EVIDENCES OF THE IDEA OF THE NATURE OF WOMAN IN AMERICAN WRITINGS PRIOR TO 1900

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.

MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE

Elizabeth Pollock

1949

This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

presented by

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

_____ degree in _____

Date _____

EVIDENCES OF THE IDEA OF THE NATURE OF WOMAN IN AMERICAN WRITINGS PRIOR TO 1900

Elizabeth Pollock

A THESIS

Submitted to the Graduate School of Michigan State College of Agriculture and Applied Science in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of English

1949

THESIS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to acknowledge appreciation to Dr. Anders Orbeck of Michigan State College for the patience and time he expended in working out a form for the presentation of the varied and complex citations offered as a substantiation of my assumption. I am indebted as well to Dr. Claude Newlin who gave me unstintingly of his time and guidance.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EVIDENCES OF THE IDEA OF THE NATURE OF WOMAN IN AMERICAN WRITINGS PRIOR TO 1900

> There are two ways of reading history, forwards and backwards. In the history of thought, we require both methods.
> Alfred North Whitehead
> Science and the Modern World

I

INTRODUCTION

There probably exists no verifiable fact as to the history and condition of woman, in any society and in any century, which has not been investigated and documented. Surveys of woman's progress, as the deprived half of the human race, have occupied the historian, the educator, the scientist, the jurist, the priest, the critic, and the poet. The struggle of the sex for recognition of its intellectual and political equality has been an immemorial theme of polemical indictment or apology. But, like the Historian "loaden with old mouse-eaten records," whom Sidney castigates in the Apology, the scholar investigating woman's anomalous role, also has been "so tied, not to what should be but to what is, to the particular truth of things and not to the general reason of things that his example draweth no necessary consequence, and therefore a less fruitful doctrine."[1]

Pedantic concern for no more than the "particular truth" of objective data has brought ~~little understanding of the facts collected~~ no meaningful order from the accumulation of facts about woman. The disparate incident and the irrelevant statement can

---

1. Philip Sidney, The Defense of Poesy...An Apology for Poetry, 15.

become integrant with the pattern of ~~social~~ western Christian development only when we will have discovered the reasons why a distinction in human prerogatives was based entirely on differences in sex.

In this paper, I make no attempt so ambitious. I suggest, however, as a first step toward achieving a "fruitful doctrine," consideration of intellectual criteria, hitherto ignored, as an approach to the wealth of material now available. ~~Insofar as I have been able to discover~~ I am aware of, no attempt ~~has been made~~ to define those conceptual determinatives by which society generated, ~~as well as~~ and continued to nourished ~~its~~ classic attitudes on distinctions of sex. Learned allusions to patristic authority, while ~~in this area~~, have become a cliché of the ~~treatise on~~ inquiry into the status of woman; ~~but I have found~~ there has been no ~~search for the ideological genesis and the history of the idea~~ investigation of the genesis of the idea of a universe divided strictly according to attributes and privileges of sex. My examination of material from periods ante-dating that to which this study is restricted arouses a suspicion that scholarship, both here and in Europe, has been making tracks around, instead of breaking through, the periphery of what may be one of the most venerable, as well as on of the most indestructible, of concepts: the idea of the nature of woman.

Pedantry has affected a barrier to immediate recognition of this perennial notion, by an academic emphasis on rhetorical values at the expense of import in the study of literature. Pedagogical temerity, lest meaning be "read into" a passage, almost has made verboten the identification of currently familiar dogma with its archetype, safely and deceptively alien in an archaic idiom. We observe this semantic alchemy at work, particularly in expressions on woman and her status,

after the fifteenth century in England. What we seem not to have recognized is that a dramatic transformation in the style of the recorded material, not a change in a basic concept, persuaded us that the modern western Christian idea of woman was radically different from the earlier and more primitive one. This is demonstrated vividly by a comparison of one of Caxton's earlier translations with a pious document of the next century.

In 1484 Caxton translated The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry from the original composed in 1371 by a French father for the guidance of his daughters. The fact that an even earlier English translation[2] was made may be taken as evidence that the literate British sympathetically accepted the attitude on feminine prerogative and decorum expressed in The Book. In one of the less earthy narratives, which the solicitous Knight offered as an example of justifiable discipline for a wife prone to garrulity, the offended husband

> ". . . smote her with his fiste downe to the erthe; and thanne with hys fote he stroke her in the uisage and brake her nose, and all her lyff after she had her nose croked, the whiche shent and dysfigured her uisage after . . . And this she had for her euelle and gret language, that she was wont to saie to her husbonde. And therefore the wiff aught to suffre and lete the husbonde haue the wordes, and to be her maister, for that is her worshippe . . ." [3]

From the blunt forthrightness with which Caxton rendered this little

---

2. In MS. Harl. No. 1764 of the Harleian collection in the British Museum (Thomas Wright, Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry, xiv.)

3. The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry, ed. by Thomas Wright, xxx, 25.

lesson in marital propriety, we easily may surmise precisely the value placed on feminine nature and its rights at that time. There is nothing ambiguous, either in the incident or in the manner of its relation; very likely because a fifteenth century Englishman recognized precisely, and unapologetically, the inherent disabilities of the feminine constitution.

It is difficult, from the perspective of our time, to recognize that so unabashedly brutal an incident was validated by a premise identical with that by which Richard Hooker, a century later, validated a mellifluent commentary upon woman's secular condition:

> ". . . woman therefore was even in her first estate framed by Nature, not only after in time, but inferior in excellency also unto man . . . As for the delivering up of the woman either by her father or by some other . . . the very imbecility of their nature and sex doth bind them; namely, to be always directed, guided, and ordered by others . . ." [4]

We have recent evidence that Hooker's rationale was not unique in his time, 1593. In a study of theological commentaries on Genesis issued between 1527 and 1633, Dr. Arnold Williams summarizes authoritative interpretations of Biblical lore on woman:

> . . . all believed that both in the state of innocence and after the fall woman is subjected to man . . . This subjection was not, however, harsh or onerous in the state of innocence, as it became after the fall . . . Woman saw the reasonableness of her position and obeyed man because his commands were right and honorable. [5]

An important point should be made here, before I offer further

---

4. Richard Hooker, "The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity," Works, II, 62-63.

5. Arnold Williams, The Common Expositor, 87.

examples which appear as aspects of ideological change, but which were no more than alterations in terminology. Intentionally I have disregarded what may seem to indicate an ecclesiastical clue to the origin of the concept I am examining. My reasons for rejecting traditional reliance upon theological doctrine, as the primary and sole source for the prejudicial attitude toward woman, are too complex to be presented in a study as limited as this. Sound evidence can be marshalled that makes highly questionable a too facile dependence upon this overworked scholarly tradition. I am not, however, minimizing the influence of theological authority in enhancing and perpetuating the conceptual expression of woman's secular role in western society, as will be shown by my later arguments. In fact the persistence of the derogatory idea of the nature of woman is demonstrated most sharply in churchly documents.

A particularly dramatic example of the change in rhetorical style and, most noticeably, in the very vocabulary of didacticism, occurred in a sermon delivered by Jeremy Taylor about 1650. In a long and gentle analysis of the marriage bond, Taylor designated the union as one "instituted in paradise." He earnestly assurred the "good woman" that the distinctive elements of her sex existed "only in her body." Souls belonged to God, were sexless, and devoid of the worldly factors of rank in His eyes. In order, however, to obtain a modicum of harmony in wedlock, a sensible woman should resign herself to the fact that her physical person was under the dispensation of her spouse. Taylor was at his most persuasive in assuring his listeners that, while the husband, like the "governor of a town,"

had the power to abuse his authority, a Godly man assuredly would consider himself without the "right to do so."

> A husband's power over his wife is paternal and friendly, not magesterial and despotic . . . founded in the understanding, not in the will or force . . . [6]

Not only the language, but the tone had undergone radical change, since Caxton's naively crude presentation of marriage propriety two centuries earlier. Intact, however, remained the idea of the nature of woman, in its secular dependence upon masculine dominance. To evaluate fully the connotative legerdermain Taylor wrought by his use of power and right, in this text, would necessitate an exhaustive appraisal of the accepted meanings of the terms in seventeenth century English usage and of Taylor's employment of them in other sermons. For my immediate purpose it is sufficient to recognize that Taylor's appeal to woman's "reasonableness," in making the best of worldly subordination, increasingly characterized the more lofty Christian polemics on the theme. It became, as well, the rationale from which was projected a more astringent attitude on the status of the sex. This view was expressed by George Savile, Marquess of Halifax, in an often-quoted letter of counsel, addressed to his young daughter in 1688.

> You must first lay it down for a Foundation in general, that there is an Inequality in the Sexes, and that for the better Economy of the World, the Men, who are to be the Lawgivers had

---

6. Jeremy Taylor, "The Marriage Ring; or, The Mysteriousness and Duties of Marriage," in A Course of Sermons for all The Sundays in the Year, 219.

> the larger share of Reason bestow'd upon them; by which means your sex is the better prepared for the Compliance that is necessary for the better performance of those Duties which seem to be most properly assigned to it . . . [7]

The premise of discriminatory sexual prerogatives is without disguise here; actually, no less crude than that which motivated Caxton's unapologetic account of a husband, whose "larger share of Reason," justified his maltreating an annoyingly garrulous mate.

The seventeenth century is particularly rich in material demonstrating the prevalent notion of female nature. Much of it may be found in advice on feminine behavior guaranteed to establish a successful marriage. Perhaps, the most well-known of such prescriptions was--and still is--Sir Thomas Overbury's didactic poem which, in 1613, bore the title A Wife. After the death of the author, it appeared as A Wife Now the Widdow of Sir Thomas Overbury and so pleased contemporary readers that it had earned a sixteenth impression by 1638.

Sir Thomas calmly enunciated the exact ingredients desired in feminine nature, that would assure masculine serenity and comfort:

> A passiue understanding to conceiue,
> And Judgement to discerne, I wish to find,
> Beyond that, all as hazardous I leaue,
> Learning and pregnant wit in Woman-kind
> What it findes malleable maketh fraile,
> And doth not adde more ballaste, but more saile.
> Bookes are a part of man's prerogatiue . . . [8]

---

7. George Savile, ..Marquess of Halifax, "The Lady's New-Year's Gift: or, Advice to A Daughter," in Complete Works, 8.

8. Sir Thomas Overbury, The Overburian Characters, to which is added A Wife, 482.

No advice column in a modern journal is more explicit in defining the psychological conditions of conjugal harmony, than were seventeenth century writers who sought the patronage of eager spinsters. In The Bride, Samuel Rowland wasted little rhyme on epithalamium abstractions, but promptly got down to pragmatic counsel that would convince the new wife that ". . . domestique cares of private business& for the house within" were her sole reason for married existence. "Leauing her husband vnto his affaires" would prove the better part of wisdom. Rowland's argument for this sensible allocation of interests, according to differences of sex, he proved by describing discontented women who hankered after advantages

> Beyond their element, when they should looke
> To what is done in Kitchin by the Cooke . . . 9

By 1739, the women who, on the whole, appear to have accepted this masculine complacency without resentment, began to find defenders in their own ranks. In that year there appeared a brochure, signed Sophia, bearing the title Woman Not Inferior to Man. Sophia's ardent claims for woman's mental and spiritual equality roused to rebuttal a certain "Gentleman," who addressed to her his Man Superior to Woman: or, A Vindication of Man's Natural Right of Sovereign Authority over the Woman . . . The "Gentleman" admitted that some consideration was due the sex because of its "Part . . . in the Propagation of human Nature," much "as a Field does on Account of the Vegetables it produces . . ." This phenomenon, however, was no reason

---

9. Samuel Rowland, The Bride, D 6.

> "why they are to be considered on a Level with the Men they bring forth, any more than the Mould in a Garden is to be equally valued with the Fruits it produces . . ." 10

As final proof of the fallaciousness of Sophia's claims for "the Natural Right of the Fair Sex to a perfect Equality of Power, Dignity & Esteem, with the Men," the Gentleman resorted to the same indictment which Richard Hooker had employed so tellingly almost a century and a half earlier:

> Let Women then give up their Claim to an Equality with the Men, and be content with the Humble Station which Heaven has alloted them . . . And since neither their Capacity of Head nor their Dispositions of Heart can lift them to emulate us, let them apply their little Talents at least to imitate us . . . Let them remember that Man holds his Superiority over them by a Charter from Nature in his very Production . . . 11

In the presumptiveness of the phrase Charter from Nature lies the crux of my argument that, up to the twentieth century, attitudes on woman and her status recorded in the English language were modified by current influences only in the superficialities of rhetorical style, but were conditioned ideologically by predeterminant ideas as to the nature of the sex.

Reduced to its most elementary factors, my assumption has been developed in some such manner as the following:

1. Written records postulate a dichotomy in human rights, based solely on differences in sex.

---

10. Man Superior to Woman, 17.

11. Ibid., 73.

2. The perpetuation of this dichotomy necessitated an impregnable conviction that attributes of sex were of more than biological character.

3. These attributes were believed to generate, within the soul and the intellect of the individual, qualitative tendencies.

4. So benignly rationed by Providence were these qualitative tendencies that they sharply distinguished the nature of woman from that of man.

5. This precise distinction was indicated by the inherent incapacities of woman's nature for participation with man, as his equal, in any social, intellectual, and/or political activities, except those immediately domestic.

With this as a conceptual gauge, I have endeavored to locate expressions on woman in American writing, prior to 1900, which were extensions of the classic attitude on the sex. The difficulty has not been one of scarcity, but the need, in a study such as this, to pare down to a minimum the available examples. In the American area John Winthrop's Journal appears to have been mined exhaustively by scholars bent on every other inquiry except that relevant to my theme. While considerable attention has been devoted to the theological and political implications of the Anne Hutchinson allusions in the Journal, I have encountered no estimate of the extent to which the Calvinist conception of woman's nature might have weighed on the scales of Puritan justice. As it would involve a disproportionate measure of my study to analyze the effects of this attitude on critical decisions reached in the Hutchinson debacle, I confine myself to Winthrop's entry of September, 1637, in which he described the questions "debated and resolved" by the assembly:

> "That though women might meet (some few together) to pray and edify one another; yet such a set assembly . . . where sixty or more did meet every week, and one woman (in a prophetical way, by resolving questions of doctrine, and expounding scripture) took upon her the whole exercise, was agreed to be disorderly, and without rule." 12

Another, more often quoted, illustration of the Calvinist idea of the ordained limitations of feminine nature was Winthrop's comment, in 1645, on the melancholy state into which intellectual pursuits had cast the wife of the governor of Hartford:

> ". . . a godly young woman, and of special parts, . . . who was fallen into a sad infirmity, the loss of her understanding and reason, which had been growing upon her divers years, by occasion of her giving herself wholly to reading and writing, and had written many books. Her husband . . . was loath to grieve her; but he saw his error, when it was too late. For if she had attended her household affairs, and such things as belong to women, and not gone out of her way and calling to meddle in such things as are proper for men, whose minds are stronger, etc., she had kept her wits, and might have improved them usefully and honorably in the place God had set her." 13

Poignant recognition of this setting apart of the best of life, as "proper for men," may be found in the poetry of Anne Bradstreet. Sensitive, aware, she was unable to stifle an urgent creativeness. Despite burdensome obligations as a governor's wife in a pioneer society, the care of eight children, and her own ill health, she kept a journal of verse and metaphysical thoughts.

Her poems, derivative for the most part and acknowledgedly modeled after duBartas, occasionally achieved genuine lyricism, movingly

---

12. John Winthrop, Journal, I, 234.

13. Ibid., II, 225.

anticipatory of the more perceptive of the later deistic poets. Shyly, but determinedly, Anne Bradstreet questioned Calvinist derogation of womanly ability:

> "I am obnoxious to each carping tongue
> Who says my hand a needle better fits,
> A Poetes pen all scorn I should thus wrong,
> For such despite they dast on Female wits:
> If what I do prove well, it won't advance,
> They'l say it's stol'n or else it was by chance."[14]

Then, as if intimidated by her own daring, this gentle creature rendered homage where it properly was due:

> "Men have precedency and still excell,
> It is but vain unjustly to wage warre;
> Men can do best, and women know it well
> Preeminence in all and each is yours;
> Yet grant some small acknowledgement of ours."[15]

In the year that Mrs. Bradstreet's poems appeared, 1650, John Cotton issued a commentary on the privilege of singing the gospel during church service.[16] My concern is not with the reluctance with which Cotton finally admitted that even women might join in song to praise the Lord. It is with the title which he placed at the head of the section devoted to a discussion of woman's churchly privileges: "Concerning the Singers: Whether Women, Pagans,and Profane and Carnal Persons."

This caption provokes me to a digression I believe profoundly relevant to the ultimate implications of my study. To what extent

---

14. Anne Bradstreet, "The Tenth Muse," Works, 101.

15. Ibid., 102.

16. John Cotton, "Singing of Psalms a Gospel-Ordinance," in A Library of American Literature, I, 254-270.

were the ideas in such expressions, hitherto dismissed as fugitive examples of Calvinistic piet~~ism~~y, perpetuated later in the dialectic of an evolving constitutionalism? While I have no final answer to this question, I offer three remarkably suggestive counterparts of this theological attitude in the later political philosophy of the nation.

At the risk of being over-explicit, I must indicate that the examples I give seem to demonstrate that what, in the seventeenth century, appeared as the ecclesiastical segregation of a group (distinctive only in its physiology) within a minority otherwise limited to the morally "untouchable," reappeared in the next century as civil discrimination by government. The identification of woman with pariahs, social as well as religious, did not cease with the weakening of the Puritan oligarchy. What early had functioned as theocratic imposition later became a political rationale.

With ~~an irony as unabashed as~~ a smugness as unintentionally ironic as that of John Cotton, John Adams in 1776, proscribed franchise for children, propertyless males--and women. Thomas Jefferson, although opposed to Adams on basic principles of human rights, found it consistent, in 1816, to consign to a political limbo, designed for children and slaves, the women citizens. As late as 1867, militant feminists, having worked selflessly for the anti-slavery cause, violently accused their one-time allies (who would have guaranteed franchise to the Negro male ahead of the women) of placing their sex beyond the suffrage pale "with lunatics, idiots and criminals."

Had there occurred, after more than two centuries, no modification

in this prejudicial attitude, other than the exchange of an ostracism shared with the "pagans, profane and carnal persons," for one reserved for malefactors and the feeble-minded, woman, in nineteenth century America, might have concluded, as had Alice in Looking Glass Land, that it had taken all the running she could do "to keep in the same place." But, unavoidably, ideological by-products of the classic attitude toward sex had been developing in the young nation; trends, while disparate, so cumulative in force that, ultimately, they were fused into the militancy of organized suffragism.

Examination of the causes, primarily economic and sociological, for these modifications is not within my province. I would suggest, however, that, despite the vast amount of observation and documentation that has taken place in this area, a serious need exists to determine to what degree these changes were accelerated or retarded by the conflict between current social pressures and fixed historic attitudes. One source for such a study is Alexander Hamilton's "Report on Manufactures," that prescient economic blueprint for a new world.

Pertinent to my theme is the section of it headed "As to the additional employment of classes of the community not originally engaged in the particular business."[17] When Hamilton, in 1791, presented his recommendations, he was too concerned with the national crisis to mitigate, by the usual sophistical hedging, an entirely objective evaluation of the female sex as a potential labor commodity in an expanded

---

17. Alexander Hamilton, "Manufactures," Works, III, 294-420.

industrial market. In offering a plan which would insure "not only the wealth but the independence and security" of the infant nation, Hamilton argued for drafting into the service of the economy those

> . . . who would otherwise be idle, and in many cases a burden on the community, either from the bias of temper, habit, infirmity of body, or some other cause, indisposing or disqualifying them for the toils of the country. It is worthy of particular remark that, in general, women and children are rendered more useful, and the latter more early useful, by manufacturing establishments, than they would otherwise be. 18

By historical irony, this evaluation of the sex--categorized again with the child and the delinquent!-- by the lowest common denominator of economic worth was to place within its reach the key to eventual exemption. In woman's assumption of a secular entity, however niggardly, until then denied by the polity of church and of state, she acquired a value which, in the beginning and on the lowest plane, was divorced from the limitations traditionally credited to her "nature." Notable in this period were the insidious contradictions in the thinking of a people that could moralize, as will be shown, upon the spiritual preeminence of a sex and, at the same time, calculate upon its commercial exploitability. Analagous in all particulars, and for that reason an invidious comparison to the anti-feminist, was the rationale of the slavocracy during the same era.

Further modifications of the standard idea of the inherent nature of woman, as fortuitous as that engendered by industrialization,

---

18. Ibid., III, 314.

resulted from a social perversion of ecclesiastical pragmatism. The church's mistake was in permitting such palliatives as Jeremy Taylor's assertion that "a good woman is in her soul the same that a man is. . ." This was a noble and liberal expression of theological perception. But, in conjunction with the admonition that woman sensibly ignore her inescapable mental, physical, and civil subordination to man, this fine sentiment created, by the end of the eighteenth century, an anachronistic formula.

The rapid secularization of man's ethics, particularly in American pioneer society, magnified intolerably the contradiction between doctrinal admission of woman's spiritual parity with man and pontifical insistence upon her total worldly subordination to him. Temporal extension of the theological recognition of woman's supernal properties was an enlargement of her intellectual horizons. This but served to widen the hiatus between oppressively unrealistic dogma and the immediacies of an expanding universe. The solution of the problem was achieved, as before, by a semantic juggling which was intended to preserve intact the effectiveness of the classic idea of woman's inherent inferiority. By a hocus-pocus, that made a farce of didactic counsel for women during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, both in America and in England, proof of the sex's secular disqualifications, which once had been the measure of its impiety, imbecility and frailty, remained proof of its secular disqualifications, by the measure of its saintliness, apperception and fragility.

