

THE CHANGING PATTERNS OF WOMEN'S LIVES

includes many letters of the female members of the Johnston/Iredell/Blair family. Finally, the papers of the congressman John Steele, centering on his parents, should be used in conjunction with the John Steele Papers at the Southern Historical Collections, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, which focus more on Steele, his wife, Polly, and their daughter Ann, a student at Bethlehem.

At the SHC/UNC are many other important sets of papers. The Mordecai Family Papers, the "Hayes" Collection (Johnston/Iredell), and the Mrs. Francis B. Stewart Collection (Pinckney/Horry) contain further information about those influential families. In the Edmund Kirby-Smith Papers are the letters of Ephraim and Ruth Kirby of Connecticut; in the William Attmore Papers, the correspondence of the sisters Sarah Sitgreaves Attmore and Amaryllis Sitgreaves Ellis, from the 1790s; in the John and Keating Ball Papers, an excellent slave birth register. The lengthy, detailed letters of the young Georgia cousins Eliza McQueen and Mary Ann and Margaret Cowper comprise a large proportion of the Mackay-Stiles Papers. (Other parts of the same correspondence are in the Mackay-McQueen-Cowper Papers, Georgia Society of Colonial Dames Collection, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah.)

Papers of the Pinckney and Manigault/Izard families are found in various libraries in South Carolina: at the South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, are the Manigault Papers (the letters of Gabriel and Margaret Izard Manigault in the 1780s and 1790s), the Eliza Lucas Pinckney Letters, and the Pinckney Family (Buist Family) Papers. At the South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, are the Ralph Izard Papers (including correspondence with Izard's wife, Alice) and a further installment of the Manigault Papers.

Other collections of interest at the SCL include the Oliver Hart Papers; the "Album" of William Tennent III, which reprises his courtship correspondence with Susan Vergereau; and the Read Family Papers, containing the letters of Catherine Vanhorne Read and her sister Betsy Ludlow. At the SCHS one can find the letters Edward Rutledge addressed to his daughter Sarah in the 1790s, when she was in school in England; the Gibbes-Gilchrist Papers, with the letters of Sarah Gibbes to her son Robert, a Princeton student in the mid-1780s; the Langdon Cheves Collection, including the fragmentary diary of Ann Kinloch, 1799; and finally, the Bowen-Cooke Papers, with letters of Penuel Bowen, the New England clergyman who moved south and opened a school for young ladies in Savannah. His inaugural lecture, "Upon Virtue in general, and female Education & manners in particular," November 1786, is at the Georgia Historical Society.

NOTES

PREFACE

1. Book-length studies of colonial women, some of them very well researched, have tended to be topically arranged compendia of anecdotes or summaries of prescriptive literature. The best of such works are Julia Cherry Spruill, *Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1938; reprinted, New York, 1972); Mary Sumner Benson, *Women in Eighteenth-Century America: A Study of Opinion and Social Usage* (Port Washington, N.Y., reprint, 1966); and Eugenie Leonard, *The Dear-Bought Heritage* (Philadelphia, 1965).
2. This argument is especially evident in Roger Thompson, *Women in Stuart England and America* (Boston, 1974), but it can be discerned, explicitly or implicitly, in nearly every book on American women's history. The emphasis on work comes from the extraordinary influence of two books by Elisabeth Anthony Dexter: *Colonial Women of Affairs*, rev. ed. (Boston, 1931), and *Career Women of America 1776-1840* (Francetown, N.H., 1950).
3. For clear expositions of the theory of decline, see Mary P. Ryan, *Womanhood in America* (New York, 1975), and Ann D. Gordon and Mari Jo Buhle, "Sex and Class in Colonial and Nineteenth-Century America," in Berenice Carroll, ed., *Liberalizing Women's History* (Urbana, Ill., 1976), 278-300. The notion of domestic feminism has been developed most fully by Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven, Ct., 1973), Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven, Ct., 1977), and Daniel Scott Smith, "Family Limitation, Sexual Control, and Domestic Feminism in Victorian America," in Mary Hartman and Lois Banner, eds., *Clio's Consciousness Raised* (New York, 1974), 119-136.

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4. See Elizabeth Cometti, "Women in the American Revolution," *New England Quarterly*, XX (1947), 329-346; Linda Grant DePauw, *Founding Mothers: Women of America in the Revolutionary Era* (New York, 1975); and Joan Hoff Wilson, "The Illusion of Change: Women and the American Revolution," in Alfred H. Young, ed., *The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism* (DeKalb, Ill., 1976), 383-445.

5. Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930* (Chicago, 1970); William Chafe, *The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic, and Political Roles, 1920-1970* (New York, 1972); Jane Abray, "Feminism in the French Revolution," *American Historical Review*, LXXX (1975), 43-62; Patricia Higgins, "The Reactions of Women, with Special Reference to Women Petitioners," in Brian Manning, ed., *Politics, Religion and the English Civil War* (London, 1973), 177-222; Peggy R. Sanday, "Female Status in the Public Domain," in Michelle Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, eds., *Woman, Culture, and Society* (Stanford, Calif., 1974), 189-206.

6. Although studies of female literacy disagree on the exact percentage of literate women, their findings indicate that, at maximum, about half the women in colonial America could sign their names. See Kenneth Lockridge, *Literacy in Colonial New England . . .* (New York, 1974), 38, 42; Alan Tully, "Literacy Levels and Educational Development in Rural Pennsylvania, 1729-1775," *Pennsylvania History*, XXXIX (1972), 304-305; and Ross W. Beales, Jr., "Studying Literacy at the Community Level: A Research Note," *JIH*, IX (1978), 93-102.

7. Book-length studies now being prepared by such scholars as Mary Maples Dunn, Lyle Koehler, and Laurel Thatcher Ulrich should soon help to fill this gap. See, too, Lois Green Carr and Lorena Walsh, "The Planter's Wife: The Experience of White Women in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *WMQ*, 3rd ser., XXXIV (1977), 542-571.

