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Claire R. Williams

More than a Housewife: Revolutionary Era Women in War

A woman and a housewife were one in the same. A colonial woman of the eighteenth century could not socially be considered a proper example of the former without performing the tasks of the latter. These duties included the maintaining of a home, rearing of the children, and hosting of parties. Traditional society instilled this ideal of motherhood and overall obedience into the minds of young women at an early age and continued to shape their lives throughout adulthood. It became even more paramount during the Revolutionary Era, as men were called to join the fight for independence, leaving their wives and daughters at home. At least, this was society's expectation. This barrier did not succeed in holding some women, though, as a brave number dared to venture outside of the domestic arena into the world of men. Driven by a variety of motives, ranging from a desire to prove their patriotic worth to an urge to reform societal demands, they left their predestined roles and followed the soldiers into a harsh reality of pain and sacrifice. While a majority merely traveled with the men to be close to their family, the more radical secretly donned men's clothing and participated in battle in an effort to show women's capability in secondary roles. Upon public notice of these actions, many women were ridiculed, shunned from social groups, and scorned for abandoning their duties to pursue a choice which was not theirs to pursue. Yet if these women had not volunteered their services in cleaning, nursing, espionage, and active combat, the patriots of the American Revolution would have lacked an essential force of their military operation.¹ In addition, these necessary contributions were products of

¹ Research on Revolutionary women begins with Charles E. Claghorn, *Women Patriots of the American Revolution: A Biographical Dictionary* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1991); Elizabeth F. Ellet, *The Women of the American Revolution*, 2nd ed. (New York: Baker and Scribner, 1848); Sandra Gioia Treadway, "Anna Maria Lane: An Uncommon Soldier of the American Revolution," *Virginia Cavalcade* 37, no. 3 (January 1988): 134-143; Alfred F. Young, *Masquerade: The Life and Times of Deborah Sampson, Continental Soldier* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004), all of which give excellent biographies of both famous and obscure Revolutionary Era females. Linda Grant De Pauw, "Women in Combat: The Revolutionary War Experience," *Armed Forces & Society* 7, no. 2 (Winter 1981): 209-226, delivers an excellent account of women's achievements in war, both on and near the battlefields. Elizabeth Cornetti, "Women in the American Revolution," *New England Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (September 1947): 329-46, and Joan R. Gunderson, *To Be Useful to the World: Women in Revolutionary America, 1740-1790*, rev. ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), provide a detailed overview of women on the home front during the conflict. For an extended study of camp followers and their duties during the war, see Holly A. Mayer, *Belonging to the Army: Camp Followers and Community During the American Revolution* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina, 1996); John Rees, "The Multitude of Women': An Examination of the Numbers of Female Camp

rising revolutionary consciousness, and paved the way for attempts of political and social reform in favor of females.

Eighteenth century men deemed women the politically irrational gender, incapable of producing logical and intelligent opinions in a public arena. This ideology is reflected in the meager job availability outside of the home for single, married, and widowed women, as well as the absence of women in noted political or militaristic affairs.² Even at home, women were regarded as the lesser, as they were not likely to procure property rights. Upon marriage women, however unwillingly, released all property and personal effects to their husband's estate. Though they were guaranteed a third of their husband's real estate in a dower after their significant other's death, women did not necessarily regain their original assets. The husband's will and testament decided the amount of competition between the wife and her children in regards to property.³

Though this position of women in society was still common, it began to shift slightly due to the radical thinking of the Enlightenment period. Beginning in the mid-seventeenth century and continuing well into the eighteenth, prominent thinkers in this European period began to question the truth of women's supposed intellectual inferiority. As early as 1673, men as well as women began speaking openly of their new opinions, including French writer and feminist philosopher, Francois Poulain de la

Followers with the Continental Army," *Minerva: Quarterly Report on Women in the Military* 14 (1996): 1-47. Rosemarie Zagari, *Revolutionary Backlash: Women and Politics in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), gives an excellent history of both men and women's perspectives regarding female political and social reform before, during, and after the Revolution. Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert, eds., *Women in the Age of the American Revolution* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1989), offers a collection of articles regarding the laws, expectations, and perspectives of a woman's place in eighteenth century society. Useful primary sources include letters requesting pensions on behalf of servicewomen, such as William Cabell to Hugh Nelson, January 28, 1808, Executive Letter Books, Library of Virginia, Richmond; Paul Revere to William Eustis, February 20, 1804, Object of the Month Collection, MHS Collections Online.

²Linda K. Kerber, "'History Can Do it No Justice': Women and the Reinterpretation of the American Revolution," in *Women in the Age of the American Revolution*, eds. Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1989), 17-8, 34; Daniel Scott Smith, "Inheritance and the Social History of Early American Women," in Hoffman and Albert, *Women in the Age of the American Revolution*, 59-61.

³David E. Narrett, "Men's Wills and Women's Property Rights in Colonial New York," in Hoffman and Albert, *Women in the Age of the American Revolution*, 91.

Barre. In his work, *The Equality of the Two Sexes*, he declared that “the mind has no sex,” explaining that women’s physical traits do not hinder their mental capabilities, as was previously thought. Later in the century, John Locke and English writer Mary Astell began to comment on this notion in their respective works. Both suggested that any hint of intellectual inferiority in women is the result of inadequate education as imposed by men, Astell even going so far as to scold men for denying women their potential for acquired intellect. As women in the colonies heard of these new opinions of potential through excerpts found local media, they too questioned their roles in society: if given the same opportunities, perhaps women would perform in the same capacity as men.⁴

Men of the English colonies also noticed these ideas from the Enlightenment by the start of the eighteenth century, but took two sides in the issue. Some saw this as an excellent insight, relating back to the brightest female minds of the past who demonstrated an incredible ability for roles most commonly acquired by men. These included Semiramis of Nineveh, who supposedly ruled an ancient Middle Eastern kingdom, and Queen Christina of Sweden, known for her “prodigious learning.” These men wished to provide contemporary women with more opportunities to learn and grow in their capacity to aid society, just as the aforementioned rulers of the past. On the other hand, others saw this as an unnecessary notion, and scorned those women who sought to take on traditionally masculine roles. Regardless of new opinions circulating the European continent (and later transferred to the colonies), these men remained true to previous standards. This seemed to become the most popular opinion, as women were still limited in their social and political positions.⁵

This is not to say that women were completely trapped in their home, unable to speak or think for themselves; men in general simply considered them inexperienced and therefore unreliable in public

⁴ Rosemarie Zagari, *Revolutionary Backlash: Women and Politics in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 12.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 14; Kerber, “History Can Do It No Justice,” in Hoffman and Albert, *Women in the Age of the American Revolution*, 10.

affairs. Some women, mostly widows, were able to invest in the economy, creating some source of personal income.⁶ Ultimately, though, a woman's contribution to political thought and action in the early eighteenth century greatly depended on the agreement and, in most cases, allowance of her husband. For instance, Abigail Adams, the well-known and influential wife of the second President of the United States, frequently spoke to her husband John of her opinions regarding political proceedings beginning in the mid-1700s to the early 1800s. She went so far as to suggest plans of actions and request news and recent amendments of the new government.⁷ Hers is a case meticulously documented, and one prime example of beginning social reform. Unfortunately, the actions of women during this time were not seen fit to properly maintain, and therefore are difficult to uncover.

