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Gender, Genre and Slavery: The Other Rowson, Rowson's Others

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Readers familiar with Susanna Rowson as the author of *Charlotte Temple* (1791, 1794) do not think of her as an abolitionist. But in 1805 Rowson articulated an anti-slavery position in *Universal Geography*, a textbook addressed to schoolgirls such as those she herself taught at the Young Ladies Academy in Boston. Condemning those who viewed sugar and slavery as a winning equation that would make them rich, Rowson denounced the "purchase and sale of human beings," and insisted that anyone "enlightened by reason and religion" would oppose the "horrid trade," and see it as she did, as "a disgrace to humanity."[1] At other points in the text, she condemned both the slave drivers in the West Indies, who "exercise[d] the most unpardonable barbarity and tyranny" over "unresisting sufferers," and North American slave owners, whose characters, she argued, registered the obvious negative effects of their immoral practice.[2] It is worth asking how Rowson arrived at this position, particularly because an anti-slavery stance is not recognized as part of her political vision and seems at odds with less progressive perspectives expressed elsewhere. Though her concern with gender persists throughout her career, Rowson's feminism does not for the most part appear to be marked by questions about the intersections of gender, race and power, questions which became important in the mid-nineteenth-century women's movements around abolition, and which thoroughly reshaped late twentieth-century feminisms. The limits of Rowson's feminism, particularly around issues of difference including race and class, have been noted. Marion Rust, for example, describes her "ostracism," her "determined reluctance" to represent the world from the perspective of any disempowered individuals other than the young white women to whom she wrote, and Laura Doyle argues that Rowson is

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consistently anglo-centric, that the liberty she imagines and valorizes throughout her work is specifically and exclusively white.[3]

And, yet, Rowson's attentiveness to the persistent social and political realities that shaped the gender constrictions experienced by early American women suggests at least a nascent awareness of intersecting hierarchies of power and disempowerment. That awareness is most clearly articulated in the anti-slavery statements in the *Geography*, but Rowson's earlier representations of difference—race, culture, class, religion and nation—in particular in stories of slavery set in Muslim North Africa in *Mary; or, The Test of Honour* (1789), *Slaves in Algiers* (1794) and *Mentoria* (1791) reveal nuances of imaginative constructions of difference, allowing readers to see a shift toward more complex concern for the marginalized and disempowered, certainly for white women, but others as well. In *Mary*, *Slaves*, and *Mentoria*, Rowson presents slavery and captivity as a metaphor for gender oppression, which she initially conceives of as a set of concerns limited for the most part to women like herself; in the *Geography*, however, she presents slavery as a specific, contemporary evil, which she condemns. That is to say, slavery and captivity emerge initially in her fiction and drama as an idea, a rhetorically useful, but ultimately abstract idea. In Rowson's non-fictional *Geography*, slavery becomes a deplorable, current, and concrete reality. An examination of Rowson's anti-slavery position in the contexts of her earlier metaphorical use of slavery allows readers to see the possibilities and limits of her feminist vision as she encounters intersecting forms of difference and oppression. Such an examination also highlights the significance of Rowson's rhetorical personae and the expectations and possibilities afforded by genre difference; as she moves from storyteller to teacher, from novel to textbook, she realizes the moral authority to denounce slavery without equivocation.

Narratives of (North) African Captivity: *Mary* and *Slaves in Algiers*

Rowson's focus on North Africa in *Mary; or, The Test of Honour*, *Slaves in Algiers*, and *Mentoria* is informed by the immediate circumstances of late-eighteenth-century Barbary corsairs seizing and enslaving European and American travelers in North Africa, a topic of extraordinary concern and preoccupation in the 1790s. American periodicals in this decade featured attempts to raise ransom money and sponsor rescue efforts, even as the U.S congress deliberated whether to prepare for war in response. Increased political energy to liberate Americans and Europeans enslaved in Algiers, along with the prevailing popularity of the captivity genre for American readers, ensured a steady readership for stories of white slaves in North Africa, one strain of early America's preoccupation with

narratives of captivity.[4] While Indian captivity tales stoked Americans' local anxieties about the cultural stranger next door, Barbary captivity narratives intensified global anxieties about cross cultural threats further from home in what Elizabeth Dillon has called the "hostage crisis of the 1790s."[5] Many of the narratives, like those of Indian captivity, demonized the captors, emphasized religious and racial difference as the cause of the captors' cruelties, and told stories of physical and spiritual suffering, overcome only by personal perseverance and divine protection.

Scores of writers exploited public interest in Algerian captivity while for the most part failing to issue an explicit challenge to their readers' interpretive assumptions about the meanings of these events. Most of the authors who narrated white slavery in North Africa ignored the unscriptable ironies of history wherein European Americans expressed outrage at the enslavement of whites in North Africa, while the newly established national government of the United States refused to confront the systematic kidnapping, trade and enslavement of Africans in America. A handful of writers—among them African American religious and political leader Absolom Jones, Benjamin Franklin, and William Eaton, John Adams' first emissary to Tunis—identified the contradictions that seem now impossible to ignore: first, that at the very moment Americans defined a new republic founded on liberty, they supported the kidnapping and global trafficking of slaves and enslaved a million Africans within the new republic; and second, that at that same moment Americans expressed public outrage at the kidnapping and enslavement of whites in North Africa. Paul Baepler suggests that the glaring analogy between African slaves in the U.S. and white slaves in Africa would have been well understood by 1794, when Rowson wrote *Slaves*.[6]

While she seems mainly to have sidestepped explicit confrontation of the issue of enslaved Africans in the U.S. in her dramas of white slavery in both *Mary* and *Slaves in Algiers,* Rowson was, nonetheless, personally familiar with the "peculiar institution's" effects, and that familiarity likely informed implicit references to slavery in the U.S. throughout her work. Benilde Montgomery examines the immediate contexts for Rowson's *Slaves*, noting how a few weeks before the opening of *Slaves in Algiers* in 1794, Rowson performed in a dramatization of the life of the sixteenth-century hero who brought independence to Sweden.[7] By the time of the performance of *The Tragedy of Gustavus Vasa* audiences would have connected the Swedish Vasa to his namesake, the African Vassa, better known today as Olaudah Equiano, the slave turned English gentleman who had five years earlier published a narrative of his life and worked to abolish the slave trade. For the play performed by Thomas Wignell's New Theater Company in Philadelphia, Rowson wrote and delivered a key curtain speech calling on Americans to oppose slavery,

and making an explicit connection between the historic oppression of the Swedes and the current enslavement of African Americans.[8]

Mary; or, The Test of Honour (Rowson's earliest narrative treatment of white slavery in North Africa) was first published anonymously, but the thematic issues of this novel are familiarly Rowsonian and persistently gendered: women's experience and opportunity shaped by self-sacrifice, duty, friendship and education. A subplot of *Mary* anticipates plot circumstances and political contexts that Rowson would develop more fully and dramatize a few years later in *Slaves in Algiers*. Both works imagine the white slavery in Algiers about which eighteenth-century American readers were exercised. In the main plot of the novel, Mary's true love Frederic is taken captive and imprisoned in Algiers. Most of the novel concerns the global adventures of the title character—her travels to the West Indies, her shipwreck on a desert island with Frederick—but the relatively brief subplot of Frederick's captivity anticipates the central story of *Slaves in Algiers* in some detail: in *Mary*, Greek sisters Semira and Eumenia have been enslaved by the Sultan Hali in Algiers. Their father's inept attempt to rescue them results in his own captivity. Semira then takes on the rescue herself, freeing her father, sister and Frederick. Exploiting Hali's desire for her, she promises to convert to Islam and marry him if he will set Frederick and her family free. When she succeeds, Semira attempts the rest of her plan—to kill herself rather than relinquish Christianity and virginity to Hali. In a happy ending designed to please readers concerned about white Christians held captive by Muslims in Northern Africa, Hali is so moved by Semira's Christian sacrifice and bravery that he releases her, allowing her to join the rest of the liberated captives. Importantly, Hali's response in *Mary* results from his affirmation of Semira's hierarchies of religion and culture. He is transformed by her personal sacrifice because he understands her disgust for him and his culture, religion and ethnicity. His conversion, in accord with many early American conversion narratives of the non-Christian other, relies upon recognizing and capitulating to a view of his own identity as not only inferior, but also despicable.

Five years later in 1794, Rowson explored the situation of *Mary*'s subplot at greater length on stage in *Slaves In Algiers*, again portraying women poised for self-sacrifice in order to gain liberty for themselves and others in a context in which slavery is examined in imaginative, romanticized and distant terms with rich interpretive possibilities. The play highlights not the immediate concern with the actual slavery announced in the title (that is, slaves in Algiers), but, rather, the contradictions of the deeply gendered terms of "liberty" as experienced by women. Furthermore, the story reflects the complexity of Rowson's own national identity. She emigrated to America in 1793, after the publication of *Mary* (and *Charlotte Temple*). The subplot of *Mary* becomes the main plot of the drama-

tization in *Slaves*, with the result of a much fuller exploration, not so much of slavery (in Algiers or the Americas) but of sisterhood and the cultural and gendered superiority of European women in front of a backdrop of slavery. Muley Moloc, smitten with American captive Olivia, takes the place of Hali, and the American Olivia's action and character in the play elaborates on *Mary*'s Greek Semira: Olivia's father is taken captive when he attempts to rescue his daughter. The female heroes of both works understand and rely upon male characters' desire, and by promising marriage and conversion to Islam they liberate captives and reunite families. In both *Mary* and *Slaves in Algiers*, Rowson explores issues of identity, difference and power, destabilizing conventional notions of gender, while reinscribing ethnicity in rigid, stereotypical ways.

Further, while Rowson may have authored the play at the same time Congress (across from the theater in which she performed) was debating whether to prepare for war in response to American captivities, it's important to note that she had already penned the basic story of *Slaves* three years earlier in *Mary*.[9] Captivity, slavery and the hierarchies that informed it were longstanding preoccupations for Rowson, perhaps from the time of her own captivity with her father as a political prisoner.

In the slavery stories within *Slaves* and *Mary*, the Sultan and the Dey eventually embrace European and Christian values and vilify their own cultural and religious traditions; in *Slaves* (after Rowson's emigration to America) those values are to a certain extent more specifically American. After the Dey calls upon Olivia to "perform her promise" (to marry him in the mosque), the terms of power are reversed, and the villains are at the mercy of the American Christians. Olivia's mother Rebecca then declares that despite having been the Dey's captives, they will not kill or enslave him because to do so would violate their own republican and religious beliefs: "By the Christian law no man should be a slave. It is a word so abject that to speak it dyes the cheek with crimson. Let us assert our own prerogative, be free ourselves, but let us not throw on another's neck the chains we scorn to wear."[10] Although the play is fraught with unexamined cultural hierarchies and broad stereotypes, the anti-slavery stance is unequivocal and apparently universal; Rebecca's declaration that even while others enslave, the American characters will not, resonates not only with the Algerian slavery of the play's setting, but also the American and West Indian slavery more immediate to Rowson's playgoers in the U.S. Rebecca's maternal and cultural power, thoroughly established in the play, provides her with a moral platform to verbalize what the women then enact. Freeing themselves, they refuse to enslave their captors. However, while the play is unabashedly triumphalist and nationalist in tone, Rowson cannot appeal in meaningful or specific ways to the political rhetoric of the new nation to condemn slavery, and the omission of specifically national-

ist antislavery rhetoric further anticipates Rowson's later statements. Rowson's appeal instead to a vaguely Western, specifically religious, standard, of "Christian law," suggests her awareness of the contradictory ideals (pro-slavery, pro-liberty) that shaped the national identity she celebrates in the play.[11] Furthermore, the women's stance in *Slaves*—a moral high ground rejecting slavery while expressing deep disgust for the culture of their captors—signals the views Rowson later articulates in the *Geography*.

