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Republican motherhood and beyond : the Philadelphia Young Ladies' Academy, Litchfield Academy, and the Bethlehem Female Seminary

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Ladies' Academy...

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Republican Motherhood and Beyond:
The Philadelphia Young Ladies' Academy, Litchfield Academy,
and the Bethlehem Female Seminary

by

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ABSTRACT

The concept of republican motherhood as a political responsibility of the mother to guide her husband and sons toward a life of civic virtue has become the accepted motivation behind female education of early America. This is based on the supposition that “if the Republic indeed rested on responsible motherhood, prospective mothers needed to be well informed and decently educated.”¹ The republican motherhood ideal wherein the sole utility of a woman’s education would be her civic influence within the home was verbally invoked at times by influential educators but was not a dominating influence on the three schools researched for this thesis: the Philadelphia Young Ladies’ Academy, the Litchfield Academy, and the Bethlehem Female Seminary. By focusing on the republican motherhood ideal as the *raison d’être* of early American female education, historians have overlooked more diverse aims and goals. While the preparation of young women to raise the future generation for political participation did play a role in the education of young women, education sought to instill piety, competition, and social graces as seen through the schools’ aims and curriculum.

¹ Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 200.

Recent historiography of female education has explored the impact of women in light of the republican motherhood theory. Linda Kerber helped define the republican mother as a woman “dedicated to the service of civic virtue; she educated her sons for it; she condemned and corrected her husband’s lapses from it.”² The concept of republican motherhood as a political responsibility of the mother to guide her husband and sons toward a life of civic virtue has become the accepted motivation behind female education of early America. This is based on the supposition that “if the Republic indeed rested on responsible motherhood, prospective mothers needed to be well informed and decently educated.”³ The republican motherhood ideal wherein the sole utility of a woman’s education would be her civic influence within the home was verbally invoked at times by influential educators but was not a dominating influence on the three schools researched for this thesis. By focusing on the republican motherhood ideal as the *raison d’être* of early American female education, historians have overlooked more diverse aims and goals. While the preparation of young women to raise the future generation for political participation did play a role in the education of young women, education sought to instill piety, competition, and social graces as seen through the schools’ aims and curriculum.

Linda Kerber’s progress into early female education and bold declaration of newfound female political power elicited a flurry of historical research. Ruth Bloch in “The Gendered Meanings of Virtue in Revolutionary America” delves into gender,

² Linda K. Kerber, *The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightenment-An American Perspective* American Quarterly, Vol. 28, No. 2, Special Issue: An American Enlightenment. (Summer, 1976): 202.

³ Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 200.

politics, and symbolism to solve the mysterious meaning of virtue in use and understanding in the Revolutionary period in America. Converging out of a sense of republican duty and Protestant faith, virtue was at first a masculine attribute.⁴ Virtue in Revolutionary America referred “not to female private morality but to male public spirit, that is, to the willingness of citizens to engage actively in civic life and to sacrifice individual interests for the common good.”⁵ She wrote that women were understood to exemplify virtue in the private realm but were as of yet unable to display its public characteristics.⁶ Protestant faith, the Scottish intellectual tradition, and literary sentimentalism aided the transformation of females into the embodiment of public virtue. To support her claim, Bloch cited virtue as a feminine quality in literary works of the period, wherein characters were exemplified as pious, reverential, and sympathetic.⁷ She raised an intriguing issue: “If the virtues of heroic courage, glory, and fame were inherently male, the opposites cowardice, idleness, luxury, and dependence were, not surprisingly, castigated as the “effeminate” weaknesses of unpatriotic men.”⁸ Indeed, the founding fathers constantly railed against men for effeminate weaknesses. Similarly, educators of females in the same time period were recorded as repeatedly calling upon education to cultivate virtue and eliminate idleness in women, all republican ideals but fell short of basing this mission on its intended influence upon their husbands and sons.

⁴ Ruth H. Bloch, *The Gendered Meanings of Virtue in Revolutionary America*. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* Vol. 13, No. 1, Women and the Political Process in the United States. (Autumn, 1987): 41.

⁵ *Ibid*, 38.

⁶ *Ibid*, 41.

⁷ *Ibid*, 51.

⁸ *Ibid*, 44-45.

While Kerber's model of republican motherhood assigned women's influence to propagating virtue, an alternative analysis considers women's influence to be limited to domestic duties. In "Morals, Manners, and the Republican Mother," Rosemarie Zagari dissented from Kerber's declaration of the American "invention" of the republican motherhood concept, instead identifying a foreign derivation of the Republican mother supposition as well as debasing female influence beyond the domestic during the Enlightenment.⁹ Delving into the Scottish Enlightenment, she located the origin of republican motherhood, then just an issue of philosophers concerning the clout of women and the family. Zagari presented the sway of women beyond the family sphere as a midway point between no political influence and the political influence purported with republican motherhood. She credited the American Revolution for actuating a change of thought concerning women's roles, but only within a greater ongoing social transformation.

Also concerned with the political influence of women, Jan Lewis in "The Republican Wife: Virtue and Seduction in the Early Republic" concurred with Kerber that women did experience an increase in political influence in the years immediately following the Revolution but attributes this to what she refers to as the "republican marriage."¹⁰ Through the analysis of multiple literary publications including various Fall of Eden-based works, she proffered the bond of marriage as embodying political ideals from which women assumed a political role. The role and responsibility of molding

⁹ Rosemarie Zagari, "Morals, Manners, and the Republican Mother." *American Quarterly* Vol. 44 No. 2 (1992): 193.

¹⁰ Jan Lewis, "The Republican Wife: Virtue and Seduction in the Early Republic," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd Ser., Vol. 44, No. 4. (Oct., 1987): 690.

husbands into virtuous republican men was depicted as the antidote to inevitable sin, as neither male nor female could be moral without the bond of marriage.¹¹ While thoroughly building a case of feminine influence in literature, she failed to connect this with the power enjoyed by women beyond the books. Instead, she presented the republican wife ideal as merely a philosophy waxed in the literature of the new republic, which quickly dissipated against the difficulties of reform. Despite the ephemeral nature of the republican wife and her political pull, Lewis convincingly credited this philosophy as the catalyst for the burgeoning female education in the years that followed.¹²

Margaret A. Nash, a scholar of educational history, viewed this post-war surge in educational opportunities for women not as a consequence of the republican wife or mother thesis, but as a continuation of the colonial educational trend as described in her article “Rethinking Republican Motherhood: Benjamin Rush and the Young Ladies’ Academy of Philadelphia.” Working from the writings of Rush, she countered the republican motherhood claim with antecedents beyond the political. These alternative precursors included the inherent worth of erudition, the increasing opportunity to apply basic knowledge, and an increase in Enlightenment and religious understanding.¹³ Nash interpreted Rush’s use of the term republican mother as meaning “woman.”¹⁴ Nash called attention to Rush’s “emphasis on women’s power over the conduct of adult men [and this] suggests that republican womanhood, as much or more than republican

¹¹ Ibid, 708, 720.

