

Transatlantic Relations Among Radical Republican Circles During the Age of Revolutions: The Centrality of Women

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Abstract

Migratory movements between the two shores of the Atlantic have been of great relevance, both due to their quantity and their heterogeneity, from the moment these territories came into contact. The constant flow of people, as well as goods and ideas in this oceanic environment, caused that in the second half of the 18th century the English and American republican circles strengthened their ties, with some women as notable activists. The English writer Catharine Macaulay (1731-1791), in addition to writing about the crucial events of the moment, crossed the ocean with the desire to be close and experience them in the first person. On the other hand, due to common interests, she maintained an intense epistolary relationship for more than twenty years with the American writer Mercy Otis Warren (1728-1814). Despite the limitations that they found in primarily male areas, such as history and politics, the contribution of these women was not limited to the expected support, but their concerns were reflected in some important writings for the Republican cause. Despite this and paradoxically, these revolutionary movements did not bring about significant changes in the situation and the rights of women.

Keywords: *Social Vulnerability, Social Resilience, Community, Adaptation.*



A. INTRODUCTION

In 1803, twelve years after the death of Catharine Macaulay (1731-1791), an English historian and political activist of the second half of the 18th century, one of her first biographers, the English writer Mary Hays, also referred to the journey that Macaulay made to America: "Having been personally acquainted with the greater number of the celebrated Americans who had visited

England, and in the habit of corresponding with those who had distinguished themselves on the other side of the Atlantic, Mrs. Macaulay was very desirous of making a visit to the transatlantic republic; a design which she executed in 1785" (Lasa-Alvarez, 2016).

This short fragment is significant for several aspects that are central to this work. In the first place, the reference to the Atlantic as a bridge between two shores, America and England, is revealing of an idea that has crossed the history of Great Britain since the discovery of the American continent, since for British citizens the English Channel has been paradoxically much wider and difficult to cross than the Atlantic Ocean. It would be the general conviction that his destiny has not been and is not linked to

Europe, but beyond, on the other side of the Oceans, and that today we still see it in what is known as British Euroscepticism, and its result more recent, the victory of the no to the permanence in the European Union in the Referendum of 2016, better known as "Brexit". Reference is also made in the text to two types of exchange that proliferated at this time between the two sides of the Atlantic, the travelers who crossed the Ocean and the correspondence that kept their ties together without having to travel. Finally, the fact that Hays refers to the transatlantic republic to refer to the newly founded United States, suggests the political position of both the biographer, Hays, and the biographer, Macaulay, as will be seen later (Hancock, 1997).

Migratory movements between the two shores of the Atlantic have been of great relevance, both due to their quantity and their heterogeneity, from the moment these territories came into contact. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, coinciding with the beginnings of capitalism, imperialism and the Industrial Revolution, the British population crossed this Ocean at such high levels that no other European nation could match. The causes that motivated these migratory movements were diverse, and although as usually happens the economic ones have great weight, those derived from the various revolutions that took place in the second half of the 18th century cannot be ignored (Greene et al., 2008). The importance that the Atlantic acquired as which mediator bridge has given rise to the common denomination of Atlantic revolutions, thus uniting under this label the American Revolution, the French Revolution and other Caribbean rebellions, such as the one that originated the Republic of Haiti in 1804. It is for all this that today, Atlantic and transatlantic studies have acquired special credit for the study of these phenomena, since they took place not within national boundaries, but in a large transnational and transcultural space, such as that encompassed by the Atlantic Ocean. In this particular work, these studies are very useful for a double reason: on the one hand, the events that occurred in one place resonated and influenced others, no matter how far away they might be, causing the creation, destruction and recreation of communities, as a consequence of the movements through and around this oceanic reality of people, merchandise, customs or values. On the other hand, Atlantic studies have been identified chronologically with a historical stage, the one that develops from the first time Columbus crossed the Atlantic to the revolutionary period, which is precisely the one studied here (Davies et al., 2008).