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1. The literature on the colonial family is vast. Useful starting places are David Rothman, "A Note on the Study of the Colonial Family," *WMQ*, 3rd ser., XXIII (1966), 627-634; and Rudy Ray Seward, "The Colonial Family in America: Toward a Socio-Historical Restoration of its Structure," *JMF*, XXXV (1973), 58-70. For an example of "my family," see Franklin B. Dexter, ed., *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, D.D., LL.D.* (New York, 1901), I, 25.

2. Samuel Purviance to Betsy Purviance, [c. 1787], Purviance-Courtenay Papers, DU; Caleb Bingham, *The American Preceptor*, 42nd ed. (Boston, 1811), 104. For "our family," see, e.g., Thomas Eliot Andrews, ed., "The Diary of Elizabeth (Porter) Phelps," *NEHGR*, CXIX (1965), 219.

3. Ann Page to Elizabeth Randolph, Nov. 6, 1801, William B. Randolph Papers, box 1, LCMD; Dexter, ed., *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, I, 577; William G. Roelker,

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ed., *Benjamin Franklin and Catharine Ray Greene Their Correspondence 1755-1790* (Philadelphia, 1949), 105; Fanny Coalter to John Coalter, March 9, 1804, Brown-Coalter-Tucker Papers, box 2, EGS.

4. William Livingston, "Our Grand-Mothers," *American Museum*, IX (March 1791), 143-144; also printed in *Massachusetts Magazine*, IV (Jan. 1792), 14-15.

5. James Kent, "Chronological Memoranda," May 1, 1799, James Kent Papers, LCMD. For a typical eulogy, see Roelker, ed., *Franklin-Greene Correspondence*, 138. Lonna Malmshimer, "Daughters of Zion: New England Roots of American Feminism," *New England Quarterly*, L (1977), 491-492, discusses the widespread use of Proverbs 31 in funeral sermons for women.

6. *A Series of Letters on Courtship and Marriage . . .* (Elizabethtown, N.J., 1796), 54-57, esp. 56. The following three paragraphs summarize the findings reported in Mary Beth Norton, "Eighteenth-Century American Women in Peace and War: The Case of the Loyalists," *WMQ*, 3rd ser., XXXIII (1976), 386-398.

7. John J. Smith, ed., *Letters of Doctor Richard Hill and His Children* (Philadelphia, 1854), 141; Elizabeth Drinker, Diary, Dec. 12, 1795, HSP. See also, e.g., B. Crannell to Catherine Livingston, Sept. 3, 1785, Gilbert Livingston Papers, NYPL.

8. Jane Robbins to Hannah Gilman, Sept. 1799, Gilman Papers, MHS; Margret Smith to Samuel Galloway, Sept. 22, 1762, Galloway-Maxy-Markoe Papers, V, LCMD; Ann Peyton to [Bataille Muse], March 25, 1783, Bataille Muse Papers, DU; Catherine Livingston to [Smith Thompson], Dec. 25, 1806, Gilbert Livingston Papers.

9. John Adams recorded an incident in which his mother asked for such information, but his father refused to give it (Lyman H. Butterfield et al., eds., *Diary and Autobiography of John Adams* [Cambridge, Mass., 1961], I, 65).

10. Elizabeth Powel to Mrs. Page, [1784], Powel Collection, Miscellany, HSP; Peggy Emlen to Sally Logan, Sept. 3rd day morning, [no yr.], Marjorie P. M. Brown Collection, box 1, HSP; "Animadversions on the Affectation of ill-suited Characters among the Female Sex," *American Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, II (1745), 303; [Samuel Quincy] to [Robert Treat Paine], Feb. 2, 1756, Robert Treat Paine Papers, MHS.

11. For "his" estates, see, e.g., "Letters from Mrs. Ralph Izard to Mrs. William Lee," *VMHB*, VIII (1900), 24; for "her" furnishings, John Jones to Polly Jones, Oct. 3, 1779, Seaborn Jones Sr. Papers, DU, and Norton, "Eighteenth-Century American Women," *WMQ*, 3rd ser., XXXIII (1976), 396-397. One of the few men who regularly discussed ordinary household matters during the Revolution was William Palfrey of Massachusetts; see his letters, *passim*, HL.

12. Household size is discussed in Robert V. Wells, *The Population of the British Colonies in America before 1776: A Survey of Census Data* (Princeton, N.J., 1975), 297-333. Problems caused by household composition are evident in [Sarah Nourse] to [James Nourse], Aug. 17, 1783, Nourse Family Papers (no. 3490a), box 1, ALUV; and Abigail Greenleaf to Robert T. Paine, Dec. 10, 1756, Paine Papers.

13. William Duane, ed., *Extracts from the Diary of Christopher Marshall . . . 1774-1781* (Albany, N.Y., 1877), 157-158; Frederick Tupper and Helen Tyler

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Doren, ed., *Franklin-Mecom Letters*, 94, 97-98, and *passim*; Anna Hunter to John Rogers, April 12, 1785, Oct. 8, [1793], Hudson Collection, box 3. Accounts kept by women storekeepers are preserved in Sanders Family Papers, box 2, NYHS (Elizabeth Schuyler Sanders); Alexander Papers, box 68, NYHS (Mary Provoost Alexander); Salisbury Family Papers, AAS (Martha Salisbury); and Susannah Bolton Moore Papers, GHS.

40. Christian Barnes to Elizabeth Smith, Nov. 24, 1770, Barnes Letterbook, LCMD.

41. Max Farrand, ed., *A Journey to Ohio in 1810 as Recorded in the Journal of Margaret Van Horn Dwight* (New Haven, Ct., 1914), 25, 14-15; Maria Clinton to [Elizabeth Tallmadge], Dec. 5, 1805, Maria Clinton Papers, Miscellaneous MSS., NYHS. The extensive papers of a female Charleston tavernkeeper are in the Paul Cross Papers, SCL. And see accounts in travelers' diaries; for example, Marquis de Chastellux, *Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781 and 1782*, ed. and trans. Howard C. Rice, Jr. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1963), I, 71-72, II, 419-420, 512-513, and *passim*.

