



‘Heroic Virgins’ and ‘Bellicose Amazons’: Armed Women, the Gender Order and the German Public during and after the Anti-Napoleonic Wars

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I have been a soldier for four weeks now! Don't be surprised, but don't chide me either. You know that this decision has ruled my heart since the beginning of the war. I have already received two letters from friends. They accused me of being a coward, since everyone around me was determined to fight in this honourable war. Thereupon my decision became irrevocable. In my innermost being, I was convinced of committing no bad or hasty act; one need only look to Spain and the Tyrol, and the conduct of their women and girls! . . . Farewell, my good brother! You shall see me again in honour, or not at all. A thousand greetings to Father and Karoline! Tell them, reassure them, that my heart will always remain good and noble.¹

In this letter to her younger brother, Eleonore Prochaska, the daughter of a poor, disabled non-commissioned officer from Potsdam, confided her reasons for joining the Prussian army disguised as a man. Her reference to the women who had actively supported the armed struggle against the Napoleonic army in Spain and Tyrol in 1809 underlined her patriotic and virtuous motives. She claimed for herself as a woman the male right to fight in the 'War of Liberation'. Like her male compatriots, she legitimated her decision to take up arms against France with the necessity to restore the national honour, which she equated with her personal honour. Implicitly she alluded to the pre-war public discourse in Prussia, which had described the future contest against Napoleon as a war of 'revenge'. After the

disgraceful defeat by the French army in 1806/7, she hoped like so many other 'patriots' that a victory might finally re-establish Prussian and German honour.²

Eleonore Prochaska had written that letter from her first bivouac.³ She had been 28 years old when the Prussian king Friedrich-William III joined the coalition with the Russian Tsar and declared war against France on 16 March 1813. She had responded to the monarch's call to 'The Prussian People' to support the war against the 'vicious invader' Napoleon in all possible ways. Legitimizing the cause through a Christian-patriotic rhetoric, the king had presented the conflict as a 'people's war', and a 'holy war' of the 'whole Prussian nation'. In particular he had asked his subjects to support the volunteer units and the newly introduced militia (*Landwehr*). With the call the king had announced the introduction of universal conscription; every man between the ages of 17 and 40 who was capable of fighting was now liable for service in the militia.⁴ Intensive propaganda, including a furious flood of anti-French cartoons, satirical farces, patriotic-national poems and songs, leaflets and journals supported the call to arms.⁵

The same patriotic feelings that animated many of her Prussian compatriots gripped Eleonore Prochaska in March 1813. Under the name of August Renz, she joined the Lützow Corps, the best-known volunteer corps, immediately after the declaration of the war. Frederick William III already had authorized the corps by mid-February of 1813 to enlist primarily 'young men from abroad' who could arm and clothe themselves. By August 1813 the Lützow corps had grown to 3666 men, with three-fifths of them from German-speaking 'foreign countries', mainly from Protestant northern, central and western Germany.⁶ The members described themselves in an appeal as a 'brotherhood' of young German men who fought of their own accord for the liberation of the 'German fatherland': 'In our company there is no distinction of birth, station or country. We are all free men, defy hell and its allies, and wish to drown them out, even with our own blood.'⁷

Within the corps female soldiers disguised as men found their place. Eleonore Prochaska was not alone; among them was the well known 17-year-old Anna Lühring of Bremen.⁸ Twenty-two cross-dressed women who fought during the Anti-Napoleonic Wars between 1806 and 1815 in the Prussian army have been documented thus far.⁹ In fact, there were doubtless more, and we will never know how many went undetected. Newspaper reports indicate that at the beginning of the war, women all over the kingdom tried to volunteer for military service. Many of them were rejected when their secret was revealed during the medical examination.¹⁰

The phenomenon of cross-dressed women soldiers had a long tradition, reaching back to antiquity and continuing throughout the medieval and early modern periods. Historians uncovered numerous reports, plays, poems and songs that

recount the exploits of such women.¹¹ During the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars women disguised as men also fought for other war powers. For the French army Dominique Godineau recently estimated up to 80 such women. For the revolutionary period of 1792–3 alone 50 women disguised as men took up arms to defend France.¹²

'Heroic virgins' (*Heldentjungfrauen*) – as German contemporaries called them during the Anti-Napoleonic Wars – faced an ambiguous public response throughout Europe: some recognized the women's patriotic valour, but many others questioned their virtuousness. The public reserved particularly vehement antagonism for the so-called 'amazons', who openly claimed the masculine right to bear arms and to defend the fatherland. In revolutionary France, for the first time in modern history, women had demanded this privilege and sought to exercise it collectively. In monarchic Prussia 22 years later, the French 'amazons' remained part of the public memory of the revolution. In the anti-French rhetoric the 'amazones' were identified as one of the most obvious symbols of the violent and dangerous radicalism of the Jacobins, the extremists who had tried to turn the 'natural order' upside down. Nevertheless, some Prussian women too attempted to establish an 'amazone corps' in the heated atmosphere of March 1813. But contrary to their French forerunners, they never connected political demands to this attempt.

Women generally occupy a marginal role in traditional military history, but some cross-dressed female soldiers, such as Joan of Arc, are well researched.¹³ When historians have noted women in the army, they have focused primarily on exceptional female warriors. This narrow perspective can be attributed primarily to two factors: traditional military history was mainly interested in wars, particularly the course and outcome of battles, and only women who personally engaged in combat were considered worthy of study. At the same time, these women so obviously behaved in a manner diametrically opposed to assigned and dominant gender images (often shared by scholars who studied them) that this impressive and disturbing phenomenon challenged historians to explain and categorize it.¹⁴

In the last two decades gender historians have studied armed women, mainly in Britain and France.¹⁵ But little is still known about other countries.¹⁶ This article will therefore focus on Germany and analyse the (self) perception and the ensuing collective remembrance of 'heroic virgins' and 'amazons' during and after the Anti-Napoleonic Wars. In the German-speaking region, Prussia presents a particularly compelling case: first, most of the known female soldiers in the German territory joined the Prussian army during the wars of 1813–15; second, Prussian conservative political culture provides a fascinating contrast to British and French societies. Given the centrality of the right and duty to bear arms in

nascent concepts of citizenship, it is crucial to explore the relationship between women, war, and the nation. Recent research has demonstrated that the period of the Anti-Napoleonic Wars in Prussian-German history is of critical importance for civil-state relations, for during these years an enduring national political culture organized along gender lines emerged. The Anti-Napoleonic Wars accelerated and intensified the nationalization of the gender order and the 'gendering' of the nation, while permanently remaking the fundamental structures of the relationship between women, the state, and the nation.¹⁷

The Tradition of Cross-Dressed Female Soldiers

There have always been women who took up arms. In particular in times of violent conflict such as war and revolution, women participated as soldiers in armed struggles. In the medieval crusades, women fought alongside men to convert the so-called infidels. In the early modern period, laudatory accounts abound of women bravely defending castles and cities against their foes. Through the wars of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century women repeatedly served in the army dressed as men. Sylvie Steinberg identifies in her book *La Confusion des sexes: le travestissement de la Renaissance à la Révolution*, for instance, 44 cases of female soldiers for Old Regime France.¹⁸ Rudolf Dekker and Lotte van de Pol counted 119 Dutch cases in their study of *The Tradition of Female Transvestism in Early Modern Europe*.¹⁹ Very little is known about female soldiers in German armies of the eighteenth century, however, and therefore any estimate of the development of their numbers is impossible.²⁰ While recent scholarship suggests an increase in the number of female soldiers in the early years of the French Revolution, David Hopkin has cautioned that 'whatever the varied motivations of female soldiers were, this period was a late flowering for the tradition'.²¹

The striking number of women who performed as soldiers during the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars may be attributed to many reasons. General mobilization for these wars in most countries made it relatively easy for women to volunteer for military service disguised as men, for the large demand for soldiers meant that medical examinations were either superficial or bypassed. Moreover, these wars were presented by the leading military powers as 'people's wars' – legitimated in terms of patriotic and national interests. Such appeals apparently helped muster not only men but also rising numbers of women as well.²²

Following the Napoleonic Wars possibilities for cross-dressed women to join the army diminished. Military leaders sought to establish greater professionalisation of their armies. They pushed for a more bureaucratic and controlled form of recruitment, more careful medical inspections, and 'dormitory housing' in

barracks. They also tried to reduce dramatically the early modern phenomenon of the 'camp followers', women and children related to soldiers, who worked for the army and followed the troops to war. The reforms aimed for 'all-male' armies and made it nearly impossible for women to join the army disguised as men.²³

As with the organizational changes in the military and the conduct of warfare, the public perception of female combatants underwent a significant alteration before, during and after the period of the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the pervasive image of women warriors was apparently not primarily negative, and indeed could have quite positive connotations. Ulinka Rublack has maintained that armed self-defence by women in times of war was tolerated and even valued as a sign of their readiness to protect not only female, but civic, virtue. Thus the Brunswick maid Gesche Meiburg, who helped the city repulse the siege of the duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg in 1615, became the key figure in recollections of this heroic struggle, which was at the same time the very epitome of the 'virgin city' 'valiantly' preserving her autonomy. The many engravings honouring Gesche Meiburg depict her in female clothing, protected by a soldier's helmet and armed with a crossbow.²⁴

Two hundred years later, such thoroughly positive assessments had become rare. Beginning in the second half of the eighteenth century, the image of the armed woman had increasingly negative connotations. Historians have suggested two main reasons for this change. On the one hand, in the context of the introduction of universal (male) conscription, the right to bear arms and the duty to defend family, home, and country, which in the early modern period were already conceived of as genuinely male, now became associated with claims to citizenship rights.²⁵ In this context, women who were so presumptuous as to assert the male right to bear arms and the duty to defend fatherland and property were increasingly perceived as greater threats to the gender and social order. Accompanying such political arguments was the still more compelling justifications that came from an anthropological explanation of gender differences that emerged in the eighteenth century. This model solidified the dichotomous and hierarchical view of the gender order and claimed universal validity. Whereas previously gender differences had been understood primarily as social differences, that is, the differences between man and woman had been derived from their specific duties in the fabric of corporatist society, they were now rooted in their distinctive anatomies and functions in the reproductive process. A model of dichotomous 'sex-specific character' was deduced from gender differences defined as 'natural'. War-like and active qualities were defined as the core of the masculine catalogue of virtues, while loving and passive qualities were defined as

the heart of the complementary female catalogue.²⁶ This gender model then could be used to justify the integration of all men – independent of their social status and faith – in an army based on universal conscription or other forms of mass mobilization. Women's exclusion from the male duty and right to defend family, home, and country in turn deprived women of all citizenship rights.²⁷ Dror Wahrman has described this development in the parallel case of England as 'a cultural revolution'.²⁸ The consequence of this change was that armed women, once tolerated and sometimes even applauded, were gradually more reproved.

Facts and Fictions of Female Soldiers

Historians have located hundreds of reports, plays, poems and songs portraying female soldiers. They were an important part of popular culture.²⁹ Thus we know more about their legends and less about their 'real' lives. However carefully we approach this subject, we face the problem of distinguishing fact from fiction. The scholarship on the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars found many autobiographical accounts written and published by contemporaries. Thousands of autobiographies from the period exist in European libraries and archives but, of course, the majority of the authors were educated men. Most of the women who joined armies all over Europe disguised as men came from lower social backgrounds and often were unable to read and write.³⁰ Therefore authentic female voices remain rare.

One of the most well known autobiographies of a female soldier was penned by Nadezhda Durova (1783–1866), the daughter of a Ukrainian cavalry captain. In 1836 she published her memoirs entitled *The Cavalry Maiden*, which soon made her famous. