

adherence to Universalism, for the Universalist church, one of the first Protestant denominations to ordain women as ministers, preached universal salvation and individual religious liberty. While married to the trader and sea captain John Stevens, she published her first essay, *Desultory Thoughts upon the Utility of Encouraging a Degree of Self-Complacency, Especially in Female Bosoms* (1784), an important precursor of her subsequent work. Two years after its publication, Stevens died in the West Indies, and in 1788 she married John Murray, a preacher of Universalism and a friend of her parents. The couple's move to Boston facilitated her writing many essays for journals like the *Massachusetts Magazine*, in which "On the Equality of the Sexes" appeared, as well as two plays: *The Medium, or Virtue Triumphant* (1795) and *The Traveller Returned* (1796). Following her husband's stroke in 1809, she edited his letters and sermons; after his death, she completed his autobiography before retiring to Natchez, then part of the Mississippi Territory, where she died in her daughter's home. According to Sharon M. Harris, who has edited Murray's selected writings, "Perhaps no American woman writer until Margaret Fuller equaled Murray in intellectual powers, in the breadth of genres in which she wrote, or in public recognition."

On the Equality of the Sexes¹

Part I

That minds are not alike, full well I know,
This truth each day's experience will show.
To heights surprising some great spirits soar,
With inborn strength mysterious depths explore;
5 Their eager gaze surveys the path of light,
Confessed it stood to Newton's² piercing sight.

Deep science, like a bashful maid retires,
And but³ the ardent breast her worth inspires;
By perseverance the coy fair is won,
10 And Genius, led by Study, wears the crown.

But some there are who wish not to improve,
Who never can the path of knowledge love,
Whose souls almost with the dull body one,
With anxious care each mental pleasure shun.

15 Weak is the leveled,⁴ enervated mind,
And but while here to vegetate designed.

The torpid spirit mingling with its clod
Can scarcely boast its origin from God.

20 Stupidly dull—they move progressing on—
They eat, and drink, and all their work is done,

While others, emulous of sweet applause,
Industrious seek for each event a cause,

Tracing the hidden springs whence knowledge flows,
Which nature all in beauteous order shows.

25 Yet cannot I their sentiments imbibe
Who this distinction to the sex ascribe,

1. The text used here is taken from *The Massachusetts Magazine, or Monthly Museum of Knowledge and Rational Entertainment*, March and April 1790.

2. Sir Isaac Newton (1642–1727), English mathematician and physicist who discovered that white

light contains all colors of the spectrum and whose *Opticks* (1704) presented his influential theory that light is composed of particles.