As tensions with Britain increased in the mid-eighteenth century, women as well as men started to develop a revolutionary consciousness. In regards to women's roles in the upcoming conflict, men believed that wives would only modify their current domestic duties by instilling patriotism and similar virtues into the minds of the youth. While still willing to fulfill this role, women increased their expectations for societal change. They noticed the actions of English women in the political field beginning in the early 1700s. British women began hosting and attending balls where they could converse with prominent political figures. In addition, these females published even more literature on the subject of women's rights. One such woman, ultimately anonymous due to her given title "Sophia, a Person of Quality," circulated her work *Woman Not Inferior to Man: or, a Short and Modest Vindication of the Natural Rights of the Fair-Sex to a Perfect Equality of Power, Dignity, and Esteem, with the Men*. The ambiguous "Sophia" makes the claim that women are meant to do more than look after children and remain in the domestic realm to which they have always been limited. This work made its way to the media of the colonies, along with another anonymous poem which came specifically to Virginia (in

⁶ Joan R. Gunderson, *To Be Useful to the World: Women in Revolutionary America, 1740-1790*, rev. ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 88.

⁷ Abigail Adams to John Adams, Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive, Massachusetts Historical Society.

1736) and South Carolina (in 1743). It states, "The equal Laws let custom find,/And neither Sex oppress;/ More Freedom give to Womankind,/ Or to Mankind give less." Many colonial women, as the conflict with British rule worsened, adopted this revolutionary ideology as well. Wherever the conflict would lead, it may provide an opportunity for women to ensure equality.⁸

Independence from Britain would mean a new direction for not only the nation but particularly for their gender. They were citizens of the colonies and soon-to-be nation, and therefore should receive the same rights and privileges as men. As Linda Kerber mentioned in her "Reinterpretation of the Revolution," if the colonists were to truly create a more representative nation which transformed the political and civil spheres, women's contributions must be taken into account.⁹ With this revolutionary ideology forming, women sought methods of contribution to later use as grounds for equality through both social and political reform.

Their chance came as the eve of the Revolution approached, when the call for action was heard across the colonies. Most assumed that this call was directed toward men and men alone; young, able-bodied males willing to join the patriot cause for independence. Some women, on the other hand, presumed this invitation was extended to their sex as well. Though military service was only dictated for male citizenship, women could actively participate in other aspects of the war.¹⁰ Indeed, it would be necessary for them to put their new-found revolutionary consciousness to good use if the Patriots were to appear and fight effectively.

Most accounts of Revolutionary Era women represent their efforts on the home front. Though this approach may be considered more moderate when compared to those who served in or around the

⁸ Zagari, *Revolutionary Backlash*, 18-9; Sophia, *Woman Not Inferior to Man: or, a Short and Modest Vindication of the Natural Rights of the Fair-Sex to a Perfect Equality of Power, Dignity, and Esteem, with the Men* (London: John Hawkins, 1739); "The Lady's Complaint," *Virginia Gazette*, October 22, 1736, accessed November 24, 2013, http://www.eaww.uconn.edu/writings/anonymous/lady's_complaint.html; Zagari, *Revolutionary Backlash*, 21.

⁹ Kerber, "History Can Do It No Justice," in Hoffman and Albert, *Women in the Age of the American Revolution*, 17.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 30; Zagari, *Revolutionary Backlash*, 19-20.

front lines of battle, it was nonetheless an example of women resistance and reform attempt in the American Revolution. Beginning in the 1760s, women were asked to join the cause through modifying their day-to-day routine. One of the smaller requests was to convince men to join the *physical* fight, as opposed to the materialistic and mental battle happening at home. Women, as some would argue they do today, had a large hold over men, simply because they were women. If a man's wife wanted him to fight for the new nation, he may do this if only to keep her happy, in addition to remaining in his social circles. Other small-scale, yet necessary roles included continuing husbands' duties at home and ensuring the safety of the children.¹¹

The most important domestic initiative in regards to future reform expectations was the boycotting of British goods. All items transferred to America through British trade were to be kept out of homes. The primary target was of course tea, though this boycott did extend to all goods. Many towns, including Edenton, North Carolina and Boston, Massachusetts, signed formal agreements for the boycotts. The ladies of Edenton went so far as to initiate their own Edenton Tea Party of 1774, to show women's level of loyalty to Patriotic views. There was no actual dumping of tea into the harbor like the previous and more famous Boston Tea Party of 1773, but rather a petition signed to ensure the boycotting of British tea and clothing. This Tea Party was supposedly orchestrated by Penelope Barker, the wife of the North Carolina Province Treasurer, and helped to introduce other women to the idea of a true republic reflecting women's efforts as well. "No Taxation without Representation" then became the cry for women, too. Additional boycotts were also in place in the other colonies, and their successes demonstrate not only women's willingness to participate in the War of Independence, but also the sacrifices they endured to do so. Women needed these boycotted goods for everyday use, and yet men were asking them to abandon each item. This forced them to resort to sewing their own clothes from locally made or imported cloth and consuming only those foods which were already available from

¹¹ Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash*, 22; Gunderson, *To Be Useful in the World*, 88.

North American land.¹² Only motivation for something of incredible value, as shown through the efforts of the Ladies of Edenton in particular, would have driven them to continue.

Another important task was the care given to passing American soldiers. Women attempted to aid in the war effort by offering supplies and medical attention to any Patriot who was in need of these services. For example one woman, in an attempt to keep the family business afloat, served as an innkeeper throughout the war. She received into her hostelry one night a group of British soldiers and one wounded American Patriot. She stayed up with the American all evening to care for him, and did not charge him a penny for her service; on the other hand, she charged the British unit an outrageous sum. More commonly, though, women would simply stop passing soldiers or seek out prisoners of war and hand them extra rations and blankets.¹³

On a grander domestic scale, some women would venture into the public and declare their patriotism in many forms. After the removal of the George III statue in New York following the signing of the Declaration of Independence, women from Connecticut retrieved the bust and made over 42,000 cartridges of ammunition for the Continental Army using its material. By using the image of the previous leader of the colonies to provide ammunition for the soldiers, these women were not only aiding in the Patriot cause, but were showing Britain the strength of *all* American citizens. Men later praised women for this act, allowing women to hope for and expect their intended reparations.¹⁴ In a less dramatic approach, Mercy Otis Warren, fearing public scorn for voicing her political opinion though

¹² Zagari, *Revolutionary Backlash*, 22; Troy L. Kickler, "Edenton Tea Party: An American First," North Carolina History Project, John Locke Foundation, accessed November 24, 2013, <http://www.northcarolinahistory.org/commentary/20/entry>; Gunderson, *To Be Useful in The World*, 75-7, 88; Kerber, "'History Can Do It No Justice,'" in Hoffman and Albert, *Women in the Age of the American Revolution*, 6, 18-20; Elizabeth Cornetti, "Women in the American Revolution," *New England Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (September 1947): 329-46, accessed October 16, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/361443>.