42. William Palfrey to Susannah Palfrey, June 15, 1779, William Palfrey Papers, HL; William Sullivan to Hitty Cutler, Nov. 28, 1797, Thomas Amory Family Papers, III, MHS; Tyler, *Book*, 97-98. On the Archbald sisters, see Charles W. Janson, *The Stranger in America 1793-1806*, ed. Carl S. Driver (New York, 1935), 21-25, and Catherine Byles to Mather Byles, Aug. 26, 1801, Oct. 7, 1802, Byles Letterbook, I. A detailed description of such a boardinghouse is in Alexander Graydon, *Memoirs of his own Time . . .*, ed. John S. Littell (New York, reprint, 1969), 43, 62-78.

43. Case of Mary Cloudsdall, AO 12/101, 54. Two other loyalist women boardinghouse keepers from New York City were Mary Smith (papers in AO 12/100, 187; AO 13/65, 547, 572; AO 13/67, 192-203); and Mary Airey, who was said to have a "well furnished" house (AO 12/101, 29; AO 12/24, 78-80; AO 13/113, 2-4, 8-9).

44. Pinckney, *Letterbook*, 144 (see 7, 16, 35, 38, for her earlier experience). On Mary Willing Byrd: Chastellux, *Travels*, II, 430-432, and Thomas Anburey, *Travels through the Interior Parts of America* (Boston, 1923), II, 214. The papers of Maria Armistead and Elizabeth Adams, Virginia widows who managed their plantations, are in Armistead-Cocke Papers, EGS.

45. For widows who chose such options: Ferdinand-Marie Bayard, *Travels of a Frenchman in Maryland and Virginia . . . in 1791 . . .*, ed. and trans. Ben C. McCary (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1950), 45-46; Joseph Clay to Edward Telfair, March 30, 1793, Edward Telfair Papers, DU; Ann Banister to Betsy Whiting, July 1, 1790, [Sarah] Cary to same, March 30, 1791, M[ary] Burwell to same, Dec. 14, 1791, all in Blair-Banister-Braxton-Horner-Whiting Papers, box 1, EGS.

46. Martha Washington to Fanny [Washington], Sept. 15, 1794 (photostat), Washington Family Papers, box 2. For the Ringgold dispute, see Galloway-Maxcy-Markoe Papers, XIV, XV, *passim*, LCMD, esp. John Galloway to Samuel Galloway, Jan. 18, 1777, Benjamin Chew and James Tilghman, Legal Opinion, May 1, 1777, in XIV, and Anna Maria Ringgold, Deposition, Jan. 22, 1779, in XV.

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47. Maria Armistead to Jane Armistead, April 9, 1789, Armistead-Cocke Papers; Polly Bancker to Evert Bancker, March 8, 1800, Bancker Papers; Anna Hunter to John Rogers, [1793], Hudson Family Collection, box 3.

48. Elizabeth Murray to James Murray, Sept. 27, 1754, Robbins Papers, I. See also same to same, May 27, Dec. 4, 1753, April 2, 1754, *ibid.* Biographical information is drawn from Nina M. Tiffany, ed., *Letters of James Murray Loyalist* (Boston, 1901), 103, 105. A more detailed treatment is Mary Beth Norton, "A Cherished Spirit of Independence: The Life of an Eighteenth-Century Boston Businesswoman," in Berkin and Norton, eds., *Women of America*, 46-65.

49. Antenuptial Agreement, Elizabeth Campbell and James Smith, March 13, 1760, Robbins Papers, I.

50. [Elizabeth Smith] to [Christian Barnes], [c. Nov. 1769], Robbins Papers, II; [Elizabeth Inman] to [John Murray], Oct. 9, 1771, *ibid.*, III.

51. Antenuptial Agreement, Elizabeth Smith and Ralph Inman, Sept. 24, 1771, Robbins Papers, III, printed in Norton, "Cherished Spirit," in Berkin and Norton, eds., *Women of America*, 59-62.

52. [Elizabeth Inman] to [Mary Don?], [c. late 1772] (draft), Robbins Papers, IV.

53. Elizabeth M. Campbell to James Murray, March 20, May 12, 1756, Robbins Papers, I; Elizabeth Smith to Christian Barnes, April 24, 1770, Murray Family Papers, box 4, NYHS; Elizabeth Smith to Mrs. Deblois, April 13, 1770, Robbins Papers, II. On Janette Day's school, chapter 2, n. 26. On the Cuming sisters, chapter 6, n. 2. There is a great deal of information on the Murray-Day millinery shop in Robbins Papers, II-IV, *passim*, and Murray Family Papers, boxes 3-4.

54. Elizabeth Inman to John Murray, Sept. 18, 1783, Robbins Papers, VI.

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1. Betsy Cuming to [Elizabeth Smith], Oct. 26, 1769, James M. Robbins Papers, II, MHS. For accounts of these public events in women's diaries and letters, see, e.g., Thomas Eliot Andrews, ed., "The Diary of Elizabeth (Porter) Phelps," *NEHGR*, CXVIII (1964), 220-224 *passim*; Mary Norris to Charles Norris, Oct. 7, 1765, Loudoun Papers, box 77, HSP; Leonard Labaree et al., eds., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* (New Haven, Ct., 1959-), XIII, 199.

2. Betsy Cuming to Elizabeth Smith, Nov. 29, 1769, and Anne Cuming to same, Dec. 27, 1769, both in Robbins Papers, II.

3. For some examples of patriot women's activities: Marvin L. Brown, trans., *Baroness Frederica von Riedesel and the American Revolution: Journal and Correspondence of a Tour of Duty 1776-1783* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1965), 70; Lyman H. Butterfield et al., eds., *Adams Family Correspondence* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963-), II, 295-296 (hereafter cited as *AFC*); Margaret B. Livingston to Robert R. Livingston, Aug. 15, 1776, Robert R. Livingston Papers, NYHS. The later lives of the Cuming

sisters can be traced through their letters to various members of the Murray family, in Robbins Papers, 1780s, *passim*.

4. Franklin B. Dexter, ed., *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, D.D., LL.D.* (New York, 1901), I, 480. A New Jersey girl's work for militia musters is described in Jemima Condict, *Jemima Condict, Her Book . . .* (Newark, N.J., 1930), 38, 42.

5. *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, Oct. 23, 1769; *Providence Gazette*, Jan. 16, 1768.

6. William Tennent III, "To the Ladies of South Carolina," *South Carolina Gazette*, Aug. 2, 1774, reprinted in James H. Smylie, ed., "Presbyterians and the American Revolution: A Documentary Account," *Journal of Presbyterian History*, LI (1973), 370-372. Tennent recorded a somewhat different version on pp. 44-46 of his "Album," in William Tennent Papers, SCL.

7. *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), Jan. 20, 1774; Hannah Griffiths, "Beware the Ides of March," Feb. 28, 1775, Hannah Griffiths Papers, LCP/HSP; "The female Patriots, Address'd to the Daughters of Liberty in America, 1768," printed in *WMQ*, 3rd ser., XXXIV (1977), 307.

8. *AFC*, I, 129-130; Susan Smith, Memoir of Col. David Mason, 1842, Shaw Family Papers, box 4, LCMD; Abigail Dwight to Pamela Dwight, June 14, 1769, Sedgwick Papers III, MHS. For an account of an exemption, see Kemp P. Battle, ed., *Letters and Documents Relating to the Early History of the Lower Cape Fear*, James Sprunt Historical Monograph No. 4 (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1903), 28. But cf. tales of patriot women who secretly drank tea, in Frederick Tupper and Helen Tyler Brown, eds., *Grandmother Tyler's Book, The Recollections of Mary Palmer Tyler 1775-1866* (New York, 1925), 236-237; and William Maxwell, comp., "My Mother: Memoirs of Mrs. Helen Read," *Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary*, I (1895-1896), 98-99.

9. *Boston Evening Post*, Feb. 12, 1770; Peter Force, comp., *American Archives* (Washington, D.C., 1837), 4th ser., I, 891. See also "Ladies of the Association," *WMQ*, 1st ser., VIII (1899), 36.

10. Don Higginbotham, ed., *The Papers of James Iredell* (Raleigh, N.C., 1976), I, 282-286n. The best discussion of both the "tea party" and the print is Inez Parker Cumming, "The Edenton Ladies' Tea-Party," *Georgia Review*, VIII (1954), 289-294.

11. *AFC*, I, 370, 382. Although John laughed off his wife's comments, they seem to have stimulated him to think about the issue of women's political status in the republic. See Charles Francis Adams, ed., *The Works of John Adams* (Boston, 1856), IX, 375-378.

12. The most complete account of home manufactures in this period is Rolla Tryon, *Household Manufactures in the United States 1640-1860* (Chicago, 1917); see esp. 55-57, 87-88, 99-102. For planter attitudes: Lyman H. Butterfield et al., eds., *The Diary and Autobiography of John Adams* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), II, 216 (the quotation in the text); and John R. Commons et al., eds., *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1910), II, 321-325.

13. Edward M. Riley, ed., *The Journal of John Harrower, An Indentured Servant in the Colony of Virginia, 1773-1776* (Williamsburg, Va., 1963), 121; Robert Carter to William Taylor, Feb. 21, 1775, Letterbook II, 189, Robert Carter Papers, DU. See also, in the Carter Papers, Letterbook II, 116, 122; and Daybook XIII, 114-115, 117-118, 129-130, 171-172.

14. Robert Carter to William Taylor, Feb. 21, 1775, Letterbook II, 189, Carter Papers. See Letterbook III (book 1), 15-17, (book 2), 27-28, and Letterbook V, 11, all in *ibid.* But Landon Carter's slaves were spinning and weaving as early as 1770; see Jack P. Greene, ed., *The Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752-1778* (Charlottesville, Va., 1965), I, 362, 525-526, and *passim*.

15. John Hook to Robert McDonald and Co., July 30, 1778, John Hook Letterbook, DU; Thomas Anburey, *Travels through the Interior Parts of America* (Boston, 1923), II, 246. On the Carolinas and Georgia: *Letters of Joseph Clay Merchant of Savannah 1776-1793*, Collections of GHS, VIII (Savannah, 1913), 25; Caroline Gilman, ed., *Letters of Eliza Wilkinson . . .* (New York, reprint, 1969), 105; and John S. Ezell, ed., and Judson P. Wood, trans., *The New Democracy in America: Travels of Francisco de Miranda in the United States, 1783-1784* (Norman, Okla., 1963), 8.

16. Tryon, *Household Manufactures*, 137 (also, 123-132, *passim*). For examples of planters' continuing commitment to home manufactures, see Edwin M. Betts, ed., *Thomas Jefferson's Garden Book 1766-1824* (Philadelphia, 1944), 479, 505; and Charles C. Pinckney, *Plantation Book*, notes for 1815, Pinckney Family Papers, ser. 2, vol. 1, LCMD.

17. See Gerald Mullin, *Flight and Rebellion: Slave Resistance in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (New York, 1972), 34-38. A planter's pride in home manufactures is described in Ferdinand-Marie Bayard, *Travels of a Frenchman in Maryland and Virginia . . . in . . . 1791*, ed. and trans. Ben C. McCary (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1950), 81. For comments on the skills of female spinners, see, e.g., Betts, ed., *Jefferson Garden Book*, 466; and Robert Carter, Daybook XIII, 221, and Letterbook V, 14, Carter Papers.