This dialogue in the oceanic sphere intensified in the second half of the 18th century with the consequent growth in the flow of exchanges of all kinds. One of the consequences was a greater rapprochement between circles of similar political ideology on both shores, in which two women played a leading role, the aforementioned Catharine Macaulay and the American Mercy Otis Warren (1728-1814). Macaulay was a central figure in English pro-American radical circles, which is why he maintained an intense relationship with important members of American revolutionary circles, especially Mercy Otis, with whom he exchanged epistles for more than two decades. In

addition, both women gathered their friends in gatherings that took place in the living rooms of their homes, and that over the years came to converge and share members due to the visits that the two received, thus weaving a kind of Atlantic community, that in those tumultuous historical moments, acted as a support for all of them.

The nature of the friendship between Macaulay and Warren is clearly evident in these lines that the latter wrote to her English friend in a year as significant as 1789:

“I feel mortified at my own delay as it has doubtless prevented me the pleasure of hearing from a very valuable and much esteemed friend, whom, nor time, nor distance, or the accidents of life will lead me to view with an indifferent eye. But though we may feel an immutable attachment, yet we live in an age of revolution when not only the most extraordinary political events are exhibited; but the most sudden reverse of private friendship and a dereliction of former attachments at once surprises and wounds the heart, disposed to cultivate the social and benevolent affections, to the last moment of existence” (Davies, 2006).

In addition to the appreciation and affection they feel for each other, this fragment also provides other interesting details about their vision of the historical events that they had to experience. Warren's assessment is quite gloomy, especially since political events were affecting their private lives, but if this letter and the epistolary relationship between these two women stand out for something, it is because it brings together not only its authors, but also events on both sides of the Atlantic, as noted by Warren's allusion to the age of revolutions.

B. METHOD

This research is qualitative in nature with a literature review method. Data were collected using several techniques, including observation, focus group discussion of documentation studies (Creswell, 2010). The data is then analyzed so that a conclusion can be made of the research results related to this research.

C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. Women, Politics and History

Catharine Macaulay, and Sawbridge, was a central figure in the Whig or liberal English circles and also of those more radical pro-Americans, who defended the establishment of the republic in England to end the great corruption that was destroying the government. His republicanism began to take shape when still a child being spent long hours in the library of his father on his farm in Kent in July. There he devoured the works of Greek and Roman historians, and thus came to the conviction of the superiority of the republican political system over the monarchy (Hay, 1993) . Years later, and already in London, he moved mainly in two circles of activists, the first, that of the so-called Wilkites, created around the figure of the radical journalist John Wilkes, and in which Macaulay's brother, John Sawbridge, was a prominent

member and co - founder of the Society in defense of the United States Bill of Rights, and the second circle in which he participated was the one known as Real Whigs, who were mostly dissident religious Republican - leaning in September. Macaulay was Anglican, but was greatly influenced by these groups of intellectuals dissidents and shared many opinions and ideas with them, as at that time they were at the forefront of the reformist and republican movements (Withey, 1976).

At a time when political commitment was the main driver when writing historical texts, Macaulay embodied his political ideals in all his works, but especially in his debut, *History of England from the Accession of James I to that of the Brunswick Line*, published between 1763 and 1783 in eight volumes. It is a well-documented historical work on the seventeenth century in England, which not only offered a detailed account of the past, but also tools to understand and interpret the political circumstances of its time, when the Crown, Parliament and the people were fighting for their rights so intensely thought possible broke a revolution or a civil war in England (Robert & Robert, 2004). Macaulay's history of England describes a seventeenth century in which the struggle of the English patriots against the absolutist tendencies of the monarchs, which imposed illegal taxes, abuses of power, arbitrary arrests and inhuman punishments prevailed (Macaulay, 1767). By all this was enthusiastically received in Whigs and radical circles of the time, but also because they had a historical text with which to counteract the dominant view on the history of the previous century in England, more conservative and closer to the Tory ideology, and which was reflected by another important historian, David Hume, in his *History of England (1754-1761)*.

This text by Macaulay was remarkably successful and brought its author considerable benefits. She received public acclaim and was ranked among the most prominent history writers of her time; For this reason, she was portrayed along with other contemporaries of hers, also eminent partners in the world of the arts, in Richard Samuel's well-known painting that included the nine muses of Great Britain (c. 1779) (Hancock, 1997). Her status as an outstanding *salonnière*, as well as her education and knowledge, corresponded to the ideals of femininity and refinement of the Enlightenment, in which women were not only beneficiaries, but also agents of the progress that their feminine condition caused in the society of the time (Eger, 1998).

Despite this recognition, having dared to write in a prestigious genre still considered eminently masculine, Macaulay had to suffer the consequences. The writer Mary Wollstonecraft, a great admirer of Macaulay, argued in her famous treatise *Vindication of the rights of women (1792)*, published shortly after the death of the historian, that she was "without a doubt the most talented woman who ever lived. In this country and yet he has died without sufficient respect being paid to his memory", but he trusts future generations and adds that "Posterity will be fairer and will remember that Catharine Macaulay was an example of intellectual qualities that were

they assumed incompatible with the weakness of their sex. Actually, in his way of writing sex does not appear, because it is like the meaning that he communicates, loud and clear" (Hill, 1992).

As has already been pointed out at the beginning of this work, one of his first biographers was Mary Hays, who was also very aware of the prejudices with which many writers were observed and judged, and for this reason she affirms the following about Macaulay: "A female historian, by its singularity, could not fail to excite attention: she seemed to have stepped out of the province of her sex; curiosity was sharpened, and malevolence provoked. The author was attacked by petty and personal scurrilities, to which it was believed her sex would render her vulnerable". Over time, the radical political ideas defended by this writer, as well as certain personal circumstances, affected the consideration and estimation that had been given to her up to that moment, and as Hays already pointed out, she was attacked not only for her ideas, but also because of her status as a woman. For example, Macaulay's controversy with Edmund Burke, an important politician, philosopher and writer of his time, stands out, who attacked her by describing it with derision as "our republican Virago", and also ridiculed it by saying that "the Amazon is the greatest champion amongst them". Indeed, it turned out to be one of the focuses of attention of its time, especially among journalists and critics, who did not hesitate to account, among other things, of all the details about her second wedding to William Graham, who was 25 years younger than her (James, 2012).

With regard to the history of England written by Macaulay, among the many notable aspects we can mention, for example, the basic thesis of this writer regarding the government of a state, which she understands as a kind of contract between the people and an entity leader in order to obtain the common good. Therefore, if it is considered necessary, in a state governed by reason, the form of government can be changed or altered according to certain aspects:

"That the government is the ordinance of man; that, being the mere creature of human invention, it may be changed or altered according to the dictates of experience, and the better judgment of men; that it was instituted for the protection of the people, for the end of securing, not overthrowing the rights of nature; that it is a trust either formally admitted or supposed; and that the magistracy is consequently accountable; will meet with little contradiction in a country enlightened with the unobstructed ray of rational learning" (Macaulay, 1767).

This need for change or reform seemed necessary, at least in Parliament, since the representatives were not interested in the good of their fellow citizens, but, according to Macaulay, were corrupted by their efforts to collect more and more money from the people and thus get a high share of the dividends obtained.

2. The American Revolution

It is understandable that with views and ideas like these just mentioned, Macaulay had a marked and recognized influence on the ideological origins of the American Revolution. Especially when the American colonists observed how the English government required them to pay for the high expenses caused by the war against France, by constantly raising taxes, while denying them the right to have representatives in Parliament. A slogan from this period is well known in this sense: "No taxation without representation." In addition, the English only referred to the colonies in terms of power and dominance, an aspect very present in the press from the middle of the century onwards, in which one can constantly observe the treatment and consideration of the colonists of the other side of the Atlantic as "others" as people who never they will become authentic English (Greene 1998). With this situation, Macaulay in one of his pamphlets entitled *Address to the People of England, Scotland, and Ireland on the Present Important Crisis of Affairs* (1775), published just a year before the Declaration of Independence of the United States, warned his fellow citizens about the result of putting so much pressure on the Americans. He pointed out that if civil war broke out between the metropolis and the colonies, both could be ruined, and that if the Americans achieved independence, they would be the ones who would get all the advantages:

"If a civil war commences between Great-Britain and her Colonies, either the Mother Country, by one great exertion, may ruin both herself and America, or the Americans, by a lingering contest, will gain an independency; and in this case, all those advantages which you for some time have enjoyed by your Colonies, and advantages which have hitherto preserved you from a national bankruptcy, must for ever have an end; and whilst a new, a flourishing, and an extensive empire of freemen is established on the other side of the Atlantic, you, with the loss of all those blessings you have received by the unrivalled state of your commerce, will be left to the bare possession of your foggy islands; and this under the imperious sway of a domestic despot, or you will become the provinces of some powerful European state" (Hay, 1993).