As evident in the preceding example, Rowson's dramatization of captivity and cultural conquest in *Slaves* underscores the ways her distant setting allows her to question some hierarchies even as she reiterates others. We see this posture best in her depiction of individual characters, particularly Fetnah. Neither American nor Christian, Fetnah nonetheless argues for the superiority of both as she rejects the categories into which she is born. Her identity in this story of cultural encounter is particularly complex and likely resonates with Rowson's own dramatic transatlantic identity, marked by the effects of paternal decision. Born in England, Fetnah is the daughter of Jewish villain Ben Hassan. Taken as a child with her father to Algiers where she is raised as a Muslim, she retains none of her original allegiances, neither to Judaism nor to Islam, nor to her father, of whom she speaks in viciously anti-Semitic terms. Fetnah's filial allegiances lie, instead, with the American Rebecca and her republican and Christian virtues, and her power seems to emerge from her hybrid identity. Although she is viewed by the American characters as a "Moriscan," (or Moorish, meaning North African Arab) and listed as such in the *Dramatis Personae* (thus inviting American audiences to view her as other), she rejects the cultures and religions of both family and experience. As she explains: "Lord, I'm not a Moriscan. I hate 'em all."[12] When Selima gives her the opportunity to explain why she has "such an aversion to the manners of a country where you were born," Fetnah asserts a thoroughly destabilized ethnic identity:

> You are mistaken. I was not born in Algiers. I drew my first breath in England. My father, Ben Hassan, as he is now called, was a Jew. I can scarcely remember our arrival here, and have been educated in the Moorish religion, though I always had a natural antipathy to their manners.[13]

Fetnah insists on the importance of where she was born and "drew her first breath." This instance, along with her telling use of pronouns whereby she distinguishes herself with reference to "their" manners, invites audiences to rethink the identity announced in the list of characters, and to regard Fetnah's identity as fluid, a complex intersection of culture and birth and race. The audience observes a character inventing ethnicity (or at

least rejecting what she inherits) by her own powerful agency. At the same time, the play suggests that blood wins out, that the remarkable Fetnah is who she is because she is not "truly" a Moor after all, that her commitment to liberty results from her birth in England.[14]

Fetnah's remarkable agency includes defiance of sexual stereotypes. Unintimidated by the Dey's official sexual power over her, she explains to Selima, for example, that his sexual demands do not frighten her, though they do "provoke" her and try her patience.[15] The harem suggests less captivity and more female community, where sororal bonds enable a critique of sexual hierarchies and masculine domination and where collective action results. These sisterly ties both liberate and bind, however, as they depend upon hierarchies of identity. Ultimately, it is the white Christian women who instruct, inspire and lead; Fetnah claims that Rebecca's influence causes her to seek liberty and reject sexual slavery. Even Rowson's most powerful non-white women maintain a subordinate status, as Fetnah does here, in relationship to Anglo-Atlantic women. Multiethnic communities, when Rowson imagines them, are led by strong white women who, as Laura Doyle has argued, "nobly lead dark-skinned women to freedom."[16]

Yet, taken collectively, the women in *Mary* and *Slaves* are resourceful adults whose fathers and husbands are absent, weak, despicable, immoral, failed, or captive; lacking paternal power these women understand their own power, including their sexual power, which is part of the equation of virtue and strength that allows them to act on behalf of others as well as themselves. In *Slaves*, Rowson's often-admired female power and maturity has a specifically sexual component, corresponding to the presumed sexual threat of captivity.[17] In this regard Fetnah, Semira and Olivia provide a dramatic contrast to Rowson's Charlotte Temple, whose sexual virtue was expressed in innocence and fatal passivity, as she was not only duped by the cad in the snappy uniform, but also victimized by her own weakness and romantic desire. They provide an even more interesting contrast to *Charlotte Temple*'s LaRue, the villainous iteration of what in *Slaves* are the virtues of experience and maturity. In Fetnah, Semira, and Olivia, Rowson gives readers unusual eighteenth-century characters: adult women, aware of and in control of their own sexuality, exerting agency on behalf of others and themselves. Indeed, what some critics found most objectionable was the explicit feminism of the play, including "Mrs. Rowson's" speech in the epilogue where she asks the "ladies" in the audience to assent to her proclamation that "women were born for universal sway."[18]

These themes of sisterhood and female power become more pronounced in *Slaves* than in *Mary*, in part because North African captivity (and a successful escape plan accomplished by women) becomes the central focus rather than one of a number of subplots. At the same time, the imaginative space determined by genre accounts for another

way *Slaves* addresses difference for its audiences. The play suggests that bonds between women result from shared experiences, and that women experience disempowerment and alienation across cultures. A theatrical audience of men and women in immediate contact with one another, as well as with the players enacting Rowson's drama, could be seen as heightening those potential bonds and that message. Rowson underscored the idea of shared gender identity and experience overcoming all in *Slaves* by including her own speech to women at the end of the play. No longer Olivia, the part she played, she appears in the text at the end as "Mrs. Rowson" to speak directly to the audience, as she had in the Gustavus Vasa performance: "Well, Ladies, tell me—how d'ye like my play?" With this explicit address she requires the women in her audience to respond to the narrative situation in the play, but also to her specific, now authorial, persona and the demands she makes of them to assent to women's "universal sway" and "supreme dominion," newly contextualized not by the imaginary drama of white Christians enslaved in Algiers, but by the immediate context of North America and the performance space of the theatre.[19] Rowson capitalizes on the dramatic form and the presence of an audience (specifying women playgoers with her address to "ladies") that had the potential to mirror the thematic experience of sisterly community. The rather complex ethnic community within the story includes new and old alliances between near and more distant characters, which would have highlighted the proposed universality of Rowson's assertion of women's "dominion." Playgoers were invited into the sororal realities experienced not only by Fetnah, Rebecca and the others, but also by "Mrs. Rowson" and the "ladies" in her audience. The climax of the story, then, is the climax of all of those relationships, as the women assert their commitments to one another and to the superiority of Christianity and European culture in the global and immediate circumstances of white slavery that the play addresses. Rowson condemns slavery even as she makes use of it as an imaginative terrain through which to examine other abuses of power, including the hierarchies of gender and culture that she explores with Fetnah, Rebecca and Olivia.

Because Rowson remained committed to the moral and spiritual superiority of her own culture (and women), and because she recognized the inherent immorality of slavery, she did not represent whites as enslavers. Consequently, in fictional and dramatic narratives in distant settings, slavery and captivity serve as constructs that allow her to assert cultural hierarchies. She features triumphant heroines who first refuse to be victimized and then handily overcome their own captivity. One innocent white woman victimized by one dastardly white man, as in *Charlotte Temple*, offered lessons about chastity that merely hinted at the injustice of a cultural system that placed fatal importance on young women's sexual control. But Rowson did not present structurally disempowered white

women collectively (which would have raised the stakes of her argument considerably). Instead, Rowson's structurally disempowered women—characters presented as victims of obviously unjust systems of oppression, rather than simply their own individual failures—are often non-white and non-Christian. Enslaved white women, on the other hand, are merely temporarily disempowered and, in these circumstances, their virtue enables them to become powerful individual agents of change, conveniently and emphatically culturally superior to their captors, who are imagined only in broad and hostilely comic terms.