18. *S. C. Gaz.*, Feb. 15, 29, 1768.

19. *Prov. Gaz.*, Nov. 7, 1767; *Bost. Eve. Post*, May 29, 1769. The discussion of spinning bees is based largely on the research of my student assistants Larry Luxenberg and Marilyn Meder.

20. The quotations are from *Bost. Eve. Post*, Sept. 21, 1769; Alice Morse Earle, *Colonial Dames and Good Wives* (Boston, 1895), 242 (see 241-244 in general); *Bost. Eve. Post*, July 3, 1769. Other stylized accounts are in, e.g., *Bost. Eve. Post*, May 22, 29, 1769; *New York Journal*, May 11, 1769; and *Prov. Gaz.*, Aug. 12, 1769. See Tryon, *Household Manufactures*, 105-107.

21. Dexter, ed., *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, I, 8-9 (also 53, 107, 237, 440); *Bost. Eve. Post*, June 19, 1769. In addition: *ibid.*, May 8, June 12, Oct. 30, Nov. 6, 1769.

22. The exchanges are from the *Boston Gazette* and *Massachusetts Gazette*, reprinted in *Prov. Gaz.*, Jan. 2, 9, 1768.

23. Of the twenty-eight spinning bees reported in the *Bost. Eve. Post* in 1769, only five were designated as meetings of Daughters of Liberty. For a hint of regular meetings: *Bost. Eve. Post*, June 12, 1769. On donations to the clergy: Stiles references in n. 21 above. Accounts of prominent men wearing homespun are in Tryon, *Household Manufactures*, 54–55. The quotations are from *S.C. Gaz.*, Feb. 29, Jan. 5, 1768.

24. Elizabeth Ambler Brent to Nancy Fisher, March 1809, Elizabeth Ambler Papers, CW; Alice Morse Earle, ed., *Diary of Anna Green Winslow, A Boston School Girl of 1771* (Boston, 1894), 34, 32; Betsy DeLancey to Anne DeLancey, [c. 1768], "DeLancey Reminiscences," DeLancey Family Papers, MCNY; Betsy Foote, *Diary*, Oct. 23, 1775, CHS. See also *AFC*, I, 61–62, 173, 178; II, 166–167, 212.

25. Charity Clarke to [Joseph Jekyll], Nov. 6, 1768, June 16, [1769], Sept. 10, 1774, all in Moore Family Papers, CU. See also her letter of Oct. 28, 1771.

26. Charity Clarke to [Joseph Jekyll], Dec. 3, 1769, *ibid.* (see also May 8, 1772).

27. Esther Edwards Burr, *Journal-Letters*, Nov. 29 [Dec. 20], 1755, YL; Sally Logan Fisher, *Diary*, Jan. 14, 1777, HSP; Debby Norris to Sally Wister, April 18, 1778, Wister Family Papers, box 20, HSP; Labaree et al., eds., *Franklin Papers*, XII, 318; Abigail Greenleaf, Jr., to Robert Paine, Oct. 8, 1774, Robert Treat Paine Papers, MHS. For a rare example of a woman discussing politics at mid-century, see Leo Hershkowitz and Isidore Meyer, eds., *Letters of the Franks Family (1733–1748)* . . . (Waltham, Mass., 1968), 24–25, 36–37, 40–41, 45–46, 76.

28. Anne Emlen, "On Politicks," *Commonplace Book*, Emlen Collection, HSP; Elizabeth Feilde to Maria Armistead, June 3, 1776, Armistead-Cocke Papers, EGS; Anne Hooper to Dolly Forbes, Oct. 7, 1768, Robbins Papers, I; L. H. Butterfield, "Annis and the General: Mrs. Stockton's Poetic Eulogies of George Washington," *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, VII (1945–1946), 25.

29. Samuel Adams to Elizabeth Adams, Feb. 26, Nov. 14, 1776 (box 3), Nov. 11, 1780 (box 5), Feb. 1, 1781 (box 6), all in Samuel Adams Papers, NYPL. See also the sets of wartime correspondence cited in chapter 7.

30. Elizabeth Steele to Ephraim Steele, Oct. 25, 1780, John Steele Papers, NCDH; Gilman, ed., *Wilkinson Letters*, 17. References to public affairs abound in women's papers of the period. See, e.g., Elizabeth Shaw to [Mary Cranch], April 6, 1781, Shaw Family Papers, box 1, LCMD; Harriott Horry to Eliza Pinckney, Dec. 30, 1778, Pinckney Family (Buist Family) Papers, SCHS; and [Penelope Dawson] to Hannah Iredell, [c. Aug.–Sept. 1781], James Iredell Sr. and Jr. Papers, DU.

31. Earle, ed., *Winslow Diary*, 59; Nelly Blair to —, June 2, 1775, Iredell Papers; [Elizabeth Ambler Brent] to Nancy [Fisher], 1809, Ambler Papers; Jemima Condict, *Jemima Condict, Her Book*, 37, 51. See references to young women's correspondence in n. 27 above.

32. Mary Salisbury to Susanna Shaw, Aug. 2, 1774, Lemuel Shaw Papers, microfilm, reel 1B, 703, MHS; Brown, trans., *Riedesel Journal*, 79, 68 (also, 70, 75–77). See, too, Margaret W. Willard, ed., *Letters on the American Revolution 1774–1776* (Boston, 1925), 334; *AFC*, II, 374; and Nicholas Cresswell, *The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell* (London, 1925), 102, 173.

33. Christian Barnes to Elizabeth Smith, [c. Nov.–Dec. 1769], July 6, 13–28, 1770, all in Christian Barnes Letterbook, LCMD. On the political commitment and physical abuse of other loyalist women, see, e.g., AO 13/14, 393; AO 13/32, 603; AO 13/91, 403; and AO 13/112, 35. But cf. Mrs. A. Pollock to Joseph Hewes, Dec. 23, 1775, Hayes Collection, microfilm, reel 3, 80A, SHC/UNC.

