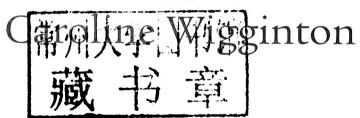
TRANSATLANTIC FEMINISMS IN THE AGE OF REVOLUTIONS

Edited by

Lisa L. Moore, Joanna Brooks,

and







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TRANSATLANTIC FEMINISMS IN THE AGE OF REVOLUTIONS

Introduction

LISA L. MOORE AND JOANNA BROOKS

Towards the end of the eighteenth century a change came about which, if I were rewriting history, I should describe more fully and think of greater importance than the Crusades or the Wars of the Roses. The middle-class woman began to write.

-Virginia Woolf, A Room of One's Own

"LET YOUR WOMEN HEAR OUR WORDS"

In April 1776, Abigail Adams sat down at her writing desk in her home in Braintree, Massachusetts, to discuss with her friend, the revolutionary playwright Mercy Otis Warren, the possibility that women might gain from the American Revolution. The Revolution was the culmination of a long series of trade, territorial, and political conflicts between England and its colonies in North America that had steadily escalated into warfare. For more than a year, British troops and American militiamen had been skirmishing in New York and Massachusetts, with many major battles fought in Boston, just twelve miles north of the Adams family home. Warren had hosted strategy meetings at her home for the revolutionary group the Sons of Liberty and wrote plays that boldly decried the British Empire. Like many other American revolutionary women, Adams and Warren organized and participated in boycotts of British goods and other political actions. They followed news from battles fought close to home, and read revolutionary pamphlets such as Thomas Paine's influential *Common Sense*, published in

January 1776. They corresponded with revolutionary actors and thinkers of the Atlantic world, men and women in Great Britain and America like John Hancock, George Washington, and Catharine Macaulay. They fully lived their revolutionary moment.

But despite their commitment to the Revolution neither woman was permitted to take a role in the formal political deliberations that would determine its outcomes. Instead, they relied on communication with their husbands John Adams and James Warren and other powerful men to influence the course of revolutionary events. In March 1776, Adams had written to her husband John, who was then in Philadelphia with the Continental Congress, demanding that the Congress "Remember the Ladies" as it framed a "new Code of Laws" to govern the United States of America. In a moment when America was boldly pronouncing its rejection of British tyranny, Abigail Adams called for the end of the tyranny of men over women: "That your Sex are Naturally Tyrannical is a Truth so thoroughly established as to admit of no dispute," she wrote. "We are determined to foment a Rebelion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any Laws in which we have no voice, or Representation." Just as Anglo-American colonists excluded from Parliamentary representation had thrown off the laws of Britain, Abigail Adams raised the specter that the revolutionary moment might lead the unrepresented women of America to rebel against the men who governed their lives. John Adams lovingly but dismissively laughed at Abigail Adams's demands. This did not deter her from continuing serious discussion about the Revolution and the status of women with Warren. "I think I will get you to join me in a petition to Congress," she wrote. Adams specifically hoped to convince the Continental Congress to reform English marriage laws that gave "such unlimited power to the Husband to use his wife Ill" and to correct gender "domination" by "establishing some Laws in favour upon just and Liberal principles." Using the revolutionary discourse of reason, liberty, and justice, Abigail Adams and Mercy Otis Warren seized upon their moment to try and establish a more egalitarian future for Anglo-American women.

A few years later, in July 1781, on the Holston River in Tennessee, another revolutionary woman surrounded by the turmoil of a different war against empire stood up before a crowd of white men to defend the lands and liberties of her people. Her name was Nanye'hi, or Nancy Ward, and she held the powerful office of Beloved Woman of the Cherokee Nation. Responding to the attacks of Anglo-American settlers on Cherokee territory and autonomy, Ward issued a challenge to the United States treaty officials:

You know Women are always looked upon as nothing; but we are your Mothers; you are our sons. Our cry [is] all for Peace; let it continue because we are Your

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Mothers. This Peace must last forever. Let your Womens sons be Ours, and let our sons be yours. Let your Women hear our Words.

