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Women's Involvement in Revolutionary Wars: The Case of Algeria (1954-1962) and America (1775-1783)

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DEDICATIONS

I dedicate this work to the soul of my beloved father who taught me how to hold tight to my dreams, God bless his pure soul.

I also dedicate it to my dear mother symbol of sacrifice, patience, and love.

A dedication goes to my brothers Adel, Abdelhak, Wahid, Bilel, Hamza, my dear sister Maroua, and my beloved Husband Ameer who was very supportive and patient.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AFMA	Association of Muslim Women of Algeria
ALN	Armee de Liberation Nationale / National Liberation Army
AML	Amis du Manifeste et de la Liberté / Friends of the Manifesto and Liberty
CRUA	Revolutionary Committee of Unity and Action
FLN	Front for National Liberation
MTDL	Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties
OAS	Organisation Armée Secrete or Secret Armed Organization
PCA	Parti Communiste Algérien / Algerian Communist Party
PPA	Algerian People's Party
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
UFA	Union of Algerian Women

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ABSTRACT

The present study investigates women's involvement in Revolutionary Wars; American and Algerian. The study compares the two cases; American and Algerian in the period that preceded the Revolutionary Wars and during the Revolutions with a focus on the status of women; their education, marriage, and legal status. It also sheds light on women's reactions to the colonization of their countries, and the different roles they played during the Revolutionary War of America (1775-1783) and the Revolutionary War of Algeria (1954-1962). This study compares American and Algerian women in terms of their status before the Revolutionary War of each country and their contribution to the victory of their countries. Methods used to accomplish this study were; historical research to investigate the main historical events during the colonial period of each country, and the events leading up to the Revolutionary Wars of both countries. Comparative history was used as the main method to compare American and Algerian women's status, roles, and contributions to the obtainment of independence of each country. Structured interviews were conducted with 20 Algerian women (Mujahidat). The analysis of data from both cases showed many similarities in the lives of American and Algerian women during the colonial period of each country, and even during the Revolutionary War. The analysis of the results from the two cases revealed that there are even differences between the two cases.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The role of women, when their countries suffer from wars and conflicts, led to questioning their effectiveness and contribution to the issues that concern their countries.

Women are considered the other half of society along with men. When their countries are at risk or in case of wars, in particular, they fight side by side with men. Through the years leading up to the Revolutionary Wars, in America and Algeria, women experienced changes in the social status and the significance of their newly adapted roles by which they started to gradually feel their importance in their societies and their countries. Before the wage of the Revolutionary Wars in America and Algeria, women had completely distinctive positions in their societies and received very different perceptions and treatment from their patriarchal societies.

Women enjoyed no kind of liberties, and that led them to feel negative about themselves because they felt restricted either by laws, customs, or traditions. Besides, they had no total freedom economically, legally, or at the level of having formal authority positions. As far as education is concerned, women enjoyed little rights concerning literacy, and only few of them were able to read and write. Women's education was restricted to the ability to run their households and to corresponding with family and friends. Females had not been only discriminated, but also believed to be inferior to males; thus, there was no need to be educated like males. Literacy was considered a dangerous aspect for women because it was restricted to men who need it in their life because of responsibility towards their family, society, and country. A literate woman was seen as insane; many stories were told about men who were shocked and distressed by the fact that their women could read and write. Women's literacy was needless because they did not need to have jobs or to run the household and help

pay for the family's economic needs. On the other hand, their families considered that males' literacy is a prerequisite to be responsible for a family.

Women's literacy, if any, was based on religion, and very few of them were able to read and write; they received a religious education to understand the Bible or the Quran, and thus to teach their children the basic religious teachings. Illiteracy rates were very high for women, and those who could obtain education were exceptional and very few in colonial America and colonial Algeria. In the American context, it was such a bizarre action for women to show interest in reading, which was specifically a male's deed. They even considered women to be mentally unstable, and their minds are not strong enough to handle reading or get educated. Even encouragement for women's education was a rare act during the colonial period in America and Algeria; their education was limited to domestic skills because home was considered the best place for a woman.

Women were expected to form families, so it was inevitable for them to get married because they were created to complete men's lives and get economic security and stability. Women were their fathers' responsibility before marriage, but after marriage their husbands took responsibility and were dominant over them. Women submitted to their husbands' will because that was axiomatic as nature's law and a man's law as well, who were regarded as a model of virtue. When they reached a certain age, single women started to be labeled and described with mean descriptions, and they were obliged to depend on their brothers and relatives; they were deprived of their rights to work or to get financial independence. In the American context, unlike the Algerian one, women's identity was defined by their roles as wives and mothers, rather than as a legal entity. Marriage made women a fused identity with their husbands and made them restricted and invisible against the law that considered them one. Marriage erased their birth names and replaced them with their husbands'. Women were supposed to take care of their children and husbands at the expense of themselves; otherwise,

they would be labeled irresponsible. If they chose to stay single, women were labeled spinsters, which allow them to enjoy few rights.

Property owning was a real challenge for women in colonial America and colonial Algeria; American married women had no right to possess any kind of property, and if they were widowed and wanted to remarry, they lost what they inherited from their deceased husbands to the second husband. In other words, they and their properties would become the husbands' properties; women could not even write a will or sue or be sued. On the other hand, unmarried women could own properties and could write a will. Algerian women enjoyed no property-owning too, and they could not have it because of the social rules and the poverty imposed by the French colonization. Algerian unmarried women had no property and had to be under the supervision of one of the male relatives; father, brother, or other kin males. Inheritance in America and Algeria favors males over females; women cannot have the same share as men due to the religious scripts in both societies, and due to the social rules, that considered women as men's responsibility, so they did not need to inherit by themselves.

It was obvious that women were fragile creatures that could not handle politics with its rough atmosphere and abstract ideas; therefore, they were excluded from the political arena. Women were not represented politically, neither were they allowed to participate in political life. They had no right to vote based on the males' laws. The community leaders were males, and they readily accepted the supposed inferiority of women. In the Algerian context, women also, like American women, had no political right like voting or even discussing political issues of their country during the colonial period, and that was not only the case of women, but also men who had been marginalized by the French colonists. The latter denied all Algerians' political rights, and women were the oppressed of the oppressed, by their men due to the nature of the Algerian conservative society that considered politics way far from the perception of women.

From the religious point of view, women had more restrictions. Women's obedience to their husbands should be for the sake of God's worship and acceptance, which drew the lines in women/men relationships that were characterized by subjugation and subservience. Women are considered the weaker part in relationships, and they are apt to commit sins and thus to drag men towards sins, so they should be helpmates that assist men to worship God according to the Bible and according to the Quran. Women were considered the source of ethics and the reputation of their families depended on them, so society had to be overprotective, which led to the conservative views, especially in the Algerian context.

Women's position depended on the cultural, religious, and legal statuses. The experiences of women varied somewhat from rural to urban areas, and they faced different circumstances within the same society when it came to social classes; between the rich and the poor. Before the Revolutionary Wars, American and Algerian women resisted the colonization of their countries through different means like rejecting the French culture and education, teaching their children the nationalistic cause, and helping their male mates by donations and charity collection. For the American women, for example, they started to notice their importance in the colonies. They were needed in the Revolution because of their crucial role in the household economy. The colonies decided to boycott British goods and stopped importing them. The shortage of certain products needed to be dealt with, so the revolted colonies required the women's support to alternate British goods. American women in sewing circles produced a product called homespun to replace the imported British textiles. The sewing circles also acted as social meetings at which political issues were discussed.

The need for women's economic help led them to feel their importance and to experience their patriotic feelings, so they started to act in accordance. Spinning, sewing, and knitting circles existed primarily as social work gatherings in America's early colonial period, until Britain imposed increasingly hefty taxes on her colonies, culminating with the Stamp

Act of 1765. To discuss the unconstitutionality of the Stamp Act and to prove they could and would purchase no more British goods until it was repealed, women's "spinning bees" were restructured as "spinning meetings," political demonstrations where women would compete to spin, weave, and knit the most fiber goods to compensate for the boycotted material.

To make the boycotting successful, Americans created a movement known as "a non-importation movement," which profoundly affected the roles and responsibilities of free and enslaved women in colonial America. During this period, more and more women acquired spinning and weaving skills, engaged in political discussions, and contributed to the colonial economy. Women wrote patriotic poems and songs to inject the ideas of liberty and identity; women's meetings and gatherings were organized and methodic under a formal society. In 1766, the city's female auxiliary, the Daughters of Liberty, became the first group to formalize their organization under that name.

During the Revolutionary War, women's roles shifted gradually from being merely domestic to reach the battlefields. Women were nurses who helped the wounded soldiers; they went from one camp to another for help, they were known as camp followers. They also acted like seamstresses, cooks, and maids. They sewed uniforms for the soldiers, cooked for them, and cleaned their places. Women held weapons and participated in the war through direct action; they were soldiers, they attacked the enemy, and killed its warriors. They spied on them, gathered information from the enemy's camps, taking the risk of discovery and capture.

For the Algerian part, women lived in a patriarchal society too where they had not enjoyed most of their rights and liberties. Algeria was under the control of France, which affected males' and females' lives. Women were the oppressed of the oppressed. As the second-biggest imperialist state, France added Algeria to its list of colonized countries. For Algeria, days full of fear and pain seemed to never end. A great number of Europeans, referred to as "pied noirs," were sent to Algeria to substitute Algerians, took their lands, and

expelled them towards much dryer areas. French soldiers confiscated lands from Algerian farmers and were mostly gifted to European colonists for free, to maintain the French control over Algerians and Algeria's wealth. However, the latter actions were the starting point for transforming the Algerian society. The French had colonized Algeria since 1830; France, to uphold its control of Algeria, had considered it as an integral part of it since 1848. France, during its presence in Algeria, followed many strategies in all aspects of life, social, political, and military. It tried to eradicate every part of the Algerian identity and replace it with a French one to facilitate its control over the land and people.

In Algeria, women were conventionally considered weaker than men in mind, body, and spirit. The deeds of women were the source of the reputation and honor of the family; consequently, women were expected to be modest, humble, and discreet. Any action of wrongdoing, especially if publicly acknowledged, could lead to damage the family's reputation and dignity. From an early age, girls were brought up to believe that they were inferior to men, and that they should be submissive to them, whereas boys were taught to believe that they were entitled to the care and solicitude of women. The roles were very well defined by the society from the very first years of childhood; where girls and boys have clearly obtained the addressed roles by their society.

Algerian families considered religious education as a vital part of their children especially boys. Children were sent to Zawiyahs to acquire the Islamic principles. Boys could carry on their higher education, but girls were not allowed to due to several reasons, including raising girls to become future mothers and housewives. Girls from an early age learned how to spin, sew, cook, and clean the house. They also learned how to raise animals and to work in the land. Women in rural areas did not have the same options as those who lived in urban areas. Women in cities enjoyed some rights and liberties especially that of getting formal education, which was mainly a French one.

Marriage was inevitable, every young woman was supposed to get married at a very young age. Divorce was a very odd act, even when women suffered from their husbands, they would never ask for divorce because it's a shameful act that would put the families' reputations at stake. Staying single too was not an advisable option for women; otherwise, they would be labeled spinsters. Women were submissive to their fathers and brothers before marriage, and to their husbands after marriage. They had no right to obtain property or to get involved in economic life, except in rare cases like the death of their husbands and fathers or brothers.

As the years passed and the Revolutionary War approached, women's social position changed gradually due to the need for their help. During the Revolutionary War, Algerian women got involved in it and helped in the resistance against the French practices. They participated in the war as nurses, cooks, seamstresses; they even held arms and fought on the battlefields.

The Algerian Revolutionary War and the American one marked a great shift in the roles of women, from being domestically in charge to other duties and roles. American and Algerian women, during the colonial period of the two countries, lived in patriarchal societies that favored men over women, and that limited their rights of education, restricted their roles as wives, imposed typical rules for women, and deprived them of their political involvement. The various circumstances that women of the two timely- and geographically-distinct cases had passed through were almost duplicated, as they both experienced the same life characteristics.

American and Algerian women's contribution to their countries' Revolutionary Wars through different roles and their involvement in the national cause were significant and prominent in the history of both countries, where women were side by side with men and where these countries surpassed the social rules that defined women's passive roles and

shifted it to active participants who could change different thoughts, beliefs, and roles due to the Revolutionary Wars. The latter led to a significant transformation obtained by women to show that revolution had a double effect on the independence and freedom of people, in general, and on women, in particular.

1.1. Statement of the Problem

The current study compares American and Algerian women's participation, roles, and contributions during the Revolutionary Wars, as well as their status and position in society at the level of education, marriage, and legal rights. It also compares the two cases in terms of women's effectiveness in their societies. It describes the historical events that led to the change of women's roles in the two societies, and the chronological development of the two Revolutionary Wars starting from the first day of colonization to the obtainment of independence. The thesis investigates the main similarities and differences between the two cases. It describes women's positions in both societies before the wage of the two Revolutionary Wars and during the Revolutionary reactions of both people in America and Algeria. The study also focuses on the political involvement of American and Algerian women during the Revolutionary Wars and how they have been involved in the nationalistic cause of their countries. The study is designed to investigate women's complementary roles with which the outcome of the Revolutionary Wars, in America and Algeria, was decided. The study was also designed to investigate women as a remarkable part in the equation of the Revolutionary Wars.

1.2. Research Questions

The research addresses these main questions:

-How were American and Algerian women's positions in their societies during the colonial periods of both countries?

-What are the roles women played during the Revolutionary Wars of America and Algeria?

And to what extent they contributed to the two countries' independence?

-What were the circumstances that led to the change of women's roles, and how did these roles change in society?

-To what extent were the Revolutionary Wars a turning point in American and Algerian Women's liberation?

-How were the political involvements of American and Algerian women, and how did they obtain political rights?

-What are the similarities and differences between the two cases before and during the Revolutionary Wars?

-What were the similarities and differences between American and Algerian women in education, marriage, and legal rights?

-What were the similarities and differences between American and Algerian women in the different roles they played during the Revolutionary Wars?

-What was the aftermath of women's contribution to the Revolutionary Wars at their level and the level of their countries?

1.3. Significance of the Study

The study shows that despite the difference between the two cases in terms of the period and the structure of society as well as religious variance, they still have commonalities such as women's struggle to occupy appropriate positions in their societies. The study sheds light on women's education, marriage, and legal status in both societies that were very similar regardless of the period and space. The study proves that women had a great role to conduct in America and Algeria, considering their very important participation during the Revolutionary Wars, which shifted the balance towards their countries' victories. Indeed,

without women, the American and Algerian Revolutionary Wars would have neither started in the first place nor would have ended with victory.

The study also proves that American and Algerian women's participation in wars, despite differences in time, space, social and cultural backgrounds, has many things in common. It also proves that there were many differences between the two cases as well, yet they were few compared to the similarities. The study proves that women through history struggled to obtain their basic rights and to secure their positions, and it indicates their presence and significance in their societies. It also evinces that woman had always been discriminated and underestimated in patriarchal societies.

The study is significant in the field of history because it adds a source of information to both American history and Algerian history by comparing the two historical events in a particular period in each country, the period of the Revolutionary Wars. The study is also an addition to the field of women's history as well as sociology and anthropology wherein human behavior is examined in two different societies vis-à-vis women and their societal position as well as their constant changing roles due to the circumstances surrounding them. The study is also significant in terms of recording stories of women who participated in the Revolutionary War, especially women of the Algerian First Wilaya, whose contribution to the victory of Algeria had not been shed light upon.

1.4. Definition of Terms

The following definitions are provided to ensure uniformity and understanding of these terms throughout the study. The researcher developed all definitions not accompanied by a citation:

Anti-tea Leagues: “Women’s anti-tea leagues sprang up to compliment the spinning societies. Women pledged to give up tea themselves, encouraged others to renounce it...” (DePauw, 1975, p. 156).

Daughters of Liberty: “carried vital symbolic meaning both to the participants and to the editors who reported their accomplishments” (Norton, 1996, p. 166).

Feme covert: “the common law principle, imported to the American colonies from England that stripped a woman from her civil existence upon marriage” (Cullen-DuPont, 2000, p. 87).

Feme sole: “A term inherited from English common law ‘femme sole’ refers to a single woman or widow” (Cullen-DuPont, 2000, p. 87).

Harka/ Harkis: Algerian units in the French army, locally recruited auxiliary troops created to prevent Algerian fighters from gaining ground (McDgoull, 2017).

Madrrasah: An important educational institution in Algeria; it embraced learning from all aspects, studying and teaching (Benlahene, 2011).

Maquis: Military camps of the Algerian Revolutionary fighters against the French colonization (Amrane, 1994).

Mudjahidat or Moudjahidat: “women fighters, or moudjahidat (pronounced “moojaheedat”; plural of moudjahida), served in two capacities, military and civilian” (Lazreg, 2014, p. 95).

Pied-Noirs: “...the Pied-Noirs (singular pied-noir) are crucial to any understanding of Algeria’s population mix. They are the ‘Black Feet’ or predominantly French settlers and their descendants in Algeria; the name is also used to refer to Algerian Jews” (Ham, Luckham, Sattin, 2007, p. 42).

Puritans: Puritans were English Protestants who believed that the reforms of the Church of England did not go far enough, and they wanted to purify it especially from the Catholic practices (Purvis, 1999).

Quakers: Also known as Friends or Society of Friends, members of a Christian religious movement originally from England, and spread through the US and other countries. Quakers went to America to spread their beliefs and to escape persecution (Levy, 1991).

Spinning bees: “An important way in which women and teenage girls expressed their opposition to English policies was through participating in spinning bees” (Cott, 2004, p. 135)

Ulama: A group of reformists emerged as the Association of Algerian Muslim Ulama (McDougall, 2006).

Zawiyah: A religious school that is the primary source of education (Clancy-Smith, 1994).

1.5. Limitations

Many researchers undertook studies on the topic of women's involvement in the war, especially American women. Since this topic is too old and participants in the war no longer exist, it was hard to collect data using direct interviews or questionnaires with women; instead, dependence on the previous literature was inevitable and necessary to accomplish the first part of the research. For the case of Algeria, collecting data through direct interviews was possible, but the number of the respondents was small, so results may not be generalized. The nature of the Algerian society, in general, and the East Algerian region, in particular, led to some limitations to access these women and to visit them for the collection of information about women's past roles in the Revolutionary War. Data collection was also difficult and inaccessible due to women's health problems, including age that affected their memory and sometimes even affected their ability to speak for a long time.

Some women were discreet about their presence in the camps and their participation in the Revolutionary War considering the confidentiality of information that are preserved just for the Mujahidin as they are secrets of the nationalistic cause that should not be revealed. Some families did not receive the researcher in their homes and refused to give any

information about their past experiences as Mujahidat and nationalists. In addition, a lot of the Mujahidat died before even the researcher interviewed them, and even when they were questioned, some Mujahidat had health issues that prevented them from speaking for a long time, which led to a scarcity of information. Participants or Mujahidat varied from one region to another and from rural to urban areas as well as from one social class to another; all these factors affected the results. The Regional Direction of the Mujahidin did not provide the researcher with lists of the Mujahidat of the East region, so finding Mujahidat was difficult.

1.6. Delimitations

To obtain information for studying women's different roles in the case of America, the researcher depended on previous researches, scholars, and historians that deeply studied the issue and have extensive production about the history of the colonial period, Revolutionary War, and women's roles in both colonial and Revolutionary periods. For the Algerian part, the researcher relied on the previous historical studies about the Algerian colonial period and the Revolutionary War as well as women's participation in the Revolutionary War.

To specify the sampling of, and focus on, a certain category of participants, that are Mujahidat who participated in the Revolutionary War, the interview was the most suitable tool to collect data.

1.7. Organization of the Study

The thesis is divided into five chapters; Chapter 1 presents the introduction of the thesis that preludes to the American and Algerian colonial periods, the situation of women during these periods, their involvement in Revolutionary Wars, and their contribution to the victory of their countries. Chapter 1 also displays the statement of the problem, research questions, significance of the study, and definition of terms. The chapter also states the limitations and delimitations of the study. Finally, it provides the division of the whole research.

Chapter 2 is called “Review of Related Literature”; it deals with the review of previous research related to the problem being investigated. It is divided into several sections. Section 1 is about American Women before the Revolutionary War, which is subdivided into three subsections. (1) Education of American women during the colonial period, the rate of their literacy, and the situation of education during the colonial period from the very first settlement to the beginning of the War are discussed. This subsection also highlights the kinds of education and its main establishments; schools, high schools, and universities. It also shows the difference between male and female education during the British colonization of America.

The second subsection debates the marital traditions and customs, the importance of marriage during the colonial period, as well as the age of marriage and men’s and women’s or husbands’ and wives’ responsibilities. This subsection explains society's reaction to marriage and spinsterhood as well as to widowhood. It also sheds light on divorce issues in colonial societies and the reaction of the different religious groups regarding it. The third subsection, Legal Status, confers women’s legal rights and duties during the colonial period, and the development of women's position in their society. This subsection also elucidates American women’s property-owning, inheritance, and political rights during the colonization of the British.

Section 2 of this chapter is entitled “American Women's Roles in the Revolutionary War”. It sheds light on the American women's contribution to the nationalist cause and the resistance of the British colonization through different stages leading to the Revolutionary War, with particular focus on the roles played by women and the importance of their involvement in the Revolutionary War. This section contains subsections and subheadings. The first subsection, entitled “Prelude to the Revolution”, explains the chronological development of the resistance and the heading to the Revolutionary War by explaining the

different reasons and circumstances that contributed to the rejection of the colonization and the rule of the British over the American colonies. It describes the different historical events that preceded the Revolution and that were the direct or indirect causes for the wage of the War.

The second subsection, entitled “Women in the Eve of the Revolution”, represents women's position regarding the different events happening in their country, their reaction to the resistance period, and their choice of sides, loyalty or disloyalty to the British rule. It also highlights the development of women's perception of, and reaction to, the nationalist cause through different movements via which women chose their roles of resisting the British tyranny, through different demonstrations and protests, and through pushing the economy of their country to resist the British economic dominance and to resist the different policies directed towards their people. The subsection also shows women's attitudes towards their men's participation in the resistance movement. It also explains the beginning of the resistance, and the different forms of resistance conducted by women, like boycotting the British goods and forming organizations to inject patriotic ideas through different forms of literature especially poetry.

The third subsection, entitled “Women's Contribution to the Revolution”, explains the responsibility women had taken towards the independence of their country, and how women contributed to the victory of their country. It emphasizes the different roles women played during the Revolutionary War, and how they helped their men to obtain Independence. This subsection showed how the Revolutionary War shifted the ordinary domestic roles of women to extraordinary ones to contribute to the success of the nationalist cause.

Section 3 of this chapter, entitled “Algerian Women before the Revolutionary War”, delineates the Algerian women's status before and after the French colonization. It explained how Algerian women lived in their society and their different roles. It also focuses on the

Algerian women's place in the colonial society wherein their daily lives during the French occupation are described. This section is divided into three subsections. The first explains education, in general, and Algerian women's education, in particular; it emphasizes the status of women's literacy compared to men's one, and the kinds of education the Algerian children, in general, and women, in particular, received. It explains the religious education Algerian children obtained, the different stages education developed through, and the different reformation movements that affected the Algerian society before and during the colonization.

The second subsection, Marriage, focuses on marriage in the Algerian society before and after the arrival of the French. It also shows the marital relations in Algerian society and the different customs and traditions of marriage. It illustrates the roles of spouses, the age of marriage, and social views concerning marriage and divorce. The third subsection, Legal Status, explains women's legal rights and position and their legal lives are discussed throughout the colonial period and even before it. It also explains how Algerian women's legal status changed and developed gradually through the years, and highlights their property-owning and the different economic issues, mainly inheritance.

Section 4, entitled "Algerian Women's Roles in the Revolutionary War", deals with the different roles Algerian women played during the Revolutionary War against the French colonization. It sheds light on women's contribution to the nationalist cause, and to the achievement and assistance of women to help their country gain independence. This section is divided into three subsections. The first subsection, entitled "Prelude to the Revolution", describes the different periods before the Revolutionary War, starting from the Popular Rebellions to the War of Independence. This subsection provided a chronological flow of events from the 1830s to the 1950s where Algerians started their resistance against the French policies and presence in their lands. The second subsection, entitled "Women in the Eve of the Revolution", sheds light on women's status in the prelude of the Revolution, as well as their

attitudes towards the Revolutionary War, and their preparation to participate in it. It also shows their reactions towards the French trial to assimilate them to hit their country using them via many decrees and laws. It also pinpoints women's political involvement, their interest in the nationalist cause, and their contribution to fueling the crowds by teaching their children the love of one's country and the dislike and enmity of the colonizer.

The third subsection, entitled “Women's Contribution to the Revolution”, sheds light on the roles women played during the Revolutionary War, and how women shifted the balance of power towards their country's victory where they were present side by side with men on the battlefields fulfilling many roles.

Chapter 3 presents the methodology and procedures used to collect data for the study. Several approaches and methods are followed to conduct this research; the historical research to collect and report the different historical events that took place in the two countries during a certain period (the colonial and revolutionary ones) to establish facts to arrive at conclusions concerning the past events in both America and Algeria. The historical research is also used to focus on the different historians' point of views on women's status before the colonization of America and Algeria; it provides the history of the two societies to show the development through the history of education, marriage, and legal status of women. It is also used to study women's involvement and roles in wars in the two cases. The historical method is also used to study and describe the different chronological events leading up to the Revolutionary Wars in both America and Algeria; it also studies the different reasons for the war in both countries.

The second method used to collect data in this research is the survey method wherein an interview with Algerian former participants of the Revolutionary War or Mujahidat was conducted to cover the colonial period and Revolutionary one. Women were asked about their childhood, education, marriage, youth, legal status, and their attitudes towards the colonization and Revolution, as well as about their different roles played during the

Revolutionary War. After collecting data, the comparative history is used to compare the two cases by analyzing both collected data to identify, analyze and explain similarities and differences across the two societies, countries, and histories. Comparative history is also used to reach conclusions and to answer the research questions and problem about the similarities and differences between the two cases.

Chapter 3 is divided into five sections, (1) the literature concerning the study and different books that dealt with women's history, especially during the Revolutionary Wars and even before, (2) the sample used in the study that is women Mujahidat, (3) the instruments used to collect data for the study, (4) the data collected, and finally (5) data analysis.

Chapter 4 reveals the results of the analyses obtained from the study of the two cases of American and Algerian women's involvement in the Revolutionary Wars and before the wage of the two Revolutionary Wars. During the colonial period, the status of both sample women in their societies was analyzed thoroughly to show the basic similarities and differences between the two cases in education, marriage, legal status, their positions and attitudes towards the wage of the war in their countries, the different contributions both women offered to their countries, as well as the different roles played by women of both cases. This chapter offers the main findings the researcher obtained through the entire research period. Chapter 4 is divided into "Response Rate", "Demographic Data", and "Findings".

Chapter 5 contains a summary of the two cases and the findings driven from the results of the comparison between the American and the Algerian cases that shows the similarities between them and the differences as well. It also contains the conclusions drawn from the whole findings, and recommendations for further study are also provided.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter provides an extensive review of the literature and previous research related to the status, roles, and contributions of women in America and Algeria during the colonial period. This chapter provides detailed information about their education, marriage, and legal status during the colonial period of both cases, American and Algerian. This chapter provides the different revolutionary phases the two countries passed through; it provides the prelude to the American and Algerian Revolutionary Wars with a focus of people's reactions, especially women, and it provides the different roles women played during the Revolutionary War of each country. This chapter also provides the different phases in the development of American and Algerian women's lives with a focus on the shift from traditional roles to non-traditional ones.

2. 1. American Women before the Revolutionary War

A Woman's life in early America was featured by the traditional roles that were related, most of the time, to running the house, farming, and raising the children. These roles varied based on social class, wealth, and status. In colonial America, colonists created their own laws and system that were similar to those of England. Though colonists agreed on their whole perception of a woman's role in the society, there still had been some differences concerning educating girls, preparing them to get married, and allowing them to own property, as well as being free at the level of legal status, political participation, and free choice.

The English, after settling in America, set rules that governed the colonies along with the societal rules that were inherited from the European heritage. Women had few, if any, liberties to enjoy during the colonization of the British, which were derived from a variety of

social, religious and historical sources. Be it a precept, a law or a custom, the English society ascertained the up-to-standard stricture of women's and men's lives (Berkin, 2005).

The situation of a woman in colonial American society, in general, was prevailed and overwhelmed with negativity; whether she was born rich or poor, she confronted boundaries and limitations on different aspects of life especially, economic freedom, legal identity, and formal authority access (Berkin, 2005). Women's education, marriage, property owning, legal status, and political behavior were defined and perceived in different ways and various sets; from one colony to another, from one social class to another, and from one religious group to another.

2.1.1. Education

In colonial America, the family and the church were the main sources and tools of education. Values and apprenticeship were the most important elements that would define what kind of education a child should have. Indeed, education was transmitted either by example that was acquiring civility or by the ability to read and ponder the Bible (Ketznelson & Weir, 1988).

Family, community, and the church together accounted for the greater part of the mechanism by which English culture transferred itself across the generations. The instruments of deliberate pedagogy, of explicit, literate education, accounted for a smaller though indispensable, portion of process. (Bailyn, 1960, pp. 18-19)

The English culture was sustained by settlers and transmitted to the coming generations through the crucial role played by family, community, and the church. The colonists did not want to have major changes on their culture and on their children's education.

America had various religious groups, Anglican, Puritan, Quaker, Dutch, Catholic, and some Jewish. These groups taught their congregants in formal and informal settings, and churches used to be the local bodies that served in expressing and shaping the culture of the American colonists based on the geographical communities they resided in (Butler, 2008). Colonial children were taught everywhere and anywhere; schooling was almost everywhere and by almost anyone, in formal or informal settings, which was described by Cremin (1970):

schooling went on anywhere and everywhere, not only in schoolrooms, but in kitchens, manses, churches, meetinghouses, sheds erected in fields, and shops erected in towns; that pupils were taught by anyone and everyone, not only by schoolmasters, but by parents, tutors, clergymen, lay readers, precentors, physicians, lawyers, artisans, and shopkeepers; and that most teaching proceeded on an individual basis. (pp. 192-93)

Some families managed to teach their children and they succeeded in doing so due to their stability and maintenance of their families for generations in the New England soil. Andover in Massachusetts was one of the communities that established and maintained their cohesiveness and order in the midst of the wilderness of America (Greven, 1970).

In New England, Puritans set the roles of the family in educating the children and servants to the father since he was the head of the household, so he was expected to catechize his children and servants. The mother could assist the father, but it was not her primary responsibility (Moran, 1985). The church had a role in teaching children, but the Puritans focused on the family as the primary source of education for children and servants (Axtell, 1974). Puritans and Pilgrims started primary schools for their children; they were less formal where parents took the responsibility of teaching their children, or they cast it to “Dame Schools” where young women or widowed would teach the children for a small amount of money (Rippa, 1967).

After several decades, colonists, mainly Puritans in New England, started to reconsider their system of educating their children. The unanticipated destruction of the extended, stable English family was the main reason for their reconsideration; the family's traditional role as a primary source of cultural transmission was threatened, diminished, and somehow displaced (Bailyn, 1960). The colonial family's life experienced perturbation due to its transplantation in a strange land that eventually changed its character. Long travels and their outcomes of instability and endless search for permanent settlement led the family to be reluctant towards its role of educating the children (Powell, 2011).

Education started to be more formal and the community's responsibility, especially in New England. In 1635, the Boston Latin Grammar School was established as a public school (Rippa, 1967). Reverend John Cotton influenced the settlers by his views concerning the creation of a school in the New World that was similar to the Free Grammar School of Boston in England that taught Latin and Greek. The Master Philemon Pormort held the first classes at his home (Holmes, 1935). The main focus of the Boston Latin School was the teaching of religion, Latin and the classics of literature. The central theme of education was mastering more than one language (Pulliam & Van Patten, 2003). The Grammar Schools were considered as a form of secondary school.

The Puritans wanted to imitate the education of Oxford and Cambridge, and they wanted to enhance youth's knowledge after graduating from the grammar schools, so on October 28, 1636, the Great and General Court of Massachusetts Bay decided to provide 400£ to be invested in a "schoale or college" (Morison, 1995). In the late 1637, the Court decided that the college should be situated at Newtown, and that the latter should be named Cambridge. The college's responsibility was cast over a committee of six magistrates and six ministers who were considered as the Board of Overseers (Morison, 1964). The colonists

were committed to spend money from the community's wealth in order to support the creation of the college and to educate its population.

The college received support from religious men; they wanted the college to be a source of religious education for Puritans. John Harvard was the main benefactor for the college, and after his death, he left his will that donated his library to the college and his half estate as well. The college was named after him and became Harvard College (Bentinck-Smith, 1982). The college received a complete devotion from the settlers especially John Harvard; it was a main factor of the community prosperity.

In 1642, the Massachusetts Bay Colony enacted a law stating that the parents and the masters should be responsible for the children's and servants' education and literacy. The governing officials outlined the competency of reading and writing whose aim was to create citizens who were able to understand the governing laws of the new world. The Law of Education of 1642 was intended to prevent people from temptations of the devil and the submission to its will, and thus from committing sins. For Puritans, education was the only means by which people could resist Satan's temptations (Guttek, 2012). Massachusetts Bay Colony General Court enacted the law and made great efforts to warn neglecting parents and masters who failed in training their children, and provided the town officials the power to fine negligent parents. The children of negligent parents would be taken by civil authorities to surrogate families or apprenticeships to receive the appropriate education (McClellan, 1999).

Massachusetts kept enacting and enforcing education laws; in 1647, the colony required every town that had more than fifty families to hire a teacher. It also required that every town that had more than one-hundred families to establish a "Grammar School". The colony decided to charge the town if they did not accept to do what they were required to do, and the fine was £5. The Act of 1647 considered that ignorance was a sign of Satan's efforts to manipulate people and keep them away from the knowledge of the scriptures, thus,

knowledge should prevail and defeat Satan's conspiracies against the Puritans (Altenbaugh, 1999). In 1650, Connecticut enacted an education law that was similar to the Massachusetts law of 1647, wherein it emphasized the religious understanding and the comprehension of the country's capital laws, by enforcing parents' role in educating their children and punishing them if they neglect their children's education (Middleton & Lombard, 2011).

The New England colonies used tax funds in order to build schools. Dedham, Massachusetts, was the first community to do so in 1648 by using taxes to support its schools. In New Hampshire, colonists were taxed in all the towns in order to contribute to building their own schools. Tax funds were used in building schools and in providing salaries of the schoolmasters as well. There were 39 grammar schools in New England by 1770 (Reef, 2009).

Education was different outside New England colony; it differed considerably based on the variety of churches. Most of these churches believed that salvation would be accomplished by the guidance of the minister instead of the individual. This was common in the Anglican Church; Anglicans believed that sermons, services, and parish visits would be the main source of guidance for worshipers. Education was considered a crucial part in the missionary task for Anglicans, but they still did not focus on it, and the least concerned with education were the Baptists and Quakers. The latter two depended on inspiration and spontaneity, and they saw that formal training and literacy were unnecessary (Middleton & Lombard, 2011).

In the middle colonies, education emphasized religious views; thus, schooling was parishes' and communities' individual concern. By the end of the seventeenth century, New York and Philadelphia had schools; the first school in New York was created by the Dutch Reformed Church and the second school was the Trinity School in 1710. The Quakers in Philadelphia founded the first educational institution in 1689 called the Friends School (Rury,

2013). Because the middle colonies attracted many people other than English, they developed an educational system that reflected the diversity of religions, ethnicity, and languages. In the 1700's, the German immigrants from various religious groups came to Pennsylvania, and they grew in number and created their own schools. As a reaction, the English created the English-language charity school in 1755 that targeted the poor English and German children (Reef, 2009).

In the South, education was different because of the small population and the remote plantations where children lived far apart; thus, it was less common to have local schools. The southern families decided that their children would have education at home. Because the southern families were rich, they hired private tutors for their children, and they sent them to England or other European countries for higher studies (McNeese, 2002). There were many attempts to create a school in Virginia. Before becoming a royal colony in 1625, Virginia Company tried to sponsor schools intended to teach Whites and Indians, but it failed. In 1635, another attempt took place by Benjamin Syms who donated 200 acres and eight cattle for the creation of the first School in Virginia, and for financing to hire a teacher who would teach children of Elizabeth City and those who lived near it. Just after 1643, the school started to receive children (Purvis, 1999).

In 1671, Virginia had just two schools intended to teach classical languages that were required for college and many professions. These schools contained qualified teachers. In the southern colonies the community had no role in sponsoring schools; the wealthy planters contributed to financing the salaries of grammar schoolmasters by charities and philanthropy (Ward, 1991). The first college established in the south colonies was William and Mary College in 1693; it was in Williamsburg, Virginia. It was established as a school of higher education when King William III and Queen Mary II granted the colonists a royal charter for its establishment (Rudolph & Thelin, 1990).

In 1696, Maryland enacted a law that intended to establish schools that would teach children good manners based on the propagation of the gospel, and to teach them reading and writing as well as Latin and Greek. The first school established was King William School at Annapolis (Wright, 2012). In Charles town, there were just few schools, when the Anglican missionaries from Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) arrived in the town; they found that people suffered from ignorance, so they decided to create a free school in 1712. The school received the poorest children in Charles town; they were taught religion, writing, Latin, Greek, accounting, astronomy, mechanics, classical history, natural philosophy, navigation, surveying...etc (Krawczynski, 2013).

In 1717, many acts were passed, in Maryland, to provide taxes for schools. In 1723, an act was passed to create one school in each county. These schools were promoted by Anglican Churches; thus, schoolmasters should be members of the Church of England, and they should be pious having exemplary lives. In addition, they should know how to teach grammar, writing, and mathematics (Wright, 2012). In 1724, Queen Anne's County School was the first school in Maryland that was financed by public funds. The schoolmasters were the choice of the community leaders who acted as "visitors" of the school; they were responsible for choosing them based on their membership of the Church of England, and on being an example of piety as well as their capability of teaching (Reef, 2009).

In 1727, Virginia passed a law that provided compulsory education for orphan and poor boys. The act stated that the churchwardens, after obtaining a certificate from the county court, would have the power "to bind out or put out to service or apprentice" the children in case their parents neglected them or were incapable of taking care of their children under the principles of the Christian values (Jernegan, 1919).

The general feature in the American colonies' education was their dependence on religion as a main source of education. By 1760, there were six institutions of higher

education in six colonies; the North contained five of them, which was a reflection of intensive disagreement of churches there. All these institutions received just males. The students' choices by the 1760s were no longer being ministers, but rather obtaining more secular jobs such as law and medicine (Middleton & Lombard, 2011).

The education laws that were enacted in the American colonies starting from the first colony, Massachusetts, did not target girls' education in particular. The 1642 law in Massachusetts required that children had to be taught to read without specifying the gender. In 1710, this law was amended to have a clear statement that boys should be taught to read and write, but girls should be taught just to read. In 1771, Massachusetts enacted a law that specified reading, writing, and ciphering for males, and reading and writing for females (Davidson, 1989). In the southern colonies, there were no similar education laws to those of Massachusetts, because most of the southern families hired private tutors for their children. In the middle colonies, a law was passed in Pennsylvania in 1683 requiring parents and masters to teach twelve-years-old boys and girls how to read scriptures and how to write. In 1690, a school for boys and girls was established by Philadelphia Friends Meeting. The school received poor children for free, but those who could pay their fees were required to pay. Poor girls had better chances to be educated in Philadelphia (Monaghan, 2005).

American girls' education was so limited that less than one-third of the women in colonial America could not sign their names; they were not allowed to attend schools (Cooke, 1993). The primary motivation for teaching girls reading skills throughout most of the early American period was to promote religious instruction and the ability to read the Bible, because women were responsible for educating their young children (Mays, 2004). Women did not go to college because they were believed to have non-sufficient brains that could not understand abstract thoughts and ideas, so they had the chance to accomplish just the

elementary education. On the other hand, the sons were able to learn skilled trades, and they were involved in the family business, or they had the chance to go to college (Berkin, 2005).

Girls' education was subjected to gender differences; there was a gap between males' and females' education because it was considered a non-beneficial affair to educate girls. Females were not only being discriminated, they were also believed to be inferior to males; thus, there was no need to be educated like males (Lockridge, 1974). When it comes to obtaining higher education, girls were not allowed to attend schools except in the case when boys were not studying, mainly in summer, or when there was vacant room that was not used by boys (Monaghan, 2005).

The colonies created an educational system in which schools, receiving boys and girls, were established to limit illiteracy among the population. The school days for girls were somewhat different; girls learned enough reading, writing, and arithmetic to read their Bibles and to be able to record household expenses. They were taught by a governess, who was usually from England and somewhat educated. They studied art, music, French, social etiquette, needlework, spinning, weaving, cooking, and nursing (Greer, 2003). The girls did not have the opportunity to go to England for higher education because it was not important for them. The schools that taught reading, writing, and arithmetic noticed minimal female participation. Girls' education had religious and domestic purposes as schools formed girls to be future housewives.

Most colonial women were neither encouraged nor permitted to obtain education beyond basic abilities in reading and writing. For girls and young women, education was mostly restricted to domestic skills and decorative arts. Race, class, and location defined the level and manner of women's education in colonial America. One of the most important reasons of a woman's education was just to have the appropriate husband, and women who obtained higher academic education were not required by men (Berkin, 2005).

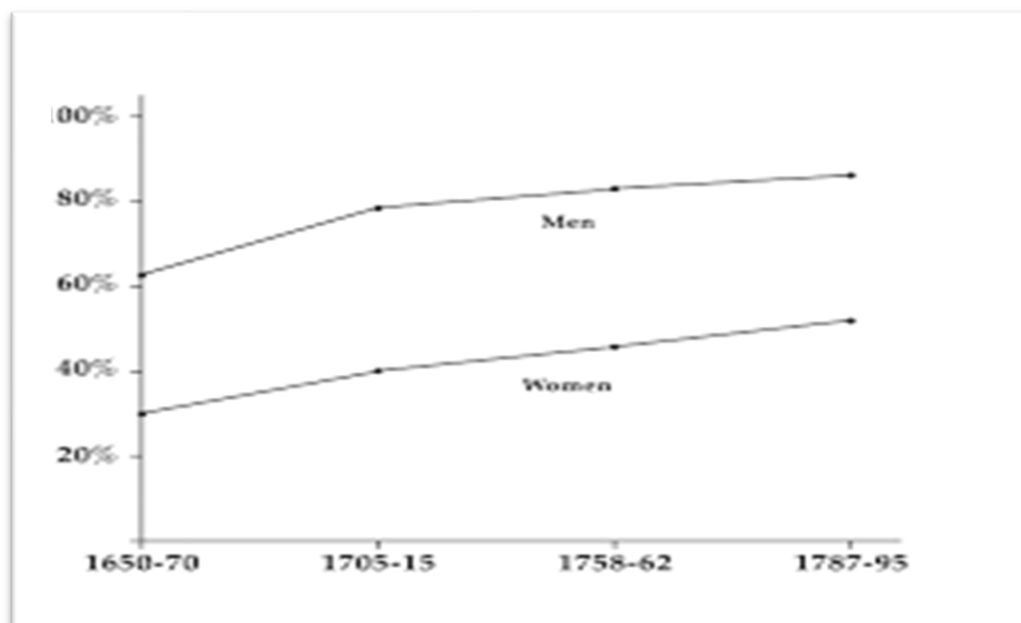
In his book, *John Winthrop: America's Forgotten Founding Father*, Bremer (2005) talked about the Governor of Connecticut Edward Hopkins who was shocked by his wife's interest in reading books, saying that:

If she had attended her household affairs and such things as belong to women, and not gone out of her way and calling to meddle in such things as are proper to men, whose minds are stronger...she might have kept her wits. (p. 321)

A literate woman was seen insane, and many stories were told about men who were shocked and distressed that their women could read and write. Figure 1 illustrates the literacy rates disparities between men and women during the colonial period:

Figure 1

Men's and Women's Literacy in New England



Note. Adapted from *Literacy in Colonial New England: An Inquiry into the Social Context of Literacy in the Early Modern West*, by K. Lockridge, 1974, p. 50, Norton. Copyright 1974 by Norton.

Figure 1 illustrates that, from men's and women's signatures of their wills, Lockridge (1974) depicted the literacy rates between 1650 and 1670. The study shows that men's literacy was 62% compared to that of women that was nearly 30%, which is half of the men's rates. The study shows that in the years between 1705 and 1715, men's literacy rates were nearly 79% compared to that of women that were 40. The rates steadily increased, yet women's rates were still less than those of men.

The third period was between 1758 and 1762, which noticed an increase in men's literacy rates with nearly 82%, but a slight increase for women (42%). The last period was between 1787 and 1795, wherein men's literacy rates were nearly 83% compared to women's literacy rates that were nearly 43%. Literacy rates noticed a changing pattern in the New England colonies through the different periods Lockridge (1974) had investigated; the study shows that there were literacy disparities between the two genders. Males' literacy was higher than females'; though there was development in the literacy rates, women still did not enjoy the same rates as men.

By the eighteenth century, the colonies in America became well-established and the population exploded. In general, women did not enjoy the same freedom and social powers, such as being the head of the household or even the right of land ownership, as men (Smith, 2010). Besides, girls received no formal education; they did not register for formal schools, but they were enrolled in "Dame School" instead, where they had been taught by women who barely could teach them how to babysit their future children. A "Dame School" was neither formal nor permanent, and it was usually run by a woman for the sake of earning some income; the teachers were not graduated from formal schools either (Smith, 2010).

Like most women in preindustrial societies, eighteenth-century American women lived in what might be called a woman's domain. Their daily activities took place within a feminine domestic circle, midwives helped in delivering infants, and nurses took care of the

sick. Women were thought to be forming a tradition-bound (Lockridge, 1974); they had a specific role to conduct that was merely restricted to their houses duties, which was their typical function in society. Indeed, it was part of traditions to relate women's place to their domestic sphere, which was the norm in the colonial American society.

Even though women's place was home not having formal education or in most cases not having education at all, there still existed evidence of women's formal or informal education, and even higher education. Some specific examples of girls' access to writing in the eighteenth century came from Boston, Massachusetts, because it was the most famous city that was known for its publications. Moreover, the new form of literature helped increase female literacy; the novel was among the factors contributing to female literacy. Samuel Richardson was the most influential novel in colonial females' lives; it got the form of letters that were exchanged between two young women (Middleton & Lombard, 2011).

The two daughters of the Boston ministers Katy Mather and Jane Turnell were literate girls because their fathers were clergymen with the highest education level in colonial America. Katy Mather received her education from her father who taught her to read the Bible and how to write summaries; she was literate in English, Hebrew, and some Latin. Jane Turnell was not just a literate girl, but also involved in literary writings. Turnell was taught by her father, who owned a rich library with literary and religious books, how to read and write at a very early age. When she was two, she could read her letters, and when she was eleven, she could write prose and poetry (Greer, 2003).

Elizabeth Graeme Fergusson, another example of literate girls in colonial America, was a girl from Philadelphia who was taught by her mother how to read and write using a Horn-Book, and she used assignments to increase her daughter's comprehension. She also used Psalms as a teaching tool to encourage Elizabeth to memorize, recite, and paraphrase parts of the Psalms. Elizabeth was taught English literature and the classical texts in their

original languages, and she learned to read Latin and Greek in addition to studying French. Her father's library was a great help for her education (Ousterhout, 2010).

Anna Green Winslow was another example of literate girls in colonial America; she was eleven years old when she was sent by her parents from Nova Scotia to Boston to carry on her education in different Boston Schools. She was taught sewing, dancing, and writing. She attended a Writing School that was just for boys, but she did that when the boys were not there. She was taught for one hour in the morning and one hour in the late afternoon. She developed her skills in writing to become a writer (Winslow & Earle, 1974).

2. 1.2. *Marriage*

Marriage in colonial America had been affected by various aspects and features such as religion, geography, and demographical backgrounds. Settling a new land and thinking of the welfare of the society were challenges to the colonists; thus, they had to have a stable population by which they would establish a community and sustain its existence. At first, colonists did not have the intention to settle in Virginia in 1607; they were just inspired by the prospects for trade (Gray, 2003). For the Puritans, in Massachusetts, they had a completely different view; they wanted to have a permanent settlement where they can practice their religion freely and have a purer society in the new world. Both of them were aware of the importance of families in order to create their societies. The settlements shapes were essential in the marriage expectations for men and women in each place (Gray, 2003).

Between 1607 and 1608, Jamestown population was very small; John Smith, in his account of the Jamestown Settlement, provided an account of just two women and, on the other hand, two hundred ninety-five settlers, who pursued sources such as gold, silver, and copper, but who did not think of establishing a stable society due to the fixed number of population. Accordingly, Virginia continued to be undersized and underdeveloped (Stanard, 1970).

In 1642, Sir William Berkeley became the royal governor of Virginia colony; he tried to increase the number of the population, and he eventually succeeded after thirty-five years of being a governor, and the number increased from eight thousand inhabitants to forty thousand (Grizzard & Smith, 2007). Berkeley promoted Virginia to the British elites; they were small in number, but they were very prominent in transferring their old world's lifestyle to the new world (Fischer, 1991).

The group of elites contributed to the foundation of the social standards of the society they established, despite their small number compared to the indentured servants who were the largest group, nearly seventy-five percent of the population. Some of the population were English young ladies who were compelled to have the voyage toward the colony in order to be marriage partners for the single men of the colony (Stanard, 1970). Though they were not all obliged to go to Virginia, women found themselves outnumbered by men when they went to the colony; four men to one woman. Consequently, men were impatient to secure wives before their departure (Fischer, 1991).

For the Puritans, establishing a new society in New England was a divine pledge, for they considered themselves representatives of God in the New World. They came in great numbers, twenty-one thousand travelers settled in New England from 1630 to 1641. Their colony witnessed a flourishing growth from the very beginning; they wanted to show the world that they were chosen by God to be a prototype, which should reflect their society as a model in the world (Vaughan, 1997).

John Winthrop, the governor of Massachusetts, tried to govern the Puritans with the principle of being the chosen ones on earth to carry God's covenant, so they had to act in a responsible and conscientious manner to honor God and to bear his name. Winthrop described the colony and its government as being "a place of cohabitation and consortship, under a new form of government both civil and ecclesiastical" (Litke, 2013, p.85). He urged his fellows,

men and women, to devote themselves for the welfare of the community and to favor it at the expense of their personal desires. He believed that God blessed them with the establishment of a religious government that would be the sole feature of their society. A society that submitted to God's commands (Miller, 1983).

The Puritans' community was intended to be a model that everyone should be astonished by and should follow. The Puritans focused, in establishing their community, on the family because they considered it the nucleus by which they could survive and spread Christianity; they believed that family is "the root whence church and commonwealth cometh" (Morgan, 1980, p. 143). For Puritans, marriage was a very important and holy means for sustaining the population growth and the prosperity of the society.

In Massachusetts and Virginia, marriage was a means that guaranteed the population's growth, so settlements' expansion and sustainability were cast upon men's and women's shoulders. Marriage was everyone's commitment towards its society, so staying single in both colonies was a sign of contempt. Churches, in these two colonies, considered marriage a religious obligation and a duty of the colonists. Marriage had fruitful consequences on society and on individuals by establishing the colonies and protecting men's and women's Christian values and duties (Post, 2000).

In order to be considered productive members of the society, Virginian colonists had to be married. The necessity to be married posed a disgrace upon the unmarried men who had been classified as irresponsible and useless. Not just men had been considered useless and irresponsible, but women as well had been classified as incomplete in personality and appearance. There was a belief that every woman should get married, because she was created to be a wife, and her object in life was to support her husband and give birth to children to contribute to the growth of the population (Spruill, 1972). Women considered the peak of their lives was getting married because they were aspired for marriage from their early

childhood. Being single represented failure; thus, Virginian women rushed to marry in their mid-teens, and they should marry before they reached the twenties (Kalhoun, 1960).