34. Christian Barnes to Elizabeth Smith, Aug. 7, 1768, July 13–28, 1770, both in Barnes Letterbook; "Narrative of Mrs. Abraham Brasher, 1801," 24, NYHS; Ann Ward to Dolly Forbes, June 14, 1774, and [Elizabeth Inman] to [Lady Don], [late 1772], both in Robbins Papers, IV. See also Maria Nevin to Sarah Langdon, Nov. 5, 1769, Langdon Papers, NHHS.

35. Henry Hugh Fergusson, *Testimony*, Feb. 3, 1785, AO 12/38, 213 (supported by witnesses, 215–221, *passim*); Elizabeth Fergusson to John Young, [n.d.], AO 13/102, 762; Elizabeth Fergusson, "Il Penseroso: or The Deserted Wife," Benjamin Rush Papers, XL, 146, LCP/HSP. See, in general, Simon P. Gratz, "Some Material for a Biography of Mrs. Elizabeth Fergusson, Née Graeme," *PMHB*, XXXIX (1915), 257–321, 385–409; XLI (1917), 385–389. For examples of other marriages broken by politics: AO 12/49, 56–57, and the papers of the Reverend Harry Munro, MCNY.

36. Sally Smith Booth, *The Women of '76* (New York, 1973) is one of the more recent and most comprehensive compilations of such tales. See also Julia Ward Stickley, "The Records of Deborah Sampson Gannett, Woman Soldier of the Revolution," *Prologue*, IV (1972), 233–241; E. Merton Coulter, "Nancy Hart, Georgia Heroine of the Revolution: The Story of the Growth of a Tradition," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XXXIX (1955), 118–151; and Charles Coleman Sellers, *Patience Wright, American Artist and Spy in George III's London* (Middletown, Ct., 1976).

37. Paul Smith, "The American Loyalists: Notes on Their Organization and Numerical Strength," *WMQ*, 3rd ser., XXV (1968), 268; statistics on loyalist women's activism compiled by the author from 468 women's claims in AO 12 and 13.

38. Margaret Hutchinson, Claims Papers, AO 13/96, 601, AO 13/70A, 528, 530; Elizabeth Thompson, Claims Papers, AO 13/134, 5, AO 13/136, 7, AO 12/46, 77–13/67, 194).

39. Nancy Davis, Deposition, Dec. 4, 1841, Revolutionary War Pension Applications and Bounty Land Warrants, microfilm M-804, reel 1541, 18–19, NA; Amy Babcock, Deposition, Sept. 6, 1837, *ibid.*, reel 100, 696; Anna Lawson, Deposition, Dec. 24, 1838, *ibid.*, reel 1533, 550.

40. "Brasher Narrative," 24.

41. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 21, 1780, reports on all three projects. The discussion that follows is based largely on the research of my student assistant Peggy Hayes. The one previous detailed treatment of the Ladies Association of 1780 is L. H. Butterfield, "General Washington's Sewing Circle," *American Heritage*, II (Summer 1951), 7–10, 68.

42. "Vision of the Paradise of Female Patriotism. By Clarissa a Lady of this City."

United States Magazine, I (March 1779), 122–124. Broadside written by women during the Revolution can be consulted in the Evans American imprint series, nos. 42545, 42847, 43480, and 44247. The papers of the loyalist Hannah Griffiths contain a number of her unpublished commentaries on wartime events.

43. *The Sentiments of an American Woman* can be most conveniently consulted in *PMHB*, XVIII (1894), 361–363. It is reproduced in facsimile in Linda Grant DePauw and Conover Hunt, *Remember the Ladies: Women in America 1750–1815* (New York, 1976), 93. The broadside has been tentatively attributed to Reed for years; that she wrote it appears certain because the writer of *Sentiments* describes herself as nursing a baby, and Reed was then breastfeeding her youngest child.

44. “Ideas,” appended to “Sentiments,” *PMHB*, XVIII (1894), 364–366; “Letter from a Lady at Philadelphia, to her best friend in this place,” June 28, in *Maryland Gazette*, July 21, 1780.

45. “Letter from Philadelphia,” in *Md. Gaz.*, July 21, 1780 (also printed in *Independent Chronicle* [Boston], July 27, 1780); records of canvass, June 1780, Joseph Reed Papers, NYHS. See also the first report of the canvass, *Pennsylvania Packet*, June 17, 1780, datelined June 16.

46. “Letter from Philadelphia,” *Md. Gaz.*, July 21, 1780; Anna Rawle to Rebecca Shoemaker, June 30, 1780, Shoemaker-Rawle Papers, HSP.

47. The complete accounts, listing the names of all contributors, are in Reed Papers. *Pa. Gaz.*, July 12, 1780, printed a letter from Esther Reed giving the final totals by district. Butterfield, cited n. 41 above, makes the conversion to specie.

48. “Letter from Philadelphia,” *Md. Gaz.*, July 21, 1780. When American troops regained control of the city, they satirized the female collaborators by dressing a woman variously described as a whore or an “old Negro wench” in elaborate style and parading her through the streets on July 4, 1778. There are many accounts of this significant incident; see, e.g., Josiah Bartlett to Mary Bartlett, Aug. 24, 1778, Josiah Bartlett Papers, NHHS; *AFC*, III, 56; Elizabeth Drinker, Diary, July 4, 1778, HSP.

49. “Letter from Philadelphia,” *Md. Gaz.*, July 21, 1780; *Pa. Packet*, June 27, 1780.