¹³ Gunderson, *To Be Useful to the World*, 88; Kerber, "'History Can Do It No Justice,'" in Hoffman and Albert, *Women in the Age of the American Revolution*, 6-7; Elizabeth F. Ellet, *Domestic History of the American Revolution* (New York, 1850), 179, 213, 223.

¹⁴ Zagari, *Revolutionary Backlash*, 23.

still wishing to have her thoughts heard, began publishing multiple anonymous plays highlighting the growing political crisis in 1772.¹⁵ Warren was a strong advocate for women's political and social equality, and later fought for this openly in the years following the Revolution. Following in her footsteps, though a little more outspokenly, was Ester Reed, the wife of Pennsylvania governor Joseph Reed. In 1778, she created the Ladies of Philadelphia, an organization in which women could raise funds for the Continental Army. Additionally, she carried her devotion to the cause through writing. Her "Sentiments of an American Woman" encouraged other women to join her in the aiding of the up-and-coming nation's soldiers. She argued that the prohibition of following the men into battle should not stop women from joining the cause.¹⁶ Though a perfect example of female public contribution and therefore of potential for women in polity, she acted primarily in the name of patriotism, of caring for the soldiers protecting the *right* cause, and of guaranteeing the safety of their men.

The most secretive and ultimately most dangerous job undertaken by women of the household was acting as a spy and/or scout for the Continental army. Countless women – countless only due to the lack of records kept of these women during the time period – put their lives at risk in ways not done before in order to fight for their own advancement in society. They aided General Washington and his troops in evading or surprising the enemy throughout the war.¹⁷ For example, Mom Rinker, a Pennsylvania woman, sat on a high rock in Fairmount Park in Philadelphia observing the British movements in the distance. To seem innocent, she knitted as she sat; instead of creating a traditional pattern in the yarn, however, she sewed messages which she then dropped to American couriers waiting down below. Scouts also provided a great service to the army, as they travelled through backwoods and treacherous terrain in order to lead the Continental soldiers through the countryside.

¹⁵ Gunderson, *To Be Useful to the World*, 177; Alfred F. Young, *Masquerade: The Life and Times of Deborah Sampson, Continental Soldier* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004), 218.

¹⁶ Esther de Berdt Reed, "The Sentiments of an American Woman," (Philadelphia: John Dunlap, 1780); Zagari, *Revolutionary Backlash*, 23.

¹⁷ Ellet, *Domestic History*, 47; Kerber, "'History Can Do It No Justice,'" in Hoffman and Albert, *Women in the Age of the American Revolution*, 7-8.

One such woman was New Jersey resident Jimmie Waglun, who led Washington's men through the backcountry in late 1776 in order to better attack the British at Princeton. Another was sixteen-year-old Dicey Langston from South Carolina, who traversed a river at night to reach her brother's camp and tell of enemy troop operations.¹⁸ These women are only a few of many others who desired to break down their previous barriers, regardless of motive.

Each woman did have a reason for carrying out her self-proclaimed civic duty, as well as an expectation for her services. Whether it was out of hate for the British rule or of desire for political and social reform, these women took domestic efforts to a new level. For what, exactly, depends on the woman. Some were indeed hoping for their inclusion in the new nation, particularly in the political sphere. While most did not need a guaranteed legislative position to proclaim their affiliations, a voice in the government such as voting or other legitimate forms of influence would be appreciated.¹⁹ These women had gone above and beyond their everyday routine in order to aid in the country's development, and therefore should receive some kind of acknowledgement. Abigail Adams put it plainly to her husband, John, when referring to the contributions of females throughout the conflict. When creating the new government, he must "Remember the Ladies" and their efforts in establishing the union.²⁰ Still other women, namely those involved in espionage, wanted to simply escape the confines of expected domestic chores and wander into the world of men. The sense of adventure involved in undertaking these tasks was worth the risk. Other intended results included the guaranteed care of their husbands and sons. Reed's organization, like some others, was made in order to keep the men safe and well-stocked for any conflict which may arise. Overall, the importance of family and the

¹⁸ Charles E. Claghorn, *Women Patriots of the American Revolution: A Biographical Dictionary* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1991), 165, 196; Kerber, "History Can Do It No Justice," in Hoffman and Albert, *Women in the Age of the American Revolution*, 5.

¹⁹ Gunderson, *To Be Useful to the World*, 88; Kerber, "History Can Do It No Justice," in Hoffman and Albert, *Women in the Age of the American Revolution*, 10-11, 17.

²⁰ Abigail Adams to John Adams, March 31, 1776, Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive, Massachusetts Historical Society.

hope for social reform most effectively drove women from their quiet homes and into the world of conflict.

As stated previously, most accounts of women show them remaining at home during the war and still providing necessary aid for the Patriots. Rarer was an account of a woman who left her societal duties and expectations to follow the men to war. Even within this category are subsections of women, so to speak. Some merely followed the men to the camps, not providing many services and only seemingly being nuisances to the commanding officers. Others similarly trailed behind the soldiers, but offered domestic luxuries for the men of the camps. Then there are those women who officially signed up for military positions and received pay, namely those in medical services. Lastly came the brave few who broke down entire barriers for women, either secretly joining men in combat or illegally enlisting as a man in order to fight the war. Such women of war had extremely influential motives for participating, as well as intended outcomes for the services rendered should they survive their feat.²¹

The most moderate group of women, being the furthest away from the combat and still traveling in close quarters with the men, were camp followers. These citizens included women and children, be them wives, mothers, sisters or daughters of those in combat. Their main objective was not political or social in nature: these women primarily wished to remain in close contact with loved ones. Some exceptions, who later became camp followers, were refugees fleeing to the safety of the Continental army from loyalist-controlled areas, or impoverished peoples looking for a means of stability. Some even came to the camps in an economic venture, selling goods and services which sometimes included prostitution.²² Initially, General Washington did not find these women to be of any use. They were not subject to military discipline, nor did they complete tasks for the units. If they were

²¹ Kerber, "History Can Do it No Justice," in Hoffman and Albert, *Women in the Age of the American Revolution*, 11-6; Young, *Masquerade*, 95-7; de Pauw, "Women in Combat," 209-222.

