

# BOWDOIN COLLEGE

**Professor Potholm**

**Government 1028**

**Women at War: The Daughters of Mars**

**Fall, 2018**



20 year old Soviet sniper Roza Shanina, credited with 54 kills  
of German soldiers during World War II

DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT AND LEGAL STUDIES

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## **The Daughters of Mars: Women Warriors**

Any study of women at war through the ages must immediately start with the cogent judgment of Russian General Vasily Ivanovich Chuikov of the 62<sup>nd</sup> Soviet Army who, after the desperate struggle for Stalingrad during World War II, stated categorically, “Women soldiers proved themselves to be just as heroic in the days of fighting as men.”

Regardless of how limited the participation of women in and leading armies has been throughout the course of human history, there is seemingly no *a priori* reason why they cannot be soldiers and warriors – and good ones at that – regardless of their sex. Myriads of women have already proven this, starting in pre-classical times and continuing to the present.

There are – and have always been – many cultural, physical, military, and sexual arguments used by and in many different societies to oppose the participation of women in war and especially in combat. Many of these may have been good reasons in particular cultures but, on balance, none seem sufficient to refute the fact that women have been and can continue to be successful in battle. We will be examining many throughout much of the temporal and geographic range of war.

At the end of the day, if we were looking at women in war strictly in terms of the Temple of Mars, it would be difficult to argue with the notion of Dominique Lozzi that “Mars does not look at war through a male-centered lens, and therefore, neither should we.” From warrior queens to admirals and generals to individual soldiers, women have been in combat as active participants across vast reaches of time, space and society. We shall look at women as military leaders and as military followers;

playing strategic roles as well as tactical ones; making combat decisions from afar as well as in the midst of the actual battle itself.

Of course, looking at combat through a strictly female-centric lens would likewise be incomplete, for it must be said at the outset of this study that “there is combat and then there is combat.” It seems obvious, for example, that all women (and all men) may not be suitable for ALL roles in ALL forms of combat. We will examine the dimensions of these highly freighted subjects and their offshoots by looking at various proponents of a wide variety of views on the subject.

This course then seeks to put “The Daughters of Mars: Women Warriors” in their myriad of governmental, historical and warfare perspectives in order to allow the interested student access to the considerable historical literature which is of relevance to these and related questions. As we do, we will be challenging the various boundaries between military and gender history. In the process we hope to expose students to the nature and typologies of warfare in a variety of cultures, from the steppe warfare of Eurasia through classical Greece and Rome, Samurai Japan, 19<sup>th</sup> century Africa, World War II, Vietnam, Iraq and Afghanistan.

Note: We are using the phrase “Daughters of Mars” very differently than other recent writers who have employed it to describe such disparate cohorts as “Army Officer Wives” (Anni Baker, “Daughters of Mars: Army Officers’ Wives and Military Culture on the American Frontier,” Historian, Vol. 67, No. 1 (Spring 2005), pp. 20-42) and as “Nurses” (in the recent novel by Thomas Keneally, Daughters of Mars (New York: Atria Books, 2013)). In this Bowdoin Government Department course, our “Daughters of Mars” construct parallels that of the “Sons of Mars” as the Romans liked to think of themselves due to two of the many offspring (divine, human and monster) of Mars: Romulus and

Remus, the mythical founders of Rome. Our “Daughters of Mars” are not culturally or nationally limited however, and includes individuals warriors, leaders of small cohorts, fleets and armies as well as powerful women whose strategic imperatives won wars.

They are simply warriors.

In this course we will also be looking at women as leaders and participants in actual warfare (tactically as well as strategically) as well as women playing more strategic military leadership roles, for each places females into the heart of what is often thought of as a purely male sphere of activity. We shall also be looking at how various wars reduce or enhance the freedom of women in a variety of cultures. In the process we shall be examining the important dimensions of war *qua* war.

## **Goals of the Course:**

- (1) Improve your writing proficiency
- (2) Develop/enhance your research skills
- (3) Improve your communications skills (small groups)
- (4) Develop/enhance your presentation skills
- (5) Gain knowledge of warfare as it has occurred throughout the ages in a variety of cultures
- (6) Gain knowledge of women in war throughout the ages
- (7) Seek commonalities for societal, governmental and cultural promotion of, and prohibitions against, women warriors
- (8) Gain an appreciation about how complicated war really is and how both cultural determinants AND the Template of Mars drive so much of humankind and its relationship with war.
- (9) Look at war through the eyes of some significant women warriors.

## **Daughters of Mars Quotations**

“The jihadists don’t like fighting women, because if they’re killed  
by a female, they think they won’t go to heaven.”

PKK Female Guerilla, Wall Street Journal

“Could women fly? Well for me, I’ve never gotten into an aircraft  
yet that has asked me what sex I was. If you knew how to fly – you  
flew. It was a simple as that.”

Byrd Howell Granger, Women of Courage

“And Penthesilea leading her Amazons bearing half-moon shields-  
she blazes with battle fury out in front of her army,  
Cinching a gold breastband under her bared breasts,  
A girl, a warrior queen who dares to battle men.”

Virgil, The Aeneid

“A rosy-cheeked woman, here I am fighting side by side with you  
men. The prison is my school, the sword my child, the gun my  
husband.”

Nguyen Thi Minh Khai, Every Women Must Fight

“What has to do with war must be assigned to women also and  
they must be used in the same ways.”

Plato, The Republic

“Tis no less unbecoming in a Woman...to conduct an Army, to  
give a Signal to the Battles, than it is for a Man to tease Wool, to  
handle the Distaff...”

Georg Buchanan, History of Scotland, 1571

“The dreaded Penthesileia eager for battle....So she dressed herself in armor beautifully wrought. She shone like a flash of lightning shot from Olympus....Penthesileia killed Molion, Persinoos, Eilissos, and Antitheos and valiant Lernos.”

Quintus of Smyrna, The Trojan Epic: Posthomerica

“It can be argued that women need heroines even more than men need heroes, because their expectations of independence, fortitude and valour have generally speaking been so much lower.”

Antonia Fraser, The Warrior Queens

“The great searchlight of war showed things in their true light and they gave us enfranchisement with open hands”

Millicent Garrett Fawcett, 1918

“If once these women get a semblance of a start,  
Before we know, they’ll be adept at every manly art.  
They’ll turn their hands to building ships,  
And then they’ll make a bid  
To fight our fleet and ram us, just like Artemisia did.

Aristophanes, Lysistrata

“We can never again imagine war as only men’s work.”  
Lynn Hunt, quoted Women, Armies and Warfare in Early Modern Europe

“To be denied the warrior legacy undermines the grandeur of virtue.”

David Jones, Women Warriors

“At last my dreams have come true! I am a warrior! I am in the Polish Horse, I bear arms and moreover, Fortune has placed me in one of the bravest regiments of our army!”

Nadezhda Durova, The Cavalry Woman

“I swear by the sun that I will quench your thirst for blood.”  
 Tomyris of Massagetae to Cyrus the Great before cutting off his  
 head and shoving it into a wineskin filled with blood,  
 Sarah Beam, The History of the Ancient World

“Be prepared, as it is a time and effort consuming field that  
 requires a great deal of passion.”  
 Major Mariam Al Mansouri who led the United Arab Emirates  
 (dubbed “Little Sparta”) air attack on ISIS targets in Syria,  
 September, 2014, New York Times

“You hack everything down in battle....God of War, with your  
 fierce wings.”  
 Enheduanna, Lament to the Spirit of War  
 Note: Enheduanna was the Sumerian/Akkadian chief priestess  
 during the reign of Sargon the Great (2285-2275 BCE) and the first  
 credited author in history

“We are women unmastered by men, yet hemmed on all quarters  
 by those who would inflict this wretched state upon us. Do you  
 wonder at our ferocity?”  
 Stephen Pressfield, The Last of the Amazons

“Feminist theory alone cannot, however, provide a convincing case  
 for feminist pacifism.”  
 Jennifer Turpin, “Should Women Be Soldiers or Pacifists?”

“We have won. The blood flows, it flows, it flows. The blood  
 flows, the enemy is no more”  
 Amazon song of victory, Dahomey’s Women Warriors



“We cannot live among your women because we have different customs. We live to shoot arrows, throw javelins, and ride horses, and have no knowledge of women’s chores,”

Amazon woman quoted in Herodotus, The Histories

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## **Course Schedule**

August 29

**Introduction: “Why Study Women Warriors and Women at War?”**

September 3

**Why Not Send Women to War?  
A Brief Historical Overview**

### **Formation of Teams:**

- (1) The Sarmatians and Scythians (S)**
- (2) The Warrior Queens (WQ)**
- (3) The Amazons (A)**
- (4) The Night Witches (NW)**

### **Required Reading:**

Margaret Higonnet and Patrice Higonnet, “The Double Helix” in Margaret Higonnet *et al.* (eds.) Behind the Lines: Gender and the two World Wars (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), pp. 31-47.

Drew Lindsay, “Why Not Send Women to War?” MHQ: The Quarterly Journal of Military History, Vol. 25, No.1 (Spring 1913), pp. 50-61.

Christian Potholm, “Introduction: The Template of Mars” in Winning at War (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2010), pp. 1-29.

## **Essay #1 Prompt**

“Why I took this course and what I hope to get out of it” (1 ½ pages of writing, so put footnotes on an additional page so it doesn’t count against the 1 ½). Due next class.

### **Recommended Reading:**

Christian Potholm, “Why Study Military Matters?” in his Understanding War (Lanham: University Press of America, 2016). See pp. 3-22. This reference work is designed to assist students as they research topics related to war. There are two hard copies in the Library for use in this course. It is also available online in PDF form on Bowdoin’s e-reserves. This should be your FIRST, BUT NOT YOUR LAST, research stop with regard to books on a particular subject. Note: Pages listed below are from the printed version of this work.

### **Study Questions: Lindsay, “Why Not Send Women to War?”**

1. Discuss the role of the Soviet 1077<sup>th</sup> Anti-Aircraft Regiment during the Battle of Moscow.
2. Describe the situations which led to the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the U.S. drafting hundreds of thousands of women into the armed forces.
3. How is being in an anti-aircraft unit not being in combat?
4. Discuss the career of Lyudmila Pavlichenko, the Soviet sniper with 300 kills.
5. Currently Israel, China, North Korea and Taiwan draft women for the military. Why? Is drafting preferable to voluntary enlistment? Why or why not?

6. Analyze the statement of Hector in Homer's Iliad, "War is men's business" in light of today's realities in the U.S. armed forces.
7. Who were "The Night Witches" and why were they so feared by the Germans?
8. Choose one of the "Women who turned into Men" described on pages 56-57 and explore one in greater depth. Have you studied any of these Daughters of Mars before in high school?
9. Did you know any of them existed? If so which ones? Which ones, of any, would be of interest to you to study this semester? Are there others not listed in the article?
10. In The Peloponnesian War, Thucydides, in commenting on the revolution in Corcyra (today Corfu) describes women fighting "with a courage beyond their sex." What is he implying and how is it relevant for our semester's focus?

**Study Questions: Higonet and Higonet, "The Double Helix"**

1. When is "change not change" according to the authors?
2. How does war change the roles and places of women without altering the gender hierarchy which subordinates women to men whether in peace or war?
3. How are women often viewed as "other"?
4. How does "the double helix" permit us to trace the gender hierarchy from peace to war and back again to peace?

Note: Please make sure you fully understand this concept as it will be a key to understanding the worlds of the various Amazons (either real or imaginary) especially those which lie outside the reach of the traditional gender hierarchies as well as more traditional societies. We will also find the double helix construct most useful in looking at revolutionary as well as non-revolutionary societies and governments at war.

5. How do the authors think women can overcome these “structural continuities”?
6. Why is the polyphony of historical experience of use to women and men in general and to us in particular in this course?
7. How can this polyphony pivot us in other directions?

**Questions: Potholm, “The Template of Mars”**

1. What are the seven characteristics which bringing success in war?
2. Which are new to you?
3. Which are familiar?
4. How are they related?
5. Are any of the elements such that women commanders – as opposed to male commanders - could NOT employ them? Think about the strategic imperatives shown by Catherine the Great of Russia, Isabella I of Spain, Amina of Hausaland, and Mmanthatsi of the Sotho etc.
6. How is the Template of Mars gender-neutral?

September 5

## Ancient Echoes: From Amazonia and Beyond

### ESSAY #1 DUE

“The Amazon archetype appears to be highly mutable, and easily interpreted according to the whims of subjective taste...She was objectified as fearful and repellent, glamorous and appealing, a destructive and negative role model, or one that was ideal and suitable for all young girls. For many, the Amazon was a fascination, a fixation, a flirtation, to hate or to admire.”

Jessica Amanda Salmonson, The Encyclopedia of Amazons

From earliest Greek historians and culture come stories of women warriors. We need to look at this important period for not only the myths and legends of women warriors (and the projection of Greek and Roman male psyches onto the stories of their existence (persisting until today), but the actual basis in fact for some of those mythic projections. We also explore the dimensions of the Amazonian traditions that are of relevance today.

The stories of the Amazons, Scythians and Samaritans from what is now the Ukraine appear in a number of ancient sources. In Virgil's The Aeneid for example, Penthesilea (Pen Thu Sill Ee Uh), queen of the Amazons and daughter of Ares (Mars) and Otrere, comes to Troy to aid the Trojans. She is a “Maiden who dares to run with men” and she kills many Greeks until she herself is killed by Achilles, the most formidable of all Greek warriors. Note the honor paid to her because she, as Hector, the mightiest of the Trojan warriors, had to be killed by Achilles, himself the supreme male warrior of the day. Her death is also greatly mourned by Ares himself.

Other ancient writers term them as “great riders” (Pindar), “man-hating” (Aeschylus), “manslayers (Herodotus) and “worshippers of Ares” (Apollonius of Rhodes), “the first people to ride horses” (Lysias). “Queen Thalestris and Alexander” (Plutarch). In Virgil, The Aeneid (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1910), Chapter 11, pp. 799-831, the Warrior Queen Camilla of the Volsci is killed by Arruns, a Trojan ally.

Note: The perceived threat to men posed by female warriors often takes the form of sexual assumptions: Amazons are either lesbians (and don’t need men) or insatiable, lustful, man-devouring creatures and this dimension of the archetype persists throughout history, taking many forms as stories that Catherine the Great not only had many, many lovers but died when copulating with a horse or Amina of Hausaland took to her bed every night a new young man and then had him killed the next morning. Look at contemporary culture to find continuing vestiges of this archetype. And therefore understand how truly fragile is the male psyche in this regard.



In real life, women horse archers existed in a number of societies over a 1000 year period and in a broad 4000 mile arc from the Don Basin to China including the territories along the Black Sea, the Sea of Azov, the Caucasus Mountains, the Caspian Sea and the broad flowing steppes to northwest China



*Penthesilea, Queen of the Amazons*  
Wood engraving. 1892 print.

### **Required Reading:**

Adrienne Mayor and Josiah Ober, "Amazons," MHQ: The Quarterly Journal of Military History, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Summer 1991), pp. 68-77. This very readable article is based largely upon Mayor's fine study The Amazons: Lives and Legends of Warrior Women Across the Ancient World reviewed below under recommended reading.

Note: Some temporal perspective should be noted as the Scythians appeared on the Black Sea steppes around 850-800 BCE and the Ionian Greeks founded trading posts on the Black Sea shores around 750-700 BCE.

### **Recommended Reading:**

R. Brzezinski and M. Mielczarek, The Sarmatians: 600 BC-AD 450 (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2002). Note that page 25 features a picture of a Sarmatian female warrior from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE. There is great detail in this work covering the wide variety of groups known as the Sarmatians, most likely originating in the Don River region of the Ukraine.

Adrienne Mayor, The Amazons: Lives and Legends of Warrior Women Across the Ancient World (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014). Holistic, scholarly, very well-illustrated, over-arching and multidisciplinary, this is the work on Amazons which must be consulted by those doing any research on this fascinating subject. Both the realities and the myths are breathtaking and the author ends up writing the thus-far definitive work on Amazonian phenomena. Most illuminating is her close

examination of the 1000 years of history across 4000 miles of geography from the Don Basin to China, concluding, “Between Greece and China stretched the vast homeland of nomadic horsewomen archers, the equals of men, whose heroic lives and deeds inspired awe, fear, respect, and desire in all who knew them.”

Note: For a dissenting view, see Eleni Boliak’s review of Mayor, The Amazons in the Bryn Mawr Classical Review (2015), p 17. (on reserve)

Tim Newark, Women Warlords (London: Blandford, 1989), especially “The True Amazons: Amazons of the Ancient Worlds, pp. 9-30.

Potholm, “The Horsemen Cometh,” Understanding War, pp. 215-256.

Si Sheppard, “Penthesilea Queen of the Amazons,” in his Troy: Last War of the Heroic Age (Oxford: Osprey, 2014), pp. 57-61. Legend has Penthesileia (daughter of Ares/Mars and Oterera (O tree ra) Queen of the Amazons) slain by Achilles after coming to the aid of Troy.

Quintus of Smyrna, “Book One “Penthesilea” in his The Trojan Epic Posthomeric, trans. Alan James (Baltimore: John Hopkins’s University Press, 2004), pp. 3-14. The daughter of Ares (Latin: Mars) slays many Greeks and in turn is killed by Achilles in this tale written 1000 years after Homer’s Iliad and Odyssey.



Above: Death of Penthesilea at the hands of Achilles after the killing of Hector and her killing of many Greeks in battle. Amphora ca 535.

Note: The persistence of this archetype of the woman warrior who is feminine but possesses “Fury-like” power can be traced across many cultures up until the present. See, for example, Laudomia Bonanni, The Reprisal (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013) (F) and her heroine “La Rossa,” the red haired revolutionary fighting in World War II.

Note: The Czech composer Bedrich Smetana in his celebrated orchestral work “Ma Vlast” (“My Homeland”) devotes a movement in it to the legendary Bohemia Amazon warrior **Sharka** (“Women had become so accustomed to directing affairs that they refused to submit to the rule of men again”), but in most other Amazon archetypal stories, they are eventually overcome. Do the perceived “dangers” of a female dominated society require the

defeat of the Amazon in order to preserve male supremacy in the societies in question? If so why?

### **Study Questions for Mayor and Ober, “Amazonarchy”**

1. Describe the origins of the term “Amazons” from the Greek cultural perspective. How does this differ from the notions of Amazons among the steppe horse archers?
2. What is an “Amazonomachy” (plural: "Amazonomachies)? Why do the authors choose to accent it in order to increase our understanding of the cultural archetypes across time and space?
3. Why has the battle between male and female been such an enduring archetype throughout history? Here, for the first, but not the last time, we encounter the historical paradigm of “hegemonic masculinity” of R. W. Connell. In warrior societies, rank, status and wealth all depend upon ones warrior prowess. How deeply disturbing to “hegemonic masculinity” is the notion that women can also fight and even prevail against men? Does it not threaten the very foundations of those societies? Does it also threaten the role of subject women? Remember to the Greek heavy infantry hoplites, bows were the weapons of cowards whether wielded by men or women.
4. Indicate the historical perspective of the Sarmatian women warriors and the grave evidence to support the thesis that 20% of their warriors were women.
5. Compare and contrast the Greek war making ideal (phalanx with spears, infantry, and heavily armored, all male, settled societies) with that of the Amazons (individual bowmen, cavalry, lightly armored, female, nomadic peoples) and indicate the historical basis for this dichotomy.

6. What does the fight between Conan the Barbarian and Red Sonya have in common with other Amazonomachies such as between Hercules and Hippolyte, the reigning Amazon champion or between Achilles and Penthesilea (the daughter of Ares and the Amazon defending Troy)?
7. Describe the threats posed to the male dominated Greek society with the “barbarian” freedoms of the Amazons.
8. Identify a variety of male impulses sustaining both the fear of, and yet allure of, female warriors in a variety of cultural and governmental contexts.
9. Why has the Amazonian tradition remained such an important part of Western – and other – cultures? Observers have seen the “Amazonian archetype” in the cultures of India, China, Africa, Oceania, Native American societies in both North and South America as well as European ones.
10. Review some of the female exceptions to the patterns of male dominance in warfare over the millennia. Explain how different styles of warfare influence the possible roles assumed by women during various historical periods.
11. Explain the push-pull, attraction-repelling aspects of the Amazon myth today in advertising and also societal conflict simulation and resolution.
12. Why does Quintus of Smyrna describe Achilles after he kills Penthesilea as wishing he had taken her as his bride?
13. What is the ongoing fascination of men with women who are warriors despite the ambiguity of their role playing and how is it

that so many men are both attracted and repelled by the sexually desirable woman who is also a warrior?

14. Men in the class – how would you like to live in a society dominated and ruled by women? Why or why not? Women in the class – how would you like to live in a society dominated and ruled by women? Why or why not?

September 10

### **Student Learning Experience:** **Team Regiment Portrait**

**The key to success in battle is small group cohesion and the discipline that sustains it. Creating a regimental portrait is a symbolic way of cementing your team for the group efforts which come later in the course. This initial effort is critical to understanding how warfare works.**

Each team will put together a team portrait with individual and group photos as if preparing a poster for their regiment. Each poster will measure no more than 10” by 13.” Photos may be large, clear, sharp and bright. Excessive “Red-Eye” portraits will be rejected. Plastic lamination is neither necessary nor desirable. Firm backing and clarity of design are critical, however.

**Please make sure the name tags do not fall off when used.** Cover name tags with clear tape! Name tags and other printings without clear tape will not be accepted. Examples of the best and worst from previous classes will be displayed as positive and negative examples.

Note: Many teams have failed to win the class competition because of a poor start on this exercise, so remember, as in real warfare, “All the big mistakes are made early.” Photos too dark? No credit. Failure to put in team names? No credit. Forewarned is forearmed.

Note: Regimental portraits are due at the next class as in war, as in life, “Time is speeded up by events.”

**September 12** **Two Early Women Warriors: Artemisia** (Art ah misia) **and Boudica** (Boa di ci ah) (another standard pronunciation is Boo dah kah).

### **War in Context (2) Greek and Roman Warfare**

**NOTE: Team Poster Due at beginning of class.**

#### **Required Reading:**

Margaret Donsbach, “Celtic War Queen Who Challenged Rome,” Military History (April 2004), pp. 50-79.

David Zabecki, “Artemisia at Salamis,” MHQ: The Quarterly Journal of Military History (Summer 2014), pp. 38-43.

#### **Essay #2 Prompt**

“You are a proud Sarmatian woman warrior and you have captured your first male prisoner. What do you do with him?” (1 ½ pages of writing, not including any footnotes at end). Essay due next class.

#### **Recommended Reading:**



Stephen Allen, Celtic Warrior 300 BC-AD (Oxford: Osprey, 2001). From the British Isles to the Danube to Cisalpine Gaul, this vigorous, warlike people enjoyed battle, often with less than perfect discipline and battle formations. They were an Indo-European people who came from the area between the Black and Caspian Seas and spread north and west of the Alps. From this same area came the Mycenaeans who went west and south into Greece, the Aryans who went east and south into India and the Hittites who went west. Many useful illustrations can be found in this work.

Newark, Women Warlords, “Braver Than Her Husband” and “Celtic Queens,) pp. 53-74 and 75-92.

Potholm, “Classical Infantry: Greek,” and “Classical Infantry: Roman,” Understanding War, pp. 187-197 and pp. 199-213.

### **Study Questions: Donsbach, “Celtic Warrior Queen”**

1. Describe the extent of destruction carried out by Boudica when she attacked Londinium.
2. Was this “sustained but controlled” ruthlessness or something else?
3. What steps did the Romans (especially the new Roman Emperor Nero) take which led to the revolt of the Iceni?
4. What was Boudica’s status at the time of the revolt?
5. How did the Romans overcome great odds in defeating Bodica?
6. What does this principle tell us about warfare in general?

7. What did Bodica do upon defeat?
8. Explain why male hierarchies often demand death as the price for women who dare to take up arms in warfare.

**Study Questions: Zabecki, “Artemisia at Salamis”**

1. Describe how unusual was the role of Artemisia and how did she become such a trusted admiral?
2. Analyze the major form of naval warfare during the Persian wars in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE.
3. What military mistakes did the Persians make leading up to the battle at Salamis?
4. What happened during the battle of Salamis and what were the reasons Artemisia counselled Xerxes against fighting it?

Note: Herodotus claims (Book 8, Section 68) that prior to the battle of Salamis, Queen Artemisia of Halicarnassus told Xerxes after seeing the Greek fleet penned up, “If you rush into a naval action, my fear is that the defeat of your fleet may involve the army also.” The Greeks, enraged at a woman admiral directing men in battle, put a price of 10,000 drachma on her head, but she led her ships out of their trap by ramming an allied vessel. How much of our Western misperceptions about female warriorhood can be traced back to the basic assumptions of the Greeks?

5. What honors – and why – did Artemisia receive from Xerxes after the Battle of Salamis where she was in the thick of action and only narrowly escaped being captured?

6. Although tantalizingly brief, what issues and questions does the story of Artemisia raise for the notion of women in combat?

7. Note that Richard Stoneman credits Artemisia not only with giving Xerxes good advice about not fighting the Battle of Salamis, but also to withdraw his army after it: “The whole point of this campaign was to burn Athens to the ground’ you’ve done that, so now you can leave.” See in his Xerxes: A Persian Life (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), p. 150.

8. Note also that on this occasion, Xerxes too her advice AND entrusted his son to Artemisia’s care on the long voyage home.

**September 17**      **Lecture/Discussion “The Template of Mars,” a cross-cultural look at war**

**September 19**      **Women Warriors of the Christian God: “La Pucelle” and Christine de Pizan**

## **ESSAY #2 DUE**

### **Required Reading:**

Kelly De Vries, “Joan of Arc,” Military History (January/February 2008), pp. 26-35. Pay special attention to the painting of her in battle formation on pp. 26-26.

Megan McLaughlin, “The Woman Warrior: Gender, Warfare and Society in Medieval Europe,” Women’s Studies, Vol. 17 (1990), pp. 192-209. Pay close attention to the author’s explanation for the increased participation in warfare by women. This is a seminal work.

Dan O'Reilly, "The Maid of Orleans," Military History (April 1998), pp.22-30. Note the different depiction of "La Pucelle" in the painting by Alphonse de Neuville, "The Wounding of the Maid at Orleans," p. 25.

### **Recommended Reading:**

Juliet Barker, Conquest: The English Kingdom of France 1417-1450 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012). See especially "Jehanne D'Arc," pp. 93-171. As Barker puts it (p. 102), the story of Jehanne, the Pucelle or Maid, is "... extraordinary almost beyond belief. Her youth, her sex, her background, all militated against what she became: the companion of princes, inspirational military leader, martyr for faith and country."

Christine de Pizan, edited by Charity Cannon Willard and translated by Sumner Willard, The Book of Deeds of Arms and of Chivalry (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999). Written in the 15<sup>th</sup> century by this Italian born, but French court author, The Book of Deeds resurrects many classical writings on war (especially Vegetius) but also provides very useful contrasts between Medieval European war practices and those from antiquity, including just war, siege warfare, chivalry, trickery and subtlety. A truly amazing work especially given the time, the place and the sex of the author.