¹² Ibid, 702.

¹³ Margeret A. Nash, “Rethinking Republican Motherhood: Benjamin Rush and the Young Ladies’ Academy of Philadelphia,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 17 no. 2 (1997): 171.

¹⁴ Ibid, 177.

motherhood, motivated his belief in female education.”¹⁵ Nash tried to unravel the republican motherhood theory by arguing that “Rush did not say that motherhood was the most important duty of women, but that education of children was the most important duty of mothers.” She conceded that Rush made use of the term republican motherhood but relies on the argument that his writing was not dominated by it. Nash contended “it is republican womanhood, far more than motherhood that educational theorists of the time employed as an argument supporting the need for female education.”¹⁶ This research supports Nash’s contention that the education offered to women was, in intent and content, concerned with more than political or maternal duties.

It was this broader preparation of the republican woman, resting outside of the strict utilitarianism of republican motherhood that guided the curriculum at the nation’s premier female educational facilities. Republican womanhood broadened the scope of Linda Kerber’s republican motherhood thesis by including ideals of an ideal woman beyond her role as mother. Linda Kerber, Carol Berkin, and Evans concurred that Republican motherhood did not focus on “education for marriage: with its focus on ornamentals including music, needlework, and modern languages.”¹⁷ Yet at each of the schools researched for this thesis, the Philadelphia Young Ladies Academy, the Litchfield Academy and the Bethlehem Female Seminary all aimed to create a virtuous, moral woman while at the same time to provide ornamental enrichment. Female academies in the Republican era were not run under the singular directive of republican

¹⁵ Ibid, 178.

¹⁶ Ibid, 175.

¹⁷ Ibid, 171-191.

motherhood or republicanism. Instead, the goals and motivations of female education in the early republic were far more diverse than any one theory allows.

The history of female education is rife with those who resisted its growth. As the following poem implies, a common response to early women's education beyond basic literacy was outright rejection:

“One did commend to me a wife both fair and young
That had French, Spanish, and Italian tongue.
I thanked him kindly and told him I loved none such,
For I thought one tongue for a wife too much,
What! love ye not the learned?
Yes, as my life,
A learned scholar, but not a learned wife.”¹⁸

Thomas Woody argued in his 1929 two-volume compendium of women's education that the education of women in the first hundred and fifty years in North America was, for the most part, ignored.¹⁹ In the American colonies, education for females was informal and most often provided at home. Mothers prepared daughters for their future roles. Schools for females in the early eighteenth century were rare; only women of wealthy families were likely to receive any formal education, and even then, only during the spare time of another's tutor.²⁰ Religious groups were at the forefront of providing formal education in colonial America. The Puritans encouraged women's education only to the extent of literacy to read the Bible; anything further was discouraged. The New England colonies offered dame schools and offered both young boys and girls schooling as early as the

¹⁸ Anne Hollingsworth Wharton, *Colonial Days and Dames* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1895), as quoted in Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States, Vol. I* (New York: The Science Press, 1829; reprint, New York: Octagon Books, 1966), 93 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

¹⁹ Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States, Vol. I* (New York: The Science Press, 1829; reprint, New York: Octagon Books, 1966), 106 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

²⁰ *Ibid*, 96.

mid-seventeenth century, but few girls succeeded in infiltrating the higher town or master's schools.²¹ The Quaker sects allowed for girls' education in the elementary years. Woody credited the tendency of German immigrants to create schools conforming to Luther's decree "Would to God that each town had a girls' school in which girls might be taught the Gospel for an hour daily, either in German or Latin."²² Congregations of the Dutch Reformed Church, found throughout the Middle Colonies, also allowed for elementary education for both sexes.²³ The provision of education beyond the elementary, while contended at first, was rare in colonial America and gained ground in the revolutionary era.

Female education beyond basic literacy incited objections due to its perceived threat to a woman's assumed role as mother or homemaker, as it often took women outside of the home.²⁴ In 1795, Reverend John Bennett published a collection of essays railing against female education, concluding that mothers are nature's intended teachers. Boarding schools were a greater threat and viewed by Bennett as graduating women who felt "ridiculously exalted above...the *groveling* offices of family economy, or domestic attentions" at the same time having subjected "girls to numerous inconveniencies, dangers and temptations, which their early age, and yet unripened virtue are not always

²¹ Ibid, 129, 137-143.

²² F.V. Painter, *Luther on Education; Including a Historical Introduction, and a Translation of the Reformer's Two Most Important Educational Treatises* (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1889), 147 as quoted by Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States, Vol. I*, 178.

²³ Woody, 179-80.

²⁴ Johann Paul Friedrich Richter, *Levana* (Boston: J.R. Osgood and Co., 1874), as quoted by Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States, Vol. I*, 243-5.

sound sufficient to resist.”²⁵ Even in the republican era, female education met with resistance.

Even Thomas Jefferson wished to direct the education of his eleven-year-old daughter Martha from an ocean away, as he did not trust in “systemized schooling for women.” Jefferson felt that his daughter could handle her own education at home and without the aid of a tutor. As can be gleaned from the following schedule, Jefferson expected women’s tasks to be centered upon the ornamental.²⁶ Martha was directed merely to read, to dance, and to play music. Her curriculum was designed by a man skilled in diplomacy, law, politics, foreign languages, botany and more and yet he asked for very little in terms of the education of his daughter. In a letter to his eleven-year-old daughter, he wrote a schedule by which to bide her days:

From 8. to 10 o'clock practice music.
From 10. to 1. dance one day and draw another
From 1. to 2. draw on the day you dance, and write a letter the next day.
From 3. to 4. read French.
From 4. to 5. exercise yourself in music.
*From 5. till bedtime read English, write & c.*²⁷

Similarly, the majority of schools founded in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century provided only ornamental education for women, consisting of arts, music and other parlor refinements. Exceptions existed in the schools that offered education beyond the frivolous venturing into intellectual. Three such examples of the diverse educational institutions that existed in the republican era were the Philadelphia Young Ladies

²⁵ John Bennett, *Strictures on Female Education: Chiefly as it Relates to the Culture of the Heart. In Four Essays* (Worcester: Isaiah Thomas, Jun., 1795), 154, 177-80.

²⁶ Arnold A. Rogow, *A Fatal Friendship: Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998), 92.