²² Kerber, "History Can Do It No Justice," in Hoffman and Albert, *Women in the Age of the American Revolution*, 12; de Pauw, "Women in Combat," 210.

offered a position to care for the army, they would then receive pay and rations; however, should they refuse, these benefits were not accessible, and these women were occasionally left behind or sent away due to their unhelpful nature.²³ Additionally, it is reported that they encouraged bad habits in the men, such as heavy drinking, infidelity, and even arson.²⁴ Given others' disdain of camp followers, these women most likely provided men with a reason not to grant reform. Other men may not have seen any benefit to giving women a more active role in society if General Washington himself did not view them as valuable members of a previously male-dominated realm.

Many other women, however, provided hope of social and political acceptance through their contributions. The Women of the Army, labeled as such by General Washington, provided small yet necessary comforts to the army. They washed clothes, prepared meals, and sewed any torn garments. Most of these chores were either done for themselves, an occasional soldier, or the hospitals by the camps. For whomever these services were rendered, the Women of the Army gave a domestic touch to the otherwise grueling nature of war. Washington himself remarked on the unprofessionalism and overall uncleanliness of those units which did not have the luxury of these women, saying "they wore what they had until it crusted over and fell apart," due to the fact that the soldiers claimed laundry to be women's work.²⁵ Despite the connection to household duties, these women were still away from their previous societal limitations, and became an integral part of the army. Unlike the disorderly camp

²³ George Washington to Colonel van Schaick, October 19, 1779, in *The Writings of George Washington*, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick (Washington, D.C., 1931-4), XVI, 489.

²⁴ Kerber, "History Can Do It No Justice," in Hoffman and Albert, *Women in the Age of the American Revolution*, 14; Nathaniel Greene, General Orders, Apr. 1-July 25 1781, April 27, 1781 in Robert Middlekauff, *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763-1789*, Oxford History of the United States, vol. 2 (New York, 1982), 539; Holly A. Mayer, *Belonging to the Army: Camp Followers and Community During the American Revolution* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina, 1996); Linda Grant De Pauw, "Women in Combat: The Revolutionary War Experience," *Armed Forces & Society* 7, no. 2 (Winter 1981), 210-1; John Rees, "The Multitude of Women: An Examination of the Numbers of Female Camp Followers with the Continental Army," *Minerva: Quarterly Report on Women in the Military* 14 (1996), 28-31; General Artemas Ward, June 30, 1775, *Orderly Book of the Continental Forces* (Washington, D.C., 1877), 1, 10.

²⁵ de Pauw, "Women in Combat," 225, citing Robert L. Goldich, Analyst in National Defense, Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress; Charles Royster, *A Revolutionary People at War: The Continental Army and American Character, 1775-1783* (Chapel Hill, 1979): 59.

followers, the Women of the Army were subject to the discipline of servicemen, and given rations and shelter. This inclusion of women in the regulations of the military narrowed the gap between the genders. Women were now participating in an area (though a mild one) of war, a practice which people of the eighteenth century would never have considered. This change signified the beginning of social reform, something which many of these women were petitioning for at home and on the front.

In an effort to receive rations and make use of their time in the camp, some camp followers did heed Washington's advice and aid in medical operations. These nurses were able to officially report as members of the military, and therefore received pay for the care they provided. In this position, women were again using their domestic talents of healing and overall caregiving as a part of their duty to the nation (and to themselves). This care given by women differed significantly from that of male doctors, as the former relied on herbal remedies which made the patient as comfortable as possible. The latter, however, focused on heavy surgery and intense bleeding which decreased the rate of survival as there were little sanitary and effective recovery options. Soldiers saw women's service in this regard, therefore, as exceptional. Congress even supported the use of nurses in each unit, saying that the absence of "good female Nurses" only added to the wounded soldiers' suffering. As public recognition was a goal of some of these women, this praise from the government legislature did wonders for their determination. Simply the fact that these women were being paid for a service unlike previous domestic work was a breakthrough, and it showed that women were indeed capable of more than originally thought.²⁶ Some argue that these women held the most dangerous positions compared to other female contributions, even those of women who fought in battle. While attending to each wounded soldier, they were exposed to countless bacterial and viral diseases, which could result in a long-term disability or even death. Surely these women, who risked their physical health to better that of others, provided great cause for female acknowledgement.

²⁶ de Pauw, "Women in Combat," 213-4

The last and most radical step in the reform of social and political stature were those women who attempted and succeeded in fighting alongside the men in combat. "Succeeded" is the key word, as those who failed to keep their true identity a secret were punished and humiliated for illegally participating in an area of citizenship which was reserved for men. Ann Bailey of Boston, upon being "discovered," was tried and found guilty of pretending to be a young man and "fraudulently intending to cheat and injure the inhabitants of the state." She was sentenced to two months in prison, though still proud of her small time in service. Another woman, an anonymous resident New Jersey, illegally enlisted and was almost immediately found due to her accidental curtsy to a superior officer. Her only punishment was public humiliation, which proved to be enough for this young woman.²⁷ Though many of their intentions were honorable their actions set the female initiative of equality back a step. Their folly, in the eyes of men, proved their irrational nature and therefore reaffirmed their designated social role, similar to the camp followers. Some of their motives had the same result as well. A few women, such as the unknown soldier mentioned previously, came to war only to find a husband. Men disregarded these as foolish desires, and only strengthened their initial view of women as domestic housewives.

Those who were able to conceal their gender effectively, however, showed women's worth outside of the home. One such woman was Deborah Sampson Gannett, a young woman who, in May of 1782, enlisted as Private Robert Shurtliff in the Continental army.²⁸ At the age of 22, Sampson wished to escape her lonely and poverty-stricken childhood and venture into a new future by illegally enlisting as a man. She was immediately moved to join the Fourth Massachusetts Regiment for active duty as a light infantryman. As the light infantry after the Battle of Yorktown was considered the most active branch of

²⁷ *Government and People v. Ann Bailey* (MS Bay Sup. Ct. Judicature August 1777); William Barton [to ?], November 17, 1788, Microfilm Reel 1, item 82, David Library, rep. ed. " 'A Diversion in Newark': A letter from New Jersey Continental Line, 1778," Robert Fridlington ed., *New Jersey History* 105 (1787), 75-8; Young, *Masquerade*, 7.