The less lunatic examples of this irrationality occur in the correspondence of such estimable statesmen as Benjamin Franklin and

John Adams. Franklin's attitude toward woman, other than the romantic, commonly is accepted as that delineated in his "salad days," by the item in the "Do Good" papers, 1772, wherein he generously found ". . . it a very difficult matter to reprove women separate from men . . ." By 1758, time had conspired to mitigate Franklin's generosity. In a letter to his Debby, his "Dear Child," Franklin advised her that it would be the better part of feminine prudence to refrain from political interests, for if

> ". . . your sex can keep cool, you may be a means of cooling ours the sooner, and restoring more speedily that social harmony among fellow-citizens, that is so desirable after long and bitter dissensions." 19

John Adams, in 1778, two years after his absolute rejection of women as responsible, enfranchised citizenry, could write in his diary, with the utter humorlessness of the righteous-minded,

> "From all that I had read of history and government, of human life and manners, I had drawn this conclusion, that the mannersof women were the most infallible barometer to ascertain the degree of morality and virtue in a nation. . . The manners of women are the surest criterion by which to determine whether a republican government is practicable in a nation or not . . ." 20

The most hysterical expression of the idea of the nature of woman--as a combination of inherently superior morality and disabling infantilism in worldly matters--came, oddly enough, from the agitators

---

19. Benjamin Franklin, The Autobiography & Selections from His Writings, 204-205.

20. John Adams, Works, III, 171.

for reform in woman's educational opportunities. There probably is no more ironic proof of the dichotomy wrought by a predeterminant concept, between the practice of and the idea of a theory, than was exposed by the activities and in the attitudes of two pioneers in women's education, Catherine E. Beecher and Mary Lyon.

Undaunted by every obstacle, Catherine E. Beecher literally roused a nation to supply women with institutions for advanced study. She, as valiantly, leagued herself with orthodox theology against the earliest feminist efforts. In an impassioned essay in 1837 she denied the right of the most devout woman to appear publicly in behalf of the slave:

> It is Christianity that has given to woman her true place in society. A man may act on society by the collision of intellect, in public debate; . . . and he does not outstep the boundaries of his sphere. But all the power, and all the conquests that are lawful to woman, are those only which appeal to the kindly, generous, peaceful and benevolent principles . . . to be all accomplished in the domestic and social circle. . . [21]

Complementing this and out-reaching it in an excess of maudlin sentiment, was the prospectus composed by Mary Lyon to interest parents and sponsors in the establishment of Mt. Holyoke Female Seminary, 1835. It is difficult, in our time, to believe the passage below was not intended as a burlesque on the prevalent concept of "womanly nature" and its obligations.

---

21. Catherine E. Beecher, An Essay on Slavery and Abolition with reference to the Duty of American Females, 100-101. This pamphlet was addressed specifically to Angelina Grimké, the young Southern woman who first brought into the abolition movement the critical question of the human right to plead for the slave, regardless of the sex of the individual making the appeal.

Inasmuch as all we know of Mary Lyon's achievements in the interests of woman's moral and intellectual advancement bears witness to her selflessness and her piety, we must accept this remarkable statement as soberly as it was intended:

> "All her [the prospective woman student's] duties, of whatever kind, are in an important sense social and domestic, They are retired and private not public, like those of the other sex. Whatever she does beyond her own family should be but another application and illustration of social and domestic excellence. She may occupy the place of an important teacher, but her most vigorous labors should be modest and unobtrusive. She may go on a foreign mission, but she will there find a retired spot, where, away from the public gaze, she may wear out or lay down a valuable life . . . she may seek in various ways to increase the spirit of benevolence and the zeal for the cause of missions; and she may labor for the salvation of souls; but her work is to be done by the whisper of her still and gentle voice, by the silent step of her unwearied feet . . ."[22]

Lest it appear that women were the principal transgressors in this distortion, I quote from the arguments of two of the more effective molders of public opinion in the nineteenth century, Daniel Webster and Horace Bushnell. Webster in 1844 had occasion to address a group of southern ladies who had been his hostesses on a campaign tour. To console the audience for its civil excommunication the noted orator glibly assured them that

> The rough contests of the political world are not suited to the dignity and the delicacy of your sex . . . [23]

---

22. Mary Lyon, "Mount Holyoke Female Seminary Prospectus, 1835," in Pioneers of Women's Education in the United States, 290.

23. Daniel Webster, Works, II, 105.

The Reverend Mr. Busnnell was so aroused by the mounting feminist aggressiveness of 1869 that he published a little volume of remonstrance, in which he endeavored to persuade militant ladies that it was

> . . . as natural to women to maintain . . . beautiful allegiance to the masterhood and governing sway-force of men, both in the family and the state, . . . The active, campaigning work of political life is certainly in quite too high a key for the delicate organization . . . of women. 24

As may be seen in the main bibliographic citations that follow, the nineteenth century was rife with this sophistry. That the church was more than compliant in such ideological propaganda is evident from its response to the incipient feminist stirrings early in the century. At the time, 1837, that Catherine E. Beecher was fulminating against the unChristian and unwomanly insistence of the Misses Grimké upon their right to speak publicly in behalf of the slave, the General Association of the Congregational Churches of Massachusetts issued a "Pastoral Letter," condemning the sisters. Not only were churches directed to deny their pulpits to the Grimkés, but there was presented a rationale upon which was based the rejection of feminine evangelism, whether in the service of God or for man's salvation:

> "When the mild, dependent, softening influence of woman upon the sternness of man's opinions is fully exercised, society feels the effects of it in a thousand forms. The power of woman is her dependence, flowing from the

---

24. Horace Bushnell, The Reform Against Nature, 138.

> consciousness of that weakness which God had given her for her protections, and which keeps her in those departments of life that form the character of individuals . . ." 25

It must be obvious, from even this fragment of ecclesiastical dictum, that what we have here is the promulgation of a determinant concept. No longer was woman a secular pariah because of her inferior attributes, but because of her inherent moral superiorities combined with her blessed physical incapacity.

The preclusive factors of the classic premise, by which the sex had been outlawed from full participation in man's world were amended so that, while it was understood that

1. The attributes of sex generated positive and qualitative differences within the soul and the body of the individual.

2. A benign Providence so unmistakably had bestowed these qualifications, that the very nature and the sphere of woman were indicated by

   a) an ineffable moral superiority, which unfitted her for the sordid, worldly activities suited to the vulgar nature of the male, and

   b) a fragile physical constitution and reproductive functions, which conditioned her helplessness and her dependence upon the male's protectiveness, guidance, and dominance.

What this added up to, in practical terms of routine existence, was an incontrovertible assumption that the nature of woman, as ordained by the Deity and comprehended by man's reason, fitted her exclusively

---

25. "Pastoral Letter," quoted in History of Woman Suffrage, I, 81-82. This was the document which aroused Whittier to a scathing reply in verse also entitled "Pastoral Letter."

--as a fortunate complement to the ordained predilections of the male--for those pursuits associated with the kitchen, the nursery, the bedroom, and the parlor. Adherents to this doctrine were legion. It became the current opinion of the nature of woman, except for its vehement rejection by a little band of the "unwomanly."

In the nineteenth century little attention was given to an emerging conflict: between a beatific concept of feminine nature, on the one hand, and, on the other, its total negation by the economic imperatives affecting the lowest strata of the female population. The acceleration of mechanized industry had multiplied fabulously the possibilities for women to go outside the home as wage-earners. The masses of women, confronted with even the most meager advantages of commercial employment, were quite willing, if we may believe the records, to barter the intangibles of a spiritual preeminence for the material premiums of corporeality. It would be well worth the investigation to discover how much woman's dissatisfaction with her traditional infantilism resulted from the advance of her educational opportunities at this time and how much from an "escape" into a world in which she was challenged as an independent creature, however lowly a one.

The historian knows that militant feminism was not a spontaneous expression of current impulses in the nineteenth century. For that reason it is not understandable that the organized suffrage protest of women invariably is lumped with those other reformist trends--abolition, education, temperance, penal--which were the ideological products of the Enlightenment and the concomitant pressures exerted by the new science and the philosophies of equalitarianism

and humanitarianism. In the instance of the feminist revolt, these were but the sparks that set off long-smoldering tinder. What we facetiously term the "modern woman problem" apparently was a conceptual enigma long before it reached the written record. Francis Lee Utley, in The Crooked Rib, annotates more than four hundred satirical considerations of the perversities and the difficulties observed in female nature, as related ". . . in English and Scots Literature to the End of the Year 1568."[26] This is acknowledgedly but a partial index of extant material in this area. To ascertain when, how, and why this notion of the peculiar attributes of woman became an inviolable doctrine of western Christian thought probably would necessitate investigation in the area of oral tradition. The "problem," very likely, is as old as sex.

All attitudes on woman have not come from those who condemned her to a predestined subordination. There is evidence that the rational mind, however alone in its dissidence, always refuted the idea of woman's inherent disabilities. A quarter of a century after the appearance of Caxton's version of The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry, Henricus Cornelius Agrippa, upon accepting the chair of Hebrew at Dol, 1509, delivered an oration upon the nature of woman, as a tribute to the learned Princess Margaret of Austria. Three centuries before the most perceptive of the women in the American abolitionary movement were to rest their claims for equality on

---

26. Francis Lee Utley, The Crooked Rib, title page.

a simple statement of human rights, Agrippa blamed "this universal prevalence of tyranny over divine rights and law" as the reason that

> ". . . the liberty that was given to women is vetoed by the unjust laws of men, is made null by custom and convention, is quenched by education. From the earliest moment of her birth . . . a woman's kept at home in idleness, and as though she lacked capacity for the other field, is forbidden a notion beyond her needle and thread. Then, when she grows up, she is handed over to . . . rule of a husband . . . or shut up in the unopening prison of the monastery . . . The discharge of public function is denied her by law . . . She is shut out from all exercises of authority, all decisions . . . Such is the ruthlessness of modern legislators . . . Through their tradition . . . they have declared women, sometimes of the highest natural distinction and of the most exalted rank, to be of cheaper status than all men whatsoever . . ." 27

In England, contemporary humanist expression on the sex was tempered by a consideration as rational, although not so definitive as Agrippa's. Except for Thomas More's delineation of them in the Utopia, 1516, the problems of the sex's civil and social function was of less polemical concern to the humanist than was the challenge of her intellectual potentialities. In a survey of the attitude of the period, as hasty as it must be here, the temptation is to employ, as the final token of humanist ideas on woman, More's

---

27. William Bercher, The Nobility of Women, ed. by R. Warwick Bond, 148. The Agrippa comment is given by Mr. Bond from the Lyons edition, 1531, of De Nobilitate and Praecellentia Sexus Declamatio ad Margaretam Austriacorum and Burgundium, (II, 541.) Mr. Bond's introduction to the Bercher essay, which he claims is a translation of much of Agrippa's, is highly informative and covers the period and the genre of the material in question. The edition I saw was in the rare book collection of the University of Michigan. Mr. Utley, in The Crooked Rib, lists the Bercher item, but states that he had been unable to examine a copy.

enhancement of the role of the sex in the Utopia, as well as the esteem he demonstrated for his exceptional daughters in his life and correspondence. He has been quoted often from the letter to Gonell, instructor to his children, in which More declared that he did not ". . . see why learning in like manner may not equally agree with both sexes . . ."[28] In his home More established, for his daughters and his son, an "academy,"[29] praised by Erasmus and others of the group who enjoyed More's hospitality and marvelled at the advanced education for young women in a period of general feminine illiteracy. In the Utopia More assigned to wives and to husbands obligations, in the civil, cultural and military areas of the state, identical or equated. So impressively rational was this conception that we are inclined to ignore certain anomalous tendencies in the Utopia, which seem to reflect the secular and theological cross purposes characteristic of the Reformation itself.

For instance wives, whose Utopian privileges were in no manner less than their spouses', on holy days fulfilled the custom of

---

28. Vives and the Renascence Education of Women, 175-176. The original letter, in Latin, is in More's Correspondence, 120-123.

29. The instructors More engaged for his daughters were scholars of the highest repute; among them, Nicholas Kratzer, the renowned astronomer, and Richard Hyrde, who translated The Instruction of a Christian Woman, and who wrote a preface to Margaret Roper's translation of an Erasmus item. Of Hyrde's preface Foster Watson speaks in great praise, considering it to be the earliest Renascence document in English on woman's education (Vives and the Renascence Education of Women, 159-160.)

falling ". . . down prostrate before their husbandes fete at home . . ."[30] This type of anachronism caused astute critics, such as R. W. Chambers in his Life of More and G. G. Coulton in Medieval Panorama, to agree that in More's philosophical bent there was an emphasis "more medieval than modern . . ."[31] A similar criticism may be applied to all major humanist expressions on feminine nature. Were there time to examine the works of More's colleagues, who shared his interest in woman's intellectual progress--Erasmus, Juan Luis Vives, Richard Hyrde--it could be shown how, at the very core of their radical appreciation of woman's mental equality there functioned traditional and predeterminant ideas as to inherent physical and spiritual qualifications of her nature.

Juan Luis Vives recommended in his Instruction of a Christian Woman, 1540, the most advanced training of woman, not only in domestic skills and social graces, but in a wide range of the most abstruse classical and ecclesiastical subjects. Despite the presumption that feminine mentality had the stamina to cope with so demanding a regime, Vives found it wise to advise against women acting as teachers

> ". . . because a woman is a frail thing, and of a weak discretion. and that may lightly be deceived, which thing our first Mother Eve sheweth . . ." 32

---

30. Thomas More, Utopia, Book II, 135.

31. G. G. Coulton, Medieval Panorama, 615.

32. "The Instruction of a Christian Woman," in Vives and the Renascence Education of Women, 56.

However many were the reservations of the humanist idea of the complete nature of woman, its recognition of her intellectual potentialities served an admirable and practical purpose in the long struggle that stretched ahead of her. It brought into serious focus the immemorial problem of her destiny as one-half the human race. Increasingly English polemical writing was to be concerned with the disturbing search for a solution--which would placate the sex and leave unchanged its status. Pro and con, the arguments were to rage during the centuries; of an equal sterility on either side. Those in defense of the sex substituted adulation, extravagant claims, and accusation for solid, matter-of-fact assertions of the simple truths of nature. A few representative titles suggest the treatment of the theme: Gunaiekon: or, Nine Bookes of Various History Concerning Women, by Thomas Heywood, 1642; Asylum Veneris, or a Sanctuary for Ladies, by Daniel Tuvil, 1616; The Woman's Glorie, by Samuel Torshell, 1650; A Dialogue Concerning Women, Being a Defense of The Sex. . ., with a Preface by John Dryden, 1691; The Excellent Woman, described by her True Characters and their Opposites. . .done out of French by T. D., 1695.

Of the multitude of such effusions, none offered the objective clarity of Agrippa's analysis or the warming intellectual appreciativeness of the humanist attitude. The soundest of the English arguments for a revaluation of feminine character was Mary Astell's Serious Proposal to the Ladies for the Advancement of their true and greatest interest, 1694, and, exactly a century later, Mary Wollstonecraft's Rights of Women, 1791. The Astell piece

was one of the earliest suggestions for higher education for Englishwomen on an institutional basis. The rub in the scheme, both in Miss Astell's time and by our own critical values, was that its author could envisage so ambitious and revolutionary a program only fulfilled under conditions alarmingly similar to those of a nunnery.

The dynamic effect of the Wollstonecraft thesis, both on the continent and in America, was of greater profundity than the development of her arguments. The essay has been discussed so often that it would be a needless burden to add another appraisal.

In eighteenth century America there were projected other ideas of the nature of woman besides those of complete disparagement or of sophistical enhancement of her spiritual being. A more balanced, realistic conception was the subject of an often-quoted correspondence between Abigail Smith Adams and Mercy Otis Warren, and was the theme of the "Occasional Letter" that appeared in 1775 in an issue of the Pennsylvania Magazine, while under the editorship of Thomas Paine.

I would say, however, in the light of my limited investigation, that the first deliberate and purposive attempt made in this country to present a concept of woman's nature, as realistically perceived as that of man's, occurred in the works of Charles Brockden Brown. In the novels he wrote between 1789 and 1801, he created portraits of women of startlingly forthright character, even "masculine-minded," and of varying degrees of conscious intellectuality. I deplore, in my discussion of Brown in the bibliographic section,

a critical tendency to dismiss this writer as a journalistic hack who had been influenced overmuch by Godwin, Wolstonecraft, and Condorcet. There has been little, if any, recognition of Brown's independence of thought and his genuine, if slight, perception of psychological compulsions.

Even less familiar to our times than Brown's novels is Alcuin, an imaginative excursion into a Utopian realm designated as the "Paradise of Women." The sole purpose of this work, 1798, of which only a section is extant, was the demonstration of Brown's revolutionary idea of the inherent nature of woman. When compared with the absolute equation of woman's political, social, and even physical privileges in Alcuin, the heterodoxy of the feminine role in Sir Thomas More's Utopia pales to moderation. Much remains to be said about this unique American writer, both as to his ideas and his skills. Neither of his American editors,[33] in recent times, seems to have discovered in Brown the challenges implicit in his works.

As little known to contemporary scholars is an attitude toward woman revealed by one of America's renowned early scholars, Timothy Dwight. In the period that Brown composed Alcuin, Dwight was making a tour of New York and New England, 1795-6, on leave from the Presidency of Yale because of his health. Dwight kept a journal of his observations, which was published after his death

---

33. In 1926 Lewis Pattee edited Wieland. Ormond was edited by Ernest Marchand in 1937. Neither authority departed from traditional avenues in evaluating Brown's sources and intentions.

in 1821.

In the Travels, Dwight commented disparagingly on the "ornamental" education bestowed upon young women of the middle class in this country. He favored for them a rugged intellectual and physical course of training, equivalent to that given young men. The assumption upon which he based this recommendation for feminine acquisition of "solid sense and sound wisdom" was free of the shibboleths of traditional reasoning:

> It is . . . high time that women should be considered less as pretty, and more as rational, and immortal beings; and that so far as the circumstances of parents will permit, their minds should be early led to the attainment of solid sense and sound wisdom. 34

Dwight belabored this argument from many vantage grounds, particularly stressing his disgust with the type of romantic reading deemed suitable for female consumption. He expressed the earnest wish

> ". . . that ere long . . . women of this country, who, so far as they possess advantages, appear in no respect to be behind the other sex either in capacity of disposition to improve, may no longer be precluded from the best education by the negligence of men." 35

With the examination of the views on the nature of woman of Dwight and Charles Brockden Brown, we have balanced the attitudes expressed by such influential individuals as Benjamin Franklin and Alexander Hamilton in the period before 1800. While far from

---

34. Timothy Dwight, Travels in New England and New York, II, 475.

35. Ibid., 476.

definitive these are suggestive of native conceptual trends. Simplified, perhaps too broadly, the ideas would appear to fall into quite distinctive groupings. The most prevalent of them appeared superficially as variations of the standard prejudice against the sex. The distinctions were not at all in the fundamental premise, but merely those of conditional accomodations to contemporary influences. Inviolate remained the idea that specific

> attributes, concomitant with the sexual nature of woman and peculiarly conducive to her subordination, were manifested by
>
> a) her inherent mental, moral, and physical disabilities, or by
>
> b) her inherent moral supremacy and her mental and physical disabilities, or by
>
> c) her inherent mental and moral equality and her physical disabilities.

The end result in life for woman, by any of these assumptions, left her precisely where she always had been--a social and political excommunicant.

The other concepts of the period, were those typified by the attitude of Charles Brockden Brown, unique and held only by the most advanced, and that of Alexander Hamilton, entirely a calculative product of a pragmatic philosophy.

By the former, the idea of woman's nature was such that her privileges were equated exactly with man's, particularly on the moral and intellectual plane; by the latter, the idea of woman's nature was equated with man's solely by the lowest common denominator of economic opportunism, without the slightest regard for her mental and spiritual endowments. These last concepts, so ethically

disparate at the end of the eighteenth century, would be fused, by the historical compulsions of the nineteenth, into an irrefutable dialectic of militant feminism. Very tangible factors in the country's nationalist expansion contributed to this unforseen development. Hamilton's perspicacity, in advising the employment of women in the stabilization of an industrial economy was borne out startlingly by 1845, when the female wage-earners in American textile industries exceeded the males by almost twenty thousand![36] One critic thus summarizes the long-range effects of this sociological phenomenon:

> "The crust of prejudice and customs, which rested upon woman's economic inferiority, was being penetrated by a new force--economic independence--which at first gave no inkling that it was friendly to the advancement of woman's welfare." 37

The machinations of the concept of woman's inherent inferiority, by which she was rewarded for her factory work at a lower rate of pay than that given man for the same tasks, also contributed toward the hastening of her self-conscious maturity. In 1834, a group of New England mill workers openly banded together to protest the threatened lowering of their pay. In a document they issued, they bluntly stated that

> "The price of female labor is already too low, and the amount of labor that females have to perform too great . . ." 38

---

36. Thomas Woody, A History of Women's Education in the United States, II, 9.

37. Ernest R. Groves, The American Woman, 131.

38. Quoted from the periodical The Man, March 8, 1845, in A History of Women's Education in the United States, II, 30.

In 1845, the year in which the employment of women in the factories, exceeded that of men by the thousands, the former gathered in New York City to arouse public disapproval of the wretched conditions under which they labored. In a manifesto,[39] signed by seven hundred of them, they protested their inadequate wages, and dedicated themselves to "the task of asserting their rights against unjust and mercenary employers-- The boon we ask is founded upon right, alone!" The italics are mine.

More important far, than the overt act of protest, was the rationale by which it was justified. The key to the transformation in woman's attitude toward her own worth in the secular scheme-- and the key to her final escape from the prison of an ideological degradation--was to be found in her reliance, not upon special pleading for her sex, but upon the demand for her human rights.