3. Only.

4. Lowered.

cence. Perhaps it will be asked if I furnish these facts as instances of excellency in our sex. Certainly not; but as proofs of a creative faculty, of a lively imagination. Assuredly great activity of mind is thereby discovered, and was this activity properly directed what beneficial effects would follow. Is the needle and kitchen sufficient to employ the operations of a soul thus organized? I should conceive not. Nay, it is a truth that those very departments leave the intelligent principle vacant, and at liberty for speculation. Are we deficient in reason? We can only reason from what we know, and if an opportunity of acquiring knowledge hath been denied us, the inferiority of our sex cannot fairly be deduced from thence. Memory, I believe, will be allowed us in common, since every one's experience must testify that a loquacious old woman is as frequently met with as a communicative old man; their subjects are alike drawn from the fund of other times, and the transactions of their youth, or of maturer life, entertain, or perhaps fatigue you, in the evening of their lives. "But our judgment is not so strong—we do not distinguish so well."—Yet it may be questioned, from what doth this superiority in this determining faculty of the soul, proceed? May we not trace its source in the difference of education, and continued advantages? Will it be said that the judgment of a male of two years old is more sage than that of a female's of the same age? I believe the reverse is generally observed to be true. But from that period what partiality! How is the one exalted and the other depressed by the contrary modes of education which are adopted! The one is taught to aspire and the other is early confined and limited. As their years increase the sister must be wholly domesticated, while the brother is led by the hand through all the flowery paths of science.² Grant that their minds are by nature equal, yet who shall wonder at the *apparent* superiority, if indeed custom becomes *second nature*; nay if it taketh place of nature, and that it doth the experience of each day will evince. At length arrived at womanhood, the uncultivated fair one feels a void which the employments allotted her are by no means capable of filling. What can she do? To books she may not apply; or if she doth, to *those only of the novel kind*,³ lest she merit the appellation of a *learned lady*; and what ideas have been affixed to this term, the observation of many can testify. Fashion, scandal, and sometimes what is still *more reprehensible* are then called in to her relief; and who can say to what *lengths* the liberties she takes may proceed. Meantime she herself is most *unhappy*; she feels the want of a cultivated mind. Is she single, she in vain seeks to fill up time from sexual employments or amusements.⁴ Is she united to a person whose soul nature made equal to her own, education hath set him so far above her that in those entertainments which are productive of such *rational felicity* she is not qualified to accompany him. She experiences a *mortifying consciousness* of inferiority which embitters every enjoyment. Doth the person to whom her adverse fate hath consigned her possess a mind incapable of improvement, she is equally wretched in being so closely connected with an individual whom she cannot but despise. Now was she permitted the same instructors as her brother (with an eye however to their particular departments⁵) for the employment of a rational mind an ample field would be opened. In astronomy she might catch a glimpse of the

2. Knowledge.

3. I.e., fiction.

4. I.e., with activities appropriate for the (female)

sex.

5. Duties assigned to each.

immensity of the Deity and thence she would form amazing conceptions of the August and supreme Intelligence. In geography she would admire Jehovah in the midst of His benevolence; thus adapting this globe to the various wants and amusements of its inhabitants. In natural philosophy she would adore the infinite majesty of heaven, clothed in condescension⁶ and as she traversed the reptile world, she would hail the goodness of a creating God. A mind thus filled would have little room for the trifles with which our sex are, with too much justice, accused of amusing themselves, and they would thus be rendered fit companions for those who should one day wear them as their crown. Fashions, in their variety, would then give place to conjectures, which might perhaps conduce to the improvement of the literary world; and there would be no leisure for slander or detraction. Reputation would not then be blasted, but serious speculations would occupy the lively imaginations of the sex. Unnecessary visits would be precluded, and that custom would only be indulged by way of relaxation, or to answer the demands of consanguinity and friendship. Females would become discreet, their judgments would be invigorated, and their partners for life being circumspectly chosen, an unhappy Hymen⁷ would then be as rare as is now the reverse.

Will it be urged that those acquirements would supersede our domestic duties? I answer that every requisite in female economy⁸ is easily attained; and, with truth, I can add that when once attained they require no further *mental attention*. Nay, while we are pursuing the needle, or the superintendency of the family, I repeat, that our minds are at full liberty for reflection; that imagination may exert itself in full vigor; and that if a just foundation is early laid, our ideas will then be worthy of rational beings. If we were industrious we might easily find time to arrange them upon paper, or should avocations press too hard for such an indulgence, the hours allotted for conversation would at least become more refined and rational. Should it still be vociferated, "Your domestic employments are sufficient"—I would calmly ask, is it reasonable that a candidate for immortality, for the joys of heaven, an intelligent being, who is to spend an eternity in contemplating the works of Deity, should at present be so degraded as to be allowed no other ideas than those which are suggested by the mechanism of a pudding, or the sewing the seams of a garment? Pity that all such censures of female improvement do not go one step further and deny their future existence;⁹ to be consistent they surely ought.

Yes, ye lordly, ye haughty sex, our souls are by nature *equal* to yours; the same breath of God animates, enlivens, and invigorates us; and that we are not fallen lower than yourselves, let those witness who have greatly towered above the various discouragements by which they have been so heavily oppressed. And though I am unacquainted with the list of celebrated characters on either side, yet from the observations I have made in the contracted circle in which I have moved, I dare confidently believe that from the commencement of time to the present day there hath been as many females, as males, who, by the *mere force of natural powers*, have merited the crown of

6. Courteous disregard of higher rank. "Natural philosophy": science.

7. Marriage (in classical mythology, the god of

marriage).