Let your Women hear our Words. Within the Cherokee intellectual and political universe, women and men played essential and complementary roles. Women held positions of power like that of Beloved Woman. Women met in their own political councils, as well as within councils with men. Women fought in wars and took part in land and captive negotiations. Women played a full role in maintaining the order and survival of the Cherokee people. To the Cherokee, a nation that did not honor and enfranchise its women was a disorderly nation, a dangerous nation, a nation capable of harm. "Where are your women?" wondered the Cherokee leader Attakullakulla, who led a delegation of Cherokee men and women to negotiate with English colonists in 1759. Attakullakulla was shocked to find no women among the English negotiating party. Nanye'hi also knew from her interactions with white colonial society that Anglo-American women did not enjoy the same rights and powers as Cherokee. She looked upon the gathering of United States Treaty officers, all men, and saw an immature, dangerous political entity. "[W]e are your Mothers; you are our sons," she told them. "Let your Women hear our Words." Nanye'hi demanded that the women of the new United States be consulted in order to arrive at the best possible decision for all concerned.

The words of Nanye'hi and the example of other indigenous American political women did echo around the revolutionary Atlantic world. Seven years later, in 1798, in London, English feminist Mary Robinson also argued for women's political power, and significantly, she did so by invoking the fabled rights of Native American women. Like Anglo-American women in North America, women in Great Britain and Ireland were formally excluded from systems of governance, even as revolutionary news and ideas circulated freely among them by print and word of mouth. No doubt Robinson, for many years the lover of Banaster Tarleton, the feared leader of the British forces in North America and hence the ally of the Mohawk, heard first-hand anecdotes of the status of Mohawk women such as Molly Brant. A contemporary commentator said of Brant, the sister of Chief Joseph Brant: "Miss Molly Brant's influence over [her people] is far Superior to that of all the Chiefs put together." Stories about Nancy Ward and Molly Brant circulated in London, allowing Robinson to observe in her 1799 Letter to the Women of England,

¹ Sharon Harris, ed., *American Women Writers to 1800* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 279.

Many of the American tribes admit women into their public councils, and allow them the privileges of giving their opinions, *first*, on every subject of deliberation. The ancient Britons allowed the female sex the same right: but in modern Britain women are scarcely allowed to express any opinions at all!²

Women's political power like that lived by Nanye'hi and advocated by Abigail Adams, Mercy Otis Warren, and Mary Robinson was not achieved during the revolutions of the late eighteenth century. (Suffrage was not achieved until 1917 in Great Britain and 1920 in America. For indigenous women, the moment of suffrage is difficult to pinpoint. Some began voting in national and state elections as early as 1920, others were not enfranchised until the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924, and still others did not realize suffrage until the Civil Rights Era, as was also the case for African-American women.) But the discourse of the revolutionary age inspired women to challenge the tyranny of sex, to discuss passionately the urgent necessity of change in the lives of women, and to devise new ways to live the promises of revolution. Transatlantic Feminisms in the Age of Revolutions brings together the voices and writings of seventeenth-and eighteenth-century women around the North Atlantic. In so doing, we seek to tune into a lost historic conversation among English-speaking women, to gain a sense of the many origins of feminist thought, and to create a new history of feminism that abandons national frameworks and instead tracks the revolutionary dreams and words of women as those words traveled around the Atlantic world.

TRANSATLANTICISM, FEMINISM, REVOLUTION: DEFINITIONS

For many, many years, it has been customary to think about literature and culture within national frameworks. Eighteenth-century British literature encompasses a field of its own, while literature written during the same century in English by British-American authors has been treated as an entirely separate field. Scholars who specialize in eighteenth-century British and American literatures have begun only recently to develop a robust conversation comparing these literary cultures, their deep connections, and their telling differences. This new approach to literary study is often called *transatlanticism*: the study of the transnational and intercultural

² See p. 325, note 4.