On planes other than the economic, indomitable feminist self-awareness developed out of the attritions of the abolition movement. The woman who, through her good fortune or through her own obduracy, had been educated during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, reached maturity in the perilous hours of the nation's moral indecision. Social disorders, long-ignored, were magnified by the brooding antagonisms of economic sectionalism. By 1830, the nation's conscience was in the grip of what Merle Curti termed an "ideology of reform."[40] The only cure for conscience

---

39. Quoted from the periodical The Workingman's Advocate, March 8, 1845, in A History of Women's Education in the United States, II,23.

40. Merle Curti, The Growth of American Thought, 373.

and for moral ills, was in the practical fulfillment of the philosophies of the Enlightenment, of Utilitarianism and of Romanticism.

Out of her piety, woman early became a crusader against slavery. The opportunity to serve the cause of a class whose social and civil status appeared vastly inferior to her own was a heady one for the sex. Not satisfied with selfless efforts in the ranks of the crusade against evil, woman discovered sound reasons for initiating reforms on her own. By the end of the century she had taken for her evangelistic province the whole range of social conduct. The ultimate program of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union gives some idea of the extremes to which the sex went in the period of its earliest moral independence. The WCTU, by the '80's, had taken on the correction or improvement of such problems as

> "Anti-Narcotics, Child Welfare, Christian Citizenship . . . Franchise, Health and Heredity, . . . Kindergarten Legislation . . . Literature . . . Medical Temperance. . . Parliamentary Usage . . . Peace and International Arbitration, Penal and Reformatory Work, the Press, Sabbath Observance . . . School Savings Banks, Sunday School . . . Work Among Colored People, Work Among Foreigners, Work Among Indians, Work Among Lumbermen . . . Work Among Railroad Employees, Work Among Soldiers and Sailors . . ." 41

Admittedly semi-farcical and transitory, these were the least consequential expressions of woman's intoxicating apprenticeship to that Great First Cause of all reforms--the anti-slavery movement. In sober fact, the abolitionary effort of the sex brough to resolution long-dormant and long-overdue urgencies for a re-evaluation

---

41. I. H. Irwin, Angels and Amazons, 210.

of its own place in the scheme of American life; for what woman suddenly apprehended in the plight of the Negro made of her own a profound and witless travesty.

How indigenously this awareness materialized, as an imponderable of the anti-slavery philosophy, may be seen in the following passage from Angelina Grimké's answer to the attack made upon her agitational work in behalf of the Negro:

> The investigation of the rights of the slaves has led me to a better understanding of my own. I have found the anti-slavery cause to be the school in which human-rights are more fully investigated. Here a great fundamental principle is uplifted and illuminated. Human beings have rights because they are moral beings; the rights of all men grow out of their moral nature; and as all men have the same moral nature, they have essentially the same rights . . . My doctrine then is that whatever is morally right for man to do, it is morally right for woman to do . . . I believe it is woman's right to have a voice in all the laws and regulations by which she is governed, whether in Church or State; and that the present arrangements of society, on these points, are a violation of human rights . . . 42

To the best of my knowledge, this simple and epochal declaration of a devout young Quakeress, in 1837, is the first consideration of the idea of the nature of woman made without reference to factors of time, place, custom, or of physiology. That the publication of this doctrine had an electrifying effect on the more aware women at the forefront of the abolition movement has been obscured for the historian of American thought by the subsequent militancy

---

42. Angelina E. Grimké, Letters to Catherine E. Beecher, 114.

of organized feminism. Around the Grimké sisters[43] there rallied the most forthright and the most intellectual of the anti-slavery crusaders: Wendell Phillips, Lucretia Mott, Theodore Weld, who became the husband of Angelina, John Greenleaf Whittier, and ~~a number~~ of others whose names have become legendary.

The crisis into which the Grimkés drew the cohorts of the most advanced liberal thought in America has never received the attention it deserves in accounts of the abolitionary era. Not only was ecclesiastical orthodoxy thrown into panic by the idea of woman's rights interpreted as human rights; but the very vanguard of the anti-slavery cause split over the question. What Angelina Grimké really had effected was a complete ~~break with~~ rejection of the evasive vocabulary of pro-feminist doctrine. ~~By~~ In the terminology of natural rights, what had been an inoperative theory became the potential tool ~~has activated into a potential tool~~ of political action, ~~as it actually was to be employed~~. Within a decade of Angelina Grimké's enunciation of her creed and after her retirement from public life, her philosophy implemented a "Declaration of Sentiments,"[44] issued in 1848 by the First Woman's Rights Convention. So closely did it follow the spirit of the Grimké Letters that it might have served as an epilogue to them. But

---

43. Associated with Angelina Grimké in all of her activities was an older sister, Sarah, equally firm in heretical notions on woman, but more reserved in character. Sarah Grimké wrote a series of articles, published under the title Letters on the Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Woman, 1838.

44. History of Woman Suffrage, ed, by E. C. Stanton, S. B. Anthony, M. J. Gage, I, 70.

ethically, as well as in the explicitness of its indictment of a masculine-designed society, the "Declaration of Sentiments" is in a more ancient tradition; like the De Nobilitate. . . Sexus Declamatio of Agrippa three centuries earlier, it stands as a monumental landmark in the history of rational thought.

II

Included in the following section are passages from early and modern English and continental works. These substantiate my assumption and/or seriously affected American attitudes. The inclusions are selective: a catholic sampling of recorded expressions from areas as varied as those of literature, politics, theology, personal correspondence, diaries, and editorials. No examination was made of early periodicals.

The passages are arranged chronologically according to the earliest date of their expression.

Before 1600

1. The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry, compiled for the Instruction of his Daughters, 1371; ed. from the MS in the British Museum by Thomas Wright, Early English Text Society, No. 33, London, 1868.

> And therfor here is a good ensaumple to amesure [sic] in this matere bothe herte and thought. Also, a woman ought not to striue with her husbonde . . . as dede onis a woman that dede ansuere her husbonde afore straungers like a rampe . . . And he, that was angri of her gouernaunce, smote her with his fiste downe to the erthe; and thanne with hys fote he stroke her with in the uisage and brake her nose, and alle her lyff after she had her nose croked . . . that she might not for shame shewe her euelle and gret langage, that she was wont to saie to her husbonde. And therfor the wiff aught to suffre and lete the husbonde haue the wordes, and to be maister, for that is her worshippe . . .
>
> -25

2. Erasmus, In Praise of Folly, 1509-10; ed. by Horace Bridges, Chicago, Pascal Covici, 1925.

> But because it seemed expedient that man, who was born for the transaction of business, would have so much wisdom as should fit and capacitate him for the discharge of his duty herein, and yet lest such a measure as is requisite for this purpose might prove too dangerous and fatal, I was advised with for an antidote, who prescribed this infallible recipe of taking a wife, a creature so harmless and silly, and yet so useful and convenient, as might nollify and make pliable the stiffness and morose humour of man . . . a sex so unalterably simple, that for any of them to thrust forward, and reach at the name wise, is but to make themselves the more remarkable fools, such as endeavour being but a swimming against the stream, nay, the turning the course of nature . . . for as it is a proverb among the Greeks, that an ape will be an ape, though clad in purple; so a woman will be a woman, i.e., a fool, whatever disguise she takes up.
>
> -27

The idea of the nature of woman held by Erasmus is important in this survey because we have evidence that the writings of this humanist thinker were included in the libraries of the early colonial Puritans (Literary Culture in Early New England 1620-1739; T.G. Wright, 1920). It might

repay scholarly effort to discover how much the change in Erasmus' attitude toward the sex, as demonstrated in In Praise of Folly and in the Colloquies, might have been related to his acquaintanceship with the training Thomas More gave his daughters and the intellectual achievements of those young women. For other expressions see under Nos. 4 & 5.

3. Sir Thomas More, Utopia, 1516; ed. by J. Churton Collins, Oxford Clarendon Press, 1936.

> Husbandrye is a scyence common to them all in-generall, both men and women, wherin they be all experte and cunnynge . . . Besides hysbandry . . . euery one of them learneth one or other seuerall and particuler science, as hys owne proper crafte . . . the women, as the weaker sorte, be put to the easere craftes. They worke wull and flaxe. The other more laborsome sciences be committed to the man.
>
> -59

> For yt ys a solempne custome there, to haue lectures daylye earlye in the morning . . . bothe men and women, goe to heare lectures . . .
>
> -61

> The wyfes bee ministers to theyr husbandes, the chyldren to theyr parents, and, to bee shorte, the younger to theyr elders.
>
> -67

> . . . so women that be wyllynge to accompanye their husbandes in times of waree be not prohybyted or stopped. Yea, they prouoke and exhorte them to yt wyth prayses.
>
> -117

> The pryestes, onles they be women (for that kynd is not excluded from pryesthode; howbeit few be chosen, and none but widdowes and old women)
>
> -132

> . . . in the holly dayes that be the laste days of the monethes and yeares, before they come to the churche, the wiffes fall downe prostrat before their husbandes feete at home . . .
>
> -135

For other expressions see under No. 6.

4. Erasmus, Colloquies, 2 vols., 1519; trans. by N. Bailey from the Latin text of P. Scriver's edition, 1643, and ed. by E. Johnson, London, Reevers & Turner, 1878.

In the dialogue "The Lying-In Woman" Eutrapelus, an older man, is

discussing the merits of the sexes with sixteen-year old Fabula, who has just borne her first child, a son:

Fa. I believe you judge, that a male is naturally more excellent and strong than a Woman.
Eu. I believe they are.
Fa. That is Mens opinion. But are Men any Thing longer-liv'd/than Women? Are they free from Distempers?
Eu. No, but in the general they are stronger.
Fa. But then they themselves are excell'd by Camels in Strength./
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Fa. How comes it about then, that when there is but one Head, it/should not be common to all the Members of Christ ? And/besides that, since God made Man in his own Image, whether/did he express this Image in the Shape of his body, or the/endowments of his Mind?
Eu. In the Endowments of his Mind.
Fa. Well, and I pray what have Men in these more excellent than we have? -I, 441-464

5. Erasmus, Colloquies, 2 vols., 1519; trans. by N. Bailey from the Latin text of P. Scriver's edition, 1643, and ed. by E. Johnson, London, Reevers & Turner, 1878.

Antronius, the priest, is calling upon Magdalia, a wife who prides herself upon her intellectuality and, who might be termed a sixteenth century "feminist."

The Abbot and the Learned Woman

Ant. . . . here's Books lying about everywhere.
Mag. What have you liv'd to this Age, and are both an Abbot and a Courtier, and never saw any books in a Lady's Apartment?
Ant. Yes, I have seen Books, but they were French; but here I see Greek and Latin ones . . . Women have nothing to do with Wisdom. Pleasure is Ladies Business.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Mag. . . . But why does this Household-Stuff displease you?
Ant. Because a Spinning-Wheel is a Woman's Weapon. Books destroy Women's Brains, who have little enough of themselves.
Mag. . . . As for myself, let me have never so little, I had rather spend them in Study, than in Prayers mumbled over without the Heart going along with them, or sitting whole nights in quaffing off Bumpers.

Ant. Bookishiness makes Folks mad . . . By my Faith,
I would not have a learned wife.

-I, 376-382

6. Sir Thomas More, Correspondence, ed. by Elizabeth F. Rogers, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1947; the letter quoted below was originally in Latin and is included in the Rogers edition; it appears in an English translation in Foster Watson, Vives and the Renascence Education of Women, 175-176.

Letter, 1521, to Gonell,
Tutor to More's Daughters

. . . neither is there any difference in harvest time, whether he was man or woman, that sowed first the corn; for both of them bear name of a reasonable creature equally, whose nature reason only doth distinguish from brute beasts, and there I do not see why learning in like manner may not equally agree with both sexes . . . I am of opinion, therefore, that a woman's wit is the more diligently by good instruction and learning mannered, to the end, the defect of nature may be redressed by industry.

-Rogers, 12-123
-Watson, 175-176

For other expressions see under No. 3.

7. Bercher, William, The Nobility of Women, 1559; with Introduction and Notes by R. Warwick Bond, London, Privately Printed for presentation to the members of the Roxburgh Club, 1904.

Nowe to go further I saye that all vertue of men and wymen concysteth in the bodye and the mynde/and yt it is well knowen that the myndes be equally . . . in bothe/so that speaking indyfferently/thear is no dyfference betwixt man and woman concernenge the mynde/ That is not so (q^{d} Iohn burghese) for Aristotle saythe that thear is little dyfference betwene wymen and beastes/and Maghom affirmethe that wymen have no sowles but duethe wth the body as other creatures voide of reason/

-113

8. Richard Hooker, Works, 2 vols., 1593; ed. by the Rev. W.S. Dobson, London, 1825.

Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity

. . . since the replenishing first of earth with blessed inhabitants . . . did depend upon conjunction of man and woman . . . So that woman being created for man's sake to

be his helper, in regard to the end before-mentioned; namely and having and bringing up of children, whereunto it was not possible they could concur, unless there were subalternation between them, which subalternation is naturally grounded upon inequality, because things equal in every respect are never willingly directed one by another: woman therefore was even in her first estate framed by Nature, not only after in time, but inferior in excellency also unto man, howebit it so due and sweet proportion, as being presented before our eyes, might be sooner perceived than defined . . . As for the delivering of woman either by her father or by some other, we must note that in ancient times all women, which had not husbands or fathers to govern them, had their tutors, without whose authority there was no act which they did warrantable; and for this cause, they were in marriage delivered unto their husbands by others. Which custom retained hath still this use, that it putteth women in mind of a duty whereunto the very imbecility of their nature and sex doth bind them; namely, to be always directed, guided, and ordered by others.

-II, 62-63

1600-1650

9. Sir Thomas Overbury, The Wife, 1613; in the Overburian Characters, ed. by W.J. Paylor, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1936.

"A passiue understanding to conceiue,
And Judgment to discerne, I wish to find,
Beyond that, all as hazardous I leaue,
Learning and pregnant wit in Woman-kind
What it findes malleable maketh fraile,
And doth not adde more ballaste, but more saile.
Bookes are a part of man's prerogatiue . . ."

-482

10. Samuel Rowlands, The Bride, reprinted for the First Time from a Copy of the Original Edition of 1617; ed. by Alfred C. Potter, Boston, 1905.

As wee are bound by law of God and nature,
Yealding true harts affection vnto men,
Ordain'd to rule and gouerne euery creature:
Why then of all on earth that liue and moue,
We should degenerate and monster proue

-B 2

To take good wayes, and so become good wiues,
Ile teach you certaine rules to leade your liues.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
The first is that she haue domestique cares,
Of priuate businesse for the house vvithin
Leauing her husband vnto his affaires,
Of things abroad that out of doores haue bin:
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Nor intermdeddling as a number will,
Of foolish gossips, such as doe neeglect,
The things which doe concern them, and too ill,
Presume in matters vnto no effect:
Beyond their element, when they should looke,
To what is done in Kitchen by the Cooke.

-D 6

11. William Wood, New-England's Prospect, 1635; select passages ed. by C.E. Stedman and E.M. Hutchinson, A Library of American Literature, Vol. I, 161-164.

To satisfy the curious eye of women readers, who otherwise might think their sex forgotten, or not worthy a record, let them peruse these few lines, wherein they may see their own happiness, if weighed in the woman's balance of these ruder Indians, who scorn the tutorings of their wives, or to admit them as their equals; tho' their qualities and industrious deservings may justly claim the preeminence, . . . their persons and features being every way correspondent, their qualifications more excellent, being more loving, pitiful, and modest, mild, provident, and laborious, than their lazy husbands. Their employments are many: building of houses . . . planting of corn . . . summer processions to get lobsters for their husbands . . . they gather flags, of which they make mats for houses . . . hemp and rushes . . . In winter they are their husbands' caterers, trudging to the clam banks . . . their porters to lug home their venison . . . sew their husbands' shoes . . . weave coats . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . an aspersion, which I have often heard men cast upon the English there, as if they should learn of the Indians to use their wives in the like manner, and to bring them to the same subjection, as to sit on the lower hand . . . I do assure you, . . . that there is no such matter; but the women find there . . . love, respect, and ease, as here in Old England . . .

-I, 162.

12. John Winthrop, Journal, 1630-1649, 2 vols.; ed. by James K. Hosmer, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908.

Winthrop recorded the questions "debated and resolved" on the Anne Hutchinson problem, which was the chief concern of the assembly at its meeting in September, 1637:

> That though women might meet (some few together) to pray and edify one another; yet such a set assembly, (as was then in practice at Boston,) where sixty or more did meet every week, and one woman (in a prophetical way, by resolving questions of doctrine, and expounding scripture) took upon her the whole exercise, was agreed to be disorderly, and without rule.
>
> -I, 234

For other expressions see under No. 15.

13. Captain John Underhill, News from America or a Late and Experimental Discovery of New-England, 1638; select passages ed. by C.E. Stedman and E.M. Hutchins, A Library of American Literature, Vol. I.

Captain Underhill describes his miraculous escape from death during an encounter with warlike Indians:

> Myself received an arrow through my coat-sleeve, a second against my helmet on the forehead; so as if God in his providence had not moved the heart of my wife to persuade me to carry it along with me (which I was unwilling to do,) I had been slain. Give me leave to observe two things hence: first, when the hour of death is not yet come, you see God useth weak means to keep his purpose unviolated; secondly, let no man despise advice and counsel of his wife, though she be a woman. It were strange to nature to think a man should be bound to fulfil the humor of a woman, what arms he should carry; but you see God will have it so, that a woman should overcome a man. What with Delilah's flattery, and with her mournful tears, they must and will have their desire, when the hand of God goes along in the matter; and this is to accomplish his own will. Therefore, let the clamor be quenched I daily hear in my ears, that New-England men usurp over their wives, and keep them in servile subjection . . . If they be so courteous to their wives, as to take their advice in warlike matters, how much more kind is the tender affectionate husband to honor his wife as the weaker vessel!
>
> -I, 175-6

14. Anne Bradstreet, "Queen Elizabeth," 1643; in Works, ed. by John H. Ellis, reprinted from the edition of 1867, New York, Peter Smith, 1932.

She hath wip'd off th' aspersion of her Sex,
That women wisdome lack to play the Rex:
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
But can you Doctors now this point dispute,
She's Argument enough to make you mute.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Now say, have women worth? or have they none?
Or had they some, but with out Queen is't gone?
Nay Masculines, you have thus taxt us long,
But she, though dead, will vindicate our wrong.
Let such as say our Sex is void of Reason,
Know 'tis a Slander now, but once was Treason.
-359-361

A note following this poem reads "This is dated 1643 in the first edition," (Works, 362). Mrs. Bradstreet rendered a quite conventional tribute to the memory of Queen Elizabeth, but a line, here and there, such as I quote above, indicates that the Puritan poetess recognized the unfairness of the universal disparagement of her sex. For other expressions see under No

15. John Winthrop, Journal, 2 vols., 1630-1649; ed. by James K. Hosmer, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908.

April 13, 1645

Mr. Hopkins, the governor of Hartford upon Connecticut, came to Boston, and brought his wife with him, (a godly young woman, and of special parts,) who was fallen into a sad infirmity, the loss of her understanding and reason, which had been growing upon her divers years, by occasion of her giving herself wholly to reading and writing, and had written many books. Her husband, being very loving and tender of her, was loath to grieve her; but he saw his error, when it was too late. For if she had attended her household affairs, and such things as belong to women, and not gone out of her way and calling to meddle in such things as are proper for men whose minds are stronger, etc., she had kept her wits, and might have improved them usefully and honorably in the place God had set her.
-II, 225

For other expressions see under No. 12.

16. Thomas Shepard, Memoir of His Own Life, 1647; select passages ed. by C.E. Stedman and E.M. Hutchins, A Library of American Literature, Vol., I.

This is the Thomas Shepard who, according to John Winthrop (Journal, I, 160) arrived in Massachussets Bay in 1635.

> The Lord hath not been wont to let me live long without some affliction or other . . . therefore, April the 2d, 1646, as he gave me another son, John, so he took away my most dear, precious, meek, and loving wife in childbed . . . She was a woman of incomparable meekness of spirit, toward myself especially, and very loving; and of great prudence to take care for and order my family affairs, being neither too lavish nor sordid in any living thing, so that I knew not what was under her hands . . .
>
> -I, 219-220

1650-1700

17. John Cotton, Singing of Psalms a Gospel-Ordinance, 1650; select passages ed. by C.E. Stedman and E.M. Hutchins, A Library of American Literature, Vol., I.

From that section of the Cotton commentary entitled "Concerning the Singers: Whether Women, Pagans, And Profane and Carnal Persons:"

> The second scruple about Singers is 'Whether women may sing as well as men . . .
> It is apparent by the scope and context of . . . Scriptures that a woman is not permitted to speak in the Church in two cases: 1. By way of teaching, whether in expounding or applying Scripture. For this the Apostle accounteth an act of authority which is unlawful for a woman to usurp over the man. II . . . And besides the woman is more subject to error than a man . . . and therefore might soon prove a seducer if she become a teacher.
> 2. It is not permitted to a woman to speak in the Church by way of propounding questions . . . but rather it is required she should ask her husband at home . . . Nevertheless in two other cases, it is clear a woman is allowed to speak in the Church: 1. In a way of subjection when she is to give account of her offence. 2. In way of singing forth the praise of the Lord together with the rest of the Congregation . . .
>
> -I, 266.

18. Jeremy Taylor, A Course of Sermons for All the Sundays in the Year, 1651; revised and corrected by the Reverend Charles P. Eden, London, Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmas, London, 1850.