Note: For the mental climate of the times in which she operated, see Alcuin Blamires (ed.), Women Defamed and Women Defended: An Anthology of Medieval Texts (London: Oxford University Press, 1992). This wide ranging group of essays puts medieval anti-feminism and outright misogyny in sharp relief, featuring Tertullian, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome and St Augustine - leaving Christine de Pizan alone to defend women. Really helps one understand the magnificence of her achievement in that age.

Kelly DeVries, Joan of Arc: A Military Leader (London: Sutton, 1999). Easy to read and understand, the best book focusing on her military accomplishments, concluding “She had completed her mission and sealed it with her blood.” Gives “The Maid” credit for turning around the French military situation (with her successes in the Loire Valley, Reims and Patay) and blames the newly crowned Charles II for a failure to keep using her and her tactics both at Paris and beyond. “Joan of Arc was a soldier plain and simple.”

Note: This work is not too clear on how this farmer’s daughter acquired the skills of warfare so suddenly, but acquire them she obviously did. This might be a useful subject for future research. For that dimension, see the best source for this:

Potholm, “European Heavy Horse,” Understanding War, pp. 219-231.

### **Study Questions: De Vries, “Joan of Arc”**

1. Describe the situation in France in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century after the French defeat at Agincourt in 1451.
2. What role did the Burgundians play in the struggle between the English and French?
3. Describe Joan’s rise to military prominence.
4. How did she raise the siege of Orleans in May of 1429?
5. What military role did the “boulevards” or forts play in medieval warfare?
6. Why were they so useful in sieges?

7. What was Joan's strategy in dealing with them?
8. Describe her subsequent military campaign in the Loire Valley during 1429.
9. What role her belief in God and her mission play in her success?
10. Why did her effort to take Paris fail?
11. How was she captured and by whom and why did they ransom her to the English?
12. Why was she burned at the stake on May 30, 1431? Note: It was not for heresy as so many have believed erroneously.
13. What impact did her tactics and strategy (as well as the proto-nationalism of her faith) have on subsequent French success during the last 23 years of the Hundred Year's War?
14. What do you personally find worth remembering about her career?

**Study Questions: McLaughlin, "The Woman Warrior:  
Gender, Warfare and Society in Medieval Europe**

1. What "anomalies" of gender representation appear in her analysis of warfare in medieval Europe (10<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> centuries CE)?
2. What is her explanation for "surprising number of female warriors" who appear in the medieval sources despite warfare being viewed as "a properly masculine activity"?

3. Why is McLaughlin comfortable merging the categories of “generals” and “warriors” for women during this period? Note: Think about women as military leaders and strategists versus women as military followers.
4. What is the connection between the increased participation of women in warfare and the nature of castle life during this period? How is it related to “the relationship between the public and domestic spheres of life in a given society”?
5. Why does the author believe the status quo ante was restored in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and beyond if it was not simple attitudinal change?
6. The description of medieval warfare (pp. 201-205) is, in my opinion, brilliant and helps us understand not only what happened then, but what also helps to explain the flaws in U.S. strategy – not during, but – after its successful invasion of Afghanistan following the events of 9/11 2001. See if you can figure out why the professor would make such a comparison.

**Study Questions: O'Reilly, “The Maid of Orleans.”**

1. We now have a second source on the same subject. Which did you find more useful? Why?
2. Which give the most historical context? Was that helpful to your understanding of “La Pucelle”?
3. Why was the Loire Valley such an important defensive position during the Hundred Years War?
4. How does O'Reilly explain the rise to prominence of “La Pucelle”? What elements does he highlight that are different from the earlier account?

5. How did the French, Burgundian and English nobility react to the rise of this female commoner on the field of battle?
6. What elements conspired against her gaining more control over the army that followed her?
7. Explain the intertwined nature of religion, politics and warfare during the 15<sup>th</sup> century? What is the space-time continuum of the sacred and the profane operative in Medieval Europe which can help explain her rise (and eventual fall)?
8. Where would you put Joan in the broad sweep of women warriors we have studied in this course? How was she similar, how different? How would she fit or not fit the Amazonian prototypes?
9. Explain the sanctioned rape of “La Pucelle” and the threat her transvestite figure posed in that and other ages.
10. How does the author accent Joan’s contributions to the *military* process of the period?

September 24      **Women Warriors of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century (Africa)**

**Required Reading:**

Mike Dash, “Dahomey’s Women Warriors,” Smithsonian.com

Robert B. Edgerton, “The Amazons of Dahomey” in his Warrior Women: The Amazons of Dahomey and the Nature of War (Boulder: Westview, 2000), pp. 1-36 (as well as the photos right before page 95).



### **Recommended Reading:**

Potholm, “Heavy Horse: Japanese and Chinese,” Understanding War, pp. 349-354.

Ibid., “African Heavy Horse,” pp. 314-315.

David Sweetman, Women Leaders in African History (London: Heinemann, 1984). See especially the chapter on the war leaders Amina of Hausaland, Nzinga of Angola and Mmanthatsi of the Sotho.

### **Study Questions: Dash, “Dahomey’s Women Warriors”**

1. Where was Dahomey and what is it called today?
2. Describe the formation of the “Amazon” formations of “Black Sparta.” Why was it called “a Black Sparta”?
3. Why did King Gezo (1818-58) turn to women warriors in such numbers?
4. Describe the lives and privileges of these “third level wives.”
5. What were some of the perks enjoyed by the Amazons in Dahomian society?
6. What was the “insensitivity training” of the female warriors? Describe it in detail and compare with preparation for battle in the U.S. today (for both men and women).
7. Analyze the wars between the Dahomians and the French?

8. The French Foreign Legion does not normally credit their foes with praise. What was the legionnaires view of the Amazons?
9. What is the significance of the Amazon song of victory “We have won”! The blood flows, it flows, it flows. The blood flows, the enemy is no more”?
10. What are the major differences between the way 19<sup>th</sup> century America looked at women in combat versus those in Dahomey?
11. What are the cultural versus political reasons for those differences?

**Study Questions: Edgerton, Warrior Women:**

1. How does this study by an anthropologist differ from the Dash account?
2. Why does the author say the society and political system of Dahomey proved fertile ground for the Amazon phenomenon?
3. Describe the process by which women became “men” and better warriors than men?
4. Why do some Amazons call war “our great friend”?
5. What gender hierarchies had to be overcome for women to be treated and appreciated as warriors in Dahomey?
6. Explain the observation of the British Royal Navy Commodore Eardley Wilmot, “They are far superior to men in everything – in appearance, in dress, in figures, in activity, in their performances as soldiers and in bravery.”

7. Describe some of the performances of the Amazons in actual battles against their African enemies as well as the French.
8. Why does the author think leaders of other African societies in the area did not imitate the Dahomian example of King Gezo?

September 26      **Women Warriors in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century: America**

**Required Reading:**

Deanne Blanton and Lauren Cook, They Fought Like Demons: Women Soldiers in the Civil War (New York: Vintage Press, 2002), “They Fought Like Demons: A Military History of Women in Combat,” pp.8-24 “To Dress and Go as a Soldier,” pp. 25-44, “A Fine Looking Soldier: Life in the Ranks,” pp.45-63 and “I Love My Country,” pp.205-214.

**Essay #3 Prompt**

“What were some of the motivations which led women to join the Union or Confederate armies during the American Civil War? If you were a woman in 1861, what would be the most persuasive argument for you to join the army of your respective homeland?” (2 full pages. One footnote page citing the text you read). Essay due next class.

**Recommended Reading:**

Potholm, “The American Civil War,” Understanding War, pp. 451-460.

**Study Questions: Blanton and Cooke, They Fought Like Demons**

1. Describe the difficulties in piecing together the stories of “Jane Reb” and “Billie Yank” and give some reasons for them. Why do the authors claim that “many more” women fought in the Civil War than the usual figures of 250-400?
2. Explain the authors’ claim that “The Civil War” was an opportunity for hundreds of women to escape the confines of their sex.”
3. Explore the continuing archetype of the “Transvestite Heroine” a la Joan of Arc.
4. Describe the various roles of women as combatants, prisoners of war and casualties.
5. List some of the prominent battles in which women fought during the Civil War.
6. Explain the authors’ contention that “Our essential conclusion is that, with the exception of their sex, female soldiers did not differ in any fundamental way from male soldiers.”
7. Discuss the following motivations for women joining the respective Confederate and Union causes: adventure, wanting to be a soldier, escape the “economic prison” of being a woman, patriotism, to be with one’s husband or father, ease of physical examination, belief in abolition or states’ rights, desire for freedom and to escape the boredom of being a female in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Which motivation would be most appealing to you?

8. The chapter “I Love My Country” suggests that of the 3 million soldiers who were in the Civil War perhaps 1000 or more were women. Discuss what was involved in their changing gender identity.

9. What do women’s relative percentages of killed, wounded, captured and died of disease tell us about their roles IN THE WAR?

10. How did these women move outside their “socially mandated positions”?

11. Discuss the irony of women (regarded as second class citizens in the U.S. of the 1860’s) going to such “extraordinary lengths” to serve in the defense of their country. What does the authors’ conclusion that “taken as a group, women were successful soldiers” tell us about the role of gender in combat?

12. What does the performance of women in the American Civil War 150 years ago tell us about today’s debate concerning women in combat?

October 1

### **Women Warriors in Historical Perspective (1)**

Note: We need a student volunteer to set up the AV equipment to handle the thumb drive which will enable the professor to cover, elegantly one hopes, 2000 years of female warriorhood.

**Here are the directions.**

**Harrison McCann AV**

1. Turn on system by pressing button in back corner on right side of silver box above the monitor. A light will come on as your hard drive starts. Wait for screen to turn on.
2. When monitor turns on, double click on Windows choice. The computer will turn on BUT IT TAKES A WHILE.
3. Login by pressing control/alt/delete and then enter in user name and password.
4. Then activate the AV equipment by pressing the power button located in the upper left hand corner of the AV setup. All lights will come on.
5. Make sure “Computer 2” is highlighted, “Computer 1” is for laptop.
6. Plug in flash drive. Plug in remote.
7. Click on “Computer” on desktop, take Power Point to desktop. Double click on Power Point to turn on.

### After

1. Drag back Power Point to flash drive.
2. Click on black pyramid icon (bottom) to get to little green icon which will let you safely remove flash drive.

### ESSAY #3 DUE

October 3

Women Warriors in Historical Perspective: (2)

October 5-9

Fall Break

October 10

**Exam Preparation**

October 15

**Hour Exam #1**

October 17

**Women Warriors of World War II****Required Reading:**

Bruce Myles, Night Witches: The Amazing Story of Russia's Women Pilots in World War II (Chicago: Academy Press, 1990).

Reina Pennington, "Reaching for the Sky," MHQ: The Quarterly Journal of Military History Vol. 22. No. 1(Autumn 2009), pp. 34-43.

**Recommended Reading:**

D'Ann Campbell, "Women, Combat, and the Gender Line," MHQ: The Quarterly Journal of Military History, Vol. 6 #1 (1993), pp. 88-97. Indicates that a U.S. World War II study proved that female soldiers were ready to serve under fire and examines the reasons the U.S. did not adopt that strategy.

Richard J. Evans, The Third Reich at War (New York: The Penguin Press, 2009). This work captures the background from which these women test pilots emerged and the obstacles they faced. See also his two earlier works, The Coming of the Third Reich (New York: The Penguin Press, 2004) and The Third Reich in Power (New York: The Penguin Press, 2005).

Potholm, "'The Triumph of the Offense': The War in Europe," Understanding War, pp. 381-420.

Amy Goodpaster Streve, Flying for Her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II (Washington: Potomac Books, 2009). A deserved paean to the American and Soviet women who flew during World War II. In that war over 400,000 U.S. women were in the military, including many in the Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASP), the Women's Flying Training Detachment (WFTD) Women Army Corps (WAC) and Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC). Particularly useful is the chapter on "Gender Issues."

Mary Lou Colbert Neale, "Women of War," Military History (December, 1993), pp. 35 ff. Astonishingly enough, 800,000 Soviet women served at the front during World War II.

### **Study Questions: Myles, Night Witches**

1. What obstacles did Russian women face in trying to become fighter and bomber pilots and navigators?
2. How and why did Soviet governmental and military policy toward using women in combat change?
3. Describe the strain of night flying let alone night flying in combat.
4. The 586 Women's Fighter Regiment, the 587<sup>th</sup> Women' Bomber Regiment and the 588<sup>th</sup> Women's' Night Bomber Regiment flew different aircraft (Yak-1's and PE-2's) and flew different missions. Describe those differences.
5. Compare and contrast the capabilities of the German Me-109, Folk Wolf-190 and He-110 compared with the Soviet Yak-1, PO-2's and Pe-2's. Use Google if you need to. What does the ability



of women to fly all of these tell us about the advantages of using women in aerial combat?

6. What did women do during the war to “preserve their femininity”? Why did they feel they needed to? In addition to bombing and shooting down enemy aircraft, what other function did the Night Witches perform?

7. Discuss the Russian Yak pilot’s statement “But admiring a beautiful girl was one thing, wanting to fly with her was quite another.” (93)

8. What made a good “Free Hunter”? Why was it a great honor to be assigned to such a squadron?

9. Who was Lilly, “The White Rose of Stalingrad”? What happened to her?

10. Compare and contrast the different facilities used by the Night Witches during the course of the war. Where did they fight?

11. Explain the significance of the 588<sup>th</sup> Women’s Night Bomber Regiment becoming the 46<sup>th</sup> Guards Regiment.

12. Explain the significant of Marina Chichnova’s 500th mission. Note: U.S. airmen did 25 missions over Germany in B-24’s and B-17’s.

13. What do the careers of the Night Witches tell us about the ability of women to participate successfully in combat?

Note: Following quotation is from Erwin Bartmann, Für Volk and Führer (Souihall: Helion and Company, 2010), p. 121.

“We laughed when we first saw them, the Polikarpov Po-2 biplanes – crop dusters, nothing but cloth stretched over a slight timber frame braced by stands of wired and powered by engines that clattered as if cobbled together from parts scavenged from a junkyard. When I first heard them, they brought to mind an image of my mother, her feet working the treadle of her sewing machine and hands industriously feeding the work piece under the needle. We came to dread the sound of these ‘*Nähmaschinen*’ (“sewing machines”) as we called them. They were tough little birds that could take rifle or machine-gun fire with apparent impunity. In a favorable wind, they flew so slowly they appeared to hover.

Surprisingly, the low airspeed of the *Nähmaschinen* was no great disadvantage – our Me109s risked stalling if they tried to match their speed and flashed past before they were able to take proper aim. By the time they returned for a second pass, the Russian pilots had often skillfully maneuvered their aircraft out of harm’s way. At night, the rattle of their engines would stop suddenly, as if the aircraft had been spirited from the darkness. Then, like hunting owls, they swooped, their bracing wires hissing through the air, a prelude to a storm of shrapnel from fragmentation bombs that burst without first whistling a warning. These attacks drained our strength not only by inflicting casualties, but also by denying us precious sleep. The female pilots of these infernal machines soon earned the epithet *Nachthexen*’ – witches of the night.”

Note: The author was a member of the 1st Waffen SS Division, Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler, which was one of the most savage, ruthless and effective German formations of the war taking part in the invasion of France, Operation Barbarossa against the Soviet Union, including “the Miracle on the Donets,” relief of the Cherkassy pocket and the battles for Normandy and The Bulge.

(You may want to look these important battles up to more fully appreciate the value of the epithet “*Nachthexen*.”)

**Study Questions: Pennington, “Reaching for the Sky”**

1. Describe the different backgrounds of Hanna Reitsch and Melitta Schiller.
2. Report on the different aircraft they flew from the Me-163 to Do-17, JU-87, Me-262, Ju-88 etc. Why is this range of aircraft significant. What is the importance of the Me-262?
3. What is the significance of the two women receiving Iron Crosses? Especially Melitta Schiller’s award?
4. Indicate each woman’s degree of support for the Nazi regime.
5. How did their careers end? What role did they play in the efforts to oust Adolf Hitler from power?
6. Describe the irony involved in the post-war career of Hanna Reitsch.
7. Analyze the life lesson of Chuck Yeager (he of The Right Stuff fame), “There are bold pilots and there are old pilots, there are few bold, old pilots” in terms of the accomplishments of these two intrepid women.
8. How did the careers of Hanna Reitsch and Melitta Schiller run counter to the Nazi paradigm for womanhood during the Third Reich?

**October 22**

**Groups discuss possible presentation topics.**

**October 24**

**Women Warriors in Revolutionary War  
Situations: Case Studies Vietnam and Eritrea**

### **Required Reading:**

Karen Gottschang Turner and Phan Thanh Hao, Even the Women Must Fight: Memories of War from North Vietnam (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1998).

### **Recommended Reading:**

Mark Bowden, “The Huong River Squad” in his Hue, 1968: A Turning Point of the American War in Vietnam (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2017) (New York: Random House, 2017), pp. 5-11. See especially the amazing tale of women Viet Cong and NVA warriors such as Che Thi Mung and Hoang Thi No leading the assault on the Imperial city of Hue during the 1968 Tet offensive.

Potholm, “Vietnam: ‘People’s War, Long War,’” Understanding War, pp. 463-482.

### **Study Questions: Turner and Hao, Even the Women Must Fight**

1. What combat and support roles were played by Vietnamese women during the Vietnam War(s)?
2. Describe women in action repairing the Ho Chi Minh Trail. Why was this vital to the war effort?
3. Hao complains that the state has not properly recognized the dead nor repaid the living. Is she correct? How does her statement fit into the long arc of “the return of the warrior?”

Note: For additional information on the age-old dynamics of the returning warrior, see C. P. Potholm, “The Return of Warriors,” Understanding War, pp. 743-751.

4. Explain the “survivor’s guilt” plaguing those who lived through the long war. Describe some of the challenges and disappointments of the female veterans.
5. Explore the seeming paradox of women in combat and war and statecraft concluding “It is a woman’s duty to sacrifice her own needs to help her family.”
6. What does the Vietnamese woman veteran mean by “Only when women tell the truth about war can there ever be true peace”?
7. What role did women play in defending the Ho Chi Minh Trail’s most important choke points such as the Mu Gia Pass and the Dragon’s Jaw Bridge?
8. Who were the Trung sisters and how did they inspire women to play their parts in the armed struggles against the French and the Americans?
9. What lies behind the assertion of Colonel Le Trong Tam who wrote, “In fact, there was no distinction between men and women’s work. They used the same equipment and they both used weapons when they had to”?
10. What happened to the women who fought for the NVA after the war ended? Remember the lesson of the double helix.

October 29

**Women Warriors in Contemporary Wars:  
Iraq and Afghanistan.**

**Required Reading:**

James E. Wise and Scott Baron, Women: Iraq, Afghanistan, and Other Conflicts (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2006) Part I: Iraq, Afghanistan and the Persian Gulf,” pp. 1-108.

**Recommended Reading:**

Potholm, “Mars is a Jealous God: Afghanistan and Iraq,” Understanding War, pp. 483-495. The Vietnam War in Context (6)

**Study Questions: Wise and Baron, Women in Iraq and Afghanistan.**

1. Give some examples of the different experiences of women in combat in the various services: Coast Guard, Marines, Army, Air Force.
2. Given the essential nature of IEDs and ambushes, doesn't transportation services mean serving in combat?
3. Given the “blurred distinction” between what is considered combat and what is real combat, haven't women already been serving in combat for decades already?
4. What are the various definitions of “combat”?
5. How would you assess the “combat dimensions of flying a plane? Driving a truck? Captaining a ship? Give some other situations which seem to require a new definition of combat.
6. Describe the story of the Coast Guards Lt. Commander Holly Harrison.

7. What about that of PFC Michelle Lofus Fisher in the U.S. Army?
8. What about the experience of Captain Kellie Mc Coy in the 82<sup>nd</sup> Airborne?
9. Carefully review Appendix B (pp. 193-218) which lists the Purple Hearts awarded to women in the various Middle East theatres.

October 31

## **Women in Combat?: The Debate Continues in Contemporary America**

### **Required Reading:**

Lolita Baldor, “Few Army Women Want Combat Jobs,” Portland Press Herald, February 26, 2014.

Katie Forney Petronio, “Get Over It! We are Not All Created Equal” Marine Corps Gazette (7/12/12).

Sage Santangelo, “Fourteen Women Have Tried, and Failed, the Marines’ Infantry Officer Course. Here’s Why,” Washington Post, March 28, 2014.

Note: The Petronio and Santangelo pieces are here to highlight Bowdoin’s strong young women and their views on the subject. You should examine a broader range of opinions and arguments going forward as interest compels.

### **Essay #4 Prompt**

Choose one of the following propositions to defend:

(1) “If women are able to pass the same filtering tests as men, they should be allowed in all forms of combat.”

Or

(2) “Even if women are able to pass the same filtering tests as men, they should NOT be allowed in all forms of combat.”

Note: You must choose a point of view which you personally do NOT share. Essay due next class. Three pages maximum.

### **Recommended Reading:**

“Women in Combat? Insights Worth Repeating,” Marine Corps Gazette (November 1997), p. 73.

Rosa Brooks, “Is Sexual Assault Really an ‘Epidemic’?” Foreign Policy (2/13/2014). Author claims that “the U.S military actually looks pretty good compared to, say American colleges when it comes to sexual assaults.” But why should women have to settle for less than zero tolerance in either one?

Cynthia Enloe, “Paying Close Attention to Women Inside Militaries,” in her Globalization and Militarism: Feminists Make the Link (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007), pp.63-92. This work serves as a counter-balance to the assumptions of both Santangelo and Petronio that service in the military is ipso facto liberating even if women are treated as equals within it. In fact, Enloe argues that “a less militarized military would be one less imbued with an institutional culture of masculinized violence” and instead would place as much, if not more, emphasis on rescuing civilians from natural disasters all over the world.



Dave Phillips, “Infantry’s First Women Shoulder Heavy Gear and Weight of History,” New York Times, May 27, 2017 pp. 12-13. Profile of the first group of women who graduated from the Army 14 week infantry training course at Ft. Benning, Georgia. One woman, Private Donovan, finished second in overall fitness.

Michael Phillips, Marine Corps Puts Women to the Test, The Wall Street Journal, November 8/9, 2014, p. 1. A most interesting look at the U.S. Marines plan to test women for combat.

Potholm, “Daughters of Mars: Women at War,” Understanding War, pp. 517-555. A long listing of works dealing with this subject.

Katie Rogers, ‘Army Captain to Become First Female officer Trained to Lead Troops in Combat, The New York Times, April 29, 2016, p. A11.

Anna Simons, “Here’s Why Women in Combat Units is a Bad Idea,” <http://warontherocks.com/category/blogs/charlie-mike/>

Kathy “Talent” van Dam, “Women in Combat Arms: Brass Tacks of Physicality,” <http://warontherocks.com/category/blogs/charlie-mike/> Concludes that women deserve to have a chance to be in combat if they pass the same tests as men. The best should be the best free of gender norms.

Bing West, “Women in Ground Combat,” The American Interest, January 28, 2013. Not a good idea says the author, at least in some specialties.

**Study Questions: Petronio, “Get Over It!”**

1. What are the major arguments which Petronio gives for not placing women in certain combat situations?
2. What are her credentials for evaluating this assertion?
3. What elements in her experience enable her to come to her conclusions?
4. What aspects of her arguments make the most sense to you? The least?
5. Can you be a feminist (or a supporter of feminism) and still oppose women in combat?
6. Can a military or a society draw lines around certain combat roles and proscribe them?
7. If so, is “equality” threatened?

Note: Put Petronio’s arguments such as inherent physical limitations, longevity of average time in service and possible negative impacts on small group cohesion against some of the pro women in combat arguments such as enlarged talent pool, female leadership qualities, diversity of thought, better tactical engagement in cultures which forbid female interaction with foreign males and better garrison morale.

**Study Questions: Balor, “Few Army Women Want Combat Jobs”**

1. What is the significance of only 8% of the 170,000 women in the U.S. stating they want a preference for combat positions?

2. What is the significance of those 8% overwhelmingly wanting to be a Night Stalker or a member of the elite special operations helicopter crews who flew SEAL or on other high tension missions?
3. What are the implications of both for the 2013 Pentagon order saying women must have the same opportunities as men in combat jobs?
4. Only 20% (about 200,000) of the 1.1 million jobs in the U.S. Army are combat or combat related (artillery, combat engineers) and only 9% are actually designated as direct combat, front line fighting positions. Do these figures surprise you? If so, why?
5. What is the significance of the 10:1 “tooth to tail” ratio? It was 15-1 during the Vietnam War. Does that tell us anything about the possible % of men who wish to be in combat at any given time?
6. Is the whole question of women in combat actually of little consequence given these numbers? Why or why not?

**Study Questions: Santangelo, “Fourteen Women”**

1. How great is it to have two Bowdoin women Marines writing for the national press on this topic?
2. Describe Santangelo’s experience in the Marines’ premier 13 week training course.
3. Why does she say that female lieutenants aren’t as prepared as their male counterparts for the Infantry Officer Course?
4. What are her recommendations about how to change that?

5. Explain her support for the Maine Corps philosophy that “Failure should never be viewed as permanent or representative’ it is an opportunity to remediate.”

6. What do you suppose would have happened to her if she’d been a male and went public with her disagreements with Marine Corps policy?

Note: Possible essay question, “Knowing what you know from beyond the writings of Petronio and Santangelo, which one most agrees with you personally. Did the alternative viewpoint influence your thinking?”

November 5      **Great Topic Bazaar**

### **ESSAY #4 DUE**

All groups should reread Drew Lindsay, “Why Not Send Women to War?” and ALSO familiarize themselves with Christian Potholm, “Why Study Military Matters?,” Understanding War pp.3-14. This reference work is designed to assist you as you research topics related to women and war. There are two hard copies on two hour reserve in the Library for this course. It is also available online in PDF form. This should be your FIRST, BUT NOT YOUR LAST, research stop with regard to books on a particular subject. **Each team MUST examine its contents before this class period and the teams bringing a hard copy to class will have shown considerable initiative.**

November 7      **Research Sessions/Library Class Meets in Library for Research Session With Carmen Greenlee.**

**Note: ALL website citations and information need to be checked against scholarly articles and books. Make sure you ask Carmen how to do this properly. Also, ask her what is the latest PROPER citation for websites and use that method, making sure you put a period at the end of the citation so it matches the other traditional footnote forms.**

**November 12**

**Research Sessions/Library. Groups put into practice lessons learned. Groups call ahead to reserve study rooms during class period. Professor comes to each group to assist progress.**

**November 14**

**Teams #1 Sarmatians and Scythians and #2 Warrior Queens meet with Instructor/Presentation Prep. Groups call ahead to reserve study rooms during class period. Professor comes to each group to assist progress.**

**November 19**

**Teams #3 Amazons and #4 Night Witches meet with Instructor/Presentation Prep. Groups call ahead to reserve study rooms during class period. Professor comes to each group to assist progress.**

**November 21-25**

**Thanksgiving Break**

**November 26**

**Teams work to complete projects. Go to classroom to practice presentations. #1 and #2 have first choice as to times.**

**November 28**      **Presentations #1 Sarmatians and Scythians and #2 Warrior Queens. Supporting paper (Essay #5) and bibliographical essay (Essay #6) due by 5 pm and brought to the professor's office.**

**December 3**      **Presentations #3 Amazons and #4 Night Witches. Supporting paper (Essay #5) and bibliographical essay (Essay #6) due by 5 pm and brought to the professor's office.**

**Note: All students will dress as if presenting a paper in the Oval Office to the President of the United States. Our normal comfortable Bowdoin grunge attire is not acceptable. In other words, ignore the clothing of the professor as you discard the normal Bowdoin grunge. He is not a sartorial model, let alone paragon.**

**December 5**      **Hour Exam #2**

**December 8-17**      **Reading Period and Final Exams.**

## **Writing Suggestions**

1. **Write shorter sentences.** (“Hemingway knew what he was doing.”)
2. **Use the active—not passive—voice.** (“I read the book,” not “The book was read by me.”)
3. **Look for and eliminate split infinitives.** (“I want to quickly read the book.”)
4. **Look for and eliminate dangling participles.** (“I read the book, sitting in the chair.”)
5. **Never, ever use “like” as an adverb or adjective.** (“I was like reading when he came.”)
6. **Don’t end a sentence with a preposition.** (“I was reading a book I knew she was aware of.”)
7. **Use spell check, then read for sense, then use spell check again.**
8. **Read your essay aloud in front of a mirror to make sure it flows smoothly.** This will also help with your speaking in class.
9. **The hardest part of writing is getting your thoughts from your head to the paper the first time.** But that is not the end of the process. Once you have gotten your thoughts down on paper, let them go “cold” and come back and polish your essay again. And again.