²⁸ There are many different records of Sampson which offer several spellings of her name. Though her real name has been presented as "Samson," and her male identity documented as "Shurtlieff" and "Shurtleff," the proper spellings are the ones which I will use throughout the paper. See Young, *Masquerade*, for any further clarification.

the military, she served for a total of seventeen months in active combat under the command of Colonel William Shepard and later Colonel Henry Jackson. During her enlistment period, at the Battle of Tarrytown, she was shot and wounded in the left thigh. So as not to reveal her gender, she attended to the wound herself. Later, however, she became ill with fever and was cared for by Doctor Barnabas Binney, who for reasons unknown, kept her secret after discovering her illegal attempt. He then helped her to be honorably discharged from the army by General Henry Knox in October of 1783. Some men in her unit even proclaimed her to be one of the best soldiers in the camp; she followed every order, and completed every task efficiently and effectively. Her work was exemplary, and made for an even greater achievement once recognized in society after the end of her enlistment.²⁹

Sampson did not stay underground in regards to her efforts in the military. After being discharged and marrying Benjamin Gannett Jr., she began a public lecture tour highlighting her actions in service. Her overall mission was to gain public awareness not of her deeds specifically, but of what she and other women were able to accomplish. She campaigned for political and personal purposes, and continued to do so until her health and disabling wound restricted her. Her efforts, as reported in her memoir³⁰ and multiple biographies, set forth a precedent for social and political reform postwar.³¹

Other women did participate in battle, though only in a moment of necessary action. These women generally included those who were Women of the Army, aiding in the cause alongside their husbands, and were forced to take the place of a fallen soldier on the spot. One such woman was Anna

²⁹ Claghorn, *Women Patriots*, 83; Elizabeth F. Ellet, *The Women of the American Revolution*, 2nd ed. (New York: Baker and Scribner, 1848), 122-35; Young, *Masquerade*, 95-7, 150, 155; Cornetti, "Women in the American Revolution," 345.

³⁰ This memoir, the citation of which is seen below, is considered a very skeptical source of information by other historians. Young's research of Sampson's life led him to conclude that the record is one of exaggeration, even though it was written just after her major contributions by a man she herself commissioned. He used it frequently in his work, *Masquerade*, in order to provide context, but often pointed out the misconceptions the memoir portrays.

³¹ [Herman Mann], *The Female Review: or, Memoirs of an American Young Lady...By a Citizen of Massachusetts* (Dedham, MA: Nathaniel and Benjamin Heaton, 1797); Young, *Masquerade*, 197-245; Ellet, *The Women of the American Revolution*.

Maria Lane, a nurse and Woman of the Army who followed her husband, John, into war. During the Battle of Germantown, she courageously joined the fight in the place of a fallen comrade. She was later wounded because of her efforts.³² She acted in tandem with the “Molly Pitchers” of the army, who originally carried water to and from the battlefield to cool the weapons of fighting servicemen and later joined their male comrades when one fell in the line of duty. Though there are two women – Margaret Corbin and Mary Hays McCauley – who are well-known and representative of this group of women, the name encompasses all women who performed the same or similar acts.

Margaret Corbin, or “Captain Molly” as she came to be known, is recognized as the “real” Molly Pitcher. She too was able to enlist in the army for the aforementioned purpose and was stationed with her husband, John, in New York for the Battle of Fort Mifflin. On November 16, 1776, the day of the battle, both Margaret and John were assigned to the artillery unit. During the conflict, John received a mortal wound and fell beside his wife. She took his position at the cannon, and continued his fight, acquiring a disabling wound herself. The intense emotional and physical toll must have been unbearable, but Corbin assumed her Patriotic role in a moment’s notice, not questioning her upcoming duty and resulting expectations. Later, On July 6, 1779, she was able to procure a disability pension for her bravery and sacrifice, which provided half of a soldier’s monthly pay for life. Being this early in the war, Corbin was the first woman to receive this honor and reparation.³³

Mary Hays McCauley performed Corbin’s duties almost exactly, which adds to the confusion of who the real Molly Pitcher representative was. As stated previously, Corbin is usually attributed with the title as her case was the first reported. However, the famous depiction of Molly Pitcher painted by

³² Claghorn, *Women Patriots*, 120; Sandra Gioia Treadway, “Anna Maria Lane: An Uncommon Soldier of the American Revolution,” *Virginia Cavalcade* 37, no. 3 (January 1988), 134-143.

³³ Claghorn, *Women Patriots*, 56; de Pauw, “Women in Combat,” 219; Cornetti, “Women of the American Revolution,” 345.

D. M. Carter shows her as a participant in the Battle of Monmouth on July 28, 1778.³⁴ This is the battle for which Mary McCauley is most well-known. Regardless of which woman was seen as the primary personification of Molly, both Corbin and McCauley took the role of a fallen comrade in the heat of the action.³⁵ They further demonstrated that women were intellectually and physically capable of performing the same tasks as men and managing the same result.

Regardless of motive, the aforementioned women in combat made a large impact in the social reform of the eighteenth century. Whereas before women were mainly confined to the household and held to a higher standard in terms of manner and decency, now they were seen in a new, transforming light. Men and more traditional women saw the accomplishments of women in the public sphere, in a world only previously known to men. Some state legislatures, beginning in the late eighteenth century, sought to grant some of women's reforms. The New Jersey state government started to allow some women to vote, specified through the use of "he or she" in the word choice of their constitution. These women needed to own a certain amount of property, however, similar to men. Given this restriction, only most widows were able to vote, as they received a portion of their late husbands' estate. Still, the notion of "while woman's bound, men can't be free, nor have a fair Election" was heard and considered to be true by this legislature in particular.³⁶

Some prominent males in society also recognized and appreciated the sacrifice made by these brave few. Paul Revere, in February of 1804, wrote to Massachusetts Congressman William Eustis on behalf of Deborah Sampson Gannett in an effort to petition for her pension.³⁷ He mentioned her accomplishments on and off the battlefield, and appealed to Eustis's humanity to properly thank Mrs.

³⁴ "The Late D.M. Carter: Death of a Well-Known American Painter," *New York Times*, July 8, 1881, accessed November 24, 2013, <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=F00917FA3B581B7A93CAA9178CD85F458884F9>.

³⁵ Claghorn, *Women Patriots*, 131; Cornetti, "Women in the American Revolution," 344-5.

³⁶ Zaggarri, *Revolutionary Backlash*, 31, 43.

³⁷ Gannett is the last name Ms. Sampson acquired after her post-enlistment marriage to Benjamin Gannett Jr. See Young, *Masquerade*, for further information.

Gannett for her service. Eustis later obliged and granted Gannett her pension in 1805.³⁸ Eustis' slow pace in allowing Gannett her payment suggests that some men were still reluctant to acknowledge women's roles in the war. As the war ended in 1783, most soldiers had already received their pensions by the time Gannett's was approved, and this was only done after much petitioning by both her and Revere. This shows a distinct division between the men of America during this time. Some were willing to accept and recognize the female bravery and sacrifice made during the Revolutionary War, while others were hesitant to give women any hope that their reforms for society were a possibility.

Virginia Governor William H. Cabell performed a similar act on behalf of Anna Maria Lane. In his petition to Speaker of the House of Delegates, Hugh Nelson, he cited her wounds and overall service in the war. Nelson was much more efficient in his approval, as she received her pension later that same year.³⁹ The fact that men were campaigning for these rights of women spoke volumes. These women had done something illegal – something only a part of male citizenship – and men were aiding them in their efforts for justice and fairness. This continued the move of Post-Revolutionary ideology to a cultural transformation.