Fairytale Captivity: *Mentoria's* "Urganda and Fatima"

Mentoria; or, The Young Lady's Friend, published in 1791 (between *Mary* and *Slaves*, and in the same year as *Charlotte: A Tale of Truth*), includes epistolary narratives, an essay, and stories. Avoiding the public censure of fiction reading, Rowson claimed she wrote *Mentoria* specifically for women who were not novel readers. The genre elision may or may not have resulted in winning over fiction-resistant readers, but the (mainly) epistolary narrative structure did allow Rowson to construct a more intimate rhetorical space and a corollary relationship with readers within and beyond the text. The book addresses a number of Rowson's persistent concerns: filial obedience, female virtue, women's friendship, and the meaningfulness of class distinctions. Drawing on the author's first-hand experiences as a governess, the "Mentoria" of the text gives advice via cautionary tales to her former charges, the Miss Wenworths. Urging parental compliance and obedience, Mentoria offers narratives of unfortunate girls (not unlike Charlotte), which underscore the perilous consequences of daughterly disobedience. Mentoria's narrative voice links the stories, herself, the imagined Miss Wentworths and readers, while underscoring the lessons at the heart of the texts.

Similarly to *Slaves*, *Mentoria* teaches the importance of female relationships, and in one remarkable story, "Urganda and Fatima," Rowson explores gender and power in the context of slavery and North Africa. Appearing near the end of the book, "Urganda and Fatima" represents an abrupt shift to a non-western setting, where a young girl learns precisely the same lessons offered to the Miss Wentworths (and Mentoria's more distant readers) in English or American settings: girls obey their fathers. Like a number of other brief narratives in *Mentoria*, the Fatima story is self-contained, but it is unusual in setting and style as straightforward mimetic writing gives way to fairy tale elements, including magical wish-granting fairies located in the vaguely exotic "borders of the East."[20] Subtitled "An Eastern Tale," the story of Fatima and Urganda is situated obliquely

in Ottoman culture, featuring an emperor, a vizier, eunuchs, slaves, vague references to the "empress of the East," and more concrete references to Islam, including a mosque and mention of "the holy Prophet."[21] Fatima returns the love of her father Zegdad with daughterly loyalty until she sees the wealth and apparent ease of the favorite consort of the "grand Vizier," after which she yearns for a life more glamorous than her humble circumstances promise. Urganda the fairy appears to grant her wish, on the condition that she "relinquish [her] home and forsake [her] father," to which Fatima immediately agrees.[22]

Life at the Vizier's, of course, turns out to be not what Fatima expected, but rather what she terms, importantly, a "splendid slavery."[23] Fatima enjoys his wealth, but quickly comes to resent his power as she realizes her captivity. Rowson describes her circumstances in ways that echo the plight of Fetnah and her American friends in *Slaves*. Like the captive women in the play, Fatima's enslavement is not marked by physical suffering, but by an emergent sense of empowering female community that heightens the gendered terms of her captivity. Instead of enjoying her new access to wealth, Fatima, like Fetnah, resents her captor's control over her as she comes to understand herself as a sexual subject. Urganda appears again, allowing Fatima her heart's next desire, to move up the hierarchy of wealth, class and power to become the "favorite Sultana of the Emperor."[24] But the Emperor turns out to be ugly, old and even less pleasant than the Vizier. When the Emperor learns of her opinion of him, he promptly pronounces her death sentence, whereupon Fatima desperately wishes again, this time for her original, humble circumstances without the "pangs that wait on greatness."[25] The happy ending occurs when Urganda works her magic one last time, restoring Fatima to her original state as a daughter in her father's household, and lecturing her on "the vanity of human wishes," the necessity to "humbly take the blessings within thy reach [. . .] and be happy" because the "holy Prophet [. . .] ordereth all things" in the world.[26]

The tidy fable, consisting of Fatima's move from daughter to slave to daughter again, offers implicit and explicit lessons about gender in the context of slavery and cultural difference. Rowson not only warns her readers of the dangers of forsaking their fathers and seeking material ease (the apparent explicit lessons of "Fatima") but also critiques Fatima, who—like the main characters featured in all of *Mentoria*'s stories—represents all young women on the verge of adulthood. Rowson frames sex and marriage, the conventional issues for female characters in most early novels, as captivity. The story exposes the rules governing marriage for Rowson's readers by way of cultural difference. The fable of daughterly obedience includes an implicit critique of the gendered terms of power, which extend beyond the boundaries of culture and narrative genre to

the worlds of Sultans and fairies, acknowledging sex as one of the few sources of female power in all of these worlds. Other than Fatima and the fairy Urganda, the women in the "Eastern" story are like the unnamed harem women in *Slaves* who provide a backdrop for Fetnah, Rebecca and Olivia. They are mostly undifferentiated within the female community; female identity distinctions occur only as a result of which men the women serve and how much wealth and power each one has. The luxury enjoyed by different classes of women is earned quite explicitly in this tale by sexual service, and the women are presented unequivocally as enslaved.

The exoticized setting and use of captivity as a trope for an anti-romantic presentation of marriage hints at a larger social critique of paternal and spousal authority, of the way marriage determines and limits women's situations and prospects in a context both distant and specific. *Mentoria*'s "Urganda and Fatima" takes up the concern explored in contemporary novels written to young girls (including *Charlotte Temple*) with their warnings about the significance and power of their sexual "virtue." But having Fatima serve as an enslaved consort to varying ranks of men highlights the profoundly unequal and entirely gendered power relations rather than the virtue of virginity (or the romance of relinquishing it). *Mentoria*'s "eastern," fairytale setting, her Sultans, Viziers and magical wishes, allow Rowson a geographic and cultural context through which to critique the gendered power relations of marriage in far more vigorous terms than she does, for example, in *Charlotte Temple*, published in the same year. Rowson's story invites a critique of multiple social institutions that put the powerless at the mercy of the powerful. Fatima's father and then (multiple) undesirable masters exercise arbitrary control over her, just as the villains controlled the fates of the American captives in *Slaves* (published three years later). Because Rowson situates the tales in circumstances of slavery and captivity, these stories invite readers to recognize the injustice of all arbitrary control based on difference, including sex, race, culture, class and religion. As in *Slaves,* Rowson explicitly investigates female virtue and power, but she does so in contexts that invite readers to recognize larger questions of liberty and individual rights.

To some extent, the story elides cultural and religious difference in order to heighten gendered sameness. Rowson describes Fatima's religion, for example, as a universalized piety, identifiably Muslim, but entirely unobjectionable for her Christian readers. Rowson recasts Mentoria's and readers' beliefs lived out in a non-Christian, non-Western cultural context. The "Holy Prophet" seems simply a stand-in for patriarchies more familiar to readers accustomed to the message that proper piety meant female submission to a father's or husband's rule. Here, Rowson's "other" faces circumstances similar to Fetnah and the American captives in *Slaves*: each seeks agency and explores

alternatives to the scripted experiences offered by powerful men who exercise arbitrary power when they enslave women. The grounds of Rowson's gendered critique allow cultural differences to emerge and then recede into irrelevance. By universalizing her own culture, Rowson offers a qualified sameness in a nonetheless exotic setting, with slavery serving an important imaginative function. Explicitly the story shows that power and privilege do not produce contentment; real contentment comes from embracing one's home and family no matter how humble. Implicitly, however, the tale shows that women across cultures face universalized circumstances of disempowerment and potential violence. The female characters encounter consistent patriarchal control as their lives are determined by the crucial element of sexual subordination, here exposed as slavery. The social critique of masculine power is underscored, even as the apparent moral of the story seems conventional.

Rowson describes Fatima's circumstances as "slavery," and her use of this term suggests her concern with issues of power as they play out across hierarchies of difference including race and sex. After Urganda transforms Fatima into a "virgin of transcendent beauty," the Vizier notices her and completes her transformation: "he ordered her to be led into splendid apartments, clothed with costly robes, adorned with jewels, and appointed slaves to wait on her, and comply with all her wishes."[27] A few sentences later "the disappointed Fatima discovered that to be a favorite to the grand Vizier, was to live only in splendid slavery."[28] And the rest of the story continues to emphasize and accentuate the notion of enslavement. Fatima despairs of having to "be the slave of his caprice and passion."[29] On the next stop of her upwardly mobile trajectory, Urganda's power places her "among a number of beautiful slaves, from among which the Emperor was next morning to [choose] a favorite."[30] The repeated references to slavery as a marker of both her own relative power (he appoints slaves to her) and powerlessness ("splendid slavery") invites readers to note the persistent significance of patriarchal power. All of Fatima's moves are predicated on her beauty and characterized both by a rejection of her current status and a longing for more power. She dreams of release from the Vizier by imagining the advantage she could gain as Sultana, fantasizing specifically on an inversion of power that would move her from slave to captor: "My charms might captivate his royal heart, and I might reign the Empress of the East."[31] She desires not merely comfort, and not (really) romance. She imagines acquiring power by way of sex ("charms"), only to realize that what she thought might have given her power ends up determining her bondage.

Fatima's story suggests that whether they belong to sultans or emperors, wives are slaves, and sex constitutes the labor required in their captivity. The dramatic rhetoric of slavery extends the criticism beyond the realm of sultan and vizier, suggesting links

to her readers' immediate circumstances. In the end, even Fatima's return to her own home and father is a forced choice, where the alternative is death. The threat of violence is averted only by a reaffirmation of Fatima's original circumstances, by a curtailment of her impulse for adventure and agency. Fatima's happy ending occurs when she is taught a lesson familiar to many fairy tales, legends, and sentimental novels (including Rowson's own). Daughterly loyalty to father is honored; potential class mobility is characterized initially as simply unseemly, but ultimately as dangerous and potentially fatal. Importantly for the context of this discussion, cultural and religious differences become a vehicle for gendered sameness and for critiquing the universal fact that emerges: the shared dilemma of women caught in a web of enslaving patriarchal power. Dreams of freedom are realized only by way of sex (and magic) and then turn to nightmares of repeated circumstances of sexual exploitation in which only the settings shift.

The Nonfiction Story: Captivity as North American Slavery in the *Geography*

Rowson's representations of difference by way of captivity, slavery, and North Africa persist in her 1805 *Abridgement of Universal Geography*, and the anti-slavery position she articulates in this book develops out of the preoccupations and contradictions of her earlier imaginative renderings of difference.[32] Rowson's first textbook, *Geography* resulted from her experience working with the Young Ladies Academy. She wrote it a few years after her final appearance on the stage, and nearly a decade after *Slaves*. In her "Introduction," she explains to her students that she draws, as many other geographers did, on the work of Jedediah Morse. Acknowledging her debt to him and others as she establishes the need for her particular contribution, she presents herself as a travel guide leading her students on an imagined tour: "[i]n leading my young travelers round the globe, I collected from the authors with whom I was most acquainted, particularly GUTHRIE, WALKER, and MORSE."[33] In fact her "collecting" was substantial; she copied entire sections of Morse without fully acknowledging him.[34] Rowson's antislavery declarations, though, appear to be original. Morse makes note of slavery in his geographical catalogs, counts slaves and at one point briefly notes that slavery is not honorable, but he makes no comments beyond that.[35] Furthermore, Rowson's historical and geographical "Exercises," which she highlights in her introduction and which include the antislavery remarks, seem to be unequivocally her own and are the most distinctive part of the text.

Rowson indicates that the classroom and specifically her students shape her approach and her substantial reworking of Morse. It may well have been her role as a teacher, more explicit in the textbooks than in her earlier writing, that led to the antislavery

position she articulates in the *Geography*. Rowson's sense of authority and audience, a notable feature throughout her work—whether she is interrogating the "Ladies" in the audience at the end of the performance of *Slaves*, addressing the Miss Wentworths and their kin in *Mentoria* or warning her readers in *Charlotte Temple*—becomes acutely important in the textbook. She speaks to students with the official, moral authority of an educator, and her focus of responsibility shifts. In *Mentoria* and *Slaves*, she talks to readers about themselves and their own circumstances and concerns. When she addresses imagined circumstances of the "East," and contexts of cultural difference, she speaks to readers about their own concerns, so that even captivity and slavery, to some extent, provide a narrative platform for concerns more familiar to readers in England and America. When she shifts to the non-fiction genre of the textbook, however, she assumes a different role and responsibility. Here, she speaks directly, specifically, to her own students, and she speaks to them not so much about themselves but about others who are distant and different from them.