From The Marriage Ring; or, The Mysteriousness and Duties of Marriage:

> Marriage was ordained by God, instituted in Paradise, was the relief of a natural necessity and the first blessing from the Lord; He gave to man not a friend, but a wife, that is, a friend and a wife too; for a good woman is in her soul and the same that a man is, and she is a woman only in her body; that she may have the excellency of the one, and the usefulness of the other . . . of their goods . . . the man hath the dispensation of all and-may keep it from his wife, just as the governor of a town may keep it from the right owner; he hath the power, but no right to do so.
>
> -210-218

> A husband's power over his wife is paternal and friendly, not magesterial and despotic . . . the power a man hath is founded in understanding, not in the will or force; it is not the power of coercion . . . the dominion of a man over his wife is no other than as the soul rules the body, . . . so is the authority of the wife then most conspicuous, when she is separate and in her proper sphere . . . in the nursery and offices of domestic employment; but when she is in conjunction with the sun her brother, that is, in that place and employment in which his care and proper offices are . . . her light is not seen, her authority has no proper business.
>
> -219-222

19. Edward Holyoke, The Doctrine of Life, or of Man's Redemption, 1658; select passages ed. by C.E. Stedman and E.M. Hutchins, A Library of American Literature, Vol., I.

The fable below was entitled "How Tirzana Beguiled the King." It tells of Solomon's fall "by the temptations of his idolatrous wives to the ruin of his Kingdome and posterity, in granting them the liberty of conscience for the practice of their idolatrous Rites, framed by way of Dialoque between King Solomon and Tirzana the Queen."

> The story of our first parents must be conferred. When our first father was persuaded by his Wife with herself to break the commandment -- it should seem she persuaded him, for it is said: 'Because thou hearkenest to the voice of thy wife.' And ever since women are weak to be seduced, but strong, even Satan's engine, to seduce the man with her enchantments . . . And if a woman be active, she will corrupt other women, and

> after a little while men follow their wives, and corruptions gangrenate quickly and spread far. This the Apostle foretold, which came to pass afterward, but especially concerning Mahomet and in the Papacy . . .
>
> -I, 357

20. Samuel Sewall, Letter-Book, Massachussets Historical Society, Vol. I, Sixth Series, Boston, 1186.

The letter below is identified as a "Copy of [a] Letter [torn] at Cambridge [illegible] paper [torn] to Daniel Gookin [?]" It is dated 1671.

> Your Unkle, and Aunt Woodman desire kindly to be Remembered to you; as also little Betty. She can Read, and Spin passing well; Things (Me saltem Judice) very desirable in a Woman. She read through one Volume of the Book of Martyrs, in three Months space; improving only leisure times at Night.
>
> -I, 19

1700-1750

21. Increase Mather, The Order of the Gospel, 1700. Quoted in The Puritan Oligarchy by T.J. Wertenbaker.

The opinion of Increase Mather on the occasion that it was proposed that all who were taxed to pay the minister's salary should have the privilege of voting in his election.

> It would be simoniacal to affirm that this scared privilege may be purchased with money. If all that contribute have power to vote . . . then many women must have that privilege . . . to give or rather to sell that privilege away to all that will contribute must needs be displeasing with the Lord.
>
> -60-61

22. Benjamin Franklin, Representative Selections, ed. by Frank L. Mott and C.E. Jorgenson, New York, American Book Co., 1936.

Do Good Papers, No. V
From Monday, May 21, to Monday May 28, 1722

I find it a very difficult Matter to reprove Women separate

from the Men; for what Vice is there in which the Men have not as great a Share as the Women? . . . And now for the Ignorance and Folly which he [man] reproaches us with, let us see (if we are Fools and Ignoramus's) whose is the Fault, the Men's or our's.

-102-105

22. Virginia Gazette, 1736. Quoted in History of Women's Education in the United States, 2 vols., by Thomas Woody, New York, The Science Press, 1929.

October, 15-22, 1736

Then Equal Laws let Custom find,
And neither sex oppress;
More freedom give to Womankind,
Or give to mankind less.

-II, 254

23. Woman Not Inferior to Man or a short and modest Vindication of the Natural Right of the Fair Sex to a perfect Equality of Power, Dignity and Esteem with the Men, 1739 , by Sophia; second edition, London, John Hawkins, 1739.

There is no more difference to be discern'd between the souls of a dunce, and a man of wit, or of an illiterate person and an experienced one, than between a boy of four and a man of forty years. And since there is not at most any greater difference between the souls of Women and Men, there can be no real diversity contracted from the body; All the diversity then must come from education, exercise and the impressions of those external objects which surround us in different Circumstances.

-23

For answer to this essay see under No. 24.

24. Man Superior to Woman: Or A Vindication of Man's Natural Right of Sovereign Authority over the Woman . . . a plain Confutation of the fallacious Arguments of Sophia . . ., 1739, by A Gentleman, London.

I cannot see the Reason why they women are to be considered on a Level with the Men they bring forth, any more than the Mould in a Garden is to be equally valued with the Fruits it produces . . . Let Women then give up their Claim to an Equality with the Men, and be content with the humble Station which Heaven has alloted them . . . since neither their Capacity of Head nor their Dispositions of Heart can lift them to emulate us, let them apply their little Talents at least to imitate us

. . . Let them remember that Man holds his Superiority over them by a Charter from Nature in his very Production . . .

-17-73

For essay to which this is an answer see under No. 23.

25. Baptist Association (Philadelphia), Minutes, 1746. Quoted in History of Women's Education in the United States, Vol. II, by Thomas Woody, New York, The Science Press, 1929.

Query: Whether women may or ought to have their votes in the church in such matters as the church shall agree to be decided by votes?
Solution: As that in I Corinthians xiv: 34-35, and other parallel texts, are urged against their votes, as a rule, and ought, therefore, to be maturely considered. If then, the silence enjoined on woman be taken so absolute, as that they must keep entire silence in all respects whatever; yet, notwithstanding, it is hoped that they may have as members of the body of the church, liberty to give a mute voice, by standing or lifting up of the hands, or the contrary, to signify assent or dissent to the thing proposed, and so augment the number on the one or the both sides of the question.

-II, 366

26. William Livingston, Philosophic Solitude, 1747; select passages ed. by C.E. Stedman and E.M. Hutchins, A Library of American Literature, Vol. II, 1889.

"The Wife"

Relate, inspiring muse! where shall I find
A blooming virgin with an angel mind?
. . . supernal grace and purity divine:
Sublime her reason, and her native wit
Unstrained with pedantry, and low conceit:
Her fancy lively, and her judgment free
From female prejudice and bigotry . . .

-II, 450-2

1750-1800

27. Benjamin Franklin, Educational Views, ed. by Thomas Woody, New York, McGraw Hill Book Co., 1931.

To Debby, "Dear Child," 1758

You are very prudent not to engage in party disputes. Women

never should meddle with them except in endeavors to reconcile their husbands, brothers, and friends, who happen to be of contrary sides. If your sex can keep cool, you may be a means of cooling ours the sooner, and restoring more speedily that social harmony among fellow-citizens, that is so desirable after long and bitter dissensions.

-132

28. Ezra Stiles, Literary Diary, 3 vols., ed. by Franklin Bowditch Dexter, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901.

March, 16-28, 1770

Mrs. Osborn & the Sorority of her Meeting are violently engaged and had great Influence. They & the 2 Deacons & Two Thirds of Ch. were warmly engaged for Mr. Hopkins . . .

-I, 22

Stiles made this entry while his first wife lay dying.

May 26, 1775

. . . she has lived a Life of rational, steady & substantial Virtue . . .

-I, 565

To appreciate the significance of the first entry which implies no adverse criticism of feminine agitational activities in support of a disputed ministerial position, one must compare it with John Winthrop's reports of the Puritan attitude toward Anne Hutchenson's meetings (see under No. 12) and with the view of Increase Mather on the right of women to vote in the election of a minister (see under No. 21). Nowhere in the reflections of Ezra Stiles is there a more specific declaration of a conscious attitude on the nature of woman. None is needed; the pervasive sympathy of this morally and intellectually civilized individual toward all facets of life highlights his concept of the innate dignity and privileges of woman. For other expressions see under Nos. 36 & 40.

29. Thomas Paine, Complete Writings, 2 vols., ed. by Philip S. Foner, New York, Citadel Press, 1945.

While good evidence (F. Smith, "The Authorship of An Occasional Letter on the Female Sex, American Literature, II, Nov., 1930, 277-280) exists as to Paine's not having been the author of this essay long credited to him, it is included in his Works, because, appearing unsigned in the Pennsylvania Magazine (August, 1775), while Paine was editor, it indicates his partisanship. According to Mr. Foner, it even indicates the stylistic devices of Paine in certain passages that he probably revised.

> If we take a survey of ages and of countries, we shall find the women almost -- without exception -- at all times and in all places, adored and oppressed. Man, who has never neglected an opportunity of exerting his power, in paying homage to their beauty, has always availed himself of their weakness. He has been at once their tyrant and their slave . . . Society, instead of alleviating their condition, is to them the source of miseries . . . Even in countries where they may be esteemed most happy, constrained in their desires, in the disposal of their goods, robbed of freedom of will by the laws, the slaves of opinion, which rules them with absolute sway, and construes the slightest appearance into guilt; surrounded on all sides by judges, who are at once tyrants and their seducers . . . over three-quarters of the globe nature has placed them between contempt and misery . . . If woman were to defend the cause of her sex, she might address him [man] in the following manner: ' . . . If we have an equal right with you to virtue, why should we not have an equal right to praise? The public esteem ought to wait upon merit. Our duties are different from yours, but they are not therefore less difficult to fulfil, or of less consequence to society . . . More feeble in ourselves, we have perhaps more trials to encounter. Nature assails us with sorrow, law and custom press us with constraint' . . . '
>
> -II, 34-40

30. Abigail Smith Adams, Familiar Letters of John Adams and His Wife, 1776-1784; ed. by Charles F. Adams, New York, Hurd & Houghton, 1876.

Mrs. Adams from Braintree, Mass., to John Adams who was working in Philadelphia with the Continental Congress, 1776:

> I long to hear that you have declared an independency. And, by the way, in the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the husbands. Remember, all men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care and attention is not apid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we have no voice or representation . . . That your sex are naturally tyrannical is a truth so thoroughly established as to admit of no dispute; but such of you as wish to be happy willingly give up the title of master for the more tender and endearing one of friend. Why, then, not put it out of the power of the vicious and the lawless to use us with cruelty and indignity with impunity?
>
> -149-150

For attitude of John Adams see under Nos. 31 & 32.

The remarkable factor about the passage above is that it was written by a colonial housewife fifteen years prior to the publication of Mary Wollstonecraft's Vindication of the Rights of Women (1791). The tendency has been to dismiss, as no more than the inconsequential chatter of a genteel lady, these well-considered ideas of Mrs. Adams. It is time that scholars evaluated the influence of the wife of John Adams, upon his changing philosophy during that critical period in which he developed his mature political bias. There is an abundance of evidence that Abigail Smith Adams played no minor, nor timid, role in her husband's intellectual development. Her letters are marked by a sober consideration of the theories of Locke, Hobbes and Newton, and she argued with characteristic independence, in support of her own views.

31. John Adams, Works with a Life of the Author, by Charles Frances Adams, Boston, Charles C. Little & James Brown, 1851.

> To James Sullivan
>
> Philadelphia, 26 May, 1776
>
> It is certain, in theory, that the only moral foundation of government is, the consent of the people . . . But to

> what an extent shall we carry this principle? Shall we say that every individual of the community, old and young, male and female, as well as rich and poor, must consent, expressly to every act of legislation? No, you will say, that is impossible. How, then does the right arise in the majority to govern the minority, against their will? Whence arises the right of men to govern the women, without their consent? Whence arises the right of the majority to govern, and the obligation of the minority to obey? . . . But why exclude women? You will say, because their delicacy renders them unfit for practice and experience in the great businesses of life, and the hardy enterprises of war, as well as the arduous cares of state. Besides their attention is so much engaged with the necessary nurture of their children, that nature has made them fittest for domestic cares . . . The same reasoning which will induce you to admit all men who have no property, to vote, with those who have, . . . will prove that you ought to admit women and children; for, generally speaking, women and children have as good judgments, and as independent minds, as those men who are wholly destitute of property; these last being to all intents and purposes as much dependent upon others, who will please to feed clothe, and employ them, as women are upon their husbands, or children on their parents . . .
>
> -IX, 375-377

For further expressions by Adams see under No. 32.

32. John Adams, Works, with a Life of the Author, by Charles Frances Adams, Boston, Charles C. Little & James Brown, 1851.

Entry in Adams' Diary, 1778, while he was in France, commenting upon the national immorality of the nation, which he believed implicit in the laxity of feminine morals:

> From all that I had read of history and government, of human life and manners, I had drawn this conclusion, that the manners of women were the most infallible barometer to ascertain the degree of morality and virtue in a nation. All that I have since read, and all the observations I have made in different nations have confirmed me in this opinion. The manners of women are the surest criterion by which to determine whether a republican government is practicable in a nation or not. The Jews, the Greeks, the Romans, the Dutch, all lost their public spirit, their republican principles and habits, and their republican forms of government, when they lost the modesty and domestic virtues of their women.
> . . . The foundations of national morality must be laid in private families . . . The mothers are the earliest and most important instructors of youth.
>
> -III, 171

For further expressions of Adams see under No. 31.

33. William Alexander, M.D., The History of Women, From the Earliest Antiquity, to the Present Time, 2 vols., 1779, Dublin, Printed by J.A. Husband, 1779.

This work is one of the more important bibliographical references listed in the History of Woman Suffrage (I, 29), which probably indicates its popularity during the early period of feminist agitation.

> . . . we lay it down as a general rule, that to the differences of education, and the different manner of living which the sexes have adopted, is owing a great part of their corporeal difference, as well as the difference of their intellectual faculties and feelings; and we persuade ourselves, that nature, in forming the bodies and minds of both sexes, has been nearly alike liberal to each; that any apparent difference in the exertions of the 'strength of the one or the reasonings of the other, are much more the work of art than of nature.'
>
> -II, 54

34. Hannah More, Essays on Various Subjects Principally Designed for Young Ladies, Philadelphia, Young, Stewart & McCulloch, 1786.

> . . . each sex has its respective, appropriate qualifications . . . Nature, propriety, and custom have prescribed certain bounds to each . . . Women therfore never understand their own interests so little, as when they affect those qualities and accomplishments, from the want of which they derive their highest merit . . . Men . . . are formed for the more public exhibitions on the great theatre of human life.
>
> -1-2

By 1800 the reputation of Miss Hannah More was as glorified by the American public as it had become in England. For other expressions see under

35. John Ledyard, The Life and Travels, 1787-88; select passages ed. by C.E. Stedman and E.M. Hutchins, A Library of American Literature, Vol. III.

A sub-title to this passage in the Library of American Literature

states that John Ledyard wrote his account "at Yakutsk, Siberia, 1787-1788." The Life and Travels was published in 1828.

> I have observed among all nations that the women ornament themselves, more than the men; that, wherever found, they are the same kind, civil, obliging, humane, tender beings; that they are ever inclined to be gay and cheerful, timorous and modest. They do not hesitate, like men, to perform a hospitable or generous action; not haughty, nor arrogant, nor supercilious, but full of courtesy and fond of society; industrious, economical, ingenuous; more liable in general, to err, than man, but in general, also, more virtuous, and performing more good actions than he.
>
> I never addressed myself, in the language of decency and friendship, to a woman, whether cilivized or savage, without receiving a decent and friendly answer. With man it has often been otherwise . . .
>
> -III, 422

36. Ezra Stiles, Literary Diary, 3 vols., ed. by Franklin Bowditch Dexter, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901.

> April 22, 1788
>
> This day my Wife [his second] finished Read[g] translating & parsing the first Psalm Alphabet & Grammar . . . It is about 3 weeks since she first took the Hebrew Alphabet & Grammar in hand. And she has accurately parsed and resolved every word. . .
>
> -III, 315

For other expressions see under Nos. 28 & 40.

37. Noah Webster, Woman's Education in the Last Century, 1790; select passages ed. by C.E. Stedman and E.M. Hutchins, A Library of American Literature, Vol. IV.

> In all nations a good education is that which renders the ladies correct in their manners, respectable in their families, and agreeable in society. That education is always wrong, which raises a woman above the duties of her station. . . . Some knowledge of arithmetic is necessary for every lady. Geography should never be neglected. Belles-lettes learning seems to correspond with the dispositions of most females. A taste for poetry and fine writing should be cultivated; for we expect the most delicate sentiments from the pens of that sex, which is possessed of the finest feelings.
>
> A course of reading can hardly be prescribed for all ladies. But it should be remarked, that this sex cannot be too well acquainted with the writers upon human life and manners . . . Young people, especially females, should not see the vicious part of mankind. . .
>
> -IV, 148-149

38. Alexander Hamilton, Works, 9 vols., ed. by Henry Cabot Lodge, New York, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1885-1886.

From Report on Manufactures, December 5, 1791:

> . . . In places where those institutions [British examples of cottonmills, employing women and children] prevail, besides the persons regularly engaged in them, they afford occasional and extra employment to industrious individuals and families, who are willing to devote the leisure resulting from the intermissions of their ordinary pursuits to collateral labors . . . The husbandman himself experiences a new source of profit and support from the increased industry of his wife and daughters . . . It is worthy of particular remark that in general, women and children are rendered more useful, and the latter more early useful, by manufacturing establishments, than they would otherwise be.
>
> -III, 111-112

39. Alexander Hamilton, Warren-Adams Letters, 2 vols., 1743-1777, 1778-1814: Massachussets Historical Society, 1925.

To Mercy Warren, upon receiving a volume of her writing, Hamilton wrote with a traditional gallantry, alien to the cold objectivity of his attitude toward the sex as shown in his Report on Manufactures (see above)

> . . . the sex will find a new occasion of triumph. Not being a poet myself, I am in the less danger of feeling mortification at the idea, that in the career of dramatic composition at least, female genius in the United States has outstripped the male . . .
>
> -II, 326

40. Ezra Stiles, Literary Diary, 3 vols., ed. by Franklin Bowditch Dexter, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901.

> August 20, 1793
>
> Reading Mrs. Mary Wollstonecraft Rights of Women.
>
> -III, 502-3

During the period in which Stiles was reading the controversial Rights of Women, it is indicative of his absolutely open attitude toward all human thought, that he makes no more biased comment on the contents of the book than the disinterested entry above. He does, however, chattily note that Joel Barlow and another friend had met Mary Wollstonecraft

and of their pleasant reaction to her. For further expressions see under Nos. 28 & 36.

41. Hannah More's Interest in Education and Government, by Luther Weeks Courtney, Unpublished Manuscript, University of Iowa, 1925.

From a letter Miss More wrote to Horace Walpole, quoted from Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More, Wm. Roberts, II, 372.

> I have been much pestered to read the 'Rights of Women,' but I am invincibly resolved not to do it. Of all jargon, I hate metaphysical jargon; besides there is something fantastic and absurd in the very title ... . I am sure I have as much liberty as I can make good use of . . .
>
> -41

42. Timothy Dwight, Travels in New-England and New-York, 4 vols., 1795; New Haven, 1821.

Because of ill health, Timothy Dwight, President of Yale College, traveled during the years 1795 and 1797. He kept a journal of his observations, which was not published until 1821.

> The great doctrines of physical and moral science are as intelligible by the mind of a female, as by that of a male; and, were they made somewhat less technical, and stripped so far of some of their unnecessary accompaniments as to wear in a greater degree the aspect of common sense, might be introduced with advantage into every female academy where the instructor was competent to teach them. It is evidently high time that women should be considered less as pretty, and more as rational, and immortal beings; and that so far as the circumstances of parents will permit, their minds should be early led to the attainment of solid sense and sound wisdom. The instructions, which are, or ought to be, given by mothers, are of more importance to the well-being of children, than any which are, or can be, given by fathers. To give these instructions, they ought as far as may be, to be thoroughly qualified, even if we were to act on selfish principles only..... It is earnestly to be hoped, that ere long . . . women of this country, who, so far as they possess advantages, appear in no respect to be behind the other sex either in capacity of disposition to improve, may no longer be precluded from the best education by the negligence of men.
>
> -II, 475

43. Charles Brockden Brown, Alcuin, 1797: in Memoirs of Charles Brockden Brown with selections from his Original Letters and Miscellaneous Writings, ed. by William Dunlap, London, 1822.

The excerpt below is from "Paradise of Women," the only extant section of Alcuin, which appears in the Memoirs. Here a male citizen of the "Paradise" is explaining the attitude there on complete sexual equality.

> There is no possible ground for difference. Nourishment is imparted and received in the same way. Their organs and secretion are the same. There is one diet, one regimen, one mode and degree of exercise, best adapted to unfold the powers of the human body . . . Who has taught you . . . that each sex must have peculiar employments? . . . One would imagine, that among you, one had more arms, or legs, or senses, than the other. Among us, there is no such inequality . . .
>
> -269-274

44. Charles Brockden Brown, Ormond, or, The Secret Witness, 1799, ed. by Ernest Marchand, New York, American Book Co., 1937.

> Women are generally limited to what is sensual and ornamental. Music and painting, and the Italian and French languages, are bounds which they seldom pass . . . The education of Constantia had been regulated by the peculiar views of her father, who sought to make her not alluring and voluptuous, but eloquent and wise. He therefore limited her studies to Latin and English. Instead of familiarizing her with the amorous effusions of Petrarchia and Racine, he made her thoroughly conversant with Tacitus and Milton . . . he conducted her to the school of Newton and Hartley, unveiled to her the mathematical properties and power of the senses, and discussed with her the principles and progress of human society.
>
> -27

45. Charles Brockden Brown, Arthur Mervyn, or Memories of the Year 1793, 2 vols,, 1799; Philadelphia, David McKay Publisher, 1887.

