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Gender, War and Politics

Transatlantic Perspectives, 1775–1830

Edited by

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The century from 1750 to 1850 was a seminal period of change, not just in Europe but also across the globe. The political landscape was transformed by a series of revolutions fought in the name of liberty–most notably in the Americas and France, of course, but elsewhere, too: in Holland and Geneva during the eighteenth century and across much of mainland Europe by 1848. Nor was change confined to the European world. New ideas of freedom, equality and human rights were carried to the furthest outposts of empire, to Egypt, India and the Caribbean, which saw the creation in 1801 of the first black republic in Haiti, the former French colony of Saint-Domingue. And in the early part of the nineteenth century they continued to inspire anti-colonial and liberation movements throughout Central and Latin America.

If political and social institutions were transformed by revolution in these years, so, too, was warfare. During the quarter-century of the French Revolutionary Wars, in particular, Europe was faced with the prospect of ‘total’ war, on a scale unprecedented before the twentieth century. Military hardware, it is true, evolved only gradually, and battles were not necessarily any bloodier than they had been during the Seven Years War. But in other ways these can legitimately be described as the first modern wars fought by mass armies mobilized by national and patriotic propaganda, leading to the displacement of millions of people throughout Europe and beyond, as soldiers, prisoners of war, civilians and refugees. For those who lived through the period these wars would be a formative experience that shaped the ambitions and the identities of a generation.

The aims of the series are necessarily ambitious. In its various volumes, whether single-authored monographs or themed collections, it seeks to extend the scope of more traditional historiography. It will study warfare during this formative century not just in Europe, but also in the Americas, in colonial societies, and across the world. It will analyse the construction of identities and power relations by integrating the principal categories of difference, most notably class and religion, generation and gender, race and ethnicity. It will adopt a multifaceted approach to the period, and turn to methods of political, cultural, social, military and gender history, in order to develop a challenging and multidisciplinary analysis. Finally, it will examine elements of comparison and transfer and so tease out the complexities of regional, national and global history.
Notes on Contributors

Katherine B. Aaslestad is Associate Professor of History at West Virginia University. Her main research interests are war and society, gender and political culture in modern German and European history. She is the author of *Place and Politics: Local Identity, Civic Culture, and German Nationalism in North Germany during the Revolutionary Era* (Leiden, 2005); and she is the co-editor, with Karen Hagemann, of *Collaboration, Resistance, and Reform: Experiences and Historiographies of the Napoleonic Wars in Central Europe*, a special issue of *Central European History* (39/4 [2006]) and, with Karen Hagemann and Judith Miller, of *Gender, War and the Nation in the Period of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars—European Perspectives*, a special issue of the journal *European History Quarterly* (37/4 [2007]). Her articles have also appeared in the *Journal of Social History*, the *Journal of Economic History*, the *International History Review* and the *Proceedings from the Consortium on Revolutionary Europe*.

Thomas Cardoza is Professor of Humanities at Truckee Meadows Community College, Reno. His main field of teaching and research is early modern and modern French history. His current research project focuses on *enfants de troupe*, children of *cantinières* and soldiers who were officially enrolled as ‘children of the regiment’. His monograph, entitled *Intrepid Women: Cantinières and Vivandières of the French Army*, is forthcoming from Indiana University Press. He has also contributed articles to *Paedagogica Historica* and *War and Society* as well as a chapter to *Children and War: An Anthology*, edited by James Marten (New York, 2002).