8. Household management.

9. I.e., deny that women have immortal souls.

applause; who, *thus unassisted*, have seized the wreath of fame. I know there are who assert that as the animal powers of the one sex are superior of course their mental faculties also must be stronger; thus attributing strength of mind to the transient organization of this earth born tenement. But if this reasoning is just, man must be content to yield the palm [to] many of the brute creation, since by not a few of his brethren of the field he is far surpassed in bodily strength. Moreover, was this argument admitted, it would prove too much, for ocular demonstration evinceth that there are many robust masculine ladies, and effeminate gentlemen. Yet I fancy that Mr. Pope,¹ though clogged with an enervated body, and distinguished by a diminutive stature, could nevertheless lay claim to greatness of soul, and perhaps there are many other instances which might be adduced to combat so unphilosophical an opinion. Do we not often see that when the clay built tabernacle² is well nigh dissolved, when it is just ready to mingle with the parent soil, the immortal inhabitant aspires to and even attaineth heights the most sublime and which were before wholly unexplored? Besides, were we to grant that animal strength proved anything, taking into consideration the accustomed impartiality of nature, we should be induced to imagine that she had invested the female mind with superior strength as an equivalent for the bodily powers of man. But waving³ this however palpable advantage, for *equality only*, we wish to contend.

Part II

I am aware that there are many passages in the sacred oracles which seem to give the advantage to the other sex, but I consider all these as wholly metaphorical. Thus David was a man after God's own heart, yet see him enervated by his licentious passions!⁴ Behold him following Uriah to the death and show me wherein could consist the immaculate Being's complacency. Listen to the curses which Job bestoweth upon the day of his nativity,⁵ and tell me where is his perfection, where his patience—*literally* it existed not. David and Job were types of Him⁶ who was to come; and the superiority of man, as exhibited in scripture, being also emblematical, all arguments deduced from thence of course fall to the ground. The exquisite delicacy of the female mind proclaimeth the exactness of its texture, while its nice⁷ sense of honor announceth its innate, its native grandeur. And indeed, in one respect, the preeminence seems to be tacitly allowed us, for after an education which limits and confines, and employments and recreations which naturally tend to enervate the body and debilitate the mind, after we have from early youth been adorned with ribbons and other gew-gaws, dressed out like the ancient victims previous to a sacrifice, being taught by the care of our parents in collecting the most showy materials that the ornamenting our exterior ought to be the principal object of our attention; after, I say, fifteen years thus spent, we are introduced into the world amid the united

1. Alexander Pope (1688–1744), a major English poet, was crippled in childhood by disease and was only four and a half feet tall.

2. I.e., the body, originally formed from dust (Genesis 2.7); cf. "earth born tenement," above.

3. I.e., waiving.

4. I.e., his lust for Bathsheba; King David ensured

that her husband, Uriah, would be killed in battle so that he might marry her (2 Samuel 11). David is called a man after the Lord's own heart in 1 Samuel 13.14.