The Geography provides contemporary readers interested in Rowson's treatment of difference with several centers of interest. First of all, in the context of a discipline centrally concerned with boundaries and differences, Rowson includes no maps, no spatial representation of the physical divisions and differences she asks her students to consider. The question of how and perhaps why a teacher would present geography to her students without maps becomes particularly pertinent given the historical context. Geography in general and maps in particular were a kind of obsession or "revolution" for Anglo Americans, as Martin Brückner has argued.[36] Geographic literacy evidenced cultural identity, and working with maps moved in the eighteenth century from being a marker of privilege (requiring a specialized skill) to an everyday discourse (visible in needlework, children's primers and pottery, for example). But Rowson ignored maps entirely in her presentation of what was by then a national fascination. Not so surprisingly, perhaps, given her prolific textual production and her lifelong commitment to narrative, she seems to have understood the challenge of geography not in representing the physical, material existence of land masses, waterways, national boundaries and trade routes, but rather, the individuals and communities who peopled them. Morse, who produced numerous geographies over the course of his career, sometimes privileged words over maps from a specifically pedagogical perspective because he viewed geographic text as a way of teaching reading and geography simultaneously, but other times because he argued that text was more reliable: "In the best maps, especially in those on a small scale, errors are so numerous, that the mind cannot rest with confidence in their testimony. We want the confirmation of the book."[37] But while Morse expressed concerned for errors

and correctness, Rowson, who knew the value of story from her own wide-ranging writing and teaching, seemed more concerned with memorable narrative.[38] Rowson narrates forms of difference in the *Geography* as she imagines them across cultures, describing non-Europeans and non-whites, and representing diverse cultures, including those (such as her own) that featured slavery based on hierarchies of race and other forms of difference.

The second center of interest concerns Rowson's notably feminist pedagogy, which she pursued as she sought to make her curriculum interesting to her students. She does that most effectively in her classroom-based "Exercises." One study suggests that it was (as Rowson herself seems to suggest) the popularity and effectiveness of the "Exercises" that led her toward the publication of her *Geography*.[39] Placed at the end of the text, the "Exercises" consist initially of dialogues in a question and answer format that she says results from her own teaching, in which, as she explains, she made use of "everything which I thought could engage attention or awaken curiosity, writing at times short exercises, which my pupils copied, and committed to memory."[40] Questions such as "What is Geography?" and "What is the meridian?" provide Rowson with prompts to convey information within the relational context of her classroom and her students.

The dialogue approach is not unusual. Echoing traditions both Socratic and catechetical, Rowson's "Exercises" reflect a practice in which students were called upon to memorize questions and answers in order to demonstrate mastery. At the same time, her particular employment of this convention is notable.[41] In Rowson's use of dialogue, the hierarchy at the foundation of these exercises is unclear; that is, the paired positions of teacher/student or interrogator/respondent and their corollary line of dialogue are not in consistent opposition. Sometimes the interrogator is clearly the teacher, for instance, when she asks the meaning of vocabulary words (such as in the "meridian" example above). The questions serve as examinations designed to determine whether or not students have mastered the assigned concept. At other times, however, the questions seem to be those a student would ask a teacher; they are presented in a conversational way that signals such a relationship in a dialogue more complex than straightforward questions and answers, which could be rote and formulaic. Often Rowson's questions in the "Exercises" begin with the word "but." For example, she uses the phrase "But you said that [. . .]" repeatedly, as in, "But if as you said the sun is a fixed body, how can it make a journey round the earth?"[42] Rowson mixes conversational elements that suggest real speakers in the context of human (rather than textbook) relationships, constructing a more relational and less clearly hierarchical dialogue reflective of actual conversation rather than the pretense of the same in order to facilitate memorization and necessarily reinforcing the established power relations of the classroom.

Her approach underscores a pedagogical commitment to dialogue, interaction, conversation and classroom practices that twenty first-century educators have equated with good teaching and feminist assertions about student-selves, as in the rethinking of the gendered and experiential classroom space of students and teachers in the landmark *Women's Ways of Knowing*.[43] The approach is consistent with more proximate historical feminist examples as well. Margaret Fuller approached women's education by way of conversations, initiated in 1839, in which she established dialogues among women about gender construction along with relevant contemporary and historical issues.[44] Rowson anticipates women-centered teachers who would later articulate that effective pedagogy must begin by acknowledging student identity and the world outside of the classroom space, including a recognition of gender injustice. The woman-identified teacher (and textbook writer) begins by acknowledging patriarchal constructions of knowledge, which omit women as actors, agents and learners. Rowson anticipates later feminist pedagogies both by recognizing those larger realities and by teaching in a way that invited her students to redress their own exclusion. This same theoretical commitment and relational context, founded upon a recognition and critique of presumed social hierarchies, may well have led her to articulate the anti-slavery position in the *Geography*.

Rowson's rhetorical setting, her acknowledgement of the relationship between herself, her topic and her readers, granted her simultaneous intimacy and authority, even as she disrupted student/teacher hierarchies. Rowson continued to explore difference as she instructed her students in how they were to regard various regions and cultures, simultaneously cataloging the (sometimes quite exoticized) world and, occasionally, addressing her students personally. Much of what she passed along to her students is entirely predictable, as she reiterated the hierarchies of cultures presumed in her descriptions of non-Europeans in *Slaves* and *Mentoria*: "There are two circumstances which unite to give Europe superiority over the rest of the world."[45] The obvious pinnacle of achievement in the arts and sciences, Europe is the site where "the human mind has made the greatest progress toward improvement [. . .] and the sciences [. . .] have been carried to the greatest perfection."[46] Also consistent with the other works described here, she is particularly concerned to note "tyranny" and to endorse "liberty" as an ideal. Voicing opposition (characteristic of many Protestants of her moment) to unquestioned ecclesiastical power, for instance, she argues that Protestant Christian and democratic cultures treat women best, and that women are regularly mistreated in non-Christian and Catholic countries. Rowson describes Siberia as an example of the despotism possible without the "sacred" republican government of the United States: "Happy nation where no such tyranny can be dreaded; happy Americans, whose birthright is liberty! Oh sacred be the constitution

which secures those rights; may her children, ever sensible of the blessings they enjoy, exert every nerve to defend them."[47]

Yet, Rowson's stance against the injustice of arbitrary power, which seems the clear and consistent foundation for her exposé of disempowered women enslaved by marriage systems in Algiers and the West, becomes in *The Geography* the foundation for an argument not about gendered power relations but about slavery based on race. She remains focused on the injustice of the disempowered, but she shifts her attention from gender to other forms of difference as she describes African slavery to her students in the "Exercises":

