach the Public View of Abolition Women

The Boston public learned that while the riot was a "violation of law" that warranted "punishment," the true horror was the behavior of abolitionists.

Boston Morning Post heart-sickening violation of law, for which the perpetrators deserve severe punishment Yet we have not language to express our disgust at the course of the abolitionists . . . by provoking a persecution which we believe they *desire* for the sake of the notoriety it confers . . .⁷³

The behavior that warranted the mob's actions, the newspaper described this way:

If it be true, as stated, that after the addresses in the Hall by men and women, parties of them intermingled with the blacks, and promenaded the streets, we are not astonished at the excitement produced in the public mind at this unbecoming defiance of the opinion of nine-tenths of the inhabitants of Philadelphia.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ *The Liberator*, 82.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Bacon, *Valiant Friend*, 77.

⁷³ *The Liberator*, 82.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*,

The "public mind" learned--perhaps for the first time-- an alternative to its accustomed perception of relations between black and white and women and men. Peaceful determination, not undue force, enabled these women to present this lesson.

Another Boston paper evaluates as being less decent the actions of white women walking "cheek by jowl" with black women than the actions of the mob. The women, not the mob, are judged to be the "violators of the public peace."

Boston Centinel and Gazette--There is still less of decency and modesty in white women perambulating public streets, cheek by jowl, with blacks, or in addressing popular meetings anywhere. Even under such circumstances, however, we would discountenance mobs, and all sorts of violence, preferring to leave the offenders against propriety, to the gratification of their own vicious tastes and propensities. Nevertheless, inasmuch as it is well known, that such exhibitions are calculated to rouse the angry passions of the mob, those who thus attempt to browbeat public opinion should be discountenanced, as violators of the public peace.⁷⁵

Without opposing the crowd in any way except peacefully demonstrating different behavior based on moral values, these women helped to educate about non-violent ways. Thus, they presented alternatives to accepted practices in relation to race relations, alternatives to activities acceptable for women, and alternatives to methods for activating moral stances non-violently.

Episode 2: Non-Resistance Emerges as a Way to Teach

This second illustrative episode explores Lucretia Mott's work as she educated for peace. As explained in Chapter Two, from initial efforts to abolish slavery gradually arose the call to abolish slavery immediately. Then, from the immediate abolitionists between 1831 and 1838, non-resistance--as a moral stance--"gradually emerged."⁷⁶ In 1838, William Lloyd Garrison⁷⁷ and others provided a structure for nonresistance thinking by organizing the "New England Non-Resistance Society."⁷⁸ The establishment of a non-resistance organization and the Hicksite Quakers⁷⁹ response to non-resistance presented challenges for Lucretia Mott as she sought to peacefully but courageously oppose slavery. Those challenges will be the focus of this episode. Significantly, Hamm says, Garrisonian non-resistance for Hicksite Friends presented, "the greatest internal conflict" since the Separation of 1827.⁸⁰ Among both the Orthodox and the Hicksite Quakers, those who endorsed non-resistance constituted what Hamm calls a "distinct

⁷⁵ *The Liberator*, 82.

⁷⁶ Hamm, "Hicksite Quakers and the Antebellum Nonresistance Movement," 558.

⁷⁷ Founder of *The Liberator* abolition newspaper in 1831 and the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833.

⁷⁸ Hamm, "Hicksite Quakers and the Antebellum Nonresistance Movement," 558.

⁷⁹ Since the 1827 Separation in the Society of Friends, both branches--the Hicksite and the Orthodox--simply referred to themselves as the Society of Friends. Though these branches reunited in the twentieth century, historians refer to the nineteenth-century branches as Hicksite or Orthodox for clarity. As mentioned in Chapter Two, the Motts joined with the Hicksites and held to the older Quaker beliefs and practices.