As mentioned above, books and other writings, along with the ideas and values that were poured into them, traveled from one shore to another of the Ocean. Traffic was intense in both directions, and just as prominent founding figures such as Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson or John Adams received various works by Macaulay, she and other members of her Republican environment regularly received texts from their American colleagues, constantly expressing their admiration mutual and always trying to get support for their cause. Franklin, the prominent American politician and diplomat, praised Macaulay's historical texts, evaluating their rarity in a 1765 writing, since according to him, they constituted a truly historical work, and therefore difficult to find (Good, 2012); John Adams, who would later become

President of the United States, wrote a letter to Macaulay after reading his history of England, emphasizing that it focused on those citizens who really are worth it for their actions and merit, and not on the nobles or princes, who without deserving it have traditionally played the leading role in history texts (Adam, 1850; Shaw, 2014); Jefferson, who would later also become President of the United States, in addition to recommending her to all his friends, had all eight volumes of the History of England of Macaulay and later buy for the library gives the University of Virginia (Greene, 1998). Similarly, Richard Henry Lee, also like the previous ones, one of the founding fathers of the United States, lamented in a letter to a friend that he had not been able to read the English historian and asked her to send him his History from London, as well like any other work of his that had seen the light (Warren 2010).

Much of the American colonists were also dissident and Whigs, so that there were already close ties between them and the circles on the European side of the Atlantic, sharing similar views on religion and politics. Furthermore, the American Sons of Liberty and the English Royal Whigs came from similar origins and social status, and possessed similar reformist goals. It was, as Bailyn claims, a network that, in order to promote political reform, spread throughout the Atlantic world (Armitage, 2014). Many American travelers who came to England brought with treaties and pamphlets on the American cause distributing among his colleagues and friends, but it was the Dilly brothers, who were also editors Macaulay, who contributed most to divulge from his pres. Along with these published and therefore public writings, private texts, that is, letters, also circulated regularly throughout the Atlantic. In fact, the letters played a fundamental role in the union and consolidation of this Atlantic community, as they were the vehicle through which ideas and information were transmitted, primarily of a political nature in this case. Furthermore, as was customary in this period, letters could transcend the private sphere, by being read aloud in meetings, copied, loaned or forwarded (Greene et al., 2008). In fact, as Davies points out, in many of the letters written by all of them there are stylistic features that indicate that they were written to be read aloud before a wide number of listeners, as well as in order to be known publicly by different Media.

3. Distance Relationships: The Letters

For Macaulay, his epistolary exchange included both men and women relevance in American circles Patriots (Good, 2012). In April 1769 he began to write with James Otis Jr., a Massachusetts lawyer and political activist, after reading his essay Vindication of the British Colonists (1769). In her letter, the English writer wanted to show her great admiration for having assumed the role of guardian of American freedom and also wanted to congratulate him on his patriotic conduct in defense of his fellow citizens (Davies, 2006). A year later, in August 1770, John Adams wrote a letter to Macaulay through a mutual friend, learning that she had been

pleasantly impressed by one of the articles by the American politician published in the English press. Adams in his letter praises her historical work, as mentioned above, and confesses that he is very fortunate for the commendation he received, even more so coming from such a brilliant author:

“It was from this History, as well as from the concurrent Testimony, of all who have come to this Country from England, that I had formed the highest Opinion of the Author as one of the brightest ornaments not only of her Sex but of her Age and Country. I could not therefore, but esteem the Information given me by Mr. Gill, as one of the most agreeable and fortunate Occurrences of my Life” (Adam, 1875) .