5. Job 5.

6. Prefigurations of Jesus.

7. Scrupulous. "Exactness": consummate finish.

adulation of every beholder. Praise is sweet to the soul; we are immediately intoxicated by large draughts⁸ of flattery, which being plentifully administered, is to the pride of our hearts the most acceptable incense. It is expected that with the other sex we should commence immediate war, and that we should triumph over the machinations of the most artful. We must be constantly upon our guard; prudence and discretion must be our characteristics, and we must rise superior to, and obtain a complete victory over, those who have been long adding to the native strength of their minds by an unremitted study of men and books, and who have, moreover, conceived from the loose characters which they have seen portrayed in the extensive variety of their reading a most contemptible opinion of the sex. Thus unequal, we are, notwithstanding, forced to the combat, and the infamy which is consequent upon the smallest deviation in our conduct proclaims the high idea which was formed of our native strength; and thus, indirectly at least, is the preference acknowledged to be our due. And if we are allowed an equality of acquirement, let serious studies equally employ our minds and we will bid our souls arise to equal strength. We will meet upon even ground the despot man; we will rush with alacrity to the combat, and, crowned by success, we shall then answer the exalted expectations which are formed. Though sensibility, soft compassion, and gentle commiseration are inmates in the female bosom, yet against every deep laid art, altogether fearless of the event, we will set them in array;⁹ for assuredly the wreath of victory will encircle the spotless brow. If we meet an equal, a sensible friend, we will reward him with the hand of amity, and through life we will be assiduous to promote his happiness; but from every deep laid scheme for our ruin, retiring into ourselves, amid the flowery paths of science, we will indulge in all the refined and sentimental pleasures of contemplation. And should it still be urged that the studies thus insisted upon would interfere with our more peculiar department, I must further reply that *early hours* and close application will do wonders; and to her who is from the first dawn of reason taught to fill up time rationally, both the requisites will be easy. I grant that niggard¹ fortune is too generally unfriendly to the mind; and that much of that valuable treasure, time, is necessarily expended upon the wants of the body; but it should be remembered that in embarrassed circumstances our companions have as little leisure for literary improvement as is afforded to us; for most certainly their provident care² is at least as requisite as our exertions. Nay, we have even more leisure for sedentary pleasures, as our avocations are more retired, much less laborious, and, as hath been observed, by no means require that avidity of attention which is proper to the employments of the other sex. In high life, or, in other words, where the parties are in possession of affluence, the objection respecting time is wholly obviated, and, of course, falls to the ground. And it may also be repeated that many of those hours which are at present swallowed up in fashion and scandal might be redeemed were we habituated to useful reflections. But in one respect, O ye arbiters of our fate! we confess that the superiority is indubitably yours; you are by nature formed for our protectors; we pretend not to vie with you in bodily strength; upon this point we will never contend for victory. Shield us then, we beseech you,

8. Drinks.

9. In battle lines.

1. Stingily, miserly.

2. I.e., men's care in providing for their families.

from external evils, and in return *we* will transact *your* domestic affairs. Yes, *your*, for are you not equally interested in those matters with ourselves? Is not the elegance of neatness as agreeable to your sight as to ours; is not the well favored viand equally delightful to your taste; and doth not your sense of hearing suffer as much from the discordant sounds prevalent in an ill regulated family produced by the voices of children and many *et ceteras*?

CONSTANTIA.³

By way of supplement to the foregoing pages, I subjoin the following extract from a letter, wrote to a friend in the December of 1780.

And now assist me, O thou genius of my sex, while I undertake the arduous task of endeavoring to combat that vulgar, that almost universal error, which hath, it seems, enlisted even Mr. P—under its banners. The superiority of your sex hath, I grant, been time out of mind esteemed a truth incontrovertible; in consequence of which persuasion every plan of education hath been calculated to establish this favorite tenet. Not long since, weak and presuming as I was, I amused myself with selecting some arguments from nature, reason, and experience, against this so generally received idea. I confess that to sacred testimonies⁴ I had not recourse. I held them to be merely metaphorical and thus regarding them, I could not persuade myself that there was any propriety in bringing them to decide in this *very important debate*. However, as you, sir, confine yourself entirely to the sacred oracles, I mean to bend the whole of my artillery against those supposed proofs which you have from thence provided, and from which you have formed an entrenchment *apparently* so invulnerable. And first, to begin with our great progenitors;⁵ but here, suffer me to premise, that it is for mental strength I mean to contend, for with respect to animal powers, I yield them undisputed to that sex, which enjoys them in common with the lion, the tiger, and many other beasts of prey; therefore your observations respecting the *rib under the arm*,⁶ *at a distance from the head*, etc., etc., in no sort militate against my view. Well, but the woman was first in the transgression. Strange how blind *self love* renders you men. Were you not wholly absorbed in a partial admiration of your own abilities, you would long since have acknowledged the force of what I am now going to urge. It is true some ignoramuses have absurdly enough informed us that the beauteous fair of paradise was seduced from her obedience by a malignant demon *in the guise of a baleful serpent*; but we, who are better informed, know that the fallen spirit presented himself to her view *a shining angel still*; for thus, saith the critics in the Hebrew tongue, ought the word to be rendered.⁷ Let us examine her motive—Hark! the seraph declares that she shall attain a perfection of knowledge; for is there aught which is not comprehended under one or other of the terms *good* and *evil*.⁸ It doth not appear that she was governed by any one sensual appe-