Eliza Hadwin is beseeching the man she loves to permit her to accompany him on his travels, if not as his wife, as his friend:

> Have I not the same claims to be wise, and active, and courageous, as you? If I am ignorant and weak, do I not owe it to the same cause that has made you so? and will not the same means which promote your improvement be

> likewise useful to me? . . . Me, you think poor, weak, and contemptible; fit for nothing but to spin and churn. Provided I exist, am screened from the weather, have enough to eat and drink, you are satisfied. As to strengthening my mind and enlarging my knowledge, these things are valuable to you, but on me they are thrown away. I deserve not the gift . . .
>
> -II, 80-82

Arthur Mervyn reviews his attitude toward feminine nature:

> I was surprised and disconcerted. In my previous reasonings I had certainly considered her sex as utterly unfitting her for those scenes and pursuits to which I had destined myself . . . but now my belief was shaken, though it was not subverted. I could not deny that human ignorance was curable by the same means in one sex as in the other; that fortitude and skill were of no less value to one than to the other.
>
> -II, 80-82

There no longer is a question of Brown's standing as one of the earliest of our professional novelists and as the innovator of fictional heroines of an almost fierce independence and of a determined intellectuality. Too readily, however, critics have dismissed Brown's feminist bias as the "hangover" of an adolescent apprenticeship to "Godwinism with its Wollstonecraft corollary of woman's rights . . . " (Fred Lewis Pattee, Wieland, xi). To these influences another authority (Ernest Marchand, Ormond,) has added that of Condorcet's Sur l'Admission des femmes au droit de Cité. The assumption that Brown's radical idea of the nature of woman was solely the product of an immature enthusiasm for continental doctrines ignores entirely the highly probable influence upon him of some extraordinarily advanced experiments in the higher education of the sex, which were taking place immediately around Brown in Philadelphia, prior to and coincidental with the publications abroad that are credited with forming his attitude. As a working journalist who moved between the intellectually aware groups of New York City and his native Philadelphia, Brown must have known of the establishment in the latter community of a Female Academy as early as 1784 (Woody, A History

of Women's Education in the United States, I, 365). It isn't likely that he would not have known also of the unprecedented lectures on chemistry and natural philosophy which were delivered to a class of women in Philadelphia by Dr. Benjamen Rush in 1787 (Benson, Women in Eighteenth-Century America, 139). And he must have been aware that Dr. Rush, during the same period, read his "Thoughts Upon Female Education" at the exercises of a girls' school -- "the best known paper on feminine training given in America before 1790" (Benson, op. cit., 137). As a practicing journalist, if not as a reformer, Brown would have been cognizant of the publication in 1794 of James A. Neal's An Essay on the Education and Genius of the Female Sex, in connection with a proposal to hold a lottery in order to raise funds for another girls' academy in Philadelphia (Benson, op. cit., 143)

The chronology of the foregoing may prove of inestimable weight in the establishment of the primary source of Brown's rejection of the traditional idea of the nature of woman. The element of timing of the American expressions becomes of critical importance in relation to the publication dates of European material commonly accepted as fostering Brown's major emphasis; Condorcet's essay appeared in 1790; Godwin's Concerning Political Justice in 1793 and his Caleb Williams the following year; Wollstonecraft's Rights of Women in 1791. The challenging factor of these dates is not their contemporaneousness with like expressions in America, but the fact that some of the European theory on woman's potential intellectual equality already had been put in practice in Philadelphia prior to its publication on the continent. Such evidence should make questionable the traditional appraisal of Brown's ideological indebtedness; it calls for serious investigation of the extent to which Brown knew of and was responsive to revolutionary trends in the advance of feminine status in his own country.

Correlative with this unexplored facet of Brown's intellectual history would be a more thorough understanding of the effect upon him of his Quaker training. Except for desultory clichés, such as the attributing of a "mystical of soul, meditative, noncombative" temperament to Brown's Quakerism (Fred Lewis Pattee, Wieland, x-ix), there has been no serious analysis of the influence of the theological factor in molding his attitudes. Now long over-due is a questioning, perceptive study of this provocative American writer.

46. William Ellery Channing, The Life, 1880; by W.H. Channing, Boston, American Unitarian Association, 1904.

From a letter, which Channing's nephew, his biographer, dates as having been written sometime between his eighteenth and twentieth years, between 1798-1800:

> I have lately read Mrs. Wollstonecraft's posthumous works. Her letters toward the end of the first volume are the best I ever read . . . I consider that woman as the greatest of her age. Her 'Rights of Woman' is a masculine performance, and ought to be studied by the sex . . . Her principles respecting marriage would prove fatal to society . . . These I cannot recommend. But on other subjects her sentiments are noble, generous, and sublime. She possessed a masculine mind, but in her letters you may discover a heart as soft and feeling as was ever placed in the breast of a woman. -56

For further expressions see under No. 55.

1800-1850

47. Frances Wright, Views of Society and Manners in America, in a Series of Letters from that country to a friend in England, 1818-1820; London, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1821.

> I often lament, that in the rearing of women, so little attention should be commonly paid to the exercise of the bodily organs; to invigorate the body is to invigorate the mind . . . The lords of creation receive innumerable,

> incalculable advantages from the hands of nature . . . There is something so flattering to human vanity in the consciousness of superiority, that it is little surprising if men husband with jealousy that which nature has enabled them to usurp over the daughters of Eve.
>
> -426-427

48. Thomas Jefferson, The Writings, 10 vols., ed. by Paul Leicester Ford, New York, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1899.

Monticello, Sept. 5, 1816
To Samuel Kercheval

> . . . Were our State a pure democracy, in which all its inhabitants should meet together to transact all their business, there would yet be excluded from their deliberations, 1. Infants, until arrived at years of discretion. 2. Women, who, to prevent depravation of morals and ambiguity of issue, could not mix promiscuously in the public meetings of men. 3 Slaves, from whom the unfortunate state of things with us takes away the right of will and property . . .
>
> -X, 45-46

For other expressions by Jefferson see under No. 50.

49. Hannah Crocker, Observations on the Rights of Women, with their appropriate duties agreeable to Scripture, reason, and common sense, 1818; quoted in the History of Woman Suffrage, ed. by Elizabeth C. Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda J. Gage, Ida Harper, 6 vols., Rochester, 1881-1920, Vol. III.

> The wise author of Nature has endowed the female mind with equal powers and faculties, and given them the same right of judging and acting for themselves as he gave the male sex
> . . . . . .
> . . . . . .
> According to Scripture, woman was the first to transgress and thus forfeited her original right of equality, and for a time was under the yoke of bondage, till the birth of our blessed Savior, when she was restored to her equality with man. . . . We shall strictly adhere to the principle of the impropriety of females ever traspassing on masculine grounds, as it is morally incorrect, and physically impossible.
>
> -III, 303

While I have found frequent mention of this item, I have not found it available for examination. The editors of the History of Woman Suffrage claim that the book was "the first publication of its kind in Massachusetts, if not in America." The feminists of the late nineteenth century deplored

the inconsistency with which Mrs. Crocker's second assertion practically obviates the radicalism of the first. Mrs. Crocker was the grand-daughter of Cotton Mather.

50. Thomas Jefferson, The Writings, 10 vols., ed. by Paul Leicester Ford, New York, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1899.

I have extracted the expression below from a long and rambling letter written in answer to a request for a plan of education for girls. For other expressions see under No. 48.

Monticello, March 14, 1818
To Nathaniel Burwell

> . . . A plan of female education has never been a subject of systematic contemplation with me. It has occupied my attention so far only as the education of my own daughters occasionally required. Considering they would be . . . in a country . . . where little aid could be obtained from abroad, . . . essential to give them a solid education, which might enable them, when they become mothers, to educate their own daughters, and even to direct the course for sons, should their fathers be lost . . . A great obstacle . . . is the inordinate passion prevalent for novels . . . this poison infects the mind . . . Pope, Dryden, Thompson, Shakespeare, and of the French, Molière, Racine, the Corneilles, may be read with pleasure and improvement.. . . The French language . . . is an indispensable part of education for both sexes . . . for a female . . . dancing, drawing, and music . . . household economy . . . The order and economy of a house are as honorable to the mistress as those of the farm to the master . . .
>
> -X, 104-106

51. Washington Irving, Works, 15 vols., ed. by Peter F. Collier, New York, 1897.

Lines below are quoted from The Broken Heart, a short story written in 1819.

> Man is the creature of interest and ambition. His nature leads him forth into the struggle and bustle of the world. Love is but the embellishment of his early life, or a song piped in the intervals of the acts. He seeks for fame, for fortune, for space in the world's thought, and dominion

over his fellow men. But a woman's whole life is a history of the affections. The heart is her world; it is there her ambition strives for empire -- it is there her avarice seeks for hidden treasures. She sends forth her sympathies on adventure; she embarks her whole soul in the trafic of affection; and if shipwrecked, her case is hopeless -- for it is a bankruptcy of the heart . . . Woman's is comparatively a fixed, a secluded and a meditative life.

-I, 114

52. James Madison, Letters and Other Writings, 4 vols., 1816-1828, Philadelphia, J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1867.

To Albert Picket and others
September, 1821

Gentlemen, -- I have received your letter . . . . asking my opinion as to the establishment of a female college, and a proper course of instruction in it.

The importance of both these questions, and the novelty of the first, would require more consideration than is allowed by other demands on my time, if I were better qualified for the task, or than is permitted indeed, by the tenor of your request, which has for its object an early answer.

The capacity of the female mind for studies of the highest order cannot be doubted, having been sufficiently illustrated by its works of genius, of erudition, and of science. That it merits an improved system of education, comprising a due reference to the condition and duties of female life, as distinguished from those of the other sex, must be as readily admitted. How far a collection of female students into a public seminary would be the best of plans for educating them, is a point on which different opinions may be expected to arise. Yours, as the result of much observation on the youthful minds of females, and of long engagement in tutoring them, is entitled to great respect; and as experiment alone can fully decide the interesting problem, it is a justifiable wish that it may be made; and it could not, as would appear, be made under better auspices than such as yours.

-III, 232

53. North American Review, XVII (1823), Anonymous review of Lectures on Physiology, Zoology, and the Natural History of Man, delivered at the Royal College of Surgeons, by William Lawrence, Professor of Anatomy and Surgery to the College . . . London, 1822.

The reviewer sharply criticized the author of the Lectures for promulgating such "opinions" as the following, which are quoted in the review:

'These organs [those within the skull] begin to be exercised as soon as the child is born; and a faint glimmer of mind is dimly perceived . . . the cerebral jelly becomes firmer, the mind gradually strengthens . . . becomes adult . . . it is male or female according to the body . . .'

-Article II, 13-32

54. North American Review, XVII, (1823), Anonymous review of The Works of Maria Edgeworth in a new edition.

The reviewer deplored the sterile influence of Miss Edgeworth's father on her talent and the domestic cares he inflicted upon her.

The social tyranny which exacts of every female a certain portion of female littlenesses, is so strong, that even the possession of sovereign power and kingly talents to sway it, was not enough to emancipate Queen Elizabeth from the necessity of putting on some ladylike coquetries and airs . . . We will not engage in so difficult a speculation as that, whether there be a native difference between the intellect of men and women . . . In many of the most important affairs of life the men have taken for granted that there is a marked inferiority on the part of the women, and have accordingly denied them a few small privileges, such as exercising of political franchises and inheriting real estate . . . Whereever nevertheless, women are called to administer affairs usually intrusted to men, it does not appear that they are apt to fail in masculine powers.

-Article XIX, 388

55. William Ellery Channing, The Life, 1880; by W.H. Channing, Boston, American Unitarian Association, 1904.

From a letter written by William Ellery Channing to Mrs. Joanna Baillie. For other expressions see under No. 46.

Boston, June 2, 1828

Your letter gives me reason to think that you accord with me . . . in the conviction, that Christianity is often injured by narrow and degrading modes of exhibiting it, and that its generous . . . ennobling influences are very imperfectly understood. Allow me to say, that I take the more pleasure in making these inferences as to your state of mind, because your sex, with all their merits, -- and these are above praise, -- have had their full share in fixing the present low standard of religion by the ease with which they have given up their minds to be awed and formed by vulgar and menacing teachers. I do hail the makers of intellectual freedom and moral courage in your sex with peculiar hope; for woman, through her maternal and social influences, must always act on the

religion of a community with great power . . .
-429-430

56. North American Review, XLII (1836), Anonymous essay, "The Social Condition of Woman," Boston, 1836.

> It may seem to be an anamoly [sic] of Christian institutions, that while women are admitted by inheritance to the highest of all political stations, in hereditary monarchies, that of the throne, they are excluded from equal participation with men in the ordinary political privileges. They do not vote in elections; they do not sit in legislative bodies even where the right of enjoying them is hereditary . . . And whether the story of the Amazons be authentic history, or only . . . a fable, it presents at all events a poor picture of what society would become, if our councils were filled and our armies manned with women, and they rather than men, or equally with men, discharged the external and political duties of society; doing so at the sacrifice of all that delicacy and maternal tenderness, which are among the most appropriate and the highest charms of Women. Hers be the domain of the moral affections, the empire of the heart, the coequal sovereignty of intellect, taste, and social refinement; leave the rude commerce of camps and the soul-hardening struggles of political power to the harsher spirit of man, that he may still look up to her as a purer and brighter being, an emanation of some better world, irradiating like a rainbow of hope, the stormy elements of life.
>
> -489-513

For items in earlier editions of North American Review see under No. 53.

57. W.B. Sprague, D.D., Letters on Practical Subjects to a Daughter, New York, John P. Haven, 1831.

> The object of education then is two-fold, to develop the faculties, and to direct them . . . In other words it is to render you useful to the extent of your ability . . . In the education of females, even this fundamental has too often been overlooked . . . Especially has this capitol error been committed in substituting what is called an ornamental for a solid education.
>
> -27-28

58. Robert Dale Owen, Marriage Compact, 1832. Quoted in History of Woman Suffrage, ed. by Elizabeth C. Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda J. Gage, Ida Harper, 6 vols., Rochester, 1881-1920, Vol. I.

> New York, April 12, 1832
>
> This afternoon I enter into a matrimonial engagement with Mary Jane Robinson . . . We have selected the simplest ceremony which the laws of this State recognize . . .

> Of the unjust rights which in virtue of this ceremony an ininquitous law tacitly gives me over the person and property of another, I can not legally, but I can morally divest myself. And I hereby distinctly and emphatically declare that I consider myself, and earnestly desire to be considered by others, as utterly divested, now and during the rest of my life, of any such rights, the barbarous relics of a feudal, despotic system, soon, destined, in the onward course of improvement, to be wholly swept away; and the existence of which is a tacit insult to the good sense and good feeling of this comparatively civilized age.
>
> -I, 294.

Robert Dale Owen composed the marriage agreement from which I quote above, on the occasion of his marriage with Mary Jane Robinson. The ceremony was performed in the presence of a Justice of the Peace, with only immediate family as witnesses and the compact signed by both parties of the union.

59. Mary Lyon, Prospectus, Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, 1835; quoted in Pioneers of Women's Education in the United States, ed. by Willystine Goodsell, New York, McGraw-Hill Co., 1931.

> All her [the prospective woman student's] duties, of whatever kind, are in an important sense social and domestic. They are retired and private and not public, like those of the other sex. Whatever she does beyond her own family should be but another application and illustration of social and domestic excellence. She may occupy the place of an important teacher, but her most vigorous labors should be modest and unobtrusive. She may go on a foreign mission, there find a retired spot, whereaway from the public gaze, she may wear out or lay down a valuable life. She may promote the interests of the Sabbath school, or be an angel of mercy to the poor and afflicted; she may seek in various ways to increase the spirit of benevolence and the zeal for the cause of missions; and she may labor for the salvation of souls; but her work is to be done by the whisper of her still and gentle voice, by the silent step of her unwearied feet, and by the power of her uniform and consistent examply.
>
> -290

60. De Tocqueville, Alexis, Democracy in America, 2 vols., 1835-1840; Translated by Henry Reeve, ed. by Henry S. Commager, New York, Oxford University Press, 1947.

> I have shown how democracy destroys or modifies the different inequalities which originate in society; but is this all? or does it not ultimately affect that great inequality of

> man and woman which has seemed, up to the present day, to be eternally based in human nature? I believe that the social changes which bring nearer to the same level the father and son, the master and servant, the superiors and inferiors generally speaking, will raise woman and make her more and more the equal of man.
> There are people in Europe who, confounding together the different characteristics of the sexes, would make of man and woman beings not only equal but alike. They would give to both the same rights; impose on both the same duties, and grant to both the same rights . . . It may readily be conceived that by thus attempting to make one sex equal to the other, both are degraded . . . It is not thus that the Americans understand that species of democratic equality which may be established between the sexes. They admit that as Nature has appointed such wide differences between the physical and moral constitution of man and woman, her manifest design was to give a distinct employment to their various faculties . . .
> -II, 401

If a reason were needed for including this pertinent treatise in a survey of ideas on the nature of woman in America, it might be found in the frequent mention of its title in polemical discussions by native writers, after its publication. As an example, Catherine E. Beecher, in her Domestic Economy, devoted to De Tocqueville's thoughts on American women almost six full pages of direct quotation.

61. Catherine E. Beecher, An Essay on Slavery and Abolition with reference to the Duty of American Females, 1837, Philadelphia.

> It is Christianity that has given to woman her true place in society . . . A man may act on society by the collision of intellect, in public debates; . . . and he does not outstep the boundaries of his sphere. But all the power, and all the conquests that are lawful to woman, are those only which appeal to the kindly, generous, peaceful and benevolent principles . . . to be all accomplished in the domestic and social circle . . . then the fathers, the husbands, and the sons will find an influence thrown around them, to which they will yield not only willingly but proudly.
> -100-101

62. Catherine E. Beecher, A Treatise on Domestic Economy for the use of Young Ladies At Home and At School, 1842; revised edition, New York, Harper & Bros., 1852.

> . . . it is needful that certain relations be sustained, which involve the duties of subordination. There must be the magistrate and the subject, one of whom is the superior, and the other the inferior. There must be the relations of husband and wife, parent and child . . . each involving the relative duties of subordination. . . . Society could never go forward, harmoniously, nor could any craft or profession be successfully pursued, unless these . . . relations be instituted and sustained . . . In this Country, it is established, both by opinion and by practice, that woman has an equal interest in all social and civil concerns; and that no domestic, civil, or political institution, is right, which sacrifices her interest to promote that of the other sex. But in order to secure her the more firmly in all these privileges, it is decided, that, in the domestic relation, she take a subordinate station, and that, in civil and political concerns, her interests be intrusted to the other sex, without her taking any part in voting, or in making and administering laws . . . The result of this order of things has been fairly tested . . .
>
> -26-28

63. Angelina Grimké, Letters to Catherine E. Beecher, in reply to an essay on Slavery and Abolitionism addressed to A.E. Grimké, 1837; revised by the author, Boston, 1838.

> The investigation of the rights of the slave has led me to a better understanding of my own. I have found the Anti-Slavery cause to be the school of morals in our land -- the school in which human rights are more fully investigated. Here a great and fundamental principle is uplifted and illuminated. Human beings have rights because they are moral beings; the rights of all men grow out of their moral nature; and as all men have the same moral nature, they have essentially the same rights. When human beings are regarded as moral beings, sex, instead of being enthroned upon the summit, administering upon rights and responsibilities, sinks into insignificance . . . My doctrine then is, that whatever it is morally right for man to do, it is morally right for woman to do. Our duties originate not from differences of sex, but from diversity of our relations in life, the various gifts and talents committed to our care . . .
>
> -114

> Now, I believe it is woman's right to have a voice in all the laws and regulations by which she is to be governed, whether in Church or State; and that the present arrangements of society, on these points, are a violation of human rights a rank usurpation of power, a violent seizure and confiscation of what is sacredly and inalienably hers . . . If Ecclesiastical and Civil

> Governments are ordained of God, then I contend that woman has just as much right to sit in solemn counsel in Conventions, Conferences, Associations and General Assemblies as man . . .
>
> -118

64. Pastoral Letter, 1837 Congregational (Orthodox) Association of Massachusetts. Quoted in History of Woman Suffrage, ed. by Elizabeth C. Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda J. Gage, Ida Harper, 6 vols., Rochester, 1881-1920, Vol. I.

The statement below is from that document which the Congregational Churches sent out to members, 1837, in an effort to discourage the determined Grimké sisters from their public appearances in behalf of the slaves.

> III. We invite your attention to the dangers which at present seem to threaten the female character with wide-spread and permanent injury.
>
> The appropriate duties and influence of woman are clearly stated in the New Testament. These duties and that influence are unobtrusive and private, but the source of mighty power. When the mild, dependent, softening influence of woman upon the sterness of man's opinions is fully exercised, society feels the effects of it in a thousand forms. The power of woman is her dependence, flowing from the consciousness of that weakness which God had given her for her protection, and which keeps her in those departments of life that form the character of individuals, and of the nation . . . when she assumes the place and tone of man as a public reformer, our care and protection of her seem unnecessary; we put ourselves in self-defence against her; she yields the power which God has given her for her protection, and her character becomes unnatural . . . We can not, herefore, but regret the mistaken conduct of those who encourage females to bear an obtrusive and ostentatious part in measures of reform, and countenance any of that sex who so far forget themselves as to itinerate in the character of public lecturers and teachers.
>
> -I, 81-82

65. John Greenleaf Whittier, from a letter reprinted in The Grimké Sisters, by Catherine H. Birney, New York, Lee & Shepard, 1885.

This is from the letter which provoked the response from Angelina Grimké (see under No. 66.)

> A-S Office N.Y.C.
> 14th of 8 mo. 1837
>
> To the Grimké Sisters
>
> In regard to another subject 'the rights of woman.' Your

lectures to crowded and promiscuous audiences are a subject manifestly, in many of its aspects, political, interwoven with the framework of the government, are practical and powerful assertions of the right and the duty of woman to labor side by side with her brother for the welfare and redemption of the world. Why, then, let me ask, is it necessary for you to enter the lists as controversial writers in this question? ,Does it not look, dear sisters, like abandoning in some degree the cause of the poor and miserable slave . . . for the purpose of arguing and disputing about some trifling oppressions, political or social, which we may ourselves suffer? Is it not forgetting the great and dreadful wrongs of the slave in a selfish crusade against some paltry grievance of our own? . . .

-203-205

66. Angelina Grimké, Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimké Weld and Sarah Grimké 1822-1844; ed. by G.H. Barnes and D.L. Dumond, 2 vols., New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1934.