⁸⁰ Hamm, "Hicksite Quakers and the Antebellum Nonresistance Movement," 557.

minority.⁸¹ Furthermore, many Hicksites actively opposed participation in non-resistance societies.⁸²

Non-resistants favored moral suasion--as opposed to political solutions--to address societal issues such as slavery. They favored peaceful but not passive means to social change. A key conclusion that non-resistants reached was that "the use of coercive force was a sin."⁸³ Non-resistants extended their thinking to governments and embraced the idea that a government structured on armed force opposed God's law and the scriptural example of Jesus.⁸⁴

The non-resistants' call for a "government of God" as opposed to the government already in place differed from traditional Quaker thinking. Hamm called this view a "radical extension of traditional Quaker pacifism"⁸⁵ and a radical extension of the "traditional" understanding of the peace testimony.⁸⁶ According to Hamm, most Hicksites would not accept the logic of a government of God.

However, some Hicksite Quakers--Lucretia Mott among them--endorsed certain demands of the non-resistants. For instance, they endorsed immediate abolition of slavery and expansion of woman's rights. According to Hamm, Quakers that were both Hicksites and non-resistants hoped for reforms that were "dramatic and fundamental."⁸⁷ Furthermore, these Hicksites as Hamm says, "challenged the traditionalism still strong among Hicksite Friends, particularly among ministers and elders."⁸⁸ Therefore, between the reformers and the traditionalists discord was almost unavoidable.⁸⁹

Not all demands of the non-resistants could be endorsed. Part of Friends' peace testimony is the ethic to accept the existing governmental authority. Frost says that as a Quaker, Lucretia believed that "The Sermon on the Mount was an obligatory ethical command as was the statement by Paul that Christians were to be subject to whatever power existed."⁹⁰

Non-resistants believed that under a government of God slavery would see its end and violence--including the oppression of women--would stop. Being committed to the rights of women, Hamm says, was "central" for Hicksite non-resistants.⁹¹ Both male and female non-resistants asserted and defended the right of women to speak publicly about societal and ethical issues.⁹² This vision of women's rights, however, evolved toward the sentiments and the resolutions declared at the 1848 Woman's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls, New York, in support of equality for women.⁹³ As Nancy Hewitt,⁹⁴ Margaret Bacon and others, including

⁸¹ Hamm, "Hicksite Quakers and the Antebellum Nonresistance Movement," 559.

⁸² Ibid., 557.

⁸³ Ibid., 558.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 560.

⁸⁵ Ibid., .

⁸⁶ *The Quaker Origins of Antislavery Edited with an Introduction by J. William Frost*, 3.

⁸⁷ Hamm, "Hicksite Quakers and the Antebellum Nonresistance Movement," 558.

⁸⁸ Ibid.,

⁸⁹ Ibid.,

⁹⁰ *The Quaker Origins of Antislavery Edited with an Introduction by J. William Frost*, 3.

⁹¹ Hamm, "Hicksite Quakers and the Antebellum Nonresistance Movement," 562.

⁹² Ibid., 562.

⁹³ Ibid.,

Hamm say, Lucretia Mott and other Hicksite non-resistants led women's rights efforts in the early days.⁹⁵

New York Friends stirred up discord about other Hicksite Friends' participating with non-Friends in reforms. Rachel Barker, one New York Quaker minister accused non-resistants of "going into the mixture" and "disturbing the quiet."⁹⁶ According to Margaret Bacon, however, the New York Quaker minister, George White, headed an effort to "prevent all members of the Society [of Friends] from taking part in antislavery activities."⁹⁷

In fact, according to Hamm, George White maintained zealously the worth of "the peculiarities of Friends, especially in warning against "popular associations."⁹⁸

He even complained to Lucretia's monthly meeting about her and actually came to Philadelphia Monthly Meeting at Cherry Street to preach in opposition to "reform movements."⁹⁹ Lucretia wrote to Nathaniel Barney on Nantucket,¹⁰⁰ and advised him that, "New York Friends took umbrage at my going to a Non-Resistance meeting and talked themselves into an idea that it was almost a wicked step."¹⁰¹ She then described the New York Quaker Minister George F. White's visit to her meeting. In typically fragmented written style, she said,

He came here had the members of our 3 Mgs. collected at Cherry St. house with many others not of our fold. His text was 'He who will resist God will resist man.' He went on to shew how the hirelings of the day were resisting God as that class ever had done--how preposterous then for such to profess the principles of non-resistance....¹⁰²

