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Revolutionary era women in war: A move for societal reform

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Revolutionary Era Women in War: A Move for Societal Reform

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Introduction

For a woman of the eighteenth century, intellect and education were not primarily valued as sought after or appropriate attributes. On the contrary, a man would much prefer a wife who would abide by his better judgment, setting aside "her own Judgement to the stronger Mind" and keeping to her own domestic affairs. True, women were expected to receive a certain amount of education in order to appear sophisticated, but this was meant to complement household skills. Indeed, "Women of Wit and fine Reading" –or those seen as overly educated or scholarly-were considered terrible wives, being "always fond and forward to convince [her husband] of the Inferiority of [his] Understanding."[1] Fears of headstrong wives and overturned social and familial hierarchies kept men from encouraging women to step away from their household roles and into the public realm. Since the ultimate objective for a woman was to find a husband and raise a family, she was unlikely to pursue a life which would be considered unattractive to a possible suitor. Even if a woman wished to participate in politics or further her education, society remained against her. Legal processes favored men over women, often depriving the latter of equal opportunity, representation, and judgement. Educational opportunities were slim unless the woman who sought them was of some wealth; even then, her learning would consist of primarily female skills, including sewing and housekeeping, as mentioned previously. Political opportunity was even more scarce, as this sphere was dominated by men. While there were exceptions to every rule, British common law confined most women to the home, tending to the affairs of a typical housewife.

[1] Legislative Acts/Legal Proceedings, *The American Weekly Mercury*, September 10-17, 1730, accessed March 16, 2016, http://infoweb.newsbank.com/iw-search/we/HistArchive/?p_product=EANX&p_theme=ahnp&p_nbid=Q63D56ISMTQ1ODE3NDMwMy4zNTQ0MzU6MToxNDoxMzQuMTI2LjIxNC4yMA&p_action=doc&s_lastnonissuequeryname=2&d_viewref=search&p_queryname=2&p_docnum=3&p_docref=v2:10380B67EBBF3BE8@EANX-105E3E702997466E@2353189-105E3E7033C9291B@0.

Such was the social expectation for women before the age of American Independence. Theories and social practices that were developed and maintained before this period kept women in a state of obedience away from the public arena. Being both religious and secular in nature, depending on the argument, allowed these standards to thrive in colonial society. For instance, some traditionalists would utilize God's original intention for women: as a companion or helpmate to the man, being obedient and delicate in nature. Others would simply abide by coverture, which essentially erased a married woman's identity as she was then "covered" by that of her husband. While some women accepted their predetermined roles, others hoped for a brighter future, one which would allow them to seek intellectual and political opportunity. Simply wishing for advancement, though, would not be enough; it would take a substantial disruption in public order and political thought to change these ingrained practices.

This disruption would be twofold: the Enlightenment and the American Revolution. European ideas from the Age of Reason circulated throughout the colonies, giving women access to ideas of a rational self, liberty, self-assertion, and rejection of tradition. As tensions mounted against the British, men took these concepts to bring about independence, leaving the mother country in search of a new government based on freedom and personal liberty. While women felt the same, they saw this as an opportunity for social and political reform. Surely the Enlightenment, though primarily intended for male audiences, would serve as fuel for their efforts in the war, in the rallying cries for both national and personal freedom. By contributing to the war effort under the guise of patriotic duty, men would discover female capabilities which had never before been seen, proving that women were rational beings outside of their domestic sphere. Their hope was that these concepts, combined with their exceptional and at times

dangerous contributions during the fight against the British, would push society to alter its standards. Their ultimate goal, then, was to be considered more than a housewife.

While my primary research consisted mainly of letters, diary entries, and literary works of contemporary men and women, the historiographic foundation for this research includes Mary Beth Norton's *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800*; Linda Kerber's *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America*; and Carol Berkin's *Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the Struggle for America's Independence*. All of these provided essential primary sources and analyses thereof involving women's roles during the war. Rosemarie Zagarri's *Revolutionary Backlash: Women and Politics in the Early American Republic* was also an exceptional resource in its suggestion of the first women's movement taking place in the late eighteenth century. Any Enlightenment research should begin with Henry May's work *The Enlightenment in America* and Robert Ferguson's *The American Enlightenment: 1750-1820.* Both works were excellent in their description and interpretation of the effects of Enlightenment ideology in the American colonies.

Some of these monographs hint at a connection between women's goals and Enlightenment ideology during this time period, but they never fully address the issue. This paper asserts the claim that colonial women saw the newly developed theories and the upcoming war as a gateway to their desired result; objects of circumstance which could help them in their push for public opportunity. Not all women would seek a secondary role, and some would find only slight advances in legal rights and education acceptable; those that wished for greater political influence and a public voice, though, would use any beneficial argument to aid their cause. The Age of Reason served this purpose.

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Finally, I would like to thank the James Madison University History Department and the Department of Research and Scholarship for providing the means for me to present my thesis at the National Conference on Undergraduate Research in spring of 2016. The experience was an excellent one, allowing me to display my research in a new environment alongside my fellow Dukes and others from across the nation.

Abstract

As tensions grew in the British colonies in the late eighteenth century, colonists began expressing their new hopes for an independent nation. While the call to action for the physical fight against the British was directed toward men, women could not help but respond in kind. After centuries of domestic confinement and the new Enlightenment period showing possibilities for secondary roles, women used the coming war as a showcase for their capabilities. Some chose to act on the home front, boycotting British goods and fundraising for the soldiers, while others stepped outside of their bounds and participated in battle. Later on, these women would use their contributions in the Patriot war effort as grounds for social and political reform. Their achievements marked the beginning of a women's movement, as women's secondary roles were acknowledged though later dismissed. Beginning with an explanation of the initial status of women in the eighteenth century and the rising revolutionary consciousness influenced by Enlightenment ideals, I plan to discuss the motives and efforts of famous and anonymous females throughout the Revolutionary War, ending with post-war results and consequences. My argument states that these women fought for societal reform in recognition of their efforts, with the Enlightenment serving as a primary influence for their actions, thoughts, and contributions to the war. I trace the Age of Reason and its ideologies throughout my research in order to give insight into the logic and hopes motivating the women of the revolutionary era, with the lack of substantial post-war change suggesting the dissipation of Enlightenment ideals. I have used perspectives of both sexes to maintain the reasoning for early nineteenth century outcomes.

Chapter One: Rise of Revolutionary Consciousness

A woman and a housewife were one in the same. A 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 maintaining a home, rearing children, and hosting 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. Social order dictated the separation of the private and public sectors, which happened to characterize women's and men's spheres, respectively. Men pursued careers in society while women were to essentially remain in the home, facing inequity in such domains as education, legal pursuits, and economic ventures. This divide, though, came into question in the period before and during the Revolutionary War. As the fight for independence was beginning, women began to wonder about their place in a new society. Fueled by centuries of a "lesser" status, deprivation of intellectual opportunity, patriotism, and ideas from the recent Enlightenment period, colonial women rallied in an effort to show women's capabilities in secondary roles. Some people, both men and women, believed this to be a folly, a foolish attempt by women to pursue a choice which was not theirs to pursue. Despite these sentiments, the rise in revolutionary consciousness led to increased action outside of the domestic arena. Under the guise of aiding the war effort, women sought change in the opportunities for their sex, and used their contributions during the Revolutionary era and Enlightenment ideology as grounds for social and political reform in the post-war period.[2]

[2] Research on Revolutionary women begins with Carol Berkin, *Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the Struggle for America's Independence* (New York: Vintage Books, Division of Random House, Inc., 2005); Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980); Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), all of which give excellent overviews of women's contributions

Having been established and colonized by the English, the colonies in North America operated under the laws, societal structures, and social principles introduced by their European ruler and administrators. It was through these constructions that women continued to be separated from public life, even throughout the Revolutionary era. Eighteenth century men, like their predecessors, deemed women the irrational gender, incapable of producing logical and intelligent opinions in a public arena. Social hierarchies placed women below men, symbolizing their status and worth as "lesser" in regard to political and intellectual authority. Beginning at a young age, ladies were told of their position in life, and were instructed by their mothers to abide by society's expectations. Namely, these included domesticity, as women were to remain in the home rather than participate in what were considered men's activities. Therefore, they learned the art of "Family affairs," as urbanite Sally Logan Fisher called it when teaching her ten year old daughter the responsibilities of a woman. Fisher hoped that in doing so, she would enable her daughter to become "a good Housewife & an active Mistress of the family."[3] Ultimately, this was the goal; ladies were considered proper gentlewomen if they could effectively manage a

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during the war. 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); Woody Holton, *Abigail Adams: A Life* (New York: Free Press, 2009); and Alfred F. Young, *Masquerade: The Life and Times of Deborah Sampson, Continental Soldier* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004) provide biographies of both famous and obscure Revolutionary Era females. 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. Rosemary Keller, *Patriotism and the Female Sex: Abigail Adams and the American Revolution* (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Publishing Inc., 1994), and Rosemarie Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash: Women and Politics in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), give excellent histories of both men and women's perspectives regarding female political and social reform before, during, and after the Revolution. Research regarding the Enlightenment's effect on America begins with Henry F. May, *The Enlightenment in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), and Robert A. Ferguson, *The American Enlightenment: 1750-1820* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997). Useful primary sources include letters requesting pensions on behalf of servicewomen, such as Paul Revere to William Eustis, February 20, 1804, Object of the Month Collection, MHS Collections Online; and letters written by and diary entries of colonial females, such as Abigail Adams to John Adams, Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive, Massachusetts Historical Society, and those provided by Founders Online Database.

[3] Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), 25; Sally Logan Fisher, diary entry, September 27, 1788.

family, all the while remaining detached from the business of gentlemen. There was little to no hope of specialized schooling, a choice of profession, or independent thought. A woman was first and foremost meant to be a helpmate to the man or men in her life, both as a young girl in her childhood home and as a new wife and soon-to-be mother.

Religion only served to reinforce the idea of women being subservient to men. Puritans, once they had arrived in New England in the 1630s, imposed strict familial codes for their community. Though men and women were supposedly made from "one flesh," they each had specific tasks to uphold for the family. According to the Bible, women were to be "in subjection to their husbands," being the "ornament of a meek and Quiet Spirit" in order to properly maintain the relationship. Puritan scholars such as William Gouge and Benjamin Wadsworth interpreted these Christian beliefs throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, arguing that it was woman's "natural inclination" to be obedient, as God had intended. Wadsworth stated as much in his work *The Well Ordered Family,* saying God had made Eve to act as a companion to Adam, and later the apostles expected "wives to be faithful in all things, keepers of the home."[4] Here too the concept of women being "weaker vessels" developed. Pastor John Robinson saw intelligence and understanding as God's gift to *man*, so that "above the woman, he might guide and go before her."[5] He continued, saying "Yea, experience teacheth how inconvenient it is, if the woman have but a little more understanding…than her husband hath."[6] Though he did not mention the manner of "experience" to which he referred, he did discuss the

[4] Rosemary Keller, *Patriotism and the Female Sex: Abigail Adams and the American Revolution* (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Publishing Inc., 1994), 18; William Gouge, *Of Domesticall Duties, Eight Treatises,* 2nd ed. (London: 1626); I Peter 3:1, 3:4 (King James Version); Ephesians 5:22 (King James Version); Carol Berkin, *Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the Struggle for America's Independence* (New York: Vintage Books, Division of Random House, Inc., 2005), 4; Benjamin Wadsworth, *The Well Ordered Family* (Boston, 1712).
[5] John Robinson, *The Works of John Robinson, Pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers,* ed. Robert Ashton (London: John Snow, 1851), 240, accessed February 13, 2016, http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/855; John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1970), 83-85.
[6] Robinson, *The Works of John Robinson*, 240.

fall of Adam multiple times throughout his work, giving, in his mind, all the example needed to prove the danger of intelligent women. Since religion served as one of the strongest influences in colonial society–particularly in New England–during this time based on its foundation in the early seventeenth century, it would be rational to expect society to follow its institutions.

To further sharpen the divide between men and women and stifle the intellectual capabilities of young ladies, schooling for females was quite basic and consisted of specifically designed courses for women. Abigail Adams, the prominent wife of the second President of the United States, John Adams, remarked on the scarcity of educational opportunities for women in one of her many letters to her husband. She declared, "If you complain of neglect of Education in sons, What shall I say with regard to daughters, who everyday experience the want of it."[7] Beginning in the early eighteenth century, the only opportunity for a girl of some means to seek education was a dame school. It would be in the parlor of some older woman's home, most likely that of a widow or spinster, where young girls would learn the foundation of reading and writing. In between lessons dictated by books and psalters, they would extend their education to sewing, a skill with which they would complete a sample to showcase their learning.[8] This, though, was the extent of their academic instruction. The abilities obtained in these schools could later translate to instructing children, maintaining correspondence with family and friends, or acting as a "deputy husband" by managing business dealings in the absence of the spouse. The first two would always be considered woman's work, while the third would be especially pertinent during the Revolutionary War.

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[7] Abigail Adams to John Adams, August 14, 1776, Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive, Massachusetts Historical Society, accessed February 28, 2016, http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/archive/doc?id=L17760814aasecond&hi=1&query=female%20education&tag=text&archive=letters&rec=10&start=0&numRecs=76; Keller, *Patriotism and the Female Sex*, 90.
[8] Keller, *Patriotism and the Female Sex*, 91.

In the period before the war, educational opportunities did somewhat expand for daughters of wealthy families. Some private schools in the North opened their doors to girls, but even then, the female students found themselves in different courses. In addition to the skills outlined above, women could now be trained in "accomplishments," encompassing several branches of the arts including music and needlework embroidery.[9] These skills were admired in the young ladies of America as they were in those of Europe. Acquiring these talents would no doubt increase a woman's worth in the eyes of a future suitor and the community as a whole, but then again, this was the objective. These were not meant to increase the chance for a public career, but rather to aid in the organization and maintenance of a household.

This is not to say that all women were trapped, unable to speak or think for themselves; they simply lacked proper education and were disadvantaged by traditional lines of thought, allowing men to believe them inexperienced and therefore incapable of managing public affairs. Some women were able to contribute to society outside of a domestic setting. As a single young lady, a widow, or a spinster, women could work as schoolteachers, maids, weavers, seamstresses, dressmakers, and nurses.[10] A *feme sole* was able to pursue her own economic interests, investing in the economy and earning a personal income. After obtaining the skills and earning her wages, she could then keep her income for herself, as the law did not require a male executor or trustee for such women.[11] The aforementioned jobs, however, require skills similar to the ones used in the familiar domestic setting; ones that involve the amount of education and manner of expectations to which a woman would already be accustomed. It seemed even single women who were able to seek alternatives did not truly escape the confines of traditional women's work.

[9] Ibid.
[10] Harry M. Ward, *The War for Independence and the Transformation of American Society* (London: University College London Press, 1999), 167-8.
[11] 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.

A married woman needed the permission of her husband to pursue economic ventures, due in part to the English law of coverture. This was in contrast to a *feme sole,* or an unmarried woman capable of holding property, making use of select legal activities, and willing assets to others. A *feme covert* lost her property holdings once she married, as her legal identity was suspended and subsequently "covered" by her husband.[12] This very much increased female dependence on the opposite sex, as all of their legal matters and economic prospects fell to their spouses. Depending on the husband's approval, a woman could possibly pursue the work of those positions listed above. The common qualifier, however, was that the work in question be needed for the family's maintenance. The surrounding community could consider other work to be frivolous and proof of a wife and mother's negligence towards her family since her attention was not solely on their wellbeing. Should a woman choose to seek stations farther from domestic life into areas previously deemed appropriate only for men, she was likely to be considered "manly," acquiring a negative opinion from her neighbors and leaders in society.[13] In essence, a husband's permission or approval did not serve as a method to rid oneself of the home; there were expectations and domestic duties to uphold.

In addition to financial and professional limitations, a married woman had substantially restricted property rights. During marriage, a woman could not receive property in her own name; even her husband was unable to grant her these privileges as it would "violate the wedded union" and suggest that she still retained some of her legal identity.[14] After her spouse had died,

[12] Berkin, *Revolutionary Mothers,* 6; William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, reprint ed. (London, Saunders and Benning, 1840).
[13] Rosemarie Zagarri, *A Woman's Dilemma: Mercy Otis Warren and the American Revolution* (Wheeling, Illinois: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1995), 22, accessed September 15, 2015, http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=acls;cc=acls;rgn=full%20text;idno=heb01410.0001.001;didno=heb01410.0001.001;view=image;seq=4;node=heb01410.0001.001%3A1;page=root;size=100; Rosemarie Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash: Women and Politics in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 15.
[14] Ward, *The War for Independence and the Transformation of American Society,* 164

she would still be subjected to unequal treatment. With dower rights, women were guaranteed a third of their husband's real estate values as well as a fraction of his property after his death, but rarely did they 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.[15] Gaining this dower and any other assets written in the husband's will did not ensure her economic stability later on, however; a third of her husband's real estate values could be quite insufficient given the relative size of his original holdings. This meant she would still need to rely on the other men in her life, namely her sons, to continue her way of life. If she chose to remarry, the process began again, as she would lose her holdings to her new husband either through coverture or an addendum in her first husband's will which demanded the end of all support upon her remarriage, as was the case for some.[16]

The severe inequity continued in court dealings. As per tradition of the lack of female participation in politics, women were given little to no leeway in judicial proceedings; there were often double standards for men and women, with women having stricter rules applied to their situations, as was the case in Connecticut courts in the eighteenth century. Men held the advantage in most legal matters, particularly those which involved marriage. Actions such as the desertion of wives or adultery were at times not sufficient for a man to lose a case, even in those regarding child custody. Restrictions against opposing testimonies between spouses were also put in place, making a woman unable to testify against her husband regardless of claim or accusation.[17] Since married women were not able to sue others, their testimonies, under this

[15] David E. Narrett, "Men's Wills and Women's Property Rights in Colonial New York," in Hoffman and Albert, eds., *Women in the Age of the American Revolution*, 91.
[16] Norton, *Liberty's Daughters,* 137.
[17] Jon Butler, *Becoming America: the Revolution Before 1776* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 97; Ward, *The War for Independence and the Transformation of American Society*, 164.

rule, would always be considered contrary to the initial statement made by the male. The lack of legal rights left women in an almost helpless situation, separated from the public sphere.

Divorce was one area in which women had mixed authority. The rules and regulations of such cases varied by colonial territory. In some areas, divorce was simply not allowed regardless of which spouse filed for the action. The contract made between the spouses upon marriage was seen by some as a lasting agreement, meant to be upheld even in the worst of circumstances. Generally these ideas were founded in religion, particularly in New England Puritanism, where spiritual leaders and jurists alike interpreted the manner with which this sacrament should be dealt. In more progressive colonies women were able to bring forth cases of divorce. The female rate of success for divorce cases in Massachusetts between 1692 and 1774, for example, was 49 percent.[18] Though the cases were tried and granted on narrow margins with substantial evidence required this is a prominent instance of women successfully participating in the public arena.