While the letter from which I quote below is signed by Angelina and her sister Sarah, it identifies Angelina as the author.

To John Greenleaf Whittier and
Theodore Dwight Weld

Brookline (Mass.)
8 Mo. 20-1937

And can you not see that women could do, and would do a hundred times more for the slave if she were not fettered? . . . we are gravely told that we are out of our sphere even when we circulate petitions; out of our "appropriate sphere" when we speak to women only; and out of them when we sing in the churches. Silence is our province, submission our duty. . . . If I know my own heart, I am NOT actuated by any selfish considerations (but I do sincerely thank our dear brother J.G. W. for the suggestion) but we are actuated by the full conviction that if we are to do any good in the Anti-Slavery cause, our right to labor in it must be firmly established; not on the ground of Quakerism, but on the only firm bases of human rights, the Bible . . . I contend . . . that this is not Quaker doctrine, it is no more like their doctrine on Women than our Anti-Slavery is like their Abolition, just about the same difference. I will explain myself. Women are regarded as equal to men on the ground of spiritual gifts, not on the broad ground of humanity. Women may preach; this is a gift; but woman must not make the discipline by which she herself is to be governed . . .

-I, 426-27

For Whittier's letter see under No. 65.

For Weld's under Nos. 69 & 70.

67. Sarah Grimké, Letters on the Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Woman, Boston, 1838.

These are the letters which originally appeared in The Spectator, 1837, an Anti-Slavery journal, and led to the criticisms of John Green-Whittier and Theodore D. Weld, as an unnecessary confusion of issues with the cause of the Negro (see under Nos. 65, 69, & 70 .). The content of these Letters, in many instances, is a paraphrase of Angelina Grimké's Letters to Catherine E. Beecher. As Sarah was a sensitive and profound individual in her own right, it cannot be assumed that she echoed the younger woman's ideas; as in many of their expressions, individual attitudes expressed mutual convictions.

> God created us equal; -- he created us free agents; -- he is our Lawgiver, our King and our Judge, and to him alone is woman bound to be in subjection, and to him alone is she accountable for the use of those talents which her Heavenly has entrusted her.
>
> -8

68. Sarah Grimké, Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimké Weld and Sarah Grimke, 1822-1844, ed. by G.H. Barnes and D.L. Dumond, 2 vols., New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1934.

To Henry C. Wright
Groton [Mass.] 8/12/37

> I cannot consent to make my Quakerism as excuse for my exercising of the rights and performing the duties of a rational and responsible being, because I claim nothing in virtue of my connection with the Society of Friends; all I claim is as woman and for any woman whom God qualifies and commands to preach his blessed Gospel. I claim the Bible not Quakerism as my sanction . . .
>
> -I, 420

69. Theodore D. Weld, Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimké Weld and Sarah Grimké, 1822-1844, 2 vols., ed. by G.H. Barnes and D.L. Dumond, New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1934.

To Angelina Grimké,
New York, N.Y. July 22.37.

> Why! folks talk about women's preaching as tho' it was next to highway robbery -- eyes astare and mouth agape. Pity

> women were not born with a split stick on their tongues! Ghostly dictums have fairly beaten it into the heads of the whole world save a fraction that mind is sexed, and Human rights are sex'd, morals sex'd . . .
>
> -I, 411

70. Theodore D. Weld, Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimké, Weld, and Sarah Grimke, 1822-1844, 2 vols., ed. by G.H. Barnes and D.L. Dumond, New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1934.

To Angelina and Sarah Grimké

New York, August 15.37.

> 1. As to the rights and wrongs of women, it is an old theme with me. It was the first subject I ever discussed. In a little debating society when a boy, I took the ground that sex neither qualified nor disqualified for the discharge of any function mental, moral or spiritual; that there is no reason why woman should not make laws, administer justice, sit in the chair of state, plead at the bar or in the pulpit, if she has the qualifications, just as much as tho' she belonged to the other sex. . . I advocate now, that woman in EVERY particular shares equally with man rights and responsibilities . . .

Weld was an energetic, disinterested and utterly fearless crusader in the vanguard of the reformist movements of the nineteenth century. He was inspired by Finney and Garrison, a leader of the "Lane Rebels," an intimate of Whittier, the Motts, and the adviser, friend and, later, the husband of Angelina Grimké.

71. Horace Mann, Life and Works, 5 vols., Boston, Lee & Shepard, 1891.

From an address "Special Preparation A Prerequisite to Teaching," 1838:

> . . . I wish it to be considered more deeply than it has ever yet been, whether there be not, in truth, a divinely appointed ministry for the performance of the earlier services in the sacred temple of education. Is there not an obvious, constitutional difference of temperament between the sexes, indicative of pre-arranged fitness and adaptation, and making known to us, as by a heaven-imparted sign, that women, by her livelier sensibility and her quicker sympathies, is the fore-chosen guide and guardian of children of a tender age? After a child's mind has acquired some toughness and induration, by exposure for a few years to the world's hardening processes, then let it be subjected to the firmer grasp, to the more forcible, subduing power of

> masculine hands, . . . why should woman, lured by a false ambition to shine . . in courts or to mingle in the clashing tumults of men, ever disdain this sacred and peaceful ministry? Why, renouncing this serene and blessed sphere of duty, should she ever lift up her voice in the thronged market-places of society, higgling and huckstering to barter away that divine and acknowledged superiority in sentiment, which belong to her own sex, to extort confessions from the other, of a mere equality in reason?
>
> -II, 99-100

72. Horace Mann, Life and Works, 5 vols., Boston, Lee & Shepard, 1891.

> And how without books, as the grand means of intellectual cultivation, are the daughters of the State to obtain that knowledge on a thousand subjects, which is so desirable in the character of a female, as well as so essential to the discharge of the duties to which she is destined? . . . the sphere of females is domestic. Their life is comparatively secluded. The proper delicacy of the sex forbids them appearing in the promiscuous marts of business, and even from mingling . . . in those less boisterous arenas, where mind is the acting agent . . .
>
> -III, 37

From the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Education of Massachussets, 1839; Horace Mann's arguments to subtantiate claim for establishment of state libraries. From 1827 to 1837 Mann was a member of the Massachusetts Legislature and, during the last year, secretary of the state board of education. In 1853 Horace Mann became president of Antioch College. For other expressions see under Nos. 71 & 90.

73. Daniel Webster, Works, 6 vols., 17th edition, Boston, Little, Brown, & Co., 1877.

From an address to a gathering of ladies who had been his hostesses in Richmond, Virginia, during one of Webster's tours, October 5, 1840.

> . . . The rough contests of the political world are not suited to the dignity and the delicacy of your sex; but you possess the intelligence to know how much of that happiness which you are entitled to hope for, both for yourselves and for your children, depends on the right administration of government, and a proper tone of public morals. That is a subject on which

> the moral perceptions of woman are both quicker and juster than those of the other sex. I do not speak of that administration of government whose object is merely the protection of industry, the preservation of civil liberty, and the securing to enterprise of its due reward.
>
> -II, 105-106

74. Harriet Martineau, Society in America, 2 vols., New York, Saunders & Otley, 1837.

> . . . on the whole, the scanty reward of female labour in America remains the reproach to the country which its philanthropists have for some years proclaimed it to be. I hope they will persevere in their proclamation, though special methods of charity will not avail to cure the evil. It lies deep; it lies in the subordination of the sex; and upon this the exposures and remonstrances of philanthropists may ultimately succeed in fixing the attention of society; particularly of women. The progression or emancipation of any class usually, if not always, takes place through the efforts of individuals of that class: and so it must be here. All women should inform themselves of the condition of their sex, and of their own position. . . . is it to be understood that the principles of the Declaration of Independence bear no relation to half of the human race? If so, what is the ground of limitation? If no so, how is the restricted and dependent state of women to be reconciled with the proclamation that 'all are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'
>
> -II, 259

Like De Tocqueville's Democracy in America the Martineau observations of nineteenth century America are entitled to a place in any survey of native mores and ideologies, if only by right of its frequent mention in the native writings of the period. Miss Martineau was an astute critic and her views on woman's lot in the United States aroused bitter attacks from such partisans of orthodoxy in the social status of woman as Catherine E. Beecher.

75. Congregational Divines, Statute, 1843, Hopkinson Association of New Hampshire. Quoted in Woman, Church and State, by Matilda Joslyn Gage, Chicago, Chas. H. Kerr & Co., 1893.

> . . . as to leading men, either in instruction or devotion, and, as to any interruption or disorder in religious meetings, 'Let your women keep silence in the churches'; not merely let them be silent, but let them keep or preserve silence. Not

that they may not preach, or pray, or exhort merely, but they may not open their lips to utter any sounds audibly. Let not your women in promiscuous religious meetings preach or pray audibly, or exhort audibly, or sigh, or groan, or say Amen, or utter the precious words, 'Bless the Lord! or the enchanting sounds, 'Glory! Glory!'

76. Margaret Fuller, Woman in the Nineteenth Century, and Kindred Papers, Relating to the Sphere, Condition and Duties, of Woman, 1845; ed. by her brother, A.B. Fuller, Boston, John P. Jewett & Co., 1855.

Sex, like rank, wealth, beauty, or talent, is but an accident of birth. As you would not educate a soul to be an aristocrat, so do not to be a woman. A general regard to her usual sphere is dictated in the economy of nature. You need never enforce these provisions rigorously . . . Express your views, men, of what you seek in woman: thus best do you give them laws.

-336

77. Sophia Peabody Hawthorne, (Mrs. Nathaniel Hawthorne), Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, A Biography by Julian Hawthorne, 2 vols., Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1889.

Mrs. Hawthorne to her mother, 1845, on Margaret Fuller's Woman in the Nineteenth Century.

What do you think of the speech which Queen Margaret Fuller has made from the throne? It seems to me that if she were married truly, she would no longer be puzzled about the rights of woman. This is the revelation of woman's true destiny and place, which never can be imagined by those who do not experience the relation. In perfect, high union there is no question of supremacy. Souls are equal in love and intelligent communion, and all things take their proper places as inevitably as the star their orbits. . . . it was always a shock to me to have women mount the rostrum. Home, I think, is the great arena for woman, and there, I am sure, she can wield a power which no king or conqueror can cope with . . .

-I, 256

78. Declaration of Sentiments, 1848, First Woman's Rights Convention; in History of Woman Suffrage, 6 vols., by Elizabeth C. Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda J. Gage, and Ida Harper, Rochester, 1818-1920, Vol., I.

Seneca Falls, N.Y., July, 1848

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator

with certain inalienable rights . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
He [man] has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.
He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice.
He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men . . .
. . . . . .
He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.
He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wage she earns.
He has made her, morally, an irresponsible being . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and to her God . . .

-I, 70

79. Ralph Waldo Emerson, The Heart of Emerson's Journals, ed. by Bliss Perry, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1926.

October, 1848

Love is necessary to the righting of the estate of woman in this world. Otherwise nature itself seems to be in conspiracy against her dignity and welfare; for the cultivated, high-thoughted, beauty-loving, saintly woman finds herself unconsciously desired for her sex, and even enhancing the appetite of her savage pursuers by these fine ornaments she has piously laid on herself. . . . I do not wonder at her occasional protest . . . against nature, in fleeing to nunneries . . . Love rights all this deep wrong.

-241

According to Alica Stone Blackwell, in Lucy Stone (p. 97), Emerson's name was signed to the first Call sent out for a meeting of the National Woman's Right Convention, 1850. Mrs. Emerson's name can be found attached to many such documents, throughout the History of Woman Suffrage. For other expressions by Emerson see under Nos. 87, 96 & 115.

80. Frederick Douglas, 1848. Quoted in the History of Woman Suffrage, ed. by Elizabeth C. Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda J. Gage, Ida Harper, 6 vols., Rochester, 1881-1920, Vol. I.

The following lines are from an editorial written by Douglas for his

paper The North Star, commenting on the Woman's Rights Convention held at Seneca Falls in 1848.

July,28, 1848

. . . A discussion of the rights of animals would be regarded with far more complacency by many of what are called the wise and good of our land, than would be a discussion of the rights of women. It is, in their estimation, to be guilty of evil thoughts, to think that woman is entitled to equal rights with man. Many who have at last made the discovery that the negroes have some rights as well as other members of the human family, have yet to be convinced that women are entitled to any. Eight years ago a number of persons . . . abandoned the anti-slavery cause, lest by giving their influence in that direction they might possibly be giving countenance to the dangerous heresy that women, in respect to rights, stands on an equal footing with man. In the judgment of such persons the American slave system, with all its concomitant horrors, is less to be deplored than this wicked idea. . . . we hold woman to be justly entitled to all we claim for man. We go farther and express our conviction that all political rights which it is expedient for man to exercise, it is equally so for woman. All that distinguishes man as an intelligent and accountable being, is equally true of woman: and if that government only is just which governs by the free consent of the governed, there can be no reason in the world for denying to woman the exercise of the elective franchise, or a hand in making and administering the laws of the land. Our doctrine is that 'right is of no sex . . .'

-I, 74-75

81. Lucretia Mott, Life and Letters of James and Lucretia Mott, ed. by Anna Davis Hallowell, Boston, Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1884.

Discourse on Woman

The question is often asked, 'What does woman want more than she enjoys? What is she seeking to obtain? Of what rights is she deprived? . . . she wants to acknowledged a moral, responsible being. She is seeking not to be governed by laws, in the making of which she has no voice. She is deprived of almost every right in civil society, and is a dipher in the nation . . . Customs suited to darker ages in eastern countries are not binding upon enlightened society . . . She has so long been subject to the desabilities and restrictions with which her progress has been embarrassed, that she has become enervated, her mind to some extent paralyzed; and like those still more degraded by personal bondage, she hugs her chains . . .

-492-499

This is one of the least excusably neglected volumes in the history of liberal thought in this country. Modest, pious, independent of thought, a crusading Hicksite Quaker, Lucretia Mott valiantly fought for the advancement of all mankind in her time, socially and politically. To her and to Elizabeth Cady Stanton goes unquestioned credit for initiating the first gathering of those determined to obtain equality for women in America. The passages above are from an address Mrs. Mott delivered, in answer to one that had been made by Richard M. Dana, in which he outlined "what he considered the proper sphere of woman, as opposed to her new claims . . ." The rebuttal was given in the hall of the Assembly Buildings in Boston, 1849, and was reprinted often.

1850-1900

82. William Lloyd Garrison, quoted in History of Woman Suffrage, by Elizabeth C. Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda J. Gage, Ida Harper, 6 vols., Rochester, 1881-1920, Vol. I.

In response to the call sent out for the organization of a National Woman's Rights Convention, 1850, William Lloyd Garrison who had pioneered in the woman's rights movement answered enthusiastically.

> I doubt whether a more important movement has ever been launched, touching the destiny of the race, than this in regard to the equality of the sexes. You are at liberty to use my name.
>
> -I, 216

83. Nathaniel Hawthorne, The Scarlet Letter, 1850; New York, Rinehart & Co., 1948.

> Indeed, the same dark question often rose into her [Hester's] mind mind, with reference to the whole race of womanhood. Was existence worth accepting even to the happiest among them? As concerned her own individual existence, she had long ago decided in the negative, and dismissed the point as settled. A tendency to speculation, though it may keep woman quiet, as it does man, yet makes her sad. She discerns, it may be, such a hopeless task before her. As a first step, the whole system of society

> is to be torn down, and built up anew. Then, the very nature of the opposite sex, or its long hereditary habit, which has become like nature, is to be essentially modified, before woman can be allowed to assume what seems a fair and suitable position. Finally, all other difficulties being obviated, woman cannot take advantage of these preliminary reforms, until she herself shall have undergone a still mightier change; in which, perhaps, the ethereal essence, wherein she has her truest life, will be found to have evaporated.
>
> -157

For other expressions see under Nos. 88 & 99.

Despite the concern of modern critics with the moral implications of Hawthorne's works, there has been little recognition of his preoccupation with the ethics of feminism. This is the more surprising in that Hawthorne, six decades after the publication of the novels of Charles Brockden Brown, was the second American novelist to weigh the problem of the strong-minded woman in a conventional society. Hawthorne brought to the timeless enigma a profundity of which Brown had been incapable. Primarily an anecdotist, Brown had weighted his plots with doctrinaire argument, frequently sacrificing the humanness of his characters to a superimposed didactism. It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century, in the "dark necessity" of a world created by Hawthorne, that the problem of woman in opposition to custom became, in the area of American fiction, integrant with the universal struggle for moral percipience.

In The Scarlet Letter, The Blithedale Romance and The Marble Faun Hawthorne portrayed women as willful as Brown's but, in a climate of catechetical brooding, grown bitterly conscious of the futility of their plight -- as women. After Brown's strong-minded heroines, Hawthorne's trio of malcontents were next generation of the indomitable breed that since has disturbed the amenities of the novel in America. A superficial explanation for

Hawthorne's delineation of unconventional women might take into account no more than the responsiveness of a sensitive mind to the agitation for woman's rights which marked the period of his greatest productiveness. This facile hypothesis could be supported, however, only by the incisive portrait of Zenobia in The Bithedale Romance, which was patterned after Margaret Fuller. It would not account for the earlier portrayal of an ennobled and recalcitrant Hester in The Scarlet Letter or for the subtle moral defeat implicit in the triumph of Miriam in The Marble Faun, a later work. In these novels Hawthorne revealed his acute apprehension of what, in the preface to The Blithedale Romance (Complete Novels and Selected Tales, 440), he described as the plight of "Woman, bruising herself against the narrow limitations of her sex . . ." The puzzle for the historian of thought is Hawthorne's reasons for employing in three major works -- as the symbol of error through which humanity ever has acquired its wisdom and, therewith, its ethics -- the circumstances of a woman's attainment of self-reliance by the sacrifice of conventional rectitude and, therewith, the right to conventional happiness.

A craftman's deliberate repetition of an archetypical formula must not be dismissed as the easy response to current trends in social thinking. In Hawthorne's work it should be recognized as the token of a genuine philosophical anxiety, in which obstacles in the path of woman's advance toward responsibility were identified with all other man-made barriers to the attainment of Christian ethics. Unmistakable evidence of Hawthorne's sober concern with woman's irregular position in society is provided in his writings: I have yet to find recognition of the significance of passages such as I quote.

84. J. Holmes Agnew, Woman's Office and Influence, New York, 1851.

Professor J. Holmes Agnew of the University of Michigan delivered the address from which I quote before the Monroe Female Seminary, 1851.

> . . . woman's ambition has conquered her judgment and her delicacy, and she has gone forth, out of her appointed and fitting sphere, to be gazed on by a curious crowd. . . . While sensible . . . of her equality with man in the possession of a soul like his own, capable of the highest enterprise in science and literature, may she yet recognize as the appointment of her all-wise creator, subordination to man in power, superordination in influence.
>
> -9-10

85. Sarah Josepha Hale, Woman's Record; or, Sketches of All Distinguished Women from The Creation to A.D. 1868, 1851; third edition, New York, Harper & Bros., 1874.

> I am not aiming to controvert the authority of the husband, or the right of men to make laws for the world they are to subdue and govern. I have no sympathy with those who are wrangling for 'woman's rights,' nor with those who are foolishly urging women to strive for equality and competition with men. What I seek to establish is the Bible doctrine, as I understand it, that woman was intended as the teacher and the inspirer for man . . . The Bible does not uphold the equality of the sexes. When created, man and woman were unlike in three important respects. 1st. The mode of their creation was different.
>
> 2d. The materials from which each was formed were unlike.
>
> 3d. The functions for which each was designed were dissimilar.
>
> They were never equal; they were one; one flesh and bones; one in the harmony of their wills . . .
>
> -xxxvii

> 'Some of my own sex, feeling the injustice of these things, are seeking to 'emancipate' themselves, and contending for the right of entering the arena of business and public life equally with men. The attempt will never succeed. Thanks be to heaven, woman cannot put off the moral delicacy of her nature . . . The first woman left to her daughters one duty to perform, because God has imposed it, -- the obedience of each wife to her own husband . . .'
>
> -xlv

86. Wendell Phillips, Shall Women Have the Right to Vote? 1851; Republished by the Equal Franchise Society of Pennsylvania, 1912.

In an address made before a convention of the Woman's Rights

organization, 1851, in Worcester, Massachussets, Wendell Phillips discussed the resolutions he had drawn up for that organization. Resolution No. 5 included the passage below.

> 5. Resolved, That while political and natural justice accord civil equality to woman; while great thinkers of every age, from Plato to Condorcet and Mill, have supported their claim; while voluntary associations, religious and secular, have been organised on this basis -- there is yet a favorite argument against it, that no political community or nation ever existed in which women have not been in a state of political inferiority. . . . the same fact has been alleged, with equal truth, in favor of slavery; has been urged against freedom of industry, freedom of conscience, and the freedom of the press; none of these liberties having been thought compatible with a well-ordered state, until they had proved their possibility by springing into existence as facts . . .
>
> -4

87. Ralph Waldo Emerson, The Heart of Emerson's Journals, ed. by Bliss Perry, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1926.

> October 14, 1851.
> Today is holden [sic] at Worcester the 'Woman's Convention.' I think that as long as they have not equal rights of property and right of voting they are not on the right footing.
>
> -257

For other expressions see under No. 79.

88. Nathaniel Hawthorne, The Blithedale Romance, 1852; in The Complete Novels and Selected Tales, ed. by Norman Holmes Pearson, New York, Random House, Inc., 1937.

Zenobia challenges the orthodox opinion of women:

> It is my belief -- yes, and my prophey, should I die before it happens -- that, when my sex shall achieve its rights there will be ten eloquent women where there is now one eloquent man. Thus far, no woman in the world has ever once spoken out of her whole heart and her whole mind. The mistrust and disapproval of the vast bulk of society throttles us, as with two gigantic hands at our throats!
>
> -510

> 'Poor child!' exclaimed Zenobia, rather contemptuously. 'She is the type of womanhood, such as man has spent centuries in making it. He is never content unless he can degrade himself by stooping towards what he loves. In denying us our rights, he betrays even more blindness to his own interests than profligate disregard of our!'
>
> -511

For other expressions see under Nos. 83 & 99.