And again. **Re-writing is the key to good writing.** See below if you have any doubts.

10. **Always use 16 point font for this course.** Times New Roman is the preferred script as well.

11. **Always leave a double space after any period.**

12. **Always double space your paper and write only on one side** so that the professor has room for his comments.

Note: 90% of Maine is covered by trees so do not stress about using its low grade pasture pines for paper pulp. Think of pasture pines as weeds. Most true Mainers do.

13. Since many of you skipped #7, let me repeat: **Always, always use spell check before you turn in your paper.** Not using spell check before turning in your paper conveys the strongest sense of disrespect for yourself and your professor.

14. In addition to using spell check, always read over carefully after you have used spell check because spell check can confuse words which are spelled correctly but which are not appropriate in a given context. For example, the use of “bear” for “bare” or “there” for “their.”

15. Also, it is *always* a good idea to read your paper out loud to yourself in front of a mirror. If the words flow in this context, the professor will find it a smoothly written piece of work. If the narrative seems disjointed,



confusing or confused, rewrite. **Re-writing is the key to good writing.**

16. Turn in two copies of every report so that we may keep one for the government department files (yes, believe it or not, some students have been known re-gift papers from previous years), and return one with comments.

17. Staple reports together. Do not use any of those silly plastic binders which fall apart when touched. Do not ever use paper clips, which are even worse! If you do not know how to use a stapler, please consult the Bowdoin IT department and they will give you a quick tutorial on this most vital of subjects.

18. Students needing further “stylistic and grammatical assistance” should also consult William Strunk, E.B. White, Roger Angell, The Elements of Style Fourth Edition (New York: Allyn and Bacon, 1999).

19. **Do not e-mail copies of your paper.** Papers must be printed and delivered in person during class or to my office, which is in 201 Hubbard Hall. Papers may be left in the plastic trays outside the office if the professor is not there. Final report papers are due the last day of classes.

## **Footnotes and Bibliographies**

Every year it gets more and more frustrating as many entering students either have no idea about footnotes and bibliographical citations or simply come up with their own idea as to what constitutes a footnote citation. It thus becomes necessary to set some **minimum** standards for the practice of citation in my courses.

Therefore, for the purposes of this course, simply follow the footnote and bibliographical citations listed here and you will not run afoul of “Potholm’s Punishment”—no paper will be given full credit if it has improper footnotes.

If the following is not clear, or some possibilities are not outlined, go to the Bowdoin library and take out any book written by me and use the footnotes and bibliography (they are not exactly the same) as a guide to ensure proper citation. Other professors will appreciate this courtesy in their own courses.

1. Put all page numbers at the top right corner of the page. Papers numbered any other way or not numbered at all will be docked 10 points automatically.
2. Do not put a page number on the front page if possible BUT SOME SYSTEMS MAKE YOU. If so, that is ok.
3. When you have a quote or wish to make a footnote, put that footnote at the bottom of the page or at the end of the paper. Use Arabic numbers ONLY, do not use

Roman numerals for footnotes. Papers using Roman numerals will NOT be accepted. The Roman Empire was overthrown by barbarians a long time ago. Why this truly archaic form for footnotes persists is truly a major mystery for the History Channel.

4. **For this course**, also, do not put the footnote in the text itself. This is quite acceptable in the sciences, sociology and anthropology but this course is not being taught in any of those departments.

5. The first time you cite a book, put the author, the title of the book (underlined), an open parenthesis, the city where it was published, a colon, then the publisher's name, then a comma, then the date it was published, then a closed parenthesis followed by a comma, the letter p. (or pp. if more than one), followed by a period. Thus: Richard E. Morgan, Duck Hunting along the Atlantic Flyway (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 11.

6. If the **very next** footnote refers to the same book and the same page as the one before, put Ibid. Always underline Ibid. to show you are well educated and know it is a Latin phrase!

7. If the very next footnote refers to the same book but uses a different page, put Ibid. and then the page number. Thus: Ibid. p.16.

8. If, however, you make reference to another work in an intervening footnote, you should re-cite the first book as follows: Morgan, op. cit., p. 131.

9. Use basically the same citation for an article but present it as follows: author's name, the title of the article (in quotation marks), "in" then the editor's name (if there is one), followed by the volume (vol.), number (# in Roman numerals), date (in parentheses) and page numbers. Thus: Allen Springer, "Canada at the Crossroads," Orbis, Vol. XXX, No. 6 (2000), pp. 16-45.

10. For bibliographies, use the same citation method as above but with the author names in alphabetical order by last name and without page numbers. Thus: Morgan, Richard, Duck Hunting Along the Atlantic Flyway (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).

11. For Internet citations use the website and page numbers (if any), underlining the reference. Thus: www.warlovers.com. When in doubt, simply use the exact website address which would get other readers to the same place. The professor does not have a "special" way of doing this particular citation.

12. For films, put the name of the film in quotations, followed by the studio and the date as "Pork Chop Hill" (MGM, 1959).

13. For interview citations, use the following: person interviewed, by whom, date. Thus: Ralph Nader, interview with Professor John Rensenbrink, August 30, 2003.

14. All footnotes, whether of paper or Internet citations MUST end with a period. PERIOD.

## **Presentation Suggestions**

1. Find a variety of sources, and be sure to correctly cite all of them.

Some initial possibilities include:

- (a) Government documents in the basement of H-L Library—there are a variety of government materials, so ask the librarian downstairs for help.
- (b) Internet databases at [library.bowdoin.edu](http://library.bowdoin.edu). Look along the right column at the website, second from left: indexes/databases.
- (c) Academic Universe has full-text journal articles, the Expanded Academic Index has journal articles, and PAIS International has abstracts of journal and book articles.
- (d) Try other databases and see what you can find. Microfilms are in the back of the first floor of H-L Library.
- (e) See newspapers from your era of study on file in the library.

**If you need help, please contact a Bowdoin librarian for help. They are more than willing to assist you in finding materials!**

**Note: It is not enough to check out websites alone. You must back up your initial explorations on the web with a look at the scholarly literature, articles as well as books.**

2. Begin early. These are lengthy presentations. You have to start early to gather and organize all your information.

3. Find ways to make the presentation interesting—be creative.
  - (a) Video clips
  - (b) Posters
  - (c) Hand-outs
  - (d) Pictures
  - (e) Overheads
  - (f) Personal anecdotes
  - (g) Maps
  - (h) Anything that will enhance our understanding!
4. Organize the presentation, and practice it beforehand.
  - (a) Preparation shows
  - (b) Practice on each other
  - (c) Practice in front of a mirror or your roommate
  - (d) There is no substitute for practice!
5. Be sure to speak loudly and clearly! We will enjoy your presentation much more if we can hear you, and if you look like you enjoyed the topic you studied. Remember, too, that your classmates are taking notes. Help them by speaking distinctly.
6. Do not use a PowerPoint presentation if:
  - (a) You have not tested the entire program beforehand in the classroom where it will be presented,
  - (b) You are going to read the material on it word for word.

7. The group research process works best when groups divide the work after the initial research, but continue to coordinate with each other. Giving each person a point to focus on helps to diffuse the total work load. It also allows each person to study an area of interest. Put in time and effort and it will show. Giving a talk in a history course at Bowdoin in 1961 led your professor to become one. Good luck!

## **Partial Select Bibliography**

Hopefully, in the future, the bibliography listed here will grow and grow substantially. You will play a part. As students of “The Women Warriors: The Daughters of Mars,” you will add to it as your explorations discover new sources and direct the professor and future students to them. In its present form, this partial select bibliography simply provides an introduction and a point of departure for your research.

Karen Abbott, Liar, Temptress, Soldier, Spy : Four Women Undercover in the Civil War (New York: Harper, 2014). An engaging tale of women at war in a variety of roles. Of special interest is Emma Edmonson, the soldier, who enlisted as Private Frank Thompson in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Michigan and fought at Fredericksburg, in the Shenandoah Valley and at Second Bull Run before deserting and becoming “a woman” again. Her memoir sold 175,000 copies and she gave all the money to sick and wounded survivors of the Army of the Potomac.

Miranda Aldhouse-Green, Boudica Britannia (Edinburgh: Pearson Education Limited, 2006). Gives a good background on the causes of Boudicca’s uprising and the impact it would later have on Roman Britain.

Peter Aleshire, Warrior Woman: The Story of Lozen, Apache Warrior and Shaman (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2001). Lozen spent 40 years fighting, a true warrior even among the likes of Cochise, Geronimo and Victorio in “a war dominated culture.” Finding her “a great exception” to the normal sexual hierarchy, the author marvels at her skill, steadfastness and vision-skills in seeing the enemy. A good source for her whole life.



Svetlana Alexiyevich, War's Unwomanly Face (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1985). Despite its title and propaganda intent, this work manages to become a most powerful paean to women at war. 800,000 Russian women answered their country's call during World War II, either as members of the regular armed forces or partisan bands, or both. Moving, poignant and insightful, it captures the many faces of women in battle, including front line soldiers. Ordinary women doing extra ordinary things as comrades in arms, declaring "What do you mean, girls – they're soldiers." They were. Six months after being listed here, Alexiyevich won the Nobel Prize for literature. Post hoc, ergo propter hoc?

Stanley B. Alpern, Amazons of Black Sparta: The Women Warriors of Dahomey (New York: New York University Press, 1998). An interesting and multifaceted look at Dahomey's Amazons with particular attention to their battles at Abeokuta against the Egba in 1851 and 1854, and later against the French in 1890 and 1892.

Anonymous (edited by Volundr Lars Agnarsson), The Saga of Erik the Red (New York: Create Space Independent Publishing Platform, 2012). According to this saga, in the 10<sup>th</sup> century CE, Fredis Eiriksdottir, a shieldmaiden, sees her menfolk losing a battle to the Skraelings or Native Americans. Although pregnant, she bares her breasts and appears to be sharpening her sword on them as she attacks the Skraelings. They flee. A cautionary tale about the chance encounter between two cultures as well as the extent to which women warriors in history have been subordinated to their male counterparts.

Note: See also Margaret Elphinstone, The Sea Road (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2000) (F) for the saga of Gudrid of Iceland who traveled to Vineland, bore a son and witnessed the battles (and

misunderstandings) with the Skraelings, and who also seemed to see alternatives to fighting.

Teena Apeles, Women Warriors (Emeryville: Auslow, 2003). A breezy and superficial account, but one which leaves the correct impression that there were a fair number of women warriors have always existed across a variety of societies, from Vietnam and China to Russia to Mexico and among many Native American tribes, including the Apache, the Cherokee, Blackfeet and Gros Ventre.

Joanna Arman, The Warrior Queen: The Life and Legend of Aethelflaed, Daughter of Alfred the Great (Gloucestershire: Amberley, 2017). Concluding that Aethelflaed was “the greatest female leader of her time” (p.205), the author does a good job of separating fact from fiction and clearly putting her subject in the forefront of women warriors of her era. See especially, “Shield Maiden 916-918 (p. 183-205). Commanding her army on horseback, she recaptured much of the Kingdom of Mercia from the Danes, including retaking Derby, Leicester and York. Arman puts her on horseback, leading her army successfully.

Ruth Ashby and Deborah Ohrn, Herstory: Women Who Changed the World (New York: Viking, 1995). A wide ranging listing of many important women, including the warriors from the Trung sisters through Sultana Razia, including seldom mentioned ones such a Phung Thi Chinh (Chinese) and Triew Au (Vietnamese).

Kathryn J. Atwood, Women Heroes of World War II (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2011). A breezy introduction to women who risked their lives in the war, featuring examples from Poland, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Holland, Belgium, the U.S. and Poland. Note especially the inclusion of Nancy Wake and Pearl Witherington. Unfortunately, no Russian women are included.

Albert Azell, Russia's Heroes (London: Robinson, 2001). Luckily given the concerns about Atwood's book cited above, there is this volume. Breezy and an easy read but worth consulting for the amazing story of Nadezhda "Nadya" Popova the Russian woman pilot who flew over 1000 missions during World War II beginning in October 1941 and going to the end of the war. "Yes, the Germans called us 'Night Witches.' Yes, we practiced our 'witchcraft' almost from the first to the last days of the war."

Anni Baker, "Daughters of Mars: Army Officers' Wives and Military Culture on the American Frontier," Historian, Vol. 67 No.1 (Spring, 2005), pp. 20-42. Army wives in the 1870's and 1880's in the American West identified with their husband's army and its cultures and traditions. The author believes these women developed the "Cult of Army Womanhood," "incorporating military and masculine characteristics into their behavior, even explicitly rejecting some values of civilian women."

Lolita Baldor, "Few Army Women Want Combat Jobs," Portland Press Herald, February 26, 2014, A-5. Only 7.5% of women in the U.S. Army at the time of this survey said they were interested in combat positions (including field artillery and combat engineers). but an overwhelming number of that 7.5 wanted to be a Night Stalker (elite special operations helicopter pilots, navigators and gunners). Note the comparison with the "Night Witches" of World War II Soviet women.

Juliet Barker, Conquest: The English Kingdom of France 1417-1450 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012). See especially "Jehanne D'Arc," (pp. 93-171). As Barker puts it (p. 102), the story of Jehanne, the Pucelle or Maid, is "... extraordinary almost beyond belief. Her youth, her sex, her background, all militated against what she became: the companion of princes, inspirational

military leader, martyr for faith and country.” All of those and then some.

Gretchen Bataille and Laura Lisa (eds.), Native American Women (New York: Routledge, 2001). A grand listing of many Native American women from poets and ballerinas to warriors. Some useful examples of Native American warriors include:

(a) The Other Magpie (p. 309), who rode with the Crow Wolves, scouts for the U.S. Army, and counted coup four times against the Lakota in the Battle of the Rosebud (1876) crying ‘See my spirit is my armor;’ (b) Running Eagle (p. 258) of the Black Feet Nation who entered the Braves Society and fought the Crows and others and was eventually killed by the Flatheads as well as (c) Dahteste (p. 83), an Apache warrior who fought with Geronimo and Lozen and her two husbands against the U.S. Army and later served with them as a scout.

Jelnea Batinic, Women and Yugoslav Partisans: A History of World War II Resistance (New York; Cambridge University Press, 2015). Students highly praise this work looking at the lives of the female *partizankas* during World War II. The Double Helix is present in the aftermath of their courageous service. Many contradictions in the lives of women are chronicled.

Kelly Bell, ‘Werewolves of Aachen,’ Military History Vol. 34 #2 (July 2017), pp. 22 ff. Last ditch SS resistance assassins include a woman Ilse Hirsch.

Judith Bellafaire, Women in the United States Military: An Annotated Bibliography (New York: Routledge, 2001). Quite a compendium of books, articles and notes on women in the military ranging from “Early Patriots” to “The All-Volunteer Force and the War on Terror.” Many seldom-cited articles are mentioned here. A very useful resource.

Barbara Benton, “Friendly Persuasion” Women as War Icons 1914-1945,” MHQ: The Quarterly Journal of Military History, Vol. VI No. 1 (Autumn 1993), pp. 80-87. Captures the essence of women as icons in, and of, war when used by men to achieve particular goals, whether buying war bonds or supporting the country’s armed forces. Contains an interesting array of the actual posters used by a number of countries is provided.

Carol Berkin and Clara Lovett (eds.), Women War and Revolution (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1980). A set of essays covering situations (ranging from France in 1789 to Cuba, Italy and World War I) in which women played a role seeking peace as well as war. Wide ranging account with many interesting dimensions presented.

Eliza Billings, Female Volunteer, or The Life and Adventures of Miss Eliza Allen, a Young Lady of Eastport Maine (Unknown binding, 1851). This delightful little romance cum memoire is in Bowdoin’s Rare Book Collection. It purports to be “a truthful and well-authenticated narrative” and has vivid descriptions of the author’s military service, especially her participation in, and wounding at, the Battle of Corro Gordo. Note: Although there is some question as to the authenticity of this particular memoire of women fighting in the Mexican War (1846-1848), other works cite examples of both American and Mexican women in action. See especially Allan Peskin (ed.) Volunteers: Mexican War Journals (Kent State: Kent State University Press, 1991), Tom Reilly and Manley Witten, War with Mexico (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2010) and Robert Johannsen, To the Halls of the Montezumas (London: Oxford University Press, 1988). Johannsen in particular gives us tantalizingly brief references to such American and Mexican *soldaderas* (who did cooking, nursing, foraging and providing companionship but in some cases, fought in

battle. See especially his portraits of Maria de Jesus Dosamantes and Sarah Borginnis. Borginnis (or Boundetteo) was also known as “Great Western” for her size and courage. She became the “Heroine of Ft. Brown” and served in the Battle of Buena Vista. For her part, Dosamantes commanded a company of Mexican lancers at the Battle of Monterrey and her courage in battle provoked an American officer who witnessed it to cry “There’s an example of heroism worthy of the days of old.” (p.137).

Phyllis Birnbaum, Manchu Princess, Japanese Spy: The Story of Kawashima Yoshiko, the Cross-Dressing Spy Who Commanded Her Own Army (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015). While it is perhaps stretching things to label her a true warrior, given her position in Manchukuo and her only loose command of the “helter skelter part-time band, the Ankoku Army,” during the battle of Rehe, this account of Yoshiko is diverting, albeit a tad bizarre.

Jane Blair, Hesitation Kills: A Female Marine Officer’s Combat Experience in Iraq (Washington: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011). A strong woman warrior who rises through the ranks in the U.S. Marine Corps sees action in Iraq in the 26 day war and part of the occupation, and certainly shows that women have been assets in combat if allowed to participate. A very insightful portrait of one female “Devil Dog” who remarks, “Once you kill, you can’t take it back” and “Our only certain destiny was killing or being killed.”

Tanya Blank, Undaunted: The Real Story of America’s Servicewomen in Today’s Military (New York: NAL Caliber, 2013). Since 9/11 over 250,000 women have served in Iraq and Afghanistan and more than 140 have been killed in action. Blank looks at a brigadier general in the Marines, a drill instructor in the Marines, an army major and an army MP. The author also gives a

very good set of insights into what life in the military is really like for today's women.

Deanne Blanton and Lauren Cook, They Fought Like Demons: Women Soldiers in the Civil War (New York: Vintage Books, 2002). An in-depth look at the broader (many more than the normally quoted 250-400) range of women who fought in the Civil War, beginning with First Bull Run and ending with Appomattox and including the Peninsula campaign, 2<sup>nd</sup> Bull Run, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg (Pickett's Charge!), Vicksburg, the Wilderness, Cold Harbor, Red River, Shiloh, Petersburg and Sherman's March to the Sea. Also examines the many motivations for enlisting, including patriotism, love of freedom, desire to be with one's spouse, father or brother, spirit of adventure, economic advancement and desire to escape the confines of womanhood in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century.

Mia Bloom, Bombshell (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011). Arguing that women have pressured the leadership in Sri Lanka, the Irish Republic and Palestine to let them participate in warfare, including suicide bombings, the author nevertheless hopes for pathways for women to exit those terrorist organizations.

James Blythe, ""Women in the Military: Scholastic Arguments and the Medieval Images of Female Warriors," History of Political Thought, Vol. XXII. No. 2 (Summer 2001), pp.242-269. Analyzes the arguments for or against women in war in the political treatises of Ptolemy of Lucca (1236-1347) and Giles of Rome (1243-1316). Opposes not only their "medieval misogyny" but their echoes among the arguments of some "difference feminists" who use the same arguments against women in combat today.

Laudomia Bonanni, The Reprisal (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013) (F) This powerful novel captures the essence of the “warrior woman” with her “fury-like power” and feminine qualities (her heroine, “La Rossa,” the red haired revolutionary, is pregnant and not killed by the Fascist partisans until after giving birth). Takes place in Italy during the waning months of World War II when Germans, Fascists and partisan bands of various political hues roamed the land in an Hobbesian all against all struggle.

Melissa Lukeman Bohrer, Glory, Passion and Principles: The Story of Eight Remarkable Women at the Core of the American Revolution (New York: Atria Books, 2003). Featuring the likes of Molly Pitcher who fought at the Battle of Monmouth in 1778, Deborah Sampson who served 18 months before being discovered as a woman and Nancy Ward, The Cherokee “Honored Woman” and slave owner whose prowess in battle led her to be included in the Cherokee War Council.

Ann Baumgarten Carl, A WASP Among Eagles: A Woman Military Test Pilot in World War II (Washington: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1999). Declaring “This is what I was made for,” the author serves her country as an outstanding test pilot. And indeed she was, flying and testing a vast number of American (and other countries’) warbirds, including the Douglas Dauntless, the Curtis Helldiver, B-25, B-24, B-26, B-17, B-29, P-38, P-40, P-51, P-47 as well as British Mosquitos and Spitfires and German J-88. She was also the first U.S. woman to fly a jet, the Bell YP-59A. Quite a resume.

Mark Bowden, “The Huong River Squad” in his Hue, 1968: A Turning Point of the American War in Vietnam (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2017) (New York: Random House, 2017), pp. 5-11. See the important roles played by female Viet Cong and



NVA warriors such as Che Thi Mung and Hoang Thi No in leading the assault on the Imperial city of Hue during the 1968 Tet offensive.

Martin Brayley, World War II Allied Women's Services (Oxford: Osprey Publications, 2001). Richly illustrated work providing insights into the British, American, Canadian, Australian, South Africa, Burmese, New Zealand, French and Soviet woman who played a vital role during World War II, providing "human power" (in the case of Americans, equal to 15 male divisions).

-----, World War II Allied Nursing Services (Oxford: Osprey Publications, 2002). The first fully illustrated study of the U.S., British, Commonwealth and other nursing organizations who saved so many lives, sometimes at a cost of their own.

Jamila Brijbhushar, Sultana Raziya: A Reappraisal (New Delhi: Manohar, 1990). Indian sourced, this is an in-depth work which covers the whole of her reign and administration. Particularly interesting are pp. 50-54 on her army. This Moslem ruler was bedeviled by the disloyalty of her Turkish nobles, many of the Hindu princes and the lurking Mughals to the north. Concludes, "A study of Raziya's reign gives no indication of the fact that her sex was any real hardship to her."

Lisa Brooks, Our Beloved Kin: A New History of King Philip's War (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018). The tantalizing fragmentary account of the diplomatic and military ("A potent military leader") role of the Wampanog Squa-Sachem, Weetamoo, in peace and war ending in her death at the hands of the English colonists. Clearly delineates how settler land hunger was the major root cause of the war waged by her brother in law, Metacom. King Philip's War remains the most costly war in American history

based on a percentage of military and civilian deaths and deportations.

Note: Squa-Sachem Weetamoo appears less prominently in Christine DeLucia's Memory Land: King Philip's War and the Place of Violence in the Northeast (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), although her serial marriages and the rapaciousness of the English colonists remain constant.

Frederick Brown, "The Battle for Joan" in his The Embrace of Unreason: France, 1914-1940 (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2014), pp. 76-91. An incisive look at the continuing fascination with "The Maid." She not only was beatified in 1909, she also became the patron saint of Vichy France so that "the archenemy was no longer Germany but England."

R. Brzezinski and M. Mielczarek, The Sarmatians 600 BC- AD 450 (Oxford: Osprey, 2002). The authors claim that Sarmatian women fought in battle and were either (a) not able to marry before killing an enemy in battle or at least (b) not able to marry unless facing an enemy in battle. In any case, they were doing actual fighting against many enemies. Good pictures of women in action so many eons ago. Many excavated graves show Sarmatian warrior women buried with their weapons.

Kimberly Moore Buchanan, Apache Women Warriors (El Paso: University of Texas at El Paso Press, 1986). Believes that women were allowed into male activities with "high prestige" in many Native American societies (among them the Pawnee, Mandan, Gros Ventres, Crow and Sioux) and gives specific examples such as Water Sitting Grizzly of the Kutenai, Running Eagle of the Blackfeet, Ehyophsta of the Cheyenne and Chief Earth Woman of the Ojibwa. See especially Chapter Six, "Women Warriors: Forgotten Gladiators." The author gives a number of reasons

women went to war: (1) revenge of a loved one) such as Running Eagle of the Blackfeet), (2) love (such as Chief Earth Woman of the Ojibwa), and rescue (such as Ehyophsta of the Cheyenne).

David Bullock, “Women in the Russian Civil War” in his The Russian Civil War 1918-22 (Oxford: Osprey Publications, 2008), pp.107-113. The author documents with many concrete examples his statement that “Women, in fact, served in every army on every front in every phase of the Russian Civil War.” Some women warriors depicted include Baron Fredericks, Varvara “The White Angel of the White Army,” Marina Yurlova and Pavlina Ivanovna Kuznetsova

Lauren Cook Burgess (ed.), An Uncommon Soldier (Pasadena: the Minerva Center, 1994). Letters of Sarah Rosetta Wakeman aka Pvt. Lyons Wakeman of the 153<sup>rd</sup> Regiment, New York Volunteers whose members signed up for \$152, a year’s wages. Three million served and hundreds of thousands of letters written without censorship. She served from 1862 to 1864, and during the Red River campaign in Louisiana came down with chronic diarrhea, dying after a month in the hospital during which time her female status was never discovered.

Alex Burghart, “Aethelflaed: Iron Lady of Mercia,” BBC History Magazine Vol. 12, #8 (2011), pp.60-63. Answers the question “Where is a woman’s place?” with the answer “A woman’s place is on the throne” or “...in the saddle leading her troops successfully against the Welch and the Norsemen.”

Richard Burton, A Mission to Gelele, King of Dahomey (New York: Praeger, 1966). In this book, Burton goes to many places, including Mecca, and he is quite impressed with the Amazons and describes their practices, weapons, dress and many other aspects of their military lives. Suspect now as anthropologists have had

difficulty corroborating some of his findings. but at the same time, his descriptions project warrior abilities and capabilities, which are much verified.

Pierce Butler, ‘Jeanne de Montfort’ in his Women of Mediaeval France (Philadelphia: The Ritten House, 1907), pp. 285-305.