There were still those male members of society who did not wish to remove the previous standard for women's roles. Most who felt this way used tradition as their justification. They believed that women's political and voting rights were not valid for serious discussion as this was not a practice beforehand. This patriarchal thinking was practiced by some of the most politically influential men of the eighteenth century, including Virginia statesman Richard Henry Lee and Massachusetts politician (and second President of the United States) John Adams.⁴⁰ With the male gender split in terms of

³⁸ Claghorn, *Women Patriots*, 83; Paul Revere to William Eustis, February 20, 1804, Object of the Month Collection, MHS Collections Online; Young, *Masquerade*, 228-9.

³⁹ William Cabell to Hugh Nelson, January 28, 1808, Executive Letter Books, Library of Virginia, Richmond; de Pauw, "Women in Combat," 226; Treadway, "Anna Maria Lane," 140, 142; Claghorn, *Women Patriots*, 120.

⁴⁰ Zagari, *Revolutionary Backlash*, 28-9.

allowance and rejection of reform, the fate of women's attempts for a rights movement was unpredictable.

The war had given women the chance to voice their opinions and advocate for their rights, as this new direction of an emerging nation affected their lives as well. Many took this as a signal for action, whether on the home front or in the lines of battle. Most patriot women, eager to begin a new chapter in their lives and those of future women, sought to use the war as a pathway for social and political reform – a reform which, if successfully carried through, would allow women to create a new definition for their gender.

However, any hope for immediate reform diminished. Actions and decisions made in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth centuries brought these women's ambitions to a halt for the time being. The new government did not directly have the Constitution reflect the contributions of women: there were no guarantees of women's political influence, nor any rights given in terms of voting. Mrs. Carter, a woman interviewed for a discussion on the rights of women in 1798, put it perfectly: "even the government of our country, which is said to be the freest in the world, passes over women as if they were not [free]." ⁴¹ This statement represents women's perspective of the structure of the new nation, which is a negative one, at that. They had fought for their voice, even been recognized through means of pensions and public acknowledgement, though they still did not receive their desired reforms.

In addition, actions which had already been put into effect were withdrawn, such as the female voting rights set forth by the New Jersey legislature. The leaders of the state government argued that this provided an even more unbalanced vote for the populace. Due to the restrictions placed on women's voting requirements, women were underrepresented at the polls. Their underrepresentation meant they were least able to defend themselves and their rights; female voters were frequently

⁴¹ Charles Brockden Brown, "Rights of Women: A Dialogue," *Weekly Magazine of Original Essays, Fugitive Pieces, and Interesting Intelligence* 4 (Philadelphia, April 7, 1798); Zagari, *Revolutionary Backlash*, 11.

subjected to ridicule when going to cast their ballots, and the government took notice. Instead of dismissing some of the limitations, the leaders decided to completely prohibit women voting.⁴²

Women were still able to enjoy some rights of men, such as the protection of property for single and widowed women. Another was the right to trial by jury, guaranteed by the Constitution. The downside to this was the jury would only be composed of men, as only men were able to actively participate in political and particularly judicial affairs. The most important right granted, however, was the First Amendment in the Bill of Rights. Women were now lawfully able to petition for any subject unless said subject was proposed against the United States government. They used this right frequently, as well as continuing to write books and essays, in an effort to continue their reform movement for women's rights. Mercy Otis Warren in particular, using her real name in her works post-Revolution due to increased confidence provided by women's recognition for patriotic efforts, continued to publish works on behalf of the female cause.⁴³

For men who wished to hinder these women's attempts at social and political equality, this Constitutional ambiguity proved to be the biggest issue, as some of the amendments used the term "person" instead of male or men.⁴⁴ By using this term, combined with the fact that women were considered citizens of the new nation, men provided a loophole through which women could still take smaller yet meaningful steps in reform.

The subsidence of Revolutionary Era women's proposed rights movement may be attributed to a number of other factors. Firstly, as political parties rose, despite George Washington's warning of the institutions, tensions began to build between them. This could have been used as a reason to "postpone" women's advances in equality due to a desire to provide a steady foundation. Men's

⁴² Zagari, *Revolutionary Backlash*, 36.

⁴³ US Constitution, amend. 6, 1; Zagari, *Revolutionary Backlash*, 38-40; Young, *Masquerade*, 141.

⁴⁴ US Constitution, amend. 1, 2, 4-6, 9.

thoughts on this might have been to fix what they have first and later build on the nation's precedents. Secondly, not all men were able to vote at this time because of a lack of proper social or economic standing, so the government must level the field for men first before accommodating women's requests. Lastly, and perhaps the most prominent of all, was the rising fear in men of giving too much power to the opposite sex. If they give in to their appeals, they may soon incite other problems and attempts for an even more equal society.⁴⁵ With the nation only just beginning, an unstable hierarchy would prove to be counterproductive.

It is evident that women's contributions were a large asset to the Patriotic forces; without women's efforts on both the homefront and in the lines of fire, the Continental Army would have lacked an important force of their military operation. They hoped that their contributions would pave the way for future reform in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century society, and reached their goal if only for a short time. It would not be until the mid-1800s that a fight for a women's rights movement would regain its momentum. Eighteenth century women, despite their expectations and essential achievements, would unfortunately have to wait.

⁴⁵ Zagari, *Revolutionary Backlash*, 43-4, 182.

Annotated Bibliography

I. Primary Sources

Adams, Abigail to John Adams. Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive. Massachusetts Historical Society.

This online database provides the entire known correspondence between Abigail Adams and former President John Adams. The letters account for Mrs. Adams's active role in political and social thought and influence beginning in the late eighteenth century through the early nineteenth century. Her husband's responses give an example of male opinion of female political interaction, which allows the reader to determine both sides of the issue for early social reform.

Brown, Charles Brockden. "Rights of Women: A Dialogue." *Weekly Magazine of Original Essays, Fugitive Pieces, and Interesting Intelligence* 4 (Philadelphia, April 7, 1798).

Brown's article appeared in his own periodical less than a decade after the Constitution was signed. He presents the topic of women's rights and the lack or proof of expansion thereof through a dialogue between two people (one man, one woman). The questions were asked from the man, Alcuin, to the woman, Mrs. Carter. The formation of the inquiries reveals his bias: Alcuin, and by extension Brown, assumed that women already had some knowledge and role in politics following the Revolution. Instead of phrasing one question "Do you know anything of the political party system?" he asks "What are your preferences to political parties?" Overall, this article is extremely useful in determining both men's and women's viewpoints and understandings of post-Revolution female secondary roles.

Cabell, William H. to Hugh Nelson. Executive Letter Books, Richmond: Library of Virginia. January 28, 1808. Accessed October 16, 2013. <http://www.virginiamemory.com/docs/AnnaLanePension.pdf>.