In colonial America, the rush to marry had consequences; it would sometimes lead to unsuccessful marriages and foolish ones. Women were advised not to accept the worse fate of involving in unwise marriages just because of their fear of remaining single (Allen, 1989). Puritans and Anglicans disapproved singleness; their preachers encouraged marriage as a religious duty. They considered marriage as the straight path in everyone's life, and they described those who did not marry as exceptions who were driven by certain circumstances. They even considered unmarried individuals as being unsuccessful in their purpose, and they would bring illness upon society because they violated God's commands. They also considered celibacy as a hindrance of God's plan for marriage (Witte, 2012). Puritans founded specific places for single men to live far from others; they encouraged single men to marry often by bribing them with free lands to help them settle and marry (Kalhoun, 1960).

People in colonial America were strongly acquired to marry not just at the social level, but also at the level of education; they were receiving education that encouraged forming men and women of society. Children were instructed inside and outside their homes about the importance of families' religious beliefs; they were educated and prepared to occupy their roles given by God (Marten, 2007). Children of colonial America, mainly Anglicans, were taught music and dancing, so they could choose partners in the social dances, which were considered a means of reinforcing the social bonds (Forman-Brunell, 2001).

Puritans used education as a means to promote morality, productivity, and marriage between society members. Puritans urged parents to form their children at the basis of fearing God and helping them to avoid their natural predisposition to sins. Puritan parents had close relationships with their children; they provided them with instructions, advice, and punishment of their wrongdoings in order to prepare them to be proper members of the

society (Earle, 2009). Parents had to apply education and spiritual teachings in the formation of their children, who had to memorize the catechism, acknowledge the truths they learned, and apply the messages they received in sermons with their parents' help (Wright, 1971).

Wedding ceremonies were the first step into marriage; a wife and a husband would know their roles from their wedding ceremony, after being pushed towards marriage by their society, education, and family (Mays, 2004). The definition of marriage and wedding ceremonies were important to the Puritans; the church considered marriage as a contract where its persistence was conditioned with the accomplishment of duty between the husband and the wife. New England churches considered the man and the woman to have the free will when they marry; thus, they were held by God equally as responsible for the divorce and the breaking of this unity or "voluntary covenant". Puritans saw that a husband and a wife could leave marriage when the contract was broken; thus, marriage was an individual responsibility (Purvis, 1999).

In marriage, colonial American fathers were supposed to give a dowry or a marriage gift to their daughters; fathers would transfer money or land to their daughters' grooms eventually. The dowry was a means to help the new couples establish their new life and to support their children (Rosenfeld, 2007). The groom was meant to have only one bride for the rest of his life, except in case of divorce. The man did not have the right to have more than one wife at once. There was no form of polygamy in the American colonies because of the Christian values prevailing in the colonies; Puritans, Quakers, and Anglicans. The latter was the most likely to be against polygamy in the colonies.

In Massachusetts, Colonist couples could divorce if they had an unfaithful, negligent, or an abusive partner, and in case of the absence of the husband for three successive years, the wife could ask for repudiation (Eldridge, 1997). Puritans, despite their interest in keeping the church and the government as one unity, perceived marriage as a legal arrangement that

would be held in the proper authorities' settings. They believed that marriage was a conditional civic agreement, so they restricted the role of the church to the ceremonies of marriages (Daniels, 1995).

On the other hand, the Anglican Church provided another definition of marriage, being an inseparable bond wherein a husband and a wife were not allowed to divorce at any expense. However, they could divorce only under crucial circumstances (Pencak, 2011). The welfare of society had a great significance in the Anglican Church and governing authorities; thus, they were interested in forming constructive unions. In Virginia, colonists who sought marriage license could have it from the country clerk; they even could post banns via the parish where they were read for three weeks on every Sunday (Nelson, 2003). There were reasons why Americans wanted to marry early; they considered marriage at an early age would increase the number of population, and thus compete with the European nations. Early marriages were considered as a vital tool in preserving the country's prosperity and development.

As far as the age of marriage is concerned, for the New England Colonies, it was a normal pattern; the second generation of the seed towns of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut had the norm. For the interior towns, they noticed a near-normal age for men, but it was at an early age for women. The second and the third generations of these towns approached the regional average of marriage age. Plymouth, Rhode Island, and Nantucket noticed a remarkably an earlier age of marriage for men and women. For Boston elites and religious population, they had an average age of marriage that was a near-normal for women and an advanced for men.

Table 1*Mean Age of First Marriage in Chesapeake Colonies*

Place	Marriage Cohort	Male	Female
Charles County Maryland	1640-1679	24.1	17.8
Somerset County Maryland	1648-1669	23.1	16.5
	1670-1711	22.8	17.0
	1710-1740	24.1	19.0
Prince George's County Western Shore	1680-1699	23.1	18.2
	1710-1719	23.7	18.5
	1720-1749	25.9	21.4
Virginia Elites	1725-1734	27.0	18.3
	1735-1744	28.2	19.8
	1745-1754	30.1	19.5

Note. adopted from different sources: Russell R. Menard, "Immigrants and Their Increase ...," in Aubrey Land, Lois Carr and Edward Papenfuse, *Law, Society and Politics in Early Maryland* (Baltimore, 1977), 100; "The Demography of Somerset County, Maryland: A Preliminary Report"; Lorena S. Walsh, "Charles County, Maryland, 1658-1705: A Study of Chesapeake Social and Political Structure" (thesis, Michigan State Univ.), chap. 2; Michael J. Kelly, "Fancily Reconstitution of Stepney Parish, Somerset County, Maryland" (thesis, Univ. of Md., 1971), 18-25; Kulikoff, *11 Tobacco and Slaves*, chap. 3; Rutman and Rutnian, *A Place in Time*, *Explicatus*, 65; Susan Simmons, unpublished research on Virginia elites; R. B. Outhwaite, "Age at Marriage in England from the Late Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century," *RHST* 23 (1973), 55-70; „tone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England*, 46-54; Michael W. Flinn, *The European Demographic System, 1500-1820* (Baltimore, 1981), 19-29.

Table 1 illustrates the mean age of first marriage in Chesapeake colonies, where in Charles County, in the period from 1640 to 1679; the average age of first marriage was 24.1 for men and a very early age for women with 17.8. In Somerset County, in the period from 1648 to 1669, the average age of marriage was early for males with 23.1 and very early for

females with 16.5. In the second period from 1670 to 1711, the average of marriage age was still early with 22.8 for males and 17.0 for females. The third period, between 1710 and 1740, marked a slight increase in the age of marriage, which was 24.1 for males and 19.0 for women. In the Western Shore of Maryland, Prince George's County was no different from the previous counties. Between 1680 and 1699, the average age of marriage for males was 23.1 and 18.2 for females.

In the period between 1710 and 1719, the average age of marriage for males was 23.7 and 18.5 for females. The third period marked a slight change in the rate of marriage age, wherein the average for males was 25.9 and 21.4 for females. Virginian elites made a remarkable difference in the average age of marriage between males and females; males had an advanced average age of marriage compared to that of females that were much younger. In the period from 1725 to 1734, males married at an average age of 27.0, whereas females were just 18.3. From 1735 to 1744, males' average age of marriage was 28.2; conversely, females' average marriage age was 19.8. In the period from 1745 to 1754, males married at an average of 30.1, whereas females got married at 19.5. The average age of marriage in Virginia was nearly the same as in New England, twenty-five to twenty-six. However, females in Chesapeake colonies married at a very young age compared to the Puritan females of Massachusetts. Virginian females tended to marry at the age of eighteen to twenty, which was below that of Massachusetts. The difference in the ages of husbands and wives in the Chesapeake colonies was nearly ten years, but in Massachusetts it was only a year or two.

Quakers or the "Society of Friends" provided firm rules to marriage; they were interested in every single detail of marriage. For both men and women, the spouse had to be from the same religious group; otherwise, their marriage would be considered a sin or "Mongrel Marriages" (Levy, 1991). For Quakers, love should be the basis of marriage, and it should precede marriage. They considered marriage as a main source of enlarging the

community; thus, dynastic marriages were forbidden, and so were first cousin marriages and second cousin marriages (Yount, 2007). The community's witness of the marriages was inevitable for Quakers, for the community was a source of support and friendship; neighbors should help the newly couples in building their houses, and the marriage certificate should be signed by no fewer than twenty-three supporting witnesses (Hamm, 2006). A husband and a wife were seen as equal heads and rules of the family in the "Society of Friends". For Quakers, in colonial America, marriage was not for lust, and marriage age was between twenty-seven and thirty-one for males, and between twenty-three and twenty-seven for females. Marriage age was late, and many Quakers never married (Sugar, 2002).

Quakers believed that marriage was a commitment between the husband and the wife, and they should stick together and reaffirm their commitment to each other. Thus, divorce for them was a bitter issue, especially when the community failed in preserving the marriage (Frost, 1973). When the couple decided to divorce, they had to acquire a civil validity for divorce and dissolution of civil partnership. Solid evidence should be provided; meanwhile, spouses were given some time to think of returning back to their commitment in order to maintain the number of membership in Quaker group (Yount, 2007). In some cases, one partner could not maintain the marriage alone if some of the spouses chose to leave and abandon his/her commitment. Remarriage of a divorced person, however, was not an easy task to do. There should be a pre-marital meeting for clearness, in order to show that the divorced person would remarry with the intention of a lifelong commitment regardless their previous conditions and reasons for the divorce (Hamm, 2006).

Throughout the colonies, women were expected to marry, so it was inevitable for them to get married because they were created to complete men's life, and to get economic security as well as economic stability. A colonial woman was expected to be subservient to her father until she married to become then submissive to her husband (Kerber, 1980). Thus, a woman's

responsibility was her father's before marriage, but after marriage her husband takes responsibility. Though women had a vital role in developing the colonial America, they had been perceived as secondary part in nature; they were estimated to have flawless moral values, being modest, restraint, passive, obedient, submissive, delicate, and more importantly chaste. Women submitted to their husbands' will because that was axiomatic as a nature's law and a man's law as well. They were regarded as a model of virtue (Kerber, 1980).

The law of marriage made the husband and the wife one person; the woman's essential legal existence was suspended during marriage, or at least integrated and merged into that of the husband who was supposed to protect her and to cover her as well (Smith, 2010). A woman's legal status would melt in her husband's after marriage. Marriage restricted women even in their legal status wherein they were considered subordinate to their husbands; they had no legal identity separate from their husbands.

A woman's name, legal status, economic status, role within the family and the community would change by marriage. The name that a woman carried from her childhood changes just after marriage, which means her known identity changes after it is linked to her husband's. In colonial America, women presumed the household responsibility, including bearing children, taking care of them, and even nursing the sick ones; which are skills acquired and practiced when they were still single, with a slight change of having the authority and responsibility of being the mistress of the household (Smith, 2010). Responsibilities of a wife and a husband were defined by society; the wife after marriage practices the theoretical roles she had been taught and expected to do.

Marriage, of course, brought other changes for women as they moved from their parents' home to their husbands'. In addition to being in charge of domestic matters, they might also assist their husbands in their business, or even run the business while they were away. Marriage also legitimized women's role as a sexual being and a mother (Smith, 2010).

Women's dependency to their husbands and to their fathers before marriage is defined in the colonial society as being a kind of manifestation. Women, by marriage, sought the legitimacy of being a sex partner and a mother as well.

In case of the husband's death, women in colonial America experienced "Widowhood." There were three interrelated factors that decided whether a widow should remarry or not: age, health, and sexual freedom. Young widows were likely ready to remarry so that they feel secure in a patriarchal society, especially if they had children who were usually unable to take care of their mother and themselves (Conger, 2009). Besides, if they had inherited a wealth, they would need someone to run their properties. Older widows, on the other hand, chose to stay single and run their own properties, especially if they had older sons whom they would depend on, or they just depended on themselves and exercised independence. Widowhood was a common form of a single woman along with spinsterhood which was considered the second form of being a single woman (Conger, 2009).

In the colonial era, if a woman chose to stay single, she would face all kinds of accusations, and she would be considered abnormal. She would be dependent on her relatives and would usually live with them. Spinsterhood was a mark of rejection; it was a life of dependency as well because unmarried women were considered a burden on their families and relatives. Spinsterhood was an unwelcomed guest that brought grief and loneliness. Women who did not get married lived a life of depression and guilt, for they did not fulfill their natural needs of being a wife and a mother (Wulf, 2000).

Social disapproval of unmarried women increased as women aged in colonial America. While single women in their mid-twenties might be viewed with both "alarm and pity," a thirty-year-old New England spinster would be openly labeled a "thornback." They were often forced to rely on brothers and other relatives for support in late life (Wulf, 2000). When they reached a certain age, single women started to be labeled and described in mean

descriptions, and they were obliged to depend on their brothers and relatives; they were deprived from their rights to work or to get financial independence.

2. 1.3. *Legal Status and Rights*

The American colonies developed their legal systems that differed based on the settlements' conditions and development within each colony. Thus, each colony's legal system evolved, which accompanied the growing of individual, social, and political systems. The geography of each colony, the date of its foundation, the characteristics of several settlements, and how much a colony was supervised and controlled by external forces were all factors that eventually led to the development of separate legal systems (Haskins, 1984).

The most known legal difference between women and men in colonial America was freedom. Women were perceived either married or to be married (Smith, 2010). The legal rights of colonial women were few. However, men dominated society, and women were subjugated to them in their families, such as their fathers, brothers, and husbands if they were married. Women were banned from holding property or possessing legal identity separately from their husbands or fathers. Women's identity was defined by their roles as wives and mothers, rather than as a legal entity. Their legal identity was defined by their marital status; they were categorized either being single "femes sole" or married "femes covert".

"Feme Covert" is the situation where a woman lost her legal identity after marriage, and where her husband acts like a legal guardian; she literally loses her separate legal status. On the other hand, "Feme Sole" is the situation where a woman had the same legal advantages just like men; she was a single adult woman who could have contracts, sue her debtors, and arrange her personal property (Robinson, 2013). Both concepts were legal and social realities in Colonial America; the married woman was virtually owned by her husband and her legal existence was suspended by marriage, unlike the single woman who was legally advantageous.

As a widow, a woman did not have to adhere to the laws of coverture, and her position within the family and society changed dramatically, gaining more autonomy in the process. In her widowhood, a woman could create legal documents, inherit land, manage estates, and bring lawsuits to court (Stretton & Kesselring, 2013). Widows and unmarried adult women could own property, collect rents, manage shops, and have standing in court.

If they were married, colonial women could not own land in their names. Men usually willed real estate to surviving sons and only personal property to surviving daughters, ensuring that land would pass from man to man (Grigg, 2008). There was a sense of patriarchal ownership in which women were not allowed to own lands neither from their fathers nor from their husbands except in rare cases.

Any property owned before marriage and any earnings made during marriage legally belonged to the husband; women had no ownership of either. They were not independent citizens in any way; they could not enter into a contract, sue, or be sued. Women belonged to their husbands with their properties if any, and they had no right in owning any kind of property be it inherited or gained. They also had no right to prosecute or to be prosecuted because they were considered man's "property" (Grigg, 2008). Married women's legal status was overwhelmed by their husbands'. Even their social status was linked to their husbands'.

Married women were not able to own property and businesses, or keep their own wages if they worked outside the house. Their jobs were only to take care of the house and to raise the children, rarely were they allowed to leave the house unless needed at a family-owned business. The only work women could get was to be a seamstress, or to keep boarding houses; most jobs were reserved for men (Vickers, 2006). When a woman remarried, the land and possessions that she inherited from her deceased husband became the property of her new husband immediately (Rosen, 2003). Not only a woman could not own a property or a

business, but also her inherited possessions from the previous husband went automatically to her new spouse. A married woman could not even write a will.

For the case of widows and unmarried women in colonial America, they enjoyed some freedoms compared to the married women; they had the ability to make a will since they own a property, and they also had the ability to buy property or sell their own. They even could sue and be sued (Smith, 1989). The law required that a widow was entitled to her third of the property, which was referred to as the widow's thirds. The widow's thirds included one-third of the real property such as lands and houses for her lifetime, and one-third full ownership of the personal property, which included slaves and household goods (Conger, 2009).

Single women, spinsters or widows, gave special attention when writing their wills and the disposition of their properties to their sisters or spinster daughters; they, most of the time, left their considerable legacies to their sisters and daughters (Eldridge, 1997). Single women developed a sensitive reaction towards each other because they knew how it was like to be single with no one to provide economic support.

Concerning inheritance in colonial America, if the wife survived after her husband's death, she would inherit and the children would inherit two-thirds of an intestate's estate. In case the wife died, the children would inherit the entire estate. The inheritance law of colonial America excluded daughters from inheriting, and in best they could inherit small portion or share; the eldest son would receive double share of realty and personality, and young sons and all daughters would receive one share of their deceased father (Aslon & Schapiro, 1984). The latter action is known as primogeniture, wherein the eldest son would be favored and daughters were discriminated and deprived from equal shares of their parent's share (Salmon, 1986).

The right to vote in Colonial America was featured by its dominance of white male adult who owned a property and aged twenty-one. The conditions for voting excluded women

since colonists clearly stated that males, not females, were allowed to vote, and that those who owned property had the right to vote, which was not the case of the majority of women especially married ones. The latter were considered one single identity with the husbands who obviously would vote on their behalf (Dinkin, 1977).

The Burgesses had confirmed the conditions of voting patterns stating that “No woman sole or covert, infants under the age of twenty one years, or recusant convert being freeholders shall be enabled to give a vote or have a voice in the election of burgesses” (Septh & Hirsch, 1983, p. 12). Regardless of women’s status, single or married, they could not vote based on the English Common Law traditions; they could not be part of the political arena. Besides, because colonial American women were considered fragile creatures that could not handle politics and its rough atmosphere, they were excluded from the political arena.

For the most part, American colonists adopted the voter qualifications that they had known in England. Typically, a voter had to be a free adult male resident of his county, a member of the predominant religious group, and a "freeholder," who owned land worth a certain amount of money. Colonists believed only freeholders should vote because they had a permanent effect in the stability of society. Freeholders also paid the bulk of the taxes (Waldman, 2016). Women were excluded from the voting process since colonists restricted voting qualifications to males and land owners, and considered that women had ineffective roles in society compared to men.

There were many examples of women who claimed their right to vote and their right to sue or to be sued as early as the 1640s. Margaret Brent, the first woman lawyer in America, arrived in the Colony of Maryland in 1638. She was involved in over 100 court cases in Maryland and Virginia, and was a major landowner as well. Governor Calvert chose her as the executor of his Will. As such, and separately on her own behalf as a major landowner, in 1648, she formally demanded a "vote and voyce" in the Maryland Assembly. The new

Governor, Thomas Green, denied her request (Mays, 2004). For the case of Margaret Brent, she based her request on her being a landowner and a freeholder.

Another example of those prominent women was Susannah Wright who became prothonotary of her colony. She augmented her legal status to become a counselor that helped her illiterate fellow citizens, and she helped women in their wills, deeds, indentures, and other contracts. She even acted like an intermediate in solving property disputes (Eldridge, 1997). Wright was able via books, periodicals, and letters to keep up with political and scientific debates taking place in Philadelphia and London. She paved her solid road towards being a strong political woman.

The first known woman to be voting was Lydia Chapin Taft. In 1756 in Uxbridge, Massachusetts, she voted in a town meeting on whether to provide financial aid for local soldiers to fight in the French and Indian War; she was the richest woman in the town after the decease of her husband and her elder son as well. She was left with a fortune that was needed at that critical time of the war, so she was the colonists' only choice to get funds (Naparsteck, 2014). Lydia was not supposed to vote, but she accidentally voted because she had a special case where she was needed the most; otherwise, she would never have had that political opportunity.

2.2. American Women's Roles in the Revolutionary War

Women's roles in the Revolutionary War did not appear randomly or accidentally; they noticed with the other people of the colonies that the way towards a Revolution was inevitable, and that they had to do something regarding the situation of their country. Women started to recognize the tyranny of the British rule, and they started to consider helping their men in the nationalist cause, which led later to their involvement in the resistance against the British.

2.2.1. *Prelude to the Revolution*

By the early 1700s, the thirteen colonies in the three main regions; New England, Middle colonies, and the South, were under the British control. The colonies' governments were based on charters by which settlers were granted lands and governing contracts by the English. The charters were three types; joint-stock, royal, and proprietary. The first was the joint-stock company, wherein the king of England provided a group of investors, usually no more than twenty, to form a joint-stock company. The charter's functions were to organize the company, to provide specific economic advantages to investors, and to grant land and governing powers. Virginia and Massachusetts were founded by stock companies; The Virginia Company of London had the ownership and administration of the colony of Virginia at Jamestown founded in 1607(Doyle, 1990).

The second type was royal colonies or provincial colonies, in this type, colonies were under the direct control of the King who usually appointed a Royal Governor. In 1624, Virginia became a royal colony after the declaration of bankruptcy of the Virginia Company (Doyle, 1990). The third type of colonies, proprietary where a person or family owned the colony and they should be white males only. In this type of colonies, the owners could make laws and appoint officials as they pleased. This person or family was given the title of Lords Proprietor. Proprietary colonies were governed much as provincial colonies except that Lords Proprietors, rather than the king, appointed the governor. Typically, they enjoyed greater civil and religious liberties than provincial colonies.

In 1629, The Massachusetts Bay Company was founded by a joint-stock company, which failed to state where the company's annual meetings should take place. The stockholders used this weakness in the company's charter and had meetings in Boston, so they had a chance to escape the English government's supervision. In 1631, Massachusetts Bay

officers who lived in the colony decided to increase membership of the company to reach 116 members. This increase led to the changing the charter into a constitution that allowed colonists to have a partially independent government from Britain. The colonists made their own decisions and they even printed their own money, which violated the British policy of tight control on the colonies. In 1691, Massachusetts was put again under a royal charter that the colonists were not pleased with, and they tried to have the company's original charter (Bolton & Marshall, 1932).

Since the 1630s, all the three types of colonies coexisted, but that was changed gradually by the British Government that brought most of the colonies under its own control as royal provinces by 1763. Virginia was the beginning of the change in 1625; colonies that were chartered as corporations or proprietors, and that had no longer maintained their authority, were gradually controlled by the crown. Eight of the thirteen colonies had royal governments by the time of the Revolution (Purvis, 1999).

The Parliament had no interference in the royal colonies, except during the 1600s when numerous royal boards and commissions worked with the Parliament to regulate land acquisition, government, and trade in the colonies. By the early 1700s, the royal colonies were ruled by governors and councils who settled in America and reported directly to the king. There were assemblies in the royal colonies that were elected as representatives from various settlements, and whose function was to propose legislation (Greene & Pole, 2008).

These royal governors were the monarch's representatives in the colonies; they were responsible for recommending members of the royal councils, who were then chosen by the Board of Trade and approved by the king. Councilors were usually appointed for their lifetime, and the council members' average number was twelve. Finances of the colonies were controlled by the governors and their councils who ruled rather independently. While the governors received salaries, councilors were offered no pay. However, like the governors,

they were wealthy, and they often found lucrative positions within the government (Greene & Pole, 2008).

The colonies were very important to the monarchs who were the only link between the colonies and the British Empire. The provinces' names and legal authority were provided by the crown which made them their personal estate, and the parliament had no right to question the kings' and queens' arrangement of their personal estate including North American colonies. This led to passing little legislation that concerned the provinces not including the trade regulations; the parliament did not try to levy taxes from Americans before the 1760s. The most prominent roles that the crown played in governing the colonies were to give final approval to all legislative statutes and to name governors for royal colonies (Bonwick, 1991).

In the mid-eighteenth-century, the thirteen colonies were emerging and growing rapidly. The population of European and African origins was increasing more than the old world's population. The thirteen colonies' economy witnessed expansion and increase; it had an engagement in the overseas commerce that was highly profitable. The strength of the colonies was derived from human sources and natural ones; wherein the first offered an extensive venture, and the second offered and abundant richness (Bonwick, 1991).

The American colonists lived in towns that made economic access of their goods easy to the British. The British governments, through the years, created laws that were designed to connect the colonies to the mother country and to create a form of dependency on it. The Navigation Acts were created to monopolize the American goods by sending them only to the British ports and by shipping their goods on the British vessels. The British did not allow American colonists to have their own industry; they did not allow them to turn iron into finished goods, or to sell clothes or hats to one another, and they even forbade them from buying molasses from non-British Caribbean islands (Dickerson, 1974).

The Navigation Acts were composed of firm taxes that were used as a strong tool by the British. The number of officials who collected taxes was very few, and they were not clean, for they were easily bribed. The Acts guaranteed markets, naval protection, and a network of credit. The American shipbuilding became one of the Atlantic world's leading industries because they were legally British industries (Conlin, 2009). The latter were profitable for ship carpenters, rope and sail makers, blacksmiths, and the chandlers who got involved in ship goods. In all American ports, there was a sense of autonomy and internal development, not a colonial dependency. The British remained to some extent the masters of their own house; they exercised political power by their officials who were British, and they had the economic power that was shaped in the Navigation Acts. The colonists were convinced that they were serving interests of the British not theirs (Conlin, 2009).

At the international level, the British and the French began a war in 1754; it was an encounter between the French soldiers and 150 colonial soldiers on the frontiers of Pennsylvania. George Washington led the colonial soldiers; he was a 21-year-old surveyor. The American colonists were defeated by the French in this skirmish (Langguth, 1989). By May 1756, France and Great Britain officially escalated the situation and made the war official after the battle that happened in North America. The war took place in Europe, in the Mediterranean, in India, and in North America. In Europe, the British surrendered to the French very early, so the French occupied the Electorate of Hanover that was the royal House of the Hanover dynasty embodied by King George II. In the Mediterranean, Britain lost the base Minorca in the Balearic Islands for the French. In June 1756, Britain lost in India where the nawab of Bengal who allied the French captivated 146 British, who were all locked in a small two-windowed room, so they all died with suffocation, just 23 of them survived (Anderson, 2000).

In North America, the British and the French competed and conflicted over controlling North America, the Upper Ohio Valley, and the conflict was known as the French and Indian War. The British sought the colonists' support and compensation for their loss; the first years of the war were disastrous for the British because they had weak commanders and because the French were stronger. In 1755, the British troops in Virginia under the command of General Edward Braddock and 1,400 redcoats as well as some colonists attacked the French Fort Duquesne. Braddock and most of his troops died in the following battle with the French and their allies, the Indians, just 500 of them could survive and return to Virginia. It was Colonel George Washington, serving as aide-de-camp, who led them back home. The Indians attacked the British outposts on the frontier with the help of their allies, the French, who armed them (Borneman, 2009).

At the end of the war, the British government had financial troubles, especially after the French and Indian War, so it made great efforts to raise revenues by collecting taxes to compensate for their loss and to cover the military expenses of the British who served in the colonies. From 1763 to 1776, the British government's policies were affected by their concern over the war debt. The British did not refuse the increased taxes and considered them a normal action from their government. However, the American colonists did not accept being taxed without being represented in the Parliament, and because it was the first time they have ever been taxed directly by the British government. The American colonists found ways to escape these taxes by bribing corrupt officials and smuggling the taxed goods, so the British attempts of collecting custom duties failed (Ladenburg, 1989).

In 1764, the British government with the ministry of George Grenville passed the Revenue Act of 1764 or the Sugar Act. This act was a modified version of an earlier act that was passed in 1733, the Sugar and Molasses Act, that required colonial merchants to pay a tax of six pence per gallon on imported molasses. The intention of the British government from

this act was to make the English product cheaper than that of the French West Indies, but corruption made that impossible wherein the colonists evaded the taxes and weakened their main purpose. The British West Indies markets in molasses and sugar were affected heavily because its colonies were producing it in huge quantities (Jonathan, 2009).

To eliminate smuggling and corruption, the British government enforced the Sugar Act. It enforced the Navy presence and enhanced its customs activities; it also made some trade regulations. Violators were prosecuted in vice-admiralty courts instead of the colonial courts where the juries considered smuggling an easy issue. The tax rate on molasses was reduced from six pence to three pence per gallon under the new Sugar Act. The latter was a shift from the previous policy of regulating trade within the British Empire to directly raising revenue from the colonies. For the first time, Parliament had the power to levy taxes on Americans (Reid, 2003).

Americans' reaction towards this act was quick and infuriated because the colonies were stuck in economic depression just after the war. James Otis of Massachusetts, who was supported by Samuel Adams and the Boston Town Meeting, criticized the British policy and considered the Sugar Act a violation of the American colonists' political rights since it was imposed without their consent and without their representation in Parliament. The economic consequences of the act were the main concern of the protestors; merchants throughout the colonies protested and emphasized the act's potential negative effect on commerce. Many of the protestors were economically rising in power, and the colonial legislatures supported them. The British response to these protests set the stage to future protests that involved other segments of the entire population (Russell, 2000).

In 1765, the British government enacted a new Act known as the Stamp Act; it was proposed by the Grenville ministry and was considered the first internal tax to be levied in America. According to the Stamp Act, American colonists were required to be taxed when

they purchase almost all types of paper documents, as well as legal forms, licenses, diplomas, newspapers and other printed materials. Tax collectors were in most of the time Americans, and violators of the act were tried in admiralty courts not by juries from America. The purpose of the act was to pay the costs of defending the colonies, with an anticipation of £60.000 raise per year (Dickinson, 1970).

Almost all Americans were affected by the Stamp Act, so protesters came from different social levels, and every colony had an organized resistance strategy. In addition, the colonists grew discontent when the British government passed the Quartering Act in March 1765, which required American colonists to provide shelter and food for the British troops. The most prominent objections came from Virginia and Massachusetts whose responses had long-term consequences (Morgan & Morgan, 1953).

About a thousand American merchants signed non-importation agreement for the purpose of boycotting the British goods to add the pressure on the British government. Consequently, the British merchants underwent financial losses, and they started to petition the government to revoke the Stamp Act. Grenville had enforced the enactment of the Act, but in July 1765, months before the act's provisions were to come into force, his ministry was dissolved, which led to a prelude to improvement. With the arrival of Charles Watson-Wentworth, the new Prime Minister, who recognized that the act could not be imposed on American colonists, he obtained Parliamentary and royal approval to revoke the Stamp Act in March 1766 (Jensen, 2004).

In June 1767, a series of acts were proposed to Parliament by the Chancellor of the Exchequer Charles Townshend, which stirred up the conflict. In July 1766, the Rockingham ministry was replaced by a ministry headed by Pitt who was ill, so Townshend assumed the leadership of the ministry. The Townshend Acts were considered as the Chancellor's program for American colonists. Despite the fact that American colonists refused the taxes, direct and

indirect, or internal and external, Townshend, however, chose to impose new taxes on American imports of paper, paint, lead, glass, and tea (Greene & Pole, 2008). The revenue of these taxes was used as royal officials' salaries. The colonists' reaction was moderate; they simply pushed for reinstating the non-importation policy that led to boycotting the British goods, and for encouraging colonial manufacturers to produce their own goods. By the end of 1769, the British products importation declined by nearly half as a result of the colonists' boycott (Greene & Pole, 2008).

In early March 1770, confrontations in Boston grew higher. The soldiers and the colonists had a culmination of these confrontations in the snowy night of March the fifth, wherein the riots became more violent to reach the governors and guards. Hugh White was one of the guards at the Custom House in King Street who was surrounded by rioters who hurled him and the House with snowballs. Thomas Preston, the British Army Officer, witnessed what happened and decided to assist White, so he marched with a force of six privates and one corporal. The latter incident escalated the issue as the colonists were armed with clubs and swords, and Preston's men were ordered to load their muskets (Zobel, 1970).

The Boston Massacre changed the general atmosphere in the city that was characterized with calmness after days and weeks from the incident. Local leaders drew their attention towards the trials of Preston and his private fellows, and judges postponed the trials for another time to cool tempers. John Adams defended Preston and other soldiers wherein he proved that they were not guilty. Two of the soldiers were convicted of manslaughter, but eventually were released. The Boston Massacre made American colonists angrier and focused on their cause, and it provided them with the conclusion that appeals and petitions were useless since the British government had no listening ears and had no will to redress or remedy their grievances (Zobel, 1970).

The Americans' protests finally had their fruits, and the Parliament repealed the Townshend Acts in April 1770, including all the duties except tea. Some of the American colonists did not accept the latter decision so they decided to boycott the British tea, but many of them accepted the duty and consumed legal tea. In addition, the merchants' non-importation movement was dissolved. In March 1770, the British ministry was renewed and Frederick, Lord North headed it, did not pay attention to the colonies, so there were no serious confrontations between the British and the colonists, and the situation was not that challenging for nearly three years (Thomas, 1987).

Tea was the popular goods that had an effect on the American rebellion and confrontations against the British who monopolized the trading of tea between India and the rest of the British Empire via the British East India Company. The latter was very active during the colonial period, which allowed it to obtain massive profits for many years. However, the company's finances were endangered by the military expenses and the increasing consequences of corruption and incompetence. As a result, the company had 17 million pounds of tea stored in English warehouses due to the American merchants' non-importation boycotts as well as their smuggling of the Dutch tea which was far cheaper (David & Thomas, 1991).

The British government, in an attempt to solve the East India Company's financial problems, enacted the Tea Act of 1773. The act was aimed at allowing the company to export its warehoused tea to American colonies without the intermediation of distributors who tended to sell goods to English wholesalers. By doing so, American wholesalers would be resold goods by the English, and would be selling them to American retail merchants. The British government exempted tea from the standard export duties and counted the reduced tax that remained on tea from the Townshend Duties, in order to maintain the Parliament's right to levy taxes from the colonies (Robins, 2006).

This led to reducing the price of the British tea to be cheaper than the smuggled Dutch one without causing loss to the company and being profitable. The British authorities did not allow all American merchants to sell tea, just the loyal ones. As a result, American radicals and merchants had been infuriated by this act of favoritism, and the American colonists became aware about the British Parliament's act that could provide control of any portion of American commerce to any company it preferred (Robins, 2006).

Consignees were chosen by the East India Company in many different American ports, and they were shipped 1.700 boxes of tea. Captains of American ships rejected the company's request to transport the tea; thus, the English ships took this mission. The Sons of Liberty threatened the consignee merchants in Charleston, New York, and Philadelphia to give up on their control of the tea. In Charleston, local authorities refused to unload the tea and stored it without selling it. In the ports of New York and Philadelphia, the local authorities compelled the ships to return the unloaded tea back to England. However, shockingly, consignees from Boston opposed to submit to the radicals' pressures, and subsequently the company sent off three ships loaded with tea boxes that were planned to reach Boston Harbor by the end of November and the beginning of December (Miller, 2012).

Because the Boston consignees did not submit to the will of the Sons of Liberty who could not terrorize them, the latter decided to take another path. Headed by Adams, the Sons of Liberty incited people to have a mob pressure. On November 28, Dartmouth, the ship that was loaded with tea reached the Harbor. Adams delivered a long speech to spur the crowds for roaming the city streets in order to stop the ship from unloading the tea. Governor Hutchinson insisted on unloading the tea, collecting the taxes, as well as enforcing the law. Nonetheless, the Dartmouth lingered berthed in the harbor with its tea unloaded, and it was shortly followed by two other tea ships. All of the ships waited for the 20-day limit in the

course of the payment of the duty on the Dartmouth's cargo, which was to be expired on the 16th of December (Allison, 2007).

At the end of November, Adams organized many meetings in the Old South Meeting House that drew up resolutions to be sent to the consignees. They demanded that the tea should be returned to England, but the consignees refused the demands because they were backed by the governor. As a reaction, the Boston Committee of Correspondence contacted the nearby committees and New England ones for support. On December 14, another meeting was held, and a demand was sent to Francis Rotch, the Dartmouth's owner, seeking authorization for the ship's return to England. Rotch along with 10 men who were sent by the meeting had a tour in the customs offices to obtain clearance. The customs collector responded negatively, and on the 16th, Governor Hutchinson refused to grant the Dartmouth a pass to sail past Castle William. Hutchinson intended to seize the tea because the duty was not paid (David & Thomas, 1991).

In an evening meeting at Old South Meeting House, Rotch appeared to inform the crowd that he failed; thus, Sam Adams proclaimed that the only solution left was to take action; the crowd received the message and responded with their leaving of the building heading to the quay. When they reached the quay, the crowd of about 50 men were disguised in Indian costumes and colored their faces with dark colors as Indians. The men boarded all the three ships of tea, they carried all the tea chests on the top of the ships and broke them, and then they dumped the tea into the harbor waters. The action was watched by the crowd that was cheering and supporting the men who completed their plot and left the ships unharmed. The Boston Tea Party was the most expensive concocted drink (Cummins, 2012).

On January 27, 1774, London received the official report on the Boston Tea Party from Governor Hutchinson, but his report was preceded by news of the event a week earlier. The British government started interrogations, and many witnesses arrived, among whom was

Francis Rotch. People and politicians were outraged by the full story of the Boston Tea Party; they considered dumping of the tea as an act of challenging the supremacy of the king and Parliament in colonial affairs. King George III declared that the British should master the colonists or just leave them to themselves. Parliament determined that the colonists should be mastered (Cummins, 2012).

First, as an act of controlling the colonies, the British government chose to humiliate them. The King's Privy Council summoned Benjamin Franklin, who was the agent for Massachusetts, to appear in a hearing in the 29th of January allegedly considering a Massachusetts petition that requested the removal of Hutchinson and Lieutenant Governor Andrew Oliver from office. Franklin blankly stood in the presence of the councilors as he received words of revilement for over an hour from Solicitor General Alexander Wedderburn. Franklin left in absolute silence. The petition was not mentioned by anyone, but the message was clearly perceived, and even former friends to the colonies in Parliament ceased to show any kind of support (Rakove, 2010).

The British government was questioning its authority over the American colonies, so Parliament decided to subjugate them by obligating the North ministry to suggest the needed policies and legislation for that purpose. Lord North revealed his program on the fourteenth of March. As a start the ministry closed the port of Boston and moved the headquarters of the province's government to a quieter location. A series of laws, which the colonies called the Intolerable Acts, were enacted by Parliament. As an initiation to these series of acts, three Coercive Acts were passed. First of these, the Boston Port Act in the fifteenth of June closed the Boston Harbor to all commerce until the citizens compensate the East India Company for its losses in the Boston Tea Party. Food and fuels that were carried by coastal ships were allowed to enter the harbor, unlike oceangoing vessels (Volo, 2012).

The second of the Coercive Acts was the Massachusetts Regulatory Act that changed the royal charter and increased the powers of the royal governor. The latter was given the power to appoint or remove most of the civil officials. He also had the power to ban town meetings, and he allowed the House of legislature to be elected. While the Council had to be appointed by the Crown, sheriffs were empowered to select juries, which was freeholders' function. The third of the acts was the Impartial Administration of Justice Act, which was concerned with royal officials who, if any of them, were accused of a capital crime, and they would be tried in England or another colony (Ammerman, 1974).

Furthermore, in June, Parliament enacted two additional acts that led the colonists to rage. Another Quartering Act basically adjusted the acts of 1765 and 1766 to authorize the accommodation of troops with private families. The last act was the Quebec Act; though its function was to appease the Quebec's French residents and its distinction from the Intolerable Acts, the American colonists considered it as one of the punitive acts. It made the province of Quebec larger, and its boundaries comprised all the inland territory to reach the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers; thus, the colonists were deprived from their claims in the West. The Quebec's Act also welcomed French to be the official language of the province equally with English, and it reinstated French civil law and allowed Roman Catholics to hold offices. The Roman Catholic's faith was officially recognized, and American Protestants felt offended (Dickinson & Young, 2003).

To strengthen the British intention to subjugate the colonists especially in Massachusetts, Gen. Thomas Gage was suggested to be the governor after his arrival in Boston in mid-May. Many colonists welcomed this suggestion and accepted his appointment and the Intolerable Acts as well. A group of Boston merchants accepted to pay the East India Company for the damaged tea, and consequently pleased the command of the Boston Port Act. On the other hand, the Boston radicals assembled in the Town Meeting to refuse to pay

for the poured tea, and they invited the other colonies to boycott the British goods and to stop all commercial relations with it. In May, Rhode Island took the lead and suggested that the colonies should hold a meeting of their representatives, and should begin to choose their delegates (Middlekauff, 1982).

In the 5th of September 1774, the colonies, except Georgia, held the Continental Congress in Philadelphia. Colonists in Georgia were afraid that the troops would deny them the protection during a continuing Creek Indian uprising, so they did not send delegates. The 12 other colonies' delegates were politically different and were split into moderates and determined Whigs, and they had many disagreements in many previous meetings, but they appreciated one another and accomplished their meeting with great sense of achievement. Samuel Adams and his cousin John Adams represented Massachusetts; George Washington, Peyton Randolph, and Richard Henry Lee represented Virginia; Silas Deane represented Connecticut; John Jay represented New York; John Dickinson and Joseph Galloway represented Pennsylvania; and Christopher Gadsden, Edward Rutledge, and John Rutledge represented South Carolina (McLaughlin, 2001).

Peyton Randolph was chosen by all the delegates to be the president of the Continental Congress. The delegates, before starting their debates, decided that each colony would have one vote. The definition of Americans' rights was the most crucial issue that headed the delegates' debates. They deduced that the rights would be derived from nature, from the British constitution, and from a number of the colonial charters. The delegates also decided to stop importing all goods manufactured in Britain or Ireland starting from the first of December, 1774. They endorsed the Suffolk Resolves which was a declaration by the Suffolk county leaders in Massachusetts to reject the Massachusetts Government Act and resolve a boycott of imported goods from Britain until the repeal of the Intolerable Acts (Raphael, 2002).

The Continental Congress had two remarkable achievements that were out of the delegates' agreement areas. In the 14th of October, the delegates agreed on having a Declaration of Resolves of the Continental Congress. The declaration recommended the constituents of the American colonists' rights that were composed of law of nature, the British Constitution, and the colonial charters. It considered the taxation and the imposition of standing armies without consent of the colonists as unlawful actions, and it thought that the Intolerable Acts were totally unfair. The Continental Congress created the Continental Association to conduct a policy of non-importation of the British goods into the colonies and non-exportation of the American goods to Great Britain (Maier, 1998).

The Continental Congress enforced the association by the election of committees in every county, city, or town. These committees were expected to have certain tactics in order to be stronger, such as inspections, public disclosure of offenders, banishment, and other forms of pressure. Virginia and South Carolina were afraid of their farmers' losses if they did not accept the non-exportation immediately, so they wanted a prolongation to export their crops, tobacco and rice, until the 10th of September 1775. Members of the Continental Congress signed the association in the 20th of October, 1774, and the ban on importing East India Company tea and all other British goods started on the first of December of the same year (Maier, 1998).

In the next few days, the Continental Congress had the mission of drafting petitions and addresses to King George III as well as to the British, Americans, and Canadians in Quebec. The delegates did not want to petition the Parliament because they did not want to be perceived as admmissive to its authority. After getting their mission accomplished, the First Continental Congress was dissolved by the delegates in the 26th of October, but in case they needed to have another Congress, they would reconvene it in the 10th of May, 1775. The

delegates traveled back home with a great respect to one another and with much respect and veneration from most Americans (McLaughlin, 2001).

While the Continental Congress had been carrying out its mission, General Gage in an anticipatory act delayed the Massachusetts legislature, which motivated the representatives and other delegates to spontaneously assemble as the Provincial Congress. This substitute legislature created the Committee of Safety, and they chose John Hancock to be its responsible; they also voted for recruiting a militia of 12,000 men and for purchasing guns and ammunition to arm them. By the end of 1774, prediction of peace and reconciliation between the American colonists and the British seemed impossible (Bonwick, 1991).

Between the end of 1774 and the beginning of 1775, the situation in the American colonies noticed no overtly hostile acts. However, in England and in Massachusetts particularly the storm raged on. The King and the Parliament showed inflexibility in their speeches and unwillingness to compromise. In February, William Pitt and Edmund Burke unsuccessfully appealed for another time in Parliament for better policies in American colonies. In late March, Burke tried once more to appeal the Parliament, but his attempt was in vain because George III and his ministers thought that the colonies should submit or rebel, and thus should face the invincible Britain's armed might. Accordingly, the Massachusetts radicals believed that they should choose only one suitable option. As a result, London and Massachusetts were the determiners of the course of events. Eventually, King George III officially ordered Gen. Thomas Gage to use military force to sustain the royal authority in Massachusetts (Middlekauff, 1982).

General Gage had already prepared for an anticipated war wherein he had amassed a force of about 4,000 troops, artillery, and armed ships with heavy cannons. Gage had not yet received the King's order which reached him just in April. At the beginning of February, John Hancock served as president of the Second Massachusetts Provincial Congress that was held

across the river in Cambridge. The delegates discussed the suitable response to the increase of the Boston's garrison and to the Fishery Act that gave Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies the monopoly of trade with New England colonists, and that prohibited them from trading with any other nations, which was devastation to the Massachusetts' economy (Rakove, 2010).

Later in February, the Provincial Congress postponed its meeting in Concord, wherein delegates agreed on creating a commissary to stockpile weapons and to ask for support from neighboring colonies; they prepared themselves for an armed conflict. At the end of March, the Virginia assembly expressed its support for the Massachusetts rebels via the strong promotion of liberty by Patrick Henry who concisely defined liberty as the supreme demand for many Americans (Middlekauff, 1982).

In April, General Gage sent a brigade of troops under the command of Col. Hugh Percy where he practiced a march through Cambridge and Watertown, which aimed at showing strength to the colonists by Gen. Gage. The Provincial Congress that met in Concord considered the march as a direct threat to them and as a hostile act through which the General wanted to impose the offensive policies of the Parliament upon Massachusetts. As a result, in the 5th of April, the Congress approved 53 articles of war which were a clear challenge to Gen. Gage. The Articles' preamble denounced the colonists' rebellion, treason, and sedition, and appealed to sustain the legacy of pilgrims who struggled for the civil and religious rights, considering it as the just cause for preparing themselves for a war (Rakove, 2010).

2. 2. 2. Women in the Eve of the Revolution

Women, in the revolution period, supported men in their resistance of the British policies. The boycott movement would not have been successful without women because they were both consumers and domestic producers. In addition, women participated in many protests against the British parliamentary measures. They were spectators to men's

demonstrations, and supporters of the colonial boycotts wherein they increased domestic manufacturing as a form of an aid in boycotting the British goods. Women were present even in political funerals as mourners to show their participation in crowd actions and popular protests, and they urged men to resist British violations, ultimately by force of arms. Women were appealed to protest the unfair taxes, and were required to refuse consuming the items specified in Townshend Duties in 1767; their participation in the protests and their agreement to give up on the imported goods were crucial for the boycotts to succeed (Applewhite & Levy, 1990).

At the end of 1767, women in Boston had a pledge that they would not consume taxed goods. At the beginning of 1770, hundreds of women in Boston confirmed to cease using tea in protest of the Tea Act. In New York City, women had even risked their marriages by refusing a stamped marriage license, announcing that publicly to their fiancés in the local newspaper (Bremer, 2003). In North Carolina, fifty-one women protested to show their support for the colony's provincial congress "Edenton Tea Party" in October 1774. The ladies testified their motives:

As we cannot be indifferent on any occasion that appears to affect the peace and happiness of our country; and as it has been thought necessary for the publick good to enter into several particular Resolves..., it is a duty that we owe not only to our near and dear relations and connexions, but to ourselves, who are essentially interested in their welfare, to do everything as far as lies in our power to testify our sincere adherence to the same, and we do therefore accordingly subscribe this paper as a witness of our fixed intention and solemn determination to do so. (Smith, 2010, p.107)

The colonists protested and boycotted British goods, and they had to give up on luxurious matter such as tea and essential everyday consumer items like clothing. As a matter

of responsibility, women had to provide domestic manufactures, and they had to intensify their production so as to fulfill the demand. In a Boston Post-Boy, an advice was published:

Young ladies in town and those that live round, Let a friend

at this season advise you:

Since money's so scarce, and time's growing worse

Strange things may soon hap and surprize you:

First then, throw aside your high top knots of pride

Wear none but your own country linnen;

Of Economy boast, lest your pride be the most

To show cloaths of your own make and spinning. (Young & Kaye, 2006, p. 116)

Spinning for domestic consumption was very common in rural areas not in the urban ones, but urban women had to cope with the changes of that era. Thus, they learned the new skill of spinning which was a supplementary responsibility for them. Women and children both indoors and outside had their Spinning Wheels set in order to defeat the British goods. Women kept spinning for 6 days per week. The task was hard on women, but they had to meet the political challenge which needed them to increase the production; spinning and weaving were merely domestic with political connotation. The spinning bees gathered to increase the production and to discuss the political issues of the time. They were depicted in newspapers as Daughters of Liberty, which gave them a political dimension (Ulrich, 2001).

Women supported the cause with their traditional female roles by home rearing, domestic economy, and taking care of their father's and husband's businesses. As a form of protest, the Homespun Movement emerged to promote American industry that was simple and democratic, unlike the British industry which was luxurious and corrupted. In 1767, when the Parliament passed the Townshend Act, the colonies reacted with the non-importation resolutions. Patriot women helped their men to stay still against the British tyranny and unfair

taxation, by relying on their own resources that were homespun and a home-made plain-weave cloth. The Homespun Movement not only served in boycotting the British textiles, but also served in producing clothing and blankets for soldiers of the Continental Army (Peskin, 2003).

The acts of consumption, women had, became mechanism of resistance; they spun and weaved the American cloth to show that non-importation and non-consumption were vital tools that helped the resistance movement Americans had against the British taxation without representation (Boyer, 2009). Women denounced silks, satins, and other luxuries in favor of homespun clothing that were made in spinning and quilting bees. They were conveying a strong message that they were united against the British tyranny. In 1769, women were appealed for the salvation of the American politics, and were depended on to save the economy (Kerber, 1980).

It was inevitable to recognize women by the protest leaders. Women who were shopkeepers could take political stand by simply keeping their shops open and selling imported goods. However, many women shopkeepers did not have additional economic resources other than their shops, so they could not risk their income source by putting them on hold for a long time. Colonists signed Association Declarations as a form of showing support to the boycott and as a pledge to enhance the patriot cause (Applewhite & Levy, 1990). In 1768 and in 1769, eight women signed the Association in Boston. In case they did not volunteer, women merchants received much pressure to sign the Associations by leaders. Those who refused to sign would find their names announced in the local papers like what happened in Boston to Anne and Betsy Cummings. The latter two ladies had no other source of income; besides, they thought that their business was not that effective and would not attract interest because it was too small (Applewhite & Levy, 1990).

Women's support for the boycotts was sought by the American leaders by means of advertisement and customs of political implication. Wives were informed by the protest leaders via their husbands that boycotts were vital for the protection of their homes and families from the British tyranny. There were mass meetings of people where women, servants, and apprentices took part in; these meetings were the source where Boston used to ratify a number of boycotts from 1768 to 1774 (Breen, 2004). Women promised not to consume boycotted goods in general and tea in particular; they signed their own forms of association to pursue that goal. In 1770, a document was signed by 536 Boston women. Women in South Carolina signed a similar document, and they sought every household mistress's support of the boycott by announcing that in the newspapers. Women in Wilmington, North Carolina, demonstrated in a majestic march to burn their tea (Kierner, 1998).

The boycotts implementation was determined by women in several ways. Women's responsibility grew bigger, so they had to intensify their home production to compensate for the lost goods. Every woman was involved in the homespun, even the wealthy ones like Deborah Franklin who made homespun clothes for her family as a form of support to the boycotts. Women's everyday activities were featured by politics and charged with it. Tea itself was a sign of the colonies' classy culture, so it was hard for women to relinquish it, even though drinking tea was then considered as a form of degradation that was inappropriate for patriots. In 1776, three prominent women were appointed by the Boston Committee of Safety to investigate suspected females who smuggle boycotted products. In 1769, if a woman of Long Island drank tea with her fellow women or neighbors, she was sure that her husband would be angry with her. Some women had chosen to switch to coffee and serve tea just in special occasions (Young & Kaye, 2006).