50. *Continental Journal*, July 13, 1780, remarks reprinted in *Connecticut Gazette*, July 21, and *New Hampshire Gazette*, July 22. The “Letter from an Officer at Camp” appeared in *Pa. Packet*, July 8; *New Jersey Gazette*, July 12; *Ind. Chron.*, Aug. 3; *N.H. Gaz.*, Aug. 5. The following newspapers reprinted *Sentiments*: *Independent Ledger* (Boston), July 10; *Prov. Gaz.*, July 15; *Massachusetts Spy*, July 21; *Norwich Packet*, July 27.

51. “Letter II from a Lady at Philadelphia to her Friend in this Place,” July 6, in *Md. Gaz.*, July 28, 1780 (reprinted in *Ind. Chron.*, Aug. 10, 1780); note of assignments, [June 1780], Reed Papers; Esther Reed to Madam —, June 30, 1780, Reed Papers.

52. *N.J. Gaz.*, June 28, July 5, July 12 (contains “Sentiments of a Lady in New Jersey”), 1780; *Pa. Packet*, July 8, 1780; John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of*

George Washington (Washington, D.C., 1931–1944), XIX, 72n. Reports of the New Jersey drive appeared in *Ind. Chron.*, July 13, and *Ind. Ledger*, July 17.

53. *Md. Gaz.*, July 14, 1780; Samuel Purviance to David Plunkett, June 24, 1780, HCA 32/441/12, 64–65; *Pa. Packet*, Nov. 4, 1780.

54. Julian Boyd et al., eds., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Princeton, N.J., 1950–), III, 533n; Thomas J. Randolph, *Memoir, Correspondence and Miscellanies from the Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Charlottesville, Va., 1829), I, 459–460. See Martha Jefferson to Madam —, Aug. 8, 1780, Tucker-Coleman Papers, microfilm, reel 3, EGS, for Frances Tucker’s copy.

55. H[annah] Corbin to Alice Shippen, [c. July 1780], Shippen Family Papers, microfilm, reel 3, 2101, LCMD; Catharine Greene to Esther Reed, Nov. 31, 1780, Reed Papers. On the reluctance of Massachusetts women to become involved in the campaign, see Samuel Cooper to La Luzerne, July 13, Aug. [17?], 1780, Samuel Cooper Papers, Huntington Library. My thanks to Charles Akers for this latter reference.

56. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Washington Writings*, XIX, 71 (see also 167). For the decision to turn the funds over to Washington, see “Letter II from Philadelphia,” *Md. Gaz.*, July 28, 1780.

57. Esther Reed to [George Washington], [July 31, 1780] (draft), Reed Papers.

58. Esther Reed to Joseph Reed, Aug. 22, [1780], *ibid.*; Fitzpatrick, ed., *Washington Writings*, XIX, 350–351; Joseph Reed to Esther Reed, Aug. 26, 1780, Reed Papers.

59. Marquis de Chastellux, *Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781 and 1782*, ed. and trans. Howard C. Rice, Jr. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1963), I, 135; Fitzpatrick, ed., *Washington Writings*, XXI, 101n (see also *ibid.*, 4, 77, 102; XX, 168). And see a note from the committee to Joseph Reed, Oct. 7, [1780], Reed Papers.

60. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Washington Writings*, XXI, 221.

61. *AFC*, III, 380n, 378; Sarah Jay to John Jay, Sept. 22, 1780, and to Kitty Livingston, Dec. 1, 1780, both in John Jay Papers, CU. Rush is quoted in Butterfield, “Washington’s Sewing Circle,” n. 41 above.

62. “Letter II from Philadelphia,” *Md. Gaz.*, July 28, 1780.

63. Gilman, ed., *Wilkinson Letters*, 61.

64. Margaret Manigault to Gabriel Manigault, Nov. 30–Dec. 2, 1792, Manigault Papers, SCL; Susanna Dillwyn to William Dillwyn, May 2–27, 1789, William Dillwyn Papers, box 1, LCP/HSP; Alice Izard to Ralph Izard, Dec. 4, 1794, Ralph Izard Papers, SCL. Men continued their wartime practice of writing about politics to their wives; see, e.g., Theodore Sedgwick to Pamela Sedgwick, 1790s *passim*, in Sedgwick Papers II and III.

65. Bayard, *Travels*, 45; Hannah Emery to Mary Carter, Feb. 10–17, 1788, Cutts Family Papers, EI; Debby Logan to Mary Norris, Feb. 4, 1799, Loudoun Papers, box 42; Abigail Adams to Elizabeth Peabody, July 19, 1799, Shaw Papers, box 1.

66. [Caroline de Windt, ed.], *Journal and Correspondence of Miss Adams, Daughter of John Adams* (New York, 1841–1842), I, 83, 223; *AFC*, I, 329–330; Abigail Adams

to [Cotton Tufts], Oct. 10, 1786, Miscellaneous Letters, MCNY. See esp. Stewart Mitchell, ed., *New Letters of Abigail Adams 1788-1801* (Boston, 1947), *passim* (hereafter cited as Adams, *New Letters*). A challenger to Mrs. Adams's preeminent position among female political commentators was Mary Stead Pinckney, second wife of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and cousin of Margaret Izard Manigault. See her letters in Pinckney Family Papers, ser. 4, vol. 14, LCMD, and Manigault Papers.

67. Letitia Cunningham, *The Case of the Whigs Who Loaned their Money on the Public Faith Fairly Stated* (Philadelphia, 1783; Evans #17900); Boyd et al., eds., *Jefferson Papers*, XIII, 151, 393. For Abigail Adams's statement that women's influence should not be exercised in public: Adams, *New Letters*, 96.

68. For a positive comment on women's private influence, see, e.g., "An Essay on the Means of Promoting Federal Sentiments," *New Haven Gazette and Connecticut Magazine*, II (1787), 275. The most detailed discussions of the New Jersey episode are Edward Raymond Turner, "Women's Suffrage in New Jersey," *Smith College Studies in History*, I, no. 4 (Northampton, 1916), 165-187, and Mary Philbrook, "Woman's Suffrage in New Jersey Prior to 1807," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, LVII (1939), 870-898. Also useful is J. R. Pole, "Suffrage in New Jersey, 1790-1807," *ibid.*, LXXI (1953), 39-61. My assistant Peggy Hayes did most of the research upon which the following paragraphs are based.