However, Macaulay's closest epistolary relationship was with another woman, Mercy Otis Warren. They began to be written in 1773, when John Adams introduced them, although Macaulay by then already knew his brother, James Otis, and when he suffered from his mental health, it seems that Warren resumed the correspondence with Macaulay, where his brother had left it. 35. In a letter he wrote to John Adams in 1774, Macaulay thanked him for having introduced him to such a pleasant friend with whom to exchange opinions epistolary (Warren, 2010). Warren had been born into one of the most influential families in Massachusetts, and like Macaulay, became interested in politics and history, especially Republican political theory. Given his talent and good education, John Adams described it as "The most Accomplished lady in America" (Katz, 2007). Both in the case of Macaulay and Warren, they were related to Ancient Rome and they themselves felt close to the figure of the Roman matron, since they brought together feminine, republican and patriotic qualities. As regards the first, the third volume of her *History of England* (1767) presents a frontispiece in which the author is portrayed in profile as a republican matron of Ancient Rome, and later, in 1770, it is published in the *London Magazine* an engraving of her with similar symbols, entitled "Catharine Macaulay in the Character of a Roman Matron lamenting the lost of Liberties of Rome" (Macaulay, 1775). As for Warren, both she and Abigail Adams, the wife of John Adams, used pseudonyms of Roman matrons in their letters, Marcia and Portia respectively, to underscore their strength and patriotism during the revolution.

Although at first Macaulay's correspondence focused mainly on men, he was undoubtedly aware of belonging to a unique community within the larger group of Republicans united by the Atlantic, the female, and he makes this known to John Adams: "I assure you there is no circumstance can flatter me more than the being a favorite of the Ladies in general and in particular of Women of equal sentiment to your fair friend" (Mazzucco, 1775). In fact, Macaulay showed her disappointment at the disinterest and lack of commitment of British women to republican ideals, as can be seen in her correspondence with her American friends (Adams, 1762). Because of the interest shown by Macaulay, Abigail Adams soon begins to exchange letters with her as well. In its First Epistle Abigail Adams expresses how honored she is to meet

her and to be able to begin this relationship, and also expresses her gratitude for the concern she has always shown for her cause. But it also informs her about political matters, as usually happened in their correspondence, in which public affairs were interwoven with matters of a more personal nature. In this case, Adams, in view of the critical moment that events have reached, announces that there are only two ways out of the conflict between America and the Metropolis, freedom or death:

“In the last Letter which Mr. Adams had the honor to receive from you, you express a Desire to become acquainted with our American Ladies. To them Mrs. Macaulay is sufficiently distinguished by her superior abilities, and altho she who is now venturing to address her cannot lay claim to equal accomplishments with the Lady before introduced, yet she flatters herself she is no ways deficient in her esteem for a Lady who so warmly interests herself in the cause of America a Cause madam which is now become so serious to every American that we consider it as a struggle from which we shall obtain a release from our present bondage by an ample redress of our Grievances or a redress by the Sword. The only alternative which every American thinks of is Liberty or Death” (Adams, 1762).

Obviously, the correspondence that Macaulay maintained with Warren is more extensive and therefore offers much more information about the turn that the situation is taking, and thus, in 1773, in his first letter Warren already mentioned the corruption and despotism of the English government, as well as the increasingly certain possibility of a civil war, if the only options left to them by the English government are slavery or the bloodshed of their fellow citizens: «[I] pray Heaven may yet avert the dread calamity of Civil War ; and prevent the sad alternative of either bowing beneath the bands of slavery or of repurchasing our plundered rights by the blood of the virtuous citizens in italics in original (Warren, 2010). Later, in a letter of December 1774, Warren insists on his fears, and even points out some real consequences that the conflict has caused on the American people and that have been caused by the obstinacy and immobility of England: "I see the inhabitants of our plundered cities quitting the Elegancies of life, possessing nothing but their Freedom, taking refuge in the Forests. I Behold Faction & Discord tearing up an Island we once held dear as our own inheritance, and A Mighty Empire (long the dread of distant Nations) tottering to the very Foundation” (Zagarri, 2014).