Women were regularly prominent in their support for the Revolution especially with their writings and comments, like Abigail Adams, the wife of John Adams, who was considered a key political advisor for her husband who often was separated from her because of his political activity. She maintained a close relationship with her husband by corresponding using letters to discuss the political issues of the day. She fervently supported independence that should be applied equally to women and men. When her husband and his fellow delegates were debating the issue of independence and its formal declaration, Abigail wrote to him:

And, by the way, in the New Code of Laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would Remember the Ladies, and be more generous and favourable to them than your ancestors...Remember all Men would be tyrants if they could. If particular attention is not paid to the Ladies we are determined to foment a Rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any Laws in which we have no Voice, or Representation (Butterfield et. al, 2002, p. 121).

Another prominent woman who contributed to the support of the patriot cause was Mercy Otis Warren, James Otis's sister, and General James Warren's wife. She started her support to the Revolutionary cause by 1772 when she published material for that purpose. She was a friend of Abigail Adams and her husband John Adams, Martha Washington and Hannah Winthrop with whom she formed a circle of friendship, and they corresponded together discussing the revolutionary thoughts, ideas, and principles. She was not just corresponding with her friends, but also with many political leaders to whom she became an advisor like Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, George Washington and especially John Adams (Anthony, 1958).

Warren was receiving the news about the Revolution and was in the core of the events from 1765 to 1789 because she knew most of the leaders personally. In 1773, after the Tea Boston Party was finished, Mercy had written a satirical poem after her friend John Adams had asked her to praise and honor the patriots after their great job of dumping tea from the ships of East India Company. Her poem was entitled “The Squabble of the Sea Nymphs”. She had received American patriots by opening her house to their meetings where they discussed the nation’s future liberty and independence. She was the one who had publically stated that taxation without representation was a tyranny; she even was the pioneer of the idea of creating Committees of Correspondence among the thirteen colonies (Stuart, 2008).

In March, 1772, Warren penned “The Adulateur” wherein she mocked the administration of Governor Thomas Hutchinson who was hated by the colonists for his repressive policies. She depicted him as the tyrannical Raptio (Hutchinson), the ruler of the fictional country of Upper Servia who promised to take over his disobedient subjects. She depicted the patriots with Latin names like Hortensius, Cassius, and Brutus (James Otis), and she put an end to the tyrant and made the patriots victorious (Shalev, 2009). In April, 1772, she wanted to show how tyrannical was the British government, and to convince those who were tired of protesting to continue their fight against tyrants and to be enthusiastic about the patriot cause:

Oh! My poor country!

...–when will it be,

When high-soul’d honor beats within our bosoms,

And calls to action – when thy sons like heroes,

Like men, like freemen, force a way to conquest

Or on thy ruins gloriously expire – (Sarkela, 2009, p. 541)

Warren received appraisal for her “the Adulateur” and was published in a form of a pamphlet a year later. She was encouraged to carry on her fight for the patriotic cause, and she penned another satire “The Defeat” that was published on the 24th of May, 1773 in the Boston Gazette. She once more mocked Hutchinson and depicted him even more gloomily and satanic figure who uses bribery to secure loyalty of his followers; however, this figure would die in the last scene to show her readers that injustice and evil should disappear. She even mocked Hutchinson’s brother-in-law Lt. Gov. Andrew Oliver by personifying him as Limpit (Stuart, 2008).

On December 29th, 1774, she wrote a letter to her friend Catharine Macaulay about her view about the Revolution and her perception of the Revolutionary spirit:

America stands armed with resolution and virtue; but she still recoils at the idea of drawing the sword against the nation from whence she derived her origin. Yet Britain, like an unnatural parent, is ready to plunge her dagger into the bosom of her affectionate offspring. But may we not yet hope for more lenient measures! You, madam, can easily delineate the characters of the new Parliament. (Ellet, 1980, p. 79)

As a form of injecting enthusiasm in the ladies’ spirits and to encourage them to boycott the British goods and to depend on themselves, except for the necessary goods, Warren was such an inspiration to women and an encouraging patriot; she wrote to women:

‘Tis true, we love the courtly mien and air,
 The pride of dress, and all the debonair:
 Yet clara quits the more dressed negligé,
 And substitutes the careless polancé;
 Until some fair one from Britannia’s court
 Some jaunty dress, or newer taste import

This sweet temptation could not be withstood,
Though for the purchase paid her father's blood;
Though loss of freedom were the costly price,
Or flaming comets sweep the angry skies; (Ellet, 1980, pp. 88-89)

She was propagandist on behalf of the Revolution by increasing awareness of the people towards their cause, and she influenced the course of events in the Revolutionary War.

In addition to Abigail Adams and Mercy Warren, Catharine Macaulay was among the prominent figures of the American patriot cause. An English woman who supported liberty and rights for the people in Britain and in its colonies; she believed in the universality of rights considering that the taxation in the colonies was a sort of injustice since they were not represented in the British Parliament. She wrote a book entitled *Address to the People of England, Scotland and Ireland on the Present Important Crisis of Affairs* where she addressed the British people about the importance of supporting the rights of the Americans, and about joining them because by doing so they would protect their own rights and liberties from violation. She insisted on the British that if they lost America as a result of its Independence, it would be a loss of the commercial advantages they had enjoyed in America (Hill, 1992).

Catharine Macaulay had many friends in America; she corresponded with them before and during the Revolutionary War. When the conflict between Britain and the American colonists started, she corresponded with colonists from the North and Middle colonies, such as Benjamin Franklin, Sarah Prince-Gill, Samuel Adams, James Otis and Mercy Otis Warren, John and Abigail Adams, John Dickinson, Ezra Stiles, William Livingston, the Lee brothers, James Bowdoin, Benjamin Rush, Josiah Quincy, Henry Marchant, Stephen Sayre, and George Washington (Davies, 2005).

Benjamin Rush praised her political views and sometimes criticized her through correspondence, and she responded with stating her position towards the American

Revolution and considered herself as the promoter of the general principles of the rights of mankind. In 1767, she printed her letters that were with him in her *Loose Remarks* in its second edition. She also was considered a historian as she had written *The History of England from the Accession of James I to that of the Brunswick Line*; it contained eight volumes wherein the five first volumes declared undoubtedly her justification of the War of Independence (O'Brien, 2009).

Hannah Griffitts was another woman who was an intellectual patriot figure. She was a prominent eighteenth-century writer from Philadelphia. She was a Quaker who strongly got involved in the debates and arguments about the American Revolution, and because she was a Quaker, she believed in the pacifist way of rebellion. Despite the fact that she celebrated the patriot cause, she expressed her sadness about the impact of the war on pacifists and loyalists from her friends and family members. She rejected the extremism in the way American Independence would be gained. She showed her resistance through a series of poems where she encouraged women to protest and boycott the Sugar Act of 1764, Stamp Act of 1765, and Townshend Acts of 1767. In 1768, she wrote her poem *The Female Patriots* that was published in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* wherein she encouraged women to stand firm against the British goods' purchasing and to boycott them (Kelley, 2006). In her poem she said:

Let the Daughters of Liberty nobly arise;

And tho' we've no Voice but a negative here,

The use of the Taxables, let us forbear (Norton, 1980, p.p. 160).

2.2.3. Women's Contribution to the Revolution

Women's contributions to the prewar resistance movement were underestimated by male patriots. The latter did not even recognize the significance of women's involvement in the resistance movement, and they considered their support for the protest movement restricted to their domestic actions as consumers and manufacturers, though their domestic

activities had political importance (Kerber, 1980). Women were obliged to be involved into their country's political issues even inside their homes, after being excluded from making political choices. In 1775, with the approaching of the Revolutionary War, women were requested to offer more and more sacrifices and contributions. Though they contributed largely at the domestic level, they still had greater political involvement. Their domestic activities during the Revolutionary War had a great significance to the point that American women were considered the pioneers in the birth process of the American Republic (Kerber, 1980).

Women were heavily needed in the Revolutionary War. Despite the fact that war had been a characteristic in the colonial life, the Revolutionary War was longer in terms of time and larger in terms of geography than any precedent conflict in the area. In contrast with the earlier conflicts that were often an imperial competition for claiming territories in North America, or confronting the resistance of Indians to the Euro-American settlement and expansion, the Revolutionary War was mainly a military confrontation that was caused by political disputes (Berkin, 2005). The Revolutionary War would clearly set the relationship between the colonies and Britain, it would declare the Independence, and it would establish governments that would be based on popular sovereignty. Thus, the war would be a popular conflict that would be politically featured. Accordingly, the American colonists were dragged into the conflict which had an impact on the social life (Berkin, 2005).

Women's role and place in society transformed due to their participation directly or indirectly in the Revolutionary War. As a long, fatal, and horrific conflict, the Revolutionary War affected almost all women. The effect of the war on the upper class women, who were considered out of the disputes and struggle, was often exile. As a result of the battles of Lexington and Concord between twelve and thirteen thousand, men, women, and children left Boston because it was occupied by the British. After the confrontation between the two

rivalries, Boston roads were full of terrified women and children, some of them were in carts that carried their ragged furniture, and others on foot escaping to the woods (Norton, 1980).

There were repeated scenes of the terrified women all over the country whenever a new military campaign happened. The war obliged families to flee their hometowns and to be displaced; sometimes the war meant a perpetual displacement. Fleeing represented an uneasy challenge to women who tended to have traditional roles like rearing children and household. Taking care of the family and the house was a very difficult task to do for eighteenth-century women; and to do so in a critical period such as the Revolutionary War was a really significant accomplishment (Norton, 1980).

Women were in constant danger whether they flee or not, for the war represented enormous risks for them and their families, such as epidemic diseases and the danger faced from the foraging armies. Camp diseases, mainly smallpox and dysentery, affected both soldiers and civilians. Disease and death represented an inevitable fate for the armies wherever they went. In the autumn of 1775, in the course of the Boston siege, a dysentery epidemic affected the eastern Massachusetts army, and it was believed that it came from the enemy's camp (Hewitt, 1990).

On the first of October, Abigail Adams described the situation when her mother surrendered to the sickness "Tis a dreadful time with this whole province. Sickness and death are in almost every family. I have no more shocking and terrible Idea of any Distemper except the Plague than this" (Butterfield et al, 1963, p. 289). She reported that the town of Braintree lost four people, her niece among them, in one day, and in six weeks, she counted five of her near connections were dead. Throughout America, epidemic diseases reappeared over again especially when soldiers camp for a long period of time. Diseases, not war, were the number one cause for the death of the soldiers and civilians, men and women, who passed away in the period of the Revolutionary War (Butterfield et al, 1963).

The Revolutionary War not only represented a threat to American women by the armies themselves, but also by the prevalence of disease they brought. American families might find themselves with soldiers who lodged their homes, or they might find their farms ransacked. These abrupt and unexpected actions might lead to impoverishment and starvation. Many American women lived with the negative effect of the wartime rape. In the late 1776, in New Jersey, the British had set for a systematic and brutal rape (Mays, 2004).

As a reaction against the British brutality, the Continental Congress brought depositions about the shocking cases, among which the case of the sixteen kidnapped girls in Hopewell, New Jersey, and the case of the thirteen-year-old Abigail Palmer who was raped in the British camp by British soldiers over and over in Hunterdon County. New Jersey's brutal deeds committed by the British had been the worst against women because they had a systematic nature. New Jersey was not the only state where rape crimes occurred during the war, the southern states' women too had their own fears from being raped especially in the period between 1778 and 1783 (Mays, 2004).

Women were not just the victims of the war, they were also an essential support for men in the war, and they helped men to wage the war by many means. Women contributed to the Revolutionary War by becoming temporary heads of the household when their husbands were absent, and by assisting the military forces. In the Eighteenth-century, women were considered responsible for the domestic sphere that encompassed preparing food, sewing clothes, and nursing their children. On the other hand, men were considered responsible for being leader of their families in the public sphere that covered overseeing the family's economic and political interests. The circumstances could blur the different roles for both men and women especially in the public sphere. As an example, urban women worked in the marketplace that was a mere public sphere (Grigg, 2008).

Due to military, political and diplomatic services, husbands were often absent for a long time from their families; women replaced them and took the responsibility for their families. Women were obliged to work in farms or in other businesses because of the war; they had to take decisions on behalf of their families without consulting their men. Some women succeeded in replacing their men and some did not, but without their efforts the struggle would be unsuccessful and Independence would not be achieved at all. During the war, women had an immediate contribution to the Revolutionary War; they served as camp followers for the rebel forces. There were approximately 20.000 women who served the rebel forces and assisted them. Women had roles of being cooks, cleaners, launderers, and nurses. The majority of women who followed their husbands in the army were suffering from poverty; thus, they had no means to support themselves. They, somehow, fulfilled the roles they used to play, but in a different context, a military one. A few women went beyond their ordinary roles and participated in combats (Blumenthal, 1952).

2.2.3.1. Nurses, Seamstresses, and Cooks

When the war started, women followed the Army from battlefield to another in order to stay close to their beloved brothers, husbands, or even fathers. They wanted to benefit from the care and services they provide to the troops. General George Washington appealed the government leaders for permitting women's employment in the army to perform different duties in the camps in order to substitute men in running the camps, and men would be discharged for fighting in the war. Washington also asked for supplying him with money.

By 1777, about two thousand women followed the Army and had different missions to conduct; they were seamstresses, nurses, and cooks. Women, who marched with the Army, most of the time, were widows, runaway servants, and poor women who became so because of the war. Not just these women followed the Army; between 1775 and 1776, wives of high-

ranking officers too did follow their husbands like Martha Washington, Abigail Adams, Lucy Knox and Catharine Greene who accompanied their husbands to assist them (Mayer, 1996).

In 1775, George Washington left Mount Vernon for six years. He asked Martha to join him as a camp follower; she responded to her husband's appeal and she traveled every year to his camp in Cambridge, Valley Forge, Philadelphia, Morristown, and Newburgh where she stayed for months accompanying him. From 1775 to 1783, she accompanied her husband for approximately half of the period he was in the camp (Brady, 2005). General Washington appreciated her presence and considered it very important to the point that he wanted the Congress to reimburse her traveling expenses. Before she could travel to her husband, Martha encountered hardships; she had to protect herself from Small pox by vaccination because she was afraid of getting infected by the soldiers in the camp who usually got infected easily with Smallpox (Brady, 2005).

Because she was the wife of the Commander-in-Chief, Martha Washington took a greater responsibility compared to the other wives. She was the General's closest mate and a box of his secrets. She was more like his secretary and representative; she copied letters and she represented him at official performance. She helped in nursing the sick and wounded soldiers. She even participated in and sponsored social activities that helped the Army feel at ease, forget about their wounds, and focus on the American cause (Ellet, 1980).

Martha Washington had tours around tents of the sick where she provided medicinal foods and soup just to see what she could do to keep soldiers alive; she spent her time collecting clothes from women of the village. Mrs. Washington's kind nursing kept sick soldiers cared and clean; she fed them in their beds that were comfortable and clean. She lifted her husband's morale and supported him along with all the camp. Martha Washington frequently associated with the wives of other officers; Lucy Knox, General Henry Knox's wife, and Catharine Greene, General Nathanael Greene's wife. The two became her friends

who cherished a friendship that was full of help in the hard times; they talked, sang, and had needlework together (Ellet, 1980).

Martha Washington devoted her residence to be the camp's social center where she acted as hostess, receiving numerous guests like the political leaders, foreign dignitaries, Indian chiefs, and military officials. Washington's headquarters were perceived as a shelter and a refuge that provided warmth, good food, and energetic talks. When individuals asked for General Washington's support in a number of matters, she would become an intermediary between him and them (Bryan, 2002). In April 1778, Martha Washington intermediated between her husband and four Quaker women from Philadelphia who visited his headquarters at Valley Forge, bringing a petition for the sake of releasing a group of Quaker men who failed their loyalty oath, and thus were exiled in Virginia. She showed them hospitality with a nice chat and served them dinner. Despite the fact that Washington did not directly agree on their petition, he signed a pass that guaranteed their travel over the American routes peacefully. The Supreme Executive Council in Pennsylvania understood that Washington was in favor for their cause, and thus their request was secured. Martha Washington contributed to the comfort of both sides, the women and her husband, in dealing with each other (Bryan, 2002).

Most women, who followed the Army, were wives, sisters, daughters, or mothers of the soldiers in the camp they followed. They provided assistance to soldiers and played many roles. The most prominent roles they played in the American Revolutionary War were cooks, seamstresses, and laundresses; they even brought water to the camps. Since these roles were traditionally women's, they took them because men could not and did not want to conduct them. Women in camps were not provided with sufficient food, so they were obliged to obtain food by mending clothes and washing them for soldiers. They also cooked delicious and homemade food for soldiers to earn some extra money; soldiers who bought from them were

well-off and eager to eat fresh meals, and they appreciated the women's cooked meals (Berkin, 2005).

Women who followed the camp generally stayed inside its boundaries, and they had to do their ordinary chores that they do domestically. Some of the women had to search for materials, supplies, and food ingredients outside the camps, so they acted as scavengers. Women made life easier for the soldiers during the wartime; their small but essential roles assisted the soldiers to maintain cleaner uniforms, hotter meals, and a happier life in the camps especially after each battle. Women also had the favor of lifting the morale and the spirit of their men, and they encouraged them to carry on their fight for the cause (Berkin, 2005).

As far as nursing is concerned, women did not start to be nurses in the American Army, for it was men's mission which was the traditional role in the Army. In 1775, shortly after the Revolution, Major General Horatio Gates, after having wounded soldiers, requested for a woman to nurse them. General Washington transmitted his appeal to the Congress and appealed for nurses to care for the sick and wounded soldiers, and for matrons to supervise the nurses (Sarnecky, 1999).

General Washington realized that women's presence in the camps should be useful and not a hindrance for soldiers, so nursing was the best solution. He got the answer for his appeal in July 1775 when the Continental Congress suggested a plan that guaranteed to ten patients one nurse, and to a hundred wounded or sick soldiers one matron. The Congress's plan was the first step in the path of military nursing system; the Congress also provided them with a monthly \$2 salary for nurses and a monthly \$4 salary for matrons. To make the nursing system a successful and a beneficial matter, the Congress authorized establishing hospitals (Sarnecky, 1999).

Women were needed to be nurses instead of men because they were better at nursing and taking care for the sick; they were needed to replace men to free the latter to fight in the battlefield. Women were not always enthusiastic to be nurses; George Washington thought that the low salaries were the reasons why women were unexcited to volunteer for nursing, which meant deficiency in nurses. Washington's comments led the Congress, in 1776, to increase the salary of nurses to \$4 monthly (Loane, 2009), and in 1777, nurses' salary increased to \$8 monthly; on the other hand, surgeons and apothecaries had a salary of \$40 monthly. Nursing during the Revolutionary War was very dangerous; though women had jobs and had payment out of it, they were exposed to fatal diseases like Smallpox and camp fevers that could end their lives. Additionally, women were relegated to a very unclean job in the medical profession. Officers, as a reaction, threatened women that they would be deprived from rations if they refused to volunteer (Loane, 2009).

Throughout the war, the number of women nurses for the army remained very few though Congressional efforts attempted to increase the number of nurses. Women were persistently sought to nurse the sick and wounded by the regiments. In the spring of 1776, the General Hospital of Massachusetts required nurses for Cambridge and Roxbury. There were even advertisements that preferred women nurses from Boston and Charleston. In Williamsburg, Virginia Gazette advertised few months later seeking for nurses (Roberts, 1957).

In July 1776, General Nathanael Greene explained that the sick were numerous in the hospitals and women nurses were very few, so he urged the Regimental Surgeons to report the number necessary for the sick of the regiment, and that the colonels had to deal with that appropriately. In July 1776, Pennsylvania Battalions at Ticonderoga received orders to choose one woman from each company to nurse the sick in the hospital at Fort George. In July 1777, Albany recorded nine women nurses, and in 1778, the Regimental Commanders were ordered

by Washington to recruit as many nurses as they could to assist the Regimental Surgeons (Roberts, 1957).

There were famous nurses during the Revolutionary War like Abigail Corbin. She was born in Connecticut in 1747, and she married Phineas Peck in 1776. A year later, her husband left home to join the Patriots and fight for the cause. The British burned Danbury and destroyed her house, but that did not stop her from supporting the cause; she brought the wounded into her house and she nursed them immediately. She could cure some of them, and those whom she could not cure, she just comforted them as death approached (Claghom, 1991).

Another prominent nurse was Mary Waters, from Dublin, who immigrated to Philadelphia in 1766 as soon as the War waged, and she served as a nurse in the American Army. She served in the military hospitals, and she considered nursing as a profession of facing the dangers and being a human (Kerber, 1980).

Mary Pricely was another famous nurse during the Revolutionary War who served on colonial warships. In 1777, Pricely was on the "Defense," an American ship, where she nursed the wounded and helped them, and she got paid by Maryland for her services. In 1779, in a hospital in Philadelphia, one matron and one nurse took care of 133 patients, and in Hillsborough General Hospital of North Carolina, four nurses took care of 100 patients. In 1783, at the end of the Revolutionary War, there were a recorded number of seven matrons and thirty nurses who were on duty serving the military in seven hospitals, and nursing 4,000 men (Stiehm, 1996).

Another prominent nurse during the Revolutionary War was Kerenhappuch Turner who was from one of the families that were ardent Patriots. She was a skilled rider, she occasionally carried dispatches for the army, and she had even passed through the British lines. Kerenhappuch informed her son and grandsons that they should just summon her in case they were wounded; she would immediately come to rescue and cure them. In 1781, she was very patriotic when she successfully nursed her son who had serious wounds during the

battle of Guilford Courthouse; she even nursed other soldiers for many weeks (Harrison, 1979).

Not just White women helped the Army, but also Native women, like Polly Cooper who was from Oneida people. Between 1777 and 1778, the Oneida helped the Continental Army at Valley Forge where George Washington and his army were sick and starving in winters. Polly Cooper remained with the soldiers to assist them and to show them the secret to preparing corn in an effective digestive way. She also taught the soldiers how to prepare medical herbs, and she nursed them when they got wounds with herbal medicines (Glatthaar & Martin, 2006).

Women who followed the Army were not just nurses, but they occupied other roles such as, seamstresses, cooks, and washerwomen. Those roles were typically women's chores, but rather at their homes not in the battlefield, and since the Continental Army needed their assistance, their services were the freedom for more men to be soldiers instead. Women earned small amount of money by washing the soldiers' clothes and sewing them; their supplies and salaries were earned on a per-item basis. The Army defined how much the women could earn for these services. The Army also carefully noticed women's work in order not to wash clothes in the same rivers that men drank from, and they paid attention to women to make sure they would not wash clothes within the camp's living quarters (Berkin, 2005).

Being a Seamstress or a cook were probably the most common jobs women could have during the Revolutionary War because, on the one hand, they were safe jobs, and on the other hand, these jobs were women's ordinary and easy jobs they were familiar with. However, sometimes those jobs could be the most dangerous ones. Before the Revolutionary War, men had to do these jobs when the country was at war, but they eventually thought that women could fit these jobs better since they were familiar with the household. Besides, since women were camp followers, they replaced men in these jobs to free them for fighting. Thus,

women's occupation for these jobs made more soldiers involved in battlefield. The Army needed women to be recruited for these jobs since most of them were poor wives, mothers and daughters that were suited for the position they were accustomed to (Countryman, 1988).

Almost all women of the Eighteenth-Century knew how to cook, clean, and sew. Most of them had their own sewing shops. As far as the household was concerned, women sew their families' clothes that were simple and basic according to the families' needs. The clothes could be used up to thirty years until the person wanted to get rid of them. Seamstresses were persons knowledgeable in sewing who could sew jackets for the soldiers; these skillful women were needed to mend uniforms of the soldiers and were even required to sew the whole uniforms from the very basic part (Mays, 2004).

Sarah Franklin Bache, Benjamin Franklin's daughter, was a prominent figure during the Revolutionary War; she was involved in the Ladies Association of Philadelphia, and she eventually became its leader. She and other women purchased goods with their own money and helped the Army with. In 1780, she supervised women to sew 2200 shirts for the soldiers (Ellet, 1980). As a reaction for her help and as a matter of acknowledgement, in 1781, George Washington sent her a letter wherein he expressed his gratitude and appreciation for her and her Association's good deeds, and he asked for more help. Esther Reed too was with Sarah Franklin in the Ladies Association of Philadelphia; she responded as well to Washington's urge and collected donations to buy linen cloth to sewing shirts for the soldiers. Unfortunately, she had a fever and died suddenly in the fall of 1780 (Ellet, 1980).

One of these women, who had skills in sewing during the Revolutionary War, was the seamstress Betsy Ross; she had her own business that she inherited from her husband who had run it with her before his death. She was an upholsterer in Philadelphia; she sewed uniforms, tents, and flags for Continental Army (Bladerston, 1917). In June 1776, George Washington, Robert Morris, and George Ross visited Betsy Ross in a form of a small committee; they

discussed with her their need for a new American flag and proposed her for that mission. She accepted the job, and she received the Committee's suggestion about the shape of the flag, but she convinced George Washington to alter the shape the Committee suggested by altering the design of the six-pointed stars by five-pointed stars because it was easy and fast for her to shape it that way (Bladerston, 1917).

As far as the responsibility of cooking was concerned, women had cooked, in general, for their families only. Men usually took the responsibility of cooking for themselves, except, in some cases where women, who followed their husbands during the war, would cook for them. Men who joined the Army formed groups that were composed of, usually, six men; they shared housekeeping chores, and they even had the responsibility of bringing water, chopping wood, and cooking (Dann, 1980). However, Sarah Osborn was a woman who joined the Army with her husband for three years in the camp; she cooked for soldiers when the battle of Yorktown took place, just few miles from the battle preceded by American soldiers' line. She even carried food to soldiers while they were in the battlefield. She believed that men should not starve while fighting for their cause (Dann, 1980).

2.2.3.2. Spies, Soldiers, and Patriots

The British and the American armies both enlisted women as cooks, seamstresses, and maids. These women had limitless access to the camps; they could eavesdrop on soldiers' conversations and then convey what they heard to the leaders, civilian or military. Some of these women conveyed direct reports to General Washington who considered them valuable agents in place that carry valuable information. As their husbands, sons, brothers, fathers and uncles participated in the Revolution and defended the cause, these women were the eyes and ears of the military leaders. As a result of the employing women to carry information to the military leaders, the spy networks grew all over the colonies where women gathered intelligence for the patriotic cause (Kneib, 2004).

During the Eighteenth century, espionage and counterespionage were very common in wars. During the Revolutionary War, the British, known as the Tories, and the Americans, known as Patriots, spied on each other and obtained information about the troop's movement, supplies, fortifications, and political plans, and the collected information had to be transmitted. In 1775, the Committee of Secret Correspondence was created by the Second Continental Congress. The Committee had the mission of gathering intelligence and had to correspond with the American friends in Great Britain and other parts of the world to obtain useful information for the American cause. It had also to form alliances with foreign countries. The Committee was supervised by Benjamin Franklin who worked directly with George Washington, and who interpreted and directed foreign and military intelligence activities (Nagy, 2010).

The Secret Committee had agents who were sent overseas to gather intelligence about the secret ammunition stores of the Tory for the sake of seizing them. The agents were also sent to rob the British supplies in the southern colonies; they had arrangements to purchase military stores via intermediaries to hide the real purchaser that was the Continental Congress. To make that possible, they utilized foreign flags to mislead the British fleet away from the American vessels for security purposes. In 1776, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Wilson, Robert Livingston, and Edward Rutledge were appointed by the Congress to consider what should be done to those who provided intelligence to the enemy, or those who provided them with supplies. The Committee had another mission concerning the Articles of War that they would revise in regard to spying on the patriots. In Washington's and other Patriot leaders' judgment, there was not an act dealing with civilian espionage, and the military law was not very preventive in terms of punishing the offenders (Daigler, 2014).

Espionage, during the Revolutionary War, used several methods to hide and transmit information, including secret codes, blind drops, and invisible ink. Letters or numbers that stood for

other words were known as secret codes, which the receiver of the message would be capable of decoding it by the knowledge of a key or a code book. Blind drops were places that the spies would put the messages in, that is the location that would be agreed on before taking the notes and hiding them in it. The location or the blind drop could be a park bench or hollow tree. After the messages were left in a particular place by the first person the second would take them from the location the first person told him about (Nagy, 2011).

Invisible ink had many kinds such as the one activated with heat or other chemical substances. The invisible message was generally found between the lines of a letter that would seem to be completely simple. If the recipient wanted to read the letter, he would heat it over a flame or insert it in a chemical bath to expose the unseen message. The letters should be put in an ordinary place that could not be suspicious; there should be an agreement about the location of the letters or messages beforehand; different locations would be suitable for hiding the messages or letters where one person would leave them in a bench in a park or a hollow tree, and another would pick them up later (Nagy, 2011).

In 1777, Philadelphia was captured by the British, and the Continental Army denounced its invasion. General Washington considered the necessity to know the British intentions, plans, and preparations, so he needed a man of intelligence and discretion who would be familiar with the locals and the locale in order to obtain correct and reliable information at any expense, with direct or indirect means. Major Jon Clark Jr. of Pennsylvania was Washington's choice; the Major was General Nathaniel Greene's Aide-de-Camp. General Washington used both Tory and Patriot sources by implanting agents in the enemy's lines, interrogating travelers to obtain intelligence information, and employing agents to provide him with intelligence and counterintelligence information. Washington always recommended all his officers to be engaged in the intelligence missions, but he preferred to rely on those

whom he designated chiefly for that purpose, and he depended on their assistance to conduct intelligence operations (Rose, 2006).

In 1776, the Committee for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies was created in New York to conduct counterintelligence operations; its purposes were to gather information, arrest British spies and couriers, and examine suspected loyalists. In New York, a Secret Service was created and it was strong enough to arrest suspects, to convict them, to release them on bail, and to even imprison or deport them. Because of the British control over New York, George Washington needed to know every detail about them to be ready for the move; he needed to know the number of vessels in the port and their size, the number of the guardians of the city and how they protected it, as well as their organization. Washington also needed to have a clear description of the forts and redoubts that were established; he even wanted to know what supplies the British had, in addition to the spiritual and health status of the army and the navy (Andrew, 1996).

In the summer of 1778, General Washington ordered the creation of the Setauket spying ring that began to be active on a limited scale. It was created during the British occupation of New York City in order to spy on the enemy and to be ready for any move or any plan. The spying ring was organized by Major Benjamin Tallmadge, and its prominent members were Abraham Woodhull and Robert Townsend who used Samuel Culper Sr and Samuel Culper Jr as their aliases; Abraham Woodhull did the most of the spying mission in New York. The ring was, eventually, called the Culper Ring, and it employed men and women. The ring had operations based in New York and Long Island, where most of the espionage members used their professions as cover; they derived information from the British military who were usually clients and customers who voluntarily reveal secrets and information about their military operations. Many of the Culper Ring members were caught by the British, but that

did not hinder them from carrying on their missions to feed the American authorities with information during the Revolutionary War (Rose, 2006).

Though the Culper Spy Ring was not the only Patriot spy ring during the Revolutionary War, it was among the very few that recruited women in these secret groups who were actively involved in espionage. Because women were considered peaceful caregivers of their families, they were able to travel long distances without being suspected. For men, it was more difficult to move from one state to another without being suspected by the British who would ask them to bring an alibi to do so. Women could easily tell the officials that they would go out of town to help a sick relative without raising any kind of suspicion (Nagy, 2011).

Since the British and the Americans highly contested the region between New York City and Philadelphia, which were close to one another, it was quite normal for women to ask for passes to traverse the British locale or the American locale, depending on where they wanted to go or where they were from, for the reason of visiting a family member. Accordingly, women had access to the location of the enemy forces without raising any suspicions towards them, and they would transmit the information orally; thus, it was a possible elimination of the written communication that was dangerous if they were caught because it would be a proof of being a spy (Nagy, 2011).

Upper class and upper-middle class women could become spies without changing their lives or routines. Those who stayed in their local communities were spies and helped the cause just like those who followed the camps. The Revolutionary War was critical to both sides, and the royal government began to suspect residents, and thus it started to watch them closely. Some of the spies succeeded in preserving their guise of loyalty either to the British or to the Americans, and they could gather intelligence. Because the British soldiers were quartering at American families' homes, and they were fed forcibly by them, a female spy

could easily collect and transmit information told in her house by the British soldiers (Kerber, 1980).

Women were not considered a threat; thus, when they asked any questions about the war, it was considered a gossip of dinner party. Soldiers who quartered in these families' homes were curious to know about the families' chosen side of the war, and when they would know which side the family chose, they would welcome inquiries. To do so, the families had to lie about their loyalty in order to maintain safety and acquisition of information; their success was defined by their ability to play on both sides of the war. Women too had to prove their loyalty to their community and their loyalty to the Continental Army as well as to spies (Kerber, 1980).

As far as women spies who worked in disguise are concerned, there were two, "Agent 355" and "Lady", who were active members of the Spy Ring. "Agent 355" was a numeric code for the word "woman" in order to protect her work and life. The Setauket Spy Ring used the code to refer to their agent, and to keep her identity secret and mysterious to protect her and her family. This agent supplied the Continental Army and George Washington with accurate and timely information, and she played a vital role in the counterintelligence missions wherein she contributed to uncovering the mission of Benedict Arnold who betrayed the Patriots. In New York, she even contributed to arrest Major John Andre, head of England's Intelligence Operations (Rose, 2006).

The "Lady" was another female Patriot spy and a member of the Culper Spy Ring who was successful in keeping her true identity covered. In 1780, she transmitted the information about the British plan to attack French forces that disembarked in Newport, Rhode Island. After being informed by the "Lady", Washington implanted deceptive information to prominent British agents that he planned to shift to New York City. The trick was successful, and the British commander withdrew the troops that were heading to Newport. As a result, the

French forces had the opportunity to shift to Yorktown unobstructed to assist the Americans in their victory (Kilmeade & Yaeger, 2013).

Anna Smith Strong was a spy member of the Setauket Spy Ring; she was a strong and an enthusiastic female patriot from Long Island. Anna Smith Strong developed a wash line signal system using her laundry on the clothesline as a code formation to guide Abraham Woodhull to the correct location. She used black petticoat to signify Brewster was near, and she used the number of handkerchiefs sprinkled amid of other garments on the line to show the place of the meeting. She even identified for Woodhull the location of Caleb Brewster's Whaleboat to facilitate Woodhull's finding and passing along the messages to be delivered to General Washington. Brewster was obliged to hide his boat in six distinctive locations that were identified by numbers. Anna Smith Strong used her ordinary personal items and improvised on her most ordinary personal tasks to help the patriot cause (Currie, 1990).

Lydia Darragh was another prominent spy during the Revolutionary War. When the British occupied Philadelphia, the officers of the British forces used her house for conferences where they took a large upstairs room; Lydia Darragh took advantage and sneaked inside a closet where she took notes on the British military plans. She wrote those notes in simple codes on pieces of scrap paper, and she hid them in large buttons of her fourteen-year-old son's (John) coat. Lydia then would send her younger son to visit his older brother who was in the American forces outside the city, Lieutenant Charles Darragh. Her older son would nip off the buttons and transform the shorthand notes into a form of presentation that his officers could read (Kneib, 2004).

Martha MacFarlane MacGee Bell was another patriot spy from North Carolina; she was known as being an ardent woman who possessed a strong mind. She was also a midwife who often traveled from one place to another to help in the births of children and to nurse the sick people. She lived in an area characterized by tension and violence because it contained

both Patriots and Tories. Her husband was a Patriot and a political figure that was sought out by the British, so he left home leaving her responsible for his business and property which she determined to preserve and protect. She took the responsibility of running the gristmill.

Martha Bell was a spy for the Patriots, so she had reasonable excuses to go to the Loyalists camps. She let General Cornwallis and his troops use her mill provided that they would not plunder it or burn it (Ellet, 1980).

After the departure of Cornwallis, the Patriots wanted Mrs. Bell to provide them with intelligence; they wanted to know the number of the soldiers Cornwallis had and the potential arrival of more soldiers. Martha was willing to help, and she had a tactical way of collecting intelligence; she complained to the generals that the soldiers stole items from her mill the time they were quartering there. By doing so, Mrs. Bell secured the soldiers' business, and collected intelligence about the number of weapons the British had, the number of the injured, the number of the soldiers intending to come, and the kind of weapons they had. She provided the Patriots with this intelligence to plan their next attack. Mrs. Bell kept spying on the Loyalists and used the pretext of being a midwife to justify her traveling (Kierner, 1998).

Another Patriot spy from South Carolina was Emily Geiger. In 1781, when the Patriots Nathanael Greene, Thomas Sumter, Francis Marion, and Henry Lee were trying to recover the Carolinas from the British, they could not due to the arrival of the British General Lord Francis Rawdon with reinforcements. General Greene and General Thomas Sumter were in separate units and needed to be united in order to defeat General Lord Francis Rawdon, but that was not an easy task to General Greene to send a message to General Sumter due to the difficulty of terrain of seventy miles separating the two armies, in addition to the presence of the loyalists in the area. Because General Greene's soldiers were weak and exhausted, he could not order any of them to take on such a ride. Thus, he appealed for a civilian volunteer

to transmit the message, but unfortunately he could find no one to do such a risky mission of crossing the enemy's lines and the vindictive Tories (Frank, 2008).

General Greene with his troops had camped about two miles from the residence of a prosperous farmer called John Geiger who was an outspoken patriot, but he could not participate in the war. His eighteen-year-old daughter Emily was a very enthusiastic patriotic young lady. She heard her father talking to a friend about General Greene's problem and his need for a messenger, so she decided to volunteer and headed toward Greene's camp seeking his meeting personally wherein she heroically offered her help to carry the message to General Thomas Sumter (Claghorn, 1991). She convinced him that she was the most likely to accomplish this mission because a woman could not be suspected by the British who were controlling the roads between Greene and Sumter. Greene was convinced eventually by her argument, so he sent her in a mission. On the first day, Geiger avoided being captured by the British, but on the second day, she was stopped by them. As she waited for them to search another suspected woman, she read the message and memorized it, and then she ate it. The British did not find her guilty because there was no evidence of spying, so they released her, and she carried on her way to Sumter whom she met and to whom she transmitted the message orally (Claghorn, 1991).

Laodicea Langston, or Dicey, was another spy from South Carolina; she was just fifteen years old when the Revolutionary War was at its peak. Her brothers left their father's plantation to help for the cause as Continental soldiers because of their Patriotism in a colony divided between Loyalists and Patriots. They camped far from their plantation along with a group of Patriots in order to protect their families and friends from the British harassment (Metz, 2006). Dicey managed to meet them often in order to transmit information about the enemy. Dicey noticed once that the British troops had camped near their Plantation where she had to take notes about their activities and transmit it to her brothers. She also had Loyalist

relatives whom she visited often and spied on for the Patriot cause, but once they discovered that she was spying on them, so they asked her father to forbid her from visiting them. Dicey was suspected not only by her relatives, but also by the British who noticed that most of their plans and moves reached the Patriots. The British threatened her father if he or she would be found guilty; they would pay for their heroism (Metz, 2006).

Once Dicey spied on a group of the Loyalists known as the Bloody Scouts, and she heard that they were planning to attack Little Eden, a village that was near her brothers' camp. She was frightened that something harmful would happen to her brothers, so she decided to reach them and to warn them. She took the risk of conveying the message at night while everyone in her household was asleep; she took her way through the forest and the fields to avoid being captured. She steadily crossed through her path till she reached a creek full of water; she fearlessly paddled through it, but when she reached the middle of the creek, she was carried by the stream and turned over and over (Ellet, 1980).

As she eventually could stand on her feet, she was perplexed which side she would follow. She decided to follow her instinct and chose the right direction of the creek. After getting through the risky and long distance, she finally arrived to the camp of her brothers and delivered her message to do the same path on her way home before dawn. Dicey was suspected to be the courier of the message when the British Bloody Scouts went to the Little Eden village and found nobody there and the camps were cleared out. Because of this incident, the British went to the Langston property and threatened Dicey's father; she bravely faced them and they left. Dicey became the only defender of her father's plantation from the British and the Loyalists (Metz, 2006).

There were many women who participated in the Revolutionary War as soldiers, minute-women, and cannoneers to serve in the armed forces. Women were not allowed to join the Army, but that did not hinder them from disguising as men and secretly served as soldiers

during the Revolution. The female soldiers often got their hair cut, their breasts bound with bandages, and they even named themselves with masculine names (Berkin, 2005). Among the famous women who participated in the armed confrontations were Deborah Samson, Anna Maria Lane, Sally St. Clair, Ann Bailey, Prudence Cummings Wright, Margaret Corbin, Nancy Hart, and Mary Hays.

Deborah Samson or Sampson was born on the 17th of December 1760 in Massachusetts. Her family was poor, and her father left them and went to ship a sea when she was young. Because of poverty, her mother sent her and her five siblings to live with some friends and relatives. Deborah was the youngest child; when she was eight, she worked on a farm as a helper wherein she acquired sewing, spinning, hunting, riding horses, and doing carpentry work. She even acquired knowledge by bribing some of the boys in the family to teach her what they had been taught in school (Young, 2004).

When the Revolutionary War reached Deborah's conscience, she wanted to get involved in it and to help with whatever she got. In 1782, she decided to join the Continental Army by enlisting herself in the Fourth Regiment of Massachusetts, and by disguising herself as a young man called Robert Shurtleff who served under Captain Nathan Thayer of Massachusetts. She served in the army for three years, and she got injured twice; she once got a cut on her head by a sword, and another time after four months she was shot in her shoulder. She had severe wounds in many battles, but she always refused to have medical care because she was afraid her true identity would be discovered (Freeman & Bond, 1992).

In 1783, Robert Shurtleff, the young soldier, was sick; he got brain fever that was spreading through the troops in Philadelphia at that time. Robert Shurtleff suffered from sickness to the point that he approached death. A doctor was summoned to check him, then the doctor discovered that Robert was not a man, but rather a woman in disguise just to become a soldier in the Continental Army and serve the cause. When her true identity was

revealed, Samson received nursing and medical care till her health recovered. She was sent with a letter for General John Paterson who was her superior; she was not permitted to remain in the forces. She was honored by the Continental Army that arranged a discharge and provided her with money to travel back home (Ellet, 1980).

Anna Maria Lane was another soldier from Virginia, and was the only known Virginian woman soldier during the Revolutionary War. In 1776, her husband joined the Continental Army, so she became a camp follower, but she dressed as a man performing soldiers' duties. She was not discovered as being a woman because there were no physicals needed for entering the Army at that period. Anna Maria Lane accompanied her husband, and they both fought in many battles and campaigns in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Georgia (Mayer, 1996).

Anna and her husband joined the troops of New England where they were under the command of General Israel Putnam, when he joined General George Washington's army close to Philadelphia after fighting in the Battle of Brandywine. On the 4th of October 1777, Anna Maria fought in the Battle of Germantown, Pennsylvania, where she was severely wounded at the level of her leg to the point that she was left lame for the rest of her life. Though she received a severe injury, Anna Maria did not cease fighting alongside her husband who got enlisted for the second time in the Virginia Light Dragoons. In 1779, she was with her husband when he received injuries during the Siege of Savannah. The Lanes served in the Continental Army till 1781 (Claghorn, 1991).

Among the other women that served in the Continental Army disguising as men are Sally St. Clair from South Carolina and Ann Bailey. Clair was a Creole woman from African and French origins; she served as a gunner in the Continental Army. She kept her gender hidden till she was killed in the Battle of Savannah on the 29th of December 1778 (Berkin, 2005). Anne Hennis Bailey, also known as Mad Anne who was born in Liverpool, England in

1742, received her education formally and acquired reading and writing skills. Her parents had died when she was eighteen; she suffered from poverty, so she sailed to America when she was nineteen to live with relatives in Virginia. She married Richard Trotter in 1765, and had a son named William. Her husband was a frontiersman and a soldier who participated in the Battle of Point Pleasant that occurred on the 19th of October 1774 between the Native Americans and Virginian militia. Her husband was killed in that battle (Lewis & Messenger, 1998).

After the death of her husband, Anne Bailey decided to carry on her husband's mission and sought revenge; she left her seven-year son with neighbors and dressed as a frontiersman. She was famous and known to whites and Indians by Mad Anne. She learned many skills such as scouting, hunting, carrying messages, telling stories, and riding horses; she always carried a knife and long rifle. She was determined to help the Patriotic cause, so she rode from the Potomac River to the Roanoke, and made appeals to all colonists to volunteer in the Continental Army and the local militia to protect women and children and to obtain freedom. Ann was disguising in man's clothes and applied for recruitment in the Continental Army. She helped in delivering messages between different Army detachments wherein she rode her horse, a distance of almost 160 miles, as a courier from Fort Savannah to Randolph (Hill, 1979).

Another patriot was Prudence Cummings Wright, who was born on the 26th of November 1740 in Massachusetts. She lived in a highly-free atmosphere, and she was raised in her father's household where politics was discussed and opinions varied; two of her brothers were Tories. On the 28th of December 1761, she married David Wright of Pepperell, Massachusetts. She was the leader of her town's matrons (Pennington, 2003). Prudence lived in a colony that was considered by the British as the most rebellious of the thirteen colonies; Massachusetts was distinctive by obtaining Minutemen who were a division from a network's

committees, messengers, and volunteer soldiers. Women of Pepperell, Massachusetts, were as patriotic as men; they burned their tea leaves after knowing about the Boston Tea Party, and they encouraged their men to carry their guns and fight for the cause. When their men marched off to war as a result of the Battles of Lexington and Concord, Pepperell women decided to form their own militia to fight for the cause (Fischer, 1995).

Pepperell women wore their husbands' clothes disguising as men and held their weapons that were old muskets, pitchforks, and farm tools. Prudence was chosen to be the leader of the militia that was known as Minutewomen. Prudence was chosen a commander of the Minutewomen because she was the one who transmitted the information of the British arrival, and the one who warned women about the plot while she was visiting her mother in Hollis, where she overheard her brother and his friend conspiring and planning to pass messages from the British Canada to Boston. Pepperell was the only town that should be crossed from Canada to Boston, so women wanted to cut the road for the British. Leading the women, Prudence succeeded in confiscating the enemy's documents and holding them hostages, and their messages were sent to the Committee of Safety to be reviewed (Pennington, 2003).

Margaret Corbin, the Cannoner, was born on the 12th of November 1751 in Pennsylvania. She lost her parents when she was five years old because of an Indian attack on her parents homestead. Her uncle took the responsibility of raising her and her brother. In 1772, she married John Corbin, a farmer from Virginia. Margaret Corbin was a camp follower during the Revolutionary War because her husband joined the Continental Army; she had different missions in the camp, such as cooking, taking the chores, mending clothes, while learning different military drills from her husband and from other soldiers (James, et al., 1971).

She helped her husband in handling ammunition for cannon. In 1776, when the British attacked the Fort of Washington in New York, Margaret Corbin and her husband were there, and they participated in the Battle Harlem Heights. During the battle, John Corbin quickly took the position of Hessians operating the cannon after his murder, and then John too received mortal wounds and eventually was killed by the British. Without a second thought, Margaret took the position of her killed husband, and manned the cannon; she fired the British soldiers until she was severely injured in her chest and left arm (Hall, 1932).

Nancy Hart, the Revolutionary heroine, was born Ann Morgan in 1735. She was a Georgian frontierswoman. She married Benjamin Hart in 1771, and they lived in the Broad River in Wilkes County, Georgia; she gave birth to six sons and two daughters. Nancy was determined to take over the Tories in her county and all Georgia territories; she was known by her fearlessness and strong body complexion. Despite the fact that she was illiterate, she mastered many skills such as being a herbalist, a hunter, and she had an accurate shot (Freear, 1908).

During the Revolutionary War, Nancy Hart was obliged to take care of her family and her husband's farm because he left home. Though she had great responsibilities, Nancy managed to spy on the British by disguising in a feeble-minded man to collect information that she later would hand to the Patriots. On the 14th of February 1779, she participated in the Battle of Kettle Creek (Copeland, 1950). She was always suspected by the British who stopped at her property very often to watch her patriotic moves. One day, her daughter remarked that one of the Tories was spying on them using a hole in their wall, so Nancy decided to punish him via throwing a hot liquid soap, she was making, through the hole and got him scalding. Nancy and her daughter caught the spy, tied him up, and took him to the Patriots. On another day, while Nancy was sitting in her house, six British soldiers arrived and

asked her to provide them with food. Before responding, Nancy's last turkey was shot by one of those soldiers, and he asked her to cook it for them (Ellet, 1980).

Nancy's daughter sneaked out to bring help of the neighbors, while Nancy prepared a plot to make the soldiers drunk. She managed to take three of their rifles and put two of them out through a crack in the wall before she was detected, and she kept one to defend herself with. When one of the soldiers discovered what Nancy had done, she shot him dead, and she shot another and caused him severe wounds. When the neighbors finally arrived, she along with them took the soldiers to the woods and hung them (Copeland, 1950).

Another brave woman of the Revolutionary War was Mary Ludwig Hays, the cannoner, who was born on the 13th of October 1744 to German immigrant parents in Trenton, New Jersey. Mary was illiterate. In 1769, she got married to John Hays, a barber from Pennsylvania. In December 1775, her husband decided to join the Continental Army to serve as an artilleryman in the 1st Pennsylvania Artillery; she followed him to the Army camps when he enlisted to it, and she served as a cook, a nurse, and she even washed clothes for her husband and other soldiers (Burstyn, 1997).

On the 28th of June 1778, Mary Hays joined, as a camp follower, the Artillery Company of Captain Francis Proctor in Pennsylvania. During the Battle of Monmouth, in the hot summer, Mary Hays was carrying water to her husband and other soldiers while they were exchanging gunfire with the British, many of the soldiers died because of thirst, heat exhaustion, and dehydration. Mary was brave enough to carry water to the soldiers in the battlefield as well as to care for the wounded soldiers. Mary's husband was wounded in this battle while he was loading the cannon; she replaced him and began firing. After the battle was finished, George Washington was looking for the brave woman that took the decisive action of defending her country, and when he met her, he offered her a warrant as a non-commissioned officer (Landis, 1905).

2. 3. Algerian Women before the Revolutionary War

Women's life in Colonial Algeria was featured by the traditional roles that were related, most of the time, to running the house, farming, and raising the children. These roles are similar in both rural and urban areas, but they differed based on social class, wealth, and status. In colonial Algeria, the French colonists tried to create their own laws and system that were similar to those of France. The French considered Algerian women the tool via which they would strike the society, implement their rules, and enhance their presence and existence in Algeria by creating the French Schools. Indeed, women were a great part in the Algerian society because they had the responsibility of bringing up the generations, so the French thought that if they provided women with the French culture, they would bring up Algerians who would support the French presence in Algeria (Lazreg, 1990).

Algerian women believed in their effective role in society and believed in the roles the society provided them with based on religious and traditional norms. However, there still had been some differences in educating girls, preparing them for marriage, providing them with property and their legal status (Lazreg, 1994).

2.3.1. Education

Education in Algeria had existed long before the conquest of the French and before the establishment of the French Schools. Literacy, education, and children teaching of reading and writing were very old traditions that dated back to the arrival of Umayyad to North Africa during the Seventh Century; their arrival resulted in the spread of Islam and the Arabic language. Because Algeria was part of Ifriqiyya, nowadays Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco, Beni-Hilal tribes' migration to the latter, in 1051, had a great effect on language and religion in Algeria's countryside that led eventually to the Arabization and Islamization of the area (Laaredj-Campbell, 2016).

During the Ottoman rule in Algeria, Zawiyahs were a main source of education. Zawiyahs were first founded for warrior-ascetics, and later their role changed to be devoted to reflection, asceticism, and Quran memorization. Zawiyahs became a symbol of asceticism and mysticism. Zawiyahs were very important to religion and education because they were considered as schools where the basic Islamic principles were taught along with the Arabic language. In a Zawiyah, the Shaykh, be it a living teacher or a deceased saint, had authority over the pupils, who should be submissive and should be committed wholeheartedly and unconditionally (Adamson, 1998).

Zawiyah's Shaykhs were not all literate, yet they still had an effect on their disciples. Despite the fact that Zawiyahs' contribution to the intellectual life in Algeria was not enough, it gradually led to the emergence of Institutions of higher education by developing Zawiyahs into scholarship providers that many of the scholars emerged from Zawiyah. This development led to teaching a religious curriculum that was comparable to that of Zaytunah and al-Azhar, the two prominent religious centers of Tunisia and Egypt (Adamson, 1998).

The Algerian educational system knew simple establishments, mainly Quranic Schools or al-Kuttab, that were intended to teach children their religion and how to worship God. These schools were concerned with teaching six-year-old children basic Arabic and basic acquirement of writing, reading, reciting, and memorizing the Quran. It also selected legal and linguistic texts in order to be taught to children of twelve, which was the last age and level in these schools. There were two schools in each village, but their number increased especially after the French colonization of Algeria and its campaign to erase the Algerian identity and replace it with a Christian one. These schools were the source of defense and preservation of the Algerian identity. The Quranic schools contributed to the low percentage of illiteracy in Algeria (Nyrop, 1972).

Madrasah was another important educational institution in Algeria; it embraced learning from its all aspects; studying and teaching. Madrasah had a constitution to be respected; it was the responsibility of the student or parents to move from one stage to another, and it was not systematic. The second stage in Madrasah contained two different levels at which a student should memorize the fundamental Islamic texts, and should learn grammar, Islamic law, Hadith, and poetry. This level of education was directed to boys but not girls. Madrasah contributed to the expansion of urban areas in Algeria and to the development of its culture (Benlahene, 2011).

The pre-colonial era in Algeria noticed a considerable increase in the educational institutions, in the capital city, in the Eastern part of the country, and in its Western part. In Algiers, there were 2920 educational institutions and schools that received both boys and girls. In Constantine, there were 35 mosques, 7 madrasahs, and 90 Quranic schools that received about 1350 boys. In Telemcen, there were 50 Quranic schools and 2 madrasahs (Bariun, 1993).

In general, Algerian schools were primarily religious wherein Islamic traditional education was considered the basic education, which was rarely extended beyond the primary level. Students seeking higher education had to travel abroad to acquire higher studies because there were not enough establishments for higher education, and those that were established did not enjoy official recognition and lacked authority and stability. The schools depended on the financial support system known as endowment or *awqaf* to support them to fund the religious and scientific education (Hallaq, 2009).

With the French conquest, these schools decreased in number due to the confiscation of the lands that were the source of the endowment revenue for these schools, which led to the decline of this Islamic education. In 1837, in Constantine, the number of students attending higher education was six to seven hundred to be decreased to just sixty students by 1850

(Heggoy, 1973). By 1833, the French established schools in Algeria in order to teach the French children initially, and the Algerian Muslims too; the French authorities enacted a law that compelled Algeria to adopt the French public school system that depended on a compulsory and free education (Forrester, 1964).

The French enacted many laws in an attempt to erase the Algerian identity, culture, and language and to replace them with the French ones. There were several laws to enhance the French presence and education in Algeria, like the decree of 7 December 1830, another was known as the Plan of 25 October 1832, the decree of 31 October 1838, the decree of 1858, and the Law of 1873 (Boudraa & Krause, 2007). In 1894, the French authorities decided that educating Algerians had to reach the goal of creating skilled farmers, masons, and shoemakers who would be beneficial for the colons (Stora, 2001). This systematic interference in the Algerian education resulted in an increase in illiteracy rates among Algerians that was 14 % before the conquest to become 92.2 % by 1901 (Boudraa & Krause, 2007).

In 1907, there were 33,000 young Muslims, most of whom were boys who attended official schools. The French public educational system was fully established in the Algerian schools by 1909 (Heggoy, 1973). Even the University of Algiers was submitting to the French educational system, and it was formed out of combining other four existing institutions of higher studies; the Schools of Law, Science, medicine, and Letters. There was avoidance from Muslim parents to send their children to the French schools because they considered it incapable of coping with the Algerian surroundings and mentality; thus, the French government established Muslim elementary schools that depended on the dual education of European and Muslim systems, but these elementary schools focused on the teaching of the French language. These elementary schools existed till 1949, and they were officially closed

down. Many Algerian Muslims received no education because of the scattering population and because of poverty (Forrester, 1964).

In 1917, the French authorities enacted a law of universal and compulsory education for all Muslim boys, but the law was applied to only those who lived near; i.e., three kilometers far from the public schools that were established by the French to receive Algerians only not the European colons. This law was intended to teach urban children, and neglect rural ones, such as the Aures (Benrabah, 2013). The problem that faced compulsory education in Algeria was that the French could not secure a sufficient number of teachers and enough classrooms. The Muslim children who attended these schools were sons of the few évolués, they were few hundred pupils (Heggoy, 1973).

During the 1930s, public education changed considerably, especially after the return of the Algerian workers who migrated to France and claimed for their children to be taught in French schools. This was taken as an advantage by the French who wanted to turn them into Frenchmen based on their civilizing mission and to assimilate them (Thomas, 2011). In 1931, as a reaction to the French systematic assimilation and immersion of Algerians into the French education and culture, a group of reformists emerged as the Association of Algerian Muslim Ulama that tried to resist the French educational policies intending to substitute the Algerian identity with a French one. By 1936, the Association founded 130 schools. In the 1940s, 10,000 students a year were enrolled in these schools, and after World War II, 50,000 students attended Ulama schools (McDougall, 2006).

The Ulama had their own slogan that stated “Islam is my religion; Arabic is my language, Algeria is my fatherland” (McDougall, 2003, p. 166). The Ulama schools produced new elites that adopted the Islamic and Arab culture, that refused to teach French, and that were proud of their Arabic. The Ulama schools offered different subjects to their students, like mathematics, history, and geography. They were not just religious schools like the

traditional Quranic Schools that offered just reading, writing, and memorizing the Quran (Connelly, 2002).

In 1944, the French authorities felt challenged and competed by the Ulama who were providing opposing young Muslims who were proud of their Algerian, Muslim, and Arabic identity; which was not what the French sought to bring up little Frenchmen. The French authorities tried to make the public schools dependent on the Arabic language program by enforcing its use in the three government Madrasahs, as a reaction to appealing the Algerians and to defeating the Ulama's attempts to create new elites in the Algerian society (Thomas, 2011). These Madrasahs had represented no threat to the French colonization of Algeria because they simply provided religious courses that were concerned with Islamic law and culture using Arabic. Through time, the French had gradually added the French language to the Madrasahs curriculum to facilitate French administrators' communication with the native officials (Thomas, 2011).

In 1947, French authorities passed an act concerned with the introduction of the Arabic language in primary education after observing the growth in number of Algerian children's enrollment in official schools, but the Ulamas' constant work in preserving the Algerian identity and language made the French dream of having young generations that were pro French culture. This law recognized the toleration of the use of Arabic in primary schools as the language of instructions; it was a compulsory subject in the primary level. The 1947 Act was only implemented in 1951 (Benrabah, 2013).

In 1954, 1,250,000 Muslim Algerian children were at a school age, and more than 1,000,000 of them enrolled in 699 primary schools compared to 2,000,000 European children who were enrolled in 1,400 schools. One Algerian child in ten enrolled to a school; one boy in five and one girl in sixteen. In rural areas, the ratio was only one in fifty and sometimes one in seventy children could go to school (Stora, 2001).

Education during the Revolutionary War, especially in private schools such as the Ulamas Reformist Schools, was tolerated by the French, and they even did not give much attention to the Quranic Schools because they thought they would represent no threat to the French public schools. These Quranic schools initially provided reading and writing Arabic, and they offered simple Quranic studies such as memorizing the Quranic verses. In 1959, there were about 1,687 Quranic schools that received about 48,597 pupils. The Ulama schools reached the number of 50,000 additional pupils in the mid-1950s (Christelow, 1987).

As far as higher education was concerned, Algerians were marginalized by the French colonists; there was only one Algerian child in 175 who attended lycees (Secondary Schools or High Schools). Among the 90 percent of the population, just 18 percent were secondary school children and 10.9 percent of them were university students. This marginalization in education for Algerians led to reducing their opportunity to obtain education, so just 5.9 percent of the Algerian males were literate, and just 1.9 percent of the Algerian females were literate (Lulat, 2005). The marginalization of Algerians in higher education led to the reduction of qualified workers in the colonial Algerian society. In 1954, for example, there were just 99 Algerian physicians, 161 lawyers, 17 dentists, 44 pharmacists, 5 surgeons, 5 architects, 21 engineers, and 185 secondary and higher education teachers (Andrew, 1969).

Between 1949 and 1956, development in education was reluctant; the annual number of classrooms built in colonial Algeria was just 436, and the French planned to build 2,025 classrooms. This policy led to the increase of pupils' enrolment to about 700,000 and to planning for more enrolments; i.e., 25 percent to 30 percent of school age children in 1961 (Lorcin, 2006). In 1958, the Algerian Muslim Reformists kept resisting the French marginalization policies in education, and they established more schools to achieve 150 Madrasahs that enhanced the Arabic language by teaching 50,000 pupils by the mid-1950s (Benrabah, 2013).

As far as education for girls was concerned, the Algerians, before the French colonization, taught their children in Quranic schools, boys and girls, but girls were not allowed to obtain more than basic education of reading and reciting the Quran, as well as memorizing it. Girls were meant to acquire just the basic knowledge of the Quran which was considered sufficient by their parents; they were not allowed to enroll in Madrasahs or Zawiyahs that were considered higher education meant for boys, not for girls (Gordon, 1968).

In the nineteenth century, Algerians had Quranic schools typically for girls in order to separate them from boys. In addition, those girls had female teachers or “Mouallemat”. There was also a tradition of teaching boys and girls at home; fathers and brothers, in most of the time, taught their daughters or sisters. Chances for wealthier girls to receive education were even higher because their families would hire private teachers who would be carefully chosen by their fathers, for these teachers would regularly be allowed to enter the girls’ rooms to provide them with lessons; the teachers would be affiliated with the nearby mosque (Laaredj-Campbell, 2016).

With the creation of the Arab-French schools under the decree of 1850, boys and girls were supposed to be enrolled in these schools, but education for Algerian girls did not receive any attention from the French authorities because they considered teaching Algerian girls useless and costly in terms of creating schools specifically for them. Besides, in respect of the traditions of the conservative indigenous, the French encouraged Algerians to shut down the schools, established after the colonization, in front of Algerian girls. Algiers, the capital city, had no school for girls for forty-five years after the French conquest in 1830 (Rogers, 2013).

Unlike schools for boys, the schools for girls did not prepare them to occupy any kind of a job, traditional or non- traditional, that required marketable skills. The French authorities in Algeria considered educating girls and the creation of the “Muslim Girls Schools” useless, which was stated by one of the colonial administrators on August 8th, 1861:

We must admit that creating the Arab-French schools for girls parallel to schools for boys, the July, 14, 1850 decree was ahead of felt needs, and overshot its mark of education we want to give to native girls will be for a long time to come incompatible with the role that native religious beliefs, mores, and domestic habits assign women in Arab society. It is purely utopian to believe that we will make this society ready for reform by teaching urban native girls reading, writing, arithmetic, and sewing according to our methods. By bringing them up essentially as Europeans we will make them unfit for Arab life; we are preparing concubines for European men instead of wives for native men. (Lazreg, 1994, pp. 66-67)

By the 1870s, the French colonists began to change their perception of Algerian girls' education, and they considered it useful in their "mission of civilization". Therefore, the French hoped to create a modern generation that would be loyal to the French regime and would contribute in the progress of their society (Rogers, 2013). The French colonists tried to have a reformist policy concerning educating Algerian girls, so they had a plan. They started to introduce education to girls using three ways proposed by Charles Jeanmaire, the rector of the Academy of Algiers, who constantly fought for the creation of many high schools for Algerians (Surkis, 2006).

The first way was to use home-teaching for girls depending on French women who could be the wives, daughters, or mothers of French teachers, and they would have access to Algerians' homes with the acceptance of the parents to teach their daughters the French language, along with some other skills concerned with housekeeping, such as lessons in hygiene and sewing (Surkis, 2006).

The second suggested way in educating Algerian girls was to start it at an early age in the "children's school" where girls of four would be taught how to handle a needle in order to

be able to make small knitwear. Little girls were also taught some French; starting at the age of four would allow girls to be exposed to French education for four years before girls would be veiled and separated from boys (Rogers, 2013).

The third way targeted girls of six to fourteen; it suggested the foundation of vocational schools that were separated based on sex, respecting the Algerian conservative society. These schools would teach girls trading via which they would support themselves financially. The schools were intended to make girls more productive by participating in industry and selling their products to Europeans and Arabs (Benjamin, 2003). These schools were workshop-schools that were established in Algiers and Constantine, and that had girls who produced embroidery. The experiment of these workshop-schools was not successful, and the girls were left unemployed and without a future because of the scarcity of buyers for their products (Rogers, 2013). In these schools, girls were taught how to sew, knit, weave, and embroider; skills which they already could acquire, partially or fully, from their mothers and grandmothers. These schools continued to teach Algerian girls those skills that were implemented in education as a tradition until the 1940s (Lazreg, 1994).

Algerian girls' education, in general, continued to be the same as that of the nineteenth century till the 1950s; the curriculum gradually ceased to contain the Arabic Language and the Quran in grade schools. In addition, girls were not prepared for the examination of the sixth grade entrance "Examen de Sixième"; i.e., they did not have higher education or enter the Lycée. The highest degree these girls would obtain was the "Certificat d'études primaires" which was the end of the seventh grade. If girls wanted to carry on higher education, they had to attend a school of the French girls; most of which taught Arabic as a second foreign language along with English (Lorcin, 2006).

Girls had a very limited access to education; most of their schools were workshops that taught them domestic skills and handicrafts. In 1938, less than 5 percent of Algerian girls

obtained any kind of education. As far as primary school was concerned, the proportion of school-age girls remained very little to be under 2 percent in 1890, 9 percent in 1918, 9 percent in 1944, and around 13 percent in 1954. The Algerian schoolchildren were remarkably composed of boys who outnumbered girls overwhelmingly (McDougall, 2017). In 1954, the total number of school-age population, of five to fourteen, in Algeria was over 2.000.000. Just 300.000 of them were enrolled in primary schools, 218.000 were boys and just 76.610 were girls. Higher education was the most considerable difference between girls' and boys' education; there were 5.308 boys compared to 952 girls in high schools (Heggoy, 1974).

Table 2

Trends in Enrolment Ratios in Algeria According to Census Data (1948-1954)

Gender Population aged 6-14		
Years	1948	1954
Male	13.4	23.5
Female	4.6	9.5
Total	9.1	16.6

Note. Adopted from *Changing Female Literacy Practices in Algeria: Empirical Study on Cultural Construction of Gender and Empowerment* by A. Laaredj-Campbell, 2016 p. 115. Copyright 2016, by Springer VS.

Table 2 illustrates the ratios of enrollment of males and females (Laaredj-Campbell, 2016), and it also illustrates the difference between boys' and girls' enrollment from 1948 to 1954. Boys' enrollment rate in 1948 was 13.4 percent compared to just 4.6 percent for girls. In 1954, there was an increase in the rate of enrollment for both sexes, but girls' enrollment was still less than that of boys with 9.5 percent for girls and 23.5 percent for boys. In general, Algerian schoolchildren's enrollment was very little, and that of girls in particular was even lesser.

As far as literacy was concerned, Algerian women were nearly all illiterate. In 1954, just 4.5 percent of them could read and write. Women barely had a role in their societies and could barely obtain a job; there were just 6 women who worked as doctors, just 25 who were teachers at secondary schools, and there was no single teacher in higher education. In the same year, there were just 500 Algerian students at the University of Algiers, which had just 50 girls studying at it (Amrane & Abu-Haidar, 1999).

In the region around Algiers, in the Academic year 1955-1956, 36,261 Muslim girls enrolled in primary schools, and in the 1958-1959 academic year, the number of Muslim girls' enrollment in primary schools increased to 61,641. It nearly doubled due to the French authorities' attempt to win women's support to wean their men's resistant and nationalistic views (Heggoy, 1974). Such a trial was translated in the French's support of girls' higher education, so the number of girls enrolled in secondary schools was 6,719. The Algerian nationalists considered that the French authorities used this method to drive women away from Islam and from their national cause, because their education was in French and because it intended to form a new French pro generation of women that would affect their fathers', brothers', and husbands' views about the Revolution and the Nationalist Resistance (Heggoy, 1974).

The study of twenty Algerian old women, who were Mujahidat, shows that the rate of illiteracy was higher in the rural areas. Out of 20 women, 13 were illiterate, and seven were literate among whom two received education in the French schools, and five received Islamic education; four among the latter studied in Quranic Schools and one in a Zawiyah. When they were asked whether there was a difference between boys and girls in education, these women contended that boys were prioritized by their parents. One of the two who received French education said that the French did not teach them the same way they taught the colonists' children; she added that "after each session, they dismiss Algerian pupils and keep the

colonists children to explain the lessons and clarify any information that they did not understand” (Translated by the researcher). The Mujahida added that she could not carry on her studies and was kicked out of school because her teacher slapped her in the face and said “never come to this school again!” (Translated by the researcher).

She added: “at the end of the academic year of the 6th grade, primary school, the school brought us a clown to celebrate the final year. When the clown finished his performance, the pupils shouted ‘vive la France!’, ‘Vive la France!’ (Long live France!); I jumped from my place and started to shout ‘vive l’Algerie!’, ‘vive l’Algerie!’(Long live Algeria!)” (Translated by the researcher). The teacher slapped her in the face, and kicked her out of school, she never could enter that school again, and thus she ceased studying.

Among the women who could have education in the Quranic School, just one of them could be a teacher in the same school she received education in; she said that “girls were taught at an early age, and when they reached puberty, they were kept home and never let go out” (Translated by the researcher). Another woman, who received education in the Quranic school, said that the school was her father’s; otherwise, she would not have any kind of education, and she added “boys were allowed to carry on their education, but girls not, our parents were afraid of the French who may do us harm” (Translated by the researcher).

Table 3

Literacy Rates in the Mujahidat Population Sample

Literacy	Rate
Illiterate	65%
Literate	35%
French Schools	10%
Quranic Schools	25%

Note. This table demonstrates the percentage of literacy in Algerian women who participated in the Revolutionary War.

The Algerian Mujahidat, based on the literacy rate, were highly illiterate; 65 percent of them could not read or write, and 35 percent of them could. The percentage of Algerian women who attended French schools was just 10 percent, and the percentage of those who attended Quranic schools was 25 percent. This clearly shows that Algerian families did not support the French education, and preferred to send their girls to Quranic schools instead.

Most of the women who were illiterate used to live in the rural areas, and they claimed that it was remote from the schools; in addition, their parents would not allow girls to obtain any kind of education neither French nor Quranic. Their brothers, on the other hand, were literate because their fathers needed them to be educated to help them by obtaining a job.

Table 4

Literacy Rates for Women Based on the Area

	Rural	Urban
Literate	03	04
Illiterate	13	00
Total	20	

Note. This table demonstrates the number of literate and illiterate women based on rural and urban areas of their childhood.

The number of illiterate women was 13 and they all lived in rural areas or the countryside. Just three women who used to live in the rural areas were literate; they had the opportunity of education because one of them used to be a pupil of her father, who was a teacher of the Quranic school in the area she lived in, and the two others studied in the nearby Quranic school in the area they lived in. There were no illiterate women in the urban area, and of all the total number of literate women, four of them lived in urban areas.

When they were asked about the difference in education between the two sexes, 18 women responded that there was a difference as boys had the priority, and girls were not allowed to have any education, and even if they had education, it was just a basic one.

Besides, the boys were allowed to carry on their higher education, but girls were not. They added that their fathers were afraid to allow girls out especially after puberty. Just two women responded that there was no difference between their education and their brothers' because their fathers did not differentiate between them as siblings, and had no problem to let their girls carry on their education (Table 5).

Table 5

The Rate of Responses for the Difference between Boys' and Girls' Education

Difference between boys and girls in education	
There was a difference between boys and girls in education.	90%
There was no a difference between boys and girls in education.	10%

Note. This table demonstrates the percentage of response of women who were asked about the difference in obtaining education between them and their brothers.

The rate of 'yes' responses was 90 percent while the rate of 'no' responses was 10 percent, which demonstrates the clear discrimination in education based on gender, and which illustrates the limitations in girls opportunities of obtaining education.

2.3.2. Marriage

In the nineteenth century, marriage in Algeria was known as a contract between families. Because Algerians are Muslims, the Islamic law was the prevailing source of law in Algeria in addition to the customary laws. Marriage was a private agreement between two families, and it needed just two witnesses to make it valid. Algerians did not have civil registry for marriage, so they did not need to register a marriage document neither in the civil nor the religious authorities. Thus, marriage was not a matter of state; it was a social and familial matter, and no jurisdiction was needed. It did not need to be approved by a civil authority either (Charrad, 2001).

In the Maghreb in general, and in Algeria in particular, endogamy was very popular and kin relations in marriage was the source of unity and solidarity between Algerian families, groups, and tribes. Women who married their cousins or other male relatives were seen as a source of the welfare of the kin group; thus, preserving the patrilineal relationships and enhancing the solidarity by marrying cousins. Kin endogamy required a particular preference for the first parallel paternal cousin's marriage. The man's first and best option for marriage was to marry his father's brother's daughter; if he did not find the first option, he would marry another female kin (Entelis, 1992). The aim of such marriages in Algeria was to keep one group's women for its own men whenever possible.

Algerians preferred kin marriages because they considered them as a means of keeping property and saving the kin group intactness of the estate. First, paternal parallel cousins' marriages were seen as a savior and a prevention from the division and partition of the property, especially with the case of women's inheritance based on the Islamic law. A woman's marriage to her paternal cousin would strengthen the kin group and would increase its size by giving birth to children by the lineage of her father, especially when the society was concerned with political and economic power (Bourdieu, 1962).

In this kind of marriages, fathers of the groom and the bride would be the most benefiting parts from the marriage by strengthening the familial bonds. The right of the man to marry his father's brother's daughter was exclusive, and the woman could not marry another man out of the family group without the consent of her cousin by her father. The priority was given to parallel paternal cousin, and he was free to use that right or not (Cherrad, 2001).

The man's priority to marry his father's brother's daughter was not absolute and was not a moral right. In case the man wanted to marry his father's brother's daughter, he could strongly claim the marriage compared to another man. The man's decision to marry his

father's brother's daughter was the most preferred marriage among the marriages. Sometimes the cousins would be matched and promised to each other from an early age. Because the father's brother's daughter marriages were preferred, the dowry or bride's price would be lower compared to other marriages. Sometimes the families considered the dowry insignificant between cousins and in this kind of marriages (Lazreg, 1994).

In the study, women were asked about their relations with their husbands, and whether they had familial relationships or they married out of their kin group. Thirteen out of twenty (65%) had been marrying to a cousin, and just six of them (30%) had been marrying to someone out of their kin group. Table 6 demonstrates the numbers of kin marriages of the mujahidat:

Table 6

Endogamy in Algeria

Kin marriage in Algeria	
Women married to their cousins	Women did not marry their cousins
65%	30%

Note. This table demonstrates the percentage of response of women who were asked about their relation to their husbands.

Since marriage was a contract, the man should give the woman a bride price or dowry, and he had to be committed to taking care of his wife and to supporting her as long as they are married. There was no law that required religious or civil ceremonies for the marriage contract validity. The offer of the dowry, its acceptance, and acceptance of the marriage should be done with the presence of witnesses, who are a required composition of the marriage contract. The verbal consent has to be expressed in order to conclude the marriage. Marriage was a very special event in the Algerian society because it would unite two kin groups; thus, it would be publically elaborated (Laaredj-Campbell, 2016).

For the consent to marriage, the woman's father was considered the legal guardian and prerogative in the marriage contract. The woman was not required to express her consent to marriage while the contract was to be established. She did not have to attend either, for her presence was not needed for the contract to be valid. Indeed, she would have a matrimonial guardian, who had to be her father or another male relative if her father was not present for any reason (Abun-Nasr, 1975).

The legal guardian would represent the bride and would speak instead of her; he would convey her acceptance to two witnesses who would be present in the marriage contract. The legal guardian's expression of the consent would be sufficient to approve the marriage and make it a legal marriage. In case the bride did not like to get married or disagreed with her legal guardian for the chosen spouse, she would not be listened to and the guardian's decision would be the last decision. The man's decision was the decisive and the last even if it was against the bride's will (Abun-Nasr, 1975).

Spouses' rights and duties were clearly defined, and the source was Shari'a. The husband had to support his wife and children. The husband is the head of the family, and his wife has to submit because he has rights over her. The husband has the right to choose where to live, he has the right to know where she is, and he can prevent her from receiving any visitors or go to a visit. He has the right to punish her if necessary. On the other hand, the woman has to obey her husband unconditionally, and she would be financially supported (Esposito, 2001).

Women were controlled by their fathers or any of their legal guardians, and after marriage, they would be controlled by their husbands. Daughters would be under the paternal guardianship till they married, but sons would be under their fathers' guardianship till puberty. Men would be emancipated at the age of puberty whereas women would never be emancipated. Before marriage, the father or the legal guardian would take decisions for

women, and after marriage, their husbands would take decisions instead. Women would be subordinate legally for the rest of their marital life (Welchman, 2007).

As far as ownership was concerned, in marriage based on the Islamic law, separation of ownership between spouses is an obligation; there was no joint ownership between couples. Throughout their marriage, the husband's and the wife's patrimony remain separate. The wife is not obliged to provide for the household and she has no legal responsibility to do so. A woman's property remains her ownership, and she is free to use it as she desires, except in case she wants to provide more than one-third of her property to someone who does not belong to her family. Women have the right to freely give her assets to her family members and to use their wealth; otherwise, her husband has the right to prevent her from donating (Sait & Lim, 2006).

The husband too is free to use his own property freely and without any kind of restriction; the wife has no right to intervene or control his property under any circumstances. She has the right to be supported financially, but she has no right to manage his property. The husband has to provide her with food, an equipped house, and clothes. Since he provides her with these essential elements of living, she has no right to ask for what would he do with the rest of his assets or money. Because the husband and the wife have a separate ownership, the case of repudiation or death is going to be easy managed in property matters. Marriage, based on Islamic Law, has barely any financial bond between the husband and his wife (Arshad, 2010).

In her book, *Arab Women in Algeria*, Hubertine Auclet described Algerian Muslim woman as:

A Muslim woman keeps her name when she marries... She acquires a sort of civil and economic emancipation. Not until she marries can an Arab woman decide what to do with herself and fortune; but from her marriage day on she

can manage and enjoy her personal property. She can even testify against her husband without any authorization. (2014, p. 16)

Auclet explained the notion of property separation between the husband and the wife in colonial Algeria that was featured as a Muslim society, and that ruled its members, especially spouses, based on the Holy Quran:

Separation of property is the common law between Muslim spouses. A wife is not bound to spend anything for the household, she does not have to contribute anything, since the first condition required for a man who wants to contract marriage is to be able to support and feed each of the women he marries.

(2014, p. 16)

As far as divorce was concerned, terminating marriage based on the Maliki law was not difficult. It provided three measures to terminate marriage; first, the husband can have repudiation of his wife unilaterally. Second, both the wife and the husband can negotiate the repudiation. Third, a religious judge can dissolve the marriage by simply receiving a judicial appeal to do so (Al-Hibri, 1982). The first two measures were the most known ones. In the first measure, the man simply would pronounce “I repudiate thee” three times, the marriage would be legally terminated, and the divorce would be in effect. The husband does not have to go to the court to end the marriage; he is privileged and does not need neither judicial nor religious authorities’ intervention (Al-Jundi & Ruxton, 1980).

The decision of repudiation, based on Maliki Law, could not be instant. The husband and the wife have to take time during which they may think of returning back to each other. Another reason is the case of paternity wherein the wife should stay single for three months. The reason for providing the spouses a period off from each other is to offer them an opportunity to review their views and opinions about separation, and to maintain the cohesion of the family which would be lost when the spouses divorce. For both spouses, the kit or the

period off is a source of appreciation, gratitude, and respect for the marital relation between them during the period of divorce. The kit is also a means to prevent mixing lineages and to eliminate suspicion about mixing them (Al-Hibri, 1982).

The wife unlike the husband cannot simply divorce; she has to take her case to the court and have judicial procedures. She has to depend on a qadi and appeal him in order to divorce, and she must have tangible evidence that the court would use as a solid basis and terminate the marriage (Al-Jundi & Ruxton, 1980). Based on Maliki Law, a woman could obtain divorce if she discovers a problem that her husband did not reveal before marriage; the problem could be physical, mental, or sexual. She can also appeal for divorce if her husband had been absent for a long period up to four years without a clear reason for his absence or for illegitimate reasons. She even has the right to appeal for divorce if her husband did not support her and her children financially though he would be capable of doing so. The wife can appeal for divorce if she had been abused by her husband and she received injurious treatment after the qadi's investigations, and if her appeal appeared to be true, the husband should grant her divorce. This act is called Khul (Cornell, 2007).

Polygamy, in the Islamic law, is allowed and a man can marry as many as four wives, but there is a restriction in doing so according to the Shari'a which conditions the man to treat his wives equally. If the man cannot maintain justice with the wives, he is advised to remain monogamous. Polygamy is a right that is reserved for a man only (Philips & Jones, 1990). Polygamy was considered an unfair act that was derived from the Arab patriarchal society where women were suffering from gender issues; it was about sharing a husband with other women and also sharing the house. A woman was living with the constant thought of sharing her husband with another or others, and thus the fear to lose him if she has not behaved well with him (Mernissi, 2011).

The fear of living in polygamous household would lead women to submit to the will of their husbands and to accept all their decisions and desires. The relationship between the husband and the wife was threatened by either unilateral repudiation or polygamy. Polygamy was often perceived as an heir-producing device, but it would be available to some. In case of a barren wife, the man is allowed to marry a second wife in order to have an heir or heirs, principally a male heir. The latter was a very predominant wish for men in order to maintain their social status, their kin group's power, and their old age's security (Minces, 1982).

Polygamy was not affordable for everyone, a man had to be rich to marry two wives and to pay bride prices to them both, and he had to be well-off to support many wives. In case these wives gave birth to children, he ought to support children as well. Polygamous marriages started to decline gradually due to many reasons; among which poverty is the most important reason. In 1886, there were 15 percent polygamous of all married men in Algeria, and more than 26 percent of women were married to a polygamous man (Hopkins, 2001).

Between 1891 and 1911, Algeria noticed a decrease in polygamous marriages from 149.000 to 55.427 (Spickard, 2005). In 1948, there were 30 polygamous men, out of a 1000 married men (Tabutin, 1974). In 1954, the number of polygamous men decreased to 27, out of 83.000 married men; the number of polygamous households was 3 percent; and men who had two wives at one time were very few (American's, 1965).

Table 7*Number of Polygamists and Proportion per 1000 Married Men*

Census Year	Number of Polygamists	Number of Polygamists per 1000 Married
1886	89000	–
1896	82000	–
1906	60000	–
1911	55400	64
1948	38900	30
1954	23600	18

Note. Adopted from “La Polygamie en Algerie” by Tabutin, D., 1974, *Population*, 29(2), p. 314.

The results in Table 7 (Tabutin, 1974, p. 314) show that polygamous marriages in Algeria had decreased gradually from 89000 polygamists in 1886 to 82000 in 1869 that is in ten years. There were 60000 polygamists in 1906, 55400 in 1911, 38900 in 1948, and 29600 in 1954.

The center for the social organization in Algeria was concentrated on a strong patriarchal family. Algerian women belong to a house, a lineage; i.e., she belonged to her father before marriage, and after marriage she would belong to her husband. Her identity was defined by her relation to a man, be it a daughter, a sister, a wife, or a mother. Her social status was a result of his social status. In theory, an Algerian man would protect and guide the woman, and would provide her livelihood or support her financially (Jansen, 1987). Because of the patriarchal society, every woman had to submit to a man, and she ought to be married because she constantly needed a man in her life; thus, little girls from early ages were prepared to be wives.

As far as marriage age in Algeria was concerned, young women had to be married because they ought to have a status. In the Algerian society, the girls who reached puberty had

to obtain a status, and not obtaining it was a dilemma to the family that would have a new woman in the house. Girls who entered womanhood had to marry and have children; marriage was not just motivated by the poverty of the family, but also by the fact of acquiring a new woman without status, which would pose a burden to the family and society. Due to the burden girls posed at puberty, they were kept at home, safeguarded, watched over, and easily married off (Fanon, 1965).

Marriage for the Algerian girls who reached puberty and became childwomen would seek marriage as a means of liberation, protection, and as a means of balance since the fathers would be in a constant confusion and anxiety due to the new life stage their daughters would experience. The Algerian women's life, hence, would develop in just two stages; childhood that was linked to puberty and marriage. If the girl did not get married early, the odd situation in her father's house would be prolonged (Lazreg, 1994).

In the rural areas, in particular, unmarried women had to be married, and being a woman was to reach the age of sixteen at which marriage was a must. The family and the father, in particular, would be extremely anxious about the daughter's marriage and about her being abandoned after her father's death. The father would be haunted by the idea of finding the right husband to his daughter so he would die peacefully, and would find someone who would support his daughter after him (Fanon, 1965).

In the 1850s, the French started to criticize the age of marriage in Algeria and considered it child marriage. The French considered that the problem of marriage in Algeria was a problem of law, so they sought clarification from the 'Conseil de Jurisprudence' which was headed by Muslim legists, who saw in their first session that the minimum age for marriage should be seventeen for men and fifteen for women. The French sought a legal reform concerning marriage in Algeria with the decision of 1856, but they never reached what they wanted from the Algerian society. In 1857, Governor General Randon sent a circular to

be applied by the local authorities about the minimum age of marriage, but it was not effective and never had been applied because it was neither a regulation nor a decree (Christelow, 1985).

Table 8

The Age of Marriage for Algerian Females Born between 1924 and 1940

Age of Marriage of Algerian Females				
Age	9→14	15→18	19→20	More than 20
Percentage	40%	30%	20%	5%

Note. This table demonstrates the percentage of marriage age of Algerian females who were born from 1924 to 1940.

The Mujahidat were asked about their age of marriage. Eight out of twenty (40%) got married at the age of 9 to 14 years old. As far as the second age category of marriage, six out of twenty women (30%) got married between 15 and 18 years old. In the third age category of marriage, four out of twenty women (20%) got married between 19 and 20 years old. The last age category of marriage noticed just one woman out of twenty (5%) got married after the age of twenty. Among all these women, just one woman was unmarried.

The French did not really defend the children from child marriage, but they rather used their authority and affirmed it against the qadi. The French moral demand for protecting children failed because the Algerian patriarchal society would never accept such interference in one of its essential cultural elements, and because the French had these regulations in order to restrict qadis' authority or dismiss them if they would not act as they wished (Christelow, 1985). The French, in their early years in Algeria, allowed Muslim Algerians to have a certain degree of legal autonomy, but through time they reduced it to matters of personal status such as family law, and law that dealt with marriage, divorce, children, and inheritance. By 1873, the jurisdiction of Algeria's Sharia Courts was gradually reduced (Cuno, 2015).

The French failed to intervene in the Algerian customs, and failed to assimilate them in the French culture via imposing its own laws and its Western culture. In 1882, the French passed a law that dealt with the civil status of Muslim Algerians, by trying to make Algerians adopt their systems of identity cards and to adopt patronymic surnames. They also wanted them to register their births, marriage, divorce, and death. Algerians, especially those who lived in mountains and desert areas, refused the French intervention and considered it a mechanism the French conducted to impose its authority on them (Lazreg, 1994).

During the French colonization, Algerian courts depended on the Maliki laws, especially in personal status. Family law noticed distinctive developments especially after the Franco-Algerian courts adjudication and interpretation. In 1916, the French jurist Marcel Morand headed a commission with the mission of formulating a draft code of Muslim law. The latter was based mainly on Maliki principles, and it contained some Hanafi provisions, but the code was not enacted as a law despite the fact that it affected the family law in Algeria, its application and administration (Naim, 2002).

As early as the 1920s, the French directly interfered in the Muslim personal status in Kabylia, which was not the case of the rest of Algeria. The French encouraged the Kabyles to use the Berber customary law instead of the Islamic law or Sharia; they eliminated Muslim judges and decreased their roles. They favored the Djemaa or Village Councils and the French magistrates in the application of laws. In the Kabylia region, the qadi would have no role; instead, the French judge was concerned with the personal status. In 1922, the right to judicial divorce was provided to Kabyle women after it was an impossible right for them, and in 1923, the French proposed a circular that granted legal custody over small children to Kabyle women, which was given before to the father based on the Kabylie customary law (Bainham, 1996).

In the 1930s, the French kept interfering in the Kabylie region by creating new laws concerning family, marriage, divorce, and age of marriage. On the second of May 1930, the French enacted a law that regulated marriage and divorce in the region and set the condition for the Kabyle woman. The law was also concerned with the declaration of engagements and set a minimum age of marriage in the region; it set the marriage age of 15 years for girls and 18 years for boys. On May 19th, 1931, a decree was introduced by the French to enforce the previous year's law (Evans, 2013). Though the French imposed a minimum age of marriage in Kabylia, the Law of the second of May 1930 had never been fully and really applied (Charrad, 2001).

In 1956, the French proposed a reform in Algeria. They suggested the draft law of the 27th of April 1956 that incorporated some of the women's rights measures. It dealt with the right of a legal guardianship of the mother to her children in case of the father's health problems, such as mental or physical failure, and in case of the death of either the father or the testamentary guardian (Seferdjeli, 2004). The draft law also suggested a woman's right of choosing a testamentary guardian, and of obtaining divorce if her husband disappeared or left her in poverty. The draft law suggested a woman's right to obtain a judgment of the husband's absence acknowledgement. The French intended to apply this law in the Muslim population of Algeria, but they made an exception of Kabyle and Mozabite because of their customary laws (Seferdjeli, 2004).

In 1957, the French announced a law concerned with marriage certificates. There were many exceptions in the law of the 11th of July 1957, and it was enacted to aid the French courts in their work (Shepard, 2008). The Algerian population's practices were not deeply changed by this law because the French did not mean to introduce any deep change. The law insisted on the certificate of marriage as a proof, and it would be submitted the day of marriage registration. The French wanted the marriage certificates to be approved by French

courts; the law was intended to limit the role of the qadi and his intervention in marriage contracts. The qadi had to declare the marriage contracts to the registry office, and the spouses as well had to do so. In this law, polygamy was prohibited (Shepard, 2008).

The French maintained their intervention in the Algerian family laws and kept introducing new ones. In 1959, they announced a law concerned with the registration of marriage; it made it a public act, and it had to be registered. They also established civil registry records system parallel to the French one. The aim of the registry records and its requirement for registering birth, death, marriage, divorce...etc. was to keep records in the French administration all over the country, and to allow the French to control Algerians (Cherrad, 2001).

The law introduced a considerable change in the Islamic law that was prevailing in Algeria especially with women's status. The law was intended to integrate Algerian in the French culture, and thus to interfere in the Islamic values of the Algerian society. In its fifth Article, the law set a minimum age for marriage, 15 years for women and 18 for men. In its second Article, the law banned the father's or guardian's right to choose the husband for the woman. It further provided the potential spouses the right to present themselves before a civil officer, a qadi, or a representative of the state, and also to verbally consent based on the second and third Articles. Based on the second Article, in minors' marriage, the father's or guardian's consent was mandatory as a form of compensation for the right of their djibr's right prohibition or guardianship (Gleave & Kermeli, 1997).

Based on the 1959 law, the disbanding of marriage had to be conducted by either a Muslim or a French judge; thus, the intervention of judges in marriages was mandatory. In the second Article, the law stated that Muslims could be registry officers, and that if the spouses wanted to have recourse, they could submit it either to a French civil officer or a Muslim judge or qadi (Khare, 1999).

The 1959 law also dealt with divorce. It stated that if the reasons for divorce were present, such as adultery, physical abuse, serious injuries, and the physical absence of the husband, the latter could provide the wife with the right of unilateral repudiation. The request for dissolution of marriage could be possible by a mutual consent of the spouses. Moreover, public hearing for divorce became mandatory, and it became a judicial act (Woodhull, 1993). The law dealt with the custody of children and the alimony with specific measures. Despite the fact that the law dealt with reasons of divorce, it did not ban repudiation, yet it considered it as an instrument of divorce. Unlike the traditional Muslim way of the three-word repudiation, this law made divorce a judicial decision, so repudiation was controlled by the judicial courts (Lazreg, 1994).

It was until the war started that the French intervened directly in the Algerian women's status as a form of a counterattack during the Revolutionary War. The French had been always complicit in the exclusion of women from education and jobs and in enhancing their personal status. Colonial officials had always played a neutral role when the issue of women was raised because they did not want to lose secret alliances with the conservative Muslims under the leadership of the Sufi orders; thus, they avoided any issue that would shake this relation of colonial and conservative Sufi leaders. The French aim from such reforms in the family law was to facilitate colonial bureaucratization in Algeria in order to tighten control over them (Lazreg, 1990).

Algerians did not want the French interference in their Muslim personal status. They considered this interference as a systematic assimilation in the French principles, and then an acceptance of the French as their rulers. Because of the French colonists' hatred to the Algerian religion and customs, Algerian Muslims opposed openly the French policies of interference. The French and European colonists always humiliated the Algerians and mocked their traditions and customs and considered them backward, especially women's

position in the Muslim society. The main region the French interfered in its personal status was the Kabylia; the French's interference in this region was only restricted to those Muslims who would bring their cases to French courts. The French used the tricky policy of equality in Algeria in order to pass its laws and to interfere easily in Algerian Muslim laws, using the assimilation and equality policies that gave an opportunity to the French to interfere in the Algerian personal status laws.

As far as the 1959 law was concerned, Algerian FLN considered it a direct interference in the Algerian Muslim identity, and they accused the French of trying to dissolve it. FLN considered the law to be politicized intending to hit the Revolution, especially by using women's status as an excuse to reform the Algerian Muslim Law and as a tool to weaken the Revolutionary women's participation in the War (Evans, 2013). Because the French feared increasing the number of Algerian women in the FLN and their involvement as Mujahidat in the Revolutionary War, they targeted them with emancipating reforms, mainly those of marriage and personal status.

2.3.3. Legal Status and Rights

The Algerian society derived its laws from a combination of Muslim Maliki principles and customary laws that used to be the only source of law before the French intervention in the Algerian legal status, and before its introduction of new laws to govern Algerians and control all aspects of life in society. Malikism was widespread in Tiaret region while experiencing a certain radicalization, with the exception of southern Algeria and the Mزاب region that had the Kharedjite rite. The consequence was the enactment of strict rules towards women.

In Maliki law in general and in Algeria in particular, a woman was constantly placed under a male guardianship: that of the father, that of the closest agnate relative, or that of her husband. The matrimonial laws would prove her legal incapacity. During the formation of her

marriage, the woman would be placed under the authority of her father, who has the right of matrimonial constraint, called the right of *djebr*. He has, by virtue of this power, the possibility of marrying his virgin, non-marital daughter, to a man of his choice (Sambron, 2013). The Maliki rite, however, indicates that this right can no longer be exercised over non-virgin women, whether they are widowed or divorced. This last rule was not applied, for woman could only rarely choose her husband. On the other hand, Islamic law prohibits the consummation of marriage before the young woman's marital age. It was customary that many young girls, married very early, were not protected by the late consummation of marriage (Arabi, 2000). The legal control over a woman shifts from the father or other guardians to the husband when she married; she would be subordinate legally for her whole life.

A woman could not oppose her husband's polygamy decision, in case she did not mention that beforehand in a marriage contract. Nevertheless, this practice was conducted by just a minority of Algerians. At the end of the 19th century, polygamy rates were around 15% of the households, and in 1954, the rate decreased to 2% (Sambron, 2013). In addition, polygamous marriages mainly concern wealthy city dwellers that were able to maintain large households, or possibly married men marrying, for example, their brother's widow, to avoid family dispersal. The latter was very common in the Algerian society.

As far as inheritance is concerned, Muslim Algerian women had the possibility of inheriting a half-share with the application of the Maliki Law that bases its principles on the Holy Quran. However, the right of inheritance was often abused by the *Hubus* institution; women were regularly deprived from their rights of inheritance. The law of inheritance favors agnatic relatives instead of females. The *Hubus* was used to exclude women from obtaining property, and thus keeping it within the agnatic kinship network (Lazreg, 1990). In the Kabyle region, where women were more deprived compared to other regions in Algeria, the law was

very different from the other regions'. Women under the Kabyle customary law had no right to inherit at all (Gordon, 1968). Moreover, a Kabyle woman was legally considered part of a man's inheritance; he could have her dowry, unlike the Maliki Law that considers dowry as a bride's property and nobody can use it except her (Makilam, 1996). A Kabyle woman was deprived not only her right of dowry, but also her right of inheritance.

During colonial times, the legal status of Muslim women depended on the application of orthodox Islamic law and more or less Islamized local customs. Since the beginning of the colonial conquest in 1830, Muslims have been allowed to retain their personal status. Essentially private law, this status applies a number of religious precepts in matrimonial matters, guardianship or inheritance Laws: the authorization of marriage for un-pubertal girls and matrimonial coercion and the practice of polygamy or of repudiation in its examples (Surkis, 2019).

A few years after the conquest, procedures were instituted by the French administration, proposing to Muslims to abandon their personal status in favor of the status of common law, resulting from the civil code and metropolitan laws. These legislative options were only very rarely used by French Muslims, considering the process as a sign of apostasy. Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, French society in Algeria remained legally fragmented, with significant consequences in terms of political and social life, and probably even more so for women (Christelow, 1985).

In Muslim law, marriage legalizes sexual relations between men and women, in order to escape the reprehensible sin of fornication or zina. For the marriage certificate to be valid, Algerian Maliki Law set conditions to be respected: the absence of impediments, the exchange of consents between the guardian of the wife and the husband, the presence of two witnesses, the recitation of the Fatiha, and the payment of the dowry. However, the validity of marriage was not based on a written act, which was only recommended by Muslim fiqh

(Bousquet, 1950). The lack of registration of marriages or repudiations in French civil status registers and the possible disappearance of witnesses made proof of the existence of the marriage or of its dissolution uncertain. This gap penalizes women in the event of widowhood or repudiation, since the establishment of this proof was a guarantee to claim their inheritance or post-marital rights.

The French tried to intervene in the personal status of Algerian Muslims by enacting many laws and appointing commissions in order to codify the Muslim Laws as an attempt of reform. In 1925, they formed a commission to reform the status of Kabyle women; the aim of this commission was to seek legal and administrative measures that ought to be conducted for improving the social and legal conditions of Kabyle women. The commission sought to use the best legislations from Islam to liberalize the status of women (Makilam, 1996).

The French continued its campaign of intervention in Algerians' personal status in general, and in women's status in particular. Between 1957 and 1959, during the Revolutionary War, the French, as a strategy of emancipation and liberation of Muslim women, provided a wide range of initiatives to guarantee legal rights to women and free them from patriarchal control and ignorance. The French suggested a provision of mobile female medical teams concerned with the rural areas, schooling to all Algerian women, training youth, joint European-Muslim women's circles, securing the right to vote, in addition to a furious campaign of unveiling Muslim women and proposing a new family law (Seferdjeli, 2004). The French were not really concerned with the Algerian women's legal status; they just wanted to use their situation in the Algerian society to hit the unity of the family, and thus easily could be destructed and defeated.

Algerian women did not enjoy their legal right to vote, neither before nor during the French colonization. The position of Algerian women was basically described by the Islamic values which the French did not want to intervene in; the Algerian women's status was

unchanging and stagnant during the French presence in Algeria. The French tried to enact laws of franchising to all Algerian citizens, but it could not encompass women. In 1919, the Jonnart Law encouraged Algerians to become naturalized Frenchmen, and thus to obtain the right to vote. However, the law did not encompass women due to the nature of the Algerian society towards females (Heggoy, 1974).

By 1947, many Algerians were naturalized as Frenchmen along with their wives, obtaining the right to vote. The French, at this particular occasion, could express the right to vote for all Algerians who obtained the French nationality and under the jurisdiction of the Algerian departments regardless of their origin, race, language, or religion. The act was to be realized by the Algerian Assembly, which meant that the French transferred the mission of convincing Algerian of Muslim women's vote to the Algerians themselves; i.e., it would never be implemented. Algerian women's right to vote was only granted in 1958 by the French because of its policy to hit the Revolutionary War and to gain women's support as a strategy of counterattack (Heggoy, 1974).

2. 4. Algerian Women's Roles in the Revolutionary War

Algerian women's resistance to the French occupation started many years before the Revolutionary War. Therefore, being a fighter for an Algerian woman was inherited from her ancestors, but the needed step to be taken by Algerian women was how to start fighting the enemy. Algerian women recognized their country's need for their assistance with whatever means needed, and thus had taken the responsibility to fight for their country's independence through many phases and stages that did not start directly with the Revolutionary War, but rather with a great preparation to gain a well-deserved independence.

2.4.1. *Prelude to the Revolution*

On the eve of the 19th century, the Middle East and North Africa were occupied by the Ottoman Empire. Algeria was ruled by the Turkish Dey and was considered a province

nominally controlled by Istanbul which had a little direct control over the Algerian administration. The Turks were in the coastal regions of Algeria, whereas the Arabs and Berbers were in the south which was virtually not under the control of the Turks, and they shared many cultural practices. Berbers and Arabs had many aspects in common like the Arabic language and the Islamic religion (Evans & Phillips, 2007).

Algeria had economic relations with France; grain and olive oil were the main exports to France, but the relation between the two countries marked tensions and disputes over shipment payments. The French-Algerian relations had another source of tension derived from the Algerian pirates who had controlled the Mediterranean Sea; and who used its Algerian coast to attack the European ships. In 1830, the tension between Algeria and France caused by the pirates was used as a pretext to colonize Algeria that was very valuable to the French, so their governments supported the colonizing it considering it as a source of economic benefit, a lucrative source of food and cash crops, as well as a market to export the French manufactured goods (Wolf, 1982).

In an attempt to invade Algeria, the French blockaded its port in Algiers, and the French troops arrived to colonize the city. The invasion of Algiers was easy for them, unlike the rest of the regions that resisted the French presence and fought furiously for a long time. The French used a scorched earth policy to make Algerians submit to its will; they destroyed villages, crops, and livestock. The French occupied the coastal plain and pushed farmers who lived there to other areas that were distant and infertile. The confrontation between the French who destroyed the livelihoods of Algerians and Algerians who resisted was very brutal wherein many were killed from both sides (Stora, 2001).

The French rule in Algeria was confronted with a fierce opposition. In the 19th century, the French conquest was opposed by the Algerians; Abd al-Qadir was one of the early leaders who led the struggle between the Algerians and the French. Abd al-Qadir succeeded to unite

the Arab and Berber clans who were in conflict in order to confront the French imposition of its strange and unacceptable culture, its religion, as well as its legal system. He united them in a form of Jihad or holy war. In 1847, Abd al-Qadir did not succeed to expel the French from Algeria, and he was captured and exiled (Danziger, 1977).

The prominent female resistant of the French colonization to Algeria was Lalla Fatma n'Soumer. She and her family supported the resistance movement in 1847, and after the failure of Emir Abd al-Qadir to stop the French invasion, the village of Soumer resisted the French presence and it was burnt by Colonel Canrobert in 1849 (McDougall, 2017). In 1854, Lalla Fatma and her brother Tahar enrolled voluntary fighters as Imseblen, a special group of warriors, in order to fight the French commanded by Marshal Randon who gathered around 12.000 men and launched a campaign in Kabylia. Tahar, Fatma's brother, was in charge of gathering the troops, and his sister was the strong orator that convinced them to strongly believe in resistance and patriotism. In 1857, Lalla Fatma was captured and was imprisoned, and while in prison, she died in her sixth year of imprisonment (Sayed, 2017).