3. Murray's pen name. "*Et ceteras*": other things.

4. I.e., the Bible.

5. Adam and Eve, viewed as the ancestors of all humanity.

6. Genesis 2.21–22 describes woman as created from man's rib.

7. The Hebrew word translated "serpent" in Genesis 3.1 is *nachash*, usually linked to a root meaning "to hiss"; some scholars point to a similar root,

meaning "to shine." Morton may also be alluding to Paul's claim that Satan can disguise himself, "transformed into an angel of light" (1 Corinthians 11.14), for the serpent in the garden was popularly identified with Satan.

8. The serpent urges the woman to eat the forbidden fruit of the tree of knowledge: "ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil" (Genesis 3.5). "Seraph": angel.

tite, but merely by a desire of adorning her mind. A laudable ambition fired her soul and a thirst for knowledge impelled the predilection so fatal in its consequences. Adam could not plead the same deception; assuredly he was not deceived; nor ought we to admire his superior strength, or wonder at his sagacity, when we so often confess that example is much more influential than precept. His gentle partner stood before him, a melancholy instance of the direful effects of disobedience; he saw her not possessed of that wisdom which she had fondly hoped to obtain, but he beheld the once blooming female disrobed of that innocence which had heretofore rendered her so lovely. To him, then, deception became impossible, as he had proof positive of the fallacy of the argument which the deceiver had suggested. What then could be his inducement to burst the barriers, and to fly directly in the face of that command, which *immediately* from the mouth of deity *he* had received,⁹ since, I say, he could not plead that fascinating stimulus, the accumulation of knowledge, as indisputable conviction was so visibly portrayed before him. What mighty cause impelled him to sacrifice myriads of beings yet unborn, and by one impious act, which *he saw* would be productive of such fatal effects, entail undistinguished ruin upon a race of beings which he was yet to produce. Blush, ye vaunters of fortitude, ye boasters of resolution, ye haughty lords of the creation; blush when ye remember that he was influenced by no other motive than a bare pusillanimous attachment to a woman! by sentiments so exquisitely soft that all his sons have from that period, when they have designed to degrade them, described as highly feminine. Thus it should seem that all the arts of the grand deceiver (since means adequate to the purpose are, I conceive, invariably pursued) were requisite to mislead our general mother, while the father of mankind forfeited his own, and relinquished the happiness of posterity, merely in compliance with the blandishments of a female. The subsequent subjection the apostle Paul explains as a figure; after enlarging upon the subject, he adds, "*This is a great mystery; but I speak concerning Christ and the church.*"¹ Now we know with what consummate wisdom the unerring father of eternity hath formed his plans; all the types which he hath displayed he hath permitted *materially* to fail, in the very virtue for which *they* were famed. The reason for this is obvious; we might otherwise mistake his economy and render that honor to the creature which is due only to the creator. I know that Adam was a figure² of Him who was to come. The Grace contained in this figure is the reason of my rejoicing, and while I am very far from prostrating before the shadow, I yield joyfully in all things the preeminence to the Second Federal Head.³ Confiding⁴ faith is prefigured by Abraham, yet he exhibits a contrast to affiance when he says of his fair companion, she is my sister.⁵ Gentleness was the characteristic of Moses,⁶ yet he hesitated not to reply to Jehovah Himself. With unsaintlike tongue he murmured at the waters of strife, and with rash

9. Genesis 2.16–17. "Immediately": directly.

1. Ephesians 5.32.

2. Prefiguration; image.

3. I.e., to Jesus, who is the second, after Adam, to make a covenant (the root meaning of "federal") with God.

4. Trusting. Abraham, the first patriarch, proved his faith by his willingness to sacrifice his son Isaac (Genesis 22.1–18).

5. Fearing that the Egyptians would kill him so that his beautiful wife would be free to marry, Abraham asked her to say that she was his sister, and she was taken into the Pharaoh's household as a concubine (Genesis 12.11–19). "Affiance": trust; pledging of faith in marriage.

6. Moses, who led the Israelites out of their Egyptian bondage, is described in Numbers 12.3 as meeker than any other man.

hands he break the Tables⁷ which were inscribed by the finger of divinity. David, dignified with the title of the man after God's own heart, and yet how stained was his life. Solomon was celebrated for wisdom, but folly is wrote in legible characters upon his almost every action.⁸ Lastly, let us turn our eyes to man in the aggregate. He is manifested as the figure of strength, but that we may not regard him as any thing more than a figure, his soul is formed in no sort superior, but every way equal to the mind of her who is the emblem of weakness and whom he hails the gentle companion of his better days.

1790, 1995

7. The tablets on which were inscribed the Ten Commandments, written by God; Moses broke the first set given to him in anger at the idolatry of the people (Exodus 32.16, 19). For "the waters of strife," see Exodus 17.1-7; Psalm 106.32-33.

8. David's son Solomon, who "exceeded all the kings of the earth for riches and for wisdom," nevertheless drew God's anger by having hundreds of wives and concubines and by worshipping false gods (1 Kings 10.23, 11.1-10).

FRANCES BURNEY

1752-1840

At fifteen years of age, with her twelve-year-old sister Susan sobbing by her side, Frances Burney burned all of her early writing because her stepmother felt that a reputation for scribbling would harm the girl's marriage prospects and because she herself was early impressed "with ideas that fastened degradation to this class of composition" then, as now, called the novel. Soon after, however, Burney began to keep a secret journal addressed to "A Certain Miss Nobody," because "to Nobody can I be wholly unreserved." While she would eventually write her diary for the members of her family, her early determination to counterpoint decorous public submission with private literary assertion was to play a crucial role in her life.

The third of six children, Burney was eight years old when the family moved from King's Lynn to London, and ten years old when she lost her mother, Esther (Sleepe) Burney. She became greatly attached to her father, the historian of music Dr. Charles Burney, and to his friend Samuel ("Daddy") Crisp, the recipient of many of her early confidences. Although she was said to be shy and had received only a few months of formal schooling, through her gregarious father she met a number of artists and intellectuals. Her first and most important novel, *Evelina* (1778), explored the social development of a heroine who proves herself worthy of her wellborn suitor. Published anonymously when Burney was twenty-six, this epistolary fiction was an instant success. After its author's identity became known, first to her family and then to the public, it won Burney such prominent friends as the essayist and lexicographer Samuel Johnson, his companion Mrs. Hester Thrale, the painter Sir Joshua Reynolds, the playwright Richard Sheridan, and the philosopher Edmund Burke, all of whom appear in the *Diary*. With the encouragement of these supporters, her father, and Daddy Crisp, Burney next published *Cecilia; or, Memoirs of an Heiress* (1782). While not as popular as *Evelina*, it also analyzed the social and economic problems of women. In both of these novels, Burney self-consciously tried to raise the status of the novel by combining verisimilitude with instruction. In the process, she helped establish a new genre, the novel of manners. Indeed, she conveyed the manners and morals of polite society with a relish for the ridiculous and a respect for the conventional that explain why Jane Austen found both the theme and the title of *Pride and Prejudice* in the concluding chapter of *Cecilia*.