In terms of political activism, little may be said. Women were not granted the right to vote during this period, and would not receive this right for over a century (except for temporary suffrage in New Jersey). This left them without direct access to political activity and influence. While reading and writing allowed women to think intellectually and form political opinions, their contributions to politics greatly depended on the allowance of their husbands (and the wives' influence over them). For instance, Abigail Adams frequently discussed political proceedings with her husband, most notably in her correspondence with him in the early and mid-eighteenth century. She would, at times, go so far as to ask for news from the public sphere

[18] Ibid., 166.

or request and suggest plans of action for government measures.[19] Though she was not herself able to bring about political change, she might work through and advise her spouse on possible actions. It would then be put to John to decide what was done with the information, requests, or suggestions that were provided. While hers is a case well documented by meticulous record-keeping, further documentation of such examples for other women are few and far between given the lack of resources preserved from this time period.

While there were success stories in some areas and exceptions to every rule, women were generally kept in the domestic world as wives and mothers. Their situations including lack of education, public limitations, and stifled intellectual capacity continued well into the Revolutionary era. Some women enjoyed their position in life as man's helpmate, whether they were genuinely pleased with their station or acting out of deference to societal standards. Eliza Lucas Pinckney, a wealthy and well-respected South Carolinian resident, communicated her contentment with her path in 1742 when she wrote "Making it the business of my life to please a man of Mr. Pinckney's merit even in triffles, I esteem a pleasing task…" She continued on, suggesting that any deviation from this position would be improper, "as his superior understanding…would point him to dictate, and leave me nothing by the easy task of obeying." Others, though, resented their constant struggles at home, not necessarily stating their desire to leave such a life but expressing their grievances of wife- and motherhood. Still others took the disappointment further, despairing over their disadvantages and aspiring towards a more involved life in society.[20]

[19] For examples of such inquiries, see letters exchanged between Abigail and John Adams in the Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive of the Massachusetts Historical Society.
[20] Berkin, *Revolutionary Mothers*, 8-9, 35.

Whatever the reasoning behind their disapproval, women still realized their shortcomings while recognizing their necessary dependence on men. One girl from New York voiced this fact perfectly in 1762 saying, "I often Run over in my mind, the many Disadvantages that Accrues to our Sex from an Alliance with the other…[but] the thought of being Do[o]med to live alone I Cant yet Reconcile."[21] Women needed an outlet, a new sense of independence in their lives which would allow them access to rights and domains previously only available to men. How they would achieve this, and more, if they were to achieve this at all, was not fully addressed until the period before and during the War for Independence.

Even before tensions mounted in the colonies against Britain, European ideas were transferred across the Atlantic and influenced American women's thoughts on secondary roles. Print materials especially, such as newspapers and literature, were vital to the political voice of colonial peoples.[22] They not only related the news of the colonies to the increasingly literate population[23] but also allowed concepts and philosophies to be ferried quickly from one continent to the next. Given their understanding of reading, women took this to their advantage by gathering, studying, and reflecting on the ideas presented in such sources. It was in these modes that women developed an ideology for reform.

The Enlightenment is primarily responsible for this new and, at times, radical thinking in the colonies. Beginning in the mid-seventeenth century and continuing well into the eighteenth, prominent thinkers in Europe questioned numerous accepted views in society. Historian Henry

[21] Norton, *Liberty's Daughters*, 41; Sarah Hanschurst to Sally Forbes, 1762, Sarah Hanschurst Letterbook, Library of Congress Manuscript Division.
[22] Sophia Rosenfeld, "'Europe,' Women, and the American Political Imaginary," *Journal of the Early Republic* 35, no. 2 (Summer 2015): 275, accessed September 15, 2015, http://eds.a.ebscohost.com/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=d85fae04-61f0-45bc-96c5-d8daa1eb6311%40sessionmgr4003&vid=4&hid=4202.
[23] Henry F. May, *The Enlightenment in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 35.

May divides the Enlightenment into four separate yet somewhat connected periods. The first, the Moderate Enlightenment, began in the late seventeenth century and continued until the latter half of the eighteenth. The second was called the Skeptical Enlightenment, which developed over a forty year period in the mid--to--late eighteenth century. The third, or Revolutionary Enlightenment, encompassed the years from 1776 to 1800. The fourth and final period was the Didactic Enlightenment, which began in 1800 and continued for fifteen years. It was at the end of the fourth period that the Age of Reason declined and was put aside.[24] While each period is known for slightly different principles, and three overlap with the American Revolution, they compose what will be referred to as "the Enlightenment" in this argument. The most influential for the purposes of the War of Independence was obviously the third, as its principles, including assertion and the need for a new beginning, aided the Patriots in their fight against the British. All, though, guided the colonists in some way during this time period.

The typical outcomes remembered from the Enlightenment, as summarized by Carol Berkin, include "a secular, scientific view of the world…a belief in the rationality of human beings, [and] the efficacy of education."[25] These ideas were transferred to the colonies, and related to the structure and function of governments as it pertained to power of the people. While these were meant to signify a necessary change in rationale, truth, and reasoning in regard to society – and, therefore, men, since it was this sex which dominated the domain – they served to benefit women and their desire to pursue a life outside of their domestic existence as well.

Some of the most notable philosophes of the Enlightenment period, including Thomas Hobbes, Jean Jacques Rousseau, and John Locke, further developed these ideas to take account

[24] May, *The Enlightenment in America*, xi.
[25] Berkin, *Revolutionary Mothers*, 150.

of women, even if indirectly. Their use of words such as "person" or "people" to mention those affected by the lines of thought incidentally indicate the inclusion of women, an oversight which they either chose to leave unaddressed or intentionally used to hint at this conclusion. The aforementioned thinkers, though, go still further in defining women's roles and situations, regarding both their reality and the possibility of something more. Hobbes, for example, defined dominion in his work *Leviathan*, saying "Dominion is acquired two ways, by generation, or by conquest." The latter was meant to explain imperial actions and social constructions. When speaking to the former, however, he highlighted the relationship between parent and child. Part of the purpose was to insist on the needed authority within the family unit, but the other was to assert the natural dominance of women in this domain. Hobbes made it clear that fathers must submit to the mothers' power, as "it cannot be known who is the father, unless it be declared by the mother." Though this statement still placed women in their familiar household positions, he goes on to describe female suppression as a social concept.[26] This, therefore, would challenge the thinking of those in English and later colonial society regarding the natural and physical incapacities of women.

John Locke suggested a change for women's status. While he did not directly state that women should maintain a political role, he did include them in his word choice and argued for privileges to be added and legal rights to be granted. In his *Two Treatises of Government*, Locke outlined the duties of women in the home while claiming their right to give and receive respect within the household and own property even while married. He also hinted at the prospect of divorce, saying that he was confounded by the fact that such a "Compact" be made for life,

[26] Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 16-18, 23; Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (1651; repr. New York: 1946), 130-131.

especially if it was an unfortunate one.[27] Such radical thinking would have appealed to colonial women, seeing as their limited prospects in life left them wanting. This impact is especially pertinent given the author's sex; having a male express these concerns and assertions aided greatly in women's cause for social change. Though there were notable female writers arguing for the same changes, such as Mrs. Adams and her friend Mercy Otis Warren,[28] little attention would be paid to their attempts as compared to those of a well-respected male.

In addition to the aforementioned philosophers expanding the original theories to include ideas regarding women, some Enlightenment thinkers actively pursued the topics which only pertained to the gentler sex. As early as 1673, men as well as women began speaking openly about the "woman question," namely what (if anything) was to be done regarding females in society and any progress which may be made on their behalf. Such people included French writer and feminist philosopher Francois Poulain de la Barre. His work *The Equality of the Two Sexes* was instrumental in bringing forth the idea of gender parity in intellect. In it he asserts that "the mind has no sex," informing that women's physical qualities were in no way a hindrance to their mental capacities, and therefore, should not be treated as such.[29] Because this was in direct contrast to previously-held opinions on the matter, it would presumably pique the curiosity of and/or upset the educated populace. Again, the sexism of the time meant that a male suggesting

[27] Kerber, *Women of the Republic,* 16-17; John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government,* ed. Peter Laslett, 2nd ed. vol. I (Cambridge, 1967), secs. 61, 63; Ibid., vol. II, secs. 52, 65, 80-83. Locke's work was originally published in the late 1600s.

[28] Abigail Adams to Mercy Otis Warren, April 27, 1776, Adams Papers, Founders Online Database, accessed February 28, 2016, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0257. For more examples, see the correspondence between Abigail Adams and Mercy Otis Warren on the Founders Online Database.

[29] Francois Poulain de la Barre, *The Woman as Good as the Man, or, The Equallity of Both Sexes* (1677), 84-85 in Early English Books Online Database, University of Michigan, accessed February 17, 2016, http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A55529.0001.001/1:7?rgn=div1;view=fulltext; Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash,* 12.

such a concept would only benefit women as the latter's public discourse regarding societal change began to develop.

Women too published their thoughts on the female status in the world as they knew it. English writer Mary Astell continued de la Barre's argument a year later in *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies, for the Advancement of their True and Greatest Interest*. In her proposal, she asks women to think beyond their worth as dictated by society, and begin to see themselves as something more, using intellect and their interests to serve them in a way apart from catching the eye of a man. She later indicated her reasoning as to why this was necessary and how this need arose, saying that any hint of intellectual inferiority in women is only the result of inadequate education. Since this lack of education was an imposition of the dominant gender, she scolded men for denying women their true potential for acquired intellect. "It has been said by Men of more Wit than Wisdom," she says, "that Women are naturally incapable of acting Prudently, or that they are necessarily determined to Folly…the Incapacity, if there be any, is acquired not natural."[30] Should women be given the same opportunities as men, then, they could perform in the same capacity. While strengthening this assertion, she directly calls upon women to act, something which was not done in many of the more prominent examples of enlightened texts.

Joining her were anonymous writers determined to communicate their beliefs regarding women's rights. One such woman who called herself "Sophia, a Person of Quality," wrote *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.* In it, she makes the claim that women were meant to do and be more than a housewife, looking after children and

[30] Mary Astell, *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies, for the Advancement of their True and Greatest Interest* (1694) in Vivien Jones, ed., *Women in the Eighteenth Century: Constructions in Femininity* (London: Routledge, 1990), 198-199.

remaining in the domestic realm to which they had always been limited. Similarly, an anonymous poem came to light in the early 1700s which later circulated throughout the colonies:

> Then equal Laws let custom find,
> And neither Sex oppress;
> More Freedom give to Womankind,
> Or to Mankind give less.[31]

Proponents of social change in favor of women, whether they were known or anonymous, began transferring their ideals to housewives, introducing the possibility of life beyond domesticity. Along with the knowledge of their current realities, women took this as fuel to a fire which had already been developing.

Colonial women also gathered more physical evidence to coincide with the intellectual, increasing their expectations for social change. The fact that women like Mary Astell were able to voice their opinions in public and gain attention for them would have astounded housewives of the eighteenth century. Indeed, it was a marvel that they had so skirted societal limitations that they were able to have their arguments heard overseas. Along with Astell were women like British social reformer Elizabeth Montagu, though the list of others is limited. During the Enlightenment, there were not many notable female writers; women often owned the houses and salons in which the male philosophers would discuss the aforementioned topics, but they themselves rarely wrote about such subjects. It would not be until the Revolutionary period and afterwards that others would publicly follow in their footsteps. The fact that women writers in the Enlightenment were scarce, then, made it so those few who were could and would become a large source of motivation for women seeking to branch out, so to speak, into the public sphere.

[31] 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; Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash*, 21.

In addition, colonists 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 and did converse with high-profile political figures.[32] While American women were able to express their opinions on certain topics at home, it was with the permission and/or tolerance of their husbands. It was also possible to write letters of political matters to male family members or close friends, but again, this was mostly confined to the private sphere. These English women, however, were publicly discussing topics of interest with politicians face to face (that is to say, not anonymously, as was the case for some colonial women early on). To have such female inspiration surely instilled hope in colonial women of the opportunity for more freedom with regard to secondary roles.

With all of these factors contributing to women's meditations on their role in society, there can be no doubt that they noticed the increasingly radical actions and ideals circulating through the colonies regarding the relationship with England. Indeed, women would use the language and ideology behind the rising revolutionary consciousness of the colonists to further their own agenda as they neared the first shots of the War for Independence.

As more unreasonable taxes were imposed, rights were withdrawn, and the patriotic cry of "no taxation without representation" was heard, colonists rallied together against the British crown in the name of the preservation of liberties. Westward expansion had been halted by the Proclamation Line of 1763, which forbade settlement beyond the Appalachian Mountains, angering those who had invested or planned to invest in such a venture.[33] Taxes on various commodities steadily increased, putting a strain on the colonial economy and making the

[32] Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash,* 18-19.
[33] Max Farrand, "The Indian Boundary Line," *American Historical Review* 10, no. 4 (July 1905): 782, 785, accessed September 27, 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1834475.

colonists question their administrators' authority. Public demonstrations grew more common, such as the well-known Boston Tea Party of 1773 which illustrated the building unrest and inched the involved parties closer to violence. As tensions grew due to unease among the subjects, more British troops were sent to patrol the colonies. This frightened and displeased some of the New England inhabitants, as one Sarah Deming of Boston wrote to her female friend in 1775.[34] Colonists understood the increasing British presence to mean a greater effort for control. All of the aforementioned restrictions represented limitations on their liberty, which did not coincide with the Enlightenment lessons on autonomy and self-assertion. Whether or not the colonists were aware, their arguments for independence matched the larger ideologies of the Age of Reason. In order to fulfill their desire for autonomy, the colonists needed more say in their lives, which meant independence and sovereignty. Whispers of revolt soon turned into boisterous and public demands for independence. This call for autonomy, though, meant something different to the men of the colonies than to the women, as their societal roles called for unique actions.

Men were privy to the public sphere, and therefore interacted with revolutionary figures and participated in more radical activities than women did in their domestic roles. This rising revolutionary consciousness grew from their social expectations. Men were regarded as the more political, intellectual, and physical sex, and therefore more was required of them for the coming revolution. With their "Force and Body and Strength of Reason," men were to lead the colonies against the British in both thought and action. Were the colonies to rebel against the

[34] Sarah Winslow Deming to Sally Coverley, 1775, Social and Cultural History: Letters and Diaries Online Database, Alexander Street Press, accessed September 27, 2015, http://asp6new.alexanderstreet.com/ladd/ladd.object.details.aspx?dorpID=1000541332.

Crown, men were to serve in the military – a duty exclusive to males.[35] To be seen as men they were expected to exhibit these masculine qualities of leadership and assertiveness, not just for the colonies, but for their families, as had always been the case. Indeed, since the founding of the colonies in the seventeenth century, and still before in Europe, men were considered the heads of their families, and as such were expected to lead and defend them.[36] "Shew[ing] your zeal like men"[37] was their call to perform the public and private responsibilities of protecting their family and country. In addition, many men were in favor of independence from Britain. If his social circles preferred to tear away from the Crown, then a man was more likely to oblige, seeing as status and prestige meant a great deal to colonial men.[38] Others may have chosen the path to independence for an improvement in their economic situations due to the new taxes or to better their political status in society. The most notable reason, however, was to ensure that their voices were heard, their needs were met, and they were given the rights which were due them.

Expectations for women regarding a fight for independence differed greatly from those of men. Women were creatures of domesticity; the fairer sex, acting as helpmates to their spouses rather than political activists. As such, women could only be expected to alter certain aspects of their daily lives instead of pursuing a more active role like their male counterparts.[39] This did not mean, however, that they did not obtain access to the same information.

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[35] Benjamin Franklin, "Letter of Advice," *Pennsylvania Gazette,* March 4, 1735 in Keller, *Patriotism and the Female Sex*, 23; Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash*, 19.
[36] Demos, *A Little Commonwealth*, 82.
[37] John Allen, "The American Alarm, or the Bostonian Plea, For the Rights, and Liberties, of the People. Humbly Addressed to the King and Council, and to the Constitutional Sons of Liberty, in America," (Boston, MA: D. Kneeland and N. Davis, 1773) in Jose Torre, *The Enlightenment in America, 1720-1825* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2008), 1:247.
[38] Zagarri, Revolutionary Backlash, 22.
[39] Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash*, 22; Berkin, *Revolutionary Mothers*, 13-14; Gunderson, *To Be Useful to the World*, 67-88.

Literature proved to be one aspect of society which both sexes were able to utilize to fuel the rising consciousness. Writers began producing numerous announcements in the 1770's to incite others to take a stand against their oppressors. Most famously Thomas Paine presented his work *Common Sense,* encouraging men to challenge the Crown's authority and proclaiming their right to fight for independence.[40] Words and ideas taken from the Enlightenment soon found their way into these declarations, and framed colonists' thoughts on their path of action. Perhaps the most important and influential ideas from the Age of Reason were the need for self-assertion, proposed by Immanuel Kant, and the presence of natural rights, as argued by John Locke. "British Bostonian" John Allen, one of the many Patriot writers, used both in his pamphlet "The American Alarm, or the Bostonian Plea, for the Rights, and Liberties, of the People." He speaks directly to the colonists, saying "Your right is founded in nature, and your examples of liberty are sealed by the blood of your forefathers; and therefore, as they did, and prospered, so do you…Rouse! Stand! *And take the ALARM!*"[41] Men in New England and around the British colonies ultimately took this call to action as it was meant: a stand against royal oppression in favor of power of the people. Women, while still realizing the gravity of that particular situation, would extend it to include opportunities for themselves.

The reactions to these developing ideologies regarding females - namely those of the Enlightenment and the Revolution - varied, even within the sexes. Some men in the colonies saw the idea of female intellectual equality and even women's political capabilities as an excellent objective. For instance, leaders in the colonial effort against Britain knew a wife could deviate in opinion from her husband, so she must also be persuaded to join the cause.[42] This

[40] Thomas Paine, *Common Sense* (Philadelphia: W. and T. Bradford, 1776).
[41] John Allen, "The American Alarm" in Torre, *The Enlightenment in America,* 1:243-4; Ibid., li.
[42] Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash,* 22.

labeled her as a separate being capable of rational thought, a status which had not always been acknowledged for women. Prominent men such as Thomas Paine sought to mention and elaborate on this fact, as expressed in Paine's *Occasional Letter on the Female Sex.* Published on the eve of the Revolution in 1775, Paine stated "man…would deprive [women] of the sweets of public esteem, and…would make it a crime to aspire at honor."[43] In his mind, this effectively diminishes women's influence, something which should not be reality. By saying that men had deprived women of such a life, he affirms the Enlightenment ideologies of writers like Mary Astell, arguing women's lack of participation was forced, not natural.