She continued in her letter to describe the conflict of Public Friends, as follows:

It is distressing to honest minds to see two or more public friends travellg around, both professing to be led by unerring light and yet their doctrines diverging to the widest extremes-- His attack upon Non-Resistants was most unexpected --I almost shuddered as he heaped his denunciations upon them.¹⁰³

Public Friend White's message Lucretia says she recalls "nearly verbatim" and continued to report:

⁹⁴ See Nancy Ann Hewitt, "Women's Activism and Social Change: The Case of Rochester, New York, 1822-1872," *diss* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania, 1981), 360; Nancy A. (1951-) Hewitt, *Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, New York, 1822 -1872* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984).

⁹⁵ Hamm, "Hicksite Quakers and the Antebellum Nonresistance Movement," 563.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 565.

⁹⁷ Bacon, *Valiant Friend*, 101.

⁹⁸ Hamm, "Hicksite Quakers and the Antebellum Nonresistance Movement," 567.

⁹⁹ Bacon, *Valiant Friend*, 101-06.

¹⁰⁰ Beverly Wilson Palmer graciously provided a transcribed copy of this letter from Lucretia Mott prepared for *Selected Letters of Lucretia Coffin Mott* Beverly Wilson Palmer, editor; Holly Byers Ochoa, assistant editor. University of Illinois Press, Urbana, IL. In Press. 2000

¹⁰¹ Lucretia Mott, "Letter to N. & E. Barney" (Nantucket Historical Association, 8/11, 1839).

¹⁰² Mott, "Letter to N. & E. Barney,."

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*,

Again with Women's Rights What did woman want in the name of rights, but liberty to roam over the country from Dan to Beersheba, spurning the protection of man--to traverse the streets & lanes of the City--to travel in stages and steamboats by day Lines & night Lines without a male protector--for himself, before he would submit to the dictation of an imperious woman, he would traverse the earth while there was a foot of ground to tread upon & swim the rivers while there was water to swim in--that an elder in Socy said at his table that she did not intend to marry until she found a man to whose judgment she could surrender her own--these were the sentiments that would win the hearts of men--to such as these a man would bring his treasures & pour into her lap & kneel at her feet Etc. All this in the name of the Gospel of Jesus Christ¹⁰⁴ !

Lucretia might well have experienced this pronouncement as violence from another Quaker minister, delivered in the context of her own meeting.

Brock confirms that for George White, Lucretia was "among those who became the special targets of his wrath."¹⁰⁵ Lucretia was very aware of this attack on her. About these New York Friends--including George White--Lucretia wrote, "The elders and others, have been quite desirous to make me an offender for joining with those not in membership with us."¹⁰⁶ Lucretia found support, however, in her monthly meeting and, as Brock says, "she escaped disownment, a fate which overtook some others among the Garrisonians' Quaker collaborators."¹⁰⁷

Brock reflected on Lucretia Mott whom he described as "a formidable antagonist, a woman who enjoyed widespread respect within the Society and outside its ranks."¹⁰⁸ Lucretia, in fact, did admire the work of Non-Resistants and attended some of their meetings. However, she never actually became a member of their Society.¹⁰⁹ To do so would have opened her to more attacks from Friends' fearful of her prophetic stance. In the end, as Brock says, "she was not afraid of gaining a reputation for stirring up trouble; she knew such a charge had been levelled against early Friends, too."¹¹⁰ She continued to educate for justice while opposing violence and embracing the Quakers' beloved peace principle.

Episode 3: Lucretia Mott as Teacher Is "No Advocate of Passivity"

This third episode elucidates some of the qualifications needed to press the case "against wrong."¹¹¹ At an Anti-Slavery Meeting, Quaker minister Lucretia Mott speaks with what Brock calls "the prophetic voice."¹¹² Brock says, "The presence within Quakerdom of persons like Lucretia Mott . . . signified that Quaker pacifism was not dead."¹¹³ Dyck, in introducing a

¹⁰⁴ Mott, "Letter to N. & E. Barney,."

¹⁰⁵ Brock, *Quaker Peace Testimony*, 164.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 158.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, .

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 164.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, .

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, .

¹¹¹ Mott, "I Am No Advocate of Passivity (10/25-26/1860)," 262.

¹¹² Brock, *Quaker Peace Testimony*, 164.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, .

chapter on the "Christian Tradition of Pacifism and Non-resistance"¹¹⁴ cites Lucretia Mott as one of three notable women who "shaped their religious community in ways rarely found among other denominations."¹¹⁵ After almost three decades of working against slavery, she said:

Our weapons were drawn only from the armory of [Truth](#); they were those of faith and hope and love. They were those of moral indignation strongly expressed against wrong. Robert Purvis has said that I was 'the most belligerent Non-Resistant he ever saw.' I accept the character he gives me; and I glory in it. I have no idea, because I am a Non-Resistant, of submitting tamely to injustice inflicted either on me or on the slave. I will oppose it with all the moral powers with which I am endowed. I am no advocate of passivity. Quakerism, as I understand it, does not mean quietism. The early Friends were agitators; disturbers of the peace; and were more obnoxious in their day to charges which are now so freely made than we are.¹¹⁶

Moral power--as opposed to political or armed power--energized her response to injustice.

Episode 4: The Lessons in Friends' Tension between Justice and Peace

This episode, the fourth, allows a brief look at what Brock calls the "tension between peace and justice"¹¹⁷ that has been present among the Friends since they established their peace testimony. This time, however, the struggle is in the Mott family. The Mott's son-in-law, Edmund M. Davis, had enrolled in the Union Army. According to Brock, Quakers faced a choice between seemingly worthwhile moral principles. In particular, Brock notes that many Friends were "torn between the ideals of peace and freedom."¹¹⁸ Friends believed about the Society's peace testimony much as they believed about their other "distinguishing convictions."¹¹⁹ They hoped that one day the whole world would recognize the Truth, in their beliefs through the Inner Light, "that of God" in each person and join in their peace testimony.¹²⁰

Lucretia wrote a letter to her son-in-law's sister. The irony of Edmund's spending years making "converts to peace principles" and then ending up among "the active officers in this war" grips Lucretia's attention. She asked rhetorically,

Who would have thought, when Edmund was exerting himself--spreading Adin Ballou's works [on nonresistance]--to make converts to peace principles, that he would be among the active officers in this war? He flatters himself that the abolition of slavery--end, justifies the means.¹²¹

Evident is a difference of opinion between the judgments of these two who are not only relatives but long-time abolitionists. Again, one sees reflected the pain of choosing between two goods:

¹¹⁴ Dyck, "Christian Traditions of Pacifism," 73.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 77.

¹¹⁶ Mott, "I Am No Advocate of Passivity (10/25-26/1860)," 261-62.

¹¹⁷ Brock, *Quaker Peace Testimony*, 17.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 168.

¹¹⁹ See Chapter Two for a description of these "distinguishing convictions."

¹²⁰ Brock, *Quaker Peace Testimony*, 168.

¹²¹ Ibid., 180.

justice and peace. Here again, Lucretia makes a response that peacefully gets her point across without accusing or condemning Edward.

Lucretia also felt the stress of any prospect that the ideal of complete abolition of all slavery would be compromised by political agreement. Brock reports that Lucretia wrote, "Regarding the present calamity, . . . terrible as war must ever be, let us hope it will not be stayed by any compromise' that would leave slavery in existence in the South, for slavery was itself a still more ruthless form of war."¹²²

Friends endured what Brock describes as a "mental agony" as they grappled to choose between ideals long cherished but now diverging: justice and peace.¹²³ Now, this section concludes with a view of Lucretia's estimation of newspapers in the lifelong learning of adults about the peace principle.

Peaceful Abolition of Slavery Taught through Newspapers Hailed by Lucretia Mott

A portion of the ongoing education of adult Quakers continued--as with other Americans--through newspapers. Non-resistants and other abolitionists, for instance, valued newspapers as ways to educate about their ideas. In the two decades from 1827 through 1847, the branches of Quakerism founded papers that flourished. In particular, articles advocating peaceful ways to abolish slavery filled the pages of the Friends' press. These three papers, as Brock says, "put the Quaker case against war and slavery" clearly in the view of readers.¹²⁴ Lucretia Mott saw the value of newspapers in the continuing education about the need to settle the slavery issue without either using force or compromising with injustice.