Sarah C. Chambers is Associate Professor of History at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. Her research explores political culture and citizenship during Spanish America’s transition from colonialism to independence. She is currently writing a book on the intersections of family and politics in Chile from about 1780 to 1860. In addition she recently began a new research project on migrations spurred by the Wars of Independence in South America; in it she will trace the paths of internal refugees, political exiles and royalist émigrés, and analyse how these movements affected the formation of new national and gender identities. She is the author of *From Subjects to Citizens: Honor, Gender, and Politics in Arequipa, Peru, 1780–1854* (University Park, PA, 1999) and the co-editor, with Sueann Caulfield and Lara Putnam, of *Honor, Status, and Law in Modern Latin America* (Durham, NC, 2005). She has also published articles in *Hispanic Research Journal* and the *Journal of Women’s History*. 
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Stefan Dudink is Lecturer at the Institute for Gender Studies of Radboud University, Nijmegen. His main field of research is the history of gender and sexuality in modern Western political culture, with a focus on the Netherlands. He has published a study on late nineteenth-century Dutch liberalism, *Deugdzaam liberalisme: sociaal-liberalisme in Nederland, 1870–1901* (Amsterdam, 1997), and various articles and book chapters on masculinity and homosexuality. He is a co-editor, with Karen Hagemann and John Tosh, of *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History* (Manchester, 2004) and, with Karen Hagemann and Anna Clark, of *Representing Masculinity: Male Citizenship in Modern Western Culture* (New York, 2007).

David Eltis is Robert W. Woodruff Professor of History at Emory University, Atlanta. His research interests focus on the early modern Atlantic world, slavery and migration—both coerced and free. He is the author of *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (Oxford, 1987) and *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge, 2000). He is the editor of *Routes to Slavery: Direction, Mortality, and Ethnicity in the Transatlantic Slave Trade, 1595–1867* (London, 1997) and *Coerced and Free Migration: Global
Perspectives (Stanford, 2002). He is the co-editor, with Frank Lewis and Kenneth Sokoloff, of Slavery in the Development of the Americas (Cambridge, 2004); with David Richardson, of Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database (New Haven, 2008) and, with Philip Morgan, of New Perspectives on the Transatlantic Slave Trade, a special issue of William and Mary Quarterly (58/1 [2001]). He is a co-creator of The Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM (New York, 1999). His current projects include a census of the Atlantic slave trade, a book on slave-ship revolts, an analysis of the identity of captive Africans put aboard slave ships and The Cambridge World History of Slavery, which he is co-editing.

Alan Forrest is Professor of Modern History and Director of the Centre for Eighteenth-Century Studies at the University of York. He works on modern French history, especially the period of the French Revolution and Empire, and on the history of modern warfare. He serves on the board of ‘Nations, Borders, Identities: The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars in European Experience, 1792–1815’, a research project funded by the British Arts and Humanities Research Council and the German Research Foundation. He is the author of Soldiers of the French Revolution (Durham, NC, 1990), Napoleon’s Men: The Soldiers of the Revolution and Empire (London, 2002), Paris, the Provinces, and the French Revolution (London, 2004) and, most recently, The Legacy of the French Revolutionary Wars: The Nation-in-Arms in French Republican Memory (Cambridge, 2009). He is also the co-author, with Jean-Paul Bertaud and Annie Jourdan, of Napoléon, le monde et les Anglais: Guerre des mots et des images (Paris, 2004); co-editor, with Philip Dwyer, of Napoleon and His Empire: Europe 1804–1814 (Basingstoke, 2007); co-editor, with Peter Wilson, of The Bee and the Eagle: Napoleonic France and the End of the Holy Roman Empire (Basingstoke, 2008) and co-editor, with Karen Hagemann and Jane Rendall, of Soldiers, Citizens and Civilians: Experiences and Perceptions of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, 1790–1820 (Basingstoke, 2009).

Karen Hagemann is James G. Kenan Distinguished Professor of History at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Her research focuses on the history of Germany and Europe from the late eighteenth to the twentieth century, women’s and gender history, and military history. Since 2005 she has directed ‘Nations, Borders, Identities: The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars in European Experience, 1792–1815’, a research project funded by the British Arts and Humanities Research Council and the German Research Foundation. She is the author of ‘Mannlicher Muth und Teutsche Ehre’: Nation, Militär und Geschlecht zur Zeit der Antinapoleonischen Kriege Preußens (Paderborn, 2002); a co-editor, with Ida Blom and Catherine Hall, of Gendered Nations: Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century (Oxford, 2000); co-editor, with Stefanie Schüler-Springorum, of Home/Front: The Military, War and Gender in Twentieth-Century Germany (Oxford, 2002); co-editor, with Stefan Dudink and John Tosh, of Masculinities
in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History (Manchester, 2004); co-editor, with Jean H. Quataert, of Gendering Modern German History: Rewriting Historiography (Oxford, 2007); co-editor, with Stefan Dudink and Anna Clark, of Representing Masculinity: Male Citizenship in Modern Western Culture (Basingstoke, 2007); co-editor, with Sonya Michel and Gunilla Budde, of Civil Society and Gender Justice: Historical and Comparative Perspectives (Oxford, 2008) and co-editor, with Alan Forrest and Jane Rendall, of Soldiers, Citizens and Civilians: Experiences and Perceptions of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, 1790–1820 (Basingstoke, 2009).