As expected, the confrontation unleashed between England and the American patriots will cause a cut in their communications by sea, so that from August 1775 Warren and Macaulay will be forced to send their correspondence through friends or trusted acquaintances, who will carry their letters personally on their transoceanic voyages (Davies, 2006). In any case, in February 1777 Warren did not hesitate to warn his English friend that if maintaining this correspondence with her is going to cause him problems, he will suspend the shipment until hostilities cease and peace reigns:

“My most pleasing employ in the hour of solitude is a correspondence with some very valuable Friends and I should be ashamed of my taste if Mrs. Macaulay did not stand one of the first in the list: yet lest she should suffer any inconvenience from a real or suspected correspondence with a rebel lady, I shall suspend any attempt for further intercourse until hostilities cease and peace again she was her welcome face on both sides of the Atlantic” (Wollstonecraft, 2008).

It is interesting to note that both women used their letters for later publications about the events recounted in them, and that they evidently focus on the American Revolution. For Macaulay, both letters and other materials he received from America, would be allocated to a new project that would focus on the struggle of the American people, but his poor health prevented him. Similarly, Warren used the letters he had previously written as historical documents for the creation of his own historical work, one of the first on the American Revolution: *History of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the American Revolution*, which he saw the light in 1805 (Warren, 2010). The influence of Macaulay in this text is therefore remarkable and Warren quotes it frequently, but this influence is also seen in the opposite direction, and as Davies states, in Macaulay's *Letters on Education* (1790), Warren's ancestry is considerable (Warren, 2010).

Warren always defended the participation of women in the conflict, because as stated in a 1774 letter to Hannah Winthrop, although she does not feel prepared for combat, when there are mothers or wives who have to mourn their dead husbands and children, and sacrifice what they most want, how can there be individuals who deny their patriotism or ridicule their public appearance. She felt supported by her close circle, especially her husband, and therefore, she is not going to be dominated by the ups and downs of such changing times, and she will not apologize either:

“For touching on a subject a little out of the line of female attention, as we are both happily united to such companions as think us capable of taking part in whatever affects themselves. As for that part of mankind who think every rational pursuit lies beyond the reach of a sex too generally devoted to folly, their censure or applause is equally indifferent to your sincere friend” (Warren, 2010).

Of course, her self-confidence, as well as the support she felt, contributed to her intense participation in various public spheres, highlighting her literary activity. She wrote a relevant historical text, already mentioned, but she also contributed to the cause by means of propaganda plays in which she satirized those who opposed the revolutionary cause, or those who disgraced republican ideals. As Macaulay had done, Warren did not hesitate to state his views frankly and to condemn the lack of morality of American society and the policies of previous presidents.

So she also received criticism, which as usual focused mainly on her condition as a woman. Thus, John Adams, who had previously praised and encouraged her to write about the history of the newly created United States, once Warren's text was

published, in which some of her acts were censored, dismissed the work of the writer saying that "History is not the Province of the Ladies" (Boylan, 1990).

4. Personal Contact: Travel

In addition to letters, books and other types of publications, travelers also crossed the Atlantic. These trips used to have an eminently commercial character; However, in these troubled times, politicians and diplomats visited other countries in search of support for their cause. Many Americans who visited England, in addition to attending to their affairs, frequented those citizens with whom they shared their republican ideals, and evidently Macaulay was among them. Visitors such as Benjamin Rush from Pennsylvania, brothers Arthur and William Lee from Virginia, Stephen Sayre from New York, Henry Marchant and the Reverend Ezra Stiles from Rhode Island, mention in their personal writings several visits to Macaulay, as well as their attendance at meetings. She herself will be the one who years later will visit her American friends when she finally travels to America. However, previously, and due to health problems, she moved to France and resided there between 1777 and 1778. During her stay she lived in Paris for six weeks, where she had the opportunity to meet prominent French politicians, such as the knight Rigemont.

At the same time, he also did not miss the opportunity to connect with several Americans who were in France negotiating the terms of French support for his cause and who wanted to meet their admired defender in the British Isles, although always with great caution, since England was at war with their American colonies at that time. In fact, the Paris that Macaulay was able to discover during his stay was full of expatriates, agents and American representatives in conversations with the French government, but also celebrating that the course of the war against England was turning in your favor (Hay, 1993). In any case, according to Hays's words in her biography of Macaulay, in the visit to Paris of the English writer there could have been other intentions, which she wanted to hide behind the health problems:

"In these circumstances, Mrs. Macaulay was particularly cautious to give no offense to the administration of her country, by entering with too much fervor into the cause of the Americans; or by appearing to have any other views in her excursion to France (by which the colonies were assisted and favored), than for the benefit and restoration of her health" (Hay, 1993).