In a letter from a contributor to the newspapers, Lucretia expressed her whole-hearted support of such publications: "I entirely accord with thy remarks on the importance of the paper, as well as other Abolition periodicals ."¹²⁵ She warned, however, against being averted from educating about their abolition ideas "to assail one another."¹²⁶ In writing of the strife that caused the Society of Friends to form two branches, and the anti-slavery societies to split over matters not central to abolition as happened in Boston and London, she said, "There has been too much of it." She continued, "I never . . . read with any satisfaction the criminations and recriminations which sometimes mar our pages."¹²⁷ Again, this letter provides evidence of another way Lucretia Mott applied the peace principle in popular education.

According to Brock, in newspapers adults "threshed out" issues concerned with dilemmas. As noted in Chapter Two, threshing is a Quaker way to sift out the wheat from the chafe of an issue before Friends are ready to bring a particular issue to a meeting for business to search for [unity](#) on that subject. In newspapers, adults could use articles, letters to the editor for the same purpose: sifting through various ideas and views to find Truth peacefully.

¹²² Brock, *Quaker Peace Testimony*, 167.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 163.

¹²⁴ Brock, *Quaker Peace Testimony*, 158.

¹²⁵ Lucretia Mott, "Letter to A. S. Lippincott," *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia*, 1922 2, no. 1(Spring 1840): 32.

¹²⁶ Mott, "Letter to A. S. Lippincott," 32.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 32.

Summary

Chapter Five examined speeches and sermons that Lucretia Mott delivered over the four decades in which some of her orations were transcribed. This exploratory analysis searched for evidence of how the addresses reflected the Friends' principles and practices. In addition, this chapter described some of the highlights of her work and life experience as a female pioneer public speaker who sought to educate adults about peaceful means to seek justice. In particular, this chapter explored six episodes in which Lucretia Mott educated adults about peace. She took hope in the work of her life and spoke of the progress made "to enlighten the people" about peace. She said,

We know . . . the peace principles have spread considerably, and as far as we have gone we have become more nearly sound in the principles of peace, and now we look at war in its true light, and it is well to do all we can to enlighten the people on this great subject, so that they shall come to look at the possibilities of peace.¹²⁸

Perhaps the best summary of the research into Lucretia Mott's efforts to educate adults about the peace principle is expressed in her words about her experience in the Society of Friends:

We may hope to influence the public mind and, also the nations, that they may be lead to appeal less to the force of arms, and look for the reasonable mode-of arbitration. We have long been accustomed to settle our individual differences in this way. We should look at human beings as accessible to the truth, as easily prevailed upon to accept the truth if we only go to work in the right way.¹²⁹

Through her speeches and the history of her work, Lucretia Mott continues to educate the "public mind" and continues to challenge educators to find "the right way" to teach how peace and justice can prevail.

¹²⁸ Mott, "Going to the Root of the Matter (11/19-20/1868)," 312.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 313-14.

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."¹³⁰

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."¹³¹

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."¹³²

Concern: "A course of action taken under deep religious conviction."¹³³ A concern "is felt to be a direct intimation of God's will."¹³⁴

Discipline: The *Book of Discipline* summarizes the faith and practice to which Quakers are "committed."¹³⁵ 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."¹³⁶

Epistles: "A public letter [sent among] Friends groups to supply information, spiritual insight, and encouragement."¹³⁷

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."¹³⁸ 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.¹³⁹

Guarded Education: For Quakers, "divine revelation was a gift, its application a skill."¹⁴⁰ William Kashatus, historian of Quaker education, described "'a religiously guarded education' as

¹³⁰ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice: A Book of Christian Discipline* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1997), 215.

¹³¹ Lyn Cope-Robinson, *The Little Quaker Sociology Book: With Glossary* (Melbourne, FL: Canmore Press, 1995), 180.

¹³² Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 216.