To further the argument for women's intellectual roles, men used examples of strong female figures in the past as evidence of the assertion's validity and implication for society. These included Semiramis of Ninevah, a supposed ruler of a Middle Eastern kingdom; famous females of the Bible, particularly Esther and Deborah – the inclusion of whom was made by writer Nahum Tate in his 1692 work *A Present for the Ladies: Being an Historical Vindication for the Female Sex*; and Queen Christina of Sweden, a woman known for her "prodigious learning" and protection of her liberty as queen (and, ultimately, as a woman) by abdicating her throne instead of marrying to keep it, as was later described in the *New-York Weekly Museum.*[44] Men also mentioned the female writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in order to provide more recent cases of women in intellectual arenas. These brilliant minds were powerful precedents, further instilling the possibility of intellectual opportunity and secondary roles into the minds of those who desired such a result.

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[43] Thomas Paine, *An Occasional Letter on the Female Sex, Pennsylvania Magazine,* 1775; Robert A. Ferguson, *The American Enlightenment: 1750-1820* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 179.

[44] Nahum Tate, *A Present for the Ladies: Being an Historical Vindication for the Female Sex* (London, Francis Saunders, 1692), 87-100; Mary Beth Norton, *Separated by Their Sex: Women in Public and Private in the Colonial Atlantic World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), 111; "Article 1: 'Christina,'" *New-York Weekly Museum,* August 8, 1812, accessed September 26, 2015, American Periodicals Database; Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash,* 14.

Men used these examples and more to illustrate their desire to give contemporary women more opportunities to learn and grow in their personal and social roles. Several aspects of such an argument would benefit this cause. First, the fact that the aforementioned women presented real life experiences or represented religious cases could only support their argument, as these areas greatly influenced colonial society. Fictional characters could easily be dismissed as fantasy, their actions being whimsical and unlikely or improbable in reality. Women from the past, however, would base their thoughts and actions in truth. Religious figures like Esther and Deborah could be considered fictional, but the large influence of and familiarity with religion in much of society would imply that these women would be considered actual women from the past or respectable examples for proper action or behavior. Second, men who chose to voice such a position would increase the argument's chances of being more easily accepted by society due to their sex's prominence and participation in public circles.

Since women had been confined to their domestic settings for centuries, it was not difficult for some men to maintain tradition instead of agreeing with the new ideas of the Enlightenment. Benjamin Franklin was a prime example of such a man. After publishing his satirical Silence Dogood letters in the 1720s, Franklin continued to communicate his views on women's roles in society. In 1745, he argued that husband and wife should be a balanced pair, taking the aforementioned "Force and Body and Strength of Reason" from the man and combining it with the "Softness, Sensibility, and acute Discernment" of the woman.[45] He did not, however, suggest that women should operate outside of supporting their husbands and households. His views reflected the popular advice literature for women in the eighteenth century, which emphasized the traditional qualities of a good wife and mother and

[45] Keller, *Patriotism and the Female Sex,* 23-24.

recommendations on improving the home.[46] They continued the idea of a woman as a domestic figure, scorning the opposing views which advocated for secondary roles. Though they approved of the idea of female educational opportunities, it was to improve women's worth and contributions within their marriage. Some of these booklets and subsequent editions thereof were printed well into the nineteenth century, implying the popular persistence of general opposition to the radical ideas of the Enlightenment as applied to females. Just as having men *support* women's views on reform aided their efforts, men who actively expressed their displeasure of social reform could only hurt the female cause.

Moreover, men did not characterize the revolutionary call to action as a cause for women to abandon their roles as housewives and mothers. Women's place had not previously been in the public realm, where all political discourse and action occurred. It was men who participated in these activities, including any military duties. As the men went off to war, they needed women to remain at home, tending to house maintenance, rearing and protecting the children, and preserving any business dealings they were leaving behind as a "deputy husband." Though some women may have considered the latter as an opportunity for more influence, handling the business affairs did not require much deviation from the women's schedules and abilities, as many were already learned in reading and writing. Women were needed to support their husband's position with the Patriot war effort, but they were to do so essentially within the restraints of domesticity, according to social standards.[47]

Women were also divided on the issue of secondary roles for their sex, even after experiencing European and colonial influences. In the period leading up to the American

[46] Ibid., 24-26.
[47] Berkin, *Revolutionary Mothers,* 13-14.

Revolution, women were at times afraid to discuss political matters with others, saying it was not their place to do so given their demeanors and expected positions in society. Even famed author Mercy Otis Warren expressed this concern to her friend John Adams, with whom she had corresponded since befriending him and his wife in the early 1770s.[48] When Adams inquired about Warren's choice of government in the new nation in 1776, Warren responded timidly, saying she thought the topics of "war, politicks, or anything relative thereto" were "far beyond the lines of [her] sex." She even wondered if Adams was baiting her, waiting to mock her for communicating something which was not to be in the minds of gentleladies. Even after he assured her this was not his intention, she continued the conversation cautiously so as not to overstep her bounds. In ending her letter, she asked for "pardon for the Fredom [sic] and Length of this [letter]," further suggesting her hesitancy in openly and broadly discussing such a topic.[49] Still others enjoyed their positions as housewives and mothers; their viewpoint is understandable due to the centuries-old tradition they were taught to uphold in their upbringing and later experience in life. Whatever reason they may hold, it is certain that some women did not approve of further female advancement into the realm of men.

Those that did, however, gradually made their opinions known. Some were bitter about men's assumptions of female inferiority, tired of hearing their inability to effectively participate in public life or hold intellectual conversations. Writers such as Mercy Otis Warren and Judith Sargent Murray communicated their ideals of female capabilities in society in their poetry and prose. One poet named Susanna Wright voiced her thoughts on the issue in her work, stating

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[48] Edith B. Gelles, "Bonds of Friendship: The Correspondence of Abigail Adams and Mercy Otis Warren," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 108 (1996): 36.
[49] John Adams to Mercy Otis Warren, January 8, 1776, National Archives, Founders Online Database, accessed February 3, 2016, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-03-02-0202; Mercy Otis Warren to John Adams, March 10, 1776, National Archives, Founders Online Database, accessed February 3, 2016, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-04-02-0019; Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash*, 21-22.

> Reason rules, in every one, the same,
> No Right, has Man, his Equal to controul,
> Since, all agree, There is no Sex in soul.[50]

Others conveyed their curiosity of a secondary role through the actions of those who had already achieved such a feat. Abigail Adams did so in regard to her own inspiration: English historian Catharine Macaulay. Macaulay was writing in the 1770s, just as the Revolution was beginning. Her primary subjects were histories and commentaries on European states, namely England and France; studies on education; and arguments regarding the rights of women. She was one of the only female writers in Europe at this time, and she was highly regarded. Indeed, Macaulay was praised by women in America for her ideas and published works, and was proclaimed "the woman of the greatest abilities" by the notable Mary Wollstonecraft in her *Vindication of the Rights of Woman.*[51] It is little wonder, then, that a woman such as Abigail Adams found her to be an inspiration. Adams wrote of her wish to meet and speak with Macaulay about her involvement in feminism and literature, exclaiming "one of my own Sex so eminent in a tract so uncommon [to women] naturally raises my curiosity…I have a curiosity to know her Education, and what first prompted her to engage in a Study never before Exhibited to the publick by one of her own Sex and Country…"[52] It was with these thoughts, this curiosity, this literature, that female proponents of societal change began pursuing their goal.

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[50] Berkin, *Revolutionary Mothers,* 150-151.
[51] Mary Wollstonecraft, "Animadversions on Some of the Writers Who Have Rendered Women Objects of Pity, Bordering on Contempt" in *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman,* 1792, Bartleby.com, accessed February 17, 2016, http://www.bartleby.com/144/5.html; Devoney Looser, "'Those Historical Laurels Which Once Graced My Brow are Now in Their Wane': Catherine Macaulay's Last Years and Legacy," *Studies in Romanticism* 42, no. 2 (Summer 2003): 203.
[52] Abigail Adams to Isaac Smith Jr., April 20, 1771, The Adams Papers: Digital Editions Database, accessed February 2, 2016, https://www.masshist.org/publications/apde2/view?id=ADMS-04-01-02-0058; Woody Holton, *Abigail Adams: A Life* (New York: Free Press, 2009), 48.

For these women, independence from Britain would mean a new direction not only for the new American nation but for their sex. Though they did not enjoy the same rights and privileges as men, they were still considered citizens of the colonies. If independence was achieved, they would become citizens of a new nation. In addition to new forms of government, this novelty could encompass societal expectations and political opportunities. As Linda Kerber mentioned in her "Reinterpretation of the Revolution," if the colonists were to rid America of the oppressive monarchic government and truly become a representative nation, women's contributions and societal roles must be considered.[53] Even on the eve of the Revolution, men and women raised their voices along with the Patriots to call attention to the disparities within the budding nation, hoping to remind others of the concept which was often cast aside or forgotten.

The need was therefore stated; women sought social and political reform for their sex to advance opportunities in the public sphere. The reasoning and logic behind such a goal, to the delight of enlightened peoples and revolutionaries, had been provided in the previous decades. All which was left was the means through which to obtain their desired results. Though women had already begun arguing for extended roles, those means would be better presented to them as the first shots of the Revolution rang throughout the colonies. Colonial women could use the War for Independence as a means to an end: the object of circumstance through which they could acquire social and political opportunity.

[53] Kerber, "'History Can Do It No Justice,'" in Hoffman and Albert, eds., *Women in the Age of the American Revolution*, 17.

Chapter Two: The Means to an End

With war came struggle, loss, and sacrifice. Their men were fighting not only for their lives but for their nation's independence, and women saw no alternative than to aid them in their cause. However, there was a different, more personal motive behind many of the female contributions: with the Enlightenment ideals influencing their thoughts regarding the battle with the British and the new-found patriotism guiding their actions, women saw the war as a chance for change. A new nation meant a new beginning, not only for their fellow citizens but for their gender in particular. The only question which remained was how to bring about reform while the nation was at war. It was under the guise of patriotic duty and wartime contribution that women would argue for secondary roles, ensuring a Patriot victory as well as one for themselves as female citizens.

Most accounts of women in the Revolutionary War focus on their efforts on the home front. This is a stereotype of the time period; women dominated the domestic arena, and therefore their contributions to any male field would almost exclusively include actions made while at home. These included boycotting British goods, fundraising for the soldiers, and serving as a "deputy husband" to keep the home and family business afloat in the absence of their men. Other small-scale duties included the continued maintenance of the home and ensuring the safety of the children.[54] Although this is only half of the story – the other being those daring females who served in or around the front lines of battle – it nonetheless is an example of female resistance and attempt for greater opportunity in the American Revolution.

[54] Rosemarie Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash: Women and Politics in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 22; Joan R. Gunderson, *To be Useful in the World: Women in Revolutionary America 1740-1790* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 88.

As tensions grew in the 1760s and the threat of war became inevitable, women were asked to join the Patriot cause through modifying their everyday routines. One of their first duties was to convince the men in their life (who were of age) to join the *physical* fight, as opposed to the material and mental battles occurring on the home front. Women had a large influence over men simply because they were women; if a man's wife wanted him to protect their newly-obtained independence by going to war, he would do so if only to keep her happy. Abigail Adams was especially noted (both during her own time and later, by historians) for her ability to persuade her husband John on a number of matters, including the political actions taken by the Continental Congress against the British tyranny.[55] In addition, any patriotic pressure from a man's social circle would only add to his desire to fight. Higher social and political standings were very much sought after in colonial times due to the social hierarchy that was in place. A man's personal relationships and opinions helped determine how he would be perceived by the public. Mary Smith Cranch, in an effort to persuade her cousin, Isaac, to denounce his loyalist views, reminded him that his thoughts and actions were not projected on to him alone. She warned him that he would "injure his father in business" and "grieve [his] mother beyond description." Later she related the crisis to his search for a job at a church, saying "the very People who a Twelvemonth ago heard you with admiration…will now leave the meeting-house when you inter to preach…"[56] While his own personal opinions were to be taken into account, a man's perspective could be altered by those he kept close at hand, especially his wife and female relatives.

[55] See Woody Holton, *Abigail Adams: A Life* (New York, NY: Free Press, 2009) for a more complete collection of such instances.
[56] Mary Smith Cranch to Isaac Smith, Jr., letter, October 15, 1774, Adams Papers, Founders Online Database, accessed December 12, 2015, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0115.

The most important initiative in regards to expectations for future reform was the boycotting of British goods in the colonial marketplace. Leaders in the Patriot war effort demanded that all goods transported to America through British trade be kept out of homes within the colonies. The primary target was of course tea, given the hefty tax placed on the commodity, though the boycotts extended to all goods. Men did not hesitate to include women in this particular task. Their cooperation was needed, and as such was often solicited by contributors to local print media. For example, one author remarked on the actions of the seamstresses, saying "…American Ladies, must exalt their Characters in the Eyes of the World, and serve to shew how greatly they are contributing to bring about the political Salvation of a whole continent."[57] This statement sought to highlight the positive consequences of the boycotts, attempting to persuade females in joining the cause in their own way. Though the author may have intended to exclude women from the benefits by mentioning "political Salvation," this and other similar editorials encouraged women to participate.

Many towns signed formal agreements explaining their intent, including Edenton, North Carolina, and Boston, Massachusetts. Women were not to be dismissed from the action: "No Taxation without Representation" soon became a cry for women as well. The ladies of Edenton, for example, under the leadership of the Province Treasurer's wife Penelope Barker, initiated the Edenton Tea Party of 1774. Unlike the more famous Boston Tea Party of 1773, no tea was physically dumped into a body of water. Instead, they signed a petition stating their unwavering commitment to boycott British tea and clothing, among other items.[58] Events such as this served to introduce colonial women to the notion of inclusion: a true republic would surely be made by

[57] "March 30," *The Essex Gazette* 1, no. 44 (May 23-30, 1769): 1.
[58] Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash*, 22; Troy L. Kickler, "Edenton Tea Party: An American First," North Carolina History Project, John Locke Foundation, accessed October 29, 2015,

Image 2.1 Philip Dawe, *A Society of Patriotic Ladies, at Edenton in North Carolina,* taken from the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Online Catalog.

and would later represent all citizens, including women. Female contributions could then not go unnoticed.

Indeed they did not, though not always in the positive way these women were expecting. While the Patriots appreciated any and all assistance citizens could give them, any coming from women could and would be taken differently by those opposed to their cause. Men in Britain were certainly vocal in their ridicule of female participation. In response to the Ladies of Edenton, political cartoons were made to mock their efforts. One such image, entitled "A Society

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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 29, 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/361443.

of Patriotic Ladies, at Edenton in North Carolina," showed women being foolish, careless, and irresponsible by taking on such actions. As seen above in Image 2.1, a baby is left under the table with a dog that appears to be licking the baby's ear, suggesting the women's neglect of their natural motherly duties. A woman in the background is being seduced by a man, showing their flimsy, easily distracted nature. In addition, all of the women, each of a different social position, as indicated by their style of dress, are participating in a different activity which implies this to be an unorganized venture.[59] Their satirical representation of the Edenton Tea Party expressed the opinion of some men who believed women's roles to be only domestic by design and those who wished to discredit the Patriot protests. Regardless of this perspective, though, women still chose to boycott, and did so with the appreciation of their fellow Patriots.

The success of the boycotts demonstrated not only women's willingness to participate in the war, but also the sacrifices they experienced in doing so. The burden placed on women due to the boycotts was incalculable. As men were preparing and leaving for war, women were left to continue with everyday life – which meant continued consumption of goods. It was women who consistently needed these scorned goods and foodstuffs, and yet men were asking them to participate in such a way as to make this seemingly easy task significantly more difficult. New methods of obtaining similar (though local) items were needed to maintain routine. Food should be taken only from that which was already available from North American soil. Clothes would need to be made by hand, as much of their clothing was imported from overseas. Many women worked as seamstresses to counteract the loss felt by the boycotts in addition to the usual tasks they had at home. Indeed, by 1776, some 4,000 women and children in Philadelphia were

[59] Philip Dawe, *A Society of Patriotic Ladies, at Edenton in North Carolina,* March 25, 1775, mezzotint, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Online Catalog, accessed December 12, 2015, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/ppmsca.19468/.

employed by local textile mills to produce clothing.[60] Only a source of strong motivation, including the liberty or "political Salvation"[61] they were to be fighting for and protecting, would have driven women to continue in such a fashion.

Further examples of female contribution to the war effort include care given to passing soldiers serving in the Continental Army. Women often attempted to provide even the smallest amount of aid through offering spare supplies, shelter, and medical attention to any Patriot in need of these services. One woman, for example, worked as an innkeeper throughout the war in order to continue the family business in the absence of her husband. One night, she received into her hostelry a group of British soldiers and one wounded American soldier. While charging her British customers an outrageous sum for their stay, she stayed awake through the night in order to care for the wounded Patriot and did not charge him for the services rendered. Such female dedication and kindness was common, though in less extravagant forms. Most women participating in such a way would more likely stop passing units or intentionally seek out prisoners of war to give them extra resources such as rations and blankets.[62]

All of the aforementioned actions could be completed within the realms of domesticity. Female persuasion, motherly protection, boycotts, and generosity were attributes or tasks they already possessed. There were several ways, though, that a woman could step outside of those bounds and participate in a new field. Assuming one's husband's role, for example, was one of the more common activities. Business dealings were sometimes left to the wife when a man was otherwise occupied (in this instance, serving in the Continental Army). Historian Laurel

[60] Joan Hoff Wilson, "The Illusion of Change: Women and the American Revolution" in Alfred Young, ed., *The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism* (Dekalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1976), 395.
[61] "March 30," *The Essex Gazette* 1, no. 44 (May 23-30, 1769):1.
[62] 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.

Thatcher Ulrich first defined this job as the "deputy husband" role.[63] In this position, wives would take over some of the financial and commercial duties their husbands had previously controlled, such as the story told above of the female innkeeper. This was necessary to ensure the maintenance of family income and, consequently, survival. Though women were sometimes able to pursue outside employment experience as mentioned in the previous chapter, this was relatively new to women at the time. Given their generally literate status from their basic and limited education, they were considered able to *temporarily* assume this secondary role. Therefore, women throughout the colonies filled the void left by their husbands, sons, brothers, and fathers by acting in their stead.