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Catriona Kennedy is a Lecturer at the University of York. Her research and teaching interests are the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars in Britain and Ireland, the history of Irish nationalism, women's and gender history and the history of ideas. Funded by the British Arts and Humanities Research Council, she recently completed a project on the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars in Britain and Ireland for the international research project ‘Nations, Borders, Identities: The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars in European Experience, 1792–1815’. Currently, she is revising her dissertation, provisionally titled ‘Engendering Ireland: Women, Politics, and Nation, 1789–1848’, for publication. She has contributed articles to Public Men: Political Masculinities in Modern Britain, edited by Matthew McCormack (Basingstoke, 2007); Soldiers, Citizens and Civilians: Experiences and Perceptions of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, 1790–1820, edited by Alan Forrest et al. (Basingstoke, 2009) and Women’s History Review.

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Contributors

William A. Pencak and Daniel K. Richter (University Park, PA, 2004), and Representing Masculinity: Male Citizenship in Modern Western Culture, edited by Stefan Dudink et al. (Basingstoke, 2008). His current research project is titled ‘Seductive Sedition: Loyalists, Language, and Power in Revolutionary New Hampshire’.

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Jane Rendall is Honorary Fellow in the History Department at the University of York. Her research focuses on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century British and comparative women’s history and, in particular, on Scottish women’s history and the Scottish Enlightenment. She serves on the board of ‘Nations, Borders, Identities: The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars in European Experience, 1792–1815’, a research project funded by the British Arts and Humanities Research Council and the German Research Foundation. She is the author of The Origins of Modern Feminism: Women in Britain, France, and the United States, 1780–1860 (Basingstoke, 1985), editor of Equal or Different: Women’s Politics 1800–1914 (Oxford, 1987) and co-author, with Catherine Hall and Keith McClelland, of Defining the Victorian Nation: Class, Race, Gender and the British Reform Act of 1867 (Cambridge, 2000). She is also the co-editor, with Karen Offen and Ruth Roach Pierson, of Writing Women’s History: International Perspectives (Bloomington, 1991); with Mark Hallett, of Eighteenth-Century York: Culture, Space and Society (York, 2003); and, with Alan Forrest and Karen Hagemann, of Soldiers, Citizens and Civilians: Experiences and Perceptions of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, 1790–1820 (Basingstoke, 2009).
Illustrations

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1  *Rien ne manque plus à sa gloire* (Nothing more is lacking for his glory), engraving, Paris, 1801, unknown artist  2

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Preface

This book addresses from a transatlantic perspective the relationships between war, the shaping of political and national identities and changing gender regimes between 1775 and 1830. The period began with the outbreak of the American War of Independence. By 1830 the Wars of Independence in Latin America were at an end, and the maps of both Europe and the Americas had been redrawn. The French and Haitian revolutions and the Revolutionary, Napoleonic and Ibero-American wars dominated the years in between. Throughout this era of imperial encounters and revolutionary struggles for national liberation, the transatlantic world experienced more or less constant warfare, which touched not only all of Europe but also large parts of Africa, the Americas and the Caribbean archipelago. Essentially, these wars were a contest among the major European powers—Britain, France, Spain and their allies—for global dominance. The slave trade and slavery, both central to the profitable exploitation of Europe’s colonies, were therefore inextricably connected to these wars, as was the abolitionist movement.

Inspired by revolutionary or national ideologies, conscripted troops, militias and volunteer units increasingly fought alongside professional forces. As revolutionary and conservative regimes deployed mass armies across Europe and North America, the conduct of warfare was transformed, along with the political, social and gender orders of both old and new worlds. Soldiers and civilians of all classes, races and ethnicities—men and women alike—were mobilized for war on an unprecedented scale. Revolutionary governments promised men—regardless of their race—personal freedom and political rights in return for military service, while ancien régimes used patriotic rhetoric to recruit men for warfare. When necessary, the armed forces on both sides admitted Native Americans and slaves into their ranks.

While the past decade has produced exciting new scholarship on this period, the lack of collaboration between military, social and gender historians has resulted in widespread scholarly neglect of the gendered dimensions of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century warfare. Many military historians continue to overlook the findings of recent feminist scholarship, which identify war as a key site for the negotiation and construction of gender identities. By exploring the significance of gender in relation to war and politics between 1775 and 1830, this volume offers new research and extends the historiographical boundaries of the subject. Our aim is twofold. We seek to advance knowledge of the relations between the military, war, nation and gender in the light of transatlantic connections.
and comparisons as well as regional and national differences and similarities. We also hope to contribute to the understanding of the relationship between gender and memory by examining not only the legacy of the gender ideals formed between 1775 and 1830 but also the subsequent gendering of the representation and commemoration of these wars. Seventeen authors from six countries, all experts in their fields, ask how empire- and nation-building was related to changes in warfare and in slave economies and what role gender differences played in these contexts. Their chapters are organized into five parts that focus on the following themes: ‘Empire, Colonial War and Slavery’; ‘Masculinity, Revolution and War’; ‘Warfare, Civil Society and Women’; ‘Patriotism, Citizenship and Nation-Building’; and ‘Demobilization, Commemoration and Memory’.

The idea for this volume originated in the international conference ‘Gender, War, and Politics: The Wars of Revolution and Liberation—Transatlantic Comparisons, 1775–1820’, which took place from 17 to 19 May 2007 at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Thirty-eight speakers and commentators from seven countries were invited to address the topics outlined above. Along with the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and its Institute for Arts and Humanities, the main sponsors of this event with more than ninety participants were the German Historical Institute in Washington, DC; Duke University; the British-German research group ‘Nations, Borders, Identities: The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars in European Experience, 1792–1815’, funded by the British Arts and Humanities Research Council and the German Research Foundation; and the French Consulate General in Atlanta. A team of organizers, which included Katherine Aaslestad (West Virginia University), Gisela Mettele (GHI, Washington), Judith Miller (Emory University) and Jane Rendall (York University), directed by Karen Hagemann (UNC–Chapel Hill) developed the concept of the conference. Laurence Hare (now of Emory & Henry College) as conference assistant helped to realize the event. The organizers are greatly indebted to him for the fantastic job he did and thank him warmly. He was also responsible for the organization of the related graduate workshop titled ‘Gender, Experience, and Memory, 18th–20th Centuries’, which took place on 16 May 2007 at the UNC Institute for Arts and Humanities.

The production of the book was, like the conference, a collaborative endeavour. The editors learned much from the conference participants and would like to thank, first and foremost, all those who presented papers, offered comments and engaged in the many stimulating discussions. Selecting the chapters for this volume was extremely difficult because of the large number of excellent papers. In the end we chose the papers that best complemented one another and addressed the subject matter in innovative ways. Katherine Aaslestad and Judith Miller helped us not only with this selection but also by commenting on the chosen papers. The editors are deeply grateful for their generous support. We also appreciate our contributors’ willingness to
revise their conference papers for the book and their patient cooperation during the lengthy editing process. In this, Mary Tonkinson of the German Historical Institute played a critical role and it was a great pleasure for us to work with such a skilled and experienced editor. Finally we also want to acknowledge how much we owe to Friederike Brühöfener (UNC Chapel Hill), our editorial assistant, who, among her many other tasks, produced the index. Our warmest thanks go to the sponsors listed above, who provided funding for the conference. The German Historical Institute also subsidized the publication of this volume. Without their support neither the conference nor the book would have been possible.

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