> The Native princes war with each other, and sell their captives taken in battle to Europeans, a barbarous, degrading traffic. That an unenlightened savage should sell a fellow creature, over whom the fortune of war has given him power, is not surprising; but that a man, whose mind is enlightened by reason and religion, one who bears the sacred name of *Christian*, should encourage the horrid trade, and grow rich by the purchase and sale of human beings, is a disgrace to humanity. The negro on the burning sands of Africa, was born as free, as he who drew his first breath in America or Britain.[48]

The well-worn binaries—"unenlightened savages" on the "burning sands of Africa" and "*Christians"* who draw their "first breath in American or Britain"—are as important as Rowson's assertion of the universal birthright of freedom. Her assent to both recalls her representations of difference in *Slaves in Algiers*, for example, where cultural hierarchies remain intact even as she valorizes universal liberty and categories of difference seem determined: Fetnah emphasizes her English birthright as a foundation for her superiority, just as Rowson notes the location of "first breath" here. The presumption of cultural hierarchies remains: the "Christians" she imagines are English and American, just as surely as the savages are African and unenlightened. At the same time, she finds the behavior of those Christians who justify slavery deplorable. She condemns the human greed that drives the slave trade and implies the contradiction between slavery and both "reason and religion." Rowson's non-fiction condemnation of the slave trade and slavery are thematically and ideologically intertwined with the earlier, more imaginative renderings of slavery and captivity.

At other points in the *Geography* she presents ethnographic descriptions of North American subcultures. New England is praised for charity and sensibility. White southerners, on the other hand, provide a contrast to virtuous New Englanders, and the deficiencies of Southern character result directly from the institution of slavery. In the Carolinas, for example, she writes, "If there is any peculiarity in [their] character in general, it is

only what proceeds from the pernicious influence of slavery, for the absolute authority which they exercise over their slaves, gives them an air of supercilious haughtiness far from agreeable."[49] In her consideration of the West Indies, Rowson suggests an ameliorative stance on slavery, entertaining the possibility, for instance, of humane slaveholders and satisfied slaves. But for the most part she registers her objections to slavery on the basis of both the pernicious effect of slavery on the slaveholder and on the inhumanity toward the slaves, as she does in her discussion of the Carolinas, and as she does in the anti-slavery statements from the "Exercises" (discussed earlier) when she asserts that all persons share a birthright to freedom.

Rowson's renderings of crucial differences overcome by shared rights occur elsewhere in the *Geography*. In her discussion of the West Indies, she notes the difficult climate of the region, presuming inborn or culturally acquired "constitutions" of race or region ("very unfriendly to European constitutions").[50] But she immediately undercuts those assumptions about refined European constitutions by acknowledging European interest in the West Indies, establishing a larger context for European purpose and presence in the West Indies, and exposing the injustice of the same. Noting the economic power of the sugar industry, for example, she highlights the causes and consequences of those impressive profits:

> [The sugar crop is] cultivated by negroes, who are brought from Africa, and sold upon these islands like cattle, every part having a slave market. The misery and hardships of these poor Negroes are truly pitiable. They are poorly fed, go almost naked, work hard, and are moreover subject to the lash of inhuman overseers, known in the islands by the epithet of slave drivers; some of whom exercise over these unresisting sufferers the most unpardonable barbarity and tyranny.[51]

Rowson's repeated concern regarding "tyranny" (expressed in her discussion of Catholicism as well as in these discussions) correlates to her assertions of universal rights to freedom, and represents slavery as a violation of those rights. Her condemnation of slavery in Africa and the West Indies is thus part of an ongoing set of binaries in the geography, wherein on the one side are tyranny, paganism and most non-western cultures, and on the other side are liberty, Protestant Christianity and western cultures, presumed to be democratic. Rowson's strongest condemnation occurs when the hierarchies she presumes are upset, when, for instance, "Christians" endorse slavery and greed rather than liberty and charity.

Despite two centuries of readers narrowly defining her as the writer of the sensational *Charlotte Temple*, Rowson's other works, including the less familiar fiction, drama

and non-fiction texts discussed here, complicate any easy profile of the feminist sensibilities of Charlotte's creator. In *Mary; or, The Test of Honour*, *Slaves in Algiers*, *Mentoria* and the *Geography*, Rowson explores the oppression of patriarchal power in the space provided by cultural distance (as she imagines Islam and North Africa, particularly) and in the important rhetorical space of the classroom (as she expresses her authority as a teacher, mindful of her specific responsibility to young women). The real and metaphorized North Africa in the narratives of captivity and slavery afford her a space that reveals both the promise and limits of her feminist imagination and provides foundation and context for the anti-slavery statements in the *Geography*.

Her commitment to the gendered concerns of her students, apparent throughout the *Geography*, led her to denounce in that text the slavery that the U.S. government had chosen to protect. In *Mary, Slaves in Algiers* and *Mentoria*, Rowson speaks to her young female readers about themselves, and her messages correlate to *Charlotte Temple*'s: be smart, strong, loyal, and brave, and rise above your circumstances. In the *Geography*, however, she speaks to her students about others, rather than about themselves, as she educates them about the world outside of their circumstances. In contrast to the romantic and figurative uses of slavery and captivity in the fictional and dramatic texts, here the educator articulates a non-fiction presentation of slavery close to home. Speaking with the moral authority of a teacher, she condemns slavery and requires readers to register a similarly unequivocal judgment. In depicting slavery in the West Indies and American south, she cannot sustain the moral superiority of her own English and American culture (as she frequently does elsewhere in the *Geography* and throughout her other works), and this creates a problem that did not present itself in her more imaginative depictions of slavery and captivity in fictional and dramatic genres. In the *Geography*, she must speak of slavery not in the distance—not symbolically or metaphorically—on her way to an argument about female moral and spiritual superiority, but, rather, factually, immediately and materially. Those contexts—the reality of American slavery, the immediacy and relative intimacy of the classroom—compelled Rowson to begin to see, perhaps not the structures of inequity that allowed slavery and curtailed her female students' possibilities, but, clearly, some of the corollary results.

Notes

Thoughtful readings from several colleagues, including Michelle Burnham, collection editors Jennifer Desiderio and Desiree Henderson, and the anonymous readers of *SAF,* helped me revise and complete this essay.