On an even grander scale, some women would venture into the public sphere and declare their patriotism in various ways. A more boisterous and physical example of such females involved women from Connecticut after the signing of the Declaration of Independence in 1776. After the public removal of the statue of George III in New York in protest of British tyranny, these women obtained parts of the bust and used its material to make over 42,000 ammunition cartridges for the Patriots. Not only was this a substantial contribution to the war effort, but it held symbolic value; using the image of a previous ruler to somehow aid in the effort of said ruler's enemies, these women were showing their adversaries the might of *every* American citizen, regardless of sex. Men took notice of such actions, as shown in newspaper editorials which appeared after the event, and praised their gumption, as these women were exhibiting the revolutionary consciousness which they themselves were experiencing.[64] Women could only

[63] Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650-1750* (New York: Knopf, 1982).
[64] "New-York, July 15," *Connecticut Journal*, July 17, 1776, accessed October 29, 2015, American Historical Newspapers Database; Zagarri, Revolutionary Backlash, 23.

take this as a sign of acceptance, inspiring greater hope for future acknowledgement and social reform.

In a somewhat less dramatic approach, others used literature to express their patriotic voices. Mercy Otis Warren was a perfect example of not only the contemporary female writers but also of the changing opinions of secondary roles for women. Warren initially printed her plays discussing the growing political crisis anonymously, still wanting to have her thoughts known but fearing the public scorn that would inevitably follow publication. She became a strong advocate for women's political and social opportunity, and later fought publically for this equality in the period following the Revolutionary War. Women such as Warren, however, were not the first to use literature in this way. Female European writers such as Catharine Macaulay, Elizabeth Carter, and Hannah More paved the way for their American counterparts during the Revolutionary era. Macaulay in particular discussed the American War for Independence. In her 1775 work *Address to the People of England, Scotland, and Ireland on the Present Important Crisis of Affairs,* Macaulay passionately declares the British government unjust, suggesting that the American cause was appropriate given the misfortunes placed upon them by their administrators.[65] Such emphatic writing, from an author who was both female and British, would clearly resonate with those American women wanting to achieve a similar feat.

Anonymity did not suit some women as it did Warren. Some were rather outspoken about their views, such as Esther de Berdt Reed, wife of Pennsylvania governor Joseph Reed. This prominent female created the Ladies of Philadelphia in 1778, an organization which encouraged and enabled its members to raise funds for the Continental Army. Her success was

[65] Catherine Macaulay, *An Address to the People of England, Scotland, and Ireland, on the Present Important Crisis of Affairs* (London, England: R. Cruttwell, 1775), 3-29.

well-known as she and her co-founder Sarah Franklin Bache, daughter of Benjamin Franklin, were two of the "best ladies" for the cause, as claimed by their fellow collector, Mary Morris. Accounts of these women claim they were relentless in their requests for money, leading one loyalist woman to say "people were obliged to give them something to get rid of them."[66] Reed later had contact with General Washington himself, asking for and later negotiating the proper use for the funds obtained. Her activism for the cause did not end there; Reed was also known for her writing on the subject, particularly as it pertained to women's roles in the war. Her "Sentiments of an American Woman" called for female action, encouraging other women to join her in helping the soldiers. She argued that being barred from following the men into battle should not deter them from aiding the cause; in fact, it should influence woman to do what they could in their own way.[67] Though her reasons for activism stemmed primarily from her patriotic sentiments and the desire to care for and ensure the safety of their men, her outspokenness and large success in contributing to the war effort presents yet another piece of evidence on which to build their argument for greater public opportunity.

Going above and beyond the domestic call of duty were those women who participated in the most secretive and ultimately most dangerous job undertaken by women in the home: espionage. Countless women – countless due only to the lack of records kept by those during the time period – put their lives at risk while acting as a spy and/or scout for the Continental Army, most in the name of female societal advancement. These women allowed General Washington and his troops to surprise or evade the British throughout the Revolutionary War.[68]

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[66] Mary Morris to Catharine Livingston, letter, June 10, 1780; Anna Rawle to Rebecca Rawle Shoemaker, letter, June 30, 1780 in Kerber, *Women of the Republic*, 99-102.
[67] Esther de Berdt Reed, "The Sentiments of an American Woman," (Philadelphia: John Dunlap, 1780); Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash,* 23.
[68] 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.

Philadelphian Mom Rinker was one such woman. Sitting atop a high rock in Fairmount Park, she would quietly knit a traditional pattern while overlooking the British unit in the distant fields. Seemingly innocent, she was actually creating coded messages which were then dropped to Continental couriers waiting down below. Others women led troops through the countryside using their knowledge of local backcountry. New Jersey resident Jimmie Waglun performed this duty while guiding General Washington's own men through the backwoods in late 1776. Washington's goal was to more effectively attack the British at nearby Princeton, something which would have been impossible without the help of his female scout. Another scout, Dicey Langston who, at the time, was only sixteen years of age, traversed a river during the night to reach her brother's camp and warn them of British operations nearby.[69] These women were but few of many who chose to overcome the barriers keeping them from this aspect of public life. Had they been discovered by the enemy, their punishment would have been severe, likely costing them their lives. Such bravery and sacrifice should indeed be worthy cause for later reform, and would be argued as such following the final battles of the Revolution.

Women performing these tasks could remain in their homes and towns while contributing to the Patriot war effort. Their achievements are noteworthy, though they fail to fully disregard the confines of their domestic lifestyles. Rarer accounts of women tell the story of those who left these expectations behind, following the soldiers to the front lines. Whether or not they participated in active combat, these women ventured to an area previously only known to men, changing perspectives and providing examples of their capabilities. Even within this category there are subsections, so to speak. The farthest removed from battle simply sought to trail after

[69] 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.

the troops, not necessarily providing many services and proving to be nuisances to the commanding officers with whom they interacted. The next group was similar in action, but did offer domestic luxuries otherwise missing from camp life. Still others, primarily those in medical services, chose to officially sign up for military positions, receiving pay in the process. Lastly came the women who went above and beyond the call of duty and (illegally) served in the Continental Army as soldiers. Such women of war had extremely influential motives for acting in this way, as well as expected outcomes for their services. While there were exceptions, most needed to simply join in the fight for a freedom which they hoped would be theirs.

The most moderate and largest group of these women was called camp followers. Their name is self-explanatory: they followed the units of troops but did not participate in their activities. Though the number of people who did this is inconclusive and disagreed upon, the group included women and children who were the wives, mothers, sisters, or daughters of the men in the camps. In contrast to most other women who acted according to their desire for political and social reform, most of these women only wished to remain close to those they loved. Exceptions included refugees fleeing from loyalist-controlled regions to the safety of the Patriot army or impoverished citizens seeking a place of some (though minimal) stability. Others saw the camps as a means of economic gain, selling their wares and services which at times could include prostitution.[70] Upon observing the camp followers, General Washington found them to be of little to no use. As private female citizens, they were not subject to military discipline and did not complete beneficial tasks for the army. Washington offered some of them the choice of a position to care for the soldiers in the camp, thereby receiving pay and rations and following the rules of the commander in charge. These benefits were not accessible to those who

[70] 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.

refused such a position, and those women were often left behind or purposefully sent away from the camp due to their hindering nature. Their "hindrances" encouraged bad habits in the troops such as heavy drinking, infidelity, and even arson.[71] Given the command under which these soldiers operated, these activities were not tolerated, giving the officers another reason to dismiss the camp followers. The contempt held for these women would not have worked in their favor later on; other women's goal of reform could only be hurt by such actions. Indeed, this would give men a reason not to grant their requests, suggesting that women's disobedience and general lack of consideration for the operations of the army is proof enough of women's inability to handle life outside of the domestic sphere. They were not acting as the rational beings they believed themselves to be through the Enlightenment lessons. General Washington himself spoke ill of the female camp followers. Such a prestigious hero of the new nation would hold a higher authority, convincing others that his disdain for the ladies was his disapproval of their public countenance.

To hopefully counteract the absurdity of the camp followers, other women provided hope for social and political acceptance through their efforts in the war. The Women of the Army, labeled as such by General Washington himself, were able to offer small but necessary and appreciated comforts to the troops. Unlike the camp followers, the Women of the Army fell under the military jurisdiction and were given rations and shelter for their work, narrowing the

[71] 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; 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; Berkin, *Revolutionary Mothers*, 51.

gap between the sexes. Common duties included washing clothes, preparing meals, and sewing any torn garments. These chores were primarily done for themselves, an occasional soldier, or the hospitals of the camp with which they were staying. This domestic touch to such a cruel and horrible aspect of male citizenship eased the burden of camp life for whomever the services were rendered. In one of his General Orders, Washington remarked on the uncleanliness and unprofessionalism of the units which did not have the privilege of Women of the Army, giving comments like "they wore what they had until it crusted over and fell apart." The soldiers considered laundry to be women's work, no doubt due to the traditional tasks of the housewives they left at home.[72] The Women of the Army were needed, then, to ensure proper care was taken for the soldiers – care which they apparently would not provide themselves. Though these chores reflected the mundane activities they did at home, these women were still far from their previous societal restrictions. They became an integral part of the Continental Army, participating in an aspect of war which had previously never been considered by people of the eighteenth century. This change, however slight it may be, began the slow urge for future reform.

Some women chose to heed General Washington's advice presented to the camp followers and Women of the Army to make better use of their time in the camp. They assisted in medical operations, officially reporting as members of the army and receiving pay for their care. This work differed greatly from that of the male doctors present in the hospitals; female nurses relied more on herbal remedies than the heavy surgery and intense bleeding which was common of the male practice. The former made the patients as comfortable as possible while the latter drastically decreased the rate of survival due to the lack of sanitary procedures and effective

[72] 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.

recovery methods available. Given the significant difference in care, soldiers tended to see women's service as exceptional.

Some very prominent women served in this post, including the wife of Continental Army General George Washington, though they were often not associated with camp followers or women of the army given their status. Every winter during the war, Mrs. Washington, or Lady Washington as she was often called, would join her husband at his station. While in the camp she would sometimes provide nursing services if the need arose, which was more likely than not. The men under her care would remark on their impressions of her, making comments like "She reminded me of the Roman matrons of whom I had read so much, I thought that she well deserved to be the companion and friend of the greatest man of the age."[73] This was indeed a high compliment given the typical male opinion of her sex and the status of and admiration for the "man of the age" to which the soldier was referring. Her skills would also be seen in needlework and daily toil. Three women who joined Mrs. Washington one day were amazed at her determination and hard work in the camp, and even more taken aback by her bold comments: "We must become independent by our determination to do without what we cannot make ourselves. Whilst our husbands and brothers are examples of patriotism, we must be patterns of industry."[74] The feminine barriers meant to block such actions were not effective – Mrs. Washington did what was logical at the time, which meant stepping beyond imposed limitations. Here she was explaining the role which women may not recognize but must assume in the war for liberty; a role which enabled women to do what they can and then some in order to aid their fellows in the cause.

[73] [aide to Baron Steuben], diary entry, in Donna M. Lucey, *I Dwell in Possibility: Women Build a Nation 1600-1920* (Washington, DC: National Geographic, 2001), 78-79.
[74] Lucey, *I Dwell in Possibility*, 79.

In a nursing position, women were again using their domestic talents of healing and general caregiving as a part of their duty to the nation (and to themselves). However, this can be considered incorporating past experience into a new field, as Mrs. Washington suggested. The fact that they held this as a paying job rather than their unpaid, expected work as a wife and mother suggests a different reality in a public arena. Their work as nurses was a breakthrough for women, as it allowed them to show that they were indeed capable of more than both men and women previously thought. They did not go unnoticed. General Washington desperately called upon "as many Women of the Army as can be prevailed on to serve as Nurses," recognizing the poor state of his army and the handiwork of the nurses already employed. Congress publicly praised these women for their service and supported the use of nurses in each unit, saying that the absence of "good female Nurses" only contributed to a wounded soldier's suffering.[75]

Despite the highest praise for such work, these women still experienced setbacks, particularly in regards to pay. Congress officially declared the amount of pay to be given to female nurses and matrons in 1777, setting it lower than that of those who tended the horses. Female nurses were paid less than twenty-two percent of what senior male surgeons received, ranging from twenty-four to ninety cents per day as opposed to the four dollars the latter were given.[76] Males rallied on their behalf, including Dr. William Shippen, who increased women's pay to encourage females to accept the position, and General Washington himself who argued for increased compensation and rations for these fine servicewomen. Surely the presence of male supporters, and such respected ones at that, could convince Congress to provide a larger

[75] George Washington, General Orders, May 31, 1778, Founders Online Database, National Archives, accessed December 12, 2015, http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-15-02-0289; Berkin, *Revolutionary Mothers,* 58.
[76] "Return of Officers Belonging to the General Hospital Northern Department," March 20, 1780 in Kerber, *Women of the Republic,* 60.

sum. In reality, it would not: Congress created and kept their payroll decree in effect.[77] It was a limitation which was at the very least unfair and inappropriate. These women were performing the grueling tasks only associated with caring for the sick and injured, and yet they could not be given more than a pittance for their struggle and sacrifice. Time and time again their actions were acknowledged and praised, only to be dismissed later on by the very men who verbally rewarded them. The fight for reform was obviously yet to be won, and there was an even greater need for a stronger exhibition of female capability. Fortunately, it would come in the form of those who stepped farther into the realm of men: those who ventured onto the front lines of battle and performed duties never before associated with the female sex.

Of course, it would only be those who succeeded in such a task who would take a greater step toward social and political reform for women. Those who failed in their efforts to participate in battle by revealing their true identities were punished and humiliated (usually publicly) for illegally taking part in an area of citizenship which was reserved for men. These consequences could range from a public admonition to time in prison or fines. Ann Bailey of Boston, for instance, was discovered after already having climbed in rank as an outstanding corporal in the Continental Army under the name of Samuel Gay. A warrant went out for her arrest, and she was found guilty of pretending to be a young man and "fraudulently intending to cheat and injure the inhabitants of the state." Her sentence was two months in prison along with a fine.[78] Another such woman, an anonymous female from New Jersey, illegally enlisted and was almost immediately found by a superior officer after she accidentally curtsied to him.

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[77] William Shippen to Congress, letter, September 19, 1776 in Kerber, *Women of the Republic*, 60; George Washington to John Hancock, letter, September 14, 1776, The Papers of George Washington: Digital Edition, Accessed March 16, 2016, http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/default.xqy?keys=GEWN-print-03-06-02-0247; Kerber, *Women of the Republic*, 59.

[78] *Government and People v. Ann Bailey* (MS Bay Sup. Ct. Judicature August 1777); Alfred F. Young, *Masquerade: The Life and Times of Deborah Sampson, Continental Solder* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004), 7.

Unlike Bailey, her only punishment was public humiliation, but it proved to be enough for this young woman.[79]

Though their intentions may have been honorable and heroic, their actions set the female initiative for equality back significantly. Their folly, in the eyes of men, only reaffirmed what men already believed: women possessed an irrational nature which left them to thrive in their designated social role (and nothing more). It would seem that this proved their separation of the Enlightenment ideology and the fairer sex, as well; such a pitiful example of "public service" showed their lack of intellectual capacity and their inability to act from reason – two of the more important aspects of the Age of Reason. Their setback is comparable to those of the camp followers – even some of their motives had the same result. A few women, such as the aforementioned unknown soldier from New Jersey, came to war only to find a husband. Men disregarded these as foolish desires and, while possibly stereotypical of females, proof that women should remain in their domestic housewife roles. In the case of the New Jersey woman, her commanding officer "ordered the drums to beat her Threw the town with the whores march."[80] Such wording reinforced his beliefs: women acting out of turn, and with such vain and childish hopes, were to be scorned in the worst possible way. This woman's effort was obviously grounds for continued limitations on female activity, all due to their outrageous and more delicate nature.

For those women who were able to conceal their gender effectively, however, the story is more positive, working more in women's favor than those told previously. These women, including Deborah Sampson, Anna Maria Lane, and "Molly Pitcher," had gone so far beyond

[79] 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.
[80] Ibid.

their previous limits to contribute to a male-dominated field. They became contemporary examples of female activists, joining the group of past women to whom Esther DeBerdt Reed was referring in her "Sentiments" when she named "So many famous sieges where the Women have been seen forgeting the weakness of their sex, building new walls… throwing themselves into the flames rather than submit to the disgrace of humiliation before a proud enemy."[81] Though Reed herself recognized the limitations placed on females due to their supposed inherent "weakness," as seen in her more acceptable choice of participation in the war, the women she referenced did not. They did not forget their weakness; they simply disproved it through their patriotic and uncharacteristically masculine contributions. Here again is seen the Enlightenment theme of self-assertion in the name of liberty and progress. These women who went above and beyond the call of duty overcame the confines of previous theory to proclaim a new one: one which portrayed women as strong, rational beings – a title which was only intended to describe men.

Deborah Sampson Gannett, for instance, showed the greater extent to which women could participate in public life. At the age of twenty two, Sampson donned men's clothing and enlisted as Private Robert Shurtliff in the Continental Army in May of 1782.[82] Wishing to escape her lonely and poverty-stricken childhood, she ventured into a new future by illegally joining the male ranks of the army. She was immediately moved to the Fourth Massachusetts Regiment for active duty as a light infantryman, where she continued her service for a total of seventeen months under the commands of Colonel William Shepard and Colonel Henry Jackson. The light

[81] Reed, "The Sentiments of an American Woman," accessed November 13, 2015, http://www-personal.umd.umich.edu/~ppennock/doc-Sentiments%20of%20An%20American%20Woman.htm; Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash*, 23.

[82] 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 "Shirtleff," the proper spellings are the ones which I will use throughout the paper. See Young, *Masquerade*, for further clarification.

infantry, coincidentally, was considered the most rigorous branch of the military after the Battle of Yorktown, making her feat all the more dangerous and influential. During her enlistment period, Sampson was shot and wounded in the left thigh at the Battle of Tarrytown. She chose to attend to the wound herself by removing the offending metal so as not to reveal her gender to any examining medical officer. Her efforts would later be in vain, as she would fall ill with fever later in her service. Under the care of Doctor Barnabas Binney, she was discovered; unlike the less fortunate women who were found, though, her secret remained intact. For reasons unknown, Doctor Binney withheld her true identity, even helping her receive an honorable discharge from the army by General Henry Knox in October of 1783. To add to the incredulity of her tale, some of the men in her regiment regarded her (known to them as "him") as one of the best soldiers in the camp; she followed every order like the perfect serviceman should, and completed every task efficiently and effectively.[83] Even officers who later spoke of her deeds after the revelation of her identity did so positively; for instance, Sergeant Munn said "she was *prompt* and *expert*, and did her duty faithfully as a soldier."[84] Her work was exemplary, and made for an even greater achievement once recognized at the end of her enlistment and the discovery of her sex. Having male soldiers acknowledge her capabilities presented a much needed affirmation of this female's achievements. Their testimonies could then be used to further the reform sought after by women. Indeed, after her service and marriage to Benjamin Gannett Jr., Sampson took her story public, campaigning and lecturing openly about her actions in service. Her efforts, as reported in her

[83] 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.
[84] Calvin Munn, letter to the editor, *New York Evening Post,* June 30, 1827; Young, *Masquerade,* 102.

memoir[85] and multiple biographies, will be highlighted in the next chapter as they relate to post-revolutionary ideology and outcomes.

Other women did participate in battle, though seemingly only in a moment of necessary action. These women generally included those who were originally Women of the Army, aiding in the Patriot cause alongside the important men in their life, and were forced to take the place of said men or another fallen comrade on the spot. One example would be Anna 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 to take the position of a fallen soldier. She was later wounded because of her efforts.[86] Lane acted in tandem with the "Molly Pitchers" of the Continental Army. These women were tasked with carrying water to and from the battlefield to cool both the men and their weapons. While doing so, they joined the male Patriots when one could longer serve in the line of duty. Though there are two women – Margaret Corbin and Mary Ludwig Hays McCauley – who are the most famous and representative of this group of women, the name came to encompass all females who performed the same or similar acts during the war.

Margaret Corbin, or "Captain Molly" as she would later be called, 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 Washington. On November 16, 1776, the day of the battle, both Margaret and John were assigned to the artillery unit in their regiment. During the conflict, John received a mortal wound and fell beside his

[85] This memoir 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 (Herman Mann). Young used it frequently in his work, *Masquerade,* in order to provide context, but often pointed out the misconceptions the memoir portrays.
[86] 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.

wife. She immediately took his position at the cannon to continue the fight, ultimately acquiring debilitating wounds to the arm and chest herself. 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 the rest of her life. Given the time this occurred, Corbin was the first woman to receive such an honor and reparation.[87] The intense emotional and physical toll (both during and after her actions) must have been unbearable, but Corbin took on her role in a moment's notice, not questioning her upcoming task, her societal limitations, or the resulting expectations. Countless illustrations, depictions, and literary portrayals of the scene would be completed in the years following the war, each displaying the patriotism, determination, effectiveness, and sacrifice of Captain Molly and her fellow Molly Pitchers.

Such rational thought and unwavering service gave yet another instance of female ability not only in public but in times of great and unprecedented pressures. Their Enlightenment influences came to light in these efforts, showing the ungendered nature of Reason and the possibility of procuring liberty through these extreme forms of self-assertion. Indeed, the drawings of Molly Pitcher, the most famous of which is described and shown below in Image 2.2, often depicted the woman in question holding a flag or weapon and releasing a rallying cry, surging forward to encourage her fellow soldiers to continue the fight. Such a portrayal could suggest a relation to a wartime Lady Liberty – a lone female in the midst of mayhem, standing for the very principles the Patriots were fighting to uphold; the same principles of the Enlightenment, as it were.

[87] Claghorn, *Women Patriots,* 56; de Pauw, "Women in Combat," 219; Cornetti, "Women of the American Revolution," 345.

Image 2.2 D.M. Carter, *Moll Pitcher at the Battle of Monmouth,* taken from the New York Public Library Digital Collections Catalog.

Mary Ludwig Hays McCauley performed Corbin's duties almost exactly, which adds to the confusion of the true identity of Molly Pitcher. As stated previously, Corbin is usually attributed with the title as her case was the first reported.[88] However, the famous image of Molly Pitcher painted by D. M. Carter shows her as a participant in the Battle of Monmouth on July 28, 1778, the battle for which Mary McCauley is most well-known.[89] McCauley's heroics, though similar to those of Corbin, should not go untold, as soldiers have documented their responses to her deeds on the battlefield. Though the accounts of her actions remain somewhat unclear – whether or not she fought alongside her husband instead of in his place – witnesses freely exclaimed their shock. One soldier described:

[88] Berkin, *Revolutionary Mothers,* 138-9. It is through Berkin's omission of McCauley's actions, and even in D.M. Carter's portrayal of Molly Pitcher (shown below) in the battle in which Corbin fought, that Corbin is considered to be the "Molly Pitcher" most people recognize.

[89] "The Late D.M. Carter: Death of a Well-Known American Painter," *New York Times,* July 8, 1881, accessed November 12, 2015, http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=F00917FA3B581B7A93CAA9178CD85F458884F9; Claghorn, *Women Patriots,* 131; Cornetti, "Women in the American Revolution," 344-5; Lucey, *I Dwell in Possibility,* 72-3.

> A cannon shot from the enemy passed directly between her legs without doing any other damage than carrying away all the lower part of her petticoat. Looking at it with apparent unconcern, she observed that it was lucky it did not pass a little higher, for in that case it might have carried away something else.[90]

After this comment, she apparently went back to her work on the front lines. Whether or not this is an exaggeration, it placed Molly Pitcher in the heat of the action, the farthest away from her household duties of keeping house and rearing children. The question remained of how such observations could incite anything other than admiration for these women and respect for their newly-found abilities.

Esther DeBerdt Reed was very thorough in her examination of the contributions of her sex. The aforementioned quote from her "Sentiments," though shortened above, includes a category for most female contributors throughout the war: those who created ammunition for the soldiers "furnish[ed] arms to their defenders;" those who "dart[ed] the missile weapons on the enemy" representing the Molly Pitchers of the Revolutionary War; and so on.[91] The reason for her inclusion of such a long list may be twofold. First, she would have wanted to provide as many examples of female contribution in order to state her case. She too wanted the men to whom she was writing to "Remember the Ladies" and their efforts, which were made for their cause. Second, Reed intended to show women the possibilities of their actions. Her objective was to encourage women to play their part in the war. Again, she herself did not believe in achieving the same feats as those brave women listed above-she believed she was doing all she could as a woman by contributing funds-but by listing their efforts all the same, she could have

[90] letter, 1778 in Ibid., 73.
[91] Reed, "Sentiments," http://www-personal.umd.umich.edu/~ppennock/doc-Sentiments%20of%20An%20American%20Woman.htm.

instilled the idea in other women, further encouraging them to take a risk (similar to those of their men).

The idea of the Enlightenment was to present the need for and general idea for responsible beings. These intellectuals would be assertive, actively participating in their fields and in public while encouraging others to do the same. Their strong opinions of self-assertion, liberty, and intellectual roles were seen throughout the writings of the famous philosophes of the eighteenth century. Translating this idea to the actions of the female Patriots shows the ungendered nature of the Enlightenment: their contributions to the war effort should be considered the actions of "responsible beings." They were acting out of the norm, but also out of necessity, both for the sake of their men's lives but also for liberty itself. They placed themselves in dangerous situations, never before handled by their sex, and showed their capability in such a field. The need for independence from Britain was not felt only by men; women too felt the tension, saw the injustice, and took action against it. Abigail Adams herself wrote her opinion and that of her fellow Patriots to a London bookseller, saying "The Spirit that prevails among men in all degrees, all ages and sex'es is the Spirit of Liberty." She proudly called herself a daughter of America, completely denying the mother country any authority or hold over her and her fellows.[92] Such bravery and insistence in the name of something as righteous as liberty was founded in the same principles as the Enlightenment. Concepts such as liberty, assertion, and intellectuality were considered buzzwords of the Age of Reason. Having the aforementioned examples of women acting in the name of or representing one or all of these acknowledges the link to the Enlightenment period.

[92] Abigail Adams, letter, [1774?] in Charles W. Akers, *Abigail Adams: An American Woman,* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1980), 36.

Though the philosophes may not have intended to include women in the descriptions and principles, women included themselves. Male writers of that time period were more concerned with the necessary changes in male society; since society, meaning the public arena, was male-dominated and tradition was so deeply ingrained, most saw no reason to include women in intellectual discussions. At the beginning of the war, Pierre Roussel, a French writer who expressed his commentary on the female sex in his work *Système Physique et Moral de la Femme,* described women as "more capable of feeling than creating."[93] In his mind, and indeed, in the mind of his fellow writers, women were of a different constitution than men, simply not designed to work in the same domain. These discussions, however, and the theories within them were incorporated into female contributions throughout the War for Independence. They disregarded these ridiculous claims, instead acting as the responsible beings they knew themselves to be. Through their actions, the war effort was a success. Not only did they help to achieve the independence they and their fellow Americans so desperately wanted, but they did so against all odds. Any precedence found in their society was virtually nonexistent – their efforts proved that women were capable of much more than housework, indeed the same, if not more than her male counterparts.

Female Patriots were everyday overturning the previous held beliefs of male philosophers and Enlightenment writers through their intelligent and exceptional contributions during the Revolutionary War. Instead of affirming the widely-held beliefs asserted by Roussel and others like him, they chose to act in accordance with the blossoming ideas of the Enlightenment which countered that Reason and the mind itself had no sex.[94] Whether they planned their contributions beforehand or acted in the time of need, women were capable of much more than previously thought. As Historian Isobel Grundy wrote, the Age of Reason asserted that "Custom is arbitrary

[93] Pierre Roussel, *Système Physique et Moral de la Femme* (1775); Heidi Bostic, *The Fiction of the Enlightenment: Women of Reason in the French Eighteenth Century* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2010), 31-32.
[94] Ibid.

and reformable,"[95] something which eighteenth-century women hoped to prove in their actions against the British and later fight for in the years following. The post-revolutionary world, however, chose to act differently.

[95] Isobel Grundy, "Mary Seymour Montague: Anonymity and 'Old Satirical Codes'" in Isobel Armstrong and Virginia Blain, eds., *Women's Poetry in the Enlightenment: The Making of a Canon, 1730-1820* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1999), 67.

Chapter Three: Post-Revolutionary Consequences

After eight years of grueling battles and against supposedly insurmountable odds, the American Patriots emerged victorious. Their sacrifice and determination resulted in independence for their country, a new dawn for its hopeful citizens. Political leaders began creating the foundation for the government, considering the contributions of and ensuring privileges for the Patriots. Surely, women could not be forgotten during the process. Though they were kept from the public domain in previous circumstances, their efforts during the war should have proven their worth outside of the home. Indeed, some believed this to be acceptable, and those men and women worked to achieve such a feat. The traditionalists in society, however, were still present, voicing their opinions against female secondary roles. With these people expressing opposing views and Enlightenment thought transforming and slipping away, women would have to wait for their chance.

It did not seem likely, even in the final days of and the period directly following the war, that women would see an end to their domestic confinement. Despite all of the monies raised, the soldiers cared for, and the battles fought by women, they would nevertheless find a lack of progress toward a brighter future. Abigail Adams lamented this to her husband in one of the many letters written between them. In this exchange in 1782, Abigail explained the many misfortunes of her sex regardless of their recent efforts to better their circumstances. She remarked:

> Patriotism in the female Sex is the most disinterested of all virtues. Excluded from honours and from offices, we cannot attach ourselves to the State or Goverment from having held a place of Eminence. Even in the freeest countrys our property is subject to the controul and disposal of our partners, to whom the Laws have given a soverign Authority.

> Deprived of a voice in Legislation, obliged to submit to those Laws which are imposed upon us, is it not sufficient to make us indifferent to the publick Welfare? Yet all History and every age exhibit Instances of patriotick virtue in the female Sex; which considering our situation equals the most Heroick of yours.[96]

Though she believed in the equality of action and nature for the sexes throughout the war, and even used similar arguments to those later presented by men and women alike, she would be disappointed by the post-war results. The contributions made by her fellow female Patriots did not appear to make as large of an impact as was previously hoped, given the lack of recognition and desired compensation.

Still the contributions made by women throughout the eighteenth century were substantial when compared to past efforts. Their emergence into the public sphere captured the attention of the entire nation, men and women alike. Before the war, society saw women only as housewives, meant to exhibit a higher standard of manner and decency in their everyday lives. Now, however, they were seen in a new, transforming light, capable of so much more than previously thought. These newfound capabilities and the efforts made thereof did not end with the war; true, the means through which women could boldly, yet acceptably assume their public roles had passed, but they continued to do so to receive appropriate acknowledgement and reparation later on.

Petitioning was a favorite form of expression for women after the war. In these writings they could voice frustrations and demand for rights, among countless other possibilities. Many took up their pens in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in an effort to request

[96] Abigail Adams to John Adams, June 17, 1782, Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive, Massachusetts Historical Society, accessed February 17, 2016, http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/archive/doc?id=L17820617aa&hi=1&query=female%20education&tag=text&archive=all&rec=41&start=40&numRecs=121.

divorces from their state governments. According to historians Nancy Cott and Rosemarie Zagarri, "the number of women petitioning the [state] legislature for divorce increased at a far greater rate than the population growth would suggest."[97] This same trend was true for the national Congress as well, as women believed this higher level of government would respond quickly and with more power. Just the act of petitioning, regardless of volume, showed the importance women placed on their part in governance. If the concept behind "no taxation without representation" was to be realized, women would be forced to fight for their place in politics, and to some, there was no better way for them to be heard than through their own voice. Those who would be representing them would still be male, as the political domain was still dominated by men. This meant that their actions could be biased, especially if those men were against female participation and reform.

Campaigning was yet another means through which women could pursue social and political reform. The appearance of activist organizations and reform societies after the war allowed women to join together for such a purpose.[98] Others chose to seek acknowledgement of female contributions on their own. Deborah Sampson Gannett, in the later years of her life, began a public lecture tour which highlighted her actions in the war. Her primary objective was to gain awareness for not only her actions, but those of her sex in an effort to showcase their abilities. She continued her personal and political efforts until her health waned, forcing her to end her tour.[99] This public campaigning, and from such a well-known female Patriot, would

[97] Nancy F. Cott, "Divorce and the Changing Status of Women in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (October 1976): 586-614, accessed January 24, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1921717; Rosemarie Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash: Women and Politics in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 39.
[98] Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash*, 182.
[99] [Herman Mann], The *Female Review: or, Memoirs of an American Young Lady*…By a Citizen of Massachusetts (Dedham, MA: Nathaniel and Benjamin Heaton, 1797); Alfred F. Young, *Masquerade: The Life and Times of*

only serve to help their cause for reform. Campaigning was a way to demonstrate women's intellectual capacity, as they were able to effectively organize their thoughts and present them in an emphatic manner. Since men often did this for their own political purposes, women believed they were capable of the same.

These actions paid off for some, as those men who agreed with their ideas took action for their cause. Indeed, some leaders in state legislatures sought to grant some of these women's reforms in the political arena in the late eighteenth century. New Jersey began allowing some women the right to vote, as specified in the use of "all inhabitants" in the state constitution in 1776 and of "he or she" in the laws enacted in the legislative session of 1797.[100] Only a certain category of women could participate in this political activity, however; similar to the male requirements for suffrage, women must own a particular amount of property to be considered eligible. Given this restriction, typically only widows were able to vote, as these women had received a portion of their late husbands' estate upon his death.[101] Even this slight was enough to instill hope: never before had women been given the opportunity to hold such influence over policymaking and governance. According to a man from Newark, "there were many [women who] exercised their privilege" in the election for governor in 1800.[102] This considerable allowance would of course please those who had desired exactly this sort of opportunity. Some historians believe this inclusion to be an oversight on the part of the legislators; others, such as

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Deborah Sampson, Continental Solder (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004), 197-245; Elizabeth F. Ellet, *The Women of the American Revolution*, 2nd ed. (New York: Baker and Scribner, 1848).

[100] New Jersey Constitution, art. 4, 1776; An Act to Regulate the Election of Members of the Legislative Council and General Assembly, Sheriffs and Coroners, in this State, *Acts of the Twenty-First General Assembly of the State of New Jersey*, ch. DCXXXIV, sec. 9 (February 22, 1797), 173, accessed January 24, 2016, http://njlaw.rutgers.edu/cgi-bin/diglib.cgi?collect=njleg&file=021&page=0128&zoom=60.

[101] Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash*, 31, 43; Jan Ellen Lewis, "Rethinking Women's Suffrage in New Jersey, 1776-1807," *Rutgers Law Review* 63, no. 3 (August 8, 2011): 1017, 1022, accessed January 24, 2016, http://www.rutgerslawreview.com/wp-content/uploads/archive/vol63/Issue3/Lewis.pdf.

[102] "Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman in Newark, to His Friend in This City, Dated October 19," *Carolina Gazette*, November 6, 1800, accessed January 24, 2016.

Jan Lewis, suggest the opposite.[103] The fact that men, who controlled the state legislature, thought it appropriate to allow females into their midst was a large step in the direction of gender equality.

Other prominent men did their part to ensure proper recognition for women's contributions during the war. Soon after the war, pensions for service were sent to those who participated in the fight against the British. Some women, namely those who served but did not do so officially or appropriately, did not receive fair compensation and acknowledgement. Deborah Sampson Gannett was one such lady. Her seventeen-month enlistment was more than enough to warrant a pension. Her neighbor, Paul Revere, thought so as well. To add pressure alongside Gannett's requests - hers being a form of the aforementioned petitioning process which was so popular with women reformers - Revere wrote to Massachusetts Congressman William Eustis in February of 1804 on her behalf. He mentioned her accomplishments both on and off the battlefield, and appealed to Eustis's humanity and respect to properly thank Mrs. Gannett for her service to the new nation. He added a rather incredible statement as a final push to persuade Eustis, saying "I think her case much more deserving than hundreds to whom Congress have been generous."[104] Eustis later obliged him, and granted Gannett's pension in 1805.

Much the same happened to Anna Maria Lane, the brave nurse who received debilitating wounds after taking the place of a fallen comrade in battle. Her advocate was Virginia Governor William H. Cabell, who wrote his own petition for her pension to Speaker of the House of Delegates, Hugh Nelson, in 1808. In it, he described her wounds resulting from her courage and

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[103] Lewis, "Rethinking Women's Suffrage," 1018.
[104] Charles E. Claghorn, *Women Patriots of the American Revolution: A Biographical Dictionary* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1991), 83; Paul Revere to William Eustis, February 20, 1804, Object of the Month Collection, MHS Collections Online, accessed January 23, 2016, http://www.masshist.org/database/viewer.php?item_id=326&img_step=1&mode=transcript#page1; Young, *Masquerade*, 228-9.

service throughout the war, saying she was "disabled by a severe wound which she received while fighting…from which she has not recovered and perhaps never will recover." By reporting her sacrifice in detail and appealing to "the humanity, if not the justice, of the Legislature"[105] much the same as did Revere, Cabell is imploring that Nelson and his fellow delegates right the wrong done to Lane and the others mentioned in his letter. Nelson was much more efficient in his reply than Eustis, as Lane was granted her pension later the same year.