Marguerite, Countess to Jeanne Montfort of Britany (also known as “La Flamme”) took over defense of his realm when he was captured. Led her mounted knights to destroy the camp of the besieging French and burned their tents and wagon train, hence her nickname. She later fought at sea with the English against the Genoese (Jeanne de Montfort had pledged allegiance to Edward III), and later her husband escaped his captivity. Their son was eventually recognized as Duke of Brittany. This is a real warrior’s warrior.

Kevin Cahillane, “The Women of West Point,” The New York Times Magazine, September 7, 2004, pp.46-59. A contemporary look at how women are being prepared for combat missions beginning in 1976. From 1802-1976, there were no women, since then almost 4200 have enrolled. In 2015, they make up 22% of the incoming class.

D’Ann Campbell, “Women, Combat, and the Gender Line,” MHQ: The Quarterly Journal of Military History, Vol. 6 #1 (1993), pp. 88-97. Indicates that a U.S. World War II study proved that female soldiers were ready to serve under fire and examines the reasons the U.S. did not adopt that strategy.

Rick Campbell, Empire Rising (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2015). (F) In the near-future China invades Taiwan AND Japan and sinks the U.S. Pacific Fleet, but eventually loses due to computer malware inserted by U.S. via Seal Team in Beijing led by National Security Advisor Christine O’Connor who is twice as

smart as any man and better with a gun. A new Super Hero emerges. Oddly enough, neither side uses tactical or strategic nuclear weapons.

Helen Castor, “The Real Joan of Arc is Every Bit as Extraordinary As the Myth,” BBC History Magazine (Vol. 15, No.10), pp 50-51. The title says it all and its content is well introduced by the telling phrase “In many ways, then, her story is a life told backwards.”

-----, Joan of Arc: A History (New York: Harper, 2015). Perhaps the best of all her biographies in putting “La Pucelle’s” story in the truce context of the existing power struggles between and among, the English, the Burgundians and the House of Valois. She tells the story from the beginning of the period (with great detail) to the exact story of The Maid. Very good on the military side of Joan. Her religious fervour and native sense and personal courage eventually brought her triumph, but all of these were eventually subsumed by the mediaeval intrigue of the day – at least in the short term.

-----, She-Wolves: The Women Who Ruled England Before Elizabeth (New York: Harpur, 2015). Vilified for their “usurpation” of men’s roles and rules, these women – such as Matilda, Eleanor, Isabela and Margaret – paved the way for Queen Elizabeth. Smooth flowing stories intrigue the reader.

E.V. Cernenko, The Scythians 700-300 BC (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 1983). These horse archers held sway for 400 years, and spawned an immortal legend of women warriors. See page 24D for drawing of a Scythian noblewoman, 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE. During their centuries of glory, the Scythians defeated the Babylonians, Medes, Persians, Assyrians and Urartus. A dominant warrior culture in which women played an important role in battle.

Paul Chrystal, Women at War in the Classical World (Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 2017). An extensive, nearly exhaustive look at reports of women warriors from the early Greek to late Roman periods. Zenobia, Artemisia and other favorites are here, but so are interesting generic groups such as the Ambrones. Many examples and an excellent combing of ancient texts illuminate the author's conclusion: "War, as Homer said, may be man's work, but it is, at the same time, the curse of many a woman."

John Clark, "Jennie Iren Hodgers in the American Civil War," Strategy and Tactics, Number 254 (Jan/Feb, 2009), pp.35-37. She enlisted as Albert Cashier in the 95<sup>th</sup> Illinois and fought at Vicksburg, The Meridian and Red River campaigns, Nashville and Mobile. Never wounded nor discovered, she was also not outed until 1911 when she was in an automobile crash.

Cynthia Cockburn and Zubravka Zarkove, The Postwar Moment: Militaries, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping Bosnia and the Netherlands (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 2002). This collection of essays explores the notion that peace is but "a continuum of conflict" with war. Moreover since war may threaten masculine-dominated society, "After war, the traditional militarized gender regime endows men with the power in politics and locates women's importance within the family." The authors are justly disdainful of the "soft yet armed, masculinity," of the Dutch peace keepers who turned over males Bosnian Muslims to the Bosnian Serbs during the siege of Srebrenica. In fairness to "masculine-dominated societies," few male or female warrior cultures would ever exonerate the Dutch peacekeepers for their performance here for it was pathetic by any standards of warriorhood. Various contributors comment on the "gendered nature of war" and one, Cynthia Enloe, declares 'Nationalism typically has sprung from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope' while Stefan Dudink argues

that “War and the military have always been major forces in the making of modern Western masculinity.” The “heightened masculinity” of the radical Salafists would make an interesting comparative study since that particular strain is more than 1200 years old.

Satish Chandra, History of Medieval India (800-1700) (Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan, 2007). See especially pp. 78-80, “Raziya,” which stresses the preparation for rule she received from her father Iltutmish before he died, the forces constantly arrayed against her and her bravery in action.

Carol Cohn, ‘Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals,’ Signs, Vol. 12, No.4 (Summer, 1987), pp. 687-718. If one can get by the truly bizarre fascination (of both the author and the subjects of her study) with the male phallus as images of the atomic bombing of Nagasaki and nuclear craters as “feminine,” the article ends with some common sense suggestions concerning nuclear deterrence leading to “creating compelling alternative visions of possible futures.”

----- (ed.), Women and Wars (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013). A wide ranging set of essays which operate through “a gender lens” on such diverse topics as “Sexual Violence and Women’s Health in War” and “Women and the Peace Process” and “Women ‘After’ Wars.” A very extensive bibliography is included. Strangely, given the title of the work, there is almost nothing about women warriors or war leaders especially in combat *qua* combat throughout history although Cohn argues that “all wars are deeply gendered...”

Helen Collinson (eds.), Women and Revolution in Nicaragua (London: Zed Books, 1990). Contains a telling map showing FDA incursions which begin the book, and there are many essays

dealing with the women especially “Fighting for Peace.” Quite a worthwhile look through the prism of revolutionary fervor. One of the authors admits to being “stunned” by the “Rightwing” UNO victory at the polls in 1992 as a union of 14 parties defeated the Sandinista Front for National Liberation, but she does not believe that victory will turn back the clock on the revolution.

Vanessa Collingridge, Boudica: The Life of Britain’s Legendary Warrior Queen (Woodstock: The Overlook Press, 2006). A long, lingering (a hundred pages of pre-Boudica and many post-Boudica), meandering look at the reality and the legend concluding she was “A Queen for All Seasons.”

Dan Connell, Against All Odds: A Chronicle of the Eritrean Revolution (Trenton: Red Sea Press, 1993). A must read as it highlights all the ways women served in the revolution against Ethiopia and the extent to which this Red Sea country leveled the playing field for women in combat. However, many women justly claim that after victory, they were not given the credit and equality they felt they deserved. The double helix is alive and well in the Horn of Africa.

Sarah Corbett, “The Women’s War,” New York Times Magazine, March 18, 2007, pp. 41 ff. Some insightful glimpses into women in today’s armed forces. Shows how close to actual combat many women have become and how some have been in combat, no matter how rigorously that is defined by those not wanting to admit it.

Pearl Witherington Cornioley, Code Name Pauline (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2013). Edited by Kathryn Atwood, this is the story of a most modest heroine: I don’t like blowing my own trumpet. I find it really difficult but at the same time I want people to know what really happened.” What really happened is that this



English woman brought up in Paris (acquiring “a perfect Parisian accent”) escaped to England and then parachuted back into France to assist the Resistance for the SOE from Sept 1943-September 1944, she developed and led a Marquis unit of 2000 and engaged in sabotage, greatly helping the Allied cause. Unfortunately, this account is overly modest and irritatingly skimpy on details of major operations. Does make a good point about the Germans surrendering only to the Americans, however, concluding “Armies prefer to deal with armies.”

Bernard Cornwell, The Empty Throne (New York: Harper, 2014) (F) Set in the early 10<sup>th</sup> century in what is now England, this is the fictionalized account of how Aethelflaed, daughter of Alfred of Wessex and widow of Aethelred, Lord of Mercia, ruled Mercia. A very capable woman who “proved herself to be more of a warrior than her brother.” A good read and one which also provides valuable insights into the shield war form of warfare practiced by the Vikings and Saxons (among others) and how men would follow a woman in battle if she had the right birthright *and* warrior skills.

Robin Cross and Rosalind Miles, Warrior Women: 3000 Years of Courage and Heroism (New York: Metro Books, 2011). This breezy, well-illustrated and engaging account rounds up the usual suspects (Amina, Nzinga, Zenobia etc), but also brings focus to Deborah, Laskarina Boukoulina, Hatshepsut and Christina “Mother Ross” Davies, among others.

Terry Crowdy, SOE Agent (Oxford: Osprey Publications, 2008). Interesting take on one Special Operations Executive (SOE) operative, Pearl “Pauline” Witherington, who fought with the French Resistance during World War II and was nominated for the military cross for her activities, but since she was a “civilian” she had to settle for an Order of the British Empire.

Princess Kati Dadeshkeliani, Princess in Uniform (London: G. Bell, 1934). This woman from Georgia in the Caucasus joined the Russian army as “Djamal” and ended up in the Tartar Regiment of the “Savage Division” commanded by Grand Duke Michael. Wounded several times and received two St. George Crosses, she saw action on the Austrian front and barely escaped death during the Russian Civil War, finally leaving via Batum and Constantinople, ultimately settling in France.

William Dalrymple, The Last Mughal: The Fall of a Dynasty: Delhi, 1857 (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2006). A highly sympathetic and in-depth analysis of the Great Indian Rebellion of 1857, with an extra-ordinary richness of characters and background. See especially the author’s take on Rani Lakshmibai who led her Jhansi troops against the British during the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857-1958. She called on her troops to die in battle if necessary and is now regarded as one of the pioneers for Indian Independence a hundred years later.

Francine D’Amico and Laurie Weinstein (eds.), Gender Camouflage: Women and the U.S. Military (New York: New York University Press, 1999). Very informative collection of essays divided into “Women in the Military,” “Women *With* The Military” and “Outsiders: Women and the Military.” Basically argues that the military always puts men first and that great change is necessary to liberate women AND men from the core gender hierarchy which overpowers all.

Jeannine Davis-Kimball, Warrior Women: An Archaeologist’s Search for History’s Hidden Heroines (New York: Warner, 2002). Breezy and personal account of the author’s discoveries among the Saka, Scythian and Sarmatian graves from Kazakhstan, Russia and

China focusing on women in various cultures who were warriors.  
A useful *tour de horizon*.

Richard Deacon, “Feminine Exploits in World War II,” in his A History of the British Secret Service (London: Frederick Muller, 1969). A most sobering portrait of the actions of the British Special Operations Executive (SOE) during World War II. Of 53 women sent into action (many with only minimal training or support), 12 were executed and 29 were either arrested or died in captivity.

Daniel Defoe, The Life and Adventures of Mrs. Christine Davies Commonly Called Mother Ross (London: Peter Davies, 1928). This great story needed a great author to tell it and the writer of Robinson Caruso did just that. Very enjoyable and entertaining account of “Kit” Ross who survives multiple husbands and multiple wars. Fighting with the Duke of Marlborough at Landen, she is first wounded at Namar, then wounded again at Schellenberg, fights at Blenheim and finally is seriously wounded in the head at Ramilles in 1706. This ends her combat career with the prestigious Scots Greys. A most remarkable woman who showed great courage and valor in battle and was indomitable in life. A wonderful read.

Edwin Denig, “Warrior Woman,” John Ewens (ed.) Five Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), pp. 195-201. Calling Woman Chief the only woman chief among the Sioux, Arickaras, Assiniboine’s, Cree’s and Crows, the author outlines her fascinating history. This Gros Ventre girl, captured at age 10, had a foster father who allowed her to pursue her passions which included hunting, counting coup, stealing horses and proficiency with weapons. Upon his death, she assumed command of his family and participated in both warfare and tribal decision-making and would acquire four wives before being killed ironically by her own people, the Gros Ventres.

Linda Grant DePauw, Battle Cries and Lullabies; Women in War from Prehistory to the Present (Norma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998). A wide ranging and very comprehensive look at thousands of years of female participation in the military, including the 100 Year's War, the Napoleonic wars and the French and Indian wars. Good section on African women leaders in combat.

Christine de Pizan, The Book of Deeds of Arms and of Chivalry  
An amazing document for the 15<sup>th</sup> century, written by an early feminist. Imagine how many cultural and religious barriers she had to overcome to even get her book published. Written in the 15<sup>th</sup> century by this Italian born but French court author, The Book of Deeds resurrects many classical writings on war (especially Vegetius), but provides very useful contrasts between Medieval Europe war practices and those from antiquity, including just war, siege warfare, chivalry, trickery and subtlety. Many examples from contemporary Europe as well as campaigns of Scipio, Hannibal and Hanno. A truly amazing work given the time, the place and the sex of its author. Belies the notion that women did not appreciate war in the Middle Ages, but were only interested in court romance and jewelry.

-----, The Book of the City of Ladies (New York: Penguin 1999). A fine translation of an extraordinary book first written in 1405. Utterly charming, this work uses the device of "a city" peopled by women to destroy many myths of the day concerning women. Among her warrior choices are pagan Queen Semiramis (who married her son as the only man worthy of her, and who conquered Babylon and led an expedition into Ethiopia), the Amazons of Scythia, Queen Thamiris (who defeated and decapitated Cyrus the Great), Queen Penthesilea of Amazon fame, and Queen Fredegunde of France. Although wrong about Queen Artemisia (who de Pizan has fighting Xerxes instead of with him),

the author shows a powerful and courageous inclination to fight against the “literary misogyny of the mediaeval period.” Honestly, who wouldn’t want to live in this marvelous metaphoric city? The answers were, and are, telling. The author was a most unusual woman herself, earning her livelihood by writing in an age when few women tried or succeeded in doing so.

Kelly DeVries, Joan of Arc: A Military Leader (London: Sutton, 1999). Easy to read and understand, this is the best book I have read focusing on her military accomplishments, concluding “She had completed her mission and sealed it with her blood.” Gives “The Maid” credit for turning around the French military situation (with her successes in the Loire Valley, Reims and Patay) and blames the newly crowned Charles II for a failure to keep using her and her tactics both at Paris and beyond. “Joan of Arc was a soldier plain and simple.” Not too clear on how this farmer’s daughter acquired the skills of warfare, however, leaving us wanting more information. Men in that era literally took years - if not decades - to learn how to fight effectively in medieval warfare.

Kirstin Downey, Isabella: The Warrior Queen (New York: Doubleday, 2014). An in-depth look at “the woman who governs the world from her bed” (i.e. dying of cancer) whose will united Spain, defeated Portugal, recaptured the Emirate of Granada, launched the Inquisition and bankrolled Columbus and led an empire which took \$1.5 billion in gold and silver out of the Americas. Isabella was a devout Catholic who turned back the Moslem tide, was beloved by her people and who forced her husband Ferdinand to excel in battle and to do her bidding even when he tried to demur. “Isabella’s influence on the New World cannot be underestimated.” She truly was “a warrior queen.”

Nora Duff, Matilda of Tuscany (London: Methuen and Company, 1909). This loving, lush portrait from an earlier era does outline

the importance of Matilda and her relevance to the Italy of her day. Calling her “the Warrior Mind of the Holy Church,” the author points out her early weapons training, her two suits of armor and her military acumen were all special as was her protection of the Papacy from the designs of the Holy Roman Emperor. She also believes she is most worthy of her inclusion in St. Peter's Basilica and Dante's Canto 28 “Guardian of the Earthly Paradise.”

Laura Sook Duncombe, Pirate Women (Chicago: Chicago Research Press, 2017). Arguing that female pirates and privateers upset the male world, she nevertheless lists a lengthy array of said creatures, from Anne Bonny and Maria Coghlan to Mary Read, Flora Burn, Maryann Townsend and Cheng I. Sao.

Note: Ironically, A. Kenstam and D. Richman in Pirate: The Golden Age (Oxford: Osprey Publications, 2011) argue that Bonny and Read were not hung when captured only because they were women and pregnant (p.51).

Nadezhda Durova, The Cavalry Maiden: Journals of Russian Officer in the Napoleonic Wars (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988). Delightful reminisces of the Russian girl from the Urals who, disguised as a boy, joins the Imperial Army and becomes a lancer in the Polish Regiment and later the Mariupol Hussars, seeing action in 1807 and again 1812-14 in the struggle against Napoleon. “What a life! What a full joyous, active life!... Every day and every hour now I live and feel alive” she says of being a soldier. She fights at Smolensk and Borodino and on the Moscow front. A true warrior and a highly decorated one (Cross of St. George) who writes in a most engaging fashion. Don't miss this one.

Fidelis P.T. Duri, “Presentism, Contested Narratives and Dissonances in Zimbabwe's Liberation War Heritage: The Case of

Joyce Muhuru” in Munyaradzi Mawere and R. Mubaya (Colonial Heritage, Memory and Sustainability in Africa (Cape Town: Langaa RPCIG, 2015), pp. 11-31. The ZANU freedom fighter and the changing images of her legacy are explored. Numerous other women fighters are mentioned.

Robert B Edgerton, Warrior Women: The Amazons of Dahomey and the Nature of War (Boulder: Westview, 2000). The most scholarly and inclusive account of the Amazons of Dahomey, accenting their small unit cohesion, their vigorous training, their in-group bonding and their elite status as warriors without sex. If one became pregnant, she was tortured until revealed the cause and both were then killed. Covers their participation in the slave trade and as worthy opponents of the French Foreign Legion as late as 1890’s.

Susan Edgington and Sarah Lambert (eds.), Gendering the Crusades (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002). An exciting reappraisal of the role of women during the crusades which finds them far more central to the process than heretofore acknowledged. See especially, Karen Caspri-Reisfeld “Woman Warriors during the Crusades, 1095-1254.” Despite church policy, women played extensive roles in sieges, invasions, looting and other warrior aspects, including as archers. Much evidence from Moslem sources in various battles from Antioch to Acre makes this an excellent and provocative source.

Michael Edwardes, Red Year: The Indian Rebellion of 1857 (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1973). Interesting account of the role played by the Rani of Jhansi in the uprising and quotes the General who defeated her in battle, Sir Hugh Rose, who called her “the bravest and best of the military leaders of the rebellion” after she was killed in action during the Battle of Gwalior.

Elizebeth A. Eldredge, “The ‘Mfecane’ Revisited,” Journal of African History #33, pp. 1-35. A devastating critique of the previous revisionist arguments concerning the Mfecane. Very germane background for any study of the rise of Mmanthasatsi (sometimes Manthatsi) and her “Horde.” For a more traditional explanation of the Mfecane and some of the subsequent literature about it, see Leonard Thompson, “The Zulu Kingdom and the Mfecane,” in his A History of South Africa (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 80-87. Note, in Sesotho, Mfecane is translated “Difaqane.” This study also provides a broader examination of Manthatsi, whose Tolokwa clan of the Sotho people formed the basis of her horde.

Note: Elsewhere, Thompson makes the point that there were actually three “hordes” operating at the same time for some of this period. See Leonard Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson (eds.), The Oxford History of South Africa Vol. I (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 391-405.

Jean Elshtain, Women and War (New York: Basic Books, 1987). Focusing on the “seduction” of war, she sees women as “The ferocious few and the non-combatant many” and men as “the militant many and the pacific few.” Argues that women don’t belong in combat (or men either if she had her druthers).

Cynthia Enloe, “Paying Close Attention to Women Inside Militaries,” in her Globalization and Militarism: Feminists Make the Link (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007), pp.63-92. This work serves as a counter-balance to the assumptions of both Bowdoin graduates Sage Santangelo and Katie Petronio (cited above) that service in the military is *ipso facto* liberating if women are treated as equals within it. In fact, Enloe argues that “a less militarized military would be one less imbued with an institutional culture of masculinized violence” and instead would (and should)



place as more emphasis on rescuing civilians from natural disasters worldwide.

-----, Globalization and Militarism: Feminists Make the Link (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007). Based on her Tokyo lectures on the eve of the U.S. invasion of Iraq, the author using the device of “a feminist curiosity” to declare a link between globalization and militarization. She also argues that the woman soldier should not simply be a globalized version of the “modern woman” but should instead push for “a less militarized military (which) would be less imbued with an institutional culture of masculinized violence.”

-----, Does Khaki Become You? The Militarization of Women's Lives (London: South End Press, 1983). Although much of this work is quite dated in terms of specifics and, one could argue, shows a complete misreading of the reasons for the original Amazon legends (the Greeks rightly feared their style of warfare as well as their gender); nevertheless, some of the chapters such as “The Military Needs Camp Followers” and “Some of the Best Soldiers Wear Lipstick” raise important issues. Still, one wonders whether one of her core statements, “Women are being used by militaries to solve their nagging problems of manpower availability, quality, health, morale and readiness” might be made even more relevant by changing or adding “and men” to the quote. Unfortunately there is almost nothing here on women warriors qua warriors.

-----, Maneuvers; The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000). Noting that “Women *in* the military has never been an easy topic, the author argues it shouldn't be. “Sexism, patriotism, violence and the state – it is a heady brew,” the author looks the many impacts of war on many women – prostitutes, rape

victims, mothers, wives, nurses and feminist activists.” Concerned about masculinity and militarism, her Chapter Seven studies “Filling the Ranks,” how and when women are recruited.

John Ewers, “Deadlier Than the Male,” American Heritage, Vol. 16, #4 (1965). Despite its hyperbolic and inaccurate title, this work is a short, pithy article introducing Elk Hollering in the Water, the Blackfeet woman warrior, The Other Magpie, the Crow, and Woman Chief of the Gros Ventre (but raised as a Crow), and Running Eagle, the Blackfeet. Suggests that female participation in war and raids was more widespread than previously understood or acknowledged. Young brides, for example, often went with their new husbands on raids. Note also how Running Eagle was thought to have been killed because she violated her oath of celibacy, a widespread projection of male values upon even women warriors as obviously no similar prohibition existed for male warriors.

Lorry Fenner and Marie deYoung, Women in Combat: Civic Duty or Military Liability (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2001). Two articulate authors give the pros and cons for American women being used in combat. They both have extensive military experience, Fenner is an Air Force intelligence officer and favors opening up all aspects of military service to women while deYoung, an Army chaplain, opposes this on many grounds, arguing the recent surge for their use is based purely on political correctness, not a dispassionate examination of all of its dimensions.

Ilene R. Feinman, Citizen Rites: Feminist Soldiers and Feminist Antimilitarists (New York: New York University Press, 2000). According to the author, feminist anti-militarism relies on the fundamental connection between patriarchy and war, while feminist egalitarian militarism accents the notion that women can

be as good as men in the “be all you can be” ethos of the military. Declaring that “War is no longer a dick thing,” she argues that “women have fought long and hard for inclusiveness and respect in the realm of martial citizenship” and also that liberal feminists hope to democratize the military.

Nic Fields, Boudicca’s Rebellion AD 60-61 (Oxford: Osprey, 2011). Fine details and maps of the rebellion and some good commentary. Ends us asking the question “Why do men fear women warriors so much?” and puts Boudica’s rebellion in the long line of such sentiments going back to the original “Amazonian” concerns of the ancient Greeks.

Will Fowler, Eastern Front: The Unpublished Photographs 1941-1945 (St. Paul: MBI Publishing, 2001). One of the best collections of primarily Soviet photographs of the war (although it contains some pictures of Germans and Romanians as well). Many shots of the wide-tracked T-34 and other Soviet equipment (even a shot downed American B-17). There is also a much needed emphasis on often overlooked battles such as the Crimea and Oder campaigns as well as women and partisans in battle (in these cases closely watched by the NKVD). The shots of women in wartime action on behalf of the Soviet Union are most engaging and show their centrality to the war effort. Taken in context, they provide stunning evidence of women warriors in daily combat during World War II.

Linda Bird Francke, Ground Zero: The Gender Wars in the Military (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997). This book looks at the ways in which an element of society and the military tried to restrict the role of women in the military, but how over time the stereotypes of males as protectors and women as caregivers lost some of their power.

Antonia Fraser, The Warrior Queens (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1990). Well written, erudite and entertaining with a kaleidoscope of historical, psychological and sociological references. Queen Boadicea, Elizabeth I, Catherine the Great and the Rani of Jhansi all are colorfully described. Who says women can't be as ruthless as men, in battle as well as elsewhere? Not this author. Contains interesting sub-themes about the role of sexuality in the depiction of warrior queens. They are depicted either as voracious breakers of norms or virginal upholders of them depending on one's perspective.

Alison Gaines, Mary Edwards Walker (New York: Cavendish Square, 2018). A doctor who advocated new outfits for women (pants plus knee length skirts) and other feminist advances, she petitioned the army repeatedly to enlist in the U.S. Army, but was denied. Served as surgeon civilian contractor at Antietam Fredericksburg and Chickamauga. Captured by the Confederates and exchanged 4 months later, she received the Congressional Medal of Honor in 1865, only to have it revoked in 1917 and then reinstated in 1977.

Deborah Gera, Warrior Women: The Anonymous Tractatus de Mulieribus (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997). Based on six pages of an anonymous tract depicting 14 outstanding 5<sup>th</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE, the author expands on these “Women intelligent and Courageous in Warfare” including Zarinara (Parthian), Rhodegyna (Persian), Pheretina (Cyrene), Tomyris (Massagetae) and Artemisia (Halicarnassian).

Daniela Gioseffi (ed.), Women on War (New York: The Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 2003). A wide ranging collection of authors, celebrating not female warriorhood but female Cassandrahood. Many women from various cultures decry war and exploitation in all its forms.

Nancy Loring Goldman (ed.), Female Soldiers- Combatants or Non Combatants (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1982). Gives the reader portraits of women in war (Germany, Russia, Yugoslavia, Vietnam and Israel) and as non-combatants (Greece, Japan, Denmark, Sweden), ending with an argument for women in combat (Mandy Seal) and against (Jeff Tuten). These last two essays are somewhat overridden by events, but well worth perusing for historical context and values.

J. S. Goldstein, War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). It is estimated that 8% of Soviet armed forces were women as were approximately 40% of doctors in the Soviet armed forces, many of whom served in combat. According to Goldstein's estimates, approximately 1% of all warriors throughout history have been women and with an overall total of hundreds of millions of fighters worldwide, this is not an insignificant number. The author also highlights the "cross-culture consistency of gender roles in war," and looks at women in all female, mixed gender and individual situations. Appreciated his emphasis on often-overlooked women military leaders such as Semiramis (Assyrian), Tomyris (Maggagetæ), Tamara (Georgia) and Nzinga (Angola).

Mary Gordon, Joan of Arc (New York: Viking Penguin, 2002). Although she made none of the major decisions of the various campaigns in which she fought, and although she was eventually convicted and burned alive on a charge of being a transvestite, "Is it possible to say that she fought like a knight but otherwise didn't behave like one?" The author answers this question in the affirmative.

William Gotterman, "Zenobia," in his Improbable Women: Five Who Explored the Middle East (Syracuse: Syracuse University

Press, 2013). A most breezy introduction to Zenobia who is oddly yoked to five other women who came to the Middle East from afar. Strange business this.