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networks of literary and cultural movement around the Atlantic world, including Europe, Africa, and the Americas. Scholars of the African diaspora—the network of African and African-descended peoples displaced across Europe and the Americas—have led the transatlanticist movement by encouraging us to think about culture as taking shape along *routes* of movement and exchange rather than as having exclusive *roots* in one homeland. Consequently, transatlantic studies of literature tend to focus on how ideas and words travel, freely and unfreely, in print and in the minds and mouths of people set loose by history, across oceans, through seaports, cities, and across frontiers.

As feminist scholars of eighteenth-century English and American literature, we want to know how transatlantic movements of peoples impacted women's lives, ideas, imaginations, hopes, and fears. In this book, we collect texts, some not published since the eighteenth century, that bear witness to the vibrant English-language discussion of women's status that circulated around the North Atlantic world between Africa, Europe, the Caribbean, and North America. Our focus is on writing by women that appeared in print, but we made a few exceptions where we felt another kind of text (by a man, circulated in manuscript, first published in a language other than English) was too integral a part of this discussion to be left out. Ever since the English-born colonial American poet Anne Bradstreet published her first book of poems The Tenth Muse Lately Sprung up in America in London in 1650, books written by Anglophone or English-speaking women have been traveling the North Atlantic. We imagine that the same ships that transported books of poetry by learned and elite women like Bradstreet may have also carried the words of other women—maybe a shipment of religious pamphlets by radical Quaker women like Margaret Fell, or wampum belts and other indigenous forms of nonalphabetic writing created by Native American women and returned to England as souvenirs. If we acknowledge that the cultural circuits of English-language transatlanticism had their foundations in the violent and destructive workings of empire, we must also imagine that the ships that carried poems trafficked unfree, indentured, and enslaved women from Europe and Africa, and in their minds the songs and stories of their original peoples.

We want to know how transatlantic movements and encounters with women from other countries and continents affected the way women thought about themselves in a time of political revolution. The word *feminism*, which we define as consciousness of and opposition to sex- and gender-related oppression, originated in England in the late nineteenth century. Yet we find distinctly *feminist* ideas and writings circulating within Europe as early as the fifteenth century and around the Atlantic world from the sixteenth century onward. The famous *querelle des femmes*—fierce literary

debates over the status and character of women—raged among European elites in France, England, and elsewhere from the fifteenth through the eighteenth century. From the sixteenth century, radical elements of the Protestant Reformation, like the Moravians of Germany and the England-based Society of Friends (Quakers), proclaimed the spiritual equality of men and women, and they brought this message to America. Meanwhile, the antifeminism of the Catholic Counter-Reformation deeply impacted independent and educated women who had made their homes within the all-female spaces of the convents, especially brilliant women writers like Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz of seventeenth-century Mexico, who ceased to publish under pressure from her Catholic superiors. Feminism, we find, was alive and well long before there was a name for it.

In fact, when we assemble seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English-language writings about the status of women, most by women but a few key texts by men, we get an exciting new view of the early history of feminism in the Englishspeaking North Atlantic world. We see that modern feminist literature and thought emerged from many seventeenth-century sources—from elite women defending their ancient right to education, from radical religious women insisting on their unmediated access to divine truth, and from laboring class white women and women of color who told the hard truths of their lives. We also see that in the early eighteenth century, with the rise of the middle class, expanded literacy, and a growing print culture, Anglophone feminism consolidated around the following three major issues: the nature and source of sexual difference, the institutionalized injustice of heterosexual marriage, and women's access to education. Finally, in the late eighteenth century, modern feminism was galvanized by the ideals and the rhetoric of the American, French, and Haitian revolutions both adopting them and applying them to the status of women. While it is true that none of these women would have used the word feminist to describe themselves, we call them *feminists* because we recognize in their writings the history that has shaped our twenty-first-century feminist way of seeing and understanding the world.

The third major term in our title that needs definition is the "Age of Revolutions." In 1959, historian R. R. Palmer described the political upheavals of the late eighteenth century in France, America, Haiti, and elsewhere as an "Age of Democratic Revolution." Palmer observed that during this era throughout the Atlantic world societies were rejecting government by monarchy in favor of democratic republics. More recently, Marxist historian Eric Hobsbawm has expanded our concept of the late eighteenth century as an "Age of Revolution" to account not only for the establishment of democratic governments but also the