²⁷ Thomas Jefferson, *The Portable Thomas Jefferson edited and with an Introduction by Merrill D. Peterson* (New York: Penguin Books, 1977), 367.

Academy, the Litchfield Academy, and the Moravian Female Seminary as can be seen by their intentions and academic offerings.

The stated goals of these schools often included republican motherhood ideology, justifying education as preparation for women's future political roles as mothers. Dr. Benjamin Rush of the Philadelphia Young Ladies Academy explicitly vocalized his belief in and support of republican motherhood. Sarah Pierce, the founder of Litchfield Academy, a sophisticated, well-connected school, also voiced support of the republican motherhood theory. Pierce's emphasis on social events and learning for enjoyment allowed for influences beyond republicanism. Having opened its doors in the mid eighteenth century, the Moravian Seminary earned its academic credentials before the ideas of republicanism were formulated.

The founders of the Philadelphia Young Ladies Academy made use of republican motherhood terminology in public addresses and publications to convey the objectives of their institutions. Dr. Benjamin Rush's widely published writings on republican motherhood have epitomized the Philadelphia Young Ladies' Academy, as embodying the ideal in action. Indeed, the men responsible for the Philadelphia Young Ladies Academy asserted that educating future mothers would strengthen the country by assuring their morals and proper values, a statement that clearly supported republican motherhood. Benjamin Rush, an eminent doctor, professor at the College of Philadelphia and signer of the Declaration of Independence, wrote at length of his views on women and their education. By becoming one of the founders of the Academy, he helped put those ideas into play. Rush consistently defended female education against the claim that

it was detrimental to domestic life, and argued “this is a prejudice of little minds...Cultivation of reason in women, is alike friendly to the order of nature, and to private as well as public happiness.”²⁸ Women were to him especially vulnerable to the sins of “idleness, ignorance, and profligacy.” Samuel Magaw, a fellow founder of the Academy, joined him. Magaw wrote of the school’s justification and aim in educating females, declaring, “that Female minds are capable of great improvement, will certainly be allowed. The benefit and satisfaction that must arise from such improvement, are obvious to all...In these [seminaries], their innocence, and delicacy can more easily be protected; their conversation, manners and address more perfectly attended to; and each congenial circumstance made to operate in leading them to excellence.”²⁹ Their hope for the republic and the students was encouraging as Rush declared “let the ladies of a country be educated properly, and they will not only make and administer its laws, but form its manners and character.”³⁰ Rush clearly argued that educating women is for the purpose to then guide the men around. The writings and speeches of Rush and others behind the founding of the Academy in Philadelphia would lead any reader to believe that this was a school dominated by republican ideals.

Similarly, Sarah Pierce utilized the language of republican motherhood as one of the impetuses for female education. “Chronicles of a Pioneer School,” a collection of letters and documents dedicated to commemorating the Litchfield Academy and its

²⁸ Benjamin Rush, *Thoughts upon Female Education, Accommodated to the Present State of Society, Manners, and Government, in the United States of America. Addressed to the Visitors of the Young Ladies' Academy in Philadelphia, 28 July, 1787, at the Close of the Quarterly Examination* (Philadelphia: Printed by Prichard & Hall, 1787), 25.

²⁹ Samuel Magaw, *An Address, Delivered in the Young Ladies Academy, at Philadelphia, on February 8th, 1787. At the Close of a Public Examination.* (Philadelphia: Printed for Thomas Dobson, 1787), 5-7.

³⁰ Rush, *Thoughts upon Female Education*, 20, 22.

founder Sarah Pierce included the deceptively simple school motto, "*We look with pleasure on thy opening virtues.*"³¹ Sarah Pierce had also described the aim of her academy as pragmatic, endeavoring "not to make learned ladies, or skilful metaphysical reasoners, or deep read scholars in physical science: There is a more useful, tho' less exalted and less brilliant station that woman must occupy; there are duties of incalculable importance that she must perform: that station is home. Our design has been, to give our pupils enough of science to conduct the early education of their children and to relish the conversation of the scientific around them."³² Her statement here alludes to a purely pragmatic preparation of future motherhood and home management. As if to guard her school's honor, Pierce often marries the inherent worth of education with the justification that with education women will better society through the influence over their family, a republican aim. She reinforces the responsibility of young women to their country, asserting:

A free government like ours can only be supported by the virtue of its citizens. It is indispensable to the existence of a republic to be moral and religious. Who then can calculate the beneficial effects resulting from the early habits of piety and morality planted by maternal wisdom upon the rising generation. And may we not hope that the daughters of America will imitate the example of the Spartan and Roman matrons in the day of their glory, who taught their children to love their country beyond every earthly object, even their own lives.³³

Responding to a dialogue between students on the influence of women in the world,

Sarah Pierce boldly proclaims the integral responsibility of society that women bear:

God has bestowed upon us to improve the happiness of society. But few of our sex are called to act a conspicuous part on the grand Theatre of life, but our

³¹ Ibid, 335.

³² Ibid, 305.

³³ Ibid, 218.

influence in community is notwithstanding of immense importance. She [a mother] has it [in] her power to plant the seeds of vice or virtue and an awful responsibility rests upon her, if she does not exterminate every root of evil as she perceives it springing up in the heart or temper of her children...Nor does she confine her instructions to religion, but imbues their young minds with human science and literature; for this end she studies the best authors, that she may be able to point out to her children their beauties and defects, and thus store their minds with sound ideas and solid principles, and fit them for acting on the scenes of busy life with firmness and dignity. Would every mother in this intelligent and free nation thus carefully train up her children, we should soon feel its beneficial effects, not only in private life, but in society.³⁴

Here Pierce avows her faith in women as having a fundamental role in the future of the republic. She refers to their power and importance in society by shaping the next generation. Admittedly a behind-the-scenes role in “the grand Theatre of life,” the part necessitates a varied and extensive education. Beyond the basic learning, Pierce advises that women be able to “point out to her children their beauties and defects” of great literature, a much higher level of learning than mere familiarity. Pierce consistently validated the school’s function as educating women in order to better society and prepare the next generation.

While founders of the Philadelphia Young Ladies’ Academy referred to republican motherhood phraseology, they followed much of the method of the boys’ school, and in doing so, disregarded the peculiar responsibilities these women were to assume. The founders had extensive experience in boys’ education and nearly duplicated the method of boys’ schools at the Young Ladies Academy of Philadelphia. While the methods were very similar, the end goal of the boys’ school differed in its most practical applications. Benjamin Franklin surmised male “youth will come out of this School

³⁴ Ibid, 214, 215.

fitted for learning any Business, Calling or Profession...they will be Masters of their own...[which] may qualify them to pass thro' and execute the several Offices of civil Life, with Advantage and Reputation to themselves and Country."³⁵ Ann Gordon declared that the "Young Ladies Academy resembled earlier [male] schools in everything but the sex of its students."³⁶ Indeed, Franklin's plan for the boys' school was enacted in the girls' school. Teachers often taught the same subjects at both schools. Both schools relied on competition as the motivating factor. Events such as spelling bees would take place every day between students with a "victor" named daily. Similarly, Franklin wrote, "let emulation be excited among the Boys by giving, Weekly, little Prizes, or other small Encouragements."³⁷ The aim was "to improving the Morals as well as the Understandings of Youth" and "to lay a solid Foundation of Virtue and Piety in their Minds."³⁸ These goals and practices were echoed in the Young Ladies' Academy of Philadelphia where "the spirit of emulation reigns throughout, and this stimulus alone, affects the important purposes."³⁹ Along with spelling contests, oratorical competitions were held between the female students. A skill rarely if ever to be used by the students beyond graduation, the mere presence of oratory in the curriculum points to its boys' school influence.⁴⁰ See LISTS, TABLES, and FIGURES

³⁵ Benjamin Franklin as quoted by Richard Peters, *A Sermon on Education : Wherein Some Account is Given of the Academy, Established in the City of Philadelphia : Preach'd at the Opening thereof, on the Seventh Day of January, 1750-1 / By the Reverend Mr. Richard Peters*. (Philadelphia: Printed and sold by B. Franklin, and D. Hall, at the Post-Office, 1751), 9.

³⁶ Carol Berkin, Ruth and Mary Beth Norton, *Women of America: a History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979), 72.

³⁷ Franklin, 4.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 6, 7.

³⁹ James A. Neal, *An Essay on the Education and Genius of the Female Sex* (Philadelphia, Johnson, 1795).

⁴⁰ Margaret A. Nash, "Cultivating the Powers of Human Beings": Gendered Perspectives on Curricula

List 1 for a listing of the courses offered by the Philadelphia Young Ladies Academy. The similarities between the boys' school and the Philadelphia Young Ladies' Academy in goals and methods overshadowed what would be the uniquely female training for republican motherhood.

Also described as republican in purpose, the Litchfield Academy strayed from this by focusing more on the social concerns of its students than political ones. Perhaps as much as its academic offerings and republican ideology, Litchfield Academy's location and social prominence brought in respectable students from near and far. By measure of the surviving remembrances about Litchfield Academy, an important aspect of the school was its social offerings. While not having enjoyed as illustrious a founding as the Philadelphia Young Ladies Academy, the Litchfield Academy began with similarly stated republican goals in 1792 and was soon heralded with a "distinguished reputation."⁴¹ Set in Litchfield, Connecticut, thirty miles outside of Hartford and on route from Boston to New York City, the school was located "in the centre of a pleasant village, remarkably healthy, free from vice and the temptations to the commission of

and Pedagogy in Academies of the New Republic, *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 41, No. 2. (Summer, 2001), 245.

⁴¹ Emily Noyes Vanderpoel and edited by Elizabeth Cynthia Barney Buel, *Chronicles of a Pioneer School, from 1792 to 1833: Being the History of Miss Sarah Pierce and her Litchfield School* (Cambridge: University Press, 1903), 7.

it.”⁴² Many in New England believed the Litchfield Academy to be the only female academy in the country. As one surmised, “if I am correctly informed this was the first seminary for the education of young ladies from distant places, ever established in our country. Daughters of prominent families were sent to remain under its decisive Christian influences, and to secure its then unusual educational advantages, from all parts of New England and of this State.”⁴³ While incorrectly assuming its uniqueness, many shared similar esteem for the female school, for it was distinguished in drawing students from surrounding states and touted well-connected clientele. It was not by chance that the well-to-do flocked to the town of Litchfield, Connecticut. Harper’s Magazine raved: “great as were the glories of the Hill in the Revolutionary times, they were fairly eclipsed in the period succeeding them, when the celebrated law school, and the no less famous female seminary which existed contemporaneously with it, attracted pupils from every State in the Union.”⁴⁴ Boasting a booming social life and proximity to two metropolitan centers, Litchfield was heralded for its country setting when compared to other first-class educational options in the heart of New York City. “Then the country was preferred, as most suitable for female improvement, away from the frivolities and dissipation of fashionable life.”⁴⁵ Litchfield had a listed population of 4,639 in the 1820 census, which placed Litchfield as the fourth most populous city in the state of Connecticut.⁴⁶ The school at Litchfield enjoyed the uniqueness of having started as a small group of girls educated in Miss Sarah Pierce’s dining room and flourished into a boarding school of

⁴² Ibid, 265.

⁴³ Ibid, 326-8 .

⁴⁴ Ibid, 335-6.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 8.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 394, 21.

national renown. Mrs. Asa Gray reminisced, “the reputation of the school, [it being the only one almost for young ladies] was in Aunt’s time very high, pupils coming from Canada & Georgia, & elsewhere.”⁴⁷ The idyllic location and noteworthy families succeeded in drawing students from distant states to matriculate and socialize at the Academy.

The emphasis on republican motherhood eclipses the schools with influences beyond the political, such as the Moravian Female Seminary, which predates the concept. The Bethlehem Female Seminary in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania originated as a religious institution for children of the Moravian settlers and townsfolk. Churches and schools were the first matters tackled after arriving at a settlement. See Table 1 for a depiction of the various Moravian settlements in Pennsylvania, their date of founding, as well as the date a school was created. The Moravians came to Bethlehem in 1741 and by the following year, the Bethlehem Female Seminary was in operation. Originally a small Moravian parochial school amidst a paucity of female schools, the strong educational beliefs and the ideals and practices of the Seminary resulted in its established reputation as a premier female educational institution. The Moravian tradition of education and its initial foundation of seminaries, the temporary consolidation, and nonsectarian enrollment allowed the Moravian Female Seminary to secure an early lead in the forum of female educational institutions. Emerging as one of only two female schools in the

⁴⁷ Ibid, 324.

country in 1742, the Moravian Female Seminary managed to remain in the forefront of female education, drawing students from across the American colonies and beyond.⁴⁸

The religious education offered by schools can be deemed neither republican nor non-republican as all concerned with female education would have included religious training into the curriculum. Religious devotion was integrated in the republican ideals those behind the Philadelphia Young Ladies' Academy worked to foster. All concerned with education during the republican era would have professed the importance of implementing a godly course of studies, one based on the teachings of Christianity. The abundance of ecclesiastic leaders among the founders of the Philadelphia Young Ladies Academy insured that the women would be taught "above all things... That the Knowledge of her Creator is Wisdom *pre-eminent*; and the Ornaments of a meek and quiet Spirit, are the first-rate accomplishments under heaven."⁴⁹ The aim of Philadelphia Young Ladies' Academy founder, Samuel Magaw, among others, remains very similar in terms of the presence of religious teaching in the curriculum. Magaw hoped that after a woman's time at the Young Ladies Academy, she would become "(what I look upon to be, but very little lower than the Angels) *sensible, virtuous, sweet-tempered* Women."⁵⁰ This, he assured those concerned, was partially addressed through the separation of sexes. Protecting virtue was a growing concern as more public schools began to mix boys and girls in classes. Rush believed that through sexual division "female delicacy is cherished

⁴⁸ See Figure 1 for a map with the origins of Bethlehem Female Seminary students from 1795-1802.

⁴⁹ Magaw, 10.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 14.

and preserved.”⁵¹ Through religious education and sexual segregation, the founders of the Philadelphia Academy fostered religious devotion and guarded virtue.

Outweighing any possible political motivation, the Moravian schools were designed and conducted to promote personal religious studies through academics and behavior.⁵² Through dormitory housing and communal worship, the Female Seminary strove to recreate a Christian home. Two tutoresses lived with the girls and were responsible for their moral and physical wellbeing, giving much weight to “in loco parentis.” The Moravians were a pacifist sect, rejected corporal punishment, and would in the worst case of misbehavior send a student home. A Christian education was the ultimate goal: to “develop the intellect by patient and laborious teaching, to discipline the mind to habits of reflection and self-control, to render knowledge subservient to usefulness in society, and the religion of the heart the crown of all.”⁵³ Being of value to society was evident through the girls’ activities, including spinning days, hosting visitors, and helping the congregation. There were no servants employed by the Seminary; all girls were taught to dress, serve, and clean up after themselves.⁵⁴ Industriousness and piety pervaded all tasks. Count Zinzendorf stated that “It is one of my great hopes that Bethlehem may become a pattern for the education of children.”⁵⁵ Continuing the strong basis of education developed in Hernhuth, Germany, the Moravian Female Seminary in Bethlehem came to achieve Zinzendorf’s aim as an influential forerunner in women’s

⁵¹ Rush, 23.

⁵² William C. Reichel, *A History of the Rise, Progress and Present Condition of the Bethlehem Female Seminary with a Catalogue of its Pupils* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1858), 36.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁵⁵ Zinzendorf, as quoted by Haller, *Early Moravian Education in Pennsylvania*, 13.

education.⁵⁶ Zinzendorf's daughter, Benigna, first opened the Female Seminary's doors in Germantown on May 4, 1742. The school was soon relocated to Bethlehem, and there it remained for two hundred years. Moravians believed "Where there is no school, one loses the best opportunity to bring about spiritual gain and blessing to the youth of our land."⁵⁷ The Moravians' consistent dedication to education can be seen in the numerous schools established in the areas surrounding Moravian settlements. Mabel Haller, a historian of Moravian education, wrote that the church's pulpit and the schoolmaster's desk were "identical in function" in the fight against sin.⁵⁸ Often, each settlement included schools that served the young Moravians, as well as children of the town.

The intentions of these schools provide only partial insight as to their influences, political and other; the curriculum and practices reveal how much the founders acted on those ideals. A host of motivations including political, drove education and practices as in the cases of the Philadelphia Young Ladies' Academy and the Litchfield Academy.

The high behavioral standards implemented at the Litchfield Academy sought to serve the republican ideals of a virtuous citizenry. The assignment of demerits as a weekly occurrence noteworthy enough to draw visitors is a testament to the ideal behavior the school was attempting to create. For the young woman who sought academic success blessed by diploma, she would have to prove behavioral mastery as well: "The candidates must answer eight out of nine of their questions in all branches in General Examination. They must at no time have lost their whole holiday and in order to

⁵⁶ Reverend John Wesley, *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, 24 February 1743.

⁵⁷ Layritz, Paul Eugene, *Betrachtungen uber eine verstandige und christliche Erziehung der Kinder*, 15, as quoted by Haller, *Early Moravian Education in Pennsylvania*, 213.

⁵⁸ Haller, *Early Moravian Education*, 214.

ascertain this they must have sufficient credit marks. They must never have lost more than one hour of their holiday for the same result in their certificate, must never have lost 3 hours holiday for noise and must have to be shown at the close of the school three months journal or eight dissertations.” School was conducted from nine to three in the afternoon and until four in the afternoon on Wednesdays; on Saturday there was a half-day holiday.⁵⁹ Behavioral conformity was enforced through oversight of diaries, logbooks, and mutual supervision. Being homesick, moving without permission and failing to inform others of faults were prohibited.⁶⁰ The students’ attire was limited and girls were instructed, “not to wear your party dresses, or any handsome lace, neither your best hats or shawls to school.”⁶¹ A myriad of rules and guidelines were developed and enforced in reflection of the ideal characteristics of young women.

In pursuing high behavioral standards, Litchfield Academy sought to impart virtue in the young women, as was essential to republican motherhood. To ensure that guidelines for a virtuous life were followed, a system of enforcement was created. The basis of this and other female educational institutions was to create the ideal woman and academics were only half of that effort. Developing strict discipline and morals were tantamount to the school’s mission, as the girls at Pierce’s school had to have every hour of the day filled with useful attainments and document them. Rules, as one Charlotte Phelps copied down in 1825, dictated, “every hour during the week must be fully occupied either in useful employments, or necessary recreation. Two hours must be

⁵⁹ Vanderpoel, 149.

⁶⁰ Ibid, 231, 256.

⁶¹ Ibid, 257.

faithfully devoted to close study each day, while out of school: and every hour in school must be fully occupied. The ladies where you board must mention if you do not study your two hours each day.” Fellow students were also asked to report wasted time and missed study opportunities “not to be done from malice, but from a sincere desire for their reformation.”⁶² Pierce placed pressure on a web of other women to check and guarantee each young woman’s propriety. What might be considered public humiliation in the present-day was routine discipline for Miss Pierce. She organized a weekly assembly “every Saturday, [and] the pupils faults noticed by Miss Pierce during the week, were pointed out by her in the presence of the whole school, and credit and debt marks set down accordingly.”⁶³ Her school used a system of merits worn on the girls’ dresses and earned based on her review of the behaviors of the students.⁶⁴ The diaries delineate how students spent their waking hours, both their days of work and their day of rest. The various diary entries included in Emily Vanderpoel’s *Chronicles of a Pioneer School* indicate that the girls attended church services only on Sundays, but rarely was religion only found in its own classroom course. It is instead more likely that religion was worked into existing coursework, as there are instances in which Miss Pierce quizzes a student on Bible verses.⁶⁵ If virtue was not inspired from within, it was most certainly forced from without.

There is no instance of a founder of the Bethlehem Seminary supporting the republican motherhood ideal but the academic offerings are strikingly similar to other

⁶² Ibid, 255-6.

⁶³ Ibid, 323.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 35, 44-45.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 68.

institutions that supported the ideal. See List 2 for a delineation of the variety and extensiveness of curriculum at the Seminary. To better present foreign languages, teachers from European congregations were recruited.⁶⁶ The girls were provided with newspapers and kept up to date on current affairs. Parents could choose their daughter's course of studies upon acceptance. Choices varied. Eliza Alsop's father selected Painting on Velvet and Artificial Flowers while Miss Margaret Salum's uncle opted for the standard reading, writing, and arithmetic in the first quarter, and depending on grades, possibly adding needlepoint later.⁶⁷ Sadly, no surviving promotional literature from the Seminary during this time period can be found and school's justification of offerings is left up to interpretation. No woman could be considered well-educated without eloquence in letter writing, and Reverend Huebner expected all students to write to him weekly to continually hone their skill. Continuing Huebner's tradition, Brother Jacob Van Vleck (1788-1805) initiated the *Journal of Daily Events*, eliciting girls to record the daily events of the boarding school. Meant as a writing exercise, Van Vleck would make comments on the girls' contributions. Van Vleck took the same care providing responses to the young ladies' letters and assignments. Pleased by the progress of the girls, Br. Van Vleck hoped that "by laudable emulation they will strive to keep pace in improving their writing."⁶⁸ Few schools in the colonies compared in size and organization in offering such a high caliber of education. Woody singled out the Bethlehem Female Seminary as

⁶⁶ Reichel, 110, 141; Maria Rosina Unger, *A Journal Kept at Bethlehem Boarding School* begun in 1789.

⁶⁷ Thomas Alsop, to Reverend John Freecauf, 19 August 1819, Female Seminary Correspondence, Box 1, A-D 1804-1849, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem and Dr. Samuel Ames, Philadelphia, to Reverend Charles Seidel, 18 July 1834, Female Seminary Correspondence, Box 1, A-D 1804-1849, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem.

⁶⁸ Jacob Van Vleck, Bethlehem, to Tutoreses, 2 July 1792, Box 268C Rules & Regulations: 1785-1824 (Girls Boarding School), Moravian Archives, Bethlehem.

one of the few institutions that countered the trend of ornamental educational institutions by offering a serious academic education.⁶⁹ With its serious academic, religious, and ornamental offerings similar to Litchfield and the Philadelphia Young Ladies' Academy, the Moravian Female Seminary thrived as a religious and academic institution.

The founder of the Litchfield Academy, Sarah Pierce, may have professed republican motherhood ideas publicly but her curriculum enveloped a broader vision of womanhood as more than mothers. Impressively prominent, the Litchfield Academy provided a full docket of academic courses. See List 3 for a listing of the courses provided by the Litchfield Academy. Graduates of the Litchfield Academy secured an education similar to that offered by a modern liberal arts college. Women were constantly judged by their eloquence in writing; to refine one's letter writing was highly respected. Every month students at Litchfield were required to write home to friends and family (an essay of two hundred words every two weeks) and avoid "careless" writing."⁷⁰ Unsatisfied with the texts available, Pierce wrote her own history textbook which garnered praise.⁷¹ She wrote the book in question and answer form and "attempted to give them [the students] a general notion of the government of God, and of the truth of the Scripture, by a partial account of the fulfillment of prophecy." Harriet Beecher Stowe then added her accolades, describing the compendium as a "happy medium" between the majority of histories that were "generally so dry & devoid of interest that children are

⁶⁹ Woody, 108.

⁷⁰ Reichel, 256.

⁷¹ Pierce's book was published in the following editions: First edition: 1811, New Haven, Second volume: 1816, third: 1817, fourth: 1818 second edition printed by Starr & Niles, Middletown, CT 1823. vol II printed by S. S. Smith, Litchfield 1827.

disgusted...and others [that] are too minute and voluminous.”⁷² Most education of the time was conveyed orally by the professor and Litchfield was no different. An example was “history [that] was taught by Miss Pierce’s reading aloud. The scholars then wrote down what they remembered, which was with many of them, kept in their daily journal.”⁷³ In addition to the aforementioned textbooks, the school’s location in the intellectually buzzing town of Litchfield allowed for eminent scholarly drop-ins. Visiting authors, a challenging curriculum, and interactive textbooks appealed to the whole woman.

Apart from politics and citizenry, the religious devotion and academic rigor of the Moravian school would have appealed to those seeking a republican education but piety was the point of Moravian education. Each school day included time spent at worship in the Chapel as well as time in the evening set aside for devotions. Students spent one hour per week exploring the truths of Christianity and another hour each morning participating in dialogues on gospel narratives.⁷⁴ Education via the reading, reciting and analyzing of the Bible, and particularly the New Testament, was the focus of Moravian education.⁷⁵ The memorization of Biblical verses was common throughout Moravian schools. Hymn stanzas were composed to relate to Bible verses. Since the founding of the *Collegium Musicum* in 1744, music had always played a significant role in Moravian education. One twelve year-old student wrote of her being “taught music, both vocal and instrumental. I play the guitar twice a day, and am taught the spinet and pianoforte, and

⁷² Ibid, 83.

⁷³ Ibid, 323.

⁷⁴ Reichel, 33-6.

⁷⁵ Haller, 219.

sometimes I play the organ.”⁷⁶ There were a record seven pianos and clavichords at the Seminary nearing the end of the century, and records of music collections imported from Holland. The Moravians regarded an education in music as a worthwhile accomplishment, but also “a refiner of the mind and a handmaid to devotion.”⁷⁷

The reasons given for offering artistic refinements at Litchfield were for personal entertainment and comfort as opposed to a greater political good. Attainments beyond the strictly academic included classes in needlepoint, oratory, drawing, and dancing. Administrators argued that these were not frills but useful skills needed to fill that “portion of time that may fall heavy on their heads.”⁷⁸ Accomplishments such as singing a woman would later need to relieve “the distress and vexation of a husband- the noise of the nursery, and even, the sorrow that will sometimes intrude into her own bosom.”⁷⁹ The inclusion of these skills and fine arts would be considered outside the purview of republican motherhood, but championed as necessary for the ideal republican woman.

While marriage was a necessary attainment to realize republican motherhood goals, the endorsement of social gatherings eroded Litchfield’s attempt to comply with the moral fortitude of republican motherhood ideology. Kerber included the denouncement of republican women’s distraction by the “frivolities of fashion” so

⁷⁶ From a letter written by a pupil in the Bethlehem Boarding School to her brother who was attending an academy in Connecticut, dated August 16, 1787. It appeared in the *New Haven Gazette and Connecticut Magazine* from which it was copied in the *American Magazine* (edited by Noah Webster), and was translated into German in the *Philadelphia Correspondenz*. Mabel Haller, *Early Moravian Education in Pennsylvania* (Nazareth: Moravian Historical Society, 1953), 256.

⁷⁷ Reichel, 141.

⁷⁸ Berkin, 75.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 77.

nonchalantly, it seems almost an assumption.⁸⁰ Certainly, a schedule of social gatherings and grand balls would be outside of that realm. The reputation of the law school put Litchfield on the map while the bevy of budding lawyers provided proper marrying stock for the Litchfield graduates. Both well-reputed, “the Litchfield Law School in the days of Judge Tapping Reeve and Judge Gould and Miss Pierce’s Female School, were in their day two very memorable institutions.”⁸¹ The propinquity of the two schools created a college town atmosphere in the rural setting. The appeal is twofold as “the law school of Judges Reeve and Gould, and the young ladies’ school of the Misses Pierce, made it an educational center scarcely second in the breadth of its influence to any in the land, and attracted a class of residents of high social position.”⁸² More attractive than the intellectual environment was the concentration of high society. Few memoirists were remiss to recollect the pedigree of their fellow students. On walking around Litchfield, “I was soon acquainted with the best families and my afternoon walks, as well as my evening visits, often led me among those distinguished in beauty, grace, and position. Among these, were the Wolcotts, the Demings, the Tallmadges, the Landons and Miss Peck, who afterwards became my wife.”⁸³ Catherine Webb attended Litchfield during the summer of 1815 and chronicled the fellow students of distinction. “Among the pupils...[were] two Misses Farnham from Massachusetts, Miss Phebe Conklin from Poughkeepsie, two Misses Sanford from Jamestown, NY, Miss Emmeline Beebe from

⁸⁰ Kerber, 203.

⁸¹ Vanderpoel, 36.

⁸² Ibid, 30.

⁸³ Ibid, 42.

Connecticut and a Miss Caroline Delafield.”⁸⁴ With a nearby law school training the next social elite, Pierce forged a friendly relationship with the school, making the pretense of sexual segregation, at least outside of the classroom, difficult to maintain. The students of the law school were allowed to call upon Pierce’s students while minding “the laws of strict decorum.”⁸⁵ The men of the law school reminisced of making “a point of dropping in on Friday afternoons to hear them read off” the demerits.⁸⁶ What drew even more eligible young men to the all-girls school were the balls throughout the year.

Litchfield’s hosting of numerous dances and balls prepared women more for social events than for motherhood. As the figurehead of a virtue-shaping institution, Miss Pierce instilled in the schools structure her strong views on the necessary attainments of the model woman along with those to avoid. Her vision met with great resistance when it came to a favored activity of the young ladies and it seems that the students won out. Miss Pierce expressed her disapproval of dancing to her students (as copied by another student) and intimated the bleak life that may very well lie ahead:

A passion for making the best figure in a minuet is vastly beneath the dignity of a woman’s understanding. And I am not sure whether exceling [sic] in this particular does not inspire too great a fondness for dissipated pleasures and portionably abate the ardour for more retired virtues. A woman who can sparkle and engage the admiration of every beholder at a birth night or a ball is not always content with the grave office of managing a family or the still and sober innocence of domestic scenes, besides dancing is not at certain moments without its temptations.”⁸⁷

Her quote gravely paints women who take pleasure in dance as distracted future wives and mothers. Pierce’s moral attack on the temptations of dancing did not stop her

⁸⁴ Ibid, 146-151.

⁸⁵ Ibid, 258

⁸⁶ Ibid, 334.

⁸⁷ Ibid, 73-4.

from ending classes early to allow the students to take dancing lessons (presumably at a nearby instructor's) as one student recorded that "school was dismissed at four went to dancing [sic] school" nor did it slow the social schedule of balls and dances sponsored by the school.⁸⁸ After reading the letters and memories of students, it is easy to forget the schoolwork that was surely carried out amidst tales of "the great events of the school year were the balls, given sometimes by the young ladies in the school room."⁸⁹ There was an understanding and assumption that the boarding school girls would socialize with the neighboring law students, as school rules regulated minimum age requirements: "No young lady is allowed to attend any public ball, or sleigh party till they are more than 16 years old."⁹⁰ One student wrote of the social life, "We have balls at Miss Pierce's school better than all the balls at Middletown. We dance once a month. We have a musician and he comes by 6 o'clock and plays till 9. Our exhibitions are on Tuesday and Wednesday, and Thursday we dance and by Friday night I really think I shall be tired."⁹¹ From the sources that remain, the social nature of Litchfield along with its interaction with the law schools influenced the procedures of the academy. Pierce's public stance and verbal attack on dancing appears aligned with Kerber's 'no frills' republican motherhood values but other factors entered into the running of Litchfield.

Each of the schools researched provided notable academic offerings and ornamental instruction, as well as religious and moral guidance; the training of women for their role in shaping the nation through their children was only one aspect of their

⁸⁸ Ibid, 70.

⁸⁹ Ibid, 334.

⁹⁰ Ibid, 256.

⁹¹ Ibid, 334, 259.

multifaceted education. Each school armed their students with knowledge of history, math, science, religion, composition, a foreign language, and a familiarity of classic literature. The founders of each, as well as their clientele, believed in single-sex education as essential to preserving female virtue. The Philadelphia Young Ladies Academy and the Litchfield Academy published and vocalized support for republican motherhood ideals yet overlapping curricula of all three schools testifies to their shared belief that a properly developed woman required a strong grounding in academics and religion. Differences between the three distinguished their own values and deviation from the republican motherhood ideal. Though often misrepresented as republican motherhood institutions when based on their public image, when contrasted against the curriculum, it is clear that the republican motherhood ideal was not the driving force behind the education of females in the Republican era.

LISTS, TABLES, and FIGURES

List 1. Philadelphia Young Ladies Academy Course Offerings

Music
Dancing
Reading
Writing
Bookkeeping
Moral essays
Geography
Chronology
History
Religion
Chemistry
Oratory
Drawing

Source: Benjamin Rush, pg. 9, 10, 11, 13, 17, 18. There are conflicting accounts concerning the teaching of drawing.

The following List 2, delineates the variety and extensiveness of curriculum at the

Seminary.