In the same way, perhaps it was due to these circumstances, since Macaulay thought that she was being spied on by British agents, her very cautious behavior and her refusal to receive such a relevant figure as Benjamin Franklin at her hotel in Paris (Davies, 2005).

When she fulfilled her dream and finally visited the new United States of America in 1785, Macaulay traveled through nine of the thirteen states with her second husband, and was finally able to meet personally some of her epistolary

friends, such as John and Abigail Adams, James and Mercy Otis Warren, or Benjamin Franklin, and reconnect with some friends who had previously visited her in England, such as Ezra Stiles or the Lee brothers (Hay, 1993). As a good friend and hostess, Mercy Otis wrote several letters of introduction for Macaulay, among others, for Martha Washington, and in fact the English writer ended her stay in America with a visit to the later president of the United States, General Washington and his wife at his home in Mount Vernon in Virginia, where he stayed for three weeks. If her reputation in England had declined considerably at this time, during her trip through American lands it was shown that her decisive support and contribution to the American cause from its inception had not been forgotten, and Macaulay was acclaimed in the places where she passed.

D. CONCLUSION

Since Columbus first crossed the Atlantic, numerous states, kingdoms, and empires have been involved in a common history of convergence and divergence. The age of revolutions is only a small part of this relationship; although its impact and consequences were felt practically everywhere both then and later. Catharine Macaulay, Mercy Otis Warren, and other women in their Republican circles came into contact primarily over similar concerns, but also through previously established business and letter networks. The exchange of letters, printed matter, merchandise or ideas, as well as trips and visits, served to strengthen the ties of a community in which women played an important role. In England the figure of Macaulay is singular, as has been observed in this work, since history was not a medium frequented by women; however, she moved in circles in which female participation was welcome, and thus managed to build a professional career and achieve fame. With this background she tried to influence her fellow citizens, especially in relation to one of the hottest issues of the moment, the confrontation between England and the American colonists. For her republican ideals, she defended the creation of her long-dreamed republic on the other side of the Atlantic and this earned her the admiration and friendship of many Americans; However, with her compatriots, for obvious reasons, the same did not happen and she received harsh criticism, which in her case, being a woman, was more hurtful and focused on the personal. Warren's role was also highlighted during the conflict with the metropolis and in the initial moments of the new republic, and thus, to her and other women, such as the aforementioned Martha Washington, Abigail Adams and Hannah Winthrop, or also Betsy Ross and Molly Pitcher, they have been called founding mothers, founding mothers of the United States, as they worked alongside their husbands, fathers, children and siblings, known as founding fathers, in the formation of a new nation. But as in the case of the English writer, as soon as her opinions were not liked by those in authority, her views were dismissed because they came from a woman. In any case, the fundamentally epistolary relationship between

these two writers, as well as the rest of supporters of republican ideals on both sides of the Atlantic, served to strengthen their ties by weaving a solid network of contacts, as well as to support each other in difficult times and draw on their various ideas.

Thus, the role of women was still ambiguous. They were commended for their writing and their invaluable support and moral and ideological advice were appreciated. However, when in 1776 Abigail Adams asked in a letter to her husband that when making decisions and measures he and the rest of the politicians will remember the ladies: "remember the Ladies", did not receive any real and effective response. In England, women's voices had already begun to rise, such as that of Wollstonecraft, publicly demanding women's rights, and others, such as Macaulay herself and the aforementioned Hays, who demanded improvements in the situation of women, by less so far as his education was concerned. However, the situation in America was different. In reality, as Zagarri points out, it is not that women's rights were not discussed and debated right now in America, but it was hardly done publicly, a new nation was being forged and what was needed was to establish its legitimacy and ensure the loyalty of its citizens, so that any doubt about the justice or equity of the government could be a threat to it. Consequently, these ladies chose to be silent; and as has been frequent throughout history, they decided to sacrifice their particular demands to embark on a broader and more general reformist project and change for the common good.

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