Julie Gottlieb, Feminine Fascism (London: I. B. Tauris, 2000). This interesting study is determined to give “women their due as autonomous historical agents” by looking at “a polyphony of women.” Puts a spotlight on some understudied women. Useful appendix.

Susan R. Grayzel, “The Role of Women in the War,” in Hew Strachan (ed.), First World War (London: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 149-163. Looking at both individuals and groups, the author highlights the important work done by them in a variety of venues, including industrial production (40% of Russian, 33% of French) and especially the impact of the war in giving women the vote in Austria, Belgium, Britain, Latvia, Hungary, Lithuania, Germany, Denmark, Netherlands, the United States and Czechoslovakia, among others.

Andrew and Nicola Hallam, Lady Under Fire: The Wartime Letters of Lady Dorothea Fielding MM 1914-1917 (South Yorkshire: Pen and Sword, 2010). Dorothea Fielding was the first English woman to be awarded the Military Medal for bravery in the field. Working as an intrepid ambulance driver, and “dodging shells and misogynist officers,” she showed great compassion and courage under fire and wrote with dry wit: “It’s topping being up near things and so jolly and interesting.” Quite an adventurous role model.

E. Hancock, “Women as Killers and Killing Women: The Implications of ‘Gender Neutral’ Armed Forces” in M. Evans and A. Ryan (eds.) The Human Face of Warfare (St. Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 2002). Puts in sharp focus a number of the

conundrums and differing moral and ethical aspects of “gender neutral” when it comes to warfare.

Kathryn Harrison, Joan of Arc: A Live Transfigured (New York: Doubleday, 2014). An extraordinary work examining in great detail many sources including the thousands of pages from her two trials (one held long after her death to exonerate her), Harrison goes into excellent and telling detail about her military activities and weaves into the narrative a parallel construction of the life of Jesus. Anyone doing a project on Joan of Arc should avail themselves of this source.

Ewa Hauser, “Traditions of Patriotism, Questions of Gender: The Case of Poland” in Ellen Barry (ed.) Genders 22: Postcommunism and the Body Politic (New York: New York University Press, 1995), pp. 78-104. With special emphasis on Adam Mickiewicz (1798-1855) and his paean to the “hero-martyr,” Emilia Plater. Mickiewicz’s “Death of a Colonel” concludes with:

“On a shepherd’s cot he is laid out-  
In his hand a cross, by his head a saddle and belt,  
By his side, a sword and a rifle.  
But this warrior though in a soldier’s attire,  
What a beautiful, maiden’s face had he?  
What breasts?- Ah, this was a maiden,  
Lithuanian born, a maiden-hero,  
The leader of the uprising-Emilia Plater.”

David Hay, The Military Leadership of Matilda of Canossa 1046-1115 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008). “The most powerful woman of her time,” Matilda of Canossa led in war and battle for 40 years, putting popes on the throne and keeping them there and defeating the Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV in battle at Sorbara (1084) and for six years afterward. Well documented

scholarship enables the author to declare her “One of the most successful military commanders of the age.”

Mary Jennings Hegar, Shoot Like a Girl: One Woman’s Dramatic Fight in Afghanistan and On the Home Front (New York: The New American Library, 2017). A bittersweet account of one woman’s fight to fly and fight and the obstacles she faced before, during and after she was wounded in combat during a dramatic rescue mission in Afghanistan. Very telling on the re-entry process and the ongoing pull of the allure of combat as she states categorically, “Nothing I tried could get me that high I’d become addicted to.”

Charles Heston (narrator), “Women Spies and Warriors,” Secrets of War (Mill Creek Entertainment DVD), Unit #5 (1998). Looks at actual women working at warcraft during World War II in the American OSS (Organization of Strategic Services), the British SOE (Special Operations Executive) and the SIS (Secret Intelligence Service) as well as the French Resistance. A wide range of important activity by women is chronicled.

Linda Heywood, Njinga of Angola: Africa’s Warrior Queen (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017). An amazingly rich biography of a strong warrior woman who dominated south central Africa (present day Angola) from 1624-1663. Her military prowess, including a decade long stretch of successful battles both guerilla and set piece (1624-1663), is matched only by her strategic and diplomatic efforts as she played the Portuguese, Dutch and African tribes off against each other, even communicating with the Pope Alexander VII. Also noteworthy, is her successful flaunting of gender norms (she took both men and women as lovers and sometimes dressed as a man but made her male lovers dress as women) and her most skillful blending of Mbundu, Impangala (Jaga) and Christian traditions to support her legitimacy.



Melissa Herbert, Camouflage Is Not Only for Combat (New York: New York University Press, 1998). The author argues that the military is a “gendered institution” and as such women are often judged to be either “too masculine” or “too feminine” by that culture and the military’s masculine ideology will continue to limit women’s participation in the military for the military service as long as the military remains a male domain for the achievement of manhood.

Margaret Randolph Higonnet, Jane Jenson, Sonya Michel and Margaret Collins Weitz (eds.), Behind the Lines: Gender in the Two World Wars (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987). A wide ranging set of essays looking at various war-related impacts on both women and men. The editors declare it is a myth “that men are naturally fierce and warlike while women are mothers and have an affinity for peace.” Central to the work is the trop of Higonnet, “the double helix” (see below) which underscores the “illusory nature of wartime change in World War I and II” and declares “a feminist revision of the *time* in war can make the history of war more sensitive to the full range of experience of both men and women.”

----- and Patrice L. R. Higonnet, “The Double Helix” in Behind the Lines: Gender in the Two World Wars (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), pp. 31-47. The authors assert that men and women are two strands of a linked “double helix” in which regardless of the level of either, the female strand is made subordinate. Therefore, it asks and answers the question, “When is change not change?” The social and economic roles of many women undergo rapid and radical transformation both at the onset of war, and, in a symmetrically opposed direction at its conclusion.”

Vera Hildebrand, Women at War: Subhas Chandra Bose and the Rani of Jhansi Regiment (New York: Harper Collins, 2016). A fascinating history of the women who joined that regiment of the Indian National Army during World War II. Recruited in 1943 from Indian families in Malaya, Singapore and Burma, these women and the INA fought with the Japanese for the independence of India from British rule. Regarded as traitors by the British, the INA and the Rani of Jhansi Regiment members became heroes and heroines to many Indians especially after 1947. Named for the 1857 Rani of Jhansi, and led by Lakshmibai Swaminathan Sehgal (1914-2012), the unit was sent to Burma during the Battle of Imphal (1944-1945) and eventually retreated all the way from Rangoon to Bangkok. Although the Ranis never saw direct action as a coherent unit, they were under attack by Allied planes and several were killed by sniper fire and disease.

Richard Hingley and Christina Unwin, Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen (London: Hambledon and London, 2005). Calling Boudica “a woman of many faces,” the authors point out how she is at once an actual ruler, an imperial icon and an impediment to Rome’s declared “civilizing” mission. They urge us to look to archeology for the foundation of facts.

Jean Holm, Women in the Military: An Unfinished Revolution (Novato: Presidio, 1982). This Air Force major general provides an extensive history of women and the military from World War I through the first Gulf War, arguing that women should be allowed to take their rightful place in combat.

Kirsten Holmstedt, Band of Sisters: American Women at War in Iraq (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole, 2007). The author looks carefully at the experience of women Marines and finds that most felt they were just doing their job, but with more than 500 women killed or wounded in the Iraq wars, more of them were clearly in combat

than many in American society understood at the time or even now.

-----, The Girls Come Marching Home: Stories of Women Warriors Returning from War in Iraq (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole, 2009). Pointing out that the 2003 war in Iraq sufficiently blurred the lines between combat and non-combat for women, the author captures both their rising to the occasion and the often heart-wrenching nature of their return. In fact, her interviews of these Marine, Navy, Army and Air Force veterans as well as the writing of the book produced a post-traumatic stress disorder-like in Holmstedt for which she had to seek medical treatment. Powerful. To put the return of these specific women and this specific war into the broader context of all returning warriors since the time of Homer, see C. P. Potholm, “The Return of the Warriors” in his Understanding War (Lanham: University Press of America, 2016), Chapter 38, pp. 575-582.

Maureen Honey, Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class, Gender and Propaganda during World War II (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984). Shows how World War II got women into the workforce and ended much prejudice about women performing certain jobs through propaganda. But it also shows how after the war, the return to the nuclear family overrode some of the gains, albeit not all.

Fan Hong, “‘Iron Bodies’: Women, War and Sport in the Early Communist Movement in Modern China,” Journal of Sport History, Vol. 24, #1 (Spring, 1997), pp. 1-23. With “grander” goals than sheer feminism, Mao and the early Communists produced athletic hardened women warriors with “iron bodies” to further the revolution.

Georgina Howell, Gertrude Bell: Queen of the Desert, Shaper of Nations (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007). Billed as “the driving force behind the creation of Iraq,” this remarkable woman was the first female officer in the history of modern British intelligence and served with distinction during World War I. King Faisal said she had “a genius for war” and she did. See especially the chapters, “War Work” and “Cairo, Delhi, Basra.” Gives a good glimpse into the sacrifices made by the peoples of the British Empire to the World War I effort – 192,000 were killed, captured or “went missing” and 300,000 were recruited from India alone.

Stephen Hunter, Sniper’s Honor (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1914). (F) Women warriors continue to fascinate, witness this novel centered around a Soviet sniper from World War II, nicknamed “The White Witch,” Ludmilla “Mili” Petrova.

Duong Thu Huong, Novel Without A Name (New York: William Morrow, 1995). (F) An absorbing and deeply depressing Vietnamese novel about war in the jungle, lost youth and the immense problem of keeping ones humanity in the middle of a struggle without end: “In times of war, the future belongs to the combatants.” She concludes with “Chants of the months, of the years spent in the Truong Son Mountains. Soldier, the dawn is icy. You fall under the bullets. On the white of the parachute cloth, I see your blood spreading.” Powerful and evocative, a fitting counter to “the glories of war,” whether in a revolutionary context or not.

Nancy Huston, The Matrix of War: Mothers and Heroes in Susan Rubin Suleiman, The Female Body in Western Culture (Cambridge; Harvard University Press, 1986). The author cautions that “Eliminating women from reproduction and integrating them into destruction tends to obfuscate the psycho-historical matrix of

war, and may prevent us from ever understanding it sufficiently to bring it to an end.”

Sherrie Inness, Tough Girls; Women Warriors and Wonder Women in Popular Culture (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998). Our society seems to expect a great deal of women. And it is not always easy to fulfill those expectations.

Douglas Jackson, Hero of Rome (New York: Corgi Books, 2011). (F) Boudica's rebellion seen through the somewhat sympathetic eyes of the Roman legionnaire Valerius. Grudging respect for Celtic warcraft.

Tami Amanda Jacoby, Women in Zones of Conflict: Power and Resistance in Israel (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005). “The Campaign for Women in Combat in Israel” portion of the work effectively documents the way the entry of women into combat positions overturned much bias against them, in “the last bastion of male privilege in the modern world.”

Richard Johnson, “The Role of Women in the Russian Civil War (1917-1921), Conflict, Vol.2 #2 (1980), pp. 201-217). Over 70,000 women fought in the Russian Civil War and “The contribution women made to the military victory of the Red Army was considerable.” (See pp. 207-208).

Steven Johnson, “The Longest War: Vietnam's War of Independence from 111BC - 938 AD,” in his Unknown Wars of Asia, Africa and the Americas That Changed History (New York: Atlas, 2013). This work contains an exciting story of the Trung sisters and their fight against the Han Chinese. They led an uprising which was 1/3 women and their initial successes in 39 AD

were spectacular although the Hans eventually returned and crushed the revolt.

David Jones, Women Warriors: A History (Washington: Brassey's, 1997). Female warrior heritage is celebrated and judged to be deeper and richer than previously thought, the author concluding, "Women can share equally with men the title of warrior." Looking at "The Female Martial Heritage" across time and space, the author concludes "Women's martial history is much richer and deeper by far than is commonly understood in the West." For many women "The sword is my child." Good section on the World War I and Russia's all-female "Battalions of Death" which fought for the Czar and the Provisional Government.

Note: See Anne Eliot Griesse and Richard Stites, "Russia: Revolution and War," in Nancy Loring Goldman (ed.) Female Soldiers - Combatants or Non Combatants (reviewed above) which provides a most interesting vignette. On October 25, 1917, a detachment of a Petrograd women's battalion helped defeated the Provisional government turn back a Bolshevik (including women in the Red Guards) attempt to storm the Winter Palace.

Gwyn Jones (translator), The Norse Atlantic Saga (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986). Note especially the account of Freydis Eiriksdottir, the Viking woman warrior who drove off the Skraelings by sharpening a sword on her bare breast while pregnant, berating the Viking men who were being bested by the Skraelings. The Skraelings fled and the Viking men were presumably embarrassed and ashamed. As well they should have been.

Joyce Kaufman and Kristen William, Women at War, Women Building Peace: Challenging Gender Norms (Boulder: Kumarian Press, 2013). Argues that women now expect to play major roles

in war as well as peace. Looks at women as agents of resistance and political violence as well as peace-making. Case studies from Northern Ireland, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and Sri Lanka.

Thomas Keneally, Daughters of Mars (New York: Atria Books, 2013). (F) Two sister nurses go to Gallipoli and the Western Front and confront a deluge of casualties, the horrors of war and the self-exploration. This novel captures the ongoing impact of war across time and space.

Le Minh Khue, “The Distant Stars” in her The Stars, the Earth, the River (Willimantic: Curbstone Press, 1997), pp 1-20. Khue tells the powerful story of three young North Vietnamese volunteers who go south to keep the Ho Chi Minh trail open. For Khue, “The war years were both the worst time and the best time for me.” She captures the sense of comradeship echoing down throughout history, “I loved everyone...that was the love of the people in smoke and fire, the people of war.” Other chapters in the book depict both the pride and disillusionment following the end of the war and the seemingly inexorable march of the Double Helix in yet another time and place.

Heinrich Kleist, Penthesilea (New York: Harper/Collins, 1998). (F) A new translation of the 1808 play. An army of one-breasted women (the better to shoot their bows) arrives in the middle of the Trojan War. Penthesilea, daughter of Ares and Queen of the Amazons, shows carnal lust for Achilles (“her beloved enemy”) and convinces him she wishes to marry him. While one seldom feels sorry for Achilles in real life, his final words in this play as she hunts him down and, together with her dogs, tears him apart and then devours portions of him. Surely he deserves our consideration and sympathy when he cries, “Penthesilea! My Bride! What are you doing? Is this the rosy feast you promised me?” Penthesilea then kills herself. This play is not for the faint

of heart, but it underscores the ongoing fascination with a true daughter of Mars and how she seems to upset the balance of the “natural” order in the minds of many (perhaps including some of us).

Philip Koslow, Hausaland: The Fortress Kingdoms (New York: Chelsea House Press, 1995). Insights into the military efforts and fortresses of Amina of Zaria, who expanded the boundaries of her kingdom to the confluence of the Niger and the Benue. Zaria is now home to Ahmadi Bello University in present day Nigeria.

Dr. Heidi Kraft, Rule Number Two: Lessons I Learned in a Combat Hospital (New York: Little Brown, 2007). I have read hundreds and hundreds of books about war and occasionally I’ve gotten choked up or even cried a bit, but reading this book I cried a lot and deeply too. It’s an extraordinary work. The author, takes her cue from the Korean War TV show and film, M\*A\*S\*H, which stated “There are two rules of war. Rule number one is that young men die. Rule number two is that doctors can’t change rule number one.” Without melodrama or forced pathos, Kraft describes young Marines dying in her arms and warriors, men and women, young and old, breaking down under the strain of combat and the loss of comrades, feeling ashamed for feeling fear or for surviving while buddies did not. And how she, a devoted mother of two small children, copes half way around the world from them. A warrior’s warrior she seems to me. And a powerful voice against war.

Kathleen Khuhnast, Chantal de Jorge Oudraat, and Helga Hernes, Woman and War (Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2011). This wide ranging volume helps us to understand how gender sculpts conflict causing women to suffer a great deal more than normal through increased rapes, sexual violence, lost economic opportunities and the like.



Remke Kruk, The Warrior Women of Islam: Female Empowerment in Arabic Popular Literature (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014). Using popular literature and legendary epics, the author explores the world of female warriors such as Princess Dhat al-Himma, Ghamra and Jayda. After intriguing the reader with many glimpses, the author concludes that we must remember that this “agreed upon fiction” actually reflects male composition and presentation..

Krishna Kumar (ed.), Women and Civil War (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishing, 2000). A potpourri of essays covering “a vast territory” including Rwanda, Cambodia, Georgia, Guatemala, El Salvador and Bosnia.” They fight and in many cases, seem to play a significant role. Why are these women not more widely celebrated in the polyphony of women’s histories?

Keith Laidler, Female Caligula: Ranavalona the Mad Queen of Madagascar (New York: Wiley, 2005). The title says it all. This woman (1778-1861) seized the throne of the Merina and ruled with an iron fist for 33 years, fighting off the French and English and suppressing her own subjects. Often missing from anthologies of women warriors (or rulers for that matter), Ranavalona deserves a new look in terms of how much of the military commands she directed.

Asma Lamrabet, Women in the Qur’an: An Emancipatory Reading (Leicestershire: Square View Press, 2016). This Moroccan woman pathologist provides a re-reading of the Moslem Holy Scriptures from a female perspective. For example, she quotes the Prophet describing a woman warrior, “Who else could endure all that you are suffering here Umm ‘Umarah?” (p.19). Says Umm was wounded 13 times in various battles including Uhud, Hudaibiyyah, Hunayn and Al-Yamama, where she lost a hand.

Richard Lapchick and Stephanie Urbang, Oppression and Resistance: The Struggle of Women in Southern Africa (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1982). A look at women in the struggle to liberate Southern Africa with introductory observations at their efforts in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia. Strangely silent on their role in *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, the “Spear of the Nation” however.

Gayle Tzemach Lemmon, Ashley’s War: The Untold Story of a Team of Women Soldiers on the Special Ops Battlefield (New York: Harper, 2015). Poignant account of Ashley White, a member of the “Cultural Support Teams” in Afghanistan, killed in battle. Her training, integration into a traditionally male-only Special Forces unit and her untimely death are all sketched here. Interesting insight, American female soldiers were able to talk to Iraqi women whereas many Afghani and Iraqi women were not permitted to speak to males (including U.S. soldiers) unless they were blood relatives.

Elizabeth Leonard, All the Daring of the Soldier: Women of the Civil War Armies (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999). A wide ranging account of “Spies” “Half-Soldier Hero’s” and “A Host of Women Soldiers.” Forerunner of They Fought Like Demons, this work contains interesting accounts of how women got around recruitment examinations, many of which were cursory or nonexistent.

Isaac Levine, My Life as Peasant, Officer and Exile: The Life of Maria Bochkareva (New York: Frederick Stokes, 1919). A truly amazing tale of a young woman who survived extreme poverty, abusive men and incarceration to find liberation of a kind in the Russian armed forces during World War I after partitioning the Czar to let her going to army. Wounded a number of times, she

eventually was selected to lead the all-female “Battalion of Death” during 1917. After the revolution broke out, she tried to fight the Bolsheviks, meeting Kerensky, Kornilov, Lenin and Trotsky along the way. Although she eventually made it to America via Vladivostok, she ultimately returned to Russia, only to be captured and killed by the Bolsheviks.

Kathryn M. Linduff and Karen Robinson (eds.), Are All Warriors Male? (Lanham: Altamira Press, 2008). Scholarly anthropological studies of the Eurasian steppe Iron Age graves from the Black Sea to Afghanistan, Northern Kazakhstan, Western Siberia and Xiongnu says, emphatically, “No.” This work uses archaeological evidence from prehistory to look at the woman warrior in fact and fiction, coming up with plenty of evidence that Xena the Warrior Princess was not *sui generis* and had many real antecedents. Grave sites and grave goods are “living” proof. There is a reason contemporary culture carries the image of strong, powerful women righting wrong and fighting evil.

Drew Lindsay, “Why Not Send Women to War?” MHQ: The Quarterly Journal of Military History Vol. 25#3 (2013), pp.50-61. A wide ranging study from ancient times through World War II and the wars of decolonization, concluding “...some people will never accept women in battle-at least, that is, until women are needed.”

Pasi Loman, “No Woman, No War: Women’s Participation in Ancient Greek Warfare,” Greece and Rome, Vol. 51, No. 1 (April, 2004), pp. 34-54. The author argues that far from being victims or mere spectators, women in Ancient Greece were not pacifist by nature and often showed strong support for a variety of wars.

Lois Ann Lorentzen and Jennifer Turpin (eds.), The Women and War Reader (New York: New York University Press, 1998). A

variety of essays concerning war's impact on women (and in some, men as well) taken from Bosnia, Korea, Israel, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Mozambique, Afghanistan, India and Pakistan as well as the United States. Unfortunately there is neither an introduction nor a conclusion so the various essays float unattached and episodic.

John Lynn, "Women in War," Military History (October 2001), pp. 60-66. A short, stimulating look at female camp followers in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, describing how the armies of the day often had a nearly 1-1 ratio of men to women and children and "great crowds of women and children were not unusual; they were the rule." They carried food and clothing, treated the sick and wounded, participated in the looting and protected its rewards for "Pillage was also the business of the army."

-----, Women, Armies and Warfare in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). See especially Chapter IV "Warrior Women: Cultural Phenomena, Intrepid Soldiers and Stalwart Defenders." Good, in-depth accounts of women participating in warfare at a variety of levels and in a variety of ways. Many specific cases are illustrated.

Tanya Lyons, Guns and Guerilla Girls: Women in the Zimbabwean National Liberation Struggle (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2004). Illuminating "The Problems with Women in War," the author argues that although as many as 20,000 women were involved in the armed struggle, fewer than 10% were actually involved any type of combat. She does a good job in outlining the complexities of the multiple roles of women in the struggle in this African revolution.

James McCaffrey, Army of Manifest Destiny (New York: New York University Press, 1992). While skeptical that there were

many women involved in the War of 1812, the author points to several instances where female soldiers were discovered only after being wounded (pp.25-26).

Marianne Mackinnon, The Naked Years: Growing up in Nazi Germany (London: Chatto and Windus, 1987). An engaging tale of a young woman drawn into war, serving in the Hitler Youth, drafted into the *Organisation Todt* doing farm and construction work and narrowly escaping death in the Dresden firebombing raid. She fortunately ended up in the British sector after the war, ultimately arriving in Oxford.

Emily St. John Mandel, Station Eleven (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2014). (F) A marvelous, inventive dystopian novel with women leaders (“The Symphony”) and women warriors of note (Kirsten). Note: Women do not always have to be “macho” to be true warriors.

Herman Mann, The Female Review: Life of Deborah Sampson the Female Soldier in the War of the Revolution (Boston: J. IK. Wiggin, 1866 reprint of the 1796 edition). “The American Rebellion Was a Great Event” says this work and she was in it. At 22 she, pretending to be her dead brother, joined a regiment, the Light Infantry Company of the Fourth Massachusetts Regiment, fought in a number of battles (including Tarrytown), was wounded (not discovered), but then became ill (discovered) and mustered out with an honorary discharge. Ended up very poor thereafter, but proud of her service.

Roger Marwick and Eridice Cardona, Soviet Women in the Frontlines of the Second World War (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012). Richly displayed, it covers the 1 million women the authors claim fought for the Soviet Union during World War II, including partisans (28,000), the Night Witches and Falcons and

the 1st Volunteer Rifle Brigade (first all-women's brigade since the revolution). These *frontovichki* fought long and bravely. You will be very sad finding out the fate of the returning warriors of the USSR, but especially those who were tragically paralyzed.

Megan Mackenzie, Beyond the Band of Brothers: The U.S. Military and the Myth That Women Can't Fight (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015). A wide ranging look at why women have been excluded from combat and why they shouldn't be. The author sees this exclusion as a continuing effort to reaffirm male supremacy in any and all aspects of communal life.

Arthur Marwick, Women at War 1914-1918 (London: Fontana, 1977). Using "the Great Spotlight of War" to show the myriad contributions made by British women during World War I, the author shows the wide range of activities from munitions work to the Women's Forage Department, to the Voluntary Aid Detachments (VAD) and the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) and their huge overall contribution to the war effort. Argues that these contributions greatly enhanced the progress of the suffragette movement. Finely illustrated.

Robert Massie, Catherine the Great (New York: Random House, 2012). A fascinating woman who richly deserves this fascinating account of her life, especially a close look at her actions promoting the Russian empire. The expansion of Russia into Poland and to the Black Sea set the stage for further expansion in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, all the way to the Pacific. Interesting dynamic of the backward portions of Russia and their spectrum flow into new lands. Also good on the political machinations of Frederick the Great, France, England and Austria in the Seven Years War and beyond. This was a woman who reigned, ruled and drove her country onward. See especially Catherine as military strategist and

leader in “The First Partition of Poland and the First Turkish War” and “The Second Turkish War and the Death of Potemkin.”

Gustave Masson, The Story of Medieval France (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1893). See Chapter 13, “Charles VII – End of the Hundred Year’s War,” for a 19<sup>th</sup> century take on La Pucelle and Charles VII.

Jerry Matney and D.A. Gordon, Woman War Chief: The Story of a Crow Warrior (Bloomington: First Books, 2002). A long, thinly disguised praise poem about Woman Chief, the Gros Ventres woman who was captured by the Crows at age 10 and grew to womanhood with them. She worked hard to master the arts of soldiering and became a first class warrior especially against the Blackfeet. She was invited to join the Big Dog Society, normally an honor reserved only for males, become a rare woman chief and taking that name. Ironically she was eventually ambushed and killed by a Gros Ventres raiding party.

Adrienne Mayor, The Amazons: Lives and Legends of Warrior Women Across the Ancient World (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014). Holistic, scholarly, well-illustrated, overarching and multidisciplinary, this is the work on Amazons which must be consulted by those doing any research on this fascinating subject. Both the realities and the myths are breathtaking. Most illuminating is her close examination of the 1000 years of history across 4000 miles of geography from the Don Basin to China, concluding, “Between Greece and China stretched the vast homeland of nomadic horsewomen archers, the equals of men, whose heroic lives and deeds inspired awe, fear, respect, and desire in all who knew them.”

Louis K. Merry, Women Military Pilots of World War II: A History with Biographies of American, British, Russian and

German Aviators (Jefferson: McFarland and Company, 2011). Students find this work especially helpful. Some were astonished that no African American women pilots were mentioned despite so many African American men serving in the armed forces. Provides a good overview of what happened with a useful evaluation of many female pilots memoirs. Some good biographical material at the end.

Molly Merryman, Clipped Wings: The Rise and Fall of the Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASP's) of World War II (New York: New York University Press, 1998). These women brought thousands of planes from factory to ports but were denied military status at the end of the war. Students find this most unfair and justly so.

Madeline Miller, The Song of Achilles (New York; HarperCollins, 2012). (F) Putting Achilles in a homo-erotic frame due to his love of Patroclus, the author accounts for his success with speed (shades of John Boyd, great American strategist of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and his OODA loop), and “the best warrior of his generation” who goes on to immortality in story and song. Achilles is not frightened of war for “It was what I was born for.” This account of Achilles can certainly help us understand how important the legend of Penthesilea was (and remains) from a feminist perspective because Achilles alone among the Greek warriors could kill her in mortal combat. So many exegetes have missed the symbolic vitality of her killer, it is worth pondering why.

Molly Moore, A Woman at War (New York: Scribner's, 1993). The author, a reporter for the Washington Post, had access to General Walter Boomer, commander of the Marine expeditionary force and thus was on the inside of many of the key field decisions of the First Gulf War. Written at a time when it was still unusual for American women to be at war and writing about it up close and



personal. Clearly shows women in harm's way and worthy of equal opportunity to remain so *if* they so choose.

Robert Mugabe, Women's Liberation in the Zimbabwean Revolution (San Francisco: John Brown Book Club, 1979). See especially pp. 14-16 "The Armed Struggle Stage," for the role of the Special Women's Detachment of the Zimbabwe National Liberation Army."

Clare Mulley, The Women Who Flew for Hitler (New York: St. Martins, 2017). The truly incredible story of Melita von Stauffenberg and Hana Reitsch who flew very important test missions on a variety of high performance (and dangerous) aircraft including the famous JU-87 Stuka, ME 262 and Me 163 Komet Rocket planes. Melita, who was part Jewish, got her "Reichssipenamt" officially recognizing her status as "equal to Aryan" (p.137), flew 15 tests of dive bombing in one day and 2000 overall, "a performance unmatched by any pilot in history" (p.167). Both received several Iron Crosses. Hana, a devoted follower of Hitler, flew into Berlin in April, 1945 to try to rescue him from his bunker and wanted to commit suicide with him when he would not go with her - but he sent her out of the pocket. She would die in 1979, either of heart attack or by taking the suicide pill Hitler had given her. Melita was shot down and killed by American fighters three weeks before the end of the war. Amazing women, amazing times, amazing footnotes for the history of women warriors.

Rosaria Munson, Artemisia in Herodotus (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988). Properly puts Artemisia in historical perspective and emphasizes the symbolic role of Artemisia which goes far beyond "a woman in battle." It would seem that her story should be part of feminist canon but for some reason is not.

Kate Muir, Arms and Women (London: Sinclair-Stevenson Publishing, 1992). An overview of the usual suspects but with some useful historical background.

Clare Mulley, The Spy Who Loved: The Secrets and Lives of Christine Granville (New York; St. Martin's Press, 2013). The absorbing story of a Polish woman (born Christine Skarbek) who served various spy organizations before, during and after World War II and undertook some extremely dangerous missions into Nazi occupied Europe, including Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and France. Makes a strong case for the importance of the resistance in Poland and the fact that Poland provided more support for Great Britain than previously credited. Christine was ultimately killed by a man who "loved" her, but felt that killing her was the ultimate way of controlling this woman who lived her life to the fullest: without boundaries and without remorse. In this sense, her tale is a sad reminder of the problems many men have with independent women and why control issues lie at the heart of so many domestic violence issues.

Bruce Myles, Night Witches: The Untold Story of Soviet Women in Combat (Chicago: Academy Press, 1997). A fascinating story of the Soviet women who flew against the Germans during World War II. Features women who dropped bombs, provided close air support and assistance to partisans and ground forces and especially those in the "free hunter" units who targeted German aircraft. Many personal stories of women in action are presented. Anyone interested in the subject of women in combat should read this work, for it is a soaring paean to women as heroes.

Byran Nakamura, "Palmyra and the Roman East," Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies, Vol. 34, #2 (1993), pp.133-150. Looks at Zenobia's rise to power, short reign (270-272 CE) while she expanded and tried to hold territory in the Levant, Arabia and

Egypt and her rapid downfall. Interesting description of her military force, a mixture of heavy cavalry, light bowmen and auxiliaries; and how she was hampered by her lack of a large standing army.

Amy Nathan, Yankee Doodle Gals: The Women Pilots of World War II (Washington: National Geographic Society, 2001).

Lavishly illustrated and breezily written, this paean to the WASP's (Women Airforce Service Pilots), reports that 25,000 applied, 1102 served and 38 died. They towed targets for male pilots to shoot at and also delivered 12,000 aircraft of 77 kinds (including the "tough-to-fly biggies" the B-25, B-17 and especially the B-29) to the major theatres of war. These "gals" delivered the goods and deserve high praise. They deserved much better than they received at the end of the war.

Mary Lou Colbert Neale, "Women of War," Military History (December, 1993), pp. 35 ff. Astonishingly enough, 800,000 Soviet women served at the front during World War II. This short article gives a good overview of what they did including most of the roles normally reserved for males in the American military of the period. Contains a very interesting interview with "Tamar Pamyatnikh, Soviet Heroine." There is perhaps not much to honor about the Soviet system, but their need for warriors gives us a powerful example of how successful women can be when given a chance women are denied in other societies.

Tim Newark, Women Warriors (London: Blandford, 1989). From Amazons of legend and fact to Jeanne Countess of Montfort and Christine de Pizan, female military leaders are examined. A useful introduction for those not used to seeing women in battle. See especially that chapters, "The True Amazons," "Amazons of the Jungle," "Braver than her Husband," "Celtic Queens," "Women of Christ" and "Hundred Years War Women."

Sharon Newman, Defending the City of God (New York: Palgrave, 2014). A useful look at Melisende, the first hereditary queen of Jerusalem (who was *Melisende Regina Sola* from 1143-1149). Offers insights into what it took to be a Christian female ruler in a sea of Moslems and predatory male Christians. “A true ruler.”

Josephine Nhongo-Simbanegavi, For Better or Worse? Women and ZANLA in Zimbabwe’s Liberation Struggle (Harare: Weaver Press, 2000). Challenging “the myth of gender equality” during the war, the author distinguishes between the use of women freedom fighters in liberated zones versus contested zones and argues that in general, the ZANLA leadership did not make much use of women in the latter. See especially Chapter Four, ZANLA Women at the Front,” pp. 79-98.

David Nicolle, Yarmuk AD 636: The Muslim Conquest of Syria (Oxford: Osprey Publications, 1994), pp. 70-71. Contains an engaging but tantalizingly brief portrait of Hind Bint ‘Utba, mother of the future Caliph Mu’awiyah who, at the battle of Yarmuk leads other women in rallying the Muslims when the Byzantines reach the Muslim camp. Contains a great admonishment from the camp followers:

We are the daughters of the Night;  
We move among the cushions,  
With the grace of gentle kittens  
Our bracelets on our elbows.  
If you attack we shall embrace you;  
And if you retreat we will forsake you  
With a loveless separation. (p. 72).

Anne Noggle, A Dance with Death: Soviet Airwomen in World War II (College Station: Texas A and M University Press, 1995). A big, bold and exciting story of the Soviet pilots who were

female. A gripping tale, especially the sections on the female night fighters. They were true warriors by any measure.

Wale Ogunyemi, Queen Amina of Zazzau (Ibadan: University Press PLC, 1999). Another male author obsessed with the legend of Amina's taking a young man to bed whenever her army captured a city and then killing him in the morning. This play does celebrate her warcraft as well however, calling Amina "A strategist for all times." It would be interesting if her tale were told in high school to boys and girls, and their teachers, men and women.

Organization of Angolan Women, Angolan Women Building the Future: From National Liberation to Women's Emancipation (London: Zed books, 1984). This somewhat polemical work suggests the validity of "the double helix" dynamics of women's suppression offered by Margaret Higonnet (see above).

Note: For a more scholarly and holistic treatment of the decolonization struggle and liberation of Angola, see John Marcum, The Angolan Revolution Volume I The Anatomy of an Explosions (1950-1962) (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1969) and especially The Angolan Revolution Volume II Exile Politics and Guerilla Warfare (1962-1976) (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1978).

Iris Origo, War in Val D'Orcia 1943-1944 (Boston: David R. Godine, 1947). A touching, illuminating and very satisfying diary account of an English woman married to an Italian and living on a Tuscan property with dozens of farms and a castle. Amazing chaos in Italy after the King turns sides (July 1943) but doesn't join the Allies until the Germans have taken a measure of control, especially over the Italian armed forces. An almost unbelievable situation with refugees, escaped Allied prisoners, partisans, Fascists, Fascist militias, monarchists, communists, deserters (both German/Austrian and Italian as well as false German/Italian ones)

roaming around and all coming to her household for food, clothing, shelter and often directions (a Moroccan escaped POW is headed north instead of south). Lots of ineffectual Allied bombing is recorded as well. This is a fine read.

Juliette Pattinson, Behind Enemy Lines: Gender, Passing and the Special Operations Executive in the Second World War (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007). A scholarly examination of the gender aspects within the SOE and the impact they had on training and operations, especially among female recruits. See especially Chapter 6, "The Best Disguise," pp.136-154.

C.R. Pennell (ed.), Bandits of the Sea (New York: New York University Press, 2001). This collection highlights the notion that for the marginalized, piracy was something of an equal opportunity employer. See especially Marcus Rediker, "Liberty Beneath the Jolly Roger: The Lives of Anne Bonny and Mary Read, Pirates," pp. 299-320.

Reina Pennington, Wings, Women and War (Topeka: University Press of Kansas, 2007). Women aviators deserve more publicity than they have received. This book is a start. There are quite a few superlative, if relatively unknown, Russian and German female pilots.

-----, "Reaching for the Sky: Hanna Reitsch and Melitta Schiller," in The Military History Quarterly (Autumn 2009), pp.33-43. Two of Hitler's favorite pilots, one of whom was Jewish, were female. An amazing story of virtue rewarded and unrewarded, a cautionary tale on many levels.

-----, (ed.) Amazons to Fighter Pilots, two vols., (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2003). Probably the best overall

collection of short essays on women at war. Lots of names not covered in this Syllabook as well as some old favorites. A must resource for those looking for unusual subjects.

Captain Katie Petronio, “Get Over It! We’re Not All Created Equal,” in Marine Corps Gazette (July 2012), pp. 29-32. A recent Bowdoin graduate, after serving tours of duty in Iraq and Afghanistan, concludes that women should NOT be placed in ALL combat situations. Her personal experience is cogent.

Ursula Phillips, “Apocalyptic Feminism: Adam Mickiewicz and Margaret Fuller,” The Slavonic and East European Review (Vol. 87, #1) January 2009, pp. 15 ff. interesting analysis of the portrayal by Mickiewicz of Emilia Plater, “soldier-heroine of the 1830-1831 insurrection in Lithuania.”

Gerhard Pollauer, The Lost History of the Amazons (New York: Didactic Press, 2014). This work ransacks antiquity and the Middle Ages to find stories of and evidence for Amazonian warfare.

Christian P. Potholm, Winning at War (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2010). Analyzes the seven ingredients necessary for success in warfare regardless of time or place. These include: superior discipline, superior technology, sustained but controlled ruthlessness, protection of capital from people and rulers, superior will, receptivity to innovation and the belief there will always be another war. Students should consult this work when doing their research papers to help explain the success or failure of particular women warriors and warrior queens by putting them in broader contexts. Some aspects of the nature of warfare change throughout history even though the ingredients for success do not.

James Powell, "The Role of Women in Fifth Crusade," in B. Kedar (ed.) The Horns of Hattin (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992). Shows how women served in many capacities, including that of guards and fought Muslims at the siege of Darnietta.

Grace Pratt, "Female War Chiefs of the Blackfeet," Frontier Times (1971), pp. 22-23, 46. Despite the claims of others, the Blackfeet did have women warriors, including Running Eagle who, born Brown Eagle, worked her way up into the Braves' Society by counting coup and fighting the Crows. Eventually killed in battle by the Flatheads.

Richard Pressfield, The Last of the Amazons (New York: Doubleday, 2002) (F) This tale portrays the Amazons as beset by "bad" Greeks such as Heracles and Theseus who envy and fear their free-wheeling lifestyles and the prominence of their women leaders. Most useful in providing the Greek perspective on Amazons, i.e. their exploits end badly versus the much more positive perspectives of the Central Asian peoples who portray Amazons who often triumph in warfare no matter how much myth and cosmology the Greeks bring to bear.

Sayyid Ahmad-Ullah Qadri, Memoires of Chand Bibi the Princess of Ahmednagar (Hyderabad: The Osmania University Press, 1939). A long praise poem to the Sultana who lived from 1550 to 1599 and fought off the Mughals and put down various rebellions, ultimately taking her own life by filling a well with acid and then jumping into it as the Mughals closed in. Other accounts have her killed by her own troops for negotiating with the same Mughals.

Quintus of Smyrna, The Trojan Epic Posthomerica, trans. Alan James (Baltimore: John's Hopkins University Press, 2004). Written 1000 years after the Iliad, but based on a long oral tradition, it was compiled by Quintus of Smyrna (on the west coast



of Asia Minor) and covers what happens after the death of Hector and the Odyssey. Book One accents the warrior and daughter of Mars, Penthesileia, and her death at the hands of Achilles.

Dark Rain and James Thom, Warrior Woman (New York: Ballantine, 2003 (F)). Somewhat romanticized novel about the life and times of Nonhelema Hokolesqua (c 1718 – 1786), the Shawnee woman known as “The Grenadier” for her height (6 ‘ 6”) and courage in battle. Wife of Chief Moluntha, she fought in the Battle of Bush Run (1763) between a British force and a mixed army of Shawnee, Mingo, Huron and Delaware warriors during Pontiac’s Rebellion. Later, Nonhelema initially favored neutrality in the American Revolution, but eventually sided with the Americans and was granted a pension by the Continental Congress after the war.

A highly romanticized vision about the life of Nohelna, the Shawnee woman chief who actually worked hard for peace and ended up aiding the American Long Knives. But she did fight in one battle.

Countess Ranfurly, To War with Whitaker: The Wartime Diaries of the Countess of Ranfurly 1939-1945 (London: William Heinemann, 1994). Bound and determined to follow her husband to war, the Countess keeps a most engaging diary as she helps to make war in the Mediterranean theatre, meeting Wingate, Wavell, Eden, Churchill, Auchinleck, Patton, kings of Greece, England and Egypt and many others while her poor husband languishes in Italy as a prisoner of war, having been captured in the Western Desert early in the war. He later escapes and joins her. This is one resourceful woman. Some of her revelations are quite arresting and even amusing as when she reports that General Maitland “Jumbo” Wilson goes duck hunting in the Nile Delta, he and his party shooting 2,300 ducks in a single day! Jumbo later becomes

Supreme Allied Commander, Mediterranean Theatre and subsequently, Ambassador to the United States.

Roger Reese, “Soviet Women at War,” Military History (May 2011), pp.44-53. Soviet women, motivated by patriotism and revenge proved themselves in battle, not just as medics and battlefield surgeons, but as machine gunners, snipers and pilots as well. Women in combat were all volunteers and training was often more rigorous than for men.

Stephen W. Richey, Joan of Arc: The Warrior Saint (Westport: Praeger, 2003). See especially his extensive study of her military accomplishments (both strategic and tactical) in Chapter 6, “Joan’s Achievements as a Military Leader,” pp. 45-88. He sees her as “an essential factor” in the rise of the Valois dynasty and the ultimate French triumph in the Hundred Years War. Believes her breaking of the siege of Orleans in 1429 was proof positive of her military leadership.

Sherry Robinson, “Lozen” in her Apache Voices (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), pp. 3-15. This work shows how “the myth” is real and that “Woman Warrior” Lozen who “could ride, shoot and fight like a man” did so effectively with both the Chiricahua Apaches and the Warm Springs Apaches. Even among legendary Apache warriors such as Cochise, Geronimo, Tuh and Victorio, she stood out.

Lucia St. Clair Robson, Ghost Warrior (F) New York: Forge Books, 2012). Celebrating the life and times of Lozen, a warrior’s warrior, this novel presents her 30 year struggle on behalf of the Dineh. After campaigns in the New Mexican and Arizona territories and the Mexican states of Sonora and Chihuahua, she and her tiny band of 17 are pursued and finally cornered by 9,000

American and Mexican troops and others. “The odds made Lozen proud.” A true and brave warrior well worthy of further study.

Margaret Rossiter, Women in the Resistance (New York: Praeger, 1986). Lots of good information about the many roles played by women in the French Resistance, especially good on Georgette Gerand, the only woman to become a regional chief of the Marquis and on the June, 1944 firefight in the woods of Taille de Ruine where “Pauline” and 150 Maquisards held off the Germans for 14 hours after the unit had blown up the Touraine to Paris rail lines 400 times in the run-up to and following the Allied landings in Normandy.

Guy Rothery, The Amazons (Charleston: Bibliobazaar, 2014). Seeks to buttress the legends of the Amazons with examination of art works, especially sculpture. Sees Amazons in Central Asia, the Caucasus and Kurdish country as well as Africa and America.

Michael Rustad, Women in Khaki (New York: Praeger, 1982). Using the microcosm of a single American base in West Germany, the author looks at the emergence of the role of enlisted women in the U.S. Army. Notes the rise of women in the military from 1% in 1972 to 8% in 1979. See especially, ‘Her Army,’ pp. 138-180.

Elizabeth Salas, Soldaderas in the Mexican Military (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990). A wide-ranging and fascinating look at the role of women camp followers and soldiers in all of the Mexican wars, tracing their antecedents back to Mesoamerica and the Toltec Queen Xochitl who lead a woman’s battalion and was killed in battle.

Jessica Amanda Salmonson, The Encyclopedia of Amazons: Women Warriors from Antiquity to the Modern Era (New York: Paragon House, 1991). A most thought-provoking collection of

historical and mythological references from Aba, the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE warrior daughter of Xenophanes to Zoulvisia of Armenian legend, they are all here. A treasure trove to stimulate your exploration of women warriors throughout the ages.

Flora Sandes, An English Woman-Sergeant in the Serbian Army (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1917). Going to Serbia during World War I as an ambulance driver, this intrepid English woman eventually joined the Serbian army, fought in the front lines and was wounded. Eventually promoted to lieutenant and given the Serbian Cross (The Order of Karadorde's Star- also won by Milunka Savic) for bravery. This is her account, crisply, positive and often humorously outlining her military career around Serbia, into Albania and eventually evacuated to Corfu before returning to Serbia. She apparently loved "becoming an ordinary soldier."

Thomas Sankara, Women's Liberation and the African Freedom Struggle (New York: Pathfinder, 2007). The former leader of Burkina Faso (1983-1987), who was assassinated while in power in 1987, using the "Marxist understanding of human society" declares how women are an important part of the struggle for liberation. This work also contains an interesting photo of women anti-aircraft gunners from Angola.

Note: This pattern of military men seizing power and claiming to be inspired by Marxist-Leninism was a widespread phenomenon in Africa during the 1970's and 1980's as they sought to provide instant albeit often superficial legitimacy to their regimes. For a more in-depth look at this pattern, see C. P. Potholm, "Marxist Modernizers" in his The Theory and Practice of African Politics (Englewood: Prentice Hall, 1979), pp. 212-246.

Rosnida Sari, "Acehnese Women," in Gender Equality: International Journal of Child and Gender Studies Vol 2 #2

(September, 2016), pp. 33-42. Gives useful context on the life and times of Admiral Keumalahayati, Cut Nyak Meutiz and Cut Nyak Dhien and their military opposition to Dutch colonialism.

Shelley Saywell, Women in War (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1986). Wide ranging account of women who have fought and led in battle. A lot of interesting vignettes here.

Peter Schalk, “Resistance and Martyrdom in the Process of State Formation of Tamillam” in Joyce Pettigrew (ed.) Martyrdom and Political Resistance (Amsterdam: VU Press, 1997), pp. 61-83. Useful insights into female fighters among the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Ealam (LTTE). According to the author, women made up a significant number (3000) of the rebels despite there being no women warriors in Tamil history.

Stacy Schiff, Cleopatra: A Life (New York: Little Brown, 2010). A superb analysis of one of the most interesting and intriguing women in history whose true strategic and tactical skill overwhelms her historical image as a courtesan. Schiff uses Cleopatra to give vivid and lasting insights into the world of Rome when it teetered between a Republic and an Empire and the forces for the latter won out.

Note: Interestingly, while classical era writers such as Plutarch blame Cleopatra (and citing her “female and Egyptian” attributes) for Mark Anthony’s disastrous defeat at Actium (Greece) in 31 BCE, modern military scholars give her more credit for the strategic decision to escape from that defeat together with the Ptolemaic treasury and her naval squadron (held in reserve) leading the way. See David Califf, Battle of Actium (Philadelphia: Chelsea House, 2004) and especially Si Sheppard, Actium 31 BC (Oxford: Osprey, 2009).

James Schultz, Running Eagle: The Warrior Girl (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1917). (F) A charming novel making much of the Blackfeet woman in what is now Montana who counted coup and led in battle, ultimately becoming a leading warrior. Eventually she was killed by the Flatheads but not before she etched herself into Native American legend.

Paul Sealey, The Boudican Revolt Against Rome (Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications, 1997). A good account of the sacking of Colchester, London and Verulamium (outside present-day St. Albans) by “Boudican hordes” in 60 CE before those hordes were in turn crushed by Roman legions in the Midlands in 61 CE. Much archeological evidence is promulgated herein.

Lakshmi Sahgal, A Revolutionary Life: Memoirs of A Political Activist (New Delhi: Kali for Women Publications, 1997). A spritely autobiography of the woman who led the Rani Regiment which fought with the Japanese against the British in Burma. Of particular interest is Chapter Six, “In Burma,” which details the chaos at the end of World War II when she is first captured by her Japanese allies (who think she is a Karen guerilla) and then by the Karen guerillas and the British. When she returns to India after the war, she is hailed as a hero.

Rosemaire Skaine, Women at War; Gender Issues of Americans in Combat (Durham: McFarland and Company, 1999). Wide ranging work dealing with how military service exposes the fault lines of contemporary society, feminism and the demands of the military.

-----, Female Suicide Bombers (Jefferson: McFarland and Company, 2006). Looks at female suicide bombers in Sri Lanka, Chechnya and the Arab world and believes that “This is war, not suicide.” Some interesting case studies.

Kenneth Slepyan, Stalin's Guerrillas: Soviet Partisans in World War II (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006). Insurgent and partisan in Soviet Union occupied territory, some under the control of Moscow, others not. Useful insights into the day to day struggle against the Germans and their allies, and the tensions within and among partisan banks. See the excellent chapter on "The Crisis of Partisan Identity, 1943" with superb maps on pages 189 and 192. Partisans went from 100,000 to 181,000 during that year. Good section on women partisans can be found in this chapter.

Catherin Smith, Resistance and Localization of Trauma in Aceh, Indonesia (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2018). The author makes the point that Cut Nyak Dhien not only became a symbol of Acehnese resistance but that her life story created a dynamic which produced a "romanticized notion of women fighters as typifying the ideal Acehnese woman....women must be strong, brave, pious, and ready to fight alongside or in place of her husband." (p. 310)

Helen Solterer, "Figures of Female Militancy in Medieval France," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, Vol. 16, #31 (1991), pp. 522-549. Argues that *Li Tournoient as Dames* represents the "disturbing multivalence of the figure of the woman warrior" and thus "It provides a scenario for realizing a female martial ambition."

Pat Southern, Empress Zenobia: Palmyra's Rebel Queen (London: Continuum, 2008). See especially the chapters "Septimia Zenobia Augusta" and "Aurelian and the Roman Recovery." Palmyrene expansion into Arabia, Egypt and briefly into Asia Minor occurs while the Persians were back on their heels and the Romans were struggling with the invasions of the Goths came a cropper when

Aurelian came calling in 272 CE. The Romans won the battles of Immae and Daphne and captured Zenobia as she fled on a camel. Provides lots of alternative sourcing for the sketchy record of Zenobia's time on earth.

Note: For additional background on Rome and its adversaries in the region see also, David Nicolle, Rome's Enemies (5) The Desert Frontier (Oxford: Osprey Publications, 1991).

Matthew Stibbe, Women in the Third Reich (London: Arnold, 2003). See especially Chapter VII "From Total War to Defeat and Military Occupation" to examine the calumny that "The German soldier fought for six years and the German women for only five months."

Judith Stiehm (ed.) Women and Men's Wars (New York: Pergamon Press, 1983. Arguing that "It is men who plan, prepare for, conduct, conclude, describe and define war," the editor provides a wide set of essays from women on pacifism, women in the military and women in national liberation struggles.

Richard Stites, The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978). See especially "Women against Women", pp. 278-316, for complex examination of Russian women in the armed forces and combat during World War I and the Russian Civil War.

Laurie Stoff, They Fought For the Motherland: Russian's Women Soldiers in World War I and the Revolution (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2014). Although women fought in World War I in Russia under the Czar, the huge impetus for women in combat came under the Provisional Government from February to October 1917 when that government created separate all female military units. See especially the chapter, "Russia's First All-Female



Combat Unit.” As many as 6000 women were involved. Most famous was Maria Bochkareva who was in the 1<sup>st</sup> Russian Women’s Battalion of Death. Called “The Russian Joan of Arc,” she fought for the Provisional Government and was wounded numerous times, eventually being captured by the Bolsheviks and made it to the U.S. by way of Siberia, only to return later, begging the British and later Admiral Kolchak to let her fight. This time she was captured by the Bolsheviks (when Kolchak abandoned Tomsk) and shot May 16, 1920. All told, 80,000 women fought for Russia in World War I and the Revolution. The Bolsheviks kept women in the army, but broke up the sexually segregated units and integrated them into their male units. Note also, the author mentions Flora Sandes, the only British woman to have served officially in the military and she went to Serbia as a nurse and then joined the Serbian army, eventually rising to the rank of Lieutenant.

-----, “Russia’s Women Soldiers of the Great War,” (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2018). Much material from her earlier work and most useful information on the Kerensky government’s 16 women’s combat units involving 5000 women, including the 1<sup>st</sup> Petrograd Women’s battalion, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Moscow Women’s battalion of death and the 3<sup>rd</sup> Kuban Women’s Shock Battalion. “In fact, women soldiers were often portrayed as more enthusiastic, better disciplined, more courageous, and more self-sacrificing than their male compatriots.”

Elizabeth Stone (ed.), Women and the Cuban Revolution (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1981). Fidel Castro speaks and makes the case for the participation of women in war in his essay, “The Revolution within the Revolution” finding them “Doubly exploited, doubly humiliated” and hence highly motivated for change.

Jozef Straszewicz, The Life of the Countess Emily Plater (New York: John Frow, 1842). Life and times of the legendary Emily Plater are presented as the 1830-1831 insurrection against Russian rule proceeds. Countess Plater becomes Captain Plater and is at the battles of Kowno, Schawle and Scawlany before being taken sick, and eventually dying.

Amy Goodpaster Streve, Flying for Her Country: The American and Soviet Women Military Pilots of World War II (Washington: Potomac Books, 2009). A well-deserved paean to the women who flew during World War II. In that war 400,000 women were in the military, including many in the Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASP), the Women's Flying Training Detachment (WFTD) Women Army Corps (WAC) and Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC). Particularly useful is the chapter on "Gender Issues."

Simone and Andre Schwarz-Bart, In Praise of Black Women I: Ancient African Queens (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001). An amazingly lavishly – and lovingly – illustrated volume of many African warrior-queens, including Tiye, Queen of Egypt, the Queen of Sheba, Yennenga of the Mossi, Heleni of Ethiopia and Beatrice Kimpa Vita, the Joan of Arc of Kongo.