List 2. Moravian Seminary Course Offerings

Tambour
Piano forte
Spinet
Organ
Guitar
Clavichord
Spelling
Grammar
Rhetoric
Composition
Etymology
Syntax
Reading
Penmanship
Poetry
Botany
Geography
Astronomy
Mathematics
Bookkeeping
Ancient and Modern history
Philosophy
German
French
Latin
Drawing
Painting
Watercolors
Painting in ebony
Fancy work in pasteboard
Sewing
Knitting
Embroidery
Wax flowers

Source: Reichel, A History of the Rise, Progress, and Present Condition of the Bethlehem Female Seminary, 109-112, 209 and Haller, Early Moravian Education, 190, 239 and Maria Rosina Unger, A Journal Kept at Bethlehem Boarding School begun in 1789 [journal online]; available from http://bdhp.moravian.edu/personal_papers/journals/unger/mariarosina.html; Internet; accessed 30 January 2006.

List 3 depicts the courses provided by the Litchfield Academy.

Music
Rhetoric
Composition
Grammar
Ciphering
Geography
Ancient and Modern History
Arithmetic
Modern Europe
Moral Philosophy
Chemistry
Algebra
Latin Greek
French
Principles on Taste
Drawing

Source: Chronicles of a Pioneer School, pg. 52, 233, 264.⁹²

⁹² The studies at Litchfield far surpassed those at the local public school, to include: “Morses Geography, Websters Elements English Grammar, Miss Pierces History, Arithmetic through Interest, Blair’s Lectures, Modern Europe, Ramsey’s American Revolution, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Paley’s Moral Philosophy, Hedge’s Logic and Addison on Taste.” In addition to these, the pupils, “at their option, will be instructed in Latin, Greek, and French Languages, the various branches of Natural History, Music and Drawing, for all which the most competent instructors are provided.” The impressive course selection was supplanted by additional intellectual pursuits. Charlotte Sheldon, a student at Litchfield wrote in her diary at the age of sixteen that she had read Voltaire’s play, “Nanine,” Buffon’s Natural history, Sophron and Tigranes, Rousseau’s Emile, and more. Other students reminisced on having read Don Quixote and Mary Walstoncraft’s travels, which afford a sample of the literary heights that students were expected to reach.

The following, Table 1, depicts the various Moravian settlements in Pennsylvania, their date of founding as well as the date a school was created. Notice the short lapse between the foundation of a congregation and the commencement of school. In some cases, school preceded the congregation.

Table 1. Congregation foundation and school commencement lapses

Congregation Name	Foundation/ Church built	Commencement of School
Reed's Church	1742	1742
Bethlehem	1741	1742
North Heidelberg	1747 church built	1744
Oley	1743	1745
Lancaster	1746	1747
Donegal	1750 church built	1752
Muddy Creek	1743	1743
Lebanon	1747	1748
Balthasar (Orth's school)	Did not have separate congregation	1754
Bethel	1745	1745
Mill Creek	1743	1745
Peter Feehrer's School	1767/8	1768
Allemaengel	1751	1747
Macungie	1747	1747
Stroudsburg	1753	1753
Schoeneck	1762	1762
Philadelphia	1743	1748
Grist Creek	1746 first gathering	1748

Source: Mabel Haller, *Early Moravian Education*, 116-18, 120, 124, 130, 132, 138-40, 142-3, 144, 149, 150-6, 161-66, 168-9, 174-5, 180-1.

Collected from the Moravian Archives
Girls' School Applications, Figure 1 depicts
the geographical draw of the Bethlehem Female Seminary
from 1795-1802.

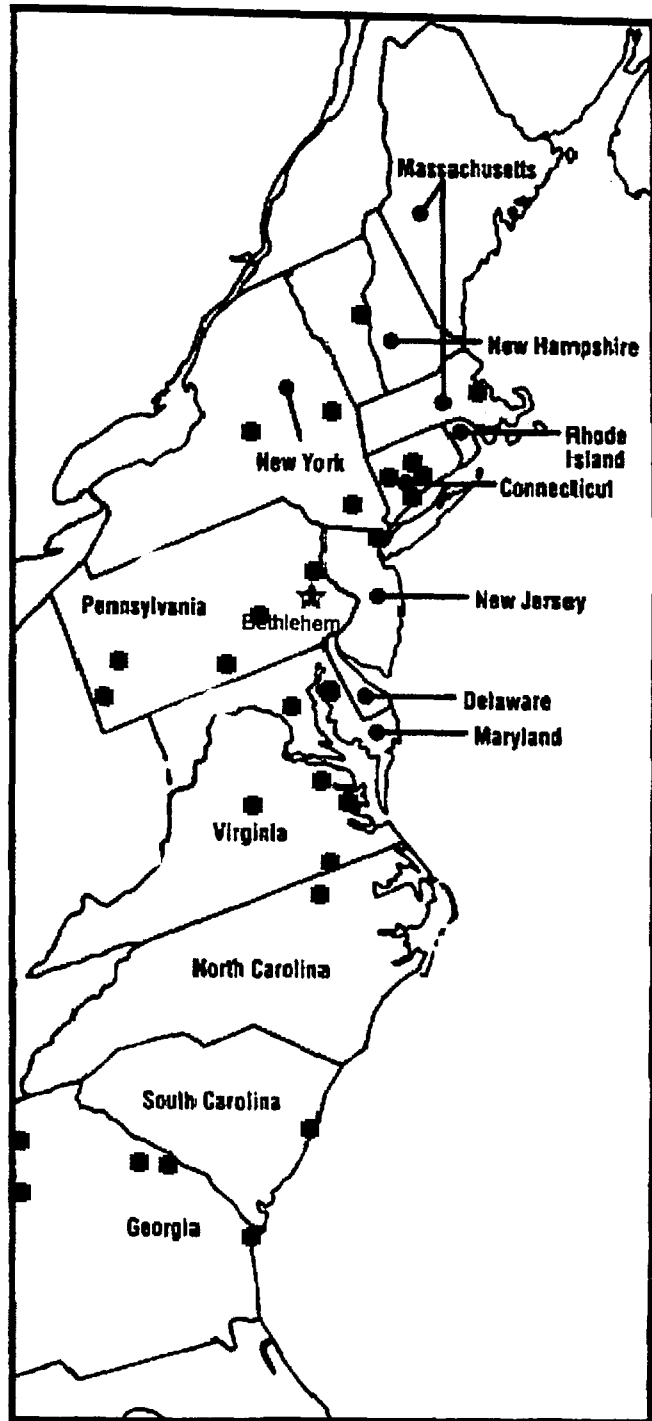


Figure 1 Origins of Seminary students, 1795-1802
Source: *Girls' School Applications*, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem.

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**END OF
TITLE**