89. James Freeman Clark, Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli, 2 vols., Boston, Phillips, Sampson and Company, 1852.

> Here let me say a word respecting the character of Margaret's mind. It was what in woman is generally called a masculine mind; that is, its action was determined by ideas rather than by sentiments. And yet, with this masculine trait, she combined a woman's appreciation of the beautiful in sentiment and the beautiful in action. Her intellect was rather solid than graceful, yet no one was more alive to grace . . .
>
> What I especially admired in her was her intellectual sincerity. Her judgments took no bribe from her sex or her sphere, nor from custom nor tradition, nor caprice . . .
>
> -I, 95-96

90. Horace Mann, Life and Works, 5 vols., Lee & Shepard, Boston, 1891 Vol. V.

From the "Dedicatory and Inagural Address," Antioch College, 1853. For other quotations see under Nos. 71, 72, & 101.

> . . . With woman at our side, we can speak of the heart, not less than of the head, as a source of human improvement; of inspiring youth with purer sentiments, as well as of instructing them in richer lore; and of infusing a subtler and a diviner essence into all the elements that go to make up the body politic, or the mystic body of Christ . . .
>
> . . . . . .
>
> . . . . . .
>
> And, lo! at that exalted and radiant point of man's history, when the ideas of civil and religious freedom and education for ALL have been secured, woman stands by his side, not Amazonian, but angelic; gentle, yet godlike in works of knowledge and duty; meek, yet mighty in all the miracles of charity and benevolence; assuaging the wounds of humanity with a hand that touch of coarse or bloody weapons never hardened nor stained, while her heart burns like a seraph's to restore the beauties of paradise to earth, and to usher in the era of millennial holiness and peace.
>
> -V, 389-400

91. Horace Greeley, quoted in History of Woman Suffrage, ed. by Elizabeth C. Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda J. Gage, Ida Harper, 6 vols., Rochester, 1881-1920, Vol. I.

From a letter to the Fourth National Convention of the Woman's Rights

Association, Cleveland, 1853. For other expressions see under Nos. 98& 101.

> . . . I recognize most thoroughly the right of woman to choose her own sphere of activity and usefulness, and to evoke its proper limitations. If she is fit to navigate vessels, print newspapers, frame laws, select rulers . . . I know of no principle that justifies man in interposing any impediment to her doing so. The only argument entitled to any weight against the fullest concessions of the rights you demand, rests in the assumption that woman does not claim any such rights, but chooses to be ruled guided, impelled, and have her sphere prescribed for her by man.
>
> -I, 124

92. Theodore Parker, The Public Function of Woman, [1854 ?]; Woman's Rights Tract, No. I.

> . . . If woman is a human being, first, she has the nature of a human being; next, she has the Right of a human being, third, she has the Duty of a human being. . . . She is here to develop her human nature, enjoy her human rights, perform her human duty. . . . A woman has the same human rights, to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; the same duties; and they are as invaluable in a woman as in a man.
>
> -11

The sub-title to this pamphlet is "A Sermon Preached at the Music Hall, Boston." Parker is known to have delivered four woman's rights sermons during 1853; Woody gives March 27, 1853 as the date of publication for this tract, (History of Women's Education in the United States, II, 535).

93. William Lloyd Garrison, quoted in History of Woman Suffrage, ed. by Elizabeth C. Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda J. Gage, Ida Harper, 6 vols., Rochester, 1881-1920, Vol. I.

A message to the National Woman's Rights Convention held in Phildelphia, October 18, 1854. For further quotations see under No. 82.

> Consulting the Bible for opinions as to woman's rights, is of little importance to the majority of this Convention . . . We know that man and woman are equal in the sight of God . . . The assertion of the equality and inalienability of the rights of man, in the Declaration of Independence, includes the whole of the human race.
>
> -I, 382

94. Oberlin Evangelist, 1854; quoted in History of Oberlin College, 2 vols., by Robert S. Fletcher, Oberlin College, 1943.

The Oberlin Evangelist, 1854, carried the answer below to the question, "Is the 'woman question,' so called necessarily involved in your experiment?"

> The the question: 'Is the woman question,' so called necessarily involved in your experiment?' an Oberlin spokesman replied in the Evangelist: 'Not at all. Its doctrines might be taught here in theory or in practice, as elsewhere; or they might not be . . . There is nothing in the system which trenches upon these questions necessarily. The first and greatest right of women -- the right to be educated, as a being endowed with intelligence equally as man, -- is fundamental to the system; beyond this it goeth not.
>
> -I, 382

95. Julia Gardner Tyler, Reply to the Duchess of Sutherland And other Ladies of England, 1853; reprinted in America Through Women's Eyes, by Mary Beard, New York, Macmillan Co., 1933.

> Woman, in the U.S., with but few exceptions, confines herself within that sphere for which the God who created her seems to have designed her. Her circle is, literally and emphatically, that of her family; and such she is content that is shall be. . . . She knows nothing of political conventions, or conventions of any other sort than such as are held under suitable pastors of the Church . . . Such is emphatically the case with the women of the Southern States.
>
> -136

Julia Gardiner Tyler, wife of ex-President John Tyler, wrote the letter from which the passage above is taken, in 1853, as a stern reply to the Duchess of Sutherland who had called upon the women of America to put an end to slavery. According to Mrs. Beard, Mrs. Tyler's letter was printed first in the Richmond Enquirer and then in the Southern Literary Messenger, 1853.

96. Ralph Waldo Emerson, The Heart of Emerson's Journals, ed. by Bliss Perry, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1926.

> July, 1855
>
> If the women demand votes, offices, and political equality,

as an Elder and Elderess are of equal power in the Shaker Families, refuse it not. 'Tis very cheap wit that finds it so funny. Certainly all my points would be sooner carried in the state if women voted.

-269

For other expressions see under Nos. 79, 115 & 87.

97. Walt Whitman, The Poems, 1855; ed. by John Burroughs, 1860, New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1902.

From "Chants Democratic and Native American," in which Whitman sings of the "greatest city."

Where women walk in public processions in the streets,
the same as men,
Where they enter the public assembly and take places
the same as the men, and are appealed
to by the orators, the same as the men . . .

-100

The wife -- and she is not one jot less than the husband,
The daughter -- and she is just as good as the son,
The mother -- and she is every bit as much as the father.

-110

98. Horace Greeley, quoted in History of Woman Suffrage, ed. by Elizabeth C. Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda J. Gage, Ida Harper, 6 vols., Rochester, 1881-1920, Vol. I.

Letter to Reverend Mr. Samuel J. May, New York, November 22, 1856.

Allow me, then, through you, to say what I think of the woman's rights movement, its objects, incitements, and limitations. If I may thus attain perspicuity, I can bear the imputation of egotism.

1. I deem the intellectual, like the physical capacities of women unequal in the average to those of men; but I perceive no reason in this natural diversity for a factitious and superinduced legal inequality. On the contrary, it seems to me that the fact of a natural and marked discrepancy in the average mental as well as muscular powers of men and women ought to allay any apprehensions that the latter, in the absence of legal interdicts and circumscriptions, would usurp the functions and privileges of the former.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

4. As to the woman's voting or holding office, I defer implicitly to herself. If the women . . . believe their rights would be better secured and their happiness promoted by the assumption on their parts of the political franchises and responsibilities of men, I, a Republican in principle from conviction,

shall certainly interpose no objection . . .

5. I can not share at all in the apprehensions of those who are alarmed at the Woman's rights agitation, lest it should result in the unsexing of woman, or her general deflection from her proper sphere.

-I, 653-654

For other expressions see under Nos. 91 & 110.

99. Nathaniel Hawthorne, The Marble Faun, 1859, in The Complete Novels and Selected Tales, edited by Norman Holmes Pearson, New York, Random House, Inc., 1937.

Miriam, the independent, dominant protagonist is speaking:

It is a mistaken idea, which men generally entertain, that nature has made women especially prone to throw their whole being into what is technically called love. We have, to say the least, no more necessity for it than yourselves; only we have nothing else to do with our hearts. When women have other objects in life, they are not apt to fall in love. I can think of many women distinguised in art, literature, and science, -- and multitudes whose hearts and minds find good employment in less ostentatious ways, -- who lead high, lonely lives, and are conscience of no sacrifice so far as your sex is concerned.

-659-660

For other quotations see under Nos. 83 & 88.

For critical comments on Hawthorne see under No. 83.

100. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, "Physiology" from Common Sense About Women, 1859; reprinted in Women and the Alphabet, Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1900.

Darwin and Huxley seem to make woman simply a lesser man, weaker in body and mind, -- an affectionate and docile animal, of inferior grade. That there is any aim in the distinction of the sexes, beyond the perpetuation of the race, is nowhere recognized by them . . . And with the utmost respect . . . for their great teachings in other ways, I must think that here they are open to the suspicion of narrowness.

-41-45

101. Horace Mann, Antioch College Announcement, 1859; quoted in History of Women's Education in the United States, 2 vols., by Thomas Woody, New York, The Science Press, 1929, Vol. II.

In some particulars of its aim and scope, this college differs from most of the higher literary institutions of the country.

> It recognizes the claims of the female sex to equal opportunities of education with the male, and these opportunities it designs to confer. Its founders believe that the labors and expenditures for the higher education of men will tend indirectly to elevate the character of women; but they are certain that all wise efforts for the improved education of women will speed the elevation of the whole race.
>
> -II, 238

For other expressions see under Nos. 71, 72 & 90.

102. Wendell Phillips, Address, 1860; reprinted in History of Woman Suffrage, ed. by Elizabeth Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda J. Gage, Ida Harper, 6 vols., Rochester, 1881-1920, Vol. I.

Address delivered at the Tenth National Woman's Rights Convention, Cooper Institute, New York, May 10-11, 1860. For other expressions see under No. 86.

> . . . My dear, religiously, scrupulously fashionable, exquisitely anxious hearer, fearful lest your wife, or daughter, or sister shall be sullied by looking into your neighbors' faces at the ballot-box, you do not belong to the century that has ballot-boxes. You belong to the century of Tamerlane and Timour the Tartar; you belong to China, where the women have no feet, because it is not meant that they shall walk; you belong anywhere but in America; and if you want an answer, walk down Broadway, and meet a hundred thousand petticoats, and they are a hundred thousand answers; for if a woman can walk the streets, she can go to the ballot-box, and any reason of indelicacy that forbids the one covers the other.
>
> -I, 103

103. Caroline H. Dall, The College, The Market And the Court; or Woman's Relation to Education, Labor, and the Law, 1861-1862; Memorial Edition, Boston, 1914.

> . . . we do not make this claim to full, unlimited co-educational opportunities in higher institutes of learning with any particular theory as to woman's powers or possibilities. She may be equal to man, or inferior to him. She may fail in rhetoric, and succeed in mathematics. She may be able to bear fewer hours of study. She may insist on more protracted labor. What we claim is, that no one knows, as yet, what women are, or what they can do . . .
>
> -6-8

104. John Stuart Mill, Utilitarianism, Liberty & Representative Government, Everymen's Library No. 482, New York, E.P. Dutton & Co., 1929.

From Representative Government, which appeared first in 1861:

> In the preceding argument for universal, but graduated suffrage, I have taken no account of difference of sex. I consider it to be as entirely irrelevant to political rights as difference in height or in the colour of the hair. All human beings have the same interest in good government; the welfare of all is alike affected by it, and they have equal need of a voice in it to secure their share of its benefits . . . It is considered suitable and proper that women should think, and write, and be teachers. As soon as these things are admitted, the political disqualifications has no principle to rest on.
>
> -290-292

105. John Stuart Mill, The Subjection of Women, 1861; ed. by G.E.G. V Catlin, New York, E.P. Dutton & Co., 1929.

> . . . I consider it presumption in anyone to pretend to decide what women are or not, can or cannot be, by natural constitution. They have always hitherto been kept, as far as regards spontaneous development, in so unnatural a state, that their nature cannot but have been greatly distorted and disguised; and no one can safely pronounce that if women's nature were left to choose its direction as freely as men's, and if no artificial bent were attempted to be given to it except that required by the conditions of human society, and given to both sexes alike, there would be any material differences, or perhaps any difference at all, in the character and capacities which would unfold themselves. I shall presently show, that even the least contestable of the difference which now exist, are such as may very well have been produced merely by circumstances, without any difference of natural capacity.
>
> -273

> To so ridiculous an extent are the notions formed of the nature of women, mere empirical generalisations, framed, without philosophy or analysis, upon the first instances which present themselves, that the popular idea of it is different in different countries, according as the opinions and social circumstances of the country have given to the women living in it any speciality of development or non-development.
>
> -282

The effect of Mill's doctrine on trends in American thought is indicated by a comment of the editors of the History of Woman's Suffrage (Vol. II, 432), 1887:

The work, not only in this country, but in Europe, was greatly accelerated by the Publication of John Stuart Mill's inestimable book, 'The Subjection of Woman,' which has been translated and reprinted in France, Prussia, and Russia. . . .

106. Artemus Ward (Charles Farrar Browne), Complete Works, New York, G.W. Dillingham Co., 1898.

The first edition appeared in 1862.

'I pitcht my tent in a small town in Injianny one day . . . a deppytashun of ladies came & sed they wos members of the Bunkumville Female Reformin' & Wimin's Rite's Associashun . . .'
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
'My female friends,' sed I, 'be4 you leeve, I've a few remarks to remark. . . . The female woman is one of the greatest institooshuns of which this land can boste. Its onpossible to get along without her. Had there bin no female wimin in the world, I should scarcely be here with my unparaleld show . . . She is good in sickness -- good in wellness -- good all the time. O Woman . . . you air a angle when you bheave yurself; but when you take off your proper appairel & . . . get into pantyloons -- when you desert your firesides, & with your heds full of wimin's rites noshuns go round like roarin lions' . . . in short, when you undertake to play the man, you play the devil and air an emfatic noosance . . .'

-76-78

107. Parker Pillsbury, Address, 1866; reprinted in History of Woman Suffrage, ed. by Elizabeth C. Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda J. Gage, Ida Harper, 6 vols., Rochester, 1881-1920, Vol. II.

The address from which the extract below was taken was delivered at the First National Woman Suffrage Convention after the Civil War, New York City, May 10, 1866.

. . . we have had enough of the past in government. It is time to change. . . . We come today to demand-- first an extension of the right of suffrage to every American citizen, of whatever race, complexion or sex. . . . in the plentitude of our generosity, we even propose to extend the gift to woman also. It is proposed to make educated, cultivated,

> refined, loyal, tax-paying, government-obeying woman equal to the servants who groom her horses, and scour the pots and pans of her kitchen. Our Maria Mitchells, our Harriet Hosmers, Harriet Beecher Stowes, Lydia Maria Childs, and Lucretia Motts, with millions of the mothers and matrons . . . are begging of besotted, debauched, white male citizens, legal voters, soaked in whisky, simmered in tobacco, and parboiled in every shameless vice and sin, to recognize them also as human, and graciously accord to them the rights of intelligent beings! . . .
>
> -II, 205

108. American Equal Rights Association, Constitution, 1866; reprinted in History of Woman's Suffrage, ed. by Elizabeth C. Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda J. Gage, Ida Harper, 6 vols., Rochester, 1881-1920, Vol. II.

> Whereas, by the war, society is once more resolved into its original elements, and in the reconstruction of our government we again stand face to face with the broad question of natural rights, all associations based on special claims for special classes are too narrow and partial for the hour; Therefore, from the baptism of this second revolution -- purified and exalted through suffering -- seeing with a holier vision that the peace, prosperity and perpetuity of the Republic rest on Equal Rights To All, we, today, assembled in our Eleventh National Woman's Rights Convention, bury the Woman in the Citizen, and our organization in that of the American Equal Rights Association.
>
> -II, 173

The above lines are in the preamble to the constitution written by Elizabeth Cady Stanton. For other expressions see under No. 112.

109. Henry Ward Beecher, An Address, 1866: History of Woman Suffrage, ed. by Elizabeth C. Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda J. Gage and Ida Harper, Rochester, 1881-1920, Vol. II.

From a speech made by Henry Ward Beecher at the first Woman's Rights Convention that was held after the Civil War, May, 1866, Chruch of the Puritans, New York City.

> It is God's growing and least disclosed idea of a true human society that man and woman should not be divorced in political affairs any more than they are in religious and social affairs. I claim that women should vote because society will never know its last estate . . . until you accept God's edict . . . Let those that God joined together not be put asunder.

. . . . . .
. . . . . .
A woman that is content to wash stockings, and make Johnny-cake, and to look after and bring up her boys faultless to a button, and that never thinks beyond the meal-tub, and whose morality is so small as to be confined to a single house, is an under-grown woman . . .

-II, 156-163

110. Horace Greeley, Editorial, 1867, The Tribune; quoted in History of Woman Suffrage, ed. by Elizabeth C. Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda J. Gage, Ida Harper, 6 vols., Rochester, 1881-1920, Vol. II.

July 26, 1867

When a department of legislation shall be assigned to woman, we would have her collect through school-districts, or kindred organizations the names of all female citizens who possess the qualifications, other than of sex, required from male voters at our elections . . . Now, let every female citizen write her ballot and enclose it, signing her name to the address indicated; and due time having been allowed for votes to arrive by mail or otherwise, let the votes be duly canvassed, and the result ascertained and declared . . . not by effacing in politics the natural and time-honored distinctions between women and men. A female legislature, a jury of women, we could abide; a legislature of men and women, a jury promiscuously drawn from the sexes we do not believe in.

-II, 305

For other expressions see under Nos. 91 & 98.

111. William Rounseville Alger, The Friendship of Women, 1867; Boston, Robert Brothers, 1879.

The call of woman, in this age, then, is not to be a brawling politican, clamoring for her share in the authorities and honors of the world, launching jokes, sarcasms, and sneers to the right and left: Clearly, her genuine work, beyond the family circle, is to set an example of modest devotion to personal improvement and social weal . . . It is her heavenly mission to influence by yielding, rule by obeying, conquer by surrender, and put the crowning grace of joy and glory on her sex by ministering to the hurts and wants of humanity.

-412

112. Elizabeth C. Stanton, 1867; quoted in History of Woman Suffrage, ed. by Elizabeth C. Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda J. Gage, Ida Harper, 6 vols., Rochester, 1881-1920, Vol. II.

Mrs. Stanton's impassioned remarks below were in response to Horace

Greeley's insistence, 1867, that the feminists hold in abeyance their demand for franchise until the Negro male had obtained his. For other expressions see under No. 108.

> No, no, this is the hour to press woman's claims; we have stood with the black man in the Constitution over half a century and it is fitting now that the constitutional door is open that we should enter with him into the political kingdom of equality. Through all these years he has been the only decent compeer we have had. Enfranchise him, and we are left outside with lunatics, idiots and criminals for another twenty years.
>
> -II, 270

113. James Freeman Clark, Address, 1869: reprinted in the History of Woman Suffrage, ed. by Elizabeth C. Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda J. Gage, Ida Harper, 6 vols., Rochester, 1881-1920, Vol. II.

From an address James Freeman Clark made at the First American Woman Suffrage Convention assembled at Case Hall, Cleveland, Ohio, 1869. For other expressions see under No. 89.

> I believe, in the first place, that women ought to vote . . . not only because it is in the direction of all modern civilization, but because it is in accordance with the idea of American government, and the policy of American institutions . . . People say, 'Well, but there is no natural right to vote,' We know that very well . . . there is no voting in a state of nature. Voting is a social contrivance . . . Put away all the absurd restrictions on woman, and let her do what God intended her to do. Let us trust nature and God, and give to woman the opportunity to do whatever she is able to accomplish.
>
> -II, 768-769

114. Horace Bushnell, Women's Suffrage; The Reform Against Nature, New York, Charles Scribner & Co., 1869.

> Thus far we go in the principle that women are made to be subordinate, and men to be the forward operators and dominating authorities of the world. They have another field, where their really finer qualities and more inspirable gifts may get full room and scope for the most effective and divinest offices of life... . . woman has her government as truly as man, only it is not political, not among powers, and laws, and public causes.
>
> -63-64

. . . the male and female natures together constitute the proper man, and are, therefore, both represented in the vote of the man . . . The assumption is that, being in and of her husband, he will both act and answer for her, except when arraigned for crime.

-67-68

115. Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Essay on Civilization," 1870; Representative Selections, ed. by F.I. Carpenter, New York, American Book Company, 1934.

Right position of woman in the state is another index. Poverty and industry with a healthy mind read very easily the laws of humanity, and love them: place the sexes in right relations of mutual respect, and a severe morality gives that essential charm to woman which educates all that is delicate, poetic, and self-sacrificing, breeds courtesy and learning, conversation and wit, in her rough mate; so that I have thought a sufficient measure of civilization is the influence of a good woman.

-357

For other expressions see under Nos. 79, 87 & 96.

116. A Reply to John Stuart Mill on The Subjection of Women, anonymous, Philadelphia, J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1870.

The revolution of feeling, modes of thinking and acting which must follow any legislation which puts the sexes onaa perfectly similar footing, is certainly worthy of some consideration further than the mere idea of its apparent justice. The agitation in favor of the franchise alone exhibits much of the looseness and superficiality with which the arguments, in favor of this reform are almost universally conducted.

-46-47

For expressions from Mills see under Nos. 104 & 105.

117. Louisa May Alcott, 1873; from a History of Woman Suffrage, ed. by Elizabeth C. Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda J. Gage, Ida Harper, 6 vols., Rochester, 1881-1920, Vol. II.

A letter read to the American Woman Suffrage Association, held October 13, 1873, Cooper Institute, New York City.

Concord, Oct. 1, 1873

I am so busy just now proving 'woman's right to labor,' that I have no time to help prove 'woman's right to vote.'