¹³³ Trevett, Christine, *Women in the 17th Century*, Ebor Press, York, England, 1991: 5 as quoted in Cope-Robinson 1995: 198

¹³⁴ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 216.

¹³⁵ John Punshon, *Portrait in Grey: A Short History of the Quakers* (London: Quaker Home Service, 1984), 138.

¹³⁶ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 215.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 216.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 217.

¹³⁹ Sandra L. Cronk, *Gospel Order: A Quaker Understanding of Faithful Church Community* (Wallingford PA: Pendle Hill Publications, 1991), 3.

¹⁴⁰ 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."¹⁴¹

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."¹⁴² A sense of being called by God to undertake a specific course of action. A leading often arises from a concern.¹⁴³

Meeting for business: These meetings are essentially educational in nature and are the Friends' primary "educational agencies."¹⁴⁴ Within a meeting for business are made what Sheeran describes as "decisions by mutual consent."¹⁴⁵ Douglas Steere says the meetings for business function for Friends as the "corporate method of arriving at decisions."¹⁴⁶ 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."¹⁴⁷ The meeting for worship and meeting for business are the Friends' "unique" structures¹⁴⁸ in which to practice their convictions and testimonies as a covenantal "witnessing community."¹⁴⁹ 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."¹⁵⁰

Minute: "The record of a corporate decision reached during a meeting . . . for business."¹⁵¹ Official records of proceedings kept for all Quaker business meetings (preparative, monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings), along with their committees."¹⁵²

Openings: What early Friends experienced as being "directly revealed in [the] soul so that [a person] assuredly knew it to be true"¹⁵³ or "a spiritual opportunity or leading."¹⁵⁴

¹⁴¹ William C. Kashatus, Personal telephone conversation, Nineteenth-Century Quaker Education and Lucretia Coffin Mott (Philadelphia, July 3, 1995).

¹⁴² Michael John Sheeran, "Friendly Persuasion: Voteless Decisions in the Religious Society of Friends," diss (New Jersey: Princeton University, 1977), 24.

¹⁴³ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 218.

¹⁴⁴ Howard H. Brinton, *Guide to Quaker Practice* (Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill, 1955), 58.

¹⁴⁵ Sheeran, "Friendly Persuasion," 4.

¹⁴⁶ 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.

¹⁴⁷ Sheeran, "Friendly Persuasion," 2.

¹⁴⁸ Howard H. Brinton, *Quaker Education In Theory and Practice* (Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill Press, 1967), 11-12.

¹⁴⁹ Douglas Gwyn, *The Covenant Crucified: Quakers and the Rise of Capitalism* (Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill Publications, 1995), 20.

¹⁵⁰ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 218.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.,

¹⁵² "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."¹⁵⁵

Public Friend: A Public Friend signifies one who expresses religious beliefs as a preacher.¹⁵⁶ Public Friends traveled among groups of Quakers, and interacted "with the larger society"¹⁵⁷ 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."¹⁵⁸

Sense of the meeting: "An expression of the unity of a meeting for business on some . . . concern."¹⁵⁹

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 ."¹⁶⁰

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."¹⁶¹

Traveling Minister: "Friends recognized both women and men ministers who felt called...to speak to a specific group or person."¹⁶²

Truth: "The revealed will of God, as experienced in communion with the Inner Light or Inward Christ."¹⁶³

Unity: "The spiritual oneness and harmony whose realization is a primary objective of a meeting for worship or a meeting for business."¹⁶⁴

¹⁵³ 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.

¹⁵⁴ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 219.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 219.

¹⁵⁶ 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.

¹⁵⁷ Stoneburner, "Introduction," 1.

¹⁵⁸ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 219-20.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 220.

¹⁶⁰ Cope-Robinson, *Little Quaker Sociology Book*, 195.

¹⁶¹ *Faith and Practice*, North Pacific Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, 1993, quoted in Cope-Robinson, *Little Quaker Sociology Book*, 195.

¹⁶² Cope-Robinson, *Little Quaker Sociology Book*, 195-96.

¹⁶³ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 221.

¹⁶⁴ *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."¹⁶⁵ 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."¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *Faith and Practice*, 221.

¹⁶⁶ "Guide to Genealogical Resources," D-7.