69. The best discussion of the intentions of the New Jersey constitutional convention is in Turner, "Women's Suffrage," *Smith Col. Studs.*, 166-168, 176-179; he quotes the 1800 legislator on 174. For evidence that some women were voting by 1787, see Henry Shinn, "An Early New Jersey Poll List," *PMHB*, XLIV (1920), 77-81.

70. *Centinel of Freedom* (Newark, N.J.), Oct. 18, 1797, quoted in Philbrook, "Woman's Suffrage," *Procs. NJHS*, LVII (1939), 90-91.

71. William Griffith, *Eumenes, Being a Collection of Papers . . .* (Trenton, N.J., 1799), 33; "Friend to the Ladies," in *True American* (Trenton, N.J.), Oct. 18, 1802, quoted in Philbrook, "Woman's Suffrage," *Procs. NJHS*, LVII (1939), 95-96.

72. The best account of the referendum is in Turner, "Women's Suffrage," *Smith Col. Studs.*, 181-185. Richard P. McCormick, *The History of Voting in New Jersey* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1953), 98-100, unfortunately falls prey to the antifemale suffrage propaganda.

73. Eliza Cabot, "Reminiscences," Cabot Family Papers, SLRC; John Frederick Schroeder, *Memoir of the Life and Character of Mrs. Mary Anna Boardman . . .* (New Haven, Ct., 1849), 279. See also Susan I. Lesley, *Recollections of My Mother* (Boston, 1886), 44.

74. John Steele to Ann Steele, Dec. 27, 1800, and Ann Steele to John Steele, Feb. 11, 1801, John Steele Papers, SHC/UNC (see also Ann Steele to Polly Steele, Feb. 29 [sic], 1802).

75. Linda K. Kerber has examined the role of the Revolution in American women's collective political memory in a perceptive paper delivered at the Conference on Women in Wars and Revolutions sponsored by Baruch College, CUNY, in May 1978.

1. Two of the most important recent examinations of the Revolution from this standpoint are John Shy, "The Military Conflict Considered as a Revolutionary War," in his *A People Numerous and Armed* (New York, 1976), 193-224; and Ronald Hoffman, "The 'Disaffected' in the Revolutionary South," in Alfred A. Young, ed., *The American Revolution: Essays in the History of American Radicalism* (DeKalb, Ill., 1975), 273-316.

2. Susan Mason Smith, *Memoir of Colonel David Mason, 1842*, Shaw Family Papers, box 4, LCMD; *Warren-Adams Letters . . . 1743-1814*, Collections of the MHS, LXXII-LXXIII (Boston, 1917, 1925), II, 409-411, I, 59. See further, "Journal of Sarah Winslow Deming, 1775," *American Monthly Magazine*, IV (1894), 45-49; and W. H. Upham, comp., "Extracts from Letters Written at the Time of the Occupation of Boston by the British, 1775-6," *EIHC*, XIII (1876), 153-276.

3. Lyman H. Butterfield et al., eds., *Adams Family Correspondence* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963-), I, 231, 204 (hereafter cited as *AFC*).

4. Lilla M. Hawes, ed., *The Papers of Lachlan McIntosh, 1774-1779*, Collections of GHS, XII (Savannah, 1975), 57-58; Margaret Wheeler Willard, ed., *Letters on the American Revolution 1774-1776* (Boston, 1925), 280; "Narrative of Mrs. Abraham Brasher, 1801" (typescript), 31, NYHS; Ann Eliza Bleecker, *The Posthumous Works of Ann Eliza Bleecker in Prose and Verse . . .* (New York, 1793), 178, 118; Azubah Norton, Deposition, Jan. 7, 1840, Revolutionary War Pension Applications and Bounty Land Warrants, microfilm M-804, reel 1829, 1219, NA (hereafter cited as *RWPA*). For an analysis of Bleecker's work, see Wendy Martin, "Women and the American Revolution," *EAL*, XI (1976-1977), 323-326.

5. Lyman H. Butterfield et al., eds., *Diary and Autobiography of John Adams Iredell* (Raleigh, N.C., 1976), II, 239; Elizabeth Farmar, ed., *The Papers of James Iredell* (Raleigh, N.C., 1976), II, 239; Elizabeth Farmar to Mrs. [Holroyd?], Oct. 25, 1783, Elizabeth Farmar Letterbook, HSP.

6. Elizabeth Ambler to [Mildred Smith], 1781, Elizabeth Ambler Papers, CW; Higginbotham, ed., *Iredell Papers*, II, 244, 246.

7. Sally Paine to Robert Treat Paine, May 11, 21, 1775, and Abigail Greenleaf to same, Oct. 17, 1775, all in Robert Treat Paine Papers, MHS.

8. Stephen Salisbury to Samuel Salisbury, May 1776, Salisbury Family Papers, AAS; *AFC*, I, 284 (see 276-296 *passim* on the dysentery epidemic, and I, 379-380, II, 23-24, 37, on smallpox). The impact of disease on the northern army is graphically described in the letters of William Bond, 1776 *passim*, microfilm, William Bond Papers, LCMD.

9. The quotation is from St. George Tucker to Fanny Tucker, July 11, 1781, Tucker-Coleman Papers, microfilm, reel 3, EGS. For another expression of the same opinion: *Warren-Adams Letters*, II, 428. The Adams family's inoculation experiences may be traced in *AFC*, II, 37-117, *passim*. Among the women who had to decide to inoculate their children without being able to consult their husbands were Sally Pinckney (see letters of Sept-Oct. 1780, Pinckney Family Papers, ser. 1, box 4,