Another form of resistance to the French colonization of Algeria was led by Mohamed El-Mokrani between 1871 and 1872; he gathered more than 200.000 fighters and confronted with the French Army, but could not win and was heavily defeated. As a result of this military insurrection and its defeat, the French confiscated 5.000 square kilometers of land and offered them to the refugees from Alsace-Lorraine after the French-Prussian War defeat which led to their displacement (Drainville, 2013). The French could not secure control over the area between the coast and the mountains just in 1879 (Danziger, 1977).

Because Algerians were expelled from the coastal areas, they were left empty for the European immigration which was encouraged by the French government, but it was not numerous as they sought to. After 1878, the number of settlers remarkably increased due to the spread of a vine disease known as phylloxera which damaged their vineyards in the south

of France. This epidemic led many of wine owners to migrate to Algeria where viticulture was good. Algerian wine production had exceeded the French one by the 20th century, and it became the main exporter of wine (Sowerwine, 2009).

By 1880, Algeria received an estimated 300.000 European immigrants from Spain, Italy, and some from Malta and elsewhere, but the group of immigrants that had the lion's share was the French, who were 50 percent of all immigrants (Oliver & Atmore, 2004). Not all of the settlers remained in the farms, but just a few wealthy individuals and companies who could buy lands; the rest who were small farmers moved to towns and cities. By the end of the 19th century, Europeans owned most of the fertile lands, but they were not living there, they lived in the cities. Algerian peasants whom their lands were confiscated were working in these farms with very cheap wages and high taxes. The settlers were known as "Pieds Noirs", they were politically strong and they interfered in the French government's decisions without any attempt to criticize their actions that influenced French politicians (Oliver & Atmore, 2004).

In 1881, the French government created three main regions or departments located in the three cities of Algiers, Oran, and Constantine in an attempt to make Algeria part of France, for these cities contained a large number of European settlers. This attempt led to consider these departments part of the metropolitan France, unlike the southern part of Algeria that continued to be a military zone. There was an increase in the number of settlers in the cities and towns of Algeria because of the European immigration flow. The cities marked an increase in the number of Algerians too that migrated there to survive after being expelled off, and after their lands were confiscated (Evans, 2013).

There was a remarkable difference between the areas settled by the French and those of the Algerians. The colons or colonists had vineyards, olive groves, and green fields of cash crops that were very lucrative and beneficial, unlike the infertile, dry, and deserted areas

Algerian were pushed to live in. The French considered Algerians to be French subjects, but they did not grant them citizenship; they regarded them as strangers with a sense of inferiority, and to enhance that sense, the French replaced Muslim Algerians' Arabic language with the French language and made it official. They also substituted Islamic law with the French one, they deprived Muslim Algerians from having any political rights, and they imposed heavy taxes on them. The French compelled Algerians to be subject to firm regulations that restrained their freedom of movement (Ageron, 1991).

When the First World War waged, 173.000 Algerians were in the French army, and many more were working in French factories that were concerned with war industries in order to help in the war effort. These Algerians, who had been in France either as soldiers or as workers, had learned about democracy as a notion that the French enjoyed and that the Algerians were deprived from. When the war was over, many Algerians moved to seek jobs in France because of poverty and unemployment. They had low wages and poor working and living conditions, which led to the emergence of the nationalist movement in Algeria (Bennoune, 2002).

The 1920s and the 1930s marked a growing sense of nationalism among Algerians, which led to the development of three nationalist strands. Messali Hadj, who was a young Algerian nationalist who immigrated to France for work, was the most revolutionary nationalist. He was the leader of the Etoile Nord-Africaine or North African Star, a movement that took the responsibility to defend migrant workers' rights. His movement soon attracted thousands of followers (Okoth, 2006). Messali's movement, in addition to demanding workers' rights and better conditions for working in France, had demanded freedom of press, founding Arabic schools, creating an elected parliament based on universal suffrage, an even the independence for Algeria. The movement became influential, and many of the members took its ideas after returning back home. In 1937, Messali Hadj returned to Algeria and

created a party named the Party of the Algerian People that tried to influence the urban workers and peasant farmers, but the French authorities immediately dissolved the party (Okoth, 2006).

Another nationalist movement that sought equality between Muslim Algerians and the French was in harmony with the French who had a policy of assimilation; its goal was consistent with their policy. The movement was led by the moderate Ferhat Abbas who sought reforms in economy mainly agriculture; he also wanted to eliminate the special privileges the peids noirs enjoyed; he had a political philosophy known as “La France C’est moi.” Ferhat Abbas was followed by many moderate liberals who favored the maintenance of the links with France, yet they wanted to secure more rights for Muslim Algerians. The French did not respond and procrastinated to accept his demands; thus, they lost a supporter who secured their acceptance among Algerians (Johnson, 2016).

The third nationalist group was the reason why the religious movement known as the Ulema Association was created in 1930; it was led by Abdul-Hamid Ben Badis who wanted to retain and preserve the Algerian Muslim culture that was overshadowed by the French. The Association of Ulema was composed of a group of Islamic scholars who wanted to reform the Islamic practice in Algeria, but they had different and sometimes opposing viewpoints. The group was conservative Islamic reformist who believed that the success of Algerian nationalism could only be obtained by returning to the Islamic values. Ben Badis, the Islamic scholar, and the Association of Ulema succeeded in awakening the religious sense and national consciousness among Algerians, but they did not directly get involved in politics and resistance of the French (Voll, 1994).

All the suggestions and reforms were rejected by the Pieds Noirs, and even the moderate Ferhat Abbas’s suggestions. The Pieds Noirs opposed even the moderate Liberals in the French government; they were helped by the French political allies in France. In 1936, the

socialist Leon Blum came to power, and the Popular Front government was led by Blum and his socialist principles that supported the reform and had been sympathetic toward it (Fyle, 2001). In 1939, the French government passed the Violette Plan that was the result of the liberal socialist government. The Plan was named after the French minister who was the responsible for this plan; he suggested extending the French citizenship to particular categories of Muslim Algerians, and he also suggested providing full political rights to them. The category the French government suggested included army officers, elected officials, university graduates, and professionals (Fyle, 2001).

The Plan was welcomed by Abbas and other moderates who considered it a step in their long path of demands and an achievement of their goals. Unlike the other nationalists, Messali Hadj did not welcome the plan and considered it as a new way of colonialism that was intended to separate Algerians into elites and masses to be easily controlled. The Pieds Noirs rejected the plan and created obstacles so that it was never put into practice, despite the fact that the plan would have provided French citizenship to barely 21.000 Algerians, and it was intended to add a few thousand each year. Abbas, the assimilation supporter, was disillusioned by the failure of this plan and decided to shift to the goal of Muslim Algeria that would be associated with France, but would preserve its own culture, language and traditions (Klose, 2013).

In 1939, the Second World War broke out in Europe; i.e., the overseas colonies that belonged to the European empires had to be involved. France hired over 80.000 African troops from French West Africa in order to help it in its war against the invasion of the German. Algerians were no exception, and many of them volunteered to help France in its fight (Thomas, 1998). In 1940, the colonial officials in North Africa and West Africa confirmed their support for, and devotion to, the collaborationist Vichy government after France's surrender to the Nazi Germany. The Pieds Noirs agreed on the new administration

that supported Vichy, but it augmented the obstacles for the Muslim Algerians, and it became dangerous for the Algerian Jewish, especially after passing the anti-Semitic laws which were France's wartime attribute (Pazzanita, 1998).

In the span of the war, North Africa was considered a significant war zone between the Axis and the Allied; between 1940 and 1943, Ethiopia, Libya, and Tunisia held fierce conflicts. In 1942, the United States and Britain landed their troops in Morocco and Algeria in order to support the Allied forces (Cooke, 2005). In the same year, the colonial authorities in Algeria ceased support for the Vichy regime because of its failure to serve and represent the French people, and they turned to support the group that was led by General Charles de Gaulle known as the Free French. The latter was composed of more than half of its soldiers from the French African colonies. Algeria was the base of military operations for the Allied armies in North Africa, and it contributed to the defeat of the Axis forces in the area. Algerians helped the Allied forces even in their fight in Italy (Greiss & Dice, 2002).

In 1943, Ferhat Abbas and other nationalist leaders claimed equality for Algerians, land reform, the recognition of Arabic as an official language, the participation of Muslims in government, and the liberation of political prisoners. He wanted all his claims to be guaranteed by a constitution; he organized his demands in a document known as the *Manifeste du Peuple Algérien* or the *Manifesto of the Algerian People* (Tucker, 1979). De Gaulle, the Free French leader, and Georges Catroux, the newly appointed governor of Algeria, were not ready to provide Ferhat Abbas with all of his claims, but they realized that they needed some sort of reform. Instead, they reintroduced the *Violette Plan* as a new basis for their package of reforms. De Gaulle's suggestion was rejected by Algerians, and even the moderates considered it insufficient. As a reaction, Ferhat Abbas, Messali Hadj, and other nationalists united and created the *Friends of the Manifesto and Liberty*, or *Amis du Manifeste et de la Liberté* (AML), as a step to seek independence. The AML soon attracted a

large number of supporters especially from Messali's banned PPA. The AML launched a new journal called *Egalité* that received 500.000 subscribers in a very short period of time (Salah el Din el Zein el Tayeb, 1986).

By 1945, Algeria noticed an increasing unrest that was provoked by the shortage of food and increase of unemployment. The AML incited many to demonstrate in many Algerian towns to claim freedom of the imprisoned Messali Hadj, and independence for Algeria. There were increasing tensions and unrest between the French and Algerians with the approach of the war's end (Salah el Din el Zein el Tayeb, 1986). Africa and Algeria, in particular, were affected by the Second World War, and people started to question colonialism. The notion of democracy that the Africans were defending alongside with the Allied forces was present in their minds when the war was over, and they started to question its application and extension in the colonies. Many of the returning soldiers became leaders in their countries' struggle for independence, and they showed their refusal to the colonial rule (Okoth, 2006).

Self-determination was the Allied slogan during the war; Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill framed a charter, called the Atlantic Charter, to support self-determination. Furthermore, the world became more attentive and serious towards racism especially after the terrible policies of the Nazi against race in the death camps; thus, racism and colonialism were heavily criticized worldwide. The world considered that racism and colonialism were based on the belief of superiority. United Nations' creation was among the factors that contributed to the promotion of human rights and self-determination in the world (Roepstorff, 2013).

Nationalism in Algeria grew steadier due to these factors; the defeat and the occupation of France by the Nazi Germany led the nationalists to be affected by the new ideas, and to question the legitimacy of colonialism. Algerians decided to struggle for independence and not to accept any kind of reform instead. "The White Supremacy" was

fading away especially after the defeat of the French, British and Dutch in Southeast Asia by the Japanese armies. Therefore, the myth was destroyed. The Europeans received serious economic and political weakness because of the war, which led them to change their attitudes towards their colonial empires; the British were ready to grant independence to India and other colonies, but the French did not take the same path and chose to do something else, instead (Le Sueur, 2003).

The French decided to restore as many as they could of their pre-war colonial empire after 1945. France wanted to preserve its international prestige that was stained after the shameful defeat by the Nazi German, and it was determined to regain the economic loss after the war. Instead of taking the same path as other European colonial powers, the French chose to fight in their colonies, Algeria and Indochina, where they were confronted by bitter and unsuccessful wars there (Smith, 1978).

France was determined to maintain its control over Algeria because of many reasons, among which Algeria was part and partial of France itself not just an ordinary colony. France invested heavily in Algeria, in mining and agriculture, in addition to the settlement of a million French throughout Algeria. The French governments were torn between the need for reforms in Algeria, inflation, strikes, austerity, a weakening war in Indo-China, and the powerful influence of the *piets noirs* lobby that was against any kind of reform or change for Algerians. This led to a very unstable and violent postwar era where Algerian moderate nationalists were eventually convinced that the French were not willing to reform or better the situation (Meredith, 2005).

The French policy in Algeria was affected by several factors, economic and strategic. In the 1950s, the previously underestimated Algerian Sahara was full of the newly discovered oil and natural gas deposits, which led to the greed of the French government that was eager to have an independent oil source; thus, the French political decisions were affected by this

discovery. Another factor that extended the greed to the Algerian Sahara by the French government's policy was that it needed it to experiment its first nuclear weapons (Stora, 2001).

After the Second World War, Algerian population was about ten million, about one million of them were pieds noirs and nine million were Muslim Algerians. These two groups were represented in the National Assembly in Paris, but it was an unfair representation wherein each of them had 15 deputies, which led to the underrepresentation of Muslim Algerians. Not only were sufficiently represented, pieds noirs also had political groups' support in France, and they had the support of influential interest groups in commerce, banking, and the press (Bell, 2002).

Political life in Algeria was controlled by the pieds noirs who dominated the highest levels of the administration. On the other hand, Muslims did not enjoy that privilege, and just few of them held higher-level posts. Algerian commerce and agriculture were overwhelmingly controlled by the pieds noirs who owned most of the fertile land. They even controlled trading of wine, citrus fruit, olives, and vegetables (Fyle, 2001). Most of the pieds noirs were born in Algeria, and they did not want to live in France but rather live and preserve their privileges in Algeria. They encouraged the persistence of the French presence in Algeria to protect their interests (Fyle, 2001).

Not all of the pieds noirs were wealthy landowners, neither were they a homogeneous group. Many of them worked in government as employees, in industry as workers, as craftsmen, or as merchants. The majority of them had an income, and a 15 to 20 percent standard of living lower than the average for metropolitans who lived in France. The pieds noirs defended their privileges in the French government that allowed them to be superior to Arabs; even their most insignificant employee enjoyed better conditions compared to Arabs.

They were afraid of the Muslim majority; thus, they had attitudes of strong opposition to any kind of reform or equality demands in Algeria (Stora, 2001).

Unemployment, illiteracy, and poverty were the characteristics of the majority of Algerians. Many of them who lived in urban areas dwelled slums in the suburbs of big cities such as Algiers. The rural areas were not better; they suffered from poverty, too, and food shortage due to the shortage of lands for food production, and its replacement with lands for vines production to be exported. This phenomenon led to the immigration of rural population to big cities and France to escape unemployment and poverty (Foran, 2005).

By the mid-1950s, the number of Algerian immigrants in France considerably increased; one in every seven adult men was working there. Muslim Algerians suffered from race inferiority treatment, discrimination, and prejudice from the French. The French government did not allow them to use the Arabic language except in religious schools. The French government created the Algerian Assembly to represent Algerians, but it was composed of half European representatives and half Muslims. The French administration made sure that just moderate and pro-colonial rules were elected; they manipulated elections to secure that (Macmillan, 1997).

The Algerian reactions to the French marginalization policies started after the Second World War. On the eighth of May 1945, in the town of Setif when the French were celebrating the victory of the Allied over the Nazi Germany or the VE Day, the French police encountered with Algerian marchers who were carrying nationalist movement's flags and banners that were green and white and anti-colonial in symbol. This was the first clash between Algerian nationalists and French authorities (Morgan, 2006).

The march and these events developed into violence and it was spread wherein 103 Europeans were killed. As a reaction, the *pieds noirs* and the French authorities responded with the murder of 45.000 Algerians. The French used air forces and the navy to bomb

villages and civilians; they rounded up civilians and shot them. As a reaction of the nationalist movements in Algeria, they outlawed the AML and arrested many Muslim Algerians, even the most moderate ones such as the leader Abbas. The French reaction led to the outrage of many of the moderate Algerians (Horne, 1977).

The Algerian People's Party activists organized a small nonviolent protest that took place in the town of Guelma; the French police violently crushed the protestors, and killed many of them. For the *pieds noirs*, 12 of them were killed and a hundred were injured (Horne, 1977). The French reaction to the different uprisings, in Setif and Guelma, led to suggesting Préfet, Lestrade-Carbonnel of Constantine to create European militias, and sous-préfet, André Achiary of Guelma to encourage violence against Algerian civilians by creating an informal justice system that aimed at identifying and murdering the Algerian nationalists. André Achiary ordered the police and army intelligence agencies to help the *colons* militias. The French murdered and buried numerous urban and rural Muslim Algerians in mass graves in many places, among which *kef-el-Boumba* was known (Véillard, 2008).

The French tyranny and oppression led to the increase of the sense of nationalism, wherein various movements were newly created. The Union Démocratique pour le Manifeste Algérien (UDMA) was among these movements; it was created by Abbas to call for freedom, secularism, and republicanism in Algeria, but it still had a connection to France. Messali Hadj renewed his demand for the independence that would be complete with no connection to France. Messali Hadj formed a new party called Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties (MTDL) that was considered a leader in the nationalist movement, and it began to obtain support (Smith, 1978). In 1947, the Organisation Spéciale was created by the militant leaders, Messali Hadj and Ahmed Ben Bella, for the purpose of arming people and preparing them to struggle for the independence of Algeria. This period was very critical for the French because they were distracted by the Indochina situation with the waging of the war of

resistance against them there. France did not pay attention to the increasing growth of the Algerian nationalism (Pickles, 2015).

In 1948, Messali Hadj and his party the MTDL were limited to gain any further political power because of the unfair election that was featured with underrepresentation of Muslim Algerians. As the nationalists in Algeria experienced unfair and unequal political opportunity compared to the French and colons, they shifted to consider the military action (Evans, 2013). In 1951, Ahmed Ben Bella was captured by the French, and they dismantled the Special Organization, which led to restraining the nationalist movement, but it was temporary. The militants of the Special Organization renewed themselves in a new organization known as Revolutionary Committee of Unity and Action (CRUA) (Ageron, 1991).

The CRUA consisted of a five-man leadership, including Mostefa Ben Boulaid, Larbi Ben M'hidi, Mohamed Boudiaf, Rabah Bitat, and Mourad Didouche. In August, Krim Belkacem joined them, and later in the summer, Hocine Ait Ahmed, Ahmed Ben Bella, and Mohamed Khider became members too (Tachau, 1994). CRUA could not unite the members of the MTLN, so it was succeeded by the National Liberation Front (FLN) that was formed on October 10th, 1954 in order to provide unity within the party. The FLN launched the Algerian War of Independence on November 1st, 1954 (Crenshaw, 2010).

2.4.2. Women on the Eve of the Revolution

The French colonization of Algeria affected women's situation, and it worsened their condition in the rural and urban areas. Algerian society persisted on veiling and secluding women because of the French existence and its westernized policies (Salhi, 2010). At home, Algerian women preserved their identity that was furiously resilient to the French colonial pressure. Women, thus, had the responsibility of preserving the Algerian traditions and culture. The role Algerian women played in resisting French policies and in becoming the

host and haven of the Algerian culture, values, and family led the French to turn towards assimilating them because of their failure to assimilate men. The French colonial administration, after recognizing that women were the source of Islamic culture preservation in Algeria and the source of the society's stability, started a campaign of assimilation policies, but the more the French tried to assimilate them, the more Algerian persisted to the veil and seclusion of women (Fanon, 2001).

The French targeted Algerian women using a policy of converting them, attracting them to foreign values, and rescuing them from their status. The French did their best to have full control over men via assimilating their women, and thus to have the practical and effective way to destroy the Algerian culture. The French colonial administration targeted the Algerian resistance via trying to hit the society in its deep contexture and its resistance strategies. The French were convinced to conquer women and to find them behind the veils under which they conceal themselves. They even wanted to reach their homes where men hid them (Fanon, 2001). The French constant trials to assimilate Algerian women drew the attention of the Algerian nationalist parties like the People's Party of Algeria (PPA) and the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties (MTLD). These parties believed that the Algerian cause was to be the first, and that women's issues were to be treated after the complete independence of Algeria. The parties believed that the nationalist cause did not have to be destructed and deviated by the French policies (Salhi, 2010).

In the 1940s, women's issues started to float on the Algerian society's surface. The development in women's issues was linked to the development of the nationalist movements wherein the Algerian people began to notice, along with other nations in the world, national and international upheavals (Foran et al, 2007). The period between 1936 and 1945 was a decisive period in the Algerian path of struggle for independence. It was a period of hope, thoughts, and enthusiasm. The period also noticed the birth of most of the nationalist and

reformist movements that appealed for freedom. The period noticed a great deal of newspapers and magazines that discussed women's issues (Barakat, 1985).

Women were present in many of the writings of journalists, elites, reformists, and leaders of different associations. Many journals, newspapers, and conferences put women in their principal headlines, like *Achihab Journal* that published in January 1934 "Men and Women of the Ancestors," "Women and Perfection" in September 1935, and "The Example of Literate Muslim Woman" by Moufti Ezouaoui in June 1936. The Association of Education in Constantine published an article written by Mouhamed Elabed Eldjilani in 1936, entitled "Future Mothers Are Getting Prepared," as a hint of what Algeria expected from its women (Barakat, 1985). In March 1939, Ibn Badis wrote "Women's Right of Education". In April of the same year, another article was published in the same Journal entitled "Teaching Writing to Women". Ibn Badis also wrote "The Woman" wherein he emphasized the role of the woman in life and what she needed to accomplish based on her religion, language, and nationality. He focused on teaching women how to bring up a good generation that would stick to its Islamic values (Barakat, 1985).

Not just men published articles about women's issues and concerns; in 1939, an Algerian girl published "The Voice of a Nationalist Girl" in a Tunisian Journal called *Tounes El Fatet*. The article was originally published in French in the *Oumah Journal* that was the voice of the PPA. The article was featured with a high sense of nationality and enthusiasm wherein the author expressed her refusal of the French colonization and her love of freedom. She praised her ancestors' resistance to the French presence. The article was also a reflection of Algerian Women's nationalist views and feelings; it reflected how aware women were towards their nationalist cause. In this article, the girl transmitted a clear message to her fellow women not to stand still in front of the French colonization, and to refuse its presence (Barakat, 1985).

Before the Revolutionary War, women had three associations; the Union of Algerian Women, the Women's Section of the Algerian People's Party (PPA), and the Association of Muslim Women. The political life of Algerian women started to be integrated into the political parties that were nationalist and revolutionary movements. The political parties imposed on women, who wanted to join them, their own principles (Amrane-Minne & Abu-Haidar, 1999). Nationalist parties, like the PPA and the MTLD, did not make women's issues their first concern, but rather considered women to be part of the national cause. Thus, for both parties women's issues were not as important as Algeria's liberation and fighting colonialism (Knauss, 1987).

The PPA has attracted the female intellectual elite. In 1946, young teachers and students joined this party. However, they did not become activists with men, but they were grouped together in clandestine female cells of 4 to 5 members; Algiers had five at the end of the same year. PPA members were aware that their action must be directed towards women, and women took advantage of the creation of the nationalist movement to seek for equality (Amrane-Minne, 1994), so in 1947, they imposed the creation of an Association of Muslim Women of Algeria (AFMA). It was easier for them, within this legal and uniquely female framework, to reach out to women, but their activities became above all socio-cultural (Lazreg, 1990). The AFMA members were concerned with helping families especially the victims of the 8th of May 1945; they took care of the wounded and the sick, and they shared out garments and food to poor people. Not only did they assist the victims and the poor, but they also spread their views about encouraging families to educate their girls and boys. They also raised the political awareness in Algerian families from rural and urban areas (Daoud, 1996).

The Algerian activists of the PCA (Parti Communiste Algérien) did not have the intellectual training of those of the PPA; they were often wives of members of this party.

Although the communists were theoretically committed to the principle of equality between men and women, the Algerian communists, like the nationalist activists, did not succeed in breaking the taboo of separating the sexes (Amrane-Minne, 1994). Algerian women were very rarely militated to this party in mixed cells, compared to the Communist women of European origin who naturally did. Algerian women, especially within the Union of Algerian Women (UFA), had more social activities than political, like the members of the AFMA (Amrane-Minne, 1994).

The Union of Algerian Women was created in 1943 with the support and sponsorship of the PCA. This party considered women's participation in the political life important in the transformation of society and helpful for the working force and for achieving equality (Maghadam, 1994). In 1944, the PCA had a congress for the first time; it addressed the problems Algerian women faced, and the trauma they lived in. The members even suggested improving women's situation especially education for both rural and urban girls. The Union of Algerian Women attracted many women, so between 1944 and 1951, its members increased from 10 000 to 15 000. The Union even issued the *Femmes d'Algérie* as its journal (Salhi, 2010).

The 1940s were marked with the Algerian women's concern about the national issues as they got involved in the political and social events. They participated in the national organizations and associations. Women participated in the demonstrations that showed their disapproval and censure of the French cruelty against their men, especially those who were imprisoned. They injected the nationalist and revolutionary views to their young children, fellows, and men; thus, the 1945 events were furiously nationalist and revolutionary due to the vigorous role nationalist women played, and due to their political awareness about the national cause (Barakat, 1985).

On the 8th of May 1945, the Algerian Massacres took place after the popular demonstrations of all Algerian people including women who participated in enormous numbers. These events led the political parties to consider women's participation in the demonstrations as front lines demonstrators and nationalists who opposed the French colonialism (Daoud, 1996). Due to these events, the PPA headed towards extending the Algerian women's awareness of their national cause by creating a branch in the party that was mainly feminine, located in Algiers, for the purpose of gathering outstanding women (Daoud, 1996).

During the 1940s, many prominent women appeared, as Fatima Benosman, Mamia Chentouf, Abassia Fodil, Nafissa Hamoud, and Isa Benzekri. Fatima Benosmane-Zekkal was a pioneer on three similar fronts: political, professional, and cultural. She was born in Algiers in 1928, and at the age of 18, she began to campaign for the PPA. She was committed to PPA for the rest of her life (Amrane-Minne, 1994). She lived in a nationalist atmosphere; her father was a PPA activist, and he often told her about his activities because she was among the elders in her family. She was exposed to the Party at a very early age, 14 years old, when her father decided to take her to meetings that took place in houses. She did not attend the meetings, but she helped the women of the houses where the meetings took place. Eventually, she was involved in her father's life as an activist (Amrane-Minne, 1994).

Mamia Chentouf was born in 1922; she was among the prominent figures of the 1940s who, in 1947, founded, along with her husband, the Association of Algerian Muslim Women, in which she occupied the position of the Secretary General. She was committed to reaffirm the Arab and Muslim culture to confront the French culture (Gallissot et. al, 2006). She contributed to raising political awareness among women using her job as a midwife, and to assist women whom her husbands were captured by the French (Dore-Audibert, 1995).

Abassia Fodil was also known for her patriotic activism during the same period. She was born in 1918 in Sidi Bel-Abés. She was the President of PCA since 1949. She was targeted by the Organisation Armée Secrete or Secret Armed Organization (OAS) that assassinated her, eventually, with her husband in Oran region (Le Foll-Luciani, 2016).

Nafissa Hamoud was born in Algiers in 1924. She was a student of Medicine, and then she worked as a doctor. She joined the very first undercover cells of the PPA. She was an active member who always gathered women and headed those gatherings in order to inject the patriotic cause, detest colonialism, and fight for independence (Gates, 1987). In 1944, Nafissa Hamoud was a member of the Association of Muslim Students of North Africa (AEMAN). She was committed to the national cause, and she participated for the first time in her life in the demonstration of the 1st of May 1945 in Algiers. In 1947, she was appointed as vice-president of AEMAN, and in July of the same year, she held the position of the Secretary General of the Association of Algerian Muslim Women (Sadiqi & Ennaji, 2013).

Isa Benzekri was born in Algiers in 1928. She made the first underground cells of the PPA, and in 1947, she also contributed to the creation of the Association of Algerian Muslim Women; she joined the newly created Association and ceased teaching to fully admit to the political and patriotic activism. She was instructed by Omar Oussedik who tried to politize her and other women in order to be prepared for the political events with the PPA (Amrane, 1994). She tried to unite women and prepare little speeches denouncing colonialism. She managed to gather a few women in her neighborhood at Notre-Dame d'Afrique, but in 1949, she fell for climbing, and she went to France for healing where she spent a year there, but when she returned to Algeria, she found that the Association practically ceased to exist and totally split.

Women's involvement in the social and political activities contributed to their preparation for the confrontation with the adversities caused by the Algerian Revolutionary

War. Women's participation in different social and political associations allowed them to become an active and a conscious part who acquired new roles in the struggle for independence, and who became heroines of the Revolution.

2.4.3. Women's Contribution to the Revolution

Algerian women played a vital role in the fourth and fifth decades of the 20th century. In this decisive period that was full of tragic events, women tried hard to prove their existence by social and political activism. They contributed to the Reformist Movement, and as much as they could in the Nationalist Associations. Algerian women were concerned about the tragic events in their country, which pushed them towards participating in different demonstrations and charitable deeds via providing help to the poor and imprisoned. They fueled the nationalist and patriotic souls of their sons, brothers, and husbands. Algerian women, regardless of their level of education and social class, urban or rural, could defeat obstacles, hindrances, and cruel social pressures, and they contributed effectively and positively in resisting the French colonization. Women offered all they could for the sake of their country's independence; they offered money, jewelry, clothes and even more precious, their lives and the lives of their sons, brothers, and husbands.

There were three types of women who participated in the Algerian Revolutionary War. First, Fida'iyate were highly-educated women of the urban FLN networks. Second, women from the rural areas and command units were known as Mujahidat, and they even included French-educated urban Muslim women and rural ones. Finally, the Moussebilate were in charge of supporting the ALN (Armee de Liberation Nationale) inside the units (Lazreg, 1994; Seferdjeli, 2012). In August 1956, a census showed that the number of women who participated in the very first phase of the Revolutionary War was 49 amongst 1010 Mujahidin (Daoud, 1996). By the end of the Revolution, their number increased to 10,949, 1,755 of them were Mujahidat of ALN, and 2,388 were Fida'iyat (Amrane & Abu-Haidar, 1999; Daoud,

1996; Vince, 2008). The percentage of women participants in the Algerian Revolutionary War was 22% from urban areas and 78 % from rural areas (Amrane, 1993).

Women participated in cities, just like other women who were in the mountains or maquis; they were Fida'iyate who joined the FLN where they had strategic roles, especially during the Battle of Algiers. They had many responsibilities to manage the Battle, and they conducted many operations that targeted the French authorities' symbols; they put time bombs within the colonial commandment gatherings and civilian ones. Fida'iyate were the source of connection between different groups of the ALN and the FLN. They smuggled weapons and money, and they had the mission of assisting the Mujahidin's movements in urban areas. They used their veils to hid messages, money, and arms. They also put on European garments to deceive the enemy and easily enter their quarters to explode them. In addition, they helped the Mujahidin in cooking, knitting, sewing, and hiding them in their homes (Daoud, 1996; Makallati, 2015).

Women, like Djamila Bouhird, had many operations that cost the French lives and money. She was an active Fidayate in Algiers (Makallati, 2015). Women also had the role of Moussebilate; they had the mission of gathering information, dealt with communication, and they even had the mission of guarding the Fidayate while conducting their military operations, as well as hiding the weapons and secret documents after each operation. They had the mission of buying medicines and bringing food; they had logistic roles the Mujahidin desperately needed, especially in the cities. The Moussebilate can be defined as ordinary citizens who were not fighters, but who contributed to assisting the Mujahidin while doing their daily routines (Vince, 2008). Even when they had been imprisoned, women carried on their activities in prison wherein they supervised the organization of FLN values and patriotic principles, and they confronted prison and administrative guardians with riots and demonstrations (Mekallati, 2015).

For girls to become Mujahidat, they had to join the FLN or ALN, and they had to have a relation and contact with the leaders of the FLN or the Revolutionary Army. After being accepted by the leaders, a girl would be contacted and guided by a secret agent, and then she would be accompanied by one of the soldiers, who is in charge of communication, to the center of Mujahidin (freedom fighters) to meet the region's leaders to be assigned a possible role and to be trained as well (Vince, 2008). There were about 2,000 Algerian women who joined the maquis that made them just 16 percent of all the militants (Amrane & Abu-Haidar, 1999).

Generally, girls would be sent for training before joining the army. They were taken to the back-bases either to the eastern borders with Tunisia or western borders with Morocco, where they were properly trained in the military, medical, and political fields. These traineeships would last for many months; then, Mujahidat would be sent back again to the country in order to be split all over the regions where they would serve. For instance, in the back-base number 15 that was situated in the Moroccan borders, the high-ranked leaders would choose the elites from these trainees who proved to have morality and patriotic souls, and those who were experienced in conducting different tasks. These trainees were given much attention to be real Mujahidat and to accomplish their missions and responsibilities (Barakat, 1985).

The girls were hidden in blockhouses (underground hiding places) along the Algerian borders; they stayed there to produce bombs, mines, and explosives, and to clean and arrange weapons. They prepared medicines and sewed military clothes and flags. Some of them were working on typing machines in order to prepare secret reports, publications, and military information. In addition, there were permanent Mujahidat at the borders who took care of the injured or sick Mujahidin who enter or leave the country. The average age of these girls was between 16 and 25; they came from all over the country, and they belonged to different social

classes: students, teachers, nurses, doctors, and even uneducated, each of whom did the job they could do based on their level and experience (Amrane & Abu-Haidar, 1999; Branche, 2011).

When the time to enter the regions was decided, the Mujahidat, who resided in the back-bases in the Algerian borders, had to be prepared for a long tiring journey that would be hard for those who did not prepare and trust themselves, and those who did not deeply believe they could face troublesome situations full of danger and hindrances. The first obstacle these Mujahidat would encounter was crossing the electrified wires and mines. The best time to have these journeys was at night to avoid being caught by the French. The Mujahidin who were specialized in searching for the mines, unpacking them, as well as cutting the electrified wires had the mission of securing the road in the darkest nights (Barakat, 1985).

The Mujahidat would advance after the road was clear confronting death bravely, and they would cross and crawl under the wires carefully. After passing these electric wires, the journey would continue through the mountains, plains, valleys, dense forests, and impregnable rocks. Sometimes, during these journeys, the Mujahidin confront with the French soldiers, and they fight each other. Despite the confrontation and the hail of bullets and cannon bombs, the Mujahidat would carry on their walk fearlessly. If the Mujahidat felt tired, they would take a horse and walk the journey. After reaching the targeted place or region, the Mujahidat would be distributed in different divisions; usually two would work in one division. They usually wore the military uniform like men and carried automatic weapons, like a rifle or a machine gun. The Mujahidat had small guns and bombs that they put in her belts; they wore hats and military shoes, and they carried big sacs wherein they put medicines, succor materials, and their documents (Brakat, 1985; Amrane, 1994; Mekallati, 2015).

The Mujahidat stayed permanently with the group of Mujahidin they firstly joined, and they would walk with them wherever they went day and night in peace and in war times.

They were not allowed to take off their military uniforms and shoes for any reason because the enemy might attack at any moment. In some regions, the Mujahidat did not accompany the Mujahidin but rather stayed with villagers, and wore like rural women because they had other tasks to do (Amrane, 1993). They showed women hygiene rules, in addition to teaching them and injecting nationalist views in them to convince them to help the Algerian Army. They even provided medical aids to the villagers; they succeeded in forming local women organizations that dealt with the political issues, and they formed groups, cells, and divisions of different women. These organizations donated and provided aid to the FLN-ALN, and it supplied them with information about the French (Amrane, 1994; Seferdjeli, 2012).

There were other Mujahidat who were sent by high leaders of the Wilaya or region to preserve the political principles of the Mujahidat, and to observe them and the political and social situation of that region. These Mujahidat or special envoys would call for meetings of the Women's Associations to teach them the revolutionary principles and patriotic spirit. They even observed other Mujahidat's deeds and their attitudes towards the Revolutionary Army and people. They traveled all along the region to watch and observe the situation in a journey that would last for months. After accomplishing their missions, the Mujahidat would return to the back-base they came from in order to provide their leaders with the reports they had written about the region they visited (Barakat, 1985; Amrane, 1993; Vince, 2008).

During the Revolutionary War, Algerian women had many roles that varied between nursing, sewing, cooking, spying, fund-raising, carrying bombs and letters, and fighting using guns inside the battles. Women were greatly supportive of their fellow men; fathers, brothers, and sons. They provided a great example of sacrificing their lives, the lives of their beloved, and their property and belongings. Women had non-combatant roles like nurses, seamstresses, and cooks and combatant roles like bomb planters and soldiers.

2.4.3.1. Nurses, Seamstresses, and Cooks

At the beginning of the Revolution, health activity was preserved for men (Kafi, 2011). However, during the War, the Revolutionary leaders were convinced to acknowledge the necessity of women in the field of nursing; they started to call the nurses up to join the Revolutionary War. These nurses received training in the French schools, and in the Tunisian and Moroccan back-bases (Otman, 2013). Nursing was not an easy task; nurses in the camps accomplished their missions in a form of bravery and strength to cure the wounds of Mujahidin and to ease their pain. Nurses carelessly confronted the French Helicopters upon their heads, and they were fearless of the bullets that approached them while nursing. They even were unafraid of the bombs exploding here and there while doing their job (Dib, 2011).

The first period between 1954 and 1956 was considered the most difficult phase in nursing. The treatment of the wounded and injured was based on rudimentary traditional medicines. There was a set of obstacles related to how to manage the transportation of the wounded and the collection of medicines, especially the means of dressings and light surgical tools, and what was related to the intensive treatment provided in cases of severe wounds (Otmani, 2013). The shortage in the number of nurses continued until university and high school students joined the ranks of the Revolution after the strike of May 19th, 1956, including a group of medical, pharmacy, and nursing students. It was a strong impetus to advance this important aspect, and thus the first nucleus of the health sector of the National Liberation Army and Front was formed (Benatia, 1997).

Being a nurse in the camps or maquis was not an easy task for a woman to do. A nurse would find herself obliged to join the maquis because of the fear from the traitors snitching on them and from the French harassment and arrest. Some of the nurses chose to work in the camps, and some others were sent by the FLN leaders to the health centers. Some of the military leaders were not enthusiastic about women's presence in the maquis or camps due to

the danger they might face and due to some ethical issues (Otmami, 2013). A nurse might replace a doctor in many emergency cases wherein she carried the sick and injured through the forests in the dark nights to reach the nearest health center. In case of medicines shortage, a nurse would go to the urban areas' drug stores to buy them; she would be cautious about the French soldiers when she carries them, and she would hide them in secret places like caves.

Not all the nurses were graduated from medical schools and universities; some of them were nurses by practice like Loucif Malia who was a nurse because her mother was a nurse too, and she taught her the basic nursing elements. She stated: "When the Revolutionary war waged, I was 14 and I joined it because I belong to a revolutionary family. My father was a Mujahid, my mother was a nurse, and she taught me how to treat injured Mujahidin and how to clean their wounds. My Brother was killed by the French on the battlefield" (Translated by the researcher). Another nurse called Guelmami Yamina said: "I was a nurse, I did not study or graduate from a medical or a paramedical school, I just became a nurse by practice. I used to clean Mujahidin's wounds" (Translated by the researcher). She confirmed that she received no health or medicine education or training before the War, but rather became a nurse by practice.

The French kept their stifling policies against the Algerians, in general, and the nurses, in particular. Nurses were wanted by the French soldiers because of their influence on the people of the camps and maquis, and on the civil side (Amrane, 1994). Malia Loucif explained her experience of fear of the French, mainly because she belonged to a Mujahidin family, and because she was a nurse too. The French killed her brother, so her family went to the Tunisian borders as refugees where they kept their Nationalist resistance against the French colonizers. She stated:

Because of the fear of being caught by the French, we fled to Tunisia as refugees. We lived there in the borders, and we continued being active. At the

borders, I was treating the wounded soldiers whom the Mujahidin brought at our camps. When The French Army found out that we helped the injured and wounded soldiers, they attacked us using air forces though we were in the Tunisian soil. The danger was always surrounding us; we were always targeted by the French, but hopefully, I have never been caught. I stayed in the camps from 1954 to 1962, and after the Independence of Algeria, we got back to Ouenza. (Translated by the researcher)

Being a nurse was not restricted to those who joined the maquis, but also to those who were active during the Revolution, and who secretly provided health services at home, because they belonged to Mujahidin family. These girls assisted their fathers, brothers, or husbands in their support to the Mujahidin right from their houses that were shelters to their fellow Mujahidin. Djemaa Mansouri, a Mujahida, was famous for her traditional herbal medicines she offered to the Mujahidin. She said she coincidentally started her activity at the age of 15 when her father brought one of his fellow Mujahidin at home. The latter was severely injured; she was obliged to prepare herbal medicine to save the man's life. She stated: "I had to prepare herbal medicine, which is composed of Juniper and honey" (Translated by the researcher). She added: "he stayed with us to be carried to the doctor of the camp to check up his wounds, some of his fellows wanted to take him, but they failed because the French surrounded the mountainous region" (Translated by the researcher). Mansouri further added: "From that incident, I became famous for treating the Mujahidin with herbal and traditional medicines. Every wounded and injured Mujahid was brought to me to treat him and take care of him" (Translated by the researcher).

In addition to their contribution as nurses, Algerian women contributed as seamstresses and cooks as well. Whether in the camps and maquis or at home, women assisted the Revolutionary cause with the least they could. They provided the Mujahidin with

food that they grow in their own lands; they harvested the wheat and other grains, and they grinded them to prepare food to the Mujahidin. Aicha Aber, a Mujahida from Tebessa, said “I used to grind and sift wheat and make flour out of it, and then we make couscous, and after that we fill it in large sacks to send it to Mujahidin in Aris (Mountainous Area in Batna), and even here (Tebessa)” (Translated by the researcher). Aber was always busy to the point that she, along with other women, could sleep very little: they barely had rest. Aicha’s house was always a center for feeding the Mujahidin, and a center of sewing and cleaning their clothes.

Mansouri described how she was helping the Mujahidin in her village, saying: “we women along with men used to harvest our wheat by our own hands and we grinded it. We were always afraid of being caught by the French, especially when we prepare meals for the Mujahidin; our house was exposed to the enemy, every single action could easily be discovered by the French” (Translated by the researcher). Aicha Khasrouri confirmed the narration of Aicha Mansouri about cooking as a means to help the Mujahidin, but Khasrouri used to cook in the camps after joining her husband after 6 years of separation because of his military activism, wherein he had the mission of weapons and money collection for the National Cause. She said “In the camp, I grinded wheat and cooked bread for the Mujahidin. We washed their clothes; we used to wash them in the river and put them on trees to dry, center of Adjoul, Sidi Fathalah.” She added: “One night, I grinded ½ quintal of wheat to be cooked on the next day” (Translated by the researcher).

Preparing food for the Mujahidin was not the only activity women did during the Revolutionary war; they sewed their clothes and washed them. Aicha Aber said: “soldiers used to come to us, we fed them and even cured some of the injured soldiers, and we even cleaned their clothes, and sewed their torn clothes” (Translated by the researcher). Some of the Mujahidat even founded their own center to teach little girls tailoring as a means to

support Mujahidin with clothes. Yamina Guelmami, who was a refugee on the Tunisian borders, claimed:

I even established a center to teach little girls, who were refugees in Tunisia, tailoring, sewing, embroidery, and knitting. I got the license for opening it from the Algerian government, but the Tunisian part did not recognize that and they considered it illegal, and based on that they arrested me and put me in jail for 6 months. Hopefully, I have never been caught by the French. (Translated by the researcher)

Supporting the national cause was a priority for Algerian women. Aicha Aber, for example, when the Mujahidin once visited her house, was very busy preparing them food to the point that she left her two-month baby after breastfeeding her, and when she went to check on her, she found her dead after the Mujahidin left her house. Ourida Bendekma recited her experience during the Revolutionary War saying that her greatest fear was the Harka who worked for the French against their own people. She said if one of the Algerian bought a huge quantity of grains and took it to the mills to be grinded, that was a sign of helping the Mujahidin. Thus, women took the responsibility of securing the food supplies for them.

Mujahidat sometimes conducted many tasks at once during the Revolutionary War; they performed multiple functions, such as cooking, sewing, collecting money, and transmitting letters and information to the Mujahidin. Djemaa Mansouri who was active in the region of Tebessa said: "I also used to cook to the Mujahidin and to take the food to them, I also sewed their clothes. I collected money and took it to the Mujahidin. I also transmitted letters to the Mujahidin" (Translated by the researcher). She added "... I even collected donations for the poor children and the widows of the Mujahidin; all the donations were collected and taken to the house of one of chiefs whose name was Ahmed Bin Shaaban to be distributed later" (Translated by the researcher). Some women sold their jewelry, the very few they owned, to

donate for the National cause because, for them, they was the least they could do for their country.

2.4.3.2. Spies, Soldiers, and Patriots

Women's participation on the battlefield side by side with men led to an overthrow to the thoughts and ideas of the Algerian society. The ALN perceived and received women with great honor and pride believing that they would bear the responsibility and the burden just like men, and that they would truly and faithfully carry out the principles of the Revolution and accomplish the most difficult missions. The first of November 1954 was a turning point in women's lives; Algerian women remained silent for centuries, and the Revolutionary War was the occasion to loudly explode and to set free their potential strength. It was the time for Algerian women to set their suppressed emotions, ideas, and thoughts free. They immediately, responded to the duty call that was clearly addressed to them and to men alike.

After two years of the Revolutionary War, girls left their schools to join the Army on May 19th, 1956, proving that they believed in their nationalist cause. The incident was appraised and appreciated by FLN members in their Soummam Conference that was held on August 20th, 1956. The Congress leaders expressed their pride and necessity of women's support. They expressed their appreciation and admiration to all girls, women, wives, daughters, and mothers who contributed to the success of the Revolution and resistance to the French colonization of their country. The conference leaders also shed light on the Algerian women's constant presence in the Popular Resistance Rebellions against the French starting from 1830 (Barakat, 1985).

Algerian women joined the ALN camps where they were trained to hold arms and trained in different war tactics; they were very persistent, decisive, and emotionless on the battlefield. They provided an example of resistance, patience, and sacrifice. They joined the army at a very young age like the two Mujahidat, Ben Yelis Hassiba from Tebessa who was

17, and Siad Mebarka from Babar, Khenchla, who was 16. Both girls were soldiers and received intensive training in the camps.

Reciting their stories of joining the ALN, Ben Yelis said: “In the neighborhood, I always was curious of knowing the Mujahidin and their news. I acquired enough information to let me decide to choose Ouled Sidi Yahiya Mujahidin who were tolerant with women’s presence in their camps unlike Nmemcha who did not like women to participate on the battlefield” (Translated by the researcher). She added: “I joined the Revolution in 1957 at the age of 17, I served as a soldier for a year, from 1957 to 1958. Then, then a national decision was made to stop any woman to be a soldier and to just be a nurse. They considered it too risky for women because the French tortured and deformed them when they caught them” (Translated by the researcher). The Mujahida added that her mission to join the army was neither easy nor accepted by her family. She ran away from her family to be a soldier.

Ben Yelis added “One day in 1957, the time was 6 pm, I left my grandmother’s home at night heading to the Mujahidin to join them, I left a note saying that ‘Je rejoins les mujahidin’ (‘I am joining the Mujahidin’). She disguised as a man “I wore men’s clothes, and I sneaked out of the house, I kept walking and walking. I found a man whom I asked “where are Ouled sidi Yahia?” He showed me the way. I kept walking till I reached a countryside called ‘Kissa”” (Translated by the researcher). The journey was not easy for the Mujahida and it was very risky, but she insisted on carrying on her path to fight for her country’s independence just like men.

In explaining her experience and the hardships she faced while heading to the Mujahidin’s camps, she added:

when I reached that village, some dogs attacked me and started to bark, a woman from that village heard them and got out of her house, I asked her to come and rescue me, I took the hood off my head and said ‘I am a girl, I am not a man’. She approached, shooed the dogs,

and asked me ‘why are you here?’ I said ‘I ‘m looking for the Mujahidin’. The woman, then, took me to her orchard; she asked me ‘aren’t you afraid?’ ‘I said no, I’m not.’ ‘Since I got out of the house, and took all this way long by myself, I’m not.’ ‘I love my country; I want to be on the battlefield. Even if I was killed on my way to the Mujahidin, I wouldn’t be afraid.’

(Translated by the researcher)

Bravery as well as persistence and patience were the main source for the Mujahidat.

The Mujahida carried on her narration about her journey adding that she asked the woman if she knew the place of the Mujahidin. She received a negative reply from the woman, who was apparently, suspecting her. Ben Yelis added “she invited me to her house, and she was suspicious; she thought I was working for the French and I came to spy on them. Later that night, the old lady called the Mujahin, they came to her house, they started to question me ‘who told you to join the Mujahidin? Do you know them?’, and I replied ‘I don’t know any of them; I just wanted to join them and to defend my country’. They kept questioning me, and I told them my story, but then they replied ‘we can’t let you join us’ ” (Translated by the researcher). The Mujahida eventually convinced them that she was so patriot and was not spying on them or working for the French.

The leader of the region “Mahmoud Guenez” was called after by the other Mujahidin to see in Ben Yelis’s case. He suggested that she would be returned back to her home waiting for a decision of acceptance or refusal to join the camp. The Mujahida insisted on joining them and said “if you don’t accept me, I will run away again and come back to you, and I don’t care if the French will kill me!” (Translated by the researcher). Her insistence and persistence to join them led the leader to accept and summon her three days later by sending her a letter of acceptance asking her to prepare herself to be taken to the leader of the region for training.

In reciting her experience of joining the army, Siad Mebarka said that she was a daughter of Mujahid, but she was not thinking of joining the ALN though she helped her

father by sewing the Mujahidin's clothes and cooking meals for them, without knowing that her father was helping them as a member of the army. She accidentally joined the camps after one of her cousins incited the French against her saying that she was a Mujahida, and that she worked with the Mujahidin. She said "Once, my cousin was working for my father and he came to me telling me that someone wanted to ask for my hand; I refused to marry that guy. As a reaction, he went to the SAS of Baber and told the French that I was working with the Mujahidin "Fallaga" (Translated by the researcher). The French sought after her after her cousin's claim.

Siad carried on talking about the incident that changed her destiny and life forever, saying: "The French, that night, came to my father's house, and started to knock the door heavily, and shouted 'Open the door!' My father did not want to open the door, they shot the door's lock and got into our house, and started to shout 'where is Siad Mebarka?', 'Where is she?' They arrested me, put chains around my wrists, and forced me to get in their Jeep car. When we reached the brigade, they started questioning me 'do you work with the Mujahidin?' 'Admit it and we will release you' " (Translated by the researcher).

The Mujahida talked about the frightening experience when the French imprisoned her. She described the criminality of the French army; "They put me in a room and brought dogs to frighten me to confess; they said if I don't confess these dogs would tear me. I insisted on my words, they prepared my file, asked me to sign and transferred me to prison. In the prison, I found many women" (Translated by the researcher). She added "I stayed for four days, and then came one of the traitors with the French officers to translate; he asked them to get me out, and when they brought me out of the prison, he asked me to confess in order to take me back home to my father's house" (Translated by the researcher).

The French unsuccessfully tried to take a confession from her, and they released her eventually. After releasing her and because of that incident, the French decided to enhance

their forces in the region, and they told her father that they would have military patrols in the area, and if they did not find the daughter home, they would shoot her father and burn his farm and everyone in it. The Mujahida was in danger; thus, she would be taken to a safer place out of reach of the French. She explained that saying: “after four days of my release, the Mujahidin visited my father’s house, and they asked him to let me join them in order to avoid the French harassment; they told him that I would not be safe here. They took me with them to the camp after a long negotiation with my father who was convinced eventually to let me go with them” (Translated by the researcher). The father was bitterly obliged to accept his daughter’s joining the camp.

For their first experience to be recruited as soldiers, the Mujahidat were trained by other soldiers to carry weapons and how to use them. Ben Yelis explained her experience when she first joined Mujahidin in the camps saying that they taught her how to use weapons, but they refused to take her with them to the battlefield. She was very upset and angry with the leader who denied her from participating in the fight after she practiced. She expressed her anger saying “I did not come here to stay in the camp! I came to participate in the battles. I want to be armed and to fight.” After insisting, they eventually accepted her as a soldier. Ben Yelis added “I had a rifle, a Colt gun, and a grenade bomb. I always carry them with me in my bag” (Translated by the researcher). Concerning the missions she accomplished, she said “we used to go from one place to another; we used to put mines in the places frequently crossed by the French” (Translated by the researcher).