The fact that men, and such prominent members of society, were willing to and did campaign for the rights of female Patriots spoke volumes. These women had done something illegal by participating in an area deemed appropriate only for male citizens, and yet men were aiding their efforts in the name of justice, fairness, and respect. This was progress: ensuring equality for those being treated unfairly was not only a convention of the Age of Reason, but exactly what these women wanted. Only years beforehand, women were considered so inferior and incapable that any thought of them demonstrating ability outside of the home was preposterous in most circumstances. Post-war, though, they found champions in male neighbors and political leaders, increasing their chances for change.

There were still those, however, that remained skeptical of female secondary roles and the consequences thereof. William Eustis exhibited this view in his delayed approval of Gannett's pension. Such a slow delivery suggests hesitation of his part, and implies that some men were still reluctant to show approval of or praise for women's out-of-bounds contributions. As stated previously, most soldiers had already received their pensions by the time Gannett and

[105] William Cabell to Hugh Nelson, January 28, 1808, Executive Letter Books, Library of Virginia, Richmond, accessed January 23, 2016, http://edu.lva.virginia.gov/docs/AnnaLanePension.pdf; Linda Grant De Pauw, "Women in Combat: The Revolutionary War Experience," *Armed Forces & Society* 7, no. 2 (Winter 1981), 226; Sandra Gioia Treadway, "Anna Maria Lane: An Uncommon Soldier of the American Revolution," *Virginia Cavalcade* 37, no. 3 (January 1988), 140, 142; Claghorn, *Women Patriots,* 120.

Lane had theirs approved, since the war had ended over twenty years before. Gannett's was only granted after much petitioning by herself and Revere, and Lane received hers nearly three years after Gannett. Just as women had support from some male leaders, so too did they find great opposition from others, showing a distinct division between the men of America.

Many chose to suppress any hope that women's reforms were a possibility for the future, using tradition as their justification. Though they had seen the amazing feats of Patriot women and were themselves devising a new government, some men believed that women's political and social rights were not applicable simply because they were not so in the past. Choosing to follow precedent marked a departure from one of the major themes of the Enlightenment. Rejection of tradition stood as a cornerstone of the Age of Reason, particularly of the period termed the Revolutionary Enlightenment by historian Henry May. It was important to many of the founders that a new society be created; one which was based on principles so far removed from their European ancestors that progress for humankind would be made. The definitive reason as to why these citizens would seek to return to this tradition and move away from their Enlightenment influence is unclear, though there is substantial evidence to believe fear of instability was a strong factor. This and others are addressed below.

This patriarchal thinking was practiced by some of the more powerful men in the eighteenth century, including Virginia statesman Richard Henry Lee and Massachusetts politician – and second President of the United States – John Adams. Lee proclaimed to his sister, a taxpaying woman, that female suffrage had "never been the practice either here or in Britain…[and] Perhaps 'twas thought rather out of character for women to press into those tumultuous assemblages of men where the business of choosing representatives is conducted,"

offering this as the only excuse for such a restriction.[106] While he himself would advocate for further rights, he considered it unnecessary and the current practice reasonable. Adams had a similar argument when communicating with William Sullivan in May of 1776, a letter which was later made public in a Pennsylvania magazine in 1792. He made the claim that Sullivan's proposition to extend suffrage to include all males was grounds for continued and all-inclusive suffrage, which was inadvisable. He stated that "it is dangerous to open so fruitful a source of controversy and altercation…there will be no end of it – new claims will arise – women will demand a vote…It tends to confound and destroy all distinctions, and prostrate all ranks to one common level." Since society should only function under general rules, and given the lack of alterations to the franchise in the past, Adams argued that these political rights should certainly not extend to women, regardless of their similarity to men in judgment.[107]

The question remained as to how large a step women could take into the public domain, if any could be taken at all. Both sides of this cultural battle had considerable support, leaving the result of women's reform efforts unpredictable. Enlightenment thought, from which American leaders drew heavily while building the foundation for the new nation, would suggest women could and should participate in public dealings. Though most philosophers of the eighteenth century left out any mention of women in regards to their ideals, and some even intentionally dismissed them,[108] the main principles behind the Age of Reason could also apply

[106] Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash*, 28; Richard Henry Lee to Hannah Corbin, March 17, 1778, in Philip B. Kurland and Ralph Lerner, eds., *The Founders' Constitution* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2000), accessed January 24, 2016, http://press-pubs.uchicago.edu/founders/documents/v1ch13s11.html.

[107] John Adams to William Sullivan, May 26, 1776, in "Copy of an Original Letter from Mr. John Adams, to a Gentleman in Massachusetts," *Universal Asylum and Columbian Magazine*, no. 4 (April 1792), 219, accessed January 24, 2016, http://search.proquest.com/docview/88511365/1AE8A34B6CBC46FCPQ/4?accountid=11667; Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash*, 29.

[108] Some philosophers, such as Immanuel Kant, used the word "male" when defining citizenship; this is not to say they supported the exclusive pattern, but rather continued with practice. See Robert Ferguson's *The American Enlightenment*, pages 150-157, for further information.

to women. Such notions as self-determination, the importance of reason, the value of education, the rejection of tradition, and the need for progress were translated to include women.[109] The United States of America should consider the contributions by half of its population as grounds for inclusion. Women even found proponents of this belief abroad, after the ideas spread to the West. Marquis de Condorcet, a French philosophe and a champion of early feminism, wrote *Lettres d'un bourgeois de Newhaven à un citoyen de Virginie, (Letters from a Freeman of New Haven to a Citizen of Virginia on the Futility of Dividing the Legislative Power among Several Bodies)* in an effort to criticize the new American legislative system. In his second letter, written in 1787, he voices his opinion on gender discrimination while using Enlightenment theory. He stated "If we agree that men have rights simply by virtue of being capable of reason and moral ideas, then women should have precisely the same rights. Yet never in any so-called free constitution have women had the right of citizenship."[110] He used the defining concepts of the Age of Reason to suggest the very ideas which these American women were attempting to present: women were just as capable as men in intellectuality, and a society which emphasizes reason, such as that in America, should recognize this and actively seek social progress toward equality. Condorcet later argued that any system that claims to be a republic and yet denies the fact that every citizen (including women) has free will, is not a republic at all, and only serves to cancel out the justice for which they so passionately fought.[111] Here again he mentions the Age of Reason in his choice of words, using free will and justice as two other principles argued by his predecessors. Should the leaders of the United States consider themselves consumers of

[109] Robert A. Ferguson, *The American Enlightenment, 1750-1820* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 22.
[110] Joan Landes, "The History of Feminism: Marie-Jean-Antoine-Nicolas de Caritat, Marquis de Condorcet," Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, March 10, 2009, accessed January 24, 2016, http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/histfem-condorcet/; Marguerite Fisher, "Eighteenth-Century Theorists of Women's Liberation" in Carol V. R. George, ed., *"Remember the Ladies:" New Perspectives on Women in American History* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1975), 42.
[111] Ibid.

Enlightenment ideology, they would need to interpret the principles thereof in a way which benefitted *all* of their citizens.

American politicians, however, did not view it this way. While the founding fathers did draw certain liberties and social principles from such Enlightenment figures as John Locke and Thomas Hobbes when creating the Constitution, they altered the theories to reflect what they thought of as American practice and their new system of republicanism.[112] Tradition must still be overthrown, but as it related to a monarchic style of governance; self-assertion was considered a practice as the Patriots had recently won both a physical and intellectual battle for their independence; and progress needed to be made in order for the new country to survive and thrive, but within the realm of possibilities which they define. True, such ideals were changed and transformed as the foundation was built, but women's reforms presented too much of a risk for political ringleaders.

This development presented a change from previous Enlightenment thought; as the Revolutionary era made way for the turn of the century, so too did the periods of Moderate, Skeptical, and Revolutionary Enlightenment shift to the Didactic strain. This incredible rearrangement of values confused American citizens. New problems arose as the nation slowly progressed. With each new thread of Enlightenment thought came supporters and dissenters, innovators and fundamentalists. The question of which strain and principles of the Enlightenment to include, if any were to be used or combined at all, weighed heavily on the founders' minds.[113] They needed to discover a way to adjust these conventions to fit their new nation, which was not an easy task. As a result of their modifications, American leaders drifted

[112] Ferguson, *The American Enlightenment,* 35; Henry F. May, *The Enlightenment in America* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1976), 307-309.
[113] May, *The Enlightenment in America,* 312-315.

away from the ideology which aided women in their cause. The Enlightenment, which began and developed in Europe, would fall under the category of tradition – something which did not coincide with the founders' idea of a new beginning.[114] If they were to truly reject tradition, ironic though it may seem due to the aforementioned excuse used for denying women their rights, they would need to renounce or adjust the older ways of thinking. This was just what they did, as they found ways to connect some of the principles with their newfound democracy. Unfortunately, some of their adaptations did not benefit women in the slightest. Of course, the concepts of liberty, progress, and assertion would be included, but only in ways which would coincide with the mindset of the founders. This meant that women would be excluded from the decision-making: a task which, as always, had been left to the male citizens.

In addition to this, several other factors contributed to the decline of women's proposed reform movement in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. First, political parties began to form soon after the nation was created. George Washington had warned against these particular institutions in his farewell address of 1796, saying "the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it."[115] This "spirit" which Washington referenced relates to the dissension and revenge which naturally follows such a system of division. Despite his very clear message, the people still decided to collect their different, and at times opposite political ideas into separate parties. The presence of parties, and the resulting tensions and divisions within society, was a ready excuse for national leaders and statesmen given the parties' tendency to

[114] May, *The Enlightenment in America*, 309-310.
[115] George Washington, farewell address, 1796, Ourdocuments.gov, accessed, January 24, 2016, http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=15&page=transcript; Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash*, 182.

provide an unstable foundation for a budding country. Women's advances in equality would then need to be postponed for the sake of overcoming this first and more pressing obstacle.

The second factor included the aforementioned thoughts from John Adams regarding the escalation of political opportunities for other groups. Not all white men were able to vote by the late eighteenth century, let alone males in the many minority groups within the United States. White men without adequate social and/or economic status were barred from the ballot, leaving only property-owning men with the ability to effectively influence politics. Since this system had not yet included all available populations of men, the government would first need to right this wrong before adding women to the franchise.[116] Though not all women were demanding the vote at this time, it was thought to be included in political rights of a citizen. Women were to be considered citizens of the new nation, but apparently not in every aspect, as would be seen in the rights – or lack thereof – given in the founding documents of the United States.

The third involved members of their own sex disagreeing with their reforms. To some, being a wife and mother were the two most important roles a woman could and should play in life. These more traditional women chose not to involve themselves in public life, simply because it was not their place. Indeed, those who did fight for secondary roles were often scorned by these women for attempting to shirk their responsibilities. Throughout the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, the anti-reformists let their opinion be known, with some publishing their thoughts in books and essays. One such woman was Hannah Mather Crocker, who published her work *Observations on the Real Rights of Women, with their Appropriate Duties, agreeable to Scripture, Reason, and Common Sense.*[117] Even in the title,

[116] Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash,* 182.
[117] Ibid., 42.

one can discern her disdain for the actions of her fellow females. She includes the word "real" to describe the rights of women, seemingly suggesting that any other consideration for women's rights was fictional and idealistic. "Appropriate" shows her attempt to put the others in their place: the home, as it has always been. The second half of the title goes further, and presents the evidence to her argument. Her relation to religion, due to her ancestor, Puritan minister Cotton Mather, reveals a large part of her influence. Puritan society, as stated previously, placed great emphasis on maintaining the social and familial hierarchies, namely the subordination of women to men. Given this background, it is understandable that she would use this as a guiding principle in her refutation. She would also consider it "common sense" for others to view women's roles in this way because it is their natural place. The last qualifier, "reason," shows a difference in interpretation of one of the main principles of Enlightenment thought. While the women seeking equal opportunities thought that they too were believed to be reasonable beings, some of the more well-known philosophers only stated or implied that men were. Crocker could be taking this into consideration as she writes, choosing to understand the Enlightenment in the opposite way. Such antagonism did nothing but hinder women's advances: if they did not present a united front on such a large issue, men must not have taken them seriously.

A fourth and final determinant, arguably the most important in persuading the overall population against women's requests, was the growing fear among men of giving too much power to the opposite sex.[118] The line which designated how much was "too much" was blurred, though most who held this view saw public roles as a step in the wrong direction.[119] If they gave in to these women's appeals for something more, the decision would create a kind of snowball

[118] Ibid., 43-4.
[119] John Adams to Abigail Adams, April 14, 1776, Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive, Massachusetts Historical Society, accessed April 4, 2016, https://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/archive/doc?id=L17760414ja&rec=sheet&archive=&hi=&numRecs=&query=&queryid=&start=&tag=&num=10&bc=. Other examples of such disapproval are provided throughout this paper.

effect, soon forcing the nation to slide into a state of instability. If given the opportunity, they thought, women would want and could take more than what was offered them. Hierarchy needed to be preserved, and anything other than the chosen direction would be counterproductive and possibly dangerous. The author of "The Rights of Both Sexes," a poem transferred from Britain to the United States through print media during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, wrote of the chaos and absurdity which would occur should each sex take on the attitudes, duties, and interests of the other, obviously referring to a backwards society if women joined the ranks of men. It was unnatural, and was meant to be seen as a ridiculous proposition. Similarly, a Massachusetts newspaper commented on the delusions of the "Rights of Woman," which would ultimately prove to be the "*wrongs* of man."[120] In contrast to the "fine woman," who is of a more delicate and lovely nature, "she, who is forever [speaking] of her rights, and the dignity of the Sex, and the equality of the understanding, and philosophy, &c. is a mere compound of folly…and a fair subject of ridicule…"[121] This assessment of such a woman would be used to dissuade others from thinking of and advocating for reform in favor of women's roles; hopefully, then, support for these efforts would diminish and eventually desist altogether. Any more upheaval to the system already put in place posed a threat to the nation's functioning, and therefore needed to be removed.

Due to these circumstances and others, women's rights were dismissed as the nation grew. The female voting establishment in New Jersey was revoked in 1807. Leaders in the state

[120] "Miscellany, for the Palladium: Rights of Woman," *Mercury and New-England Palladium,* Boston, MA: September 15, 1801, Newsbank: America's Historical Newspapers Database, accessed January 24, 2016, http://infoweb.newsbank.com/iw-search/we/HistArchive/HistArchive?d_viewref=doc&p_docnum=-1&p_nbid=F6BJ53CRMTQ1Mzc2MTU0Ni41OTc3MzY6MToxNToxMzQuMTI2LjIxNC4yMTA&f_docref=v2:109E87DB8B96B490@EANX-10AEE2358FF16FA8@2379119-10AEE235AF5CB9B0@0&p_docref=v2:109E87DB8B96B490@EANX-10AEE2358FF16FA8@2379119-10AEE235AF5CB9B0@0-10AEE2365277D438@Miscellany.%20for%20the%20Palladium; Zagarri, Revolutionary Backlash, 44-5.

[121] Ibid.

legislature thought this concession produced an unbalanced vote for the populace. Due to the heavy restrictions placed on women voters, they were underrepresented at the polls. The government took notice of the lack of female ability to effectively defend their rights due to the inadequate representation and the ridicule heard when casting their ballots.[122] In order to counteract this, they decided to suspend voting rights for women instead of altering or dismissing some of the limitations.

Even the Constitution, the most essential document of the country, proved to be another tool for this purpose. While the founders themselves may have appreciated the efforts of women during the war, women were unable to find their compensation within the Constitution the founders created. In it, there were no direct guarantees of women's political influence: voting rights were not given and word-choice did not reflect the direct inclusion of females. When the words "people" and "person" were put into the document,[123] they were meant as an implication for the continuance of social custom. Men were the participants and leaders on the political stage, and as such, were believed to be the same for that of the new nation. The Constitution was written for the citizens of the country, but certain political duties were meant only for those citizens whose responsibilities remained in the public sphere. The women pushing for some semblance of entry into this domain were displeased to say the least. Mrs. Carter, a woman interviewed for a discussion on the rights of women in 1798, expressed these feelings perfectly: "even the government of our country, which is said to be the freest in the world, passes over women as if they are not free."[124] Her words seem to reflect those of Condorcet, who had written on the subject more than a decade before. Obviously, the sentiments expressed here were

[122] Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash*, 36; Lewis, "Rethinking Women's Suffrage in New Jersey," 1031-5.
[123] US Constitution, amend. 1, 2, 4-6, 9.
[124] Charles Brockden Brown, "Rights of Women: A Dialogue," *Weekly Magazine of Original Essays, Fugitive Pieces, and Interesting Intelligence* 4 (Philadelphia, April 7, 1798); Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash,* 11.

still felt in earnest as the nation grew. Indeed, such a negative statement in reference to the recently-conceived structure of the United States government did not bode well for both the present and future. Women had courageously fought for their voice, their rights, and their chance for intellectual opportunity throughout the Revolutionary War, and still they were denied these and more from the government who boasted of equality and freedom.

Given their discordance with the newly adjusted Enlightenment ideology and democratic government, it looked grim for the more radical reforms; however, women were still presented with some opportunities which advanced their roles slightly. Constitutional ambiguity was surprisingly one of the largest aids despite the founders' intentions. Those same words of "person" and "people," which held implications for only the male populace, provided a welcome loophole through which women could participate in public affairs. Women were still considered citizens of the nation despite their lack of secondary roles. Due to this oversight, they were able to enjoy some of the rights guaranteed by the Constitution which would not have been the case if the founding fathers had used "male" or "men" when writing the qualifications. It seemed that the First Amendment in the Bill of Rights was a much needed step in the right direction. Women were now legally able to exercise the freedom of speech, and to "petition the Government for a redress of grievances," provided that the subject of said writing was not proposed against the United States government.[125] This assured that women could speak their mind, as members of the "people" to which the amendment referred.

They used this right frequently, as well as continuing in their publication of books and essays, in an effort to drive their reform movement forward. Mercy Otis Warren is a perfect example, as she discarded her anonymity in her later writings. She proudly published her works

[125] US Constitution, amend. 1.

using her real name in the post-Revolutionary period, having seen the recognition of women's contributions from the war and using her increased confidence in female opportunity. In the later years of the eighteenth century, she produced books, poems, plays, and histories regarding human nature and, more specifically, wrongs she saw in society. For example, she spoke out against strong central government, exercising her newfound ability to express political views. The only obstacle to this new voice was the possibility of men turning a deaf ear to their demands.

Another positive outcome was the added protection for property rights. Men had already taken advantage of such a right, and had been under English law as well. Women, however – at least those able to and already owning property – were now given the opportunity to receive some of the same rights as a man.[126] Property rights represented something more physical than freedom of speech. Owning property was a privilege not many women could attest to having. Widows could certainly inherit property from their late husbands, after the division was made for any male heirs, but any property held by married women was transferred to their husbands upon marriage. Even widows experienced trouble with property, as contested wills could result in the loss of one's possessions. However, this newly extended right allowed women the same advantages as men, putting them one step closer to equality in legal affairs.