1. Susanna Rowson, *An Abridgment of Universal Geography* (Boston: 1805), 272.
2. Ibid., 237, 228.
3. Marion Rust, *Prodigal Daughters: Susanna Rowson's Early American Women* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 13–14; Laura Doyle, *Freedom's Empire: Race and the Rise of the Novel in Atlantic Modernity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 160.
4. I am thinking here not only of Mary Rowlandson and the Indian captivity narrative as a distinct genre but also the many other forms that featured captivity, including slave narratives such as Olaudah Equiano's, conversion narratives such as John Marrant's, and novels of sensation such as Tabitha Tenney's *Female Quixotism*. See Michelle Burnham's study of the central role of captivity, its meaningfulness and influence in early American letters, *Captivity and Sentiment: Cultural Exchange in American Literature, 1682–1861.* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1997).
5. Elizabeth Maddock Dillon, "Slaves in Algiers: Race, Republican Genealogies, and the Global Stage," *American Literary History* 16.3 (Fall 2004): 408.
6. Paul Baepler, "The Barbary Captivity Narrative in American Culture," *Early American Literature* 39.2 (2004): 217–46. Anne Myles comments on contemporary connections to the forms and circumstances of eighteenth-century slavery narratives in North America and North Africa in "Slaves in Algiers: Captives in Iraq: The Strange Career of the Barbary Captivity Narrative," *Common-Place* 5.1 (October 2004), www.common-place.org.
7. Benilde Montgomery, "White Captives, African Slaves: A Drama of Abolition," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 27.4 (Summer 1994): 615–630. *Gustavus Vasa, Deliverer of His Country* has an intriguing history. Written by Henry Brooke in 1738, it was banned by the British government because Horace Walpole understood the villain of the drama to be a thinly veiled representation of himself. The play was not staged in England until 1805, but it was republished in 1761, 1778, 1796, and 1797.
8. Montgomery, "White Captives," 620.
9. Ibid., 618.
10. Susana Rowson, *Slaves in Algiers: or, A Struggle for Freedom*, ed. Jennifer Margulis and Karen M. Poremski (1794; reprint, Acton: Copley Publishing Group, 2000), 73.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.,39.
13. Ibid., 16.
14. Ibid. Joanne Pope Melish notes Fetnah's complex identity as well, though she describes her as "unmistakably white," and suggests that Rowson portrays her as vulnerable to domination (by Rebecca) specifically because of her English birth ("Emancipation and the Em-bodiment of Race," in *A Centre of Wonders: The Body in Early America,* ed. Janet Lindman Moore and Michele Lise Tartar [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001]: 223–236). Malini Schueller calls her "an interesting subversion of the tainted-virtue fallen-woman type" in that Rowson refuses to treat her as fallen, despite the fact that she is one of the Dey's mistresses (*U.S. Orientalism: Race, Nation, and Gender in Literature, 1790–1890* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 64).
15. Rowson, *Slaves in Algiers,* 15.

16. Doyle, *Freedom's Empire*, 160.
17. Ameila Kritzer has commented on the maturity of Rowson's female characters in "Playing with Republican Motherhood," *Early American Literature* 31.2 (1996): 150–166.
18. Rowson, *Slaves in Algiers,* 77.
19. Ibid., 77.
20. Susanna Rowson, *Mentoria; or the Young Lady's Friend* (London, 1791), 94.
21. Ibid., 94–101.
22. Ibid., 96.
23. Ibid., 97.
24. Ibid. 98
25. Ibid., 100.
26. Ibid., 101.
27. Ibid., 97.
28. Ibid., 98.
29. Ibid., 98.
30. Ibid., 99.
31. Ibid., 98.
32. While I am limiting my discussion here, a fuller exploration of Rowson's work with racial and cultural others would necessarily investigate additional texts, certainly including *Reuben and Rachel*.
33. Rowson, *An Abridgment of Universal Geography*, iii.
34. Rust, *Prodigal Daughters*, 14.
35. Jedidiah Morse, *Geography Made Easy: Being an Abridgment of the American Universal Geography* (Boston: 1802), 299. Following Rust I used the 1802 edition of Morse's *Geography*.
36. Martin Brückner, *The Geographic Revolution in Early America: Maps, Literacy and National Identity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).
37. Jedidiah Morse, *Geography Made Easy* (Boston: 1818) quoted in Brückner, 247.
38. Brückner offers an overview of pedagogical practice among prominent geography teachers including Morse and Emma Willard and her coauthor William C. Woodbridge. Like Rowson, Willard and Woodbridge seem to have adopted a less authoritarian approach (246–49).
39. Ben A. Smith and James W. Vining, *American Geographers: 1784–1812: A Bio-Bibliographic Guide* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2003), 179.
40. Rowson, *An Abridgment of Universal Geography*, iii
41. Rowson would take up the dialogue approach again in intriguing ways in *Biblical Dialogues.*
42. Rowson, *An Abridgment,* 261.
43. Mary Belenky, Blythe Clinchy, Nancy Goldberger, Jill Tarule. *Women's Ways of Knowing* (New York: Basic Books, 1986). Other important feminist examinations of the gendered space of the classroom include Susan Sanchez-Casal, ed. *Twenty-First-Century Feminist Classrooms* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); Marilyn Jacoby Boxer, *When Women Ask the Questions: Creating Women's Studies in America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); bell hooks, *Teaching To Transgress:*

Education as the Practice of Freedom (New York: Routledge Press, 1994); Amitava Kumar, *Class Issues: Pedagogy, Cultural Studies and the Public Sphere* (New York: New York University Press, 1997); Ellen Kronan Rose and Maralee Mayberry, *Meeting the Challenge: Innovative Feminist Pedagogies in Action* (New York: Routledge Press, 1999); and Carmen Luke and Jennifer Gore, *Feminisms and Critical Pedagogy* (New York: Routledge Press, 1992).

44. For more on Fuller's feminist pedagogy see Christina Zwarg, *Feminist Conversations: Fuller, Emerson, and the Play of Reading* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995) or Joan von Mehren, *Minerva and the Muse: A Life of Margaret Fuller* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994).
45. Susanna Rowson, *An Abridgment*,15.
46. Ibid., 15.
47. Ibid., 270.
48. Ibid., 272.
49. Ibid., 228.
50. Ibid., 237.
51. Ibid., 237.