Mebarka Siad explained her experience as a trainee in the camp. She received training from Cheriet Lazhar and Abbas Laghrour, very prominent leaders in the First Region. She said that they were two girls contesting to use the guns and shoot. She said that the first girl approached carrying her gun, and tried to shoot a bottle put by the trainer, and she missed the first, the second, but the third was successful. She stated “It was my turn, I approached, took

position, and I shot; the first shot was in the neck of the bottle near the aim, but the second shot was successful, and I got the aim.” She added “The Mujahidin were pleased with me, and they said that I was 100% a real Mujahida” (Translated by the researcher). After confirming she was ready, the Mujahidin offered her a rifle that she would use later on the battlefield.

The experience during the battlefield was full of adventures, Mujahidat passed through a very distinct phase in their lives. Ben Yelis used to implant mines for the French in the mountainous region in the borders between Algeria and Tunisia where she was actively involved in battles with the French. She further went to speak about the hardships she encountered while conducting her duty and the tragic incidents she faced along with the Mujahidin, saying “we were in the mountain having a mission, the Mujahidin were ready to insert mines for the French army, but before they could put it in the ground, it slipped from the hands of the Mujahid and it exploded, he was immediately killed and his friend too, we were a group of Mujahidin and I never forget that incident” (Translated by the researcher).

She sadly carried on with a sigh: “One of the killed military infantry was with his mother who always accompanied him in his missions, she was shocked and speechless” (Translated by the researcher). The Mujahida experienced a very hard situation that day; she approached her colleagues to see what happened, and she saw their brains outside their skulls and their bowels were out. The incident left her a pain and grieves.” She added: “we were always together, we were the same age, and we were like a family. I was really sad that day.” With a sigh she added: “The others were severely injured” (Translated by the researcher). She suffered that day from the scarcity of medicines that worsened the situation. She was carrying few medicines in her bag that day.

Siad too explained her experience as a soldier, and she described one of the battles she participated in. She took her rifle and shouted loud “Allaho Akbar!” She said that the battle took place after the sunset, and it lasted till dawn. The Helicopters came to enforce the French

army in that battle. The battle eventually was finished, and when the sun rose, the scene was very brutal; bodies were spread all over the battlefield, casualties from both sides. She added: “We lost Amara Benmhidi, Amara Bazouich, Houha Belaid, and Ammar Achi at that night in that battle” (Translated by the researcher). She further provided details about that night, saying that during the fight, one of the French soldiers was wounded, and he surrendered. The Mujahidin caught him and dragged him into the camp.

Siad got sever injuries that night; she said that she was affected by the shrapnel of the bombs the French helicopter threw on the Mujahidin. The other Mujahida who was with her got injuries too. She said that her blood was flowing and that nurses covered her wounds with a scarf of one of the Mujahidat. She added: “and they dragged me to a cave to take our breath, and we continued our way crossing the river, one was crawling, the other hardly could walk, we kept moving, one fell, one held on a tree...” (Translated by the researcher). Not only were they suffering from the French, but also from the traitors who conspired against their people and country with the French.

While walking through the forests and rivers, someone snitched on them, but the Mujahidin caught him, took him, and carried their way heading to Oued Nin, Mtussa, in Ain Albaidha. They held him hostage and imprisoned him in the “Kazma” or a secret place where the Mujahidin hide and imprison traitors. The wounded Mujahidin were put there too in order to be taken care of. It was a large place full of wounded Mujahidin; the nurses were medicating and curing the wounds of the injured, and some women were cooking food for the Mujahidin and the injured ones. Siad added “Some nurses took care of us too. Meanwhile, they brought us new uniforms because our old ones were torn and full of blood. We got cleaned and put our clothes on, and we headed to another mountain called ‘Guentis’ ” (Translated by the researcher).

Being arrested and caught by the French was the most frightening part of the mission of the Mujahidin in their path towards independence. If they were caught, Mujahidat would be tortured to snitch on their fellows, and sometimes they would suffer till death in the French prisons. In her experience of imprisonment, Siad Mebarka said “I was imprisoned and tortured by the French.” She recited her experience with the traitors who helped the French against their people saying: “Once, I went to the mountain along with three other girls to take some food to the soldiers disguising in men’s clothes (Kachabia); one of the traitors (Hmed Hattak) informed the French soldiers about us, and showed them our place” (Translated by the researcher). The Mujahida added: “...but unfortunately for him, he was caught by the Mujahidin; Abbas Laghror handcuffed him and seized his weapon. It was after sunset between Maghrib and Icha time; the traitor was put on the horseback, and the Mujahidin fetched him and found a talkie walkie phone and a gun” (Translated by the researcher).

Describing the French terrorism practiced against the Mujahidin during their resistance to the colonization, and describing her brave attitudes as well as the cooperation and support between the Mujahidin, the Mujahida said:

The French Army was alerted and started to spread on the mountain to catch us. The Mujahidin called us up and asked us if we had enough weapons. I had two rifles, I told the girls that were with me “let’s go! Let’s defend our country!” I was so brave, but the girls were afraid. We took our positions in the mountain and the Mujahidin put some branches of trees on us to cover us. (Translated by the researcher)

As far as weapons were concerned, Algerians did not just supply the Mujahidin with food and clothes, but also with weapons they bought from donation raised from all over the country. Algerians collected money, bought weapons, and stored them in their houses before they would be transported to the camps or maquis. Aicha Aber stated: “We used to hide weapons, which my father bought, in my father’s house, and my husband used to help my

father. My father's house contained a storehouse that is a big hole under the ground that was used initially to store food; that was big enough to store weapons in it" (Translated by the researcher). The Mujahida recited an incident about being suspected by the French: "When the French authorities came, we covered the storehouse by weeds or animals waste to deceive the French, and when they were gone, we used to take off the weeds or the waste from the storehouse" (Translated by the researcher).

Carrying weapons and hiding them were among the tasks Mujahidat did. In some cases, women weapon carriers could not join the camps or maquis, but they still could help the Mujahidin. Djemaa Mansouri thought of joining the camps, but could not do that. Instead, she decided to help them with carrying and hiding the weapons. She recited an incident that happened during one of her active days; "Once, the French suspected that we help the Mujahidin, so they came to us, I dug a hole and put the weapons in it, and I covered it with soil. Then, I inserted some ashes, so the French dogs could not smell them" (Translated by the researcher).

Some women spied on their Harka husbands for their neighbor Mujahidin; one of them told her neighbor Mujahidin that her husband and the French discovered their activity and were planning to arrest them, so they escaped. Other rural women who lived near the French camps were constantly transmitting the French steps to the Mujahidin along with letters and weapons. Fella Bentoudj, from Batna, expressed her spying mission as an accessible one because she and her family lived in a mountainous area near the French camps in an area where she could easily transmit the information about the enemy's steps and plans. Some women, especially in the urban areas who worked as servants in the French houses or in the military basis, took advantage of their presence inside the enemy's place to spy on them and transmit the information to the Mujahidin.

The purpose of this review was to view the contribution of American and Algerian women during the Revolutionary Wars of both countries. The research review's purpose was also to help the reader understand the historical event in the American and Algerian colonial periods that featured with the social restrictions to women's lives and the definition of their roles in society and within the family. The review also allowed the reader to have a clear vision of the comparable history between the two cases in many aspects during the colonial period of each country and during the Revolutionary War period. The review made the two cases comparable and targeted the same themes in women's lives in America and Algeria.

It is clear from the research review that shows that American women and Algerian women shared the same educational patterns, marriage general rules, and some legal aspects. Along with this, it is also clear that women in America and Algeria played roles in their societies during the Revolutionary Wars; these roles contributed to the change of their traditional domestic roles to non-traditional ones by their participation in the Revolutionary Wars and involvement in the nationalistic issues.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The study compared American and Algerian women's participation, roles, and contributions during the Revolutionary Wars. It also compared American and Algerian women's education, marriage, and legal rights. And it compared the two cases in terms of women's positions and roles in their societies during the colonial periods. The study described the historical events that led to the change of women's roles in the two societies, and the chronological developments of the two Revolutionary Wars starting from the first day of colonization to the fulfillment of independence and freedom. The thesis investigated the main similarities and differences in the two cases. It described women's positions and status in both societies before the wage of the Revolutionary Wars, and their reactions to the Revolutions in America and Algeria. The study also focused on the political involvement of American and Algerian women during the Revolutionary Wars and how they had been involved in the nationalistic cause of their countries.

The study evoked many questions that are essential to be answered about the American and Algerian women's statuses in their societies, during the colonial period of each country. And it evoked questions about the different roles played during the Revolutionary War by American and Algerian women, and their contribution to the two countries' independence. It also raised the question about the circumstances that led to women's roles change in their societies. And a question about whether the Revolutionary Wars in America and Algeria were turning points in women's lives in both countries or not was also posed. Questions like the political involvement of American and Algerian women and their political rights were posed in this study. The two cases led to questioning the similarities and differences between them in terms of the periods before the Revolutionary Wars and after them, and Similarities and differences' questions were not just restricted to women's roles, but

also about their status in education, marriage, and legal rights. Questions about similarities and differences continue in this study of comparison to tackle the different roles played during the Revolutionary Wars of countries, America and Algeria as well as the effect of the Revolutionary Wars on the lives of both American and Algerian women.

The general research methods used to reach the answers to research questions and to solve the research problem dealt with the comparison between two cases; American and Algerian women's involvement in the Revolutionary Wars were first, the comparative research that was used for accomplishing the comparison between the two cases. Comparative research was used in comparing women's status in both societies, comparing the two countries' religious, cultural, and traditional aspects. This method was also used in comparing the education of women in American and Algerian societies, and comparing male and female education in both American and Algerian contexts, in addition to comparing marriage patterns, traditions, and customs in both countries and within the country in terms of rights and duties between men and women. Comparative research was also used in comparing the roles women played during the Revolutionary Wars and even before the Revolutions.

To achieve the comparative research that dealt with two historical cases, historical research was the second method used for collecting data from both American and Algerian cases. The historical research was used to describe the different historical events like the description of the colonial period of each of the two countries. The historical research was used to collect data from colonial America, starting from the settlement of the British to the development of American society as a separate nationality, moving to their reaction to the British policies, mainly taxation. It was also used in the description of the history of education and the educational system in colonial America as well as the construction of schools.

Historical research was also used to cover the different phases of the American Revolutionary War from the pre-war period to the end of the war, and it was used in describing the causes of the Revolutionary War as well as the different strategies and meetings of the revolutionary leaders during the period. The Historical research was also used to describe women's status in colonial America as well as women's literacy development, and it was used in describing the history of property-owning, inheritance, and economic status of women during the British rule in colonial America. Historical research was also used in describing marriage habits and ceremonies, as well as the different notions linked to it, particularly, divorce, spinsterhood, and widowhood, with regard to the social reactions vis à vis the different notions in the colonial society. Historical research was also used in describing women's legal status during the colonial period with its main differences from that of males'.

The historical research was also used in describing women's first perception of the Revolution, and their reactions to the British policies, and how they contributed to the pavement of the resistance against those policies by their daily lives' activities, especially, spinning which turned out to be a political tool that ended up to a movement via which their country depended on the most to be economically independent of the British dominance. The historical research was used to describe the Homespun Movement and different political movements during the colonial period, and it was also used to describe the different phases Sons of Liberty was formed along with its counterpart Daughters of Liberty to whom the favor of the economic challenge was accomplished and turned to them. This research method was also used in describing the different phases women went through in the prelude of the Revolutionary War and the shift of their roles and responsibilities in American society. Historical research was also used in the description of the roles women played during the

Revolutionary War as, nurses, spies, and soldiers, as well as cooks and seamstresses. The historical research was used to describe, with solid evidence, the shift of roles of American women in the American Revolutionary War, from being marginalized to being a main source of assistance to their men.

The historical research was also used in the Algerian case where the history of the Algerian Revolutionary War was described, and where the colonial and pre-colonial periods were described. It was used to describe the Algerian peoples' lives before the French colonization and during it; and it was used to describe the chronological development of the Algerian society. The historical research was also used to describe the development of the Algerian education system and institutions, as well as schools construction. The historical research was used to describe the different phases of the Revolutionary War and its causes starting from the first idea of rejecting the French presence in Algeria with the Populist Revolutions to the Revolutionary War of 1954.

Historical research was also used to describe the development of Algerian political organizations through history, and the very first liberty and freedom thoughts and principles from the foundation of these principles to the realization of independence by describing the first phases of the revolutionary spirits in the Algerian context. The historical research was also used in describing Algerian women's status during the colonization of the French and before it, their literacy development in the pre-colonial period and during the French colonization. It was also used to describe marriage patterns in the Algerian society along with its different linked subjects; divorce, kin marriages, inheritance, and property-owning.

Historical research was also used in describing women's reaction to the French policies with a hint to the famous characters that contributed to the building of Algerian history. And it was used to describe the status of women in the prelude to the Revolutionary War as well as

their political involvement and awareness about their nationalist cause. It was also used to describe the main developments of women's roles before the Revolution and during it. Historical research was also used in describing Algerian women's different roles during the Revolution as nurses, cooks, seamstresses, soldiers, and spies. It was also used in describing the pre-war demonstrations and political resistance of women, whom without, the victory would not be accessible. The historical research was used in the description of the different phases women passed through from being passive in the Algerian society to being active participants of the Revolutionary War.

In addition to the historical research, comparative history was used in this research to shed light on the shared and similar cultural conditions in the American and Algerian societies to accentuate the distinctive features of each case. Comparative history was also used to deal with the similarities in both cases focusing on other aspects such as women's social conditions under the patriarchal domination in both cases, and the status of women in the pre-colonial periods in both cases and their education, marriage, legal status, and it was used in comparing women's reactions against the colonization of their countries, and their contribution in the fight for freedom from the colonizer. The comparative history was also used in comparing between the cases where a heuristic role was played to provide explanations and information about the two cases in terms of the history of the two countries, America and Algeria during specific periods in the history of the two countries that is the colonial periods and Revolutionary Wars.

The comparative history was used to reveal that countries shared many similarities such as women's status in the two societies, their education patterns, marriage patterns, and the legal status of American and Algerian women. And it showed that both countries' people's reaction against the colonization of their countries and their demand to obtain independence.

Comparative history also was used to compare the two Revolutionary periods in America and Algeria. It was used to compare between the two cases in terms of women's participation in the social, political, economic, and military fields. The comparative history was used in comparing the two cases where contrastive aspects were revealed about the differences between the two cases with their distinctive features. The constructive function in comparing the American case and Algerian one was in terms of period, social patterns, religious difference, cultural disparities, and geographical distinction.

The historical research was an inspiration for the creation of the interview, by describing the past events, people, and cases; questions for the interview were formulated. Ideas and thoughts discovered in the first case were the basis for designing the second case' interview. Observing the different historical events that happened in colonial America, especially the Revolutionary period, led to the projection of the same elements in the Algerian case. Thus, the descriptive survey was used to collect data via the use of interviews with former Female Algerian participants of the Revolutionary War or Mujahidat to cover the colonial and Revolutionary periods. Mujahidat were asked twenty-two questions starting from their childhood as children born and raised during the colonization of the French to their participation in the Revolutionary War.

The interview contained twenty-two questions about women's education, living place, number of siblings, the difference in their education and their male's one. They were also asked about their relationships with their husbands, their property-owning, legal status. And they were asked about their reactions to the colonizer, women were also asked about their choices during the Revolutionary War, and even before. Female participants were also asked about their roles during the Revolutionary War, the risks they faced, and the torture received from the French authorities.

3.1. Review of Related Literature

The extensive literature used in the two cases, mainly history books, were a source of information in this research. Methods like historical research used in this research depended on secondary sources, especially the works of historians like Carol Berkin in her book *Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the Struggle for America's Independence* where she depicted the colonial period that preceded the wage of the Revolutionary War with a focus to the women who were the most active at home. She described their organization of the boycotts of the British goods, and their financial assistance by raising funds. Berkin described the capability of women to run their family business while their husbands left for the war and died serving their nationalist cause. Historian Berkin approved that women participated in the Revolutionary War, not just with financial aid, but also fought in the front lines.

Another author who depicted women's participation in the American Revolutionary War was Elizabeth F. Ellet, an American historian, writer, and poet, who wrote *The Women of the American Revolution*, her book was a detailed recount of over 100 women's stories that are considered a great source containing personal interviews, diaries, biographies, and manuscript letters that provided information about women's assistance in the Revolutionary War and their vital role during the war and before it. Ellet's book is considered a primary source of history that deals with the American Revolutionary War and women's roles from political roles to military ones. Ellet presented her historical accounts in a form of narrative stories where the lives of American colonial women were exposed with all of their aspects and patterns.

Larry D. Eldridge's book *Women and Freedom in Early America* is another historical account about women's status and experience in colonial America including gender and racial issues. This book depicted women's experiences starting from 1400 to 1800. Religion, race,

ethnicity, and gender are the most important issues discussed in Eldridge's book; he discussed women's marriage, legal status, property-owning, and education of the different racial and ethnic groups. Eldridge's book is a source of information about women during the colonial period where the author used a wide range of sources like court and church records, letters, journals, poems, and newspapers.

Linda Kerber in her book, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America*, has presented the American Revolution through the eyes of women where she described them as the main source for the success of the Revolutionary War by their great assistance as spies, fundraisers, innkeepers, seamstresses, cooks, soldiers, and nurses. The author presented women as a remarkable part of the equation during the Revolutionary War and even before. The author also described the changes in the lives of women starting from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the late of the same century focusing on women's education; she offered an evaluation of these changes including the status in law and society. The author analyzed the status of women and the different developments in their lives due to the principles of the Revolution that put the patriarchal society and men's dominance at stake; the author posed many questions, in her book, about women's position in marriages and polity. She also raised questions about the extent of liberty, the implication of its principles, and the recognition in American society.

The author focused on the notion of "Republican Motherhood" as a form of a reaction from American women who felt that the political arena could not encompass them. The author showed that this notion was the translation of women's patriotism. The latter was a source of women's capability of injecting patriotic ideas to their fathers, husbands, and sons which led to maintaining the nationalistic spirit. Kerber's book was the explanation of women's political

and social strife that presented a valuable historical piece where women could accomplish what the Revolutionary War could not accomplish for them.

The book of Marlynn Salmon, *Women and the Law of Property in Early America* was a masterpiece in the history of women in America where the author described the colonial period with a focus on women's rights, especially, property-owning. The author focused on the period between 1750 and 1830 where she described the laws imposed on American colonial women and their effects on the lives of women, such as divorce laws, contracts, separated estates, and widows' rights.

Salmon focused on the status of women in the context of marriage where the law assumes that women would be dependent and subservient when they get married. The author traced back the legal rights of women before the Revolutionary War with a focus on the different changes that occurred in their lives, especially property-owning and controlling. The author also focused on the reasons for the changes in the property-owning laws considering that the ideological reasons were of great importance in those changes in addition to the economic ones.

Salmon shed light on different regions' legal and property laws such as Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina. She stated that women did not have equal opportunities under the law. The regions' laws, she studied, did not offer women with same property rights, and that affected their legal status and their lives, in general. She offered analysis for the effect of the formal laws on the lives of women in the social context.

Like Salmon, Karin Wulf dealt with the legal rights of women in colonial America, more precisely in Philadelphia, in her book *Not All Wives: Women in Colonial Philadelphia*.

Her book was a masterpiece in American history where she contributed to the enrichment of women's history in American studies. She shed light on the notion of singleness in colonial Philadelphia by providing many accounts and experiences of unmarried women. Marital status as legal and cultural features of American women's identity in the eighteenth century was the most important subject the author took into consideration. Wulf also shed light on the difference between married and unmarried women in Philadelphia; she focused on property-owning, making wills, contacts, and court appearances. She depended, in her research, on tax lists, censuses, poor relief records, poetry, and wills.

The author focused on explaining the experiences of single, widowed, divorced, and separated women. The population she used in her research was from Philadelphia and other cities of the eighteenth-century America. Her book is considered a great source of cultural and social debate and experimentations where she argued that the colonial women in Philadelphia, mainly unmarried, were the majority and were affected by the city as much as the city was affected by them. Wulf provided an examination of the popular literature that was concerned with the presentation of marriage, economic situation, difficulties women encountered, and the role of masculinity in shaping the public life of the late colonial period.

The book of Dorothy Mays, *Women in Early America: Struggle, Survival, and Freedom in a New World*, discussed the status of women in the period between 1607 and 1812. The author shed light on the cultural and social positions of American women, and the different stages they passed through from the establishment of the first colony Jamestown to the War of 1812. Mays revealed several facts about the period under study where she described that women had enjoyed some freedoms in the given period; and they had several jobs as tavern-keepers, printers, spiritual leaders, traders, and shopkeepers. She also revealed that women enjoyed unusual freedoms that were widespread like pipe-smoking, beer-

drinking, and premarital sex. She added that women's freedom reached their traveling with the British Army during the Revolutionary War.

The second case's literature was as fruitful and variable as the first one, different authors, historians, and researchers have dealt with the Algerian history before the Revolutionary War, during, and after it. Anissa Barakat, a historian, and a veteran wrote a book about the Algerian women's participation in the Revolutionary War entitled *The Struggle of Algerian Women during the Liberation War*. The book is originally written in Arabic provided a great source of information about the struggle of women during the colonization of the French to Algeria, and how women resisted the French policies and took arms and fought for their nationalistic cause.

Barakat provided a detailed explanation of the different phases women passed through before joining the fight starting from the very first thought of joining the camps to the training of carrying weapons and shooting, and then being officially accepted as soldiers in the FLN. The author shed light on the different camps' strategies in accepting female soldiers and nurses, as well as couriers and spies. She also shed light on the people's assistance to the Revolution and the nationalistic cause. She explained the Algerian source of courage and commitment to their cause, especially women's one. The author provided many sources such as articles in newspapers that showed women's involvement in the country's issues and their awareness about the resistance against the colonizer.

Hubertine Auclert in her book, *Arab Women in Algeria*, described the Algerian society in the late nineteenth century with a focus on women's status and rights. The book was originally written in French. In her book Auclert provided an investigation about the Algerian customs and traditions that shaped women's lives. She provided a wide description of women's status and the relationship between their status and the policies of males towards

them, Algerian and French. The author shed light on the exploitation of Algerian women from their society and the colonizers; she also provided a clear picture of the whole colonized society. She focused on the notion of marriages of little girls, forced marriages, repudiation, and polygamy in Algerian society. She shed light on the colonizer's mistreatment of Algerian men who transferred it to their women. She also criticized the French administration that excluded Algerians from the government denouncing the contradictions of their justice that often served them only. She compared the French law and the Muslim Law in Algerian society.

James McDougall, in his book, *History and the Culture of Nationalism in Algeria*, provided a historical perception of Algerian nationalism and the Revolutionary War. McDougall provided a narration of the different notable phases in Algerian history from the French conquest to the independence of Algeria with a focus on the notions of nationhood, Islamic culture, and nationalism. He analyzed the events leading up to the Algerian Revolutionary War, and the different ups and downs of the road towards independence. The author described the political life of Algerians and the main changes that occurred in it with a focus on the creation of the political parties and associations and their beliefs and principles concerning the nationalistic cause. The author provided an analysis of Algerian nationalism as a source of change in the Algerian context and the colonial one; he argued that the Algerian history was revised and the book was a revolution in the field of history, research, and social studies.

Marnia Lazreg, in her book *The Eloquence of Silence: Algerian Women in Question*, discussed Algerian women's status during the Revolutionary War and before it with a focus on gender issues. The author discussed education, marriage, heritage, and legal rights of women; she argued that Algerian women had been discriminated against and classified as

second class in the Algerian society and that the prevailing patriarchal society led to defining the limits of women and led to deny them their basic rights. She shed light on women's participation in the Revolutionary War as a means for securing their rights and freedom from the social chains. Lazreg focused on the gender issues that led to women's denial of rights which led to the sense of inferiority in the lives of Algerian women who encountered both the French colonization and the males' discrimination and exclusion.

Alistair Horne's, book, *A Savage War of Peace: Algeria 1954-1962*, was considered a great source of the Algerian Revolutionary War where the author depicted the struggle for independence and provided the horrible image of the colonizer and the amount of bloodshed in Algeria from the beginning of the War to the end. Horne described the different phases of the War and the reasons for it, and he provided a clear picture of the harsh situation Algerians were put in by the French cruelty. The author analyzed the causes of the French government collapse in Algeria, and the harsh policies of the French towards Algerians, civilians and military, he also exposed the torture methods in the French prisons. The author considered the Algerian War as the most savage war in the twentieth century.

Frantz Fanon, in his book, *A Dying Colonialism*, provided a historical account of the Algerian resistance against the French colonization, and the change in attitudes of Algerian people who were adopting the nationalistic vision and anti-colonialism views. Fanon also described the French oppressing policies towards the Algerian people, and he exposed the colonist's strategies to maintain Algeria and Algerians under control. He also described how Algerians fought for their cause, and how they developed a method to convince the population and the rest of the world of the necessity of resistance and independence, and how to be proud of one's cultural background and denounce the intruding culture. The author also described

Algerian family members' relations and attitudes towards many issues such as marriage and education of girls; He also described the social sets of Algeria.

Among the writers who dealt with women's involvement in the Algerian Revolutionary War, Daniele Djamila Amrane-Minne who wrote her book *Women in the Algerian War*, the book was originally written in French, where she dealt with women's experience during the Revolutionary War, and the different roles they played as combatants, spies, cooks, seamstresses, and nurses. The book was considered a source of women's history where she narrated their stories. The author described women's courage and determination during the Revolutionary War. She similarly has written another book concerned with women's participation in the Revolution entitled *Women in Combat: the Algerian War*, the author focused on the military side of women who participated in the Revolutionary War and carried weapons and entered the battlefields side by side with men. Amrane herself participated in the Algerian Revolutionary War, and she interviewed many former Mujahidat to write her books.

Like Amrane, Natalya Vince wrote about Algerian women's resistance to the French presence in their country, and their roles in the road to independence in her book, *To be a Moudjahida in Independent Algeria: Itineraries and Memories of Women Veterans of the Algerian War*, Vince's book was originally a PhD Thesis, where she conducted research about Algerian Women during the French colonization and the resistance of it. The author described women's dedication to their nationalistic cause, and how they strived to be Revolutionary participants or Mujahidat. Vince explained women's experiences in the camps, and even before joining the camps, she shed light on how they were living and their contribution to the Revolution.

3.2. Population and Sample

The sample of the population that was carefully selected to participate in this study is women; American colonial women who lived during the eighteenth century as settlers of the New World or North America. Though the first sample was not actual participants in the study, they were the basis for the selection of the second sample of the population, that is the Algerian veterans or Mujahidat who participated in the Algerian Revolutionary War. The researcher depended on the Judgment or Purposive Sampling where a selective and subjective sampling was used in choosing the participants with specific characteristics that is former Mujahidat.

The researcher depended on the Judgment Sampling because of its advantage for the research from the point of time and cost-effectiveness to be performed to obtain a range of responses. This selection of the sampling method is useful for the nature of the qualitative research the researcher adopted. Old women who formerly participated in the Algerian Revolutionary War in several ways and roles were the researcher's specific category of the population that the study dealt with. These women had specific characteristics that led the researcher to choose to interview. The selection of these women was from three different regions from the "First Revolutionary Wilaya" or the "First Military Region" which are Batna, Tebessa, and Khenchla. The number of the sample was twenty former Mujahidat women who practically participated in the Revolution, and whose roles in the Revolutionary War ranged from soldiers, cooks, seamstresses, nurses, and spies. The researcher, first, chose to work with the sample of the population from the state of Tebessa only and then decided to enlarge the scope of the population sample to more than one state in the Eastern part of Algeria to reach Batna and Khenchla.

The sample of the population was women who officially registered as former War veterans in the Ministry of Mujahidin and Rights Holders at the national level and the Direction of Mujahidin and Rights Holders at the level of each state. The lists of the Mujahidat who officially hold cards were derived from the Mujahid Museum which is considered the source of the information about the Mujahidin in each state in Algeria. Very few of these Mujahidat were not registered in the Ministry of Mujahidin and Rights Holders because they believed that they did not serve as veterans to receive any lucrative benefit from their nationalistic devotion.

3.3. Instrumentation

The instrument used by the researcher in this study was interviews where verbal questions were posed by the interviewer, the researcher, or the agents of the Mujahid Museum or Veteran Museum, to elicit verbal responses from the Mujahidat. A formal set of questions was posed to each of the twenty Mujahidat who participated in the study, and the interviews were recorded either by audio means with the use of recording by the mobile phone of the researcher or audio-visual means by filming the interviews by the agents of the Mujahid Museum.

Interviews were particularly useful for gathering data about the stories behind the Mujahidat experiences where the researcher could pursue in-depth information around the topic of the study in general, and the Revolutionary War's experiences in particular, as well as the pre-revolutionary period that is the lives of these Mujahidat. Interviews were more useful as follow-up to the Mujahidat compared to the questionnaires that were the first suggestion for the researcher to conduct to further investigate the responses, but due to the limits of the questionnaires in this case, they were not used.

The researcher eliminated the questionnaires as an instrument designed for collecting data in this study because it was difficult to conduct with the Mujahidat who most of them were illiterate and could not read the questions, besides they were old and had health issues, especially sight difficulties. The researcher substituted the questionnaire with the interview because it was the most accessible instrument for this study that is featured as qualitative research.

Interview questions were designed to guarantee a more valuable account of the Mujahidat's experiences during the Revolutionary War and even before. The interview's questions were juried and critiqued by many experts who work as agents in the Mujahid Museum that is the official body of collecting the historical data from the veterans of the Algerian Revolutionary War via gathering live testimonies from them. The experts suggested and recommended that the most accurate instrument for collecting data in this research was an interview due to the nature of the study that is the Historical Research.

The type of interviews used by the researcher was individual, face-to-face verbal interchange interview where the Standardized or open-ended interview prevailed with the application of open-ended questions for all the Mujahidat that guaranteed faster interviews that were easily analyzed and compared. The researcher used the specialized skills needed to negotiate a good partnership with the Mujahidat to ensure a highly detailed and valid set of qualitative data that was collected and transcribed efficiently.

3.4. Data Collection

The researcher approached the Direction of Mujahidin and Rights Holders at the level of Tebessa state to seek for names of Mujahidat for interviewing them and obtaining witnesses; the Director provided her with a list of names of Mujahidat along with their

addresses. The Director suggested that to obtain more details, the researcher should contact the Mujahid Museum because it was the place where the testaments of Mujahidat were collected, filmed, and stored. The list was taken to the Museum for approval from the Director, and it was approved.

The researcher started to contact every woman in the list using the available provided addresses by the Direction and the Museum. The first list was a list restricted just to the women living in Tebessa and its provinces, but the list was not all accessible for the researchers; some women did not accept to have interviews for one reason or another such as the conservative nature of the region, in addition, the researcher was not sent by the Direction of Mujahidin neither was she sent by the Museum of Mujahidin and that resulted in having just a few participants participated in the research. The researcher requested the help of some agents in the Museum of Mujahidin who had experience in the domain. Some interviews were conducted by the researcher and some others were conducted with the assistance of the agents from Batna, Khenchla, and Tebessa.

Interview questions were originally written in English, and to make it easy for the agents and the Mujahidat, they were translated into standard Arabic and Algerian dialects to be understood by old women, in the case of Mujahidat's interviews from Khenchla and Batna the agents of the two Mudjahid Museums helped in conducting it using Tamazight because the researcher could not speak that language, and without the assistance of the agents the interviews would not be possibly conducted. The interview questions were inspired from the first case that is the American colonial women, their status, rights, and their participation in the American Revolutionary War. Algerian Mujahidat were asked questions about their age, education, marriage, social relations, property-owning, rights and duties, and the roles they occupied during the Revolutionary War.

The interviews contained twenty-two questions that vary from childhood to youth and adulthood where the participants (Mujahidat) were given freedom and time to recite their past experiences. The researcher used recording using audio recordings and audio-visual recordings in the interviews to guarantee a better quality of data collection. The researcher used the mobile phone to record the interviews conducted by her, and the agents used highly sophisticated cameras that belong to the Mujahid Museum. The recordings helped the researcher defeat the natural limits of human memory, and to allow her to thoroughly examine the interviews later at home. The interviews were conducted at different times with a period of two months.

3.5. Data Analysis

The interview questions were organized into categories and subcategories; the first questions were concerned with women's status before the Revolutionary War that is questions concerned with their education (question 2, question 5, and question 6), other questions were concerned with marriage (question 7, question 8, question 9, and question 10), and other questions were about legal rights (question 11 and question 12). The second category of questions was concerned with women's status during the Revolutionary War; the question concerned with the first thought of women's joining the Revolutionary cause was question 13. And the question that was concerned with the age of joining the camp and the army was question 14. Question 15 was concerned with the attitudes of family and husband towards their female participation in the Revolutionary War.

Question 16 was concerned with social attitudes towards Mujahidat, and question 17 was concerned with the different roles women played during the Revolutionary War. Question 18 was concerned with women's attitudes toward the roles they occupied during the Revolutionary War inside the camps and outside. Question 19 was concerned with women's

explanations of the difficulties they faced while serving in the camps. Question 20 was concerned with the time that was spent in the camps by these women. Question 21 was concerned with the possibility of being caught by the French and if yes how was that and when. And finally, question 22 was concerned with explaining the types of torture these women were exposed to when they were caught and imprisoned by the French.

To analyze the data collected from the interviews with veteran women or Mujahidat, the researcher listened to the recordings and transcribed the speeches of the Mujahidat, and then she translated them because they were in Arabic or Algerian dialect. The researcher transcribed the recordings manually, the researcher after the transcription of the recordings, read them and started to make notes of the transcripts and identified the common themes (age of the Mujahida, literacy or illiteracy, age of marriage, property-owning, legal rights, her involvement in the nationalistic cause, the attitudes of her family/husband towards her participation, the different roles she conducted during the War, the experience in camps, the capture by the enemy, torture...). After that, the researcher started to sum up the data or the process of summation of the data where the researcher was selective.

The researcher read thoroughly each transcript, and she carefully extracted the evidence of the themes that became stronger, the researcher started to annotate the relevant words, phrases, and sentences said by the Mujahidat concerning their life experiences starting from their education to the Revolutionary War experience. The researcher then conceptualized the data by creating categories like the status of women before the Revolutionary War, and by subcategories like their education, marriage, legal status. And like the category of women during the Revolutionary War and its subcategory like the status of women on the eve of the Revolution, and the different contributions she offered such as being soldiers, nurses, spies, cooks, and seamstresses.

The researcher segmented the obtained categories by positioning them and connecting them to form cohesive information, the researcher, after having clear and cohesive segments, analyzed them where she decided which segments were more important than the other, and she drew tables to summarize the results using calculation of the obtained numbers and then the percentage of the results was provided. Finally, the researcher wrote the results from the questions of the interviews to complete the analysis of the content where the researcher turned the findings into a body of the content of the research and interpreted the results accordingly.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

The results of the data analyses in this study and the findings that intended to solve the problem of comparing American and Algerian women's involvement in the Revolutionary Wars, and the contribution they added to the path of the struggle for independence, as well as their value as an essential part of the equation of the victory of their countries against the colonizer. The results of the study covered the status of women before and during the Revolutionary Wars in both countries, and their contributions in their societies as active participants in different events that occurred in their countries, especially the period of the wars. The research provided a comparison between American colonial women and Algerian ones; it provided an understanding of the circumstances these women lived in and the extent of similarities between them as well as the differences.

The research in the two cases provided many similarities in terms of women's education sets in both countries where most of the women were illiterate and where discrimination between males' and females' education occurred with a slight difference that of the time and space between the cases and the cultural sets and principles in the society like language, traditions, and religion thus the number of illiterate women in both countries surpassed the number of literate ones, and the number of literate boys surpassed the number of literate girls in both countries. The research also found that the legal status of American women was similar to that of the Algerian women, but with a slight difference. The researcher also found that there were similar traditions of marriage, especially in terms of young or child marriages, yet the differences between the two cases concerning marriage, divorce, and repudiation were more than the similarities.

The research also found that the similarities were not just at the level of the period before the Revolutionary Wars of the two countries, but also at the level of the period during

the Revolutionary Wars that is the status of American and Algerian women and their attitudes towards the Revolutions and their political involvements in the nationalistic cause in both cases were similar. The research found that the road towards the Revolutionary Wars in both countries started with an awareness of the conditions the people passed through; the awareness was at the level of different stages in terms of supporting the nationalistic cause, spreading awareness via demonstrations, writings, publications, and meetings. The researcher answered the following research questions:

- How were American and Algerian women's positions in their societies during the colonial periods of both countries?
- What are the roles women played during the Revolutionary Wars of America and Algeria? And to what extent they contributed to the two countries' independence?
- What were the circumstances that led to the change of women's roles, and how did these roles change in society?
- To what extent were the Revolutionary Wars a turning point in American and Algerian Women's liberation?
- How were the political involvements of American and Algerian women, and how did they obtain political rights?
- What are the similarities and differences between the two cases before and during the Revolutionary Wars?
- What were the similarities and differences between American and Algerian women in education, marriage, and legal rights?
- What were the similarities and differences between American and Algerian women in the different roles they played during the Revolutionary Wars?
- What was the aftermath of women's contribution to the Revolutionary Wars at their level and the level of their countries?

Based on the previous data available for the first case, that is the American women's status in colonial America and their contribution to the Revolutionary War, the researcher used the results found by many historians and built the second case, which is Algerian women's status during the French colonization, and their roles in the Revolutionary War. The obtained results of both cases were used to compare between them. The interviews as an instrument marked a rate of response that was sufficient for drawing the results. That is the number of the completed interviews was twenty interviews with twenty eligible women; after trying with other ten women who refused to have interviews.

4.1. Demographic Data

The study's first population sample was the American women who lived during the colonial period of America and who participated in the American Revolutionary War. The second population sample was the Algerian women who lived during the French colonization to Algeria, and those who participated in the Algerian Revolutionary War. American women were white Christians from different subgroups; Puritans, Quakers, and Protestants. Algerian women were Muslims from Malikit ideology. American women were from urban and rural areas, and so were Algerian women.

4.2. Findings

The data collected for this study is qualitative; it consists of information from historical documents in the two cases, American and Algerian, and it consists of written transcripts from interviews for the second case that is Algerian women's involvement in Revolutionary War. It also consists of the percentage of responses from the interviews which were turned into numbers and tables.

The findings of the study are concerned with literacy rates for women in both cases, American and Algerian, and they are concerned with the ability to obtain education, and with the difference between males and females' education in colonial America and colonial

Algeria. It is also concerned with the age of marriage for women in both countries. It also provides qualitative data concerning the status of women within the matrimonial institution for both countries. And it provides findings concerning the legal status of women for both cases.

The findings of the study were separated because the researcher treated each case aside; she started with the American case because it was used as a basis for the second case, and it was the background and inspiration of the questions of the interviews. The researcher divided the cases into two parts, and the two parts were classified into the pre-revolutionary period where education, marriage, and legal status were treated for both cases, the American and Algerian. Another period was treated for both cases was the period during the Revolutionary War for both cases, which was classified into the period known as the prelude to the Revolution, and the period known as the eve of the Revolution and the period during the Revolutionary War for both cases; and the period during the Revolution was classified into specific roles played by women; nurses, seamstresses, cooks, spies, soldiers, and couriers. These findings from the two cases were used to compare between them to answer the questions of the research and solve its problem.

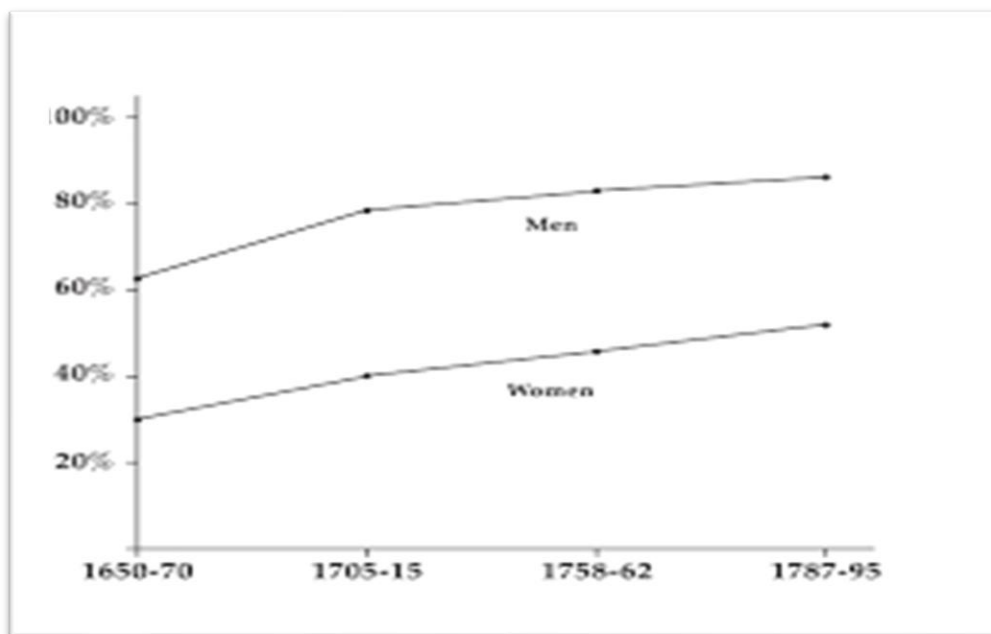
The first findings concerning the first case that is the American women's case started with the status of women before the Revolutionary War and during the colonial period starting with the settlement sets and rules in the American society. Women's lives in colonial America were featured with traditional roles defined by society, class, wealth, and status; their roles were to run the house, farm, and raise children. The laws that govern the colonies were put by the English; these laws confirmed that women had few liberties.

Starting with the education of American women during the colonial period, education started from family and church where women acquire values and principles. Reading the bible and learning by examples were the main source of education. The types of education

prevailing in colonial America was religious that was led by the church; Anglican, Puritan, or Quaker. Education laws in the American colonies, mainly Northern Massachusetts Law of 1710, stated clearly that boys had to be taught to read and write, but girls had just to be taught to read.

Girls' education was limited and restricted to just reading the religious scripts and being able to teach their children in the future. Colonial Americans considered girls' education useless and needless. Colonists had the same attitudes regarding girls' higher education that was boys' right only. Girls were not allowed to have basic education, and if they were educated, they would be seen as insane and were not asked for marriage. American girls' education was so limited that less than one-third of the women in colonial America could not sign their names; they were not allowed to attend school. Women were believed to have inadequate brains that could not understand educational items and abstract themes. Boys were taught trading, and they were part of the family's business, so they were prepared to assist and guarantee the persistence of their family's businesses.

Literacy rates were distributed in the manner Figure 1 explained where there were gaps between males and females in New England colonies as a sample, and as the highly populated region in America during the colonial period.

Figure 1*Literacy in New England Men and Women*

Note. Adapted from *Literacy in Colonial New England: An Inquiry into the Social Context of Literacy in the Early Modern West*, by K. Lockridge, 1974, p. 50, Norton. Copyright 1974 by Norton.

Data regarding literacy gaps between males and females in New England are summarized in Figure 1, from the signatures of their wills, the author depicted the literacy rates between 1650 and 1670, the study showed that men's literacy rates were 62% compared to that of women that were nearly 30 % half of the rates compared to men. The study shows that in the years between 1705 and 1715 literacy rates of men were nearly 79% compared to that of women that were 40%, the rates steadily increased yet still women's rates were less than that of men. The third period was between 1758 and 1762; the latter marked an increase in literacy rates for men with nearly 82% and women 42%. In the last period which was between 1787 and 1795, men's literacy rates were nearly 83% compared to women's literacy

rates that were nearly 43%. Literacy rates noticed a changing pattern in the New England colonies.

Marriage was the second part of the data collected about colonial America, and like education, it was affected by the religious aspects, geographical and demographical backgrounds. For the newly settled land, marriage was a necessity for the persistence and maintenance of the colonies. There was a strong appeal for women in the new world, especially, Virginia, and New England colonies. Virginians had economic and aristocratic reasons for the marriages, and Puritans from New England colonies had religious reasons for marriages.

Marriage in colonial America was considered a necessity, and it was linked to the notion of usefulness and responsibility. Unmarried men and women were accused of being irresponsible and useless. The social classification of unmarried persons developed a sense of disgrace on men and women, the latter were considered to have unstable personalities and bad appearance and looks. Women because of the frame society put them in were eager to get married to escape the judgments.

Society decided that marriage was the most crucial part of women's lives because they had to be mothers and contribute to the growth of the colonies. Singleness and spinsterhood were women's worst fears during the colonial period because of the social disapproval of the cases of unmarried women. Besides unmarried women were labeled as "alarm and pity" if they reached their mid-twenties without marriage, and as "thornback" when they reach their thirties. The reason why women were pushed to marriage was that they would be a burden for their fathers, brothers, or relatives.

The rush to be married and realize society's benefits sustenance led women to get married in their mid-teens, before even getting twenty, especially in Virginia. The age of marriage in the American colonies differed from one colony to another, but its common

aspect was that they got married at an early age. Unlike other Europeans and English, the average age for marriage in the colonies was mid-teens. The findings in Table 1 illustrate marriage age variance in the American colonies of the Chesapeake region:

Table 1

Mean Age of First Marriage in Chesapeake Colonies

Place	Marriage Cohort	Male	Female
Charles County Maryland	1640-1679	24.1	17.8
Somerset County Maryland	1648-1669	23.1	16.5
	1670-1711	22.8	17.0
	1710-1740	24.1	19.0
Prince George's County Western Shore	1680-1699	23.1	18.2
	1710-1719	23.7	18.5
	1720-1749	25.9	21.4
Virginia Elites	1725-1734	27.0	18.3
	1735-1744	28.2	19.8
	1745-1754	30.1	19.5

Note. adopted from different sources: Russell R. Menard, "Immigrants and Their Increase ...," in Aubrey Land, Lois Carr and Edward Papenfuse, *Law, Society and Politics in Early Maryland* (Baltimore, 1977), 100; "The Demography of Somerset County, Maryland: A Preliminary Report"; Lorena S. Walsh, "Charles County, Maryland, 1658-1705: A Study of Chesapeake Social and Political Structure" (thesis, Michigan State Univ.), chap. 2; Michael J. Kelly, "Fancily Reconstitution of Stepney Parish, Somerset County, Maryland" (thesis, Univ. of Md., 1971), 18-25; Kulikoff, *11 Tobacco and Slaves*, chap. 3; Rutman and Rutnian, *A Place in Time, Explicatus*, 65; Susan Simmons, unpublished research on Virginia elites; R. B. Outhwaite, "Age at Marriage in England from the Late Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century," *RHST* 23 (1973), 55-70; „tone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England*, 46-54; Michael W. Flinn, *The European Demographic System, 1500-1820* (Baltimore, 1981), 19-29.

Data regarding the mean age of first marriage in Chesapeake colonies provided a summary that in Charles County, in the period from 1640 to 1679, the average age of first marriage was 24.1 for men and a very early age for women with 17.8. In Somerset County, in the period from 1648 to 1669, the average age of marriage was early for males with 23.1 and very early for females with 16.5. In the second period from 1670 to 1711, the average marriage age was still early with 22.8 for males and 17.0 for females. The third period noticed little increase in the age of marriage, between 1710 and 1740, the average age for males was 24.1 and women 19.0.

The age of marriage, in the Western Shore of Maryland, Prince George's County was similar to other counties; the period between 1680 and 1699, the average age for males was 23.1 and for females was 18.2, in the period between 1710 and 1719, the average age for males was 23.7 and for females 18.5. The third period marked a minor change in the age of marriage for males and females, with 25.9 for males and 21.4 for females.

The average age of marriage of Virginian elites had a notable difference between males and females; males were older compared to females who were much younger. In the period from 1725 to 1734 males married at the age of 27.0 whereas females married at 18.3. In the period from 1735 to 1744, males' average age of marriage was 28.2 compared to females' average age that was 19.8. In the period from 1745 to 1754, males married at an average age of 30.1 whereas females 19.5.

As far as marriage's financial traditions in colonial America, fathers had to support their daughters with money, land, or other property. The action of supporting daughters financially was known as dowry or wedding gift. The dowry would, later on, be the groom's property after marriage ceremonies were finished. Dowry was meant to help couples found and fund their new life. Marriage in colonial America was supposed to establish a new life with one partner for the rest of life with some exceptions like divorce or death.

Men had no right to have more than one wife at the same time which made polygamy forbidden in the American colonies based on Christian values. In addition to forbidding polygamy, kin marriages were not allowed in colonial America, especially with Quakers who consider first cousin marriages and second cousin marriages as forbidden. Colonists considered that the purpose of marriage was to enlarge the population and that would not be possible if they stuck to kin marriages. Thus dynastic marriages were not allowed.

Marriage witnesses, in colonial America, especially in the Quakers society, would be the whole community during the wedding ceremonies. These witnesses should be no fewer than twenty-three who would sign Marriage certificates. In colonial America, women were subservient to their fathers, and after marriage, they would be subservient to their husbands. Fathers were the source of their daughter's support before marriage, and after marriage, husbands should have the responsibility of supporting them.

Marriage in the American colonies made a woman and a man one person, and that included, economic status by providing what she owned from her family to her husband whom the family's support was his responsibility and legal status where the husband and wife would be one legal identity under the law of "feme covert" in which her name changes to her husband's instead of her birth name.

The notion of divorce in colonial America was considered the worst issue that a family could ever have. The decision of divorce had to be approved by the community; the latter would be failing in preserving the marriage. For divorce, the couples had to provide a shred of strong evidence and reason for the divorce to be valid by the civil body. Couples who decide to divorce were given some time to revise their decision and to maintain their bond and commitment.

At the legal level, women in colonial American were perceived as "feme sole" or "feme covert", women's legal status was defined by being married or unmarried. While "feme

covert" would lose her legal rights and would be immersed in her husband's identity, "feme sole" would be as equal as men, legally, and would have the same rights as men. "feme sole" could be a single unmarried woman or a widow.

Married women submitted to the laws of coverture whereas unmarried women did not submit to these laws. Widowhood changed dramatically the legal rights for women; widows enjoyed more freedom in terms of property-owning, running the deceased husband's business, and trade. A widow would live a more autonomous life and would obtain more legal rights. Widowhood allowed women to inherit lands, manage estates, write wills, and bring lawsuits to court.

As far as inheritance is concerned, colonial American women, especially daughters were not allowed to inherit any kind of property, mainly when there was an older brother. The priority to the eldest son was a tradition in the colonial society where he would receive the double share realty and personalty, and his younger brothers and daughter altogether would receive one share of their father's estate. This was known as primogeniture where a tradition of favoring and giving the lion's share to the eldest son, and he has the exclusive right of inheritance.

Voting rights were not allowed to women in colonial America, because settlers set rules defining the right to vote for white males only who had property and were twenty-one years old. American colonists clearly stated their exclusion to women from voting by "No woman sole or covert, infants under the age of twenty-one years, or recusant convert being freeholders shall be enabled to give a vote or have a voice in the election of burgesses" (Sept & Hirsch, 1983, p 12).

Women's voting and their exclusion was a decisive subject in the American colonies, but there were some attempts and exceptions of women who regarded voting as their right since they owned property; Margaret Brent was a lawyer who lived in Maryland and was

known for her daring views concerning her right to vote and sue and be sued. She took her case to court, where she appealed to the court to guarantee her rights claiming that she owned land. Brent was chosen to be the executor of Governor Calvert's will. She sought for a "vote and voye" in 1648, in the Assembly of Maryland. After many attempts to obtain her right to vote and to sue and be sued, Margaret Brent was denied her claims by Governor Thomas Green.

In addition to the lawyer Margaret Brent, Susannah Wright and Lydia Chapin Taft were women who could be politically involved in American colonial history. Wright achieved a proficiency that was restricted to men in her colony by becoming prothonotary, and she also became a counselor concerned with assisting illiterate people in her colony, in addition to helping women in writing their wills and other contracts. Lydia Chapin Taft was the first woman to vote in 1756, in Uxbridge, Massachusetts. Taft practiced her right to vote in Town Meetings concerning the financial support for the local soldiers to fight in the French and Indian War. She was able to do that because she was the wealthiest person in her town who inherited her husband after his death and after the death of her eldest son. There were just few examples of women who could accomplish legal status during the colonial period.