Further advancements included the right to a trial by jury. Court dealings traditionally favored men, as shown in the first chapter's explanation of legal rights – and the lack thereof for females – in the mid-eighteenth century. Due to this promise by the sixth amendment of the Constitution, women could potentially have more of a chance in being involved and taken

[126] Young, *Masquerade*, 141; Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash*, 38-40.

seriously in court cases.[127] The downside to such an amendment, however, was the composition of the jury. As only men could fully participate in the various aspects of citizenship, they were the sole members of society which could serve on a jury. This could lead to biased verdicts, more likely than not in favor of the male party involved. Despite this setback, the right gave women increased public opportunities and legal rights: two of the fields they wanted most.

All of these and more were indicative of the Enlightenment thought that once pervaded American thought. Women were being recognized as rational, reasonable human beings, with capabilities far beyond their predestined roles. They are able to assert themselves, explaining what they required in clear yet forceful terms and using their free will to better their position. Some rejected the idea of traditional society's standards, and chose, as did the Patriot women, to work to change it. Overall, though, those who desired reform do so in the hope of a more equal community in their new republican system of government. How men could either directly or indirectly give these new opportunities without including the others relates back to the manipulation of Enlightenment ideals to pertain to their view of society. While they still used the principles associated with the Age of Reason, they failed to encompass the entire spectrum, picking and choosing rather than accepting the whole. They were allowed to do this, of course, but by doing so, they were moving away from the ideology entirely. Instead, they only altered their societal rules while extending the traditional practices regarding gender roles which were in place before the war. They may have used the Enlightenment for themselves, but men did not see how it applied to women, since the latter were still considered subordinate. In this way, society was rejecting the very philosophies which women hoped to manipulate.

[127] US Constitution, amend. 6.

In keeping with original practice, a newly defined domestic role was given to women in recognition of their services throughout the War for Independence. True, they had proven they could do and think so much more than previously thought possible. To put this to good use, and to devise a way for women to participate in public roles while still maintaining their household ones, the concept of the Republican Mother was developed. As conceived by Judith Sargent Murray and Benjamin Rush in the late eighteenth century, the idea for the model female citizen of the new nation was that of a mother, performing her civic duty at home.[128] Since the United States was just forming, the definition of citizenship, namely what it meant to be an exemplary citizen, was still being determined. Already, though, being a good citizen meant carrying out duties and responsibilities in an effort to move the nation toward a better future. These included valuing the same virtues as set forth by national doctrine and leadership; protecting the independence which was so recently achieved; and following the other general rules of the local, state, and national legislatures. Since men were already experiencing this, given their prominence in society, women were left to an uncertain future. Murray and Rush, along with Susanna Rowson—a novelist and playwright who also stressed women's intellectual equality—presented the ideal role for women. A woman, as an educated and well-informed wife and mother, would be responsible for raising her sons to be fully-functioning members of society while ensuring her husband be the same. She would be directly in charge of raising the political leaders and participants, thereby including her in the political processes. This was thought to be an acceptable alternative, as women would be influencing public matters, even if indirectly. This

[128] Linda Kerber, "The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightenment – An American Perspective," in Kerber, *Toward an Intellectual History of Women: Essays by Linda K. Kerber* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 58.

was regarded as a step in "women's political socialization process," as advancements could be made later on.[129]

The balance and progress implied by this new role also reflected principles of the Moderate and Revolutionary Enlightenment, only attesting to the large range of inclusion in the American ideological system. Proponents of such principles believed that women would still be participating in the political arena, even if indirectly; this compromises the extreme positions of those who sought total female exclusion or inclusion and creates a balance in secondary roles which could be agreeable to most citizens. In addition, women were progressing much farther into society than they had in their previous circumstances. They would maintain influence over an area which had rarely been accessible to females, which was meant to appease those wishing for entrance into the public sphere. It could also give hope for future reform, though for some – men in particular – this was not the goal. Even within these rationales, though, the connection to these doctrines is blurred; it is not considered a complete balance given its mixed opinions and does not represent progress for those who wish for more or less, further proving the shift away.

Murray herself was very much for female involvement in the public sphere, as were some others who favored a more active role. Still, some women preferred staying at home, which divided the support for post-war reform. Given this split, it is obvious that there would be mixed feelings regarding Republican Motherhood. Some believed this to be constraining, and disliked the alternative for which they were settling. Others believed this to be a perfect balance, considering the lack of involvement they had previously. Finally, the more reserved class of women who felt participation unnecessary felt this was a rather large step.[130] Whether due to

[129] Ibid., 59.
[130] Ibid., 59-61.

fear of being underqualified for such a task or dreading their new roles in society, these particular women were displeased with this "improvement" in women's status.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, things were looking bleak as the Enlightenment disappeared. True, the new nation had devised ways to pay proper respects – according to the leaders' standards – to women and their courageous roles in the recent war, but it had also kept said women from fully receiving the secondary role some of them desired. Regardless of whether or not these women were demanding more intellectual opportunities or the vote, little was done to appease them. Using the Enlightenment to their advantage - though some of the philosophes themselves would disapprove - proved in vain as well, given the many different interpretations or outright disregard men and other members of their own sex had regarding women's position in society.

They still had supporters, like Mary Wollstonecraft, who would fight for a well-deserved place for herself and her fellow women, but they also faced dissenters. These men and women would stifle their efforts throughout the decades to come. Their methods included the same intellectual arguments with some new ones added in: for example, the vital force theory, which came about in the early nineteenth century, argued that women's capacity for intellectual stimulation was hindered due to their finite amount of energy being used for menstruation and pregnancy.[131] They therefore had less energy than men, and could not physically or mentally handle the demands of public life. Such ideas would postpone women's advancement until the movement regained its momentum beginning in the mid-nineteenth century.

[131] Catherine Packham, *Eighteenth-Century Vitalism: Bodies, Culture, Politics* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press LLC, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 2-7; Kathleen E. McCrone, "The 'Lady Blue': Sport at the Oxbridge Women's Colleges from their Foundation to 1914," *The International Journal for the History of Sport* 3, no. 2 (1986): 191.

It seemed that Abigail Adams, in that same letter to her husband John in 1782, was right; women would work for their country, help their fellow Americans gain independence from a tyrannical government, and declare the Enlightenment thought they so favored, only to be dismissed and refused their just rewards. Adams wished to "take praise to [her]self," feeling it was her "due, for having sacrificed…to promote the welfare of my country which I hope for many years to come will reap the benefit, tho it is more than probable unmindfull of the hand that blessed them."[132] Indeed it was her due, but the country would in turn be unmindful. As Enlightenment thought faded away throughout the coming decades, women were left to their own methods. Still, though they did not end their efforts entirely, eighteenth century women would unfortunately be forced to wait for their opportunity to break away from the life of a housewife.

[132] Abigail Adams to John Adams, June 17, 1782, Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive, Massachusetts Historical Society, accessed February 17, 2016, http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/archive/doc?id=L17820617aa&hi=1&query=female%20education&tag=text&archive=all&rec=41&start=40&numRecs=121.

Conclusion

Women had proven their worth in the public sphere time and again throughout the Revolutionary period. Their contributions were essential to the victory of the Patriots, and it seemed as though their hard work and sacrifice would pay off. Americans were building their new nation on a foundation of liberty and independence, which corresponded with the same Enlightenment principles women were attempting to use to their advantage. Women joined the struggle, first to gain independence and later to create the nation, in an effort to showcase their abilities outside of the home. They had come from a life of homemaking and child rearing in search of a secondary role. They had used the same theories which were so popular with their male counterparts and the aforementioned contributions to base their arguments for social and political reform. As the United States came into being, women hoped they would be acknowledged and treated as equal citizens, or at least ones with better standing in the society they helped create. Unfortunately, they would not receive all of their desired results.

After the disappearance of the Enlightenment and the end of the Revolutionary period, the opinions regarding the reality of female advancement were mixed. Some women sided with Mrs. Carter, the woman who greatly distressed over the "freest country in the world [passing] over women as if they were not free."[133] They felt that their new government had not granted them adequate rights and liberties in the budding nation after fighting for the same liberty women themselves were seeking. Others chose to see the advancements as substantial, given their previous circumstances. One of these women was Abigail Adams, who in 1795 acknowledged that there was still much left to be done but recognized that "more attention [was]

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

paid to the Education of Females in America, within these last 15 years than for a whole century before."[134] True, they had not received some of the reforms they wished for, but they were in a better position than they had been before the war. Legally, they were receiving more rights in regard to property and divorce. Their chances for education were increasing as well. Their voices had been heard throughout the war, though voting and other political opportunities remained inaccessible. Depending on the woman, the post-war consequences for reform could be considered inadequate, satisfactory, or substantial. Opinions would vary throughout the early nineteenth century, proceeding well into the twentieth. Though this is far into the future, the reality of their circumstances would be the subject of discussion and activism later on.

Some continued to use Enlightenment thought after the peak of its relevance in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Though it had been adapted to suit the needs of the founders and the democratic government they created, women could still argue that those same principles could apply to them if only given the opportunity. Others chose to use new approaches to combat the aforementioned Republican Motherhood, vital force theory, and other similar obstacles for further advancement. Regardless of their opinion or method, much was still left to be done, as they would discover in the years to come.

Their triumphs during their time should not be dismissed or overlooked, however. Historian Rosemarie Zagarri was right to claim that the first women's movement actually began in the late eighteenth century[135]: women truly did push for political and social reform in favor of their sex. There were both tame and radical methods presented for achieving such a feat, with all manner of efforts made along the spectrum. Though not much progress had been made, they

[134] Abigail Adams to John Adams, January 4, 1795, Adams Papers: Digital Edition, Massachusetts Historical Society, accessed March 17, 2016, http://www.masshist.org/publications/apde2/view?id=ADMS-04-10-02-0215.
[135] See Rosemarie Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash: Women and Politics in the Early American Republic,* for her argument regarding eighteenth-century women's efforts for social and political reform in early American society.

were able to showcase their abilities to society; first instilling that possibility of life beyond the household should they choose to pursue one. The ideas and arguments behind them were ones which they themselves interpreted or made, using the theories provided by the Age of Reason or their own contributions to a major milestone in United States history to make their case.

Some might argue that women did not utilize the Enlightenment theories with as much fervor as is suggested in this thesis. It could be considered an aside to the arguments made by their patriotic action or, since the philosophers who created the theories did not believe for most of them to apply to women, a complete lack of use (that women simply refrained from using the principles in their own situations). While this may be true in the *direct* statement of principles, it is not so in women's actions throughout the war. Unlike men who may have openly discussed or even recorded their use of Enlightenment theory by quoting the actual principle or, more likely, philosopher they were agreeing with, women chose to show their agreement with action. As explained in the second and third chapters, their contributions spoke louder than the women themselves ever could using only voice or pen. They fought for independence along with their husbands and sons, fathers and brothers. That independence, that need for newness, progress, and liberty through self-assertion proved their accordance with the Age of Reason.

A secondary conclusion to the arguments developed here could suggest that the "movement" started by these women did not end at the beginning of the nineteenth century. While it did diminish for a time, it did not completely die out like the war or Enlightenment theory. As stated previously, the efforts did not suddenly end after it seemed as though reforms would, for a time, cease to be made. The foundation had already been laid for progress in female secondary roles and, as is seen later in history, would be built upon by future generations of female activists. It is therefore logical to assume that the period after the war served as a

preparation time during which women could consolidate and create new objectives and arguments for furthering women's opportunities in public. My conclusion that women would instead have to wait for their chance could be interpreted to mean they were instead preparing for the next phase of reform, one which would extend their capabilities and advancement in society.

While this can be stated as an aside, the fact still remains that eighteenth-century women sought a life different from that which they were destined to live. In order to gain access to it, they took advantage of their circumstances – namely the war which granted them their independence – and the ideologies presented by the most brilliant minds of the century. Though they could not predict the outcome, they put forth their efforts out of determination for a new identity, a more public role, and a better life.

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.

Adams, Abigail to Isaac Smith Jr. The Adams Papers: Digital Editions Database. April 20, 1771. Accessed February 2, 2016. https://www.masshist.org/publications/apde2/view?id=ADMS-04-01-02-0058.

The Adams Papers is a similar database to the one listed above, but more generally provides correspondence between members of the Adams family and their friends or relatives. This particular letter shares the admiration and curiosity Abigail Adams felt for historian Catherine Macaulay, and represents the influence foreign females had on American reformers.

Adams, John to Mercy Otis Warren. Adams Papers. National Archives. Founders Online Database.

Founders Online is a product of the National Archives which holds transcripts and images of the original documents involving the nation's founders, the most helpful of which belong to the Adams Papers collection. There are several letters which strengthened the argument of this paper, such as one in which shows women's fear of overstepping bounds by commenting on political matters (see Adams to Warren, January 8, 1776; Warren to Adams, March 10, 1776) and another in which cousins discuss the public ramifications of loyalist views (see Cranch to Smith, October 15, 1774).

Allen, John. "The American Alarm, or the Bostonian Plea, For the Rights, and Liberties, of the People. Humbly Addressed to the King and Council, and to the Constitutional Sons of Liberty, in America." Boston, MA: D. Kneeland and N. Davis, 1773.

In this pamphlet, Allen appealed to colonists' desires for liberty and political rights by calling them to rise to the call to action against the British. His words represent the arguments used to convince both men and women to fight (including the Enlightenment ideas of self-assertion and natural rights). Though he did not intend for women to answer his plea, they did so nonetheless.

The American Weekly Mercury, (Philadelphia, PA) 1730.

Published in Pennsylvania, this particular media source provided an anonymous article which argued which types of women made the best and worst wives. This was helpful in showing the viewpoint held by males in the early eighteenth century, which stated women of learning made terrible wives.

Astell, Mary. *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies, for the Advancement of their True and Greatest Interest.* London: Printed for Richard Wilkin, 1694.

Astell's main argument was that women could use their intellects outside of the domestic sphere, saying that any inferiority seen in women's political and social capabilities was the result of inadequate education as enforced by men. This was incredibly helpful in identifying early efforts in women's reform.

Blackstone, William. *Commentaries on the Laws of England.* Reprint ed. London: Saunders and Benning, 1840.

Blackstone's *Commentaries* were originally printed in four volumes, and discussed the sections of common law for Britain. It does not present an argument, but rather serves as a comprehensive collection of laws and records. The most useful for the purposes of this paper was the description of coverture and the roles of women therein.

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.

Carolina Gazette, (Charleston, SC) 1800.

This newspaper published the "Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman in Newark, to his Friend in This City, Dated October 19" which spoke of the large turnout of women voters in New Jersey in the gubernatorial election of 1800. This provides a great example of the opportunities women were temporarily given in the period following the war.

Connecticut Journal, (New Haven, CT) 1776.

One particular issue of this newspaper discussed the destruction of the statue of King George III in New York, and how women then used these parts to create ammunition for the Continental Army. It not only gave a case of women's efforts outside of the home, but also publicly displayed women's capabilities, which later helped them in their push for reform.

Dawe, Philip. *A Society of Patriotic Ladies, at Edenton in North Carolina.* Library of Congress. Prints and Photographs Online Catalog. March 25, 1775. Accessed December 12, 2015. http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/ppmsca.19468/.

This print by Philip Dawe was drawn in response to the Edenton Tea Party, where women signed a petition to continue the boycott of British goods. It shows the British perspective, which mocked women for their deeds. It was particularly useful in displaying the opinions of those male foreigners who wished to discredit the demonstration.

Deming, Sarah Winslow to Sally Coverley. 1775. Social and Cultural History: Letters and Diaries Online Database. Alexander Street Press. Accessed September 27, 2015. http://asp6new.alexanderstreet.com/ladd/ladd.object.details.aspx?dorpID=1000541332.

Mrs. Deming's regular correspondence included many personal topics as well as diary-like recordings of daily events. One of these letters spoke to the increased British military presence, emphasizing the displeasure, annoyance, and fear felt by herself and her neighbors. Her letter presented the opinion of many New Englanders, and highlighted the rising tensions in the mid-1770s.

Essex Gazette, (Salem, MA) 1769.

Some entries in this newspaper, published in Massachusetts during the Revolutionary period, sought to encourage females to participate in the boycott of British goods. The particular entry which is used in this paper describes the positive consequences of sewing clothes, exalting women and their efforts to "bring about the political Salvation of a whole continent," which effectively influenced women to contribute.

Fisher, Sally Logan. Diary entry. September 27, 1788.

Mrs. Fisher's diary entry exhibits society's expectations for women before and throughout the eighteenth century. Here she explained she was teaching her daughter the ways of the

housewife, so she would be considered a proper woman, which is useful in showing the previous thinking regarding the female role.

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.

Gouge, William. *Of Domesticall Duties, Eight Treatises.* 2nd ed. London, 1626.

Gouge, a Puritan scholar of the seventeenth century, used his work to explain the Christian rationale for social roles. Primarily, he argued it was women's natural inclination, as intended by God, to be obedient and subservient to men. This, along with Wadsworth's *The Well Ordered Family*, was a great example of the previous hierarchical structure and represented the opinions and ideologies which women of the eighteenth century would need to overcome.

Hanschurst, Sarah to Sally Forbes. 1762. Sarah Hanschurst Letterbook. Library of Congress Manuscript Division.

Sarah Hanshcurst's letter perfectly demonstrates the obstacles females felt they could not overcome in regards to secondary roles in the eighteenth century. She explained that she understood the shortcomings of housewifery, but recognized a life without such a position or "alliance with the other [sex]" would be worse.

Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan.* 1651. Reprint, New York, NY: 1946.

Originally printed in 1651, *Leviathan* comments on ideal political structures and theories. One helpful passage explains the concept of "Dominion," particularly as it pertains to men and women. Hobbes asserted that men must submit to women in matters of domesticity, and the idea of female suppression was a social construct, giving women an argument against a natural social order.

Locke, John. *Two Treatises of Government.* ed. Peter Laslett. 2nd ed. 2 vols. Cambridge, MA: 1967.

Locke's *Two Treatises of Government,* published in the late 1600s, criticizes and advocates for different political structures. In it, he proposes certain privileges and legal rights for women, such as respect in the household, the ability to own property while married, and possibly the opportunity for divorce. His argument represented those of other Enlightenment philosophers who aided women's reform efforts.

Macaulay, Catherine. *An Address to the People of England, Scotland, and Ireland, on the Present Important Crisis of Affairs.* London: R. Cruttwell, 1775.

Similar to Thomas Paine's work *Common Sense,* British historian Catherine Macaulay used her writing to declare the British government and rule in the colonies unjust (though not as emphatically). She went further to say that the American response was therefore appropriate. Given hers was the perspective of a British female who was well-known and respected, her words held merit in the eyes of American Patriots, both male and female, and encouraged them to continue their efforts.

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.

Mercury and New-England Palladium, (Boston, MA) 1801.

This Massachusetts newspaper published an anonymous entry which spoke to the "Rights of Woman." Written satirically, the author stated that any woman who steps beyond her domestic role to pursue an intellectual one was a "fair subject of ridicule." This source was helpful in showing the persistent opinion in some men after the Revolution, which hindered female advancement by dissuading others to join them.

New York Evening Post, 1827.

A letter to the editor was written and published in this paper by Charles Munn, a Sergeant in the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War. He described the excellent contributions made by Deborah Sampson Gannett, the female soldier who disguised herself as a man to

participate in battle. This paper then provided an example which other women could follow, knowing men could still acknowledge and even praise their efforts.

New York Weekly Museum, 1812.

In this particular issue of the *New York Weekly Museum,* an anonymous contributor described the achievements of Queen Christina of Sweden. This woman, as the author explained, was known for her intellectual feats and protection of her personal and political liberties by abdicating the throne rather than marrying in order to keep it. By printing this for citizens to see, the paper was giving American women a positive example of a powerful female in a role outside of the home.

Paine, Thomas. *Common Sense.* Philadelphia, PA: W. and T. Bradford, 1776.

Paine's short work was meant to rationalize and push for independence from Britain, challenging the Crown's authority to impose such outrageous measures. His writing was an example of the literature which was available to both men and women and demonstrated the opinion which urged other Patriots to begin the fight against the British.

Pennsylvania Gazette, (Philadelphia, PA) 1735.

Benjamin Franklin published a "Letter of Advice" in the March 4th edition of this paper. In it, he explained men and women were better together than apart. Women seek the "Force and Body and Strength of Reason" from men and men look for the "Softness and Sensibility" in women. His description speaks to the mindset of eighteenth century people, recognizing the necessity in union.

Pennsylvania Magazine, (Philadelphia, PA) 1775.

In 1775, this print media source published Thomas Paine's *An Occasional Letter on the Female Sex.* In his writing, he scorned men for depriving women of a full opportunity in the public arena. He then affirmed and gave a more contemporary example of Enlightenment thought, which claimed that any lack of female intellectual effort was forced, not natural.

Poulain de la Barre, Francois. *The Woman as Good as the Man, or, The Equality of Both Sexes.* 1677. Early English Books Online Database. University of Michigan. Accessed February 17, 2016. http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A55529.0001.001/1:7?rgn=div1;view=fulltext.

Francois Poulain de la Barre's work was one of the first which addressed the "woman question" and brought forth the idea of female intellectuality. His main argument was that the "mind has no sex," meaning women's physical composition did not hinder their mental abilities. His was a primary argument used in the Revolutionary period as women were working for a public role.

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&nodesc=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.

Robinson, John. *The Works of John Robinson, Pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers.* ed. Robert Ashton. London: John Snow, 1851. Accessed February 13, 2016. http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/855.

Robinson, a pastor, wrote about the social statuses of men and women as it relates to Christianity. His works asserted the concept of women being "weaker vessels" in understanding and reason. He saw both as God's gift to *man.* With these arguments, he posed yet another threat to female reform.

Roussel, Pierre. *Système Physique et Moral de la Femme.* 1775.

Roussel, a French writer, discussed the female sex in this work, saying their constitution was different than that of a man, and therefore they were destined for different domains. On the eve of the Revolution, this work represented an argument which had been strongly believed for centuries; one which serves as an example of obstacles female reformers needed to overcome with their wartime contributions and Enlightenment theory.

Shippen, William to Congress. September 19, 1776.

Dr. Shippen worked alongside General Washington to increase women's pay while employed as nurses for the Continental Army. His recommendation, though not taken by Congress, was

an example of men advocating for proper respects paid to women who contributed to the war effort, affirming their achievements publicly.

[?], 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.

Tate, Nahum. *A Present for the Ladies: Being an Historical Vindication for the Female Sex.* London, Francis Saunders, 1692.

Tate's work put him as an advocate for the progress of women in society. He wrote this in order to put forth arguments of capable women, including examples of esteemed Biblical women and intelligent female rulers. His, along with the 1812 entry of the *New-York Weekly Museum* print, represented men's support.

Universal Asylum and Columbian Magazine, (Philadelphia, PA) 1792.

Published in Philadelphia, this print media covered the history of the Revolutionary period. The particular passage used was a letter from John Adams to William Sullivan written on May 26, 1776. In it, Adams explained that Sullivan's desire to extend suffrage to all males would only increase the chance for total inclusion of all citizens, which was inadvisable. This represented some male attitudes toward female participation in politics, and produced a setback for women who pursued a secondary role or, more specifically, the vote.

Virginia Gazette, (Williamsburg, VA) 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.

Wadsworth, Benjamin. *The Well Ordered Family.* Boston, 1712.

Wadsworth presented a similar argument as William Gouge does in his work *Of Domesticall Duties*, as cited above. Wadsworth put forth the idea of divine intention in regards to

women's social status. He stated God had created Eve in order for Adam to have a companion, one which had a "natural inclination" for obedience. This gave fuel to the argument of a strictly subservient role for women, discouraging any secondary status.

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. Farewell Address. 1796. Ourdocuments.gov. Accessed January 24, 2016. http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=15&page=transcript.

In his farewell address, Washington warned against political parties, recognizing the tensions they could foster between countrymen and the problems they could then cause in society. Later on, after parties had been created, policymakers used their political discord as grounds to postpone advancement in female reform despite the caution recommended by Washington.

Washington, George. General Orders. May 31, 1778. Washington Papers. Founders Online Database. Accessed December 12, 2015. http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-15-02-0289.

In this copy of his General Orders, Washington praises nurses for their services, saying they are an asset to each unit. This again provided evidence of prominent men supporting women's efforts, speaking to their worth in areas outside of the home.

Washington, George to John Hancock. September 14, 1776. The Papers of George Washington: Digital Edition. Accessed March 16, 2016. http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/default.xqy?keys=GEWN-print-03-06-02-0247.

This letter, while highlighting other aspects of the war effort, spoke to the inadequate compensation for nurses in the continental army. It gave a perfect example of a prominent male advocating for proper respect for women in secondary roles, which encouraged women to do the same.

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 him, going so far as to grant rations and housing for the women and their children.

Wollstonecraft, Mary. *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman.* 1792. Bartleby.com. Accessed February 17, 2016. http://www.bartleby.com/144/5.html.

Wollstonecraft's work was instrumental in arguing for the rights of women following the Revolutionary War. Her arguments reaffirmed those made by female contributors to the war and those who studied Enlightenment thought for the same purpose. In addition, she spoke to the achievements of British historian Catherine Macaulay, using her as an example of prominent and successful women.

II. Secondary Sources

Akers, Charles W. *Abigail Adams: An American Woman.* Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1980.

Akers' monograph acts as a biography of Abigail Adams. Though not as detailed or well-renowned as Woody Holton's biography, this book covers the entirety of her life, arguing that she was the exemplary American, woman, and revolutionary.

Armstrong, Isobel and Virginia Blain, eds. *Women's Poetry in the Enlightenment: The Making of a Canon, 1730-1820.* New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1999.

This book is a compilation of essays on women's poetry during the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries as they relate to the Enlightenment. Split into five sections, the authors cover individual women's contributions, subjects of poetry, and techniques used. Given their connections to the Age of Reason, the articles in this collection were beneficial in their descriptions and use of female authors.

Berkin, Carol. *Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the Struggle for America's Independence.* New York, NY: Vintage Books, Division of Random House, Inc., 2005.

Berkin, like Kerber and Norton do in their monographs listed below, provides a general overview of the Revolutionary War as it pertained to the involvement of and effects on women. In it, she uses stories from various women to tell the story of the Revolution, beginning with their social status beforehand. Hers gives an excellent foundation for research regarding American women in the war.

Bostic, Heidi. *The Fiction of the Enlightenment: Women on Reason in the French Eighteenth Century.* Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2010.

Bostic provides an excellent source on women and the Enlightenment. Though she focuses on three foreign (French) female authors, her argument that women writers contributed to the Enlightenment through their "claim to reason" showed the precedents to and coincided with American women during the eighteenth century.

Butler, Jon. *Becoming America: The Revolution Before 1776.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000.

Becoming America examines the major aspects of American society prior to 1776, including politics, citizens, economy, and others. His argument analyzes the changes in these areas and how they created a wholly "American" society apart from that of Britain. More specifically, he states that "an American society emerged before an 'American character.'" His differs from others in his focus on past events, not naming historians for their interpretations thereof.

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.

Cott, Nancy F. "Divorce and the Changing Status of Women in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (October 1976): 586-614. Accessed January 24, 2016. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1921717.

Cott's objective in this article is to use divorce records and proceedings to examine the little known facts about marital life in the eighteenth century, namely the effects of changing

"sexual and familial behavior." In doing this, she analyzes further than other historians before her.

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.

Demos, John. *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth County.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1970.

Demos, unlike his fellow historians of the time, chose to examine the family instead of the society in colonial America, specifically in Plymouth Colony. He considered the social context, the members of said unit, the development within it, and factors which affected it. It acts as a sort of case study.

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&srchtp=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.

Farrand, Max. "The Indian Boundary Line." *American Historical Review* 10, no. 4 (July 1905): 782-791. Accessed September 27, 2015. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1834475.

In this article, Farrand reviews the results of the French and Indian War, namely the Proclamation Line of 1763. He addresses the problem which British administrators faced, which involved relations with the Indian populations, and shows the great extent to which the British protected their own interests.

Ferguson, Robert A. *The American Enlightenment: 1750-1820.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997.

Ferguson discusses the role of the Enlightenment in American society and ideology. While his does not focus primarily on the effects for women, it provides an excellent overview of the subject, including limitations and American interpretation. His monograph differs from May's in its comprehensive look (May's is more detailed on the types and separate periods of the Enlightenment).

Gelles, Edith B. "Bonds of Friendship: The Correspondence of Abigail Adams and Mercy Otis Warren." *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 108 (1996): 35-71.

In this article, Gelles provides a story of the friendship between Abigail Adams and Mercy Otis Warren exclusively through their correspondence. Throughout the essay, she discusses their positions in society, aspects of their individual lives, and their reputations.

George, Carol V. R. ed. *"Remember the Ladies:" New Perspectives on Women in American History.* Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1975.

Similar to the compilations of Hoffman and Armstrong, George's monograph is composed of essays which highlight certain women or ideologies involving them throughout America's history in order to better examine the development of the concept of "womanhood" in America. These essays were used in a tribute to Historian and Professor Nelson Manfred Blake.

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.

Holton, Woody. *Abigail Adams: A Life.* New York, NY: Free Press, 2009.

This monograph is the most notable biography of Abigail Adams. Holton uses Adams' personal correspondence and other useful primary research to include detailed stories of the woman throughout her life. His book was particularly beneficial in relating her female activism and political influence during the American Revolution.

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.

Jones, Vivien. *Women in the Eighteenth Century: Constructions in Femininity.* London: Routledge, 1990.

This anthology provides examples of well-known contemporary literature which spoke to the questions regarding and possible changes in femininity. The most useful piece was Mary Astell's *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies,* which argued that any inadequacy in female capability was not natural, but instead a product of social opportunity (or lack thereof).

Keller, Rosemary. *Patriotism and the Female Sex: Abigail Adams and the American Revolution.* Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Publishing Inc., 1994.

Keller's history of Abigail Adams during the War for Independence presents many of the primary arguments and examples which were beneficial to my work. While describing Adams' personal and political life, she explains the efforts made toward female advancement and the obstacles which were overcome in the process.

Kerber, Linda K. *Toward an Intellectual History of Women: Essays by Linda K. Kerber.* Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

In this monograph, Kerber compiles several of her own essays regarding American women and their identity/status. She proposes it to be a partial study of gender relations by looking at the circumstances, contributions, and legal issues surrounding females, primarily in the Revolutionary Era and Early Republic.

Kerber, Linda K. *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America.* Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1980.

Kerber's work is a comprehensive look into the development of female participation and early efforts made in regard to social and legal rights. She includes the use of Enlightenment theory and an introduction of female patriotism while highlighting the different arguments made for and against such ideas by both males and females. Her book was incredibly beneficial.

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.

Kurland, Philip B. and Ralph Lerner, eds. *The Founders' Constitution.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2000. Accessed January 24, 2016. http://presspubs.uchicago.edu/founders/documents/v1ch13s11.html.

This particular edition is an online anthology of reasons and arguments used in creating the US Constitution and resulting government. On the database, the primary sources used are included to give a more comprehensive view of the original book in 1987.

Landes, Joan. "The History of Feminism: Marie-Jean-Antoine-Nicolas de Caritat, Marquis de Condorcet." Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. March 10, 2009. Accessed January 24, 2016. http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/histfem-condorcet/.

This Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy entry highlights the life and feminist work of French philosophe Condorcet. While outlining the more substantial aspects of his life, Landes includes her thoughts on his larger influence in the new subject of feminism during the French Revolution.

Lewis, Jan Ellen. "Rethinking Women's Suffrage in New Jersey, 1776-1807." *Rutgers Law Review* 63, no. 3 (August 8, 2011): 1017-1035. Accessed January 24, 2016. http://www.rutgerslawreview.com/wp-content/uploads/archive/vol63/Issue3/Lewis.pdf.

In this article, Lewis provides an overview of female voting in New Jersey during the above period. As a general consensus among historians, she confirms that New Jersey intentionally included women in their constitution's voting privilege. She further argues that New Jersey should then be considered instrumental in enfranchisement advances in the US, though it later revoked women's voting rights.

Looser, Devoney. "'Those Historical Laurels Which Once Graced My Brow are Now in Their Wane': Catherine Macaulay's Last Years and Legacy." *Studies in Romanticism* 42, no. 2 (Summer 2003): 203-227.

Looser presents a general study of British historian Catherine Macaulay. Here she describes her influence on other female writers of the time, including Mary Wollstonecraft, and discusses her various topics of study and essays. In examining her legacy further, she determines which of Macaulay's essays is most important, referring to her *Letters on Education.*

Lucey, Donna M. *I Dwell in Possibility: Women Build a Nation 1600-1920.* Washington, DC: National Geographic, 2001.

Lucey uses primarily images to share general stories of all manner and groups of women and their contributions to America in the broad time range listed above. Her objective is to show the large impact women have had on the nation throughout its history. She chose to divide her book into sections, going chronologically and partially by subsection (race, social status, etc.)

May, Henry F. *The Enlightenment in America.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1976.

May's clear but detailed look into the Enlightenment as it affected the American colonies and Early Republic makes his one of the better (and first) analyses of the subject. He defines the Enlightenment by dividing it into four separate periods, naming the principles of each and describing their effects (and adaptations/declines).

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.

McCrone, Kathleen E. "The 'Lady Blue': Sport at the Oxbridge Women's Colleges from their Foundation to 1914." *The International Journal for the History of Sport* 3, no. 2 (1986): 191-215.

McCrone describes the development of physical education and sports for females in institutions of higher learning, including cycling, tennis, and field hockey. In her article, she includes the popular biological theories at the time and partially examines their effect on the above.

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

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.

Norton, Mary Beth. *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996.

Norton's book, like those of Berkin and Kerber, provides an overview of Revolutionary society and its effects on women. Hers is divided into two sections: constant patterns and changing patterns for women. She primarily focuses on the family, and the roles women were expected to play in their everyday lives and within society. It is an excellent source with which to begin research.

Norton, Mary Beth. *Separated by Their Sex: Women in Public and Private in the Colonial Atlantic World.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011.

In her self-proclaimed prequel to *Liberty's Daughters,* Norton focuses on the changing ideas of gender roles as they originated and developed in the early eighteenth century. She particularly examines the terms, associations, and female participation regarding "public" and "private" spheres, highlighting the influence given by British society as well.

Packham, Catherine. *Eighteenth-Century Vitalism: Bodies, Culture, Politics.* New York, NY: St. Martin's Press LLC, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

This monograph presents the idea of vitalism, including its development and wide-reaching influence. Packham argues that vitalism moves beyond strictly biology, into areas like politics and society. Her topic represents a theory which served to hinder women's advances in public matters even after the Revolutionary War.

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.

Rosenfeld, Sophia. "'Europe,' Women, and the American Political Imaginary." *Journal of the Early Republic* 35, no. 2 (Summer 2015):271-277. Accessed September 15, 2015. http://eds.a.ebscohost.com/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=d85fae04-61f0-45bc-96c5-d8daa1eb6311%40sessionmgr4003&vid=4&hid=4202.

Rosenfeld argues in this article that ideas of "Europe" (taken more as a state of mind rather than geographic location – status, civilization, hierarchy, etc.) tied together with those that defined women in the Early Republic. She uses the essays and arguments of fellow historians, including Fredrika Teute and David Shields, to emphasize this point.

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.

Torre, Jose. *The Enlightenment in America, 1720-1825.* 4 vols. London: Pickering and Chatto, 2008.

Divided into four volumes, Torre's *Enlightenment in America* offers an extensive view into the effects of an "American Enlightenment" on several aspects of colonial society, including politics and education. Since it is a general collection, he does include effects on various groups within society.

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.

Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650-1750.* New York, NY: Knopf, 1982.

Ulrich uses her study and those of previous female historians to define the role of "goodwives," as they were called in seventeenth-century New England (the primary area of focus). She speaks to the ordinary aspects of women's lives, and highlights examples of these "forgotten women." Here too she introduces the idea of a deputy husband.

Ward, Harry M. *The War for Independence and the Transformation of American Society.* London: University College London Press, 1999.

Ward discusses the American Revolution as it affected different groups of Americans, including men, women, African Americans, and Native Americans. His argument seeks to examine the role of war within the colonial society within the context of the Revolution. Illustrations and specifically-segmented chapters aid in his analysis.

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.

Young, Alfred, ed. *The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism.* Dekalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1976.

Young provides a very broad overview of America during the War for Independence, compiling essays from a number of contributors speaking to many different topics – all of which pertain to radical thought. His grouping discusses radical movements, groups involved in them, and the policies made by those in power to confront them.

Zagarri, Rosemarie. *A Woman's Dilemma: Mercy Otis Warren and the American Revolution.* Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1995. Accessed September 15, 2015. http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=acls;cc=acls;rgn=full%20text;idno=heb01410.0001.001;didno=heb01410.0001.001;view=image;seq=4;node=heb01410.0001.001%3A1;page=root;size=100.

In this biography, Zagarri argues that Warren is more deserving of praise than she receives, and portrays her as an exceptional woman who overcame gender prejudice and British control simultaneously. She highlights her life, paying close attention to her efforts in the war. Overall, it is a great resource for studies on both Warren and women during the war.

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.