Carole Seymour-Jones, She Landed By Moonlight (London: Hodder, 2013). Once over lightly account of Pear Witherington of the SOE who parachuted into wartime France and led a large unit of the Marquis for over a year doing considerable damage to the German war effort.

Janann Sherman, "They either need these women or they do not": Margaret Chase Smith and the Fight for Regular Status for Women in the Military," The Journal of Military History #54 (January 1990), pp. 47-78. 2% of the U.S. armed forces were women during World War II and they did not, according to Smith, receive

the equality, benefits and recognition they should have; she fought for them. Amazingly ahead of her time, Senator Smith called for allowing women in combat in 1941. Surprisingly, Smith is rarely cited by feminists as a heroine.

Anita Shreve, Stella Bain (New York: Little Brown, 2013) (F) An American woman serving as an ambulance driver in France is wounded and suffers severe shell shock but eventually recovers. Along the way this novel gives a good sense of the life at the front from a woman's perspective filling in what was traditionally a man's job during wartime in many cultures. Illuminating.

Judith Stiehm (ed.) It's Our Military Too! Provides a set of interesting perspectives including "The Enemy Doesn't Care if You're Female," "Duty, Honor, Country: If You're Straight" and "Gender and Weapons."

David Sweetman, Women Leaders in African History (London: Heinemann, 1984). Breezy and sometimes lacking in definitive sources but a good introduction to this understudied subject. Some prominent African women leaders such as Amina of Hausaland and Nzinga of Angola stand out in both warfare and diplomacy. Written forty years ago, this work needs to be checked against more current sources, but should stimulate further research.

Blain Taylor, "The Saga of Captain Molly," in Strategy and Tactics (#103 Mar-Apr 2017), pp.66-67. This short article focuses on another "Molly Pitcher," instead of the traditional one, Mary Ludwig Hays. "Captain Molly" Margaret Cochran Corbin (1751-1800), was a water carrier at the Battle of Monmouth in 1778 who when her husband was wounded, took over the firing of his cannon. She too was wounded and captured by the British. When her wounds were discovered, she was paroled and became a

Continental Army hero, given a uniform plus a soldier's half pay for life as a disability pension. She is buried at West Point.

Craig Taylor (editor and translator), Joan of Arc: La Pucelle (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006). A rich mosaic of 105 primary documents covering the life and times of The Maid. Heavy focus on her various trials and contemporary letters about her. Not much on her military activities per se, however. The author concludes that her impact on the eventual outcome of the Hundred Years War was due more to the breakup of the Burgundian-English alliance than to the activities of La Pucelle although she is given credit for offering national hope after the English were stopped at the Loire and that they could eventually be ejected from French soil.

Steris Tepper, The Gate to Women's Country (New York; Doubleday, 1988). (F) This science fiction novel describes an ecotopia where women are in the process of breeding out the warrior strain in men. In the process, there many ironic dimensions and developments emerge.

Vicky Thomas, The Naga Queen: Ursula Graham Bower and Her Jungle Warriors, 1939-1945 (Stroud: The History Press, 2012). Carrying a stern gun and a .38 caliber pistol, Ursula Bower became the senior woman of V Force in India leading her Naga fighters against the Japanese. She appealed to General William Slim for equipment before the battle of Imphal when the Imphal plain was "crawling with Japanese" and became a legend.

Helen Thorpe, Soldier Girls (New York: Scribner's, 2014). This account follows three young women who join the Indiana National Guard and serve in both Iraq and Afghanistan. Their deployments are of note, but so too are their re-entries into American society. I

was struck at how their reasons for entering the military paralleled so closely those of men.

Sharon Tiffany, The Wild Woman (Cambridge: Shenkman Publishing, 1985). Why can't women be warriors without being considered "wild" is the central question of this work. It is a somewhat challenging book to read and understand, but a rewarding one. Let it provoke your thinking.

Bonnie Tsui, She Went to the Field: Women Warriors of the Civil War (Guilford: TwoDots, 2003). A highly readable account of some of the most famous (and some unknown) women who fought as men in the American Civil War: Jennie Hodgens, Sarah Wakeman, Loretta Velasquez, Sarah Edmonds and Francis Clayton.

Stephen Turnbull, Samurai Women 1184-1877 (Oxford: Osprey, 2010). A highly interesting set of revelations about the extent to which women warriors were an integral part of the samurai tradition up until 1877. Well-illustrated and often excitingly presented.

Karen Gottschang Turner and Phan Thanh Hao, Even the Women Must Fight: Memories of War from North Vietnam (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1998). The Vietnam wars against the French and the Americans and South Vietnamese through the eyes of the women who served in the North Vietnamese armed forces. Ironically, many women would end up suffering just as their male counterparts have throughout history. "The Return of the Warrior" is never truly easy whether the warrior is female or male.

Royall Tyler (translator), "Death of Lord Kiso," excerpted from "The Tale of the Heike," MHQ: The Quarterly Journal of Military

History, Vol. 25 No.3 (Spring 2013), pp. 94-97. A powerful insight into the existence of a little known female warrior class.

Stephanie Urdang, Fighting Two Colonialisms” Women in Guinea-Bissau (London: Monthly Review Press, 1979). Believes that women are “an explicit and integral part of the overall revolution” there but in addition to fighting the Portuguese colonialism they also need to struggle against traditional male-dominated social, economic, sexual and political domination. Believes attitudes would change faster if more women carried guns and were more deeply entrenched in the cadre class.

Brian Van Reet, Spoils (F) (Boston: Lee Boudreaux Books, 2017). Apparently not liking the idea of women in combat, the author gives her the give-away name Cassandra, puts her in Iraq where she is ignominiously captured, has her period disgust her Iraqi guards, attempts to convert to Islam and kills an American soldier to prove her loyalty to her new faith before being killed herself. Goodness what absurdity.

Christine B. Verzar, “Picturing Matilda of Canossa: Medieval Strategies of Representation,” Robert A. Maxwell (ed.), Representing History 900-1300: Art Music, History (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), pp. 73-92. Well-illustrated, this chapter provides a look at the many dimensions to this extraordinary woman, only one of two ever to have a sepulchral monument for her in St. Peters. Features her centrality to the Investiture Crisis and shows, as in our class slide, her receiving the Book of Prayers and Meditations from Bishop Anselm of Canterbury on his way back from Rome.

Barbara Victor, Army of Roses: Inside the World of Palestinian Women Suicide Bombers (New York: Robinson Publishing, 2004). Traces the lives of 5 women caught up in the Intifada and

concludes that they are driven by “terrible despair” and are more victims than warriors.

Lyuba Vinogradova, Avening Angels (London: Maclehose Press, 2017). Dozens of individual interviews with Soviet women snipers are put in the context of campaigns in the Kerch Peninsula, the Leningrad Front, Operation Bagration and Czechoslovakia. Soviet female snipers served as individuals, “couples,” and even companies of 60 or more.

-----, Defending the Motherland (London: Maclehose Press, 2015). A breezy, sprightly account of Soviet female aviators, including those who flew the U-2's and Yak-1's in the battles from Moscow to Stalingrad to the Caucuses and beyond. Filled with memorable portraits of individual women and useful pictures of many. Chapters include “Girls – pilot a plane” and “Stop flirting there's a war on.” Particularly poignant is the case of two women navigators who salvage a silk parachute and make it into undergarments only to be informed upon and sentenced to ten years at hard labor for destroying state property. Luckily, their commander voided the sentence and restored them to active duty.

Martin von Creveld, “The Great Illusion: Women in the Military, The Journal of International Studies, Vol. 29, No. 02 (2000), pp. 429-442. Von Creveld is not a big fan of women in combat, nor even in the military, and he minces no words about his views. Using the example of the Israeli Defense Force and other combat formations, he makes a strong case against the use of women in war. Agree or disagree, he is one of the military historians who commands a broad audience on this highly freighted subject, so his arguments need to be considered. And he has observed women in action in a number of important contexts. At the same time, his knowledge of women warriors throughout history is scant indeed.

-----, Men, Women and War (London: Cassell, 2001). The most holistic anti-women in war volume I have come across and it marshals effectively the many arguments against women in war. But, and this is strange and disturbing, he seems never to have read ANY of the books and articles used in this class, undercutting many of his arguments. Strange for although he wants to save women from “The Maw of Mars,” he doesn’t allow them the right to choose their destiny. And seems to know little about the cultures in which they have played a military role.

Jeanmore Vickers, Women and War (London: Zed Publishers, 1993). More interested in seeing women out of war than in doing well in war, the author does provide some accents on “Women in Action,” “The Impact of War on Women” and “Moving Toward a Non-Violent World.”

Jocelyn Viterna, Women in War (London: Oxford University Press, 2013). Based on 230 interviews with El Salvadorian women, the author looks at “Gender, Violence and the Micro-Processes of Mobilization” to conclude it’s not easy being a female in a wartime situation. This work is very interested in the gender truths which the 12 years of war threw up as women were mobilized for combat and concludes that for many women, gender norms were widespread even under the tutelage of the *Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front* (FMLN) in which numerous women served in combat from 1980-1992. Over 75,000 people lost their lives.

William Vollmann, The Ice-Shire (New York: Viking, 1990). A curious blend of the sagas and travelogue to real places and dreamscapes along the Viking trail to Greenland and Vineland. See especially, “Freydis Eiriksdottir or How the Frost Came to Vineland the Good,” pp. 129-340. As the pregnant Freydis



confronts the Skraelings, she shouts “Oh, you’d like me to take my shirt off, would you? I’ll show you, you savage thralls, you Hell meat.” “Sharpening” her sword on her breast, she attacks and the Skraelings flee, but the Vikings decide the future is not on their side and eventually sail back to Greenland.

James Ure, Seized by the Sun (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2017). A short breezy account of Gertrude “Tommy” Tomkins, a WASP (Woman Airforce Service Pilot) whose love of flying cured her stuttering and gave her the freedom to fly a P-51 “Mustang.” She disappeared ferrying one such craft. Quite illuminating as to the obstacles against women pilots. Somewhat amusing but irritating is the account of women successfully flying the largest plane of World War II, the B-29, in order to show male pilots how easy it was. When the top brass found out about this, they ordered it stopped as a “stunt.” WASPs ferried almost 13,000 aircraft during the war and provided over 60 million pilot hours.

U.S. Marine Corps, “Women in Combat? Insights Worth Repeating,” Marine Corps Gazette (November 1997), p. 73. Are the demands of the Marine Corps different from other services? Strong arguments against women in combat, at least for the type the Marines practice. Very challenging are the words and views of (now) Bowdoin’s own Government Professor, Jean Yarbrough.

Agnes Carr Vaughan, Zenobia of Palmyra (Garden City: Doubleday, 1967). A classical study, albeit one with few non-European sources. Still perhaps the author is the best exigent on existing Roman accounts. She points out that Zenobia was a bit unlucky as Aurelian was soon to be assassinated and she might well have survived his successor. This work is well worth pursuing.

Loreta Velasquez, The Woman in Battle: A Narrative of the Exploits, Adventures, and Travels of Madame Loreta Janeta Velazquez, Otherwise Known as Lieutenant Harry T. Buford, Confederate States Army (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004, reprint of 1872 edition). An amazing memoir despite some questionable assertions by the author. For example, did she really meet Abraham Lincoln when she was a spy? Could she really have shot U.S. Grant at Shiloh? But she did enlist to fight for the Confederacy, bringing her own horse and her own slave to various units and she saw action at First Bull Run, Ft. Donaldson and Shiloh, joining various regiments as an officer and also serving as a spy, declaring “There was not a man in the Confederacy who was more willing to fight to the last than I was...”

Marguerite Waller and Jennifer Rycenga (eds.), Frontline Feminism: Women, War and Resistance (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000). A wide ranging collection covering ethnic and gender violence, militarism and sexuality, feminist resistance to war as well as soldier and state considerations and the exploration of women in and by war.

Wiebke Walther, Women in Islam (London: George Prior, 1981). Puts the military actions of such Moslem women as Um Umara and Hind Bint ‘Utbah into a set of much needed religious, social and economic broader contexts.

William Ware, Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra (Boston: Estes and Lauriat, 1838) (F) An historical romance celebrating the life and times of Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra and her eventual defeat in the Third Century CE at the hands of the Emperor Aurelian, who laid siege to Palmyra and eventually captured her. Very praiseful of her, “Julius Caesar himself, Piso, never displayed a better genius than this woman.”

Jack Weatherford, The Secret History of the Mongol Queens (New York: Broadway Books, 2010). Surprising assertions about the strategic and military roles played by the daughters of Genghis Kahn and the bold assertion “Without Genghis Khan’s daughters, there would have been no Mongol Empire.” Interesting account of Manduhai Khatun the Wise (c1449-1510) who reunited the Mongols after the empire had fallen into warring factions. The author suggests that since the Mongols were illiterate, the Muslim, Christian and Chinese chroniclers edited out the activities of these powerful women.

Batya Weinbawn, Islands of Women and Amazons: Representation and Reality (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999). Sees the Amazonian legends everywhere from Homeric tales though the medieval period, also China, India, Native American and Pacific Islanders as well as popular culture up through and including “leisure primitivism.”

Graham Webster, Boudica: The British Revolt Against Rome AD 60 (Lanthan: Roman and Littlefield, 1978). Puts the revolt of the Iceni on a par with the Jewish Revolt of 70 AD as being sparked by both religion and terror. Admits that the bravery of Boudica and the Iceni was undercut by their lack of discipline and their continuing reliance on outmoded chariot warfare and poor weapons. Good map on page 92 shows the Roman forts of the era – there were quite a few. Not much about Boudica or her military prowess per se, but the work is heavily grounded in archeological finds of coins, pottery and other artifacts.

Judith Weingarten, The Chronicle of Zenobia: The Rebel Queen (Cambridge: Vanguard Press, 2006. (F) From Tadmor-Palmyra in what is now Syria, Zenobia led a rebellion against the Romans from 269-272 CE. When her husband the ruler died, she took over and led her armies to victory, eventually taking over Arabia and

Egypt until she, like Boudica, was defeated by the Romans who decided that allowing a rebellion to succeed was not an option. This long, somewhat fanciful novel gives the reader something of a flavor for her life and times.

Lyn Webster Wilde, On the Trail of Women Warriors: The Amazons in Myth and History (New York; St. Martin's Press, 1999). Amid some flights of fancy (their "bright, burning vital power"), the author does pin down the grave of the earliest woman warrior, found in Georgia dating from 1200 BCE and explores the shores of the Black Sea for Scythian and Hittite women warriors.

Bel Irvin Wiley, The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldiers of the Confederacy (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978). An updated version of the 1943 edition which was way ahead of its time in its accent on "common folk" and "little people." "Women in the Ranks," pp. 334-335 shows, however, that previously, historians often did not look too hard for signs of real women in real combat.

-----, The Life of Billy Yank: The Common Soldiers of the Union (New York: Bobbs Merrill, 1951). While the author declares "Not all who wore blue were men," he really doesn't make much of an effort to find out who or what they were. He also seems genuinely perplexed about the whole concept, relying mostly on somewhat lurid press accounts of the time. Seems happy that he didn't unearth any examples from the Confederacy.

June Willenz, Women Veterans: America's Forgotten Heroines (New York: Continuum, 1983). Profiles women in the service during World War II and looks at what happened to them afterwards.

Amrit Wilson, The Challenge Road: Women and the Eritrean Revolution (Trenton: The Red Sea Press, 1991). “Remember the women who have been martyred fighting” begins this work which contains a number of life stories of women in the struggle; see especially the chapter “Fighters,” pp. 87-110.

Catherine M. Wilson, When Women Were Warriors. (F) (Boulder, Colorado: Shield Maiden Press, 2008). This self-published trilogy creates an interesting world (sort of an ancient proto-Celtic one) where women, such as the protagonist Tamras, are true warriors, where lesbian love is honored and men are on the fringes of important matters.

Rex Winsbury, Zenobia of Palmyra: History, Myth and the Neo-Classical Imagination (London: Duckworth, 2010). The 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE warrior queen of Syria was defeated by Emperor Aurelius, originally from Serbia and a superb warrior in his own right (“The Achilles of his Era”?). See especially the chapter “Arms and the Woman: Zenobia Goes to War.” Zenobia plays in the broad seam between the Persian and Roman Empires, both under duress when she staged her rebellion. Gibbon, Chaucer and a host of others made of Zenobia much and much of that was very romanticized. In reality, Zenobia was a tough woman in a world where toughness mattered, but she and Palmyra obviously had certain limits when taking on the most powerful military actors in the western world.

James E. Wise and Scott Baron, Women: Iraq, Afghanistan, and Other Conflicts (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2006). A very good collection of first-person female accounts of their service at war. Examples from the U.S. Coast Guard, Marines, Army and Army Paratroops. A very poignant appendix listing all the women wounded in these wars. The work clearly suggests that there is now a very blurred distinction between “combat” and “non-combat” with many women in transportation, supply and other areas already

in “combat” due to IED’s and ambushes and urban violence against “safe areas.” “The voices of these women deserve to be heard.”

Note: 7,400 U.S. women served in Vietnam, mostly as nurses compared with (as of February, 2008), and 195,600 women who have served in Afghanistan and Iraq with 25,000 currently in war zones. Over 100 American women were killed in Afghanistan and Iraq as of 2017.

C. J. Worthington (ed.) The Woman in Battle: A Narrative of the Exploits, Adventures and Travels of Madam Loretta Janeta Velazquez, Otherwise known as Lieutenant Harry T. Buford (Hartford: T. Belknap, 1876). A woman warrior of the Confederacy tells her story of fighting, spying and operating beyond gender norms. Absorbing from beginning to end.

James Yates, “Artemisia of Caria: The West’s Only Fighting Female Admiral,” Strategy and Tactics #266 (Jan-Feb 2011), pp. 35-36. Short, breezy introduction, one paying close attention to her first fleet action off Euboea (opposite Thermopylae). Pindar said this battle in particular “laid the shining foundation of freedom,” as it greatly weakened the Persian fleet.

Bill Yenne, The White Rose of Stalingrad (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2013). Despite the misnomer (she was actually the “White Lilly of the Donbas”), Lidiya “Lilya” Litvyak was the highest scoring women air ace of all time, with a total of 18 credited kills. She disappeared during her last dogfight and her remains were never found. Lilya flew her Yak-1 as a free hunter in the famous 586 Regiment.

Jane Yolen, Sea Queens: Women Pirates Around the World (Watertown: Charlesbridge, 2008). Who knew “Some of the

greatest pirates ever known were women”? The author and she gives us Alfhild, Grania O’Malley, Anne Bonney, Mary Read, Rachel Wall, Mary Anne Talbot and Ching Isao from Holland, England, American and China.

Alfred F. Young, Masquerade: The Life and Times of Deborah Sampson, Continental Soldier (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004). This stalwart woman joined the Fourth Massachusetts Regiment of crack light infantry as “Robert Shurtleff” and served 17 months from May 1782-October 1783, being wounded at the Battle of Tarrytown. This work meticulously records her entire life and points out that in August 1782, the Continental Army consisted of over 12,000 men.

Marina Yurlova, Cossack Girl (Somerville: Heliography, 1934). Sprightly written account of the Kuban Cossack Marina Yurlova who followed her father into World War I, finally got her own sword and horse, was wounded several times and awarded several St. George Crosses. Eventually escaped the Bolsheviks by fleeing east with the Czech Legion.

-----, Russian Farewell (London: Michael Joseph, 1936). The further adventures of our heroine as she makes Vladivostok, Japan and eventually England after meeting the Prince of Wales. Brief meeting a la Dr. Zhivago with her Czech Captain A (last seen in Omsk!) before departure from her beloved Russia.

David Zabecki, “Artemisia at Salamis,” MHQ: The Quarterly Journal of Military History (Summer 2014), pp. 38-43. A short account of the Battle of Salamis and the role of the first recorded female admiral in it. The very fact she was trusted with a portion of the entire fleet suggest great competence and her insights prior to the battle proved to be prophetic.

Yasmine Zahran, Zenobia: Between Reality and Legend (London: Stacey International, 2010). This work portrays Zenobia as a Hellenized Arab, one who ruled toward the end of Palmyra (which ran from 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE to 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE) and led her conquering armies in Arabia, Egypt ( which at the time produced 1/3 of Rome's grain) and Mesopotamia. The author argues that existing Arab sources have her committing suicide rather than enduring the shame of being paraded at Aurelian's Roman victory parade. Another version has her dying on route to Rome.

Rafiq Zakaria, Razia Queen of India (London: Oxford University Press, 1966). Calling her "a monumental figure," the author paints a loving, even lavish portrait of her. Illustrated and presented with a variety of poems and other sources, the work has her dying in action and concludes with the epithet "Weep not for her!"



## **Learning Through Tough Love I**

1. **Understand that the goal of this course is to help you write, speak, read, and think more clearly.**

Initial grades on papers and other work are less important than where you end up at the end of the course in terms of improving your skills. Put in the time and earn the reward.

2. **Hard work throughout the course will better prepare you for the rest of your stay at Bowdoin and beyond.**

3. **Look at this course as an opportunity to develop your writing, oral, research, and study skills.**

4. **Grades are only one way of measuring your progress,** though they are an important indicator that you are improving.

5. **Always remember in this course and others that “An opportunity is not a punishment.”**

## **Learning Through Tough Love II**

This course will feature lots of spontaneity, flexibility, individual exploration and expression, a spirit of play and the sheer joy of Taoism from time to time. **HOWEVER**, when it comes to term paper and footnote forms, there will be a firm accent on following specific, even rigid, directions. Whatever you have been taught previously, this is a valuable skill to be learned or relearned.

### **Term Papers**

The group presentations are to be accompanied by a 12- to 15-page paper (including the bibliographical essay) – due the last day of class by 5 pm. That paper should describe what your report was about and what sources you used, which you found useful and which you found wanting.

The “bibliographical essay” portion of your paper should run between three and four pages of the total report. The bibliographical essay will feature your evaluation of the sources used, how helpful they were, what were their strengths and limitations, etc. If it is easier, you may turn the bibliographical essay in as a separate unit.

Note: There are many different citation styles, all of which please “someone” (i.e. your high school English teacher, a natural scientist, a professor in sociology, a librarian, etc.).

**However, “someone”** is not conducting this course. Therefore, only use the style of **this syllabus** or that of any of my books, all of which are in the Bowdoin library, to cite the footnotes and bibliographical material in your research papers.

**No other style will be accepted in “The Daughters of Mars: Women at War” seminar.**

It is the responsibility of each student AND team to do this exercise properly. Please do not come to the professor asking to use any other style.

Also, any paper turned in without being properly stapled will be rejected, so no paper clips of any type or plastic sheeting, which often falls apart, will be allowed. All page numbers are to be placed in the upper right corner of the page. Papers without proper pagination will be not accepted. Use only Arabic numbers for footnotes, not Roman numerals. Papers with Roman numerals will not be accepted.

All group papers are due the last day of classes, and are to be delivered either to my office (left in trays outside it if I am not there for some reason) or that of the Government Department by 5 pm. Two copies of the combined report and bibliographical essay should be turned in at the **appropriate time in the appropriate place in the appropriate format.**

**Do not ask for an extension, for none will be granted.**

ALL late papers will be docked 10 points per day for tardiness.

## **Some Other Possible Women Warriors, Strategists and Typologies to Explore**

### **Presented in Rough Alphabetical Order**

Here is a small, very basic and limited sampling of some of the women warriors and leaders who seem worthy of subsequent study. Some are at least partially legendary (so be most careful as you research various sources, especially on the Internet), most are historically verifiable, but all speak to the notion of women warriors and the archetypal woman in battle. Please help grow the list with your suggestions over the course of this semester's work. What follows is merely a starting point:

Note: Chinese and Japanese family names are italicized to help you remember the different citations.

Aethelflaed ( c870- 918) Born to the House of Wessex, the oldest daughter of King Arthur, Aethelflaed was married to Aethelred of the House of Mercia. After her husband died, she ruled Mercia (the present-day English Midlands) for eight years, during which she built numerous fortresses that still survive today. Even before he died, she fought the Danes winning the important victory at Tattenhall, killing three Danish kings in the process (910). A true warrior queen.

Aisha (A'ishah bint Ali Bakr) (613-678) One of Muhammad's 11 or 13 wives. The daughter of Abu Bakr, the First Caliph, she led her forces to avenge the killing of the Third Caliph, Uthman, at the Battle of the Camel (also known as the Battle of Bassorah) near the

present city of Basra) during the First Fitna (Moslem civil war). Although she lost that battle, she retired to Medina, revered by the Sunni branch of Islam, but criticized by the Shia for her initial opposition to Ali the Fourth Caliph.

Amage (2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE) Sarmatian queen, who, according to Polyaeus, fought the Scythians and triumphed.

Amina of Hausaland (1533-1610) Amina was a Muslim warrior who ruled Zazzau, now known as Zaria, located in north central Nigeria. As the daughter of Queen Turunku, Amina led various military campaigns and eventually united all of the Hausaland territory. Introduced area-wide practice of constructing walled fortifications around towns and cities.

Artemisia I (5th century BCE) This Queen of Halicarnassus lived in the Persian Empire and led 5 ships under Xerxes in his campaign against the Greeks. On the way to the battle of Salamis (480 BCE), she led her five ship naval force during the three day naval engagement with the Greeks off Thermopylae near the island of Euboea where the Greeks successfully prevented the Persians from sailing south and outflanking the Greeks at the pass of Thermopylae. She wisely warned Xerxes not to go into the Gulf of Salamis to confront the Greek fleet in its narrow confine. A highly respected commander, one whom Xerxes rewarded by sending his son home to Persia in her care.

Yaa Asantewaa of Asante (1840-1921) She was a ruler in the Ashanti Empire, or what is modern-day Ghana. Yaa is perhaps best known for leading the Ashanti rebellion (known as the War of the Golden Stool) against the British colonialists in 1900.

Dona Beatriz of Kongo (1684-1706) Also known as Beatriz Kimpa Vita, she was a Catholic Kongolese woman who believed she was

possessed by Saint Anthony. She claimed that St. Anthony wanted the Kongo to be united under one king, and she started a movement to restore the Kongo, which was then split up and ruled by many warlords, to its former power and unity.

Chand Bibi (1550-1599) Muslim woman warrior who acted as Regent of Jaipur and Ahmednagar, leading her soldiers against the Mughal forces of Emperor Akbar in 1595.

Maria Bochkareva (1889-1920) Russian woman who joined the Russian Provisional Government's 1<sup>st</sup> Russian Women's Battalion of Death in 1917 after already serving in the Czarist armed forces. She fought for the Provisional Government and was wounded numerous times, was captured by the Bolsheviks and released, making it to the U.S. by way of Siberia, only to return to fight for the Whites. This time she was captured by the Bolsheviks and shot.

Boudica (25-60 or 61 CE) Queen of the Iceni, she led a revolt of it and other tribes after the Romans treated their former allies harshly, whipping her and raping her daughters in 60 or 61 CE. The revolt killed 70,000+ Romans and Celts as she sacked Londinium and Verulamium before being killed by the Romans.

Ursula Graham Bower (1939-1945) British woman who studied the hill tribes of Burma and during the Second World War, led them against the Japanese. Fiercely independent.

Mary Elizabeth Bowser (1846-1867) aka "Ellen Bond." African American spy who served in Jefferson Davis's household. Reported on Confederate plans though a wealthy benefactor who favored the North.