Governor William Cabell's letter to Speaker of the House of Delegates Hugh Nelson, written in the early nineteenth century, calls for the granting of pensions to several servicemen and women, one of the latter being Anna Maria Lane. He provides a brief explanation of the services of each man and woman, and attempts to persuade the Speaker to fulfill his request.

Fridlington, Robert, ed. "'A Diversion in Newark': A letter from New Jersey Continental Line, 1778." rep. ed. *New Jersey History* 105 (1787).

Fridlington's source gives materials written by Lieutenant William Barton of the First Regiment of New Jersey. Barton's journal entries report on day-to-day occurrences in his unit, one of which provides detail of an anonymous woman who was discovered to have posed as a male soldier. It highlights his thoughts (from the perspective of a male officer) of her resulting punishment, and represents the negative opinion of women who attempt to dabble in the world of men.

Government and People v. Ann Bailey. MS Bay Sup. Ct. Judicature: August 1777.

This court case of the Massachusetts Bay Supreme Court involves Ann Bailey, a young woman who dressed as a man, joined the army, and was later discovered. It provides a similar perspective to that of Fridlington's edited compilation, as it shows the punishment of women who illegally enlist. The punishment, however, came from a legal – more formal – source, which further demonstrates the disdain held by men of eighteenth century society.

Mann, Herman. *The Female Review: or, Memoirs of an American Young Lady...By a Citizen of Massachusetts*. Nathaniel and Benjamin Heaton: Dedham, MA, 1797.

Mann's work is the commissioned memoir of Deborah Sampson Gannett, female soldier of the Continental Army. His literature is often dismissed by some historians, such as Alfred. F. Young, due to the exaggeration of Gannett's actions in service and his inexperience in writing. He used Gannett's memoir as an opportunity to write a narrative instead of a biography. While it does provide the most contemporary piece of outside evidence of her life, his accounts of certain events were later proven to be false. Still, some descriptions, as corroborated by Young's research, have been helpful in acquiring information of Gannett's actions and thoughts.

New York Times, 1881.

This newspaper, though the time period is somewhat removed from the war, provides the obituary of D.M. Carter, a famous American painter known for his historical depictions throughout the eighteenth century. His short biography in this section mentions a number of his works, including the well-known "Molly Pitcher at the Battle of Monmouth." The article gives not only proof of his specialty in art, but also corroborates the confusion and acknowledgement of "Molly Pitchers" in the army.

Reed, Esther de Berdt. "The Sentiments of an American Woman." Philadelphia: John Dunlap, 1780.

Reed, the wife of a Pennsylvania governor, published this literary work in order to encourage other women to join the Patriotic cause. Her main argument consisted of two parts: one, that the prohibition of physical combat should not turn women from their duty, and two, that as *American* citizens, it is a woman's duty and privilege to ensure the safety and support of their men. In her work, she specified that women were to work at home, never truly suggesting that women join the physical fight for liberty. Hers is an opinion exemplary of revolutionary women of the time period.

Revere, Paul to William Eustis. Object of the Month Collection, MHS Collections Online. February 20, 1804. Accessed October 3, 2013.

http://www.masshist.org/database/viewer.php?item_id=326&mode=large&img_step=1&pid=3&nod_esc=1&br=1#page1.

Revere's letter to Congressman William Eustis from February of 1804 reflects the purpose of Cabell's correspondence with Speaker Nelson (possibly providing precedent). Revere campaigns for pension on behalf of Continental soldier, Deborah Sampson Gannett, whose service resulted in a wound

which continued to disable her later in life. He presents her talents and achievements as a woman more than as a soldier, and attempts to appeal to the Congressman's humanity. This is one of few letters written by prominent men campaigning for the equal rights of women in a previously male-dominated area.

[?], Sophia. *Woman Not Inferior to Man: or, a Short and Modest Vindication of the Natural Rights of the Fair-Sex to a Perfect Equality of Power, Dignity, and Esteem, with the Men*. London: John Hawkins, 1739.

Though readers do not know Sophia's true identity – only that she is in fact a woman from Britain – they are able to understand her desire to advocate for women's secondary roles. In her work, she claims that women are meant to do so much more than their current domestic boundaries allow them to. She believes that women are not intellectually inferior by any means, which coincides with the thinking of the European Enlightenment Period. Her work is an example of early reform attempts prior to the Revolution.

Virginia Gazette, 1736.

This media source transfers popular news from Britain to the colonies, including attempts by English women to have a voice in national politics and society in general. The work cited in this paper refers to a poem transcribed by an English woman on behalf of women's rights called "The Lady's Complaint." While the *Gazette* includes only the poem and no description, it gives colonial women an opportunity to develop a revolutionary consciousness which will aid them later in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Ward, Artemas. *Orderly Book of the Continental Forces*. Washington, D.C.: 1877.

The *Orderly Book of the Continental Forces* is a collection of reports, muster rolls, General Orders, and the like catalogued from 1775 until 1783. It includes all colonies/states which had citizens enlisted in the army. This particular entry was a General Order put forth by General Artemas Ward regarding camp followers. It spoke specifically to the dismissal of women who were providing the service of prostitution, as they were only distracting the soldiers from their duties. His response mirrors that of General Washington, as he too found the camp followers to be more of a nuisance than a helpful force.

Washington, George. *The Writings of George Washington*. Edited by John C. Fitzpatrick. 39 vols. Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1931-44.

This multivolume collection contains all known correspondence of George Washington from mid to late eighteenth century. The volumes listed above particularly pertain to aspects of the war, namely involving orders regarding "Women of the Army," or camp followers. Initially Washington expresses his dislike of the women, arguing they only extending costs of the Continental Army. Later in his orders, readers see a change in his attitude toward them, going so far as to grant rations and housing for the women and their children.

II. Secondary Sources

Claghorn, Charles E. *Women Patriots of the American Revolution: A Biographical Dictionary*. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1991.

Claghorn gives an alphabetized list and brief biographies of women proven to have provided some source of aid during the Revolutionary War. Their specific contributions range from political and literary support to actual service in combat. Bibliographical references are included throughout the biographical dictionary. Claghorn does not have a stated argument, but rather aims to confirm the influence and necessary support of women during the conflict.

Cornetti, Elizabeth. "Women in the American Revolution." *New England Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (September 1947): 329-46. Accessed October 16, 2013. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/361443>.

Cornetti's extensive article portrays the impact of the war on women. She primarily discusses women's smaller and larger efforts made for the patriot cause on the homefront, ranging from maintaining the household and boycotting British goods to active protest in political and literary arenas and aid given to soldiers in the way of provisions. Toward the end of the article, she highlights famous women of battle, namely Deborah Sampson and "Molly Pitcher." Cornetti argues that women's efforts and tribulations in wartime are often forgotten in favor of men's contributions, and the former's influence must be considered for proper documentation of all aspects of war.

De Pauw, Linda Grant. "Women in Combat: The Revolutionary War Experience." *Armed Forces & Society* 7, no. 2 (Winter 1981): 209-226. Accessed October 1, 2013. <http://afs.sagepub.com/content/7/2/209>.