When I read your note aloud to the family, asking, 'What

shall I say to Mrs. Stone?' a voice from the transcendental mist which usually surrounds my honored father instantly replied, 'Tell her you are ready to follow her as leader, sure that you could not have a better one.' My brave old mother, with the ardor of many unquenchable Mays shining in her face, cried out, 'Tell her I am seventy-three, but I mean to go to the polls before I die, even if my three daughters have to carry me.' . . .

Such being the temper of the small Convention of which I am now president, I can not hesitate to say that though I may not be with you in body, I shall be in spirit, and an as ever, hopefully and heartily yours,

Louisa May Alcott

-II, 831-832

118. James T. Fields, from a letter reprinted in History of Woman Suffrage, ed. by Elizabeth C. Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda J. Gage, Ida Harper, 6 vols., Rochester, 1881-1920, Vol. II.

Fields' letter was addressed to the Sixth Annual Meeting of the American Woman Suffrage Association, held in Detroit, 1874.

Boston, 148 Charles St.
October 10, 1874

It is my firm conviction that all who oppose so just a cause as woman suffrage know not what they do; and, if they are not dead within five years, will repent their opposition in deep and mortifying self-reproach.

'The seed of the thistle,' says Tyndall, 'always produces the thistle,' and our opponents will have a prickly time of it with their own consciences, when the day dawns in righteousness over the American ballot-box.

-II, 834

119. Bronson Alcott, 1874; from a History of Woman Suffrage, ed. by Elizabeth C. Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda J. Gage, Ida Harper, 6 vols., Rochester, 1881-1920, Vol. III.

From a letter to the annual meeting of the Michigan State Woman Suffrage Association held in Lansing, Michigan, May 6, 1874.

'Where women lead -- the best women -- is it unsafe for men to follow? Woman's influence cannot be confined to her household; woman is, and will be, womanly wherever placed. No condition can unsex the sexes. The Ten Commandments will not suffer in her keeping . . . Plato said: 'Either sex alone is but half itself.' Socially, we admit his assertion, and are just beginning to suspect that our republican institutions need to be

complemented and rounded with woman's counsels, and administrations also . . . Mrs. Alcott and Louisa join in hearty hopes for your success . . . '

-III, 519-520

120. Francis Parkman, Some of the Reasons Against Woman Suffrage, [1877 ?], printed at the Request of an Association of Women.

. . . one of the chief arguments of the agitators is that government without the consent of the governed is opposed to inalienable rights . . . most women, including those of the best capacity and worth, fully concent that their fathers, husbands, or friends, shall be their political representatives . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . from the earliest records of mankind down to this moment . . . the relative position of the sexes has been essentially the same. Such permanence in the foundation lies deep in the essential nature of things . . . Women have great special tasks assigned them in the work of life, and man have not. To these tasks their whole nature, moral and physical, is adjusted. . . .

-6-7

From internal evidence it appears that Parkman wrote this protest shortly after a period which he refers to as that of the Hayes-Tilden campaign of 1877. The pamphlet is undated.

121. Congressional Record, First Session of the 48th Congress, 1883-1884; quoted in History of Woman Suffrage, ed. by Elizabeth C. Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda J. Gage, Ida Harper, 6 vols., Rochester, 1881-1920, Vol. IV.

As objection to a resolution for the submission of a proposition for a Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution, Mr. Joseph E. Brown (Georgia) submitted the following report of the minority:

The undersigned believe that the Creator intended that the spheres of the males and females of our race should be different, and that their duties and obligations, . . . are equally honorable . . . it is the duty of the male sex to perform the obligations to the State, to society, and to the family . . . It is a laborious task for which the male sex is infinitely

> better fitted than the female sex . . . man is fitted by nature for the discharge of the duty -- woman is unfit for it.
> . . . While the woman doesn't discharge military duty, nor does she attend courts and serve on juries, nor does she labor upon the public streets, bridges, or highways, nor does she engage actively and publicly in the discussion of political affairs, nor does she enter the crowded precincts of the ballot-box to deposit her Suffrage, still, the intelligent, cultivated, noble woman is a power behind the throne . . . she governs not by physical efforts, but by moral suasion and feminine purity and delicacy . . .
>
> -IV, 95

122. Senate Speech, 1886, by Henry W. Blair of New Hampshire.

The only information on the pamphlet in which this address appears is that the "Honorable Henry W. Blair of New Hampshire" delivered it before the Senate of the United States, December, 1886.

> The distinction of human beings by reason of sex is a physical distinction. The soul is of no sex. . . . I repeat it, that the soul is of no sex, and that sex is, so far as the possession and exercise of human rights and powers are concerned, but a physical property, in which the female is just as important as the male, and the possession thereof under just as great need of power in the organization and management of society and the government of society as man . . .
>
> -6

123. Legislative Argument, 1889, made by Arthur Lord, in behalf of the Remonstrants Against Municipal Suffrage for Women, before the Legislative Committee on Woman Suffrage, Boston, 1889.

The following passages were taken from the pamphlet bearing the title Argument of Arthur Lord:

> We turn in vain to the history of this people for support for their women's doctrine of natural right. When the petioners point to the compact of the 'Mayflower' in support of their contention, I accept the test. The verdict of history is far different from what they seek. The compact of the 'Mayflower' was signed by the male members of the Pilgrim company only. . . . Suffrage was restricted under the colonial law, under the provincial law, and under the Constitution; and it has been reserved for the men and women of a later generation to discover

that this restriction was an unwarrantable invasion of right.

The thoughtful men who framed the earlier laws never admitted for a moment that there was any right to vote inherent in any citizen, . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

These glittering generalities about the unrestricted right of suffrage are the teachings of the school of the French Revolution, and not the simpler, purer, wiser, school of the 'Mayflower.'

-6

124. Matilda Joslyn Gage, Woman, Church and State; A Historical Account of the Status of Woman Through the Christian Ages . . . Chicago, Charles H. Kerr & Co., 1893.

This work explains itself and is given to the world because it is needed. Tired of the obtuseness of Church and State; indignant at the injustice of both towards woman; at the wrongs inflicted upon half of humanity by the other half in the name of religion; finding appeal and argument alike met by the assertion that God designed the subjection of woman, and yet that her position had been higher under Christianity than ever before I refuted them in a slight resume of the subject at the annual convention of the National Woman Suffrage Association, Washington, D.C., 1878 . . . and it now appears, the result of twenty years investigation.

-1

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, Abigail, New Letters 1788-1801, ed. with an intro. by Stewart Mitchell, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947.

Adams, Charles Francis, Three Episodes of Massachusetts History, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1894.

Adams, Henry, Henry Adams and His Friends, A Collection of His Unpublished Letters, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947.

-----Letters to a Niece, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1920.

Adams, John, Familiar Letters of John Admas and His Wife, ed. by Charles F. Adams, New York, Hurd & Houghton, 1876.

-----The Works with A Life of the Author, by his Grandson Charles Francis Adams, 10 vols., Boston, Charles C. Little & James Brown, 1851.

Adams, John Quincy, The Diary, ed. by Allan Nevins, New York, Longman Green & Co., 1928.

Agnew, J. Holmes, Woman's Office and Influence, an address before the Monroe Female Seminary, New York, 1851.

Alcott, Bronson, The Journals, ed. by Odell Shepard, Boston, Little Brown & Co., 1938.

-----Little Women Letters from the House of Alcott, selected by Jessie Bonstelle and Marian deForest, Boston, Little, Brown, and Co., 1916.

Alcott, Louisa May, Her Life, Letters, and Journals, ed. by Ednah D. Cheney, Boston, Robert Brothers, 1890.

Alexander, William, The History of Women from the Earliest Antiquity, to the Present Time, 2 vols., Dublin, printed by J.A. Husband, 1779.

Alger, William R., The Friendships of Women, Boston, Robert Brothers, 1879.

Allen, R. S., Age of Erasmus, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1914.

Arber, Edward, The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers, Boston, Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1987.

Astell, Mary, A Serious Proposal To the Ladies For the Advancement of their True and Greatest Interest, 2 Parts, by a Lover of her Sex, London, 1697.

The Babees Book, ed. by F.J. Furnival, Early English Text Society No. 32, London, 1868.

Ballard, George, Memoirs of Several Ladies, Oxford, printed by W. Jackson, for the Author, 1752.

Beach, Seth C., Daughters of the Puritans, Boston, American Unitarian Association, 1905.

Beard, Mary R. America Through Women's Eyes, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1933.

Beecher, Catherine E., The American Woman's Home, by C.E. Beecher & Harriet Beecher Stowe, New York, J.B. Ford & Co., 1869.

-----Educational Reminiscences and Suggestions, New York, 1874.

-----An Essay on Slavery and Abolition, with Reference to the Duty of American Females, Philadelphia, 1837.

-----A Treatise on Domestic Economy, Boston, Marsh, Capen, Lyon & Webb, 1841.

Benson, Mary Sumner, Ph. D., Women in Eighteenth-Century America, New York, Columbia University Press, 1935.

Bercher, William, The Nobility of Women, 1559, ed. by R. Warwick Bond, for the Roxburgh Club, London, 1904.

Biographium Faemineum, The Female Worthies: or Memoirs of the Most Illustrious Ladies of All Ages and Nations, London, MDCCLXVI, 1766.

Birney, Catherine H., The Grimké Sisters, New York, Lee & Shepard, 1885.

Blackwell, Alice Stone, Lucy Stone Pioneer Woman Suffragist, Boston, Little Brown, & Co., 1930.

Blair, Henry W., Speech in the Senate of the United States, December, 1886.

The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry, ed. by Thomas Wright, Early English Text Society, No. 33, London, 1868.

Brackenridge, Hugh Henry, Modern Chivalry, ed. by Claude M. Newlin, New York, American Book Co., 1937.

Brown, Charles Brockden, Memoirs . . . with selections from his Original Letters and Miscellaneous writings, by William Dunlap, London, 1822.

-----Arthur Mervyn or Memories of the Year 1793, 2 vols., Philadelphia, David McKay Publisher, 1887.

-----Ormond or The Secret Witness, ed. by Ernest Marchand, New York, American Book Co., 1937.

-----Wieland or The Transformation, together with Memoirs of Carwin the Biloquist, ed. by Fred Lewis Pattee, New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1926.

Bushnell, Horace, Women's Suffrage, The Reform Against Nature, Charles Scribner's & Co., New York, 1869.

Calverton, V.F., The Awakening of America, New York, The John Day Co., 1939.

Channing, William Ellery, The Life, by William Henry Channing, Boston, American Unitarian Association, 1904.

Chambers, R.W., Thomas More, London, Johathan Cape, 1935.

Chapone, Mrs. Hester, Letters on the Improvement of the Mind, addressed to a Young Lady, 2 vols., 1777, London.

-----Posthumous Works of Mrs. Chapone, containing her Correspondence with Mr. Richardson, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1807.

Claflin, Tennie C. Constitutional Equality, A Right of Woman . . . , New York, Woodhull, Claflin & Co., 1871.

Coulton, G.G. Medieval Panorama, Cambridge, University Press, 1946.

Curti, Merle, The Growth of American Thought, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1943.

Dall, Caroline H., The College, The Market and the Court, Memorial Edition, Boston, 1914.

De Tocqueville, Alexis, Democracy in America, ed. by H.S. Commager, Oxford University Press, New York, 1947.

A Dialoque Concerning Women, Being a Defence of The Sex, written to Eugenia, . . . Preface by John Dryden, London, 1691.

Dwight, Timothy, Travels in New-England and New-York, 4 vols., New Haven, 1821.

Earle, Alice Morse, Colonial Dames and Good Wives, Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1895.

-----Customs and Fashions in Old New England, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1890.

-----Margaret Winthrop, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896.

Elyot, Sir Thomas, The Defence of Good Women, London, 1534.

Emerson, Ralph Waldo, The Heart of Emerson's Journals, ed. by Bliss Perry, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1926.

-----Representative Selections, ed. by F.I. Carpenter, American Book Co., New York, 1934.

Erasmus, The Colloquies, 2 vols., translated by N. Bailey, from the Latin text of the P. Scriver's edition, printed by Elzevir's, 1643, ed. by E. Johnson, London, Reevers & Turner, 1878.

-----The Epistles, from His Earliest Letters to his Fifty-first Year, English Translations by Francis Morgan Nichols, Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1901.

-----In Praise of Folly, ed. by Horace Bridges, Pascal Covici, Chicago, 1925.

The Excellent Woman, described by her True Characters and Their Opposites . . . Done out of French by T.D., London, printed for John Wyat . . . 1695.

Female Excellency or The Ladies Glory, by R.B., London, 1688.

Fuller, Margaret, Memoirs, 2 vols., by Ralph Waldo Emerson and James Freeman Clarke, Boston, Phillips, Sampson & Co., 1852.

-----Fuller, M. (Ossoli), Woman in the Nineteenth Century, and Kindred Papers . . . ed. by her brother A.B. Fuller, Boston, John P. Jewett & Co., 1855.

Gage, Matilda Joslyn, Woman, Church and State.... , Chicago, Charles H. Kerr, 1893.

Gamble, Eliza B., The Sexes in Science & History, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1916.

Gooch, G.P., English Democratic Ideas in the 17th Century, 2nd edition, Cambridge University Press, 1927.

Goodsell, Willystine, Pioneers of Women's Education in the United States, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1931.

Goodwin, John A., The Pilgrim Republic, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1920.

Graham, Abbie, Ladies in Revolt, New York, The Woman's Press, 1934.

Groves, Ernest R., The American Woman, the Feminine Side of a Masculine Civilization, New York, Emerson Books, Inc., 1944.

Hale, Sarah Josepha, Woman's Record, or Sketches of All Distinguished Women . . .,Third edition, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1874.

Hall, F.H., Julia Ward Howe and The Woman Suffrage Movement, Boston, Dana Estes & Co., 1913.

Hamilton, Alexander, Works, 9 vols., ed. by Henry Cabot Lodge, New York, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1885-1886.

Hamilton, Gail (Mary Abigail Dodge), Woman's Wrongs A Counter-Irritant, Boston, Ticknor & Fields, 1868.

Handlyng Synne, by Robert of Brunne, ed. by Frederick J. Furnival, Early English Text Society No. 119, 123, London, 1901.

Harpsfield, Nicholas, The Life and Death of Sir Thomas More, ed. by E.V. Hitchcock, London, Oxford University Press, 1932.

Hawthorne, Julian, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, 2 vols., Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, 1890.

Hawthorne, Nathaniel, The Complete Novels and Selected Tales, Random House, 1937.

Heywood, Mrs. Eliza, Epistles for the Ladies, by the author of The Female Spectator, London, 1766.

-----The Female Spectator, ed. by Mary Priestley, London, John Lane the Bodley Head, Ltd., 1929.

Heywood, Thomas, The Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts of Nine the Most Worthy Women of the World, London, 1640.

Higginson, Thomas Wentworth, Women and the Alphabet, Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1900.

History of Oberlin College, 2 vols., Robert S. Fletcher, Oberlin, Ohio, 1943.

History of Woman Suffrage, ed, by E.C. Stanton, S.B. Anthony, M.J. Gage, 6 vols., Fowler & Wells Publishers, New York City, 1881.

Hooker, Richard, Works, 2 vols., ed. by W.S. Dobson, London, 1825.

The Husband In Answer to The Wife, London, 1756.

Irving, Washington, Works, 15 vols., ed. by Peter Fenelon Collier, New York, 1897.

Irwin, Inez H., Angels and Amazons, New York, Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1934.

Jefferson, Thomas, Writings, 10 vols., ed. by Paul Leicester Ford, New York, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1899.

Johnson, Alexander, Connecticut, Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1887.

Knappen, M.M., Tudor Puritanism, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1939.

Loshe, Lillie Deming, The Early American Novel, New York, Columbia University Press, 1907.

Madison, James, Letters and Other Writings, 4 vols., Philadelphia, J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1867.

Mann, Horace, Life & Works, 5 vols., Boston, Lee & Shepard, 1891.

Martineau, Harriet, Society in America, 2 vols., Saunders & Otley, New York, 1837.

Mather, Cotton, Diary, 1681-1708, Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, Seventh Series, Vol. VII, Boston, 1911.

-----Magnalia Christi Americana, Hartford, S. Andrus & Son, 1855.

-----Manductio ad Ministerium, Facsimile Text Society, Columbia University, 1938.

-----Selections, ed. by Kenneth B. Murdock, New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1926.

McIntosh, Maria Jane, Woman in America, Her Work and Her Reward, New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1850.

Mill, John Stuart, The Subjection of Women, ed. by G.E.G. Catlin, New York, E.P. Dutton & Co., 1929.

Miller, Perry, Orthodoxy in Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1933.

-----and T.H. Johnson, The Puritans, New York, American Book Co., 1938.

More, Hannah, Essays on Various Subjects Principally Designed for Young Ladies, Philadelphia, Young, Stewart & McCulloch, 1786.

More, Sir Thomas, Correspondence, ed. by Elizabeth Frances Rogers, Princeton, University Press, 1947.

-----Utopia, ed. by J. Churton Collins, Oxford, 1936.

O'Malley, I.B., Women in Subjection, London, Duckworth, 1933.

Overbury, Sir Thomas, The Overburian Characters To which is added A WIFE, ed. by W.J. Paylor, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1936.

Paine, Thomas, Complete Writings, 2 vols., ed. by Philip S. Foner, New York, Citadel Press, 1945.

Parker, Theodore, The Public Function of Woman, Woman's Rights Tract #1, 1853.

Parkmans, Francis, Some of the Reasons Against Woman Suffrage, 1877 (?).

Parrington, Vernon Louis, Main Currents in American Thought, 3 vols., New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1930.

Peabody, Elizabeth P., ed., Aesthetic Papers, New York, G.P. Putnam, 1849.

Randall, John Herman, The Making of the Modern Mind, Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1926.

Reynolds, Myra, The Learned Lady in England 1650-1760, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1920.

Rolle, Richard, Selected Works, ed. by G.C. Heseltine, New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1930.

Rowlands, Samuel, The Bride, reprinted . . . from . . . Original Edition of 1617 . . . ed. by A.C. Potter, Boston, Merrymount Press, 1905.

Schreiner, Olive, Woman and Labor, Eighth edition, New York, Frederick A. Stokes, 1911.

Sewall, Samuel, Letter-Book, Massachusetts Historical Society, Vol. I, Boston, 1886.

Sidney, Sir Philip, The Defense of Poesy otherwise known as An Apology for Poetry, ed. by Albert S. Cook, New York, Ginn & Co., 1890.

Smith, Florence M., Mary Astell, New York, Columbia University Press, 1916.

Sprague, William B., Letters on Practical Subjects to a Daughter, New York, 1831.

Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, As Revealed in Her Letters, Diary and Reminiscences, ed. by Theodore Stanton and Harriet Stanton Blatch, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1922.

-----Eighty Years and More, London, T.F. Unwin, 1898.

Stedman, Clarence E. and Ellen Mackay Hutchinson, A Library of American Literature from the earliest Settlement to the Present Time, 10 vols., N. Y. Charles L. Webster & Co., 1889.

Stiles, Ezra, The Literary Diary, 3 vols., ed. by Franklin Bowditch Dexter, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901.

Stowe, Lyman Beecher, Saints, Sinners and Beechers, Indianopolis, Bobbs Merrill Co., 1941.

Sweet, W.W., Religion in Colonial America, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1942.

Taylor, Jeremy, A Course of Sermons for All the Sundays in the Year, Revised and Corrected by the Rev. Charles Page Eden, M.A., New Edition, London, Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, MDCCCL.

Torshell, Samuel, The Woman's Glorie, by S.T., London, 1650.

Utley, Francis Lee, The Crooked Rib, An Analytical Index to the Argument about Women . . . to end of year 1568, Columbus, Ohio State University, 1944.

Utter, Robert P. Pamela's Daughters, New York, Macmillan Co., 1937.

Wallas, Ada, Before the Bluestockings, London, Allen & Unwin, ltd., 1929.

Warren-Adams Letters, 1743-1777, 1778-1814, 2 vols., Massachusetts Historical Society, 1925.

Mercy Warren, by Alice Brown, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1896.

Watson, Foster, Vives and the Renascence Education of Women, New York, Longman, Green & Co., 1912.

-----Vives: On Education, Cambridge, University Press, 1913.

Webster, Daniel, Works, 6 vols., Boston, Little Brown & Co. 1877.

Webster, Thomas, Rev., Woman Man's Equal, Cincinnati, 1873.

Weeden, William B., Economic and Social History of New England 1620-1789, 2 vols., Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1890.

Weld, Theodore Dwight and Angelina Grimké Weld and Sarah Grimké, Letters 1822-1844, ed. by G.H. Barnes and D.L. Dumond, New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1934.

The Wife, by Mira, one of the authors of The Female Spectator . . ., London, 1756.

Willard, Frances E., Woman and Temperance, Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1897.

Williams, Arnold, The Common Expositor An Account of the Commentaires of Genesis 1527-1633, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1948.

Wilson, Thomas, The Art of Rhetorique, London, 1560.

Winthrop, John, Journal 1630-1649, ed. by J.K. Hosmer, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908.

Winslow, Anne Green, Diary, a Boston School Girl of 1771, ed. by Alice Morse Earle, Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, 1896.

The Wives of England, Their . . . Duties, Domestic Influence . . . , by Mrs. Ellis, New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1843.

Wollstonecraft, Mary, The Rights of Woman and The Subjection of Women by John Stuart Mill, New York, E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1929.

Woman Not Inferior to Man, by Sophia . . . printed for John Hawkins, London, 1739.

Woody, Thomas, A History of Women's Education in the United States, 2 vols., New York, The Science Press, 1929.

Wright, Frances, Views of Society and Manners in America . . . during the years 1818, 1819 and 1820 . . ., London, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1821.

Wright, Louis B., Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1935.

Wyclif, Select English Writings, ed. by Herbert E. Winn, Londin, Oxford University Press, 1929.