Bracari Women Warriors (2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE) Celtic tribe of Gallaecia in the northwest portion of Modern Portugal. Romans describe how women fought as fiercely as the men.

Brenda the Swede (500 CE). When the Danes invade, she leads a group of women to stop the invasion, kills all the Danes while they sleep. Does she qualify as warrior?

Buffalo Calf Road Woman. (c1850-1879). Northern Cheyenne woman who saved her wounded warrior brother, Chief Comes in Sight, at the Battle of the Rosebud in 1876. Later fought with her husband, Black Coyote, at the Battle of the Little Bighorn.

Countess Burita (1786-1857) During the Napoleonic invasion of Spain, she led noble and other women to resist the takeover of Saragossa and provided aid to the wounded under fire. The French were eventually forced to use 35,000 men to overcome the city. Does she qualify as a warrior?

Candace of Meroe (284 BCE-115 CE) The queens of Meroe ruled the metropolis of Meroe in the kingdom of Kush. They shared the political, and indeed military, power with the kings of the land. What did they do with that power? Were they really military leaders as well as political ones?

Chinese and Japanese Feudal Period Women Warriors (12<sup>th</sup> century) A variety of women fight on horseback and as infantry.

Frances Clalin (Clayton) as "Jack Williams" (19<sup>th</sup> century) American woman married to Elmer Clayton and had three children on a farm in Minnesota but when the war broke out, they enlisted together in a Missouri regiment, fighting in various battles including Fort Donelson (Tennessee, 1892), Shiloh and Stones River (where Elmer was killed).



Contemporary Women Warriors (some) Across the Globe

Kurdish Peshmerga Fighters  
 FARC Women Warriors Columbia  
 Israeli Defense Force Women Warriors  
 Japanese Female Soldiers  
 Peoples Republic of China  
 Taiwanese Special Forces & Women Soldiers  
 North Korean Female Pilots  
 Female Suicide Bombers (Iran, Iraq, ISIS, Chechnya Black Widows)  
 Other Women Warriors

Princess Kati “Djamal” Dadeshkeliani (1890-1981) This Russian woman, as “Djamal,” jointed the Tartar Regiment of the “Savage Division” commanded by Grand Duke Michael. These “Cossacks” fought on Austrian front, served with the ambulance corps, wounded 1916, and won two St. George medals.

Dahteste (Ta-dot-se) (1860-1955) A Mescalero Apache warrior who fought with Geronimo and Lozen and her two husbands against the U.S. Army and later served as a scout with them.

Christian Davies, aka “Kit” Cavanagh and “Mother Ross” (1667-1739). Popularized by Daniel Defoe, she was Irish and joined as a man in 1693 and fought for the English, first in the First Infantry Regiment (Nine Years War in Flanders) and then in the 6<sup>th</sup> Dragoons and Scots Greys (War of Spanish Succession). The Scots Greys were a very prestigious unit. Finally wounded in 1706 at the Battle of Ramillies and outed. Eventually granted a pension by Queen Anne.

Daughters of Genghis Kahn Largely written out of Islamic and Christian histories of their period, the Book of the Mongols assert

their military and strategic importance in the period following the death of Genghis. Student report done in 2017.

Deborah Judge of Israel (ruled 1107-1067). Only woman judge in pre-monarchy Israel. Reportedly ordered commander of the Israelites (Barak) to attack the forces of a Canaanite king Jabin and his military commander Sisera. As a prophet, he insisted she come along. She does and Sisera is defeated and killed. Then “there is peace in the land for 40 years.” Did she play a major role in the actual battle or just set it in motion? Either way it seems an occurrence of note.

Cut Nyak Dhien (1850-1908) From the province of Aceh, on the northern tip of the island Sumatra. Cut Nyak became an admiral when her husband was killed. She previously threatened to divorce him if he did not fight the Dutch. Subsequently, although in increasingly poor health, she ran a 25 year campaign of guerilla warfare against Dutch control of her homeland.

Maria de Jesus Dosmantes (No dates available) Mexican woman who fought the Americans during the Mexican War of 1846-1848 . Maria fought with General Ampudia in the defense of Monterey, earning the name “Heroine of Monterrey.”

Ann Dunwoody (1953- ) U.S. 82<sup>nd</sup> Airborne Division battalion commander. First female four star general in American history. Led women in battle during First Gulf War and refused to declare that women were not in combat when a female helicopter pilot was shot down in the drive to liberate Kuwait.

Durgavati of Gondwana (1524-1564). Hindu Warrior queen, she fought in many battles and resisted the Moguls during their invasion of India. Refusing to be captured, she committed suicide.

Nadezhda Durova (1783-1866) Disguised as a man, she fought for Russia during the Napoleonic wars. A Cavalry officer, she was awarded the Cross of St. George and promoted to lieutenant in a hussar regiment by Czar Alexander I who found out he had an “Amazon” in his army.

Running Eagle of the Black Feet Nation (c1840-c1878) Native American woman who entered the prestigious Braves Society and fought the Crows and other tribes. She was eventually killed by the Flatheads. Born “Pitamakan” in southern Alberta, Canada.

Mary Edwards (1832-1919) A Union assistant surgeon in the 52<sup>nd</sup> Ohio regiment during the Civil War, she was captured and later exchanged during 1864, and awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor, the only woman ever to receive it although she was not actually in the U.S. Army but a civilian contractor to it. The CMH was revoked in 1917 and re-instated in 1977.

Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122-1204) One of the most powerful women of the high middle ages in Western Europe who became the Duchess of Aquitaine as a child and would go on to be the Queen consort of both France and England through her marriages to Louis VII and Henry II. Participated in failed second crusade, supported Richard I's (son) revolt. Military advisor of note.

Florence Finch (1915-2016) Born of American father and Philipina woman, she lost her husband when his PT boat was sunk trying to resupply American and Filipino troops trapped on Corridor. She pretended to be fully Philipina and got a job with the Japanese, diverting gasoline to Philipinos and American resistance groups and smuggling goods and medicine into POW camps.

Fredericksdotter (c 970) Daughter of Erik the Red, discoverer of Greenland and sister (or half-sister depending on the saga) of Leif Erikson, discover of Vineland. She mounts an expedition with two Icelandic men to use Leif's settlement in Vineland (Labrador). When they encounter Native Americans and the men flee, she grabs a sword and pretends to sharpen it on her naked breasts where upon the Native Americans flee. Student report done 2016.

Fu Hao (13<sup>th</sup> century BCE). Concubine of Emperor Wu Ding of Shang China supposedly led large army into battle against the Tu and later against the Yi, Qiang and Ba. Many battle axes buried with her. See Patricia Ebrey, The Cambridge Illustrated History of China (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018, pp. 26-27.

Hangaku Gozen (13<sup>th</sup> century) Japanese warrior samurai during the end of the Heian period. At one point she commanded 3000 troops, was wounded and captured by the Hojo clan, but then married Asari Yoshito, a warrior of the Kamjakura.

Tomoe Gozen (1157-1247) Japanese samurai described in "Tale of the Heike." Described as a "match for god or devil," she fought with her husband against the Taira clan.

Gudit ("Judith") (also Esato or "fire" in Amharic) (c 970) Agaw queen who legend has it overthrew the Axum kingdom in what is now Ethiopia and ruled for 40 years. Superb archetype of violent nemesis in female form. Violently anti-Christian—"Judith, the Fiery one."

Hatshepsut of Egypt (1508-1458 BCE) The fifth pharaoh of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty of Ancient Egypt, Hatshepsut is widely considered by Egyptologists to be one of the most successful pharaohs and one of the few females. Her possible role in warfare is worth investigating.

Anna Mae Hays (1921-2018) Combat nurse who served during World War II in northeastern India, then in Korea at Inchon and finally in Vietnam. She was the first female general in the U.S. Army. When she retired in 1971, she said “If I had to do it all over again, I would do it longer.”

Ilse Hirsch (1902-1945) Aachen assassin of Franz Oppenhoff, German anti-Hitler German, installed as mayor of Aachen, her werewolf assassination team was sent by SS Reich commander Heinrich Himmler. Count as a warrior?

Jennie Rodgers aka “Albert Cashman” 95<sup>th</sup> Illinois Infantry (1843-1915). She served as an orderly to General Phil Sheridan when she was also in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Kentucky Cavalry.

Nonhelema Hokolessqua (c1718 – 1786) Shawnee woman known as “The Grenadier” for her height (6’ 6”). Wife of Chief Moluntha, she fought in the Battle of Bushy Run of 1764 which after some initial Native American success turned into a British victory of coalition of Shawnee, Mingo, Huron and Delaware warriors in what became known as Pontiac’s War. Later, Nonhelema initially favored neutrality in the American Revolution but eventually sided with the Americans and was granted a pension by the Continental Congress after the war.

Liang Hongyu (1102-1135) Chinese “Lady Liang” had a general for a father and a general for a husband and she became a master of the martial accounts; she served as a general in her husband’s army and directed several successful battles with the use of drums.

Petra “Pedro” Herrera Only certain date for her is 1914 when she and her band of 400 other women took the city of Torreon in the second battle for that city. She had joined the revolutionary

movement of Pancho Villa and was accepted as a military leader, but later split with Villa and went off on her own with other like-minded women

Isabella of Castile (1451-1504) This “Warrior Queen” seized power, skillfully fought off many enemies and provided the will and military strategy to push the Moors out of Grenada and held the Ottoman Turks at bay as well as funding the various voyages of discovery to the New World. Parallels with Catherine the Great of Russia.

Jeanne of Montfort (1295-1374) Also known as “Jeanne La Flamme,” was the consort Duchess of Brittany and showed her skill as a military leader defending her captured husband’s dukedom (Jeane de Montfort, Duke of Brittany) against the challenge by the House of Blois during the Breton War of Secession.

Joan of Arc “La Purcel” (1412-1431) French woman who led an army to repel the English, winning several battles. Eventually captured by the Burgundians, however, and turned over to the English, who famously burned her at the stake, not as generally thought, for heresy (which they could not prove), but for being a transvestite which they could. Done too many times already, now off limits!

Queen K’abel (ruled 672-692) Legend has it she was the greatest Native American queen of the late classical Mayan period. She was military governor of the Wak kingdom and was called “Supreme Warrior.”

Quin Liang-Yu (1574-1648) Quin in Ming Dynasty. Well documented life of Ming female general in Sichuan Province. Fought against Manchus invading in the north and put down a

series of peasant revolts in the south. Led elite unit in variety of combat situation. The only woman to be a regional military commander under the Mings. Taught by her father, accompanied her husband into battle and took over his command in 1613 when he was killed. Highly decorated.

Admiral Keumalahayati or Malahayati (c1501-?) Legendary woman born into the Aceh Sultanate at the height of its power, Keumalahayati became one of the few female admirals in history after convincing the reigning sultan to form, and put her in charge of, an armada of Acehnese women whose husbands had died in war. It is believed that Keumalahayati's husband, also an admiral, had just been killed in battle by the Portuguese. This armada was called the *Inong Bale*, and Keumalahayati led it through successful warfare with the Dutch. She died in battle, at the hands of the Portuguese and is regarded as an early nationalist in the decolonization struggle of Indonesia.

Rani Lakshmibai (look-shmee-bye) (1834-1858) Led her Jhansi State troops against the British during the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857-1858 or as the Indians declare, "The Great Rebellion."

Maria Lewis (?) African American woman who born as a slave, eventually secured her freedom and believed to have joined the 8<sup>th</sup> New York Cavalry regiment which served in the defense of Washington and various campaigns in the Shenandoah Valley.

Lozen (c 1840-1889) Chiricahua Apache warrior and religious leader. Together with her brother Victorio, she left their new reservation in Arizona and fought American settlers, the U.S. Army and Mexican forces in the surrounding territory including New Mexico. Even among the Apaches with their legendary warriors Cochise, Geronimo and Victorio, she stands out as a true warrior. Student report done in 2016.

The Other Magpie (1849-1900) Native American woman who rode with the Crow Wolves, scouts for the U.S. Army, and counted coup against the Lakota Sioux during the Battle of the Rosebud (1876), crying, “See my spit is my armor.”

Kahina of the Mahgreb (7<sup>th</sup> century CE) Berber queen, religious and military leader who led indigenous resistance to Arab expansion in Northwest Africa.

“Queen Manduhai the Wise” “Wolf Mother” (1449-1510)  
Reunited the warring Mongols, defeated the Oirats and Mings. Reportedly gave birth to twins a few hours after being knocked to the ground in the middle of a battle.

Matilda of Canossa (1046-1115) An ally of Pope Gregory VII, in 1087 she marched with her Tuscan army on Rome to fight and oust one of the anti-popes, she later defeated the Holy Roman Emperor, Henry IV when he invaded Italy. Held him at bay for 40 years. Buried in St. Peters for her dedication to the cause and generosity.

Medb of Connacht (Celtic for “Drunken woman”) (250 BCE-50CE) As queen of Connacht in the Ulster Cycle of Irish mythology, she was the enemy (and former wife) of Conchobar mac Nessa, king of Ulster. Best known for starting the Táin Bó Cúailnge ("The Cattle Raid of Cooley") to steal Ulster's prize stud bull. Worthy of warriorhood?

Mmanthasatsi (Manta Tisi or Manthatisi) of the Sotho (1781-1835)  
Manta Tisi provided military leadership during the Zulu-ignited Mfecane in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century and the movement of her Horde across what is now Botswana, the Orange Free State and Lesotho is the stuff of legends.



Moving Robe Woman: (1854- ?) Aka Mary Crawler. Hunkpapa Sioux named Thasinamani who fought against the 7<sup>th</sup> Cavalry in the Battle of Little Big Horn (1876) to avenge her ten year old brother, One Hawk, who had been killed earlier.

Muganzirwazza of Buganda (1856–1882) An influential African queen mother in Buganda, she was indomitable, influential, and a fighter, as well as anti-imperialist. Honored today in modern day Uganda.

Joyce Mujuru (1955-) Guerilla fighter for the Zimbabwe African National Union, cited for many heroic efforts under fire. After independence she became a member of the government until purged in 2004.

Nehanda of Zimbabwe (1840-1898) An African spiritual medium of the Sezuro Shona people in Zimbabwe, she provided inspiration for the revolt against the British South Africa Company's colonization of Mashonaland and Matabeleland (now Zimbabwe).

Nzinga of Angola (1583-1663) Queen of the Ndongo and Matamba Kingdoms of the Mbundu people in southwestern Africa who fought against Portuguese imperial rule. Amazing diplomatic and military leader.

Lina Odena (1911-1936) Spanish communist activist who fought for the Republicans against the Nationalists of Franco. Killed in action at the end of the war.

Grace O'Malley (1530-1603) Lord of the O Maille dynasty in the west of Ireland. Upon her father's death she took over active leadership of the lordship on land and sea. Led raids and attacks and involved herself in Irish/English politics. Called "The nurse of

all rebellions in the province for this forty years.” Interacted with Queen Elizabeth I, claiming equal status as Queen of Ireland.

Quin Liang-Yu (1574-1648) Quin in Ming Dynasty. Well documented life of Ming female general in Sichuan Province. Fought against Manchus invading in the north and put down a series of peasant revolts in the south. Led elite unit in variety of combat situation. The only woman to be a regional military commander under the Mings. Taught by her father, accompanied her husband into battle and took over his command in 1613 when he was killed. Highly decorated.

Juana Azurduy de Padilla (1780-1862) A mestizo (half Spanish, half Native American, she was born in what is now Bolivia. After her father was killed by the Spanish, she married and fought with her husband, giving birth right after the battle of Pintatora in 1815. Subsequently fought a guerrilla war against the Spanish including 16 major actions from 1809-1816. Azurduy de Padilla was wounded in 1816 (her husband was killed trying to rescue her). Fled into what is now Argentina and established an insurrection commanding an army of 6000.

Emilia Plater (1806-1831) Born in the partitioned Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (previously independent), which was under Russian rule after Poland was partitioned, Plater was a notable figure in the 1830-1831 failed Polish rebellion against Russian control. Eventually, she commanded a unit of the Polish rebels as a captain (although one praise poem calls her a “colonel”) and is sometimes called the Lithuanian Joan of Arc.

Penthesilea; Virgil’s Aeneid (circa 29 BCE) In Virgil’s The Aeneid for example, Penthesilea, queen of the Amazons and daughter of Ares (Mars) and Otrere, comes to Troy to aid the Trojans. She is a “Maiden who dares to run with men” and she

kills many Greeks until she herself is killed by Achilles, the most formidable of all Greek warriors. Note the honor paid to her because she, as Hector, the mightiest of the Trojan warriors, had to be killed by Achilles, himself the supreme male warrior of the day. Her death is also greatly mourned by Ares himself.

“Not in strength are we inferior to men; the same our eyes, our limbs the same; one common light we see, one air we breathe; nor different is food we eat. What then denied to us hard heaven on man bestowed? O let us hasten to the glorious war,” Penthesilea in Heinrich von Kleist’s 19<sup>th</sup> century poem Aethiopis. The fascination with Penthesilea is an interesting one given who she was and to whom she lost her life.

Lori Ann Piestewa (1979-1993). A Hopi Native American, she was the first American woman soldier to die in combat during the 2003 invasion of Iraq as her convoy was ambushed outside Nasiriyah

Christine de Pizan (1365-1430) Italian Renaissance writer who became the first woman in Europe to make a career of writing, arguing for the presence of women in realms traditionally reserved for men. Her works on military matters continue to impress historians today.

### Post World War II Revolutionary/Counter Insurgency Women Warriors

Israeli including Netiva Ben-Yehda (1928-2011)

Israeli Palmach fighter and explosive’s expert during the War of Independence; saw long service in the field.

Vietnamese including Che Thi Mung (1950-) Viet Cong cadre who worked for the ARVN and spied on them by day and trained to fight by night as they planned for the Tet offensive.

Eritrean

Angolan (MPLA and UNITA)

Mozambique (FRELIMO)

Guinea Bissau

Tamil Black Tigers

Columbia (FARC)

El Salvador

Nicaragua

Cambodia

Laos

Ranavalona I of Madagascar (1778 – 1861) Queen of Madagascar from 1828-1861. After positioning herself as queen following the death of her young husband, Radama I, Ranavalona pursued a policy of isolationism and self-sufficiency, reducing economic and political ties with European powers. Actual combat experience?

Lakshmi Swaminathan Sahgal (1914-2012) Captain Sahgal led the all-woman Rani of Jhansi Regiment (named for the Rani of Jhansi of Indian Mutiny fame) under Bengali nationalist Subhas Chandra Bose (1897-1948) and she recruited among overseas Indians for the Japanese in order to liberate India from British rule.

Queen Samsi (Shamsi) of Arabia (8<sup>th</sup> century BCE) Rebelling against the Assyrian King Tiglath Pileser III, she failed but managed to remain queen. Role in warfare?

Deborah Sampson (1760-1825) Fought in the American Revolutionary War in the 4th Massachusetts regiment of the Continental Army masquerading as a woman. First known woman to serve in the American army. Student report done in 2017.

Flora Sandes (1876-1956) English woman, went to Serbia to serve as a St. John Ambulance driver, later enrolled in Serbian Army and was promoted to rank of captain, earning seven medals.

Semiramis (Shammuramat) (824-811 BCE). After the death of her son, she masqueraded as him and led his army, winning a number of battles as far as India and even expanding to the Neo-Assyrian Empire (911-605 BCE).

Ching Shih (1775-1844) Prominent Chinese pirate who operated “outside Confucian behavior norms” for women. She commanded over 300 ships and 20,000 pirates, fought the British, Portuguese and the Qing dynasty and surprisingly enough for a pirate, retired to enjoy her millions. Interesting parallels with Medieval European castles: pirate ships seem to have provided an interesting milieu for women to gain military power in those self-contained universes which they could control. Student report done in 2017.

Gabriela Silang (1731-1763) Filipino revolutionary who when her husband, Diego Silang, was assassinated in 1763, she took command of the Ilocano rebel movement for four months. Captured and executed by the Spanish.

Razia Sultana (1205-1240) Turkish (Turkistan) Muslim Sultana who was the only female ruler of the Delhi Sultanate. Like Joan of

Arc, she dressed as a man and received training in combat, army governance and kingdom administration.

Nakano Takeko (1847-1868) Janene's warrior who fought and died during the Boshin War. Adopted and raised by a martial arts teacher, she fought with a Naginata and was the leader of a number of women who weren't allowed to fight with the men. Wounded, she allegedly had her sister cut off her head and bury it so it wouldn't be a trophy for her opponents.

Ecaterina Teodoroiu (1894-1917). Romanian woman killed in action leading Romanian troops into battle against the Germans during World War I. Served as a nurse, but when her brother was killed, she joined the regular army in order to avenge his death, enlisting in the 18<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment.

Tomyris (6<sup>th</sup> century BCE) According to Herodotus, Tomyris was the leader of a Scythian confederation that defeated Cyrus the Great in 530 BCE, sending his head in a vat of wine back to Persia.

Trung Trac and Trung Nhi (c12-43 CE) These Vietnamese Trung sisters who fought against Chinese occupation in 1<sup>st</sup> century CE raising an army and successfully repelling the invaders. Fully 1/3 of their army were supposedly women, including many of their generals, such as Phung Thi Chinh.

Lady Trieu (Ba Trieu) (225-248) Vietnamese Joan of Arc. Fought the Chinese state of Eastern Wu. She is reported to have said "I'd like to ride storms, kill sharks in the open sea, drive out the aggressors, reconquer the country, undo the ties of serfdom, and never bend my back to the concubine of whatever man."

"Two Kettles Together" Tyonajanegen (c1750-c1820?) Oneida Native American, fought in Battle of Oriskany, August 6, 1777.

Umm ‘Umara (7<sup>th</sup> century CE) An Arab Muslim woman who fought beside Muhammad in several key battles (such as Uhud, Khaybar and Yamma) during his rise to power. After the battle of Uhud (650 CE) in which she was wounded several times including severely in the neck, Muhammad declared: “Whenever I looked to the right or left I saw her fighting in front of me.” Umm later fought at Yamma, was wounded several more times and lost her hand. For her valor and courage as well as her fighting ability, Umm was granted the high honor as being recognized as one of the “Companions of the Prophet.” There is an interesting contemporary parallel to Um Umara in the female Kurdish peshmerga fighters of the present day (and the female pilots of the United Arab Emirates).

Hind Bint ‘Utbah ( Late 6<sup>th</sup> century-early 7<sup>th</sup> century) Wife of an important Mecca leader, she fought against the Moslems at Badr 622 (Meccans lost) and Uhud 624 (Meccans won), but converted and fought with them at the Syrian Battle of Yarmuk; credited by Arab sources as playing an important role during the second day (battle lasted six) by rallying the fleeing Moslems. Huge Moslem victory over Byzantium at Yarmuk (626), changed history.

Loreta Velasquez (1842-1897) After her husband was killed, this woman of the South signed up as “Harry T. Buford” and fought at 1<sup>st</sup> Bull Run, Ball’s Bluff, Ft. Donelson and Shiloh before being wounded and discovered to be a woman. She was then discharged but continued to serve the Confederacy as a spy.

Viking Shieldmaidens and Valkyries (Viking period) Real and mythological roles. Worth investigating. Were Viking women often in battle, sometimes in battle or only very rarely in battle? Recent grave discoveries suggest women warriors and strategists existed some despite claims to the contrary.

Vishpala (prior to 1200 BCE), legend of woman warrior mentioned in early Rigveda. What else can we find out?

Sarah Rosetta Wakeman, aka Pvt. Lyons Wakeman. (1843-1864)  
American woman who joined the 153<sup>rd</sup> New York Volunteers.  
Fought in the Red River campaign in Louisiana and died of  
chronic diarrhea – no known cure then.

Helena and Sabla Wangel of Ethiopia (16<sup>th</sup> century) Ethiopian  
queens who successfully defended the kingdom of Ethiopia against  
its Islamic enemies.

Weetamoo (c1635-1676) a Squa-Sachem of the Pocasset, a  
Wampanoag village in Mass.; she led her dead husband's warriors  
in alliance with her brother in law Philip (Metacomet) during King  
Philip's or Metacomet's War (1675-1647), the most destructive  
war in American history in terms of percentages of combatants  
killed on both sides.

Pearl Witherington Cornioley (1914-2008) was born in Paris,  
France, but was forced to flee to London in 1940 with the arrival of  
the Nazis. In 1943 she became an SOE (Special Operations  
Executive) and was dropped back into Nazi occupied France. She  
and the Maquis forces fought until France was liberated, playing  
an important role on D-Day. After the war, she was nominated for  
the Military Cross but as a woman, she was ineligible. When  
offered a civil medal for compensation, she coldly refused it,  
declaring she had done nothing remotely "civil."

Women Warriors in the Chinese Civil War (1928-1949) see such  
examples as Wei Xiuying and Kang Keqing.

World War II Women Warriors



Germany including test pilots Hanna Reitsch and Malitta Schiller, anti-aircraft batteries

Great Britain (50,000 women in anti-aircraft units)

Soviet Regular Armed Forces, “Night Witches,” “Free Hunters” and others, including partisans (800,000)

Yugoslavian Guerillas

Polish Jewish Women in Warsaw Uprising

French, Italian, Norwegian, Ukranian Resistance Fighters

American WASP's

Princess Yenna or Yennenga of the Mossi (early 12<sup>th</sup> century). At the age of 14 fought in a battle against the Malinkes. Her father encouraged her and allowed her to lead her own battalion with javelins, spears and bows. Considered the mother of Mossi nation.

Kawashima Yoshiko (1907-1948) Chinese Manchu princess raised in Japan. Served as a spy for the Japanese Kwantung Army and puppet state of Manchukuo during the Second Sino-Japanese War.

Marina Yurlova (1900-1984) Daughter of a colonel of the Kuban Cossacks, she was a child soldier volunteer in the Russian army at 14, serving in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Ekaterinodar Regiment.

Empress Zenobia: (sometimes Zabbai) (240-c275) Queen of Palmyra who rebelled against the Romans and led her victorious army through Egypt, Arabia and Mesopotamia and declaring herself Queen of Egypt. Eventually defeated by Romans. How much did Roman preoccupation with Victoria who rebelled in Gaul at the same time matter? Student report done in 2017.

## **One Word More**

Remember, the whole purpose of this course is to help you – **and you personally** – to learn how to communicate better, with the written word, the spoken word and the “under the gun” exam word.

DO NOT WORRY ABOUT WHERE YOU START skill-wise in the course. Focus on how you will end the course in terms of your writing, speaking and analyzing skills.

We all learn at different paces and pick up different skills in different ways. Focus on where you want to be at the end of the course and everything will fall into place. Consider this the course which will prepare you for the rest of your career at Bowdoin and beyond.

A **rough** guide to determining your progress:

Class participation	20%
Hour Exam #1	20%
Presentation	20%
Research Paper	20%
Hour Exam #2	20%

**Please note, however, these are merely suggested guidelines. We are looking for improvement over time, not a strict average. Always go for improvement no matter where you think you stand at any given time.**

**Above all, do not put limits on yourself and  
your upside potential.**

**Not in this course and not in other courses at  
Bowdoin and not in life.**

**Remember, you remake yourself every day.**



“La Pucelle”

Frank Craig

Musee d’Orsay, Paris