De Pauw issues an article that references the efforts of women "holding the fort" while their men were at war (like Cornetti) but focuses more on the impact of those women near or on the lines of battle. She reports on the events and perspectives surrounding "Women of the Army," or camp followers, as well as those female combatants both famous and obscure. Her interpretation regards the harsh attitudes toward these women during the time period, and concentrates on their pay or status differences from other servicemen. In her conclusion, she restates that these women faced cruelties throughout their service and still remained to aid in their cause.

Ellet, Elizabeth F. *Domestic History of the American Revolution*. New York, 1850.

Elizabeth Ellet gives a thorough study of women's actions primarily on the homefront during the American Revolution. She highlights the effects of the British boycotts while providing numerous examples of women who expanded their domestic roles in order to accommodate for the lack of men in the community. Ellet includes more radical women as well, particularly those who participated in the war as spies or scouts for the Patriot forces. Her interpretation of their contributions suggests that she, among many other historians, agrees that these efforts were essential to guarantee a favorable outcome in the war.

Ellet, Elizabeth F. *The Women of the American Revolution*. 2nd ed. New York: Baker and Scribner, 1848. Accessed October 16, 2013.

<http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/Sabin?af=RN&ae=CY103142987&srcht=a&ste=14>.

Ellet provides insights into both patriot and loyalist women of the war who proceeded to aid in any and all forms possible. Some her findings cover Abigail Adams, Mercy Otis Warren, and the like. Her interpretation of their accomplishments only addresses the women's perspective, which provides a bias as to level and impact of their influences. Overall her accounts of these women are historically sound, and provide an excellent amount of detail.

Gunderson, Joan R. *To Be Useful to the World: Women in Revolutionary America, 1740-1790*. Rev. ed. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.

Gunderson strictly focuses on the everyday lives of women during the Revolutionary Era (her range constitutes the period between 1740 and 1790). She includes accounts representing women from different ethnicities and social classes. Bibliographic references and an index are provided. Unlike other scholarly works in this field, Gunderson asserts that the war experience was not as disastrous for every woman. Some women were actually given opportunities rather than having them taken away, contrary to what previous reports suggest.

Hoffman, Ronald and Peter J. Albert, eds. *Women in the Age of the American Revolution*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1989.

This book is a compilation of articles written by different historians on certain aspects of women contributions. It consists mostly of "a reinterpretation of the revolution," exploring the war's impact on women's social and political status. The authors cover a wide range of social ranks and races, similar to Gunderson's monograph. Hoffman and Albert take a different approach than other scholars, showing female control over legal, political, and social matters.

Kickler, Troy L. "Edenton Tea Party: An American First." North Carolina History Project. John Locke Foundation. Accessed November 24, 2013.

<http://www.northcarolinahistory.org/commentary/20/entry>.

Kickler's website is a product of the North Carolina History Project, which stems from the John Locke Foundation of Raleigh, North Carolina. It provides a brief overview of information on the Edenton Tea Party, as well as other sources to find more specific details. His report highlights the women's actions and motives for participating in the boycott, which adds to the argument for my paper.

Mayer, Holly A. *Belonging to the Army: Camp Followers and Community During the American Revolution*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina, 1996.

Mayer's scholarship argues for the importance of civilians who followed the military units. Her book gives an opposing perspective to that of the officers of the Continental Army, as the latter wished to remove the camp followers. Her position on the subject suggests that these women provided necessary services and emotional support for the soldiers. She provides an interesting and detailed

bibliography to support her claims, and ultimately gives an excellent argument for a less popular perspective.

Middlekauff, Robert. *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763-1789*. Oxford History of the United States. 2 vols. New York, 1982.

This series of books covers a large span of information regarding the Revolutionary War, including the pre-war tension, causes of the war, the span of the tension, important figures and events, and the unsettling relationship between the United States and Britain post-war. Middlekauff offers a variety of primary sources which allow the reader to view popular perspectives of the citizens while the war was going on around them. It also includes a number of General Orders, some of which discuss the male opinion of female camp followers. For such a large time frame, the works provide a great amount of detail.

Rees, John. "The Multitude of Women': An Examination of the Numbers of Female Camp Followers with the Continental Army." *Minerva: Quarterly Report on Women in the Military* 14 (1996): 1-47.

As a very specialized report, this article is a thorough study of female camp followers. It provides explanations of the roles and tasks, opinions, and perspectives of the "Women of the Army" between 1777 and 1783. Overall, these women numbered roughly 3% of the regular army, which may seem insignificant but is deemed otherwise by Rees. Rees's conclusions find that these women were actually a substantial part of the war effort, regardless of initial unfavorable opinions, providing services otherwise unobtainable during the conflict.

Royster, Charles. *A Revolutionary People at War: The Continental Army and American Character, 1775-1783*. Chapel Hill, 1979.

In his book, Charles Royster pursues a different approach to understanding the citizens and actions of the American Revolution. He chose to outline the emotional and intellectual processes of the war. He focused heavily on the reactions to certain outcomes of the conflict, including those of men regarding women's contributions. Royster gives an interesting take on the state of military units who did not have a woman's touch, so to speak, which argued that women were essential to everyday functioning of a soldier's camp.

Treadway, Sandra Gioia. "Anna Maria Lane: An Uncommon Soldier of the American Revolution." *Virginia Cavalcade* 37, no. 3 (January 1988): 134-143.

This *Virginia Cavalcade* entry presents yet another heroine of the American Revolution, but highlights different circumstances and results than previous works. It focuses entirely upon Anna Maria Lane, providing evidence of her bravery in taking a soldier's place in the line of duty. As this is mostly an informative and not persuasive source, it does not necessarily express an argument, but it may be said that Treadway puts Lane in the ranks of other female "superstars" of the war, such as Deborah Sampson.

Young, Alfred F. *Masquerade: The Life and Times of Deborah Sampson, Continental Soldier*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004.

Young gives a detailed biography of Deborah Sampson Gannett, a woman who took her brother's name, dressed as a man, and enlisted in the Continental army. He discusses the events of her childhood, her motives to join, her experiences in the army, and her public lecture tour later in life. This differs from other biographies of Sampson as it is the first in-depth and historically accurate report to date. Young investigates the entirety of her life, putting emphasis on background information and continuing with Sampson's contributions and thoughts. He sees her as a guiding force for women's achievements in early American history.

Zagarri, Rosemarie. *Revolutionary Backlash: Women and Politics in the Early American Republic*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.

Revolutionary Backlash suggests that the first signs of a women's rights movement were shown not during the mid-1800s but as a result of the Revolutionary War. It provides an outstanding history of pre-, mid-, and post-Revolutionary ideology regarding the potential for female political and social reform. She shows the perspective of both men and women, which balances her argument perfectly. Arguably the best source I had available.