The prelude of the American Revolutionary War marked great participation of women; they supported the boycott movement and were a vital element in it. They were the reason why the British economy was hit because they composed the consumers' category and domestic producers' category in the society. Women were present in many protests denouncing the British policies towards the colonies. Women contributed to the increase of domestic production to enhance their country's economy and autonomy from British domination. Women were the source of their men's power because they encouraged them to resist the British taxation policies.

Women of Boston ceased their consumption of British goods in late 1767. When the Tea Act was passed in 1770, women from Boston protested that taxation and were assured that they would never consume tea. Another form of protest to the British taxation was in New York where women refused to get married in an act of protesting the stamped marriage license or the Stamp Act. In October 1774, 51 women from North Carolina participated in protests to support the provincial congress of their colony that was known as the "Edenton Tea Party".

As a form of boycotting British goods, women developed spinning circles to enhance their production and wear their hand-made clothes and quit the British clothes. Women were spinning all the time for 6 days a week to increase production to maintain the British clothes boycotting. While spinning and weaving women were discussing political issues of the era; politics was present during these spinning circles, they were known as spinning bees because they were producing speedily to be capable of defeating the British clothes' consumption and to secure the production for their country's economic victory. These women formed the female association in 1765 and were called "Daughters of Liberty".

Women pushed for a movement to enforce their protests against the British policies; the Homespun Movement was the means for that, it was used for the promotion of the American industry that was simple, democratic, not luxurious, and not corrupted like the British one. The Homespun Movement was a reaction to the British Townshend Act in 1767 that was enacted to tax manufactured goods. It was women's way to push for the non-importation resolution. Women helped the Continental Army by producing clothes and blankets for soldiers by the Homespun Movement that made textiles production and boycotting possible and effective.

To make their resistance effective, women got rid of their luxurious consumption habits; they quitted silk, satins, and other forms of luxury, and they stuck to simple clothes

they used to spin by themselves. Women chose to step off the easy life and got involved in the struggle for independence. They grew their vegetables and secured their food to stop consuming British goods. Their gardens became their means for food production. They even changed their food habits especially tea consumption which was merely a British tradition.

American women also supported the nationalist cause by their writings like Abigail Adams who was a great support for her husband and was his advisor as well. She supported independence and equal rights for men and women. Mercy Otis Warren was another woman who contributed to supporting her country's independence by her writings; she was an active correspondent with other women who were considered elites in colonial America like Abigail Adams, her friend, Martha Washington, and Hannah Winthrop.

These women exchanged letters that were concerned with the political issues of their country. Mercy Otis Warren was also a writer and a poet, and she wrote letters to the leaders of her country like Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, and John Adams. Mercy Otis Warren wrote many books, poems, and letters that depicted the Revolutionary Period she lived through, among her writings, *Address to the People of England, Scotland, and Ireland on the Present Important Crisis of Affairs*, “the Adulateur”, and “The Squabble of the Sea Nymphs”.

American women contributed to the victory of their country during the Revolutionary War. They were nurses, seamstresses, cooks, soldiers, spies, and couriers. Women followed the Army, and they occupied many functions and roles. The number of women who followed the Army was about 2000 by 1777. These women were widows, runaway servants, and poor women. Between 1775 and 1776, Martha Washington, Abigail Adams, Lucy Knox, and Catherine Greene, wives of high ranked officers in the Army, followed their husbands. These women had more responsibilities compared to other women because they were commanders,

generals, and other ranks' wives who would have access to the information about the War and its secrets.

Martha Washington was considered her husband's secretary, she knew his secrets, and she helped in providing advice to him, she went with him as a camp follower wherever he went. In the camps, Martha Washington had to take care of all the soldiers and check on them. She had to make tours all around the camp to offer food and medical help, she was a nurse who tried to protect and save lives of soldiers, especially after getting injured on the battlefields.

In general, women who followed the camps were wives, sisters, daughters, and mothers of soldiers. They helped in many ways in the camps; they cooked food, washed clothes and sewed them, and they even brought water from the near water sources. They took care of the sick and nursed them during times of battle injuries. The roles women conducted during the Revolutionary War were originally theirs, and besides men could not do the job properly because they believed that women would be the best for cooking, nursing, sewing, and washing. These women needed food and shelter thus conducting those roles was the only way they could feed themselves and their families; they sold their homemade services to earn money for supporting their families with these services like washing clothes for soldiers, sewing them, and cooking them fresh meals.

Nurses did not exist in the American Army before the Revolutionary War; instead, nursing was the job of men who belonged to the army. In 1775, an incident happened where Major General Horatio Gates had injured soldiers and he demanded that a woman would nurse them to let the rest of men be devoted to the fighting roles in the army. General Washington appealed to Congress to provide the army with female nurses and matrons to take care of the soldiers. Based on Congress's decision on July 1775, there was one nurse to every ten patients, and one matron to every one hundred injured.

Despite the efforts of Congress to increase the number of nurses, it remained very few. The shortage of the number of nurses was because of the low wages that were \$2 a month, and the risk they would face in the camps and the battlefields. In 1779, in a hospital in Philadelphia, one matron and one nurse took care of 133 patients, and in Hillsborough General Hospital of North Carolina, four nurses took care of 100 patients. In 1783, at the end of the Revolutionary War, there were a recorded number of seven matrons and thirty nurses who were on duty serving the military in seven hospitals and nursing 4,000 men. Many announcements were appealing to women to join the Continental Army, but the number still was very few.

In addition to nursing, women were cooks, seamstresses, and washerwomen that is they held their traditional women's chores, the difference was that they had to do all these chores in the camps, not at homes. Women's presence in the camps and their roles were much needed and meant that releasing men for military functions and roles instead of doing the chores and nursing. The Continental Army decided how much these women would earn for their jobs and service in the Army. Seamstresses and cooks were the most known jobs women had during the Revolutionary War; Seamstresses had the responsibility of sewing uniforms for the Continental Army, and they even had to fix soldiers' clothes if they were torn or damaged.

American Women formed the Ladies Association of Philadelphia that dealt with fundraising, food-collecting, and clothes sewing for the American Continental Army. Its leader was Sarah Franklin Bache, the daughter of Benjamin Franklin; she had committed to sewing 2200 shirts for the American soldiers in 1780. Prominent seamstresses were Esther Reed and Betsy Ross, the latter was skillful in sewing and had her own business where she sewed uniforms for the Continental Army, and she was the first person to sew the American flag.

The enlisting of women, like seamstresses and cooks, in both the American and the British Armies, gave them free access to information. These women could easily eavesdrop on the conversations soldiers had, and later transform it to the camp they would work with. General Washington, for example, depended on these women to spy on the British troops and to acquire information that would be useful in his military tactics. Women's conveying information was developed to be special agencies specialized in spying, and that led to the increase of spying networks. In 1775, the Committee of Secret Correspondence was created by the Second Continental Congress.

There were many spy rings during the American Revolutionary War, but not all of them recruited women as agents; the most famous spying ring that recruited women was called Culper Spy Ring. The latter considered that women were the most suitable agents for spying because they were not suspected by the British army, because they had to travel to visit their relatives and to take care of them. Whether in the camps or at their homes women were spies. Upper-class and upper-middle-class women were able to be spies with keeping their daily routines. Some women showed loyalty to the British, but they did not in reality, they spied on them. Women could easily spy on the British troops because they used the American colonist's houses as a shelter for them; women could easily transmit information after serving the British meals in their houses.

Many women worked in disguise as spies during the Revolutionary War, in the Spy Ring two female secret agents were famously known as "Agent 355" and "Lady" the code "Agent 355" was the numeric code of "a woman" Setauket Spy Ring used to protect women's lives, jobs, and families. These agents were constantly providing the Continental Army leaders with accurate and timely information. These women played an active role in the counterintelligence field and they contributed to uncovering traitors like Benedict Arnold who

betrayed the Patriots. They even contributed to the capture of British Intelligence Agents like Major John Andre.

Other female spies were Anna Smith Strong who was a member of the Setauket Spy Ring; she invented a new way in spying techniques using her laundry and clothesline as codes to guide the Patriots to the right direction and location of the enemies. Another spy was Lydia Darragh who spied on the British who used her house to have meetings; she listened to every single conversation of the British soldiers and wrote down everything in pieces of paper. She put all the scrap papers in her youngest son's pocket to transmit it to his brother who served as Lieutenant in the Continental Army. Another female spy was Martha MacFarlane MacGee Bell; she used her mill as a means for collecting information from the British troops by letting them use it. By doing so, Mrs. Bell secured the business of the soldiers and went to collect intelligence about the number of weapons the British had, the number of the injured, the number of the soldiers intended to come, and the kind of weapons they had.

Another prominent spy was Emily Geiger from South Carolina; she assisted the American Army to recover the Carolinas from the British by crossing the enemy's line. The Continental Army was residing near her father's farm, she heard her father talking about the mission of crossing the British lines and bringing information, but they could not do that due to the blockade of the area, she volunteered to be their messenger, and she carried General Greene's message to General Thomas Sumter. She was the only person capable of accomplishing that mission because the British would not suspect her. Emily Geiger succeeded to transmit the message orally, and the British did not suspect her after searching her when she crossed their lines.

In addition to Emily Geiger who was just eighteen years old, Laodicea Langston also was from South Carolina, and she was just fifteen years old when spied on the British troops. Laodicea's father's plantation was situated between the British who camped on one side and

the Patriots who camped on the other side. She transmitted what she heard from the British to the Continental soldiers that her brother was one of them. Dacey or Laodicea used to take notes about the British troops' movements and numbers and transmit them to her brother. She also used to visit her loyalist relatives where she collected information, but they discovered that she was spying on them and prevented her from visiting her. Dacey transmitted a lot of information about the British, and they suspected her and her father, and they threatened them.

In addition to spying on the British, American women participated even in the battlefields; they were soldiers, minute-women, and cannons. Though women were not allowed to join the Army as official fighting forces, which did not hinder them to be disguised as men and serve in the Army as soldiers. Among the famous women who participated in the armed confrontations were Deborah Samson, Anna Maria Lane, Sally St. Clair, Ann Bailey, Prudence Cummings Wright, Margaret Corbin, Nancy Hart, and Mary Hays.

Deborah Samson or Sampson was a poor girl who wanted to serve in the Army as a soldier, but women were not allowed to join the armed forces so she disguised herself as a man. She enlisted herself as Robert Shurtleff in the Fourth Regiment of Massachusetts. She served in the army for three years; she had severe injuries several times. Deborah Sampson had serious wounds in her shoulder, head, and different parts of her body, and she needed to be medicated but she always refused to have medical care because she was afraid of being discovered. The last time, Deborah had brain fever and it was contagious, so she needed to be separated from other soldiers and to be taken care of by a doctor who was already summoned to medicate her, when he checked the young Robert, he discovered what Deborah was hiding, her true sex, and that was the end for her carrier as a soldier, she was discharged and offered with money to travel back home.

Like Deborah Sampson, another soldier of the American Revolutionary War was Anna Maria Lane, she served with her husband as a camp follower, and she disguised herself as a man too. She accompanied her husband and they both fought in many battles and campaigns in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Georgia. On the 4th of October, 1777, Anna Maria fought in the Battle of Germantown, Pennsylvania where she was severely wounded at the level of her leg to the point she was left lame for the rest of her life. Though she received a severe injury, Anna Maria did not cease fighting alongside her husband who got enlisted for the second time in the Virginia Light Dragoons. In 1779, she was with her husband when he received injuries during the Siege of Savannah. The Lanes served in the Continental Army till 1781.

Other women who served as soldiers and disguised as men were Sally St. Clair and Anne Bailey. Clair served in the Continental Army as a gunner; she succeeded to keep her gender hidden until her death in the Battle of Savannah on December 29, 1778. Anne Bailey was disguised as a Frontiersman after the death of her patriotic husband who was killed in the Battle of Point Pleasant. Bailey was eager to revenge her husband's death, and she was well trained in scouting, hunting, and riding horses. Anne Bailey was always carrying a knife and a long rifle; she also helped in delivering messages between different Army detachments where she rode her horse, a distance of almost 160 miles, as a courier from Fort Savannah to Randolph.

In addition to the above-mentioned women, other women from Massachusetts were known as Minutewomen; they disguised in their husband's clothes and they used old muskets, pitchforks, and farm tools to fight using them. The leader of this group of women was Prudence Cummings Wright. Prudence was chosen as a commander of the Minutewomen because she was the one who informed other women about the British arrival and the one who warned women about their plot while she was visiting her mother in Hollis where she

overheard her brother and his friend conspiring and planning to pass messages from British Canada to Boston. Minutewomen of Pepperell, Boston were the ones who cut the road for the British who were crossing from Canada to Boston to aid the British Army; Prudence and her fellow women confiscated the documents and held hostages, they sent messages to the Committee of Safety.

Another woman who was a camp follower, during the Revolutionary War, was Margaret Corbin. Because her husband joined the Continental Army; she had different functions in the camp such as cooking, taking the chores, mending clothes; while doing that Margaret Corbin learned different military drills from her husband and other soldiers. Corbin helped her husband to handle ammunition for cannon; she participated with him in the same battlefield known as the Battle of Harlem Heights. She replaced her husband's position after getting fatal injuries; she started operating the cannon, and she fired the British soldiers until she was severely injured in her chest and left arm.

Nancy Hart was another figure of the American Revolutionary War; she disguised herself in a feeble-minded man and spied on the British soldiers to transmit it to the American patriots. On the 14th of February, 1779, she participated in the Battle of Kettle Creek. The British suspected her patriotic thoughts so they decided to spy on her, they sent one of their soldiers for that mission and when he was suspected by her and her daughter, she caught him after throwing hot soap liquid in his eyes that were sneaking from a hole he made in her wall. She took the British soldier to the American army after she tied him up with the help of her daughter. Nancy Hart was always harassed by the British soldiers; they always tried to tease her, the British once visited her and asked her to make the food with her last turkey that they shot.

Nancy's daughter sneaked out to bring the help of the neighbors, while she prepared a plot to make the soldiers drunk, and managed to take three of their rifles and put two of them

out through a crack in the wall before she was detected, and she kept one to defend herself with. When one of the soldiers discovered Nancy's plot, she shot him dead, and she shot another and caused him severe injuries. When the neighbors finally arrived, she along with them took the soldiers to the woods and hung them.

In addition to Nancy and her daughter, Mary Ludwig Hays was another Revolutionary figure; she was a camp follower and a cannoneer. Hays was also a nurse, cook, and she washed her husband's and other soldiers' clothes. Mary Hays was carrying water to her husband and other soldiers while they were exchanging gunfire with the British, many of the soldiers died because of thirst, heat exhaustion, and dehydration. Mary was brave enough to carry water to the soldiers on the battlefield and to take care for the wounded soldiers. Mary's husband was wounded in this battle while he was loading the cannon; she replaced him and began firing. George Washington was watching the brave woman that took the decisive action of defending her country, and when he met her after the battle was finished, he offered her a warrant as a non-commissioned officer.

The second findings concerning the second case that is the Algerian women's case started with the status of women before the Revolutionary War and during the French colonial period with a focus to the pre-colonial sets and rules in the Algerian society and during the French colonial period. Women's lives in colonial Algeria were featured with traditional roles defined by society, class, wealth, and status; their roles were to run the house, farm, and raise children. The laws that govern Algeria were put by the religiously conservative society and the French; these laws confirmed that women had few liberties.

Algerian education was a religious one, and its main source was the Zawiyahs or religious traditional schools. These schools were known as Quranic Schools, Zawiyahs, and Madrasahs. Education started with the acquirement of Islamic religious teachings and principles. In general, Algerian schools were primarily religious where Islamic traditional

education was considered the basic education, and this education was rarely extended beyond the primary level. Students seeking higher education had to travel abroad for acquiring higher studies because there were not enough establishments for higher education, and those that were established did not enjoy official recognition and lacked authority and stability. The schools depended on the financial support system known as endowment or awqaf to support them to fund the religious and scientific education

Education in Algeria was for boys and girls before the French colonization, Algerians taught their children in Quranic schools, boys and girls, but girls were not allowed to obtain more than basic education of reading, citing, and memorizing the Quran. Girls were meant to acquire just the basic knowledge of the Quran which was considered sufficient by their fathers; they were not allowed to enroll in Madrasahs or Zawiyahs that were considered higher education which was meant for boys, not for girls.

In Nineteenth-Century Algeria, girls had typical Quranic schools intended for them where they would be taught separately far from boys, and they had female teachers known as "Mouallemat". In addition, Algerian families, traditionally, were teaching their boys and girls at home where girls were taught by their fathers or brothers. However, wealthy families could offer their children a better education because they could bring private teachers for their girls. Teachers had to be carefully chosen by the fathers because they would be able to have access to the girls' rooms. These teachers would be affiliated with the nearby mosque to make education more accessible and much easier.

In 1850, the French suggested a decree that sought for creating Arab-French schools that would receive Algerian boys and girls. The French did not give much attention to girls' education because they thought that it was useless and non-beneficial, and that would be costly because they would build special schools for them. The French did not raise the issue of girls' education because they knew well the conservative society of Algeria. The French

also discouraged the establishment of schools for girls and shut down the already existed schools. As a result, Algiers, the capital city, had no school for girls for forty-five years after the French conquest in 1830.

By the 1870s, the French colonists started to consider Algerian girls' education, and they thought it would be useful in their "mission of civilization". The French wished to create a modern generation that would be loyal to the French regime and would contribute to the progress of their society. The French colonists tried to have a reformist policy concerning educating Algerian girls, so they planned to make that possible; they started to introduce education to girls using three ways proposed by Charles Jeanmaire; the first way was to use home-teaching for girls depending on French women.

The second way was to start education at an early age in "children's school" where girls of four would be taught how to handle a needle to be able to make small knitwear, along with some French. The third way targeted girls of six to fourteen; it suggested the foundation of vocational schools that would be separated based on sex which would be a respect to the Algerian conservative society, the schools would teach girls trading via which they would financially support themselves.

There was a difference between boys' and girls' education in colonial Algeria. In 1907, there were 33,000 young Muslims who attended official schools; most of them were boys. In 1938, less than 5 percent of Algerian girls obtained any kind of education. In primary schools, girls' number remained very few to be under 2 percent in 1890, 9 percent in 1918, 9 percent in 1944, and around 13 percent in 1954. The Algerian schoolchildren were remarkably composed of boys who overwhelmingly outnumbered girls. In 1954, the total number of the school-age population, of five to fourteen, in Algeria, was over 2,000,000. Just 300,000 of them were enrolled in primary schools; 218,000 were boys, and just 76,610 were

girls. The higher education represented more difference between girls' and boys' education that was composed of 5.308 boys compared to 952 girls in high schools.

Algerian girls' education was very limited; their schools were like workshops concerned with teaching them domestic skills and handicrafts. The literacy rates amongst girls were very low; in 1938, there were less than 5% of them who could have any kind of education. In primary schools, girls' enrollment remained very low under 2 percent in 1890, and 9 percent in both 1918 and 1944, and 13 percent in 1954; boys outnumbered girls in schools.

Table 2 presents the trends in enrollment ratios in Algeria between 1948 and 1954, and it presents the difference between males' and females' education and literacy rates based on the Census data of the given period:

Table 2

Trends in Enrolment Ratios in Algeria According to Census Data (1948-1954)

Gender Population aged 6-14		
Years	1948	1954
Male	13.4	23.5
Female	4.6	9.5
Total	9.1	16.6

Note. Adapted from *Changing Female Literacy Practices in Algeria: Empirical Study on Cultural Construction of Gender and Empowerment* by A. Laaredj-Campbell, 2016 p. 115. Copyright 2016, by Springer VS.

Table 2 presents males' and females' ratios of enrollment and it also illustrates the difference between boys' and girls' enrollment from 1948 to 1954. Boys' enrollment rate in 1948 was 13.4 percent compared to just 4.6 percent of girls. In 1954, there was an increase in the rate of enrollment for both sexes, but still girls' enrollment was less than that of boys with 9.5 percent for girls and 23.5 percent for boys. In general, Algerian schoolchildren's enrollment was very little, and that of girls, in particular, was even fewer.

The illiteracy rates of Algerian women were very high, they were almost all illiterate. A census of 1954 revealed that just 4.5 percent of Algerian women could read and write. In the same year, there were just 500 Algerian students at the University of Algiers. The latter had just 50 girls students. In primary schools, there were just 36.261 Muslim girls enrolled in the academic year 1955-1956, for example. The number of enrollment of girls in primary schools was nearly doubled in the academic year 1958-1959 with 61.641, and the number of girls enrolled in Secondary schools was 6.719.

Table 3 presents the rates of literacy among women who participated in the Revolutionary War:

Table 3

Literacy Rates in the Mujahidat Population Sample

Literacy	Rate
Illiterate	65%
Literate	35%
French Schools	10%
Quranic Schools	25%

Note. This table demonstrates the percentage of literacy in Algerian women who participated in the Revolutionary War.

The number of women who were interviewed was 20 the calculation of their answers concerning literacy was as follows:

Illiterate women 13: $20 = 0.65 * 100 = 65\%$

Literate women 7: $20 = 0.35 * 100 = 35\%$

Women's answers concerning the kind of schools they received education in were as follows:

French schools 2: $20 = 0.1 * 100 = 10\%$

Quranic schools 5: $20 = 0.25 * 100 = 25\%$

Table 4 presents the rates of literacy based on the region where 20 women “Mujahidat” were interviewed about whether they were literate or not, and whether they lived in rural areas or urban ones, the table was drawn to compare literacy rates in rural and urban areas’ Mujahidat:

Table 4

Literacy Rates for Women Based on the Area

	Rural	Urban
Literate	03	04
Illiterate	13	00
Total	20	

Note. This table demonstrates the number of literate and illiterate women based on rural and urban areas of their childhood.

Table 5 presents the rates extracted from women’s answers concerning the difference between them and their male siblings, the rates of the 20 women’s answers were as follows:

Table 5

The Rate of Responses for the Difference between Boys’ and Girls’ Education

Difference between boys and girls in education	
There was a difference between boys and girls in education.	90%
There was no a difference between boys and girls in education.	10%

Note. This table demonstrates the percentage of response of women who were asked about the difference in obtaining education between them and their brothers.

The number of women who were interviewed was 20; the calculation of their answers concerning discrimination in education between them and their brothers was as follows:

Boys were favored in education enrollment (Yes answers) $18: 20 = 0.9 * 100 = 90\%$

Boys were not favored in education enrollment (No answers) $2: 20 = 0.1 * 100 = 10\%$

Table 6 presents kin marriages or endogamy in Algeria where Mujahidat were asked whether they had kin marriages or they had distant husbands:

Table 6

Endogamy in Algeria

Kin marriage in Algeria	
Women married to their cousins	Women did not marry their cousins
65%	30%

Note. This table demonstrates the percentage of response of women who were asked about their relation to their husbands.

The number of women who were interviewed was 20 the calculation of their answers concerning kin marriage was as follows:

Women married to their cousins $13:20 = 0.65 * 100 = 65\%$

Women did not marry their cousins $6:20 = 0.3 * 100 = 30\%$

1 woman out of the 20 Mujahidat never got married.

Table 7 presents the number of polygamists in Algerian society, as well as the proportion per 1000 married men. The table illustrates the numbers from the very first years of French colonization to Algeria to the beginning of the Revolutionary War from 1886 to 1954:

Table 7*Number of Polygamists and Proportion per 1000 Married Men*

Census Year	Number of Polygamists	Number of Polygamists per 1000 Married
1886	89000	–
1896	82000	–
1906	60000	–
1911	55400	64
1948	38900	30
1954	23600	18

Note. Adapted from “La Polygamie en Algerie” by Tabutin, D., 1974, *Population*, 29(2), p. 314.

The results in Table 7 (Tabutin, 1974, p. 314) show that polygamous marriages in Algeria had decreased gradually from 89000 polygamists in 1886 to 82000 in 1869 that is in ten years, and 60000 in 1906, 55400 in 1911, 38900 in 1948, and 29600 polygamists in 1954.

Table 8 presents the age of marriage amongst Mujahidat that were born between 1924 and 1940, starting from the age of 9 to 20 and more:

Table 8*The Age of Marriage for Algerian Females Born between 1924 and 1940*

Age of Marriage of Algerian Females				
Age	9→14	15→18	19→20	More than 20
Percentage	40%	30%	20%	5%

Note. This table demonstrates the percentage of marriage age of Algerian females who were born from 1924 to 1940.

The number of women who were interviewed was 20, and the calculation of their answers concerning age of marriage was as follows:

$$\text{Age between 9 and 14} \rightarrow 8: 20 = 0.4 * 100 = 40\%$$

$$\text{Age between 15 and 18} \rightarrow 6: 20 = 0.3 * 100 = 30\%$$

Age between 19 and 20 → 4: 20 = $0.2 * 100 = 20\%$

More than 20 → 1: 20 = $0.05 * 100 = 5\%$

The Algerian society placed women under the guardianship of their fathers, brothers, husbands, or one of her relatives. In marriage women were not allowed to get married without the consent of their fathers, brothers in case their fathers were dead, or other male relatives, and that was known as *Djebr* right. A father would choose a partner for his virgin daughter or non-marital one; however, a father would not choose a husband for his non-virgin daughter, divorced or widowed based on Islamic rules. Nevertheless, in Algeria, in both cases, the father would choose a husband for his daughter who rarely could express her will or choice in marriage. The legal control over a woman shifts from the father or other guardians to the husband when she marries; she would be subordinate legally for the whole of her life.

Algerian women could not prevent their husbands from getting other women or being polygamous. Polygamy was not very spread in the Algerian society; it was often a practice of wealthier men who could afford to have more than a wife. At the end of the 19th century, polygamy rates were around 15 percent of the households, and in 1954 the rate decreased to 2 percent. It was commonly known that the cause for polygamy was that men would marry their brother's widow, to avoid family dispersal. The latter issue was very common in Algerian society where families did so to protect their wealth and children if there were any.

Algerian women could own their property. In addition, there is a separation of ownership between the husband and his wife. The couple's patrimony would be separate during their marriage. The responsibility for the household is the husband's responsibility and the wife has no legal obligation to do that. Women, based on Islamic law, are free to obtain property and use it the way they want. Moreover, women could keep their names in marriage, and they had not to be one identity with their husbands.

Women have the right to inherit a half-share of their fathers' wealth. The right of inheritance was often abused by the Hubus institution; women were regularly deprived of their rights of inheritance, the law of inheritance favors agnatic relatives instead of females. The Hubus was used to exclude women from obtaining property, and thus keeping it within the kinship network. Women under the Kabyle customary law had no right to inherit at all. Furthermore, a Kabyle woman was legally considered part of a man's inheritance; he could have her dowry.

Algerian women had no right to vote, neither before the French conquest nor after it. The French tried to enact laws of franchising to all Algerian citizens, but it could not encompass women. Algerian women's right to vote was only granted in 1958 by the French because of its policy to hit the Revolutionary War and gain women's support as a strategy of a counterattack against the French policies to obtain women's support.

During the Revolutionary War, Algerian women had many roles; nurses, seamstresses, cooks, soldiers, spies, and patriots. The roles played by Algerian women were not traditionally theirs; at least most of these roles, especially being spies and soldiers. Nursing, at the beginning of the Revolutionary War, was men's task, but it became women's due to the need for men to be free for fighting as soldiers. Algerian women received nursing studies in the French schools, and in the Tunisian and Moroccan borders' back bases were sought by the Revolutionary leaders to assist them in camps and battlefields. Nursing was a very risky task; nurses risked their lives to rescue the injured and wounded soldiers or Mujahidin.

Due to the lack of medical means, nurses used rudimentary traditional medicines, especially in the first period of the War, 1954 to 1956. The lack of means of transporting the wounded was also very common issue that worsened the situation for nurses. The number of nurses remained very few until high school and university students joined the Revolutionary War after the events of 19th of May, 1956, even students of medical, pharmacy, and nursing

joined the Revolution later. Nurses were obliged to join the maquis or camps to protect themselves from the French and the Harka (traitors) arrest and harassment. Nurses were much needed and they could even replace doctors in many emergency cases. Nurses were not all graduated from paramedical schools or universities, most of them became nurses by practice.

During the Revolutionary War, Algerian women contributed as seamstresses and cooks as well. Whether in the camps and maquis or at home, women assisted the Revolutionary cause with the least they could. They provided the Mujahidin with food that they grow in their lands; they harvested the wheat and other grains and they grinded them to prepare food for the Mujahidin. Preparing food for the Mujahidin was not the only activity women did during the Revolutionary war; they sewed their clothes and washed them. They even sewed Mujahidin's uniforms.

During the Revolutionary War, Algerian women were not just nurses, seamstresses, and cooks, but also spies and soldiers; that meant non-traditional roles. After two years of the Revolution, FLN leaders had the Soummam Conference where they appealed for women's assistance even with arms as soldiers and that was on August 20, 1956. Algerian women started to apply for the ALN to be soldiers and fight with their fellow men; women had to pass through loyalty tests and had to be trained for holding arms and shooting. Women soldiers had to travel from one camp to another and from one mountainous area to another to participate in the fighting against the French army who was in constant search for the patriots to kill, arrest, and torture them. Soldiers risked their lives on battlefields to help the nationalist cause. Women left their homes to join the army and defend their country.

Women were also spies during the Revolutionary War, some of them spied on their Harka husbands for their neighbors who were Mujahidin; some of them told their neighbor Mujahidin that their husbands and the French discovered their activity and were planning to

arrest them, so they escaped. Other rural women who lived near the French camps were constantly transmitting the French steps to the Mujahidin along with letters and weapons.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter presents the summary and conclusions derived in the conduct of the study which is to probe the status of women in colonial America and colonial Algeria and their roles during the Revolutionary Wars of both countries. It also provides a discussion of the findings' conclusions and recommendations.

5.1. Summary

The findings of the study were summarized according to the statement of the problem stated in Chapter 1 that dealt with how comparable were the two cases, American and Algerian women, in terms of their involvements in the Revolutionary Wars for both countries and their contributions in the victory and independence of their countries. In addition to how comparable were American and Algerian women's status and position in society at the level of education, marriage, and legal rights? And how comparable were American and Algerian women's effectiveness in their societies? It also dealt with the description of historical events that led to the change of women's roles in the two societies, and the chronological development of the two Revolutionary Wars starting from the first day of colonization to the obtainment of independence. It also dealt with the investigation of the main similarities and differences between the two cases. As well as the description of women's positions in both societies before the wage of the two Revolutionary Wars and during the Revolutionary reactions of both people in America and Algeria.

The research raised many questions about American and Algerian women's lives during the colonization of their countries including their positions in society. It also raised questions about the roles and contributions they played during the Revolutionary Wars. The research questioned the circumstances that led to the transformation of women's roles in society from traditional roles to non-traditional ones. It also questioned the degree of

liberation in American and Algerian women's lives due to the Revolutionary Wars' changing roles. It also questioned the similarities and differences between the two cases in education patterns, marriage, legal status, and roles played during the Revolutionary Wars. It also raised the question about the effect of the participation of women in the Revolutionary Wars on their lives, and on other people's perception of their involvement.

The study is about comparing American and Algerian women, in terms of their status in their societies during the colonial periods of both countries, and their roles during the Revolutionary Wars in both countries. The methods used were, initially, historical research that dealt with describing events in both historical cases American colonial period and Revolutionary War, and the Algerian colonial period and Revolutionary War with a focus to women's involvement, contributions, and roles during those periods. Comparative history was also used in comparing the two cases, shedding light on American and Algerian women's similarities and differences concerning status in their societies before and during the Revolutionary Wars. Interviews were used to collect data from the second case that is Algerian case where Mujahidat were asked many questions about their childhood to extract information for the education patterns and marriage, and they were asked questions about their youth to extract information about their legal status and their participation in the Revolution.

For the first case, the findings of the research showed that American women during the colonial period had clearly defined roles in society that were raising children, taking care of them and the household, and farming, in the case of rural areas. Colonial American women had a specific set of rules that society designed for them including being at home and taking care of their husbands. From an early age, girls were taught to be good wives, they were taught how to clean the house and to do the house chores, how to cook, knit, and sew, and so on. Girls' education was different from their male siblings, they received different education

that provided boys with reading and writing in addition to reciting the Bible, and girls with reading only to understand the Biblical scripts to teach their future children based on the religious principles. Wealthier families would hire private tutors for their children to be taught at home. The focus on boys' education was because colonial Americans thought that men would be responsible for the family thus they would receive higher education, especially an education that would allow them to run the businesses of their families.

Education for colonial girls was featured with inadequacy because colonists considered that they did not need it; girls were taught basic education in "Dame schools" that were small private schools for young children run by women. Educated women were seen as a threat and that would lead to their singleness for the rest of their life. Disparities in education and literacy rates varied from one colony to another, but the general truth was that women's literacy rates were way far from that of their men counterparts. If girls had received an education, they would not exceed the basic one, whereas boys were provided with higher education. The first education, colonial children received, was a religious one; that allowed them to read the religious rules. The difference between girls and boys in education was due to the thought that women's brains were not adequate to understand abstract thoughts.

Colonial women were prepared to be married so their first concern was to have husbands and to have children; they feared to remain single or spinsters. Colonial women tended to get married at a very early age to get more children and thus enlarge the population of the New World. The rush for marriage was because of the fear of social disapproval and that led to early age marriages to secure life and avoid being labeled. The latter led girls to consider marriage as the goal of their lives.

After marriage women became more restricted and immersed in their husbands' identity thus abandoning theirs by taking the name of their husbands and changing their birth name. In marriage, a wife and a husband would become one person not just in terms of

identity, but also in terms of property; that is what the woman owned before marriage like lands and money would become her husband's property including even the dowry that her father gave to her. With the notion of "feme covert", a wife should be submissive to the will of her husband, after being submissive to the will of her father before marriage; thus submission would be transferred from the father to the husband by marriage.

In colonial America a husband was not allowed to have more than one wife at once, that is polygamy was forbidden, and a man could not marry his cousin that is no kin marriages. Divorce was not very common in colonial America, and it was considered the most dangerous decision in society. If the couple insisted on divorce, they would provide solid evidence to approve the divorce for divorce was considered the vicious tool in deconstructing society. In case a woman got divorced or widowed, she would be "feme sole" that is she would obtain some sort of freedom as a legal identity and as a property owner.

Colonial American women had a very limited right of inheritance if they had an older brother, based on the eldest son rule. The latter stated that the oldest son in the family had to inherit all of his father's estate. A woman would receive one share compared to her eldest brother's share. The latter was known as primogeniture where a tradition of giving the lion's share to the eldest son and the favored one.

Colonial women had no right to vote, simply because they were considered as inapt to participate in political life. Colonists stated clearly that those who could vote were only white males who owned property. Even though some women had owned the property from their fathers if they were unmarried or from their deceased husbands in case of widows, they could not vote or participate in political life. With very few exceptions, women could vote in some colonies.

American women took the initiative to get involved in the Revolutionary War by their significant economic support in what was known as British goods boycotts. They were the

first to hit the British economy by growing their food, replacing the British tea culture, and sewing their clothes to cease using British cotton and clothes. Women participated in many boycotting protests and became aware of the political issues in their country, they even gathered to discuss patriotic views while producing their products in what was known as the Homespun Movement; The Daughters of Liberty was the name of these patriotic women.

During the Revolutionary War, American women contributed to the events of the war by being nurses, seamstresses, cooks, soldiers, and spies; they transformed their traditional roles into non-traditional ones where they were an effective part of the victory of Americans against the British. Among the non-traditional roles, women played during the Revolutionary War were being soldiers. Being a soldier during the Revolution was not possible at all, and because of the prevention of women being soldiers, they disguised as men to join the armed forces and to fight the enemy. In addition to the non-traditional roles played by women, being spies was uncommon where women collected information about the enemy and transferred to the American Army; women also were involved in spy rings to be more professional and credible. The roles played by women during the Revolutionary War put their lives at risk and danger, yet they did not care about their own lives, but rather about the nationalistic cause.

For the second case, the findings of the research showed that Algerian women during the colonial period had well-defined roles to play in society. Algerian women were expected by society to be wives and mothers who would be in charge of cleaning, cooking, farming, and raising children. Girls were kept at home from the age of puberty where they would be prepared to get married, and that was the first concern of the Algerian families. Algerian girls were taught to be good wives from an early age; they were taught how to be responsible for the house chores and happiness of their husbands. Girls were considered the family's grace, and thus they had to be protected inside the houses.

Algerian girls' education was different from their male siblings; they received different education that provided boys with reading, writing, and reciting the Quran, and provided girls with reading only to understand the Quranic scripts to teach their future children religious principles. The focus on boys' education was because colonial Algerians thought that men would be responsible for the family thus they would receive a higher education, especially an education that would allow them to acquire jobs and help their families. Girls received basic education only that was, mostly, a mere religious one. They were taught separately in classes for girls only that were headed by "Muallimat" or female teachers. Wealthier families would hire teachers for their children to teach them at home.

Algerian women were prepared to be wives from very early age; most of the marriages in colonial Algeria were child marriages. Girls at the age of puberty were kept at home and were taught to be future wives; their mothers would teach them everything about the house chores, and children care. These girls were supposed to be married to their cousins, or kin marriages; to preserve the families' unity and wealth. Girls had no right to object to the chosen groom; the first and last decision was their fathers'. In addition to kin marriages, Algerian men could have more than one wife at once, especially in the case of wealthy men; wives had no right to object to their husbands' decision to be polygamous. Wives had to be subservient to the will of their husbands after their fathers; that is it women's subservience would be transferred from the fathers to the husbands.

Algerian women had the right to own properties even if they were married, and their husbands had no right to use their property without their consent. In inheritance, Algerian women would inherit half a share of their fathers' wealth; their male siblings would inherit the double as a share of a female. Legally, Algerian women would preserve their names after marriage. In marriage, there would be separation of property between husbands and wives.

Algerian women had no right to vote, and they were excluded from political life; not just women, but also the majority of Algerians were excluded from political life. The 1947 decree was meant to be a turning point in the political life of Algerian women who were granted the right to vote, but it did not succeed to accomplish that goal because of the Algerians conservative nature, and because of their awareness about the French plans to gain women's support in Algeria.

During the Revolutionary War, Algerian women shifted their traditional roles to fit with the current issues in their country; they were nurses, seamstresses, cooks, soldiers, and spies. These roles were clear evidence of their nationalistic awareness and patriotic spirits. The most uncommon, yet accepted role, women played during the Revolutionary War was being soldiers. Women received official training and joined the Army or ALN and became side by side with men on the battlefields. All the roles played by women, during the Revolution, were very risky where they sacrificed their own lives for the nationalistic cause.

The comparison of the two cases resulted in many similarities between American and Algerian women; in their pre-colonial lives that were featured with traditional roles of raising children, staying at home doing its chores, and being subservient to their husbands. Other similarities were found in education where in both cases there was discrimination in the education of boys and girls; in both cases, boys were provided more chances in education from getting more than the basic education to obtaining higher education, and that was not given to girls.

In marriage, both cases revealed the submissive spirit for wives to their husbands, and it showed the transfer of that submission from fathers to husbands. In addition to early age marriages in both cases where the most prevailing thought was that girls had to be married and had to be prepared for that sake only; so the sooner the better. Similarities appeared in inheritance laws, in both cases; women did not inherit equally as men. Similarities were also

revealed in the roles women played during the Revolutionary Wars of both America and Algeria. The two cases had differences as well, differences at the level of time and space, culture, language, religion, race, conceptions, and perceptions.

5.2. Conclusions

The comparison of both cases before the Revolutionary Wars in both countries in education, marriage, and legal status of women marked many similarities and differences. And the comparison between the two cases in terms of similarities and differences in roles of women during the Revolutionary Wars in both countries resulted in many differences and similarities as well. Even though both cases Algerian and American are too distinct in terms of time and space, they do share many items in common; colonization, Revolutions, women's status, and roles.

The English, after settling in America, set rules that governed the colonies along with the societal rules that were inherited from the European heritage. Women had few if any liberties to enjoy during the colonization of the British, those rules were derived from a variety of sources, social, religious, and historical. Be it a percept, a law, or a custom the English society ascertained the up-to-standard stricture of the lives of women and men. On the other hand, The French colonized Algeria by force unlike the English in America who settled it. They tried to impose their rules by force and through gradual systematic rules and laws. Women, in French Algeria, before the 1950s, did not receive any attention because the French were convinced that women were a critical subject that they should not approach in the Algerian society. The societal rules that governed Algerians were derived from the Berber and Arab heritage with some Islamic customs.

The situation of a woman in colonial American society, in general, was prevailed and overwhelmed with negativity; whether she was born rich or poor, she confronted boundaries and limitations on different aspects of life especially, economic freedom, legal identity, and

formal authority access. Algerian women too confronted boundaries and limitations on different aspects of life.

In colonial America, the family and the church were the main sources and tools of education. In colonial Algeria, the family and the Religious Schools, and mosques were the main sources and tools of education. American colonists shared the same culture with the English, so there was no confrontation or cultural clash. Whereas the Algerians did not share the same culture with the French thus there was a cultural clash between Muslims and Christians, between Arabic, Tamazight, and French.

The very first form of education in both America and Algeria was religious education; for the American case, Puritans and Pilgrims created "Dame Schools", that were less formal schools. The purpose of these schools was to maintain Christian values. And for the Algerian case Madrasahs, Quranic Schools, and Kutab were the source of education; like the American schools they were less formal schools. The purpose of these schools was to confront the French influence on Algerians' religion and their trial to convert them into Christianity.

There was gender discrimination in education in both cases American and Algerian; boys were allowed to obtain an education, but girls were not, and at best they could obtain basic education. In America, girls were taught to read the bible because they were thought to be housewives that should raise children based on Christian values. Even laws stated clearly that boys should be taught to read and write, but girls should be taught to read only an example of that was the Massachusetts Law of 1710. In Algeria, boys were allowed to obtain an education, but girls were not, and at best they could obtain primary education of reading and citing and memorizing the Quran, like American girls, Algerian girls were taught religious principles to raise their future children based on the religious values. In 1917, the French authorities enacted law of universal and compulsory education for all Muslim boys and they excluded Algerian girls.

The American colonists created formal education like Boston Latin Grammar School that was a public school. Education for colonists was a constructive one to eliminate illiteracy in American colonies. In both cases, American and Algerian, women were not given a concern. The rate of illiteracy decreased in colonial America. On the other hand, the French too created French schools that were public and taught French mainly, and they created French Muslim Schools where French and some Arabic were taught, but the aim of the French policies in education was destructive at the level of the individuals and maintaining the illiteracy rates. Both Algerians and Americans considered girls' education unnecessary and non-beneficial. In both countries, girls' education was limited. An example of that is one Algerian child in ten enrolled in a school; one boy in five, and one girl in sixteen.

Girls received no formal education; they did not register for formal schools in both cases. In American colonies, they were enrolled in "Dame Schools" where they had been taught by women who barely could teach them how to babysit their future children. A "Dame School" was neither formal nor permanent, and it usually was run by a woman for the sake of earning some income, the teachers were not graduated from formal schools either. Sometimes they were taught during summer after boys' vacation. Similarly, Algerians had Quranic schools that were typically for girls to separate them from boys. In addition, those girls had female teachers or "Mouallemat". There was also a tradition of teaching boys and girls at home; fathers and brothers, most of the time, taught their daughters or sisters.

In the American case, girls learned enough reading, writing, and arithmetic to read their Bibles and be able to record household expenses. They were taught by a governess, who was usually from England and somewhat educated. They studied art, music, French, social etiquette, needlework, spinning, weaving, cooking, and nursing. On the other hand, in the Algerian case, the French used home-teaching for girls depending on French women; these women could be the wives, daughters, or mothers of French teachers, and they would have

access to Algerians' homes with the acceptance of the parents to teach their daughters the French language, along with some other skills that were concerned with housekeeping such as lessons in hygiene, needling, sewing, and other domestic skills and handicrafts.

Unlike schools for boys, the schools for girls did not prepare them to occupy any kind of a job, be it a traditional or non-traditional one that required marketable skills. In the case of America, teaching boys was for the purpose that they would be the head of the family's household thus they would receive an education. In the Algerian case, the French taught Algerian boys to be skillful workers, and the French authorities in Algeria considered that educating girls and the creation of the "Muslim Girls Schools" was useless. In both cases, boys were educated to have jobs.

The illiteracy rates were very high in both the American and Algerian women due to the belief of both societies that women's education was needless, and that women should be kept home as housewives and housekeepers thus education other than the basic education was of no benefit for them. Although the education of girls was subject to gender issues, some women fought for their right to be literate and carried on their higher education, but still, these women were very few in both countries, Algeria and America.

Marriage in America was for settlement because they needed population to maintain the stability and prosperity of the colonies, thus they encouraged marriages and the attraction of women especially in the very first wave of settlement. The church considered marriage as a contract where the persistence of it was conditioned with the accomplishment of duty between the husband and the wife. Marriage was a community's issue and the whole community would witness marriage contract. On the other hand, marriage in Algeria was a contract between families. Marriage was a private agreement between two families, and it needed just two witnesses to make it valid. The purpose of marriage in Algeria was to maintain kin relations based on kin endogamy that promoted unity and solidarity between families, groups,

and tribes. Marriage in American colonies aimed to show the responsibility towards society's and settlement's prosperity. But marriage in Algeria aimed to maintain the property and save the kin group intactness of the estate, that is to say the kin's prosperity. While marriage in Algeria, based on Islamic values, did not forbid endogamy, marriages of the first cousins, second cousins, and dynastic marriages were forbidden in American colonies.

In both American colonies and Algeria, marriage was considered a religious obligation, and a necessity in the lives of individuals to protect their religious values; Churches, in colonies, considered marriage a religious obligation and duty of the colonists. Marriage had fruitful consequences on society and individuals by establishing the colonies and protecting men and women's Christian values and duties. Mosques in Algeria encouraged men and women to marry to protect Muslim values and humanity.

Both the American and Algerian societies were patriarchal societies where society provided a clear definition of the roles, rights, and duties of men and women. Both societies considered women's place was home where they would take care of their children, bringing them up, do housekeeping, and serving their husbands. On the other hand, men's place was outside the home where they work to support their families and secure their living where he was the householder and the source of its economy and prosperity.

Women considered the peak of their lives was getting married because they have aspired for marriage from their early childhood. Being single represented failure, thus Virginian women rushed to marry in their mid-teens and they should marry before they reach their twenties. Even in Algerian society girls were taught from an early age that marriage was the most important part of their lives, and they had to get married very young to the point that most Algerian women's marriages were child marriages.

Wedding ceremonies, in American colonies, were the first step into marriage, a wife and a husband would know their roles from their wedding ceremony; after being pushed

towards marriage by their society, education, and family, but in Algeria, no law required religious or civil ceremonies for the marriage contract validity, though Marriage was a very special event in the Algerian society because it would unite two kin groups thus it would be publicly elaborated. In the American context of marriage, the whole community would be a witness of the marriage to be valid, but in the Algerian context, marriage needs just two witnesses to be valid.

For the consent for marriage, in the Algerian case, the father of the woman was considered the legal guardian and prerogative in the marriage contract. The woman was not required to express her consent to marriage while the contract was to be established. On the other hand, American colonists required the consent of the bride in front of the audience who attend the wedding ceremony. While the legal guardian would represent the bride and would speak instead of her in the Algerian case, it was not the case in the American context where the woman should come by herself to express her acceptance.

Throughout the American colonies, women were expected to marry so it was inevitable for them to get married because they were created to complete men's life, and to get economic security and stability. A colonial woman was expected to be subservient to her father until she married, and then to her husband. A woman's responsibility was her father's before marriage, but after marriage her husband would take responsibility and she would become submissive to him. Similarly, Algerian women were submissive to their fathers or any of their legal guardians, and after marriage, a woman would be submissive to her husband. A daughter would be under paternal guardianship till she marries. The woman has to obey her husband unconditionally, and she would be financially supported by him.

Both Algerian and American women were estimated to have flawless moral values, thus being modest, restrained, passive, obedient, submissive, delicate, and more importantly chaste. Women submitted to their husbands' will because that was axiomatic as a nature's law

and a man's law as well. They were regarded as a model of virtue. Moreover, Algerians considered the reputation of the family was bet to that of the women in it. In both cases, women were under males' guardianship, and society was dominated by men as a form of patriarchal society.

Contrary to the Algerian law, The American law of marriage made the husband and the wife one person; the woman's essential legal existence was suspended during the marriage, or at least integrated and merged into that of the husband who was expected to protect and cover her; a woman's legal status melts in her husband's after marriage. American woman's name, legal status, economic status, and her role within the family and the community would be changed by marriage. The name that a woman carried from her childhood changes just after marriage which means her known identity changes after it is linked to her husband's. On the other hand, Algerian women keep their names of birth, and marriage would not change that. Algerian women could maintain their legal identity that is separated from their husbands.

In the Algerian case, Algerians did not have a civil registry for marriage for that they did not need to register marriage documents either in the civic or the religious authorities. But later the French tried to push Algerians to register their marriages in civil authorities, not all Algerians accepted the French suggestion of marriage registration, whereas, in the American case, marriage had to be registered in the civil and religious authorities to be valid.

In both American and Algerian cases, marriage brought other changes for a woman, as she moved from her parents' home to her husband's. In addition to being in charge of domestic matters, she might also assist her husband in his business, or even run the business while he was away. Marriage also legitimized her role as a sexual being and a mother. In the Algerian case, sex was a taboo, women were seen as the protector of the family's reputation, and girls at the age of puberty were kept out of the sight of their fathers and brothers as a form of

respect. At the age of puberty, girls had to be married to protect them from committing adultery or bringing dishonor to the family, this resulted in child marriage in Algeria.

Both American colonists and Algerians had marriages at early age and supported young marriages, but compared to American colonists, Algerians tended to marry at a very young age with an average of 14 years old for girls. The average age for the American colonists' girls was 20 years old in the New England colonies and Middle colonies, and in the Southern colonies, mainly Virginia, it was 18 years old.

In Algeria, Polygamy, based on Islamic law, is allowed and a man can marry as many as four wives at once, but there is a restriction in doing so according to the Shari'a which put a condition to the man to treat his wives equally. If the man cannot maintain justice with the wives, he is advised to remain monogamous. Polygamy is a right that is reserved for a man only. Polygamy was not affordable for everyone in Algeria, just the rich men who could afford many houses and could pay bride price; through history, the number of polygamous marriages decreased. An Algerian woman was always afraid of being replaced by another woman or another woman would take her husband so she would be submissive and do her best to keep him and show him obedience. But an American woman would not experience that feeling of someone else takes her husband yet she would be submissive and behave well. In contrast to Algerians, American colonists did not allow polygamy because they strongly believed that a man should marry only one woman. An American woman should not be concerned about being endangered by any other woman because it is not allowed for her husband to have another woman.

Marriage in both cases had an economic relevance where dowry was to be given in the marriage contracts of both the Algerian case and the American one, but the difference is that in the Algerian context of marriage, the groom is the one to provide a dowry to his bride, and it is an essential part of the marriage to be valid and a religious obligation as well. Whereas, in

the American context, it is the father who provides his daughter, the bride, a dowry, and it is not an essential part of the marriage to be valid. In the Algerian case, the dowry is known as bride-price, but in the American case, it is known as a marriage gift.

As far as divorce and terminating marriage were concerned, in both cases, divorce was allowed, but it needed solid evidence to be valid. In both cases, divorce was not advisable. In the case of Algeria, it provided three measures to terminate marriage; first, the husband can have a repudiation of his wife unilaterally, second, both the wife and the husband can negotiate the repudiation, third, a religious judge can dissolve the marriage by simply receiving a judicial appeal to do so. On the other hand, in American colonies, when the couple decided to divorce, they had to acquire a civil validity for divorce and dissolution of civil partnership. While it could be an individual action for Algerians, it could not be a single action for the Americans but rather it needed community approval for divorce.

In both cases, spouses are given some time after the divorce requirement to revise their decision of leaving each other. The decision of repudiation could not be instant; the husband has to take time and the wife too, in this period the two may think of returning to each other. In the Algerian case, in case of repudiation, the man simply would pronounce "I repudiate thee" three times, and the marriage would be legally terminated and the divorce would be in effect. The husband does not have to go to court to end the marriage; he is privileged and needs neither judicial nor religious authorities' intervention. Unlike the Algerian case, the American husband and his wife would appeal for the court to be divorced.

In both Algerian and American cases, the wife can ask for a divorce when she can provide solid proof and evidence for repudiation; in the American case, she could obtain a divorce based upon the evidence of unfaithfulness, adultery, negligence, abuse, and in the case of a long absence, that is three successive years. Likewise, in the Algerian case, she can obtain a divorce if she discovers a problem that her husband did not reveal before marriage;

the problem could be physical, mental, or sexual. She also can appeal for divorce if her husband had been absent for a long period up to four years without a clear reason for his absence or illegitimate reasons. She even has the right to appeal for divorce if her husband did not support her and her children financially though he would be capable of doing so. The wife can appeal for divorce if her husband was abusive, and she received injurious treatment after the qadi's investigations and if her appeal appeared to be true the husband should grant her divorce.

Singleness in both cases was considered as a disability and an unnatural issue, both American and American societies considered unmarried women as a burden for their families and relatives. Being a spinster in both societies was seen as an assault for unmarried women and their families. Women were afraid of spinsterhood and resting alone for the whole of their lives. In the case of American colonies, if a woman chose to stay single she would face all kinds of accusations, and she would be considered as being abnormal. She would be dependent on her relatives and usually live with them. This explained the rush for getting married by American women in the colonies.

Spinsterhood was a mark of rejection; it was a life of dependency. Spinsterhood was an unwelcoming guest that brought grief and loneliness; Women who did not get married lived a life of depression and guilt for they did not fulfill their natural needs of being wives and mothers. Similarly, in the Algerian case, women were sought to be married to avoid all social disapproval of being spinsters thus depending on the family for the rest of their lives, this was clear in the rush of Algerian parents to make their girls marry at early age and to die peacefully after securing their daughters' futures with husbands.

In both cases, women depended financially on males; fathers, brothers, and husbands in case of marriage. Theoretically, an Algerian woman can own property and her husband cannot interfere in it or use it without her consent, but the American counterpart, her husband

can use her property without her consent, and that is because of marriage laws. In the Algerian case, marriage does not make the spouses one identity and thus there is a separation in ownership of property, whereas in the American case, spouses would become one identity, and the woman would become "feme covert" where she loses all her legal identity and becomes blended and immersed in her husband's thus there was no separation in the property. Contrary to the married, single, and widowed American women enjoyed some freedoms when it comes to property ownership. In both cases, American and Algerian women were not given the same share of inheritance compared to that of their brothers; sons, in both cases, inherit more than daughters. The law of inheritance, in both Algerian and American cases, favors sons over daughters.

In both cases, women were deprived of their right to vote. In the American colonies, voting was restricted to white male adults who owned property and have twenty-one years old. In Algeria, voting was for few men who supported the French authorities, the French also wanted to spread the right to vote for all Algerian males and not females because they considered claiming voting rights for women a form of intervention in the Algerian conservative society. Women, in both cases, were considered ineffective in public life since their place was home; women had no political life because they were believed to be incapable of understanding abstract thoughts and political issues as well. In the Algerian case, women were oppressed of oppressed because their men were denied the right to vote from the French, and they were denied their right to vote from their men.

The two cases differ in terms of depending on the source of laws that defined women's legal status; in the American case, colonists depended on a combination of the Christian orthodox and some civil common laws derived from the English laws. On the other hand, in the Algerian case, Algerians depended on the Islamic Orthodox or Islamized local customs. These laws were not questioned by the French at the beginning of their conquest,

and Algerians were not affected by the French laws. A few years after the conquest, procedures were instituted by the French administration, proposing to Muslims to abandon their personal status in favor of the status of common law, resulting from the civil code and metropolitan laws.

Before the colonization of both countries, American colonists and Algerians had relations with their colonizers. American colonists came from England, and they had religious, cultural, economic, and political relations with the English. Likewise, Algerians had relations with the French, mainly, economic and political or "Diplomatic". But unlike Americans, Algerians did not have cultural and religious relations. Both France and Britain had an imperialistic principle in their politics, the first colonized Algeria directly by force, but the English settled the New Land and sent settlers, and then claimed it to be their territory.

In both cases, the colonizers established their administrations to control the lives of the colonized. In the American case, by the early 1700s, royal colonies were ruled by governors and councils who settled in America and reported directly to the king. On the other hand, in the Algerian case, in 1881, the French government created three main regions or departments located in the three cities, Algiers, Oran, and Constantine in an attempt to make Algeria part of France because these cities contained a large number of European settlers. This attempt led to consider these departments as part of metropolitan France, unlike the southern part of Algeria that continued to be a military zone. In both cases the governors were loyal and servants to the colonizer and the colonized were directly controlled by the colonization's authorities.

In both cases, American and Algerian, the British and the French had imperialistic vision and their purpose for the colonization was to exploit the colonies and benefit from their resources. The economic source of the prosperity of the British was the American colonies, and for the French was Algeria. The natural resources of both countries were to be exported to

the colonizers, and the colonized were considered as markets for processed materials and goods. In the Algerian case, the French expelled Algerian indigenous from their land, mainly in the coastal areas, and confiscated them to be offered to the colons. In the American case, the monarch, James I, decided to benefit from the colonies by changing their nature of establishment like Virginia and Plymouth into permanent English colonies that were dependent on local jurisdictions to benefit from their natural resources. The economic revenues from both countries were to be sent to the colonizers. To tighten their control on the colonies, both the British and French imposed heavy taxes on them.

During the colonization of both America and Algeria, there were early resistance and many uprisings and rebellions to express their refusal of the colonizers' policies. In the American case, Massachusetts led the first form of resistance towards the British control in 1631 when Massachusetts Bay officers decided to increase membership of the company to reach 116 members. This increase led to the changing of the charter into a constitution that allowed colonists to have a partially independent government from Britain. The colonists made their own decisions and they even printed their own money, this violated the British policy of tight control on the colonies.

In the Algerian case, after the French conquest, many rebellions appeared to resist the French presence on the Algerian soil; the very first leader was Abd al-Qadir who led the struggle between the Algerians and the French. Abd al-Qadir succeeded to unite the Arab and Berber clans who were conflicting with each other to confront the French. The second leader of the resistance against the French conquest was the female leader Lalla Fatma n'Soumer; she and her family supported the resistance movement in 1847. The third leader of the resistance was Mohamed El-Mokrani who fought between 1871 and 1872; he gathered more than 200.000 fighters and confronted with the French Army, but could not win and was heavily

defeated. The difference between the two cases' resistance was that the American way of resistance did not use gunfire, but the Algerian one used guns and bloodshed.

In both cases, the colonizers used the colonists' support be it human resources, financial, or military in the wars that were of no concern to them. They exploited the colonies' economic resources in their wars, and to compensate for their war loss. In the American case, the British used the colonists' support in their war with the French that was known as the French and Indian War (1754-1763). The British used colonist troops, weapons, and financial aid. In the Algerian case, the French used Algerians as soldiers in their First World War, Second World War, and in their war in Indo-China. The French also used the Algerian economic resources in their wars to compensate their losses and to pay their war debts.

In both cases, in their path towards solving the problems between the colonized and the colonizer, and to secure the right to be full citizens, there was some proportion of people considered a peaceful solution to avoid the direct confrontation. In the American case, colonists believed that they still were British citizens when they called for the First Continental Congress and they appealed for the king to find a solution to their problems. In the Algerian case, the Assimilationist group headed by Ferhat Abbas appealed to France to better the conditions of living and to consider them as full citizens. There were loyalists and assimilationists in both cases who believed in their belonging to the colonizer.

In both cases America and Algeria people needed to obtain freedom and independence from their colonizers, but there were other reasons for the Revolutionary Wars that varied in the two cases. The reasons for the American Revolutionary War started first with American colonies' question the British government's involvement in their affairs, considering that they originally fled from their mother country because of the British involvement and religious persecution which raised the fear of their freedom loss. The second reason for the Revolutionary War was the French and Indian War. The latter was the indirect reason for the

American Revolution because of the colonists' help to the British with troops, money supplies, and weapons. Besides, the British troops were stationed in the colonies after the war was over; the presence of the British troops on American soil cost them money that was used for soldiers to be paid, and to make that possible the British government decided to levy taxes from the colonists to pay its soldiers.

The taxes like Tea Act, Sugar Act, Currency Act, Quartering Act, Stamp Act, and Townshend Acts were intended to compensate for the war debts as well; the American colonists considered these taxes unjust because they would pay for a war debt that they had nothing to do with it. The third reason was many protests, mainly in Boston, where they have been encountered with Intolerable Acts after the Boston Tea Party. The latter event led to the blockade of Boston, and that too led to the rising sense of unity in the other colonies to fight for their freedom.

On the other hand, the Algerian reasons for the Revolutionary War were first, the failure of the French government to provide a decent life for Algerian people, and the deficiency in every aspect of the life of Algerians, in addition to the failure of the reformation policies to better the conditions of life for Algerians. Second, the Algerians' eagerness to be free and maintain their identity was blurred by the French policies that made the French language the first language in the country instead of Arabic and fought the Islamic religion. Third, the events of May 8, 1945, assured Algerians that the French would never keep their promise of granting them independence, especially, after helping France in the Second World War. These events were the drop that overflowed the cup where Algerians were assured that what had been taken by force would only be regained by force. The fourth reason was the freedom principles and the Independence Movements in the Arab countries, especially in the bordering countries, Tunisia and Morocco which led Algerians to question the French presence and colonization.

In both cases, the colonized tried to appeal for the approval of their demands from the colonizers, but they denied them their appeals. In the American case, the colonists appealed to King George III to repeal the Intolerable Acts, and to consider them as British citizens who would have representation in the Parliament, but the King refused their petition, so they decided to boycott the British goods as a reaction to his neglect. In the Algerian case, Algerians appealed to the French government, by The 8th of May, 1945 Protests, to remind the French with their promise of granting them freedom after the Second World War, but the French refused to keep their promise and denied Algerians their appeal.

In both cases, the colonized had a sense of being second-class citizens. In the American case, Americans felt that the British did not represent them in their Parliament though they taxed them as being British citizens and that led to the slogan of "No Taxation without Representation". In the Algerian case, Algerians who had been in France either as soldiers or as workers had learned about democracy as a notion that the French enjoyed but the Algerians were deprived of. When the war was over, many Algerians moved to seek jobs in France because of poverty and unemployment, they had low wages and poor working and living conditions. These circumstances led to the emergence of the nationalist movement in Algeria.

The period between colonization and revolution differed in the two cases; American colonies were, permanently, settled as early as 1706 that is 69 years before the Revolutionary War. And Algeria was colonized as early as 1830 that is 124 years before the Revolutionary War although there were many Populist Rebels, but they were unsuccessful in forming a Revolutionary War. In the Case of America, colonists did not feel heterogenic towards the British because they were rooted in the same country, at least 90 percent of them. Whereas in the case of Algeria, the indigenous people did not accept the French presence from the very first day, and there were no homogeneous feelings between them and their colonizer. The

span of the two Revolutionary Wars was the same; Revolutionary War in America started in 1775 and ended in 1783 that is eight years, and in Algeria, it started in 1954 and ended in 1962 that is eight years too. Both countries ended the Wars by Peace Treaties. In the American case, the Treaty of Paris of September, 3, 1783 ended the War, and in the Algerian case, the Evian Agreements of March 16, 1962.

The path to the Revolution in both cases started with views and principles that were nationalist and patriotic where the resistant nationalists adopted the cause and fought for it. In the American case, the Sons of Liberty was the host of the Revolutionary thoughts that were a well-organized Patriot paramilitary political organization that emerged secretly to destabilize the British colonizers in colonial America. The Sons of Liberty were the source of the Boston Tea Party event; they started to be influential in the American colonies in 1765 especially in the port cities as Boston and New York. Sons of Liberty contributed to the Declaration of Independence that stated a clear cut between the American colonists and Britain.

On the other hand, Algerian patriotism and nationalist views started to appear with the outbreak of the Second World War after the repression of the Algerian Muslim population that resulted in the house arrest of Abdelhamid Ben Badis and the ban of the Algerian Communist Party as well as the Algerian People's Party. Algerians acquired nationalist views from the international level regarding colonialism and the US global anti-colonialism campaign that encouraged them to claim independence under the principle of “right of people to decide their fate”. The latter issue was adopted by the Manifesto of the Algerian People led by Ferhat Abbas who failed to, peacefully, guarantee freedom for Algerians. Due to that failure a new party emerged, it was led by Messali Hadj, and it was called Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties (MTDL).

The Triumph of Democratic Liberties (MTDL) led the nationalist movement against the French tyranny, but it failed to gain political power because of the French restrictions, so

Algerians sought to have a new body to secure their liberty and they were convinced that political resistance had no fruits. Algerian nationalists headed towards a military action where they organized a paramilitary organization derived from the MTDL which was known as Special Organization. The organization was dismantled and the movement, consequently, was weakened by that, but it led the Special Organization to form a new movement called the Revolutionary Committee of Unity and Action (CRUA). The latter wanted to have a military action and wage a war against the French, but it failed to accomplish that mission and failed to maintain unity within the party. As a result, the FLN was formed and it declared the war against the French with its publication of the Declaration of 1 November 1954.

In both cases, women had the responsibility of preserving their nationalist cause, and men depended on their assistance to obtain independence from the colonizers. In the American case, women contributed to the resistance by sticking to the boycotting movement that was a source of strength to the colonists and without it men would have never accomplish the revolutionary missions. And in the Algerian case, women had the responsibility of preserving their cultural, religious, and nationalist cause as a form of resistance against the French influence that targeted women to use them as tools to control their men and country.

In both cases, women participated in many protests against the colonizers' policies and they urged their men to participate in the resistance against the British and French colonization policies. In both cases, most of women chose their marital partner based on his patriotism and nationalist views, and they refused to marry someone who had no nationalist views or a traitor to his country; their first condition to get married was to prove loyalty to the national cause and to show bravery in defending one's country.

In both cases, women were attracted to support the national cause via newspapers and magazines that writers, men, and women, injected the enthusiastic thoughts to make women involved in the political issues of their country as being a main source of power to their

counterparts, men. This kind of writings gained support from many women in society who were convinced with the nationalist principles as well as their great role to be played in resisting all that the colonizer had done. In both cases, women's issues have been discussed in newspapers and magazines for the first time in the history of the two countries; examples of that were the Boston Post-Boy in the American case and Achihab in the Algerian case.

Algerian society persisted in the veiling and seclusion of women because of the French existence and threat by its westernized policies whereas in American society women were neither secluded nor veiled because of the British colonizers and that because they shared the same origins and cultural background. In the Algerian case, the French targeted women with assimilation policies to substitute their identity with a French one. On the other hand, the British did not try to assimilate the American women or erase their identity. The French assimilation policies were used to destruct and hinder the resistance, but the British did use any policies of assimilation in the American case.

In both cases, women, for the first time in their lives, were politically involved in their country's issues. In the American case, spinning circles and meetings were a sign of political maturity in women's lives where they gathered and spun all day and while they were spinning they were discussing the political issues of their country and how would they be a reason for their country's resistance and independence. It was hard for them to accomplish the task, but they had to meet the political challenge that needed them to increase their productivity. These spinning bees were known as Daughters of Liberty which had a political connotation; American women created the Homespun Movement to enhance their country's economy to face the British tyranny, and this movement had a political dimension too.

In the Algerian case, women were attracted by the political parties as a defensive way against the French assimilation policies. The Union of Algerian Women was the most famous association that paved the way for Algerian women's political involvement, women also had a

section in the famous political party PPA, and they also had another association known as the Association of Muslim Women. Even though American and Algerian women were politically involved in the issues of their countries, their rights were not taken as the first political concern, but rather the liberation of the countries that was the first political concern. Women in both cases had political value for their countries, but not for themselves, they were appealed for the salvation of their countries' politics.

In both cases, women's meetings had not a merely political purpose, but rather social or economic. The meetings of women in America were more likely to be social and economic rather than political, and, similarly, in Algeria, meetings were social and cultural rather than political. The gathering of the homespun movement, for instance, had an economic purpose more than a political one, and the gathering of UFA and AFMA had social purposes more than really political ones. However, Algerian women's meetings under the supervision of the associations were more officially framed compared to the American women's meetings of the Homespun movement which were held at home whereas Algerian women's ones were held in offices of the different associations' locations. Algerian women had an official political frame, whereas American women did not have an official one.

In both cases, women strived to prove their vital roles in the Revolutionary War in their countries. Women tried hard to prove their political activism before and during the war. But in both cases, women's roles were underestimated by males, and they were restricted to roles similar to their domestic ones. In both cases, males drew the frame for women's roles by the social needs of both countries; America and Algeria. In both countries, roles were designed due to the nature of women; tender, caring, and patient. In both cases, women were involved in charitable deeds; they helped the poor families, especially those whose males were soldiers, and participated in the nationalist cause. In both cases, American and Algerian

women shared the same nationalistic spirit; they fueled the nationalist and patriotic souls of their fathers, sons, brothers, and husbands.

In both American and Algerian cases, women's role and place in a society transformed due to their participation directly or indirectly in the Revolutionary War. The long, fatal, and horrific conflict in the Revolutionary Wars affected almost all women. For the American case, women started to experience the national feelings that were restricted to men by participating in the Homespun movement which provided patriots with the different clothes of militiamen, and by participating in the different demonstrations that denounced the British tyranny. In the Algerian case, women too had experienced the sense of nationality by their involvement in different political parties and associations and by their presence in different demonstrations especially the Events of May 8, 1945. American and Algerian women who were restricted by their conservative society were now able to be active members of it due to the Revolutionary War. Hence, the two Revolutionary Wars, affected women's lives and changed their positions and roles in their societies.

In both cases, women contributed to the success of their countries' Revolutions, they offered all they could to help the national cause of their countries, their money, jewelry, clothes, and more than that the lives of their beloved ones and their lives as well. In both cases women experienced the horrific tragedies of the Wars, they were terrified, bombed, fired on, and killed in hundreds and thousands, they lost their homes, children, husbands, fathers, brothers, and they were imprisoned or exiled. In the American case, as a result of the battles of Lexington and Concord between twelve and thirteen thousand, men, women, and children left Boston because it was occupied by the British. After the confrontation between the two rivalries, Boston roads were full of terrified women and children, some of them were in carts that carried their ragged furniture, others on foot escaping to the woods. In the Algerian case, women who had a relation with the Mujahidin were harassed and terrified by the French

military, and thus they escaped to the camps in the woods to join their men to avoid the French harassment and terrorism; in both cases, women escaped to the military camps. Women in both cases shared the same reasons for escaping from the enemy, being kidnapped and raped were the most important reasons American and Algerian women feared and escaped from during the Revolutionary Wars.

In the Algerian context, there were three types of women who participated in the Revolutionary War; first, Fida'iyate who were highly-educated women of the urban FLN networks, second, women from the rural areas and command units who were known as Mujahidat, they even were included of French-educated urban Muslim women and rural ones, and third the Moussebilate, who were in charge of supporting the ALN inside the units. Contrary to the Algerian case, in the American case, there was just one type of women who participated in the Revolutionary War who were known as camp followers. Types in both cases contributed to their countries' resistance against colonization and eventually independence. In addition to being different in types, women's joining to the Revolutionary War and army in the Algerian case was more official via the FLN or ALN registrations and contracts, whereas in the American case women were not officially allowed to join the Revolutionary War and army.

In the American case, women did not receive official training to join the Revolutionary Army; moreover, it was not accepted at all for women to join the Army and to conduct men's tasks, especially as soldiers; thus, the cases where women conducted as soldiers were very few and women disguised as men to accomplish that mission like Deborah Sampson, and in the other cases women were camp followers and were accidentally handed the canon after their husbands' death. Contrary to the American case, Algerian women could register in the ALN, the Military side of the Revolutionary War, and they received official training to be soldiers in the army. These trainees were given much attention to be real

Mujahidat and to fulfill their missions and responsibilities. But in both cases, women's numbers as soldiers were very few compared to that of men.

In both cases, due to the war, women's traditional roles changed and even the ordinary domestic roles were adapted to suit the countries' critical situations, women had roles like cooks, cleaners, launderers, seamstresses, and nurses. In the American case, the majority of women who followed their husbands in the army as camp followers were suffering from poverty thus they had no means to support themselves except using their traditional roles as means to earn money to feed their children, and in the Algerian case too, women who joined the camps or maquis had no choice but to do that because of poverty and fear of French capture because of their male relatives' revolutionary views. Women in both cases, somehow, fulfilled the roles they used to play in society, but in a different context, a military one. A few women went beyond their ordinary roles and participated in combats; that is roles as spies and soldiers.

Algerian women and American women had been permitted to join the army, after being deprived of doing so and after proving their capability of supporting the army, American women joined the camps because of the appeal of General George Washington to the government for recruiting women in the camps to substitute men in different roles in the camps such as nursing to set men free and discharged to fight. Algerian women were allowed to join the camps too with clearly defined roles such as nursing, sewing, cleaning, and cooking, and they were appealed by the FLN leaders to join the camps to occupy the roles that men used to do and thus to free them for the fighting roles.

In both cases, different categories of women joined the army camps; poor, old, young, educated, and uneducated. In the American case, women who followed the army were widows, runaway servants, and poor women who became so because of the war. Not just these women followed the Army; but also wives of high-ranking officers who joined the

camps between 1775 and 1776, they followed their husbands like Martha Washington, Abigail Adams, Lucy Knox, and Catharine Greene who accompanied their husbands to assist them. In the Algerian case too, women who joined the FLN and ALN were daughters, sisters, and wives of the Mujahidin in most of the cases and other poor women who had nobody left in their family because of the war.

In both cases, nursing was restricted to men in the army, and women were not allowed to be nurses at the beginning of both Revolutionary Wars. In the American case, in 1775, shortly after the Revolution, Major General Horatio Gates, after having wounded soldiers, requested for a woman to nurse them. General Washington transmitted his appeal to Congress and appealed for nurses to care for the sick and wounded soldiers, and for matrons to supervise the nurses. It was just by 1777, that the number of women who followed the camps as nurses increased due to the need for women's services as nurses to conduct the particular role they originally do, based on their nature.

In the Algerian case, health activity was preserved for men. But during the War, the Revolutionary leaders were convinced to acknowledge the necessity of women in the field of nursing; they started to call the nurses up to join the Revolutionary War. American women did not receive training to be nurses, but the Algerian women received training to be nurses in the French schools and the Tunisian or Moroccan borders. In both cases, nurses showed bravery, persistence, and perseverance in conducting their roles under the war circumstances and on the battlefields where they risked their lives to save others' lives and to ease their pain. In both cases, without women nursing would not be easy for men who would be discharged for other military tasks.

In both cases, nursing was not easy for women too because of the shortage of medicines and necessary medical supplies and equipment. Women used rudimentary medicines based on herbal medicines and cloth in case of injuries that were considered as

emergency cases because of the critical situation in their countries and because of the shortage of supplies due to poverty caused by the Wars, the deficiency was not just in the medical supplies, but also in the number of nurses. In the American case, nurses were doing their medical skills in return for money, but in the Algerian case nurses did not get paid, and they did it because they believed in the national cause, not in materialistic benefits; nursing was profitable for American women, but not for the Algerian ones.

In both cases, women collected necessary medical items via charity. In both cases, men realized and acknowledged women's presence in the camps and their assistance, especially as nurses. Thus they appealed to more nurses to guarantee health care for the wounded and injured soldiers; in the American case, Congress accepted General Washington's suggestion in July 1775 that made nursing official for women in the camps. Congress's plan was the first step in the path of the military nursing system; Congress also provided them with a monthly \$2 salary for nurses and a monthly \$4 salary for matrons. To make the nursing system successful and beneficial, Congress authorized the establishment of hospitals.

In the Algerian case, men's acknowledgment of nurses was clear in their extensive need for women's health services in the camps. FLN attracted high school students and university students to join the Revolutionary War especially after the strike of May 19, 1956, including a group of medical, pharmacy, and nursing students, and it was a strong impetus to advance this important aspect, and thus the first nucleus of the health sector of the National Liberation Army and Front was formed where most of these students were female nurses. In the Algerian case, not all nurses were graduated from high schools and universities, some of them became nurses by practice and because they apprenticed it from one of their relatives.

In both cases, nursing was a very dangerous task for women, in the American case, nursing during the Revolutionary War was very risky, though women considered nursing as job and had payment; they were exposed to fatal diseases like Smallpox and camp fevers that

could end their lives. Additionally, women were relegated to a very unclean job in the medical profession. Officer, as a reaction, threatened women that they would be deprived of rations if they refused to volunteer. In the Algerian case, nurses were living in constant fear from the French and the traitors because the French knew well the vital role nurses played during the Revolutionary War thus they targeted them. In addition, nurses were confronted with many dangers; on the battlefields where they risked their lives, and during conducting their tasks while the French were bombing them, and while carrying injured Mujahidin to the Health Centers in the nights to avoid being captured, as well as while they go to bring medical supplies from the urban areas.

In both cases, women, in addition, of being nurses, had many other roles; they were seamstresses, laundresses, and cooks. In the American case, the most prominent roles women played in the American Revolutionary War were cooks, seamstresses, and laundresses; they even brought water to the camps. Since these roles were traditionally women's, they took them because men could not conduct them and did not want to do so. In the Algerian case, women contributed as seamstresses, laundresses, and cooks as well. Whether in the camps and maquis or at home, women assisted the Revolutionary cause with the least they could. They provided the Mujahidin with food that they grow in their lands; they harvested the wheat and other grains and they grinded them to prepare food for the Mujahidin.

In both cases, these roles were typically kept for women because men did not want to play roles preserved for women; besides, they preferred women's dedication to these tasks such as cooking, sewing, and cleaning. In both cases, the need for women to conduct such tasks obliged men to appeal and seek women's assistance. In the American case, women who cooked for soldiers or washed their clothes, or even sewed them were paid, but in the Algerian case, women were not paid for doing so, and they did that for free as a support for the national cause. In both cases, men considered that these tasks fit women because they

were originally their chores and because women were familiar with the household chores, men also considered that these tasks were the most secured roles for women, especially in the camps, but contrary to what men believed, these tasks could be the most dangerous ones for women.

In the American case, spying was more advanced compared to the Algerian one because they developed a sophisticated intelligence system, American women had limitless access in the camps whether colonists' or the British ones where they could easily transmit information, they could eavesdrop on soldiers' conversations and then they conveyed what they heard to the leaders be it civilian leaders or military ones. Some of these women conveyed direct reports to General Washington who considered them as valuable agents in place that carry valuable information. Women spied and obtained information about the troop's movement, supplies, fortifications, and political plans, and the collected information had to be transmitted. Women were recruited, mainly by Culper Spy Ring, as spies where they used their jobs to spy on the British troops such as shopkeepers, servants, and maids.

American women were chosen to be spies because they were considered peaceful and caregivers of their families; they were able to travel long distances without being suspected. Unlike men, it was more difficult to move from one state to another without being suspected by the British who would ask them to bring an alibi to do so. Women could easily tell the officials that they would go out of town for helping a sick relative without raising any kind of suspicion. Spying for American women was much easier than that of the Algerian ones because the British troops were quartering in the American families' homes, and thus acquiring information was much easier than that of their counterpart Algerian women; American women just needed to lie about their loyalty to the Revolutionary cause and could extract information from the British troops easily while preparing them meals or drinking tea with them or even listening to their discussions while being at their homes.

Contrary to American women, Algerian women did not belong to Intelligence Rings, but they spied on the French when they had access to the colons' houses as maids and servants. Algerian women even spied on their husbands who worked for the French authorities as Harka to transmit necessary information to the Mujahidin. As spies, American women contributed to the success of their Revolution way much better than the Algerian women did because they were more professional.

In both societies, American and Algerian, women were not thought of being present in the battlefields, in general, and as soldiers in particular because of the belief that women are fragile and incapable of bearing military burdens. In the American case, women were enlisted as cooks, seamstresses, and maids, but not as soldiers. But many women participated in the Revolutionary War as soldiers, minute-women, and cannoneers to serve in the armed forces. Women were not allowed to join the Army, but that did not hinder them from disguising as men and secretly serving as soldiers during the Revolution. The female soldiers often got their hair cut, and got their breasts bound with bandages, they even named themselves with masculine names.

In the Algerian case, women's participation in the battlefields side by side with men led to an overthrow of the thoughts and ideas of the Algerian society. The ALN perceived and received women with great honor and pride believing that they would bear the responsibility and the burden just like men and that they would truly and faithfully carry out the principles of the Revolution and accomplish the most difficult missions. The first of November, 1954, was a turning point in women's lives, Algerian women remained silent for centuries, and the Revolutionary War was the occasion to explode loudly and set free their potential strength. It was the time for the Algerian women to set their suppressed emotions, ideas, and thoughts free. Women, immediately, responded to the duty call that was addressed to them and to men alike.

American and Algerian women shared many issues in common; their social status for instance was similar at many levels. Even though they belonged to different periods, and different geographical places, they shared the social patriarchal principles that considered women as inferior compared to men. The social frame, women of both cases were put in, was very similar like the definition of their roles as being subservient to men, and their roles as being mothers and wives. There were many similar issues like education, in both cases; the difference between boys and girls in literacy rates where boys were advantageous compared to girls, and in both cases boys received education but not girls. In best cases, girls received education due to different reasons yet the number of literate girls was very few for both cases. In marriage, women were pushed by society to be married because it was believed in both societies that marriage was the best accomplishment a woman could ever have, and by marriage women's responsibility and guardianship transferred from fathers to husbands. Women's inheritance did not exceed their male siblings and they had to take half of males' portion.

In marriage, a man was the householder and responsible for the whole family and the only person who decided its fate. For the legal status, women belonged to their fathers before marriage and after marriage; they belonged to their husbands as one identity. Politically, women, in both cases, had no political rights in their societies. Besides they were not visible to their men counterparts as a separate identity that could have political decision. Concerning property-owning or inheritance, women did not enjoy the same share as that of men in both cases. Women contributed to the Revolutionary Wars of their countries' where they conducted different roles that were similar in the American and Algerian cases; women were nurses, seamstresses, cooks, cleaners, spies, and soldiers. Without women their countries' victories would not be possible; they helped men to gain independence. In both cases the Revolutionary Wars contributed to the change of women's lives by transforming the traditional roles into

non-traditional ones by their involvement in the different Revolutionary events like protesting, discussing the political issues of their countries, and by the roles played as nurses, seamstresses, spies, and soldiers.

5.3. Recommendations

The recommendations outlined in this study are as follows:

1. It is highly recommended that other researchers and investigators take into consideration the role of women in the Algerian Revolutionary War, as it is so widely searched in the American context wherein thousands of books and articles clearly and distinctively pictured out the role of women in the Revolutionary Wars.
2. Like in Colonial America Algerian women were discriminated against in that they received less education and instruction than men. However, this did not prevent them from proving quite an effective contribution in their participation in the Revolution for independence.
3. Both American and Algerian women had received, in the pre-Revolutionary era, an education, mainly religious, that was meant to prepare them for the household. Despite what could be a handicap, they proved successful in both countries where the Revolutionary situation was similar to a high percentage of comparison.
4. Their commitment and abnegation pushed them to an extreme sacrifice for they took care of their children, husbands, and contributed to the Revolution in almost all acts and activities part of any revolution.
5. Despite women's contribution in the Revolutionary Wars of the two countries, America and Algeria, they are not yet, as compared to men, neither given the place nor the time they deserve. This is probably since most historians are men. What would be taken as evidence and proof that most historians that gave women the place they deserve are women. This is why it is highly recommended that historians, men, and women likewise, attempt a reconsideration of women's contribution in both America and Algeria.

6. What is positive when comparing women's roles in both Revolutions is that Algerian women were not obliged to disguise themselves as men to join the army, whereas, it was the case in America. However, what should be highlighted is that from 1956 onwards, Algerian women were prevented from continuing to be soldiers.
7. It is recommended that a large tribute be paid to the women martyrs and still alive Mujahidat. A larger tribute, that equates with their contribution to the independence.
8. According to the Mujahidat we have interviewed rural and urban women who contributed to the Revolution are not equally treated on the same basis, to be attributed the same status. As an example, the Wilaya One of the First Military Region Mujahidat claim that they are not mentioned by historians when compared to Mujahidat from other Wilayas. This is probably not a sign of discrimination in that historians tend to generally limit their research each to his/her Wilaya. The recommendation that stands from this point is that the Ministry of Mujahidin and Rights Holders should launch nationwide research on Algerian women's contribution to the Revolutionary War.
9. Women's status in Revolutionary Wars, American and Algerian, changed positively during the war period, though in the post-war era, we did not witness a clear move ahead in the amelioration of women's status as it was the case in Europe. For instance, after the Second World War. Moreover, European women gained more, in terms of status; change because their contribution was more decisive and more efficient as they were daily threatened by the presence of Nazism. Comparatively speaking, it was the case of Algerian and American women as well.
10. The basic recommendation that deserves to be heavily highlighted is that men start considering men and women on an equal basis; in fact, women's intellectual power, will, patriotism, leadership, and contribution in shaping the future of the nation are undermined and

underestimated. They are full members of the socio-economic agenda whether in America, Algeria, and other countries in the world.

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APPENDIXE

A. A Request for the Permission to interview Mujahidat

تسبة عبي = 14 مارس 1420 هـ

عالم السيد - مدير المنحف
الولائي للمجاهد ولاية تسبة

الأستاذة = جو عزيز أمينة
كلية الآداب واللغات
جامعة تسبة

الموسموع = طلب المواقفة على الحصول على شهادات
حيد

لعي عظيم الشرف أن اتقدم على سيادتكم المحترمة
بطلب هداو المتمثل في رغبتني في الحصول على شهادات
حيد مع مجاهدات من ولاية تسبة - باتنة وخنشلة
وذلك في إطار مشروع بحث رسالة دكتوراه لغة
انجليزية - عنوان : دور المرأة في الثورة
دراسة مقارنة بين المرأة الجزائرية والمرأة
الأمريكية

تقبلوا مني فائق الاحترام والتقدير

شكرا

بالمراقة
تحول لمصلحة إنشاء طابع



A. List of Mujahidat from Batna, Khenchla, and Tebessa

تبسة. باتنة. خنشلة

قائمة المجاهدات اللاتي قدمن شهادات حية

المنطقة	الإسم باللاتينية	الإسم بالعربية	الرقم
Tebessa/ تبسة	Aber Aicha	عابر عيشة	01
Tebessa/ تبسة	Bennour Khemissa	بالنور خميسة	02
Tebessa/ تبسة	Loucif Malia	لوصيف مالية	03
Tebessa/ تبسة	Mansouri Djemaa	منصوري جمعة	04
Tebessa/ تبسة	Guelmami Yassmina	قلمامي ياسمينة	05
Batna/ باتنة	Bendekma Ourida	بن دكمة وريدة	06
Batna/ باتنة	Soualem Bahia	سوالم باهية	07
Batna/ باتنة	Bentoudj Fiella	بن توج فيالة	08
Batna/ باتنة	Boudi Fatima	بودي فاطيمة	09
Batna/ باتنة	Benghanem Yamina	بن غانم يمينة	10
Batna/ باتنة	Algharbi Fatma	الغربي فاطمة	11
Batna/ باتنة	Aouchen Hadda	عوشان حدة	12
Batna/ باتنة	Guelloudj Mehania	قلاج مهنية	13
Batna/ باتنة	Mezata Khoukha	مزاطة خوخة	14
Batna/ باتنة	Guerti Djamila	قرتي جميلة	15
Khenchla/ خنشلة	Siad Mebarka	صياد مباركة	16
Tebessa/ تبسة	Ben Yelis Hassiba	بن يلس حسيبة	17
Batna/ باتنة	Bouhjar Sahra	بوحجر صحرة	18
Khenchla/ خنشلة	Khasrouri Aicha	خسروري عيشة	19
Tebessa/ تبسة	Belkhira Djamila	بالخيرة جميلة	20

المدير



B. Some Examples of Women's Transcribed Answers to the Interview Questions

Siad Mebarka

I was born in 1934 in Khenchla

Soldier from Khenchla

Married

Illiterate

Lived in the rural Area "Beber" Khenchla

I joined the Revolutionary War before I got married.

I did not have any property, yet my father was rich

I was imprisoned and tortured by the French. Once I went to the mountain along with three other girls to take some food to the soldiers disguising in men's clothes (Kachabia), one of the traitors (Hmed Hattack) informed the French soldiers about us and showed them our place, but unfortunately for him, he was caught by the Mujahidin (Abbas Laghror handcuffed him and seized his weapon. The time was after the sunset between Maghrib and Icha time. The traitor was put on horseback; the Mujahidin fetched him and found a talkie walkie and a gun. The French Army was alerted and started to spread on the mountain to catch us. The Mujahidin called us up and asked us if we had enough weapons. I had two rifles, I told the girls that were with me "let's go! Let's defend our country!" I was so brave, but the girls were afraid. We took our positions in the mountain and the Mujahidin put some branches of trees on us to cover us.

I was illiterate, but the nurses were literate

-I took my rifle and said "Allahu Akbar!"

During the fight, one of the French soldiers was wounded, and he surrendered. The Mujahidin caught him and dragged him into the camp.

The battle took place, after the sunset, and it lasted till dawn. The Helicopters came to enforce the French army in that battle. The battle eventually was finished and when the sun rose, the scene was very brutal; bodies were spread all over the battlefield, casualties from both sides. We lost Amara Benmhidi, Amara Bazouich, Houha Belaid, and Ammar Achi that night in that battle.

I was hilariously shouting, one of the Mujahidin approached me and asked me to step away. I refused his order and said, "I will not withdraw now; I came to die as a martyred (Shahida)". He threatened me if don't stop firing and step back, he would put me on a guillotine.

I got injured by the shrapnel of the bombs the French helicopter threw on us; the other girl too got injuries. The blood was flowing and the nurses covered my wounds with a scarf of one of the girls, and they dragged me to a cave to take our breath, and we continued our way crossing the river, one was crawling, the other hardly could walk, we kept moving, one fell, one held on tree...

The Mujahidin grabbed the traitor who told the French about our place, we kept walking till we reached Oued Nin, in Mtussa, Ain Albaida, and then the Mujahidin opened the Kazma (a secret place where the mujahidin hide or imprison the traitors, they put the traitor in there)

We were put there too to be taken care of our wounds, it was a large place full of wounded Mujahidin, the nurses were medicating and curing the wounds of the injured, some women were cooking food for the mujahidin and the sick ones. Some nurses took care of us too. Meanwhile, they brought us new uniforms because our old ones were torn and full of blood. We got cleaned and put our clothes on, and we headed to another mountain called "Guentis", I was with "Cheriet Lazhar, Abbes Laghrour, they trained us; they brought bottles and asked us to shoot them, they told us "if you shoot right in the aim you would be real Mujahidat".

The first girl got ready and shot, the first shot was missed, the second too, and the third was successful.

The second girl tried to shoot, and she missed the first, the second, and the third was successful like the previous girl.

It was my turn, I approached, took the position, and I shot; the first shot was in the neck of the bottle near the aim, the second shot was successful, and I got the aim.

The Mujahidin were pleased with me, and they said that I was 100% a real Mujahida.

Once, my cousin was working for my father and he came to me telling me that someone wanted to ask for my hand, I refused to marry that guy. As a reaction, he went to the SAS of Baber and told the French that I was working with the Mujahidin "Fallaga".

The French, that night, came to my father's house, and started to knock on the door heavily, and shouted "Open the door!" my father did not want to open the door, the shot the door's lock and got into our house, and started to shout "where is Siad Mebarka?", "Where is she?". They arrested me, put chins around my wrists, and forced me to get in their Jeep car. When we reached the brigade, they started questioning me "do you work with the Mujahidin?" "Admit it and we will release you."

They put me in a room and brought dogs to frighten me to confess, they said if I don't confess these dogs would tear you. I insisted on my words, they prepared my file, asked me to sign, and transferred me to the prison. In the prison I found many women, I stayed for four days, and then came one of the traitors with the French officers to translate, asked them to get me out, when they brought me out of the prison, he asked me to confess to taking me back home to my father's house.

I insisted on my words, then they decided to release me, they took me back to my father's house, and told him that they would have military patrols in this area, and if they did not find me home they would shoot my father and burn his farm and everyone in it.

After four days of my release, the Mujahidin visited my father's house, and they asked him to let me join them to avoid the French harassment, they told him that she would not be safe here. They took me with them to the camp after a long negotiation with my father who was convinced eventually to let me go with them.

The Mujahidin tended to come to us at night and my father tended to supply them with food and money. And with the French military patrols, this would not be easy, and this would lead to their discovery and arrest.

The camp was very large, there were cows, women were cooking, the moaning injured were medicated by nurses.

Ben Yelis Hassiba

Date of birth: 1940

Literate: 6th-grade Primary School / French education

My childhood was in Chaniya, Setif then I moved to Tebessa

I got married at the age of 18

I had 7 siblings

I had no property because my father was not rich

My mother died in 1956, I moved to live with my grandmother and uncle who were very nationalist and patriotic, and we discussed the Revolution and the patriotic issues very often. At the age of 15 and 16, I thought of joining the Revolutionary War.

In the neighborhood, I always was curious of knowing the Mujahidin and their news. I acquired enough information to let me decide to choose Ouled Sidi Yahiya Mujahidin who were tolerant of women's presence in the camps, unlike Nmemcha who did not like women to participate in the battlefields.

I joined the Revolution in 1957 at the age of 17, I served as a soldier for a year, from 1957 to 1958, then a national decision was made to stop any woman to be a soldier and to just be a nurse, they considered it to be too risky for women because the French when they caught them they tortured and deformed them.

I carried on my mission as a nurse from 1958 to 1962; they took us to the camps to nurse the injured soldiers and to stay away from the battlefields. They took us to Tunisia (Tajerouin).

I was kicked out of school because of an incident that happened at the end of the academic year when the school brought a clown to perform, and when he finished his performance, the pupils gave warm applause and started to shout "vive la France!" (Long live France!), "vive la France!" I jumped off my chair and shouted "vive l'Algerie!" (Long live Algeria) "vive l'Algerie!". My teacher slapped me in my face and told me not to come to school again. Because of that incident, I never went to school again and I could not carry on with my studies.

The French schools did not provide us with the same education as that of the colonists' children. After each session, they let us out (Algerians) and kept the colonists' children to teach them extra time and to explain to them what they have missed during the session. They gave them much attention compared to us; they provided us with just the basic knowledge

-In my family, there was no difference between the education of girls and boys

-When the Revolutionary War was waged I thought of joining it, but I was just 14 years old in 1954, three years later I joined the Revolutionary Army. One day in 1957, the time was 6 pm, I left my grandmother's home at night heading to the Mujahidin to join them, I left a note saying that "Je rejoins les mujahidin" ("I am joining the Mujahidin"). I wore men's clothes, and I sneaked out of the house, I kept walking and walking. I found a man whom I asked "where are Ouled Sidi Yahia?" he showed me the way. I kept walking till I reach a countryside called "Kissa" when I reached that village some dogs attacked me and started to bark, a woman from that village heard them and got out of her house, I asked her to come and rescue me, I took the hood off my head and said, "I am a girl, I am not a man". She approached shooed the dogs and asked me "why are you here?" I said, "I 'm looking for the Mujahidin". The woman, then, took me to her orchard; she asked me "aren't you afraid?" "I said no, I'm not." "Since I got out of the house, and took all this way long by myself, I'm not." "I love my country; I want to be in the battlefields." "Even if I was killed on my way to the Mujahidin, I wouldn't be afraid." I asked the woman if she knew the place of the Mujahidin, she replied "I don't know". " she invited me in her house, and she was suspicious, she thought I was working for the French and I came to spy on them. Later that night, the old lady, called the Mujahidin, came to her house, they started to question me "who told you to join the Mujahidin? Do you know them?". I replied " I don't know any of them, I just wanted to join them and to defend my country", they kept questioning me I told them my story. And then, they replied, " we can't let you join us". I eventually, convinced them that I was so patriot and I was not spying on them or working for the French.

The Mujahidin called their leader " Mahmoud Guenez" who told them to return me home first, then they would see what they would do in my case.

Three days later, they took me home, but I told them if they don't accept me with them, I would run away again and come back to them. I said, "I don't care if the French would kill me." I insisted on joining them.

My grandmother, after she discovered my absence in the house, called the French police and complaint she told them that I was kidnapped or run away with someone, and they should bring me back home.

The Mujahidin when they took me from the old lady's house brought me to my aunt's house to hide there. Three days later, they sent me a letter saying that they accepted me and asking me to prepare myself to join them and that they would come to take me with them. I spent a week in that village and then they took me to the leader of the region Mahmoud Guenez. They taught me how to use weapons. I was ready to participate in the battles, but the leader told me not to go with them. I got angry and said if I don't go with you I would kill myself. I did not come here to stay in the camp! I came to participate in the battles. I want to be armed and to fight. They eventually accepted.

We used to go from one place to another; we used to put mines in the places frequently crossed by the French.

I had a rifle, a Colt gun, and a grenade bomb. I always carry them with me in my bag.

-one day, we were in the mountain having a mission, the Mujahidin were ready to insert a mine for the French army, but before they could put it in the ground, it slipped from the hands of the Mujahid and it exploded, he was immediately killed and his friend too, we were a group of Mujahidin and I never forget that incident. One of the military infantry who was with his mother who always accompanied him in his missions; I was shocked and speechless. I approached my colleagues to see what happened, I saw their brains outside their skulls, and their bowels were out. The incident was very painful and harsh, we were always together, we were the same age, we were like a family. I was really sad that day.

Two others from the group got severe injuries.

The scarcity of medicines worsened the situation. I had just a few medicines in my bag that day.

Djamila Belkhira

Was born in 1924 in 2017 in Constanine

I lived in Ain Elbaida, we used to live in Constantine before moving to Ain Elbaida

I studied in a religious school and I taught children in the same school.

We were 4 siblings and I'm the oldest.

Girls were taught at a very early age after puberty they were kept at home, and they were not allowed to go out, of course, there were some exceptions; those girls who had been taught in French schools. When we were little children, we did not use to play with the colonists' children.

Boys were allowed to study.

Girls were taught by women, and boys were taught by men.

I got married at the age of 16, when we used to give birth to our children at home, we did not go to hospitals.

We collected money and sent it to Mujahidin. We helped them with money; we also provided them with food and shelter. We also demonstrated peacefully against France who claimed all Algerians were loyal to France, especially women.

I have written a poem that we had repeated during the demonstrations

I gathered women for demonstrating, we were repeating this refrain:

When we demonstrated, we got out boys and girls peacefully

No knife no gun, we got just our flags

Lacoste, you are a criminal, our sons are dying hundreds and thousands.

Every day, dozens die by knives and guns

Oh, brothers! What's this agony?

What the colonizer does to us!

Every day searching us and our houses house by house

With courage and guns, we resist.

Take your sons to the mountains

In another demonstration we refrained:

Salute the flag, salute the flag

Salute the Algerian flag,

Its green is our veins, and its red is our blood,

Its heart is our hearts.

Salute the flag our brothers, salute the Algerian flag.

These were my own words, we women were shouting. I took the flag that I sewed by myself and went out demonstrating and repeating this refrain.

President Ben Bella was present along with his minister Belaarossi at this demonstration, we shook hands with him and he was very happy with us. The press took pictures of us. He was very pleased with me and the others.

The French were always raiding our houses, especially, if they were suspicious about us or they had any information about helping Mujahidin. But we had a secret place where we could hide Mujahidin. It was situated between the roof and the ceiling. I have never been caught by the French; I have never given my real name, and I have never been caught by the French. My husband once was injured because he protected a boy from being shot by the French and we took him to the hospital for many days.

Yasmina Guelmami

I am 79 years old in 2017

I was born in Ouenza- Tebessa-

I lived in the city

I have studied for just a few years in a religious school

I have 4 boys and 4 girls.

I have never got married.

There was no difference between us; my father did not prevent any of us from going to school.

I have never got married; my society did not consider my situation as bizarre because I could not get married with my handicap (at the level of her hands).

I had not any kind of property my father was the owner of our house and land in the countryside.

My father was the householder.

When the Revolutionary War waged, I thought of joining it at the age of 20, I just wanted to help them because my father was a Mujahid as well as my oldest brother; the irony was that my uncle was from the Harka. My family did not refuse. When the French discovered that we are Mujahidin, and we are helping other Mujahidin, we escaped before getting arrested; we went to Tunisia as refugees in 1955 we stayed there till 1962 when Algeria got its Independence. We continued to be active at the Algerian/Tunisian borders exactly Tajerween Commune.

I was a nurse, I did not study or graduate from a medical or a paramedical school, I just became a nurse by practice. I used to clean Mujahidin's wounds, and I even founded a center for teaching tailoring to teach little girls, who were refugees in Tunisia, sewing, embroidery, and knitting. I got the license for opening it from the Algerian government, but the Tunisian part did not recognize that and they considered it illegal and based on that they arrested me and put me in jail for 6 months. Hopefully, I have never been caught by the French.

Bouhjar Sahra

1938 date of birth

Kimmel Batna

1954 I was 12 years old

I got married at the age of 12

My husband was my cousin

I am illiterate

I joined the Revolutionary War because my husband was a Mujahid

I cooked, washed clothes to the Mujahidin he brought home.

The French caught me because some of the traitors told them that I am married to a Mujahid and that I help them with food and services (cleaning clothes)

I was released because the French found no clear evidence that I was working with the Mujahidin and because one of my cousins who worked with the French told them to release me because I have no relation to the Mujahidin (Fallaga).

The French did not know that I was the wife of the most wanted Mujahid "Tarbint Abdallah"

I kept constantly changing my place because I was afraid of the French arrest.

In Chilia, a battalion followed me I escaped; they wanted to reach my husband by me, so I was obliged to escape each time. I escaped to Arris, and even there the traitors told the French about my place. The French brought their dogs to discover my place; I managed to sneak out of the village, but the French followed me and caught me eventually, they took me to their brigade and kept questioning me stating that "are you married to a Fallag?" I said, "no I am not married at all".

Fortunately, a guy from that village appeared and told the French that I was his wife to rescue me from the French. He took me to his house and I pretended to be his wife to mislead the French I was frightened and could not do anything.

C. The Interview Questions

- 1- How old are you? What is the date of your birth?
- 2- Where did you use to live in an urban area or a rural one?
- 3- Are you literate?
- 4- What kind of education did you obtain? Algerian (Muslim)? Or French?
- 5- Was there a difference between males' and females' education? How was education different between the two sexes?
- 6- How many siblings did you have? Males/ females
- 7- At what age did you get married?
- 8- What if you were unmarried? What would your society/family think of you? And what would you think of yourself?
- 9- Was your husband one of your relatives? Was he a cousin or not?
- 10- Is your marriage a kin marriage? If yes, explain which side is your husband a cousin of yours from?
- 11- Did you own any kind of property? If yes, Name them.
- 12- Who ran the household? Who defined the social roles? How did you perceive the social roles?
- 13- When the Revolutionary War waged did you think of joining it?
- 14- How old were you when you first joined the Revolutionary War? Explain that experience.
- 15- How was your family's/husband's reaction concerning your participation in the Revolutionary War?
- 16- What was society's reaction concerning female Mujahidat?
- 17- What kind of functions did you occupy when you joined the Revolutionary War?
- 18- To what extent were these functions easy or difficult for you?
- 19- What kind of difficulties did you face in the camps?
- 20- For how long did you stay in the camps?

21- Did you get caught by the French? If yes, when and how did you get caught?

22- What kind of torture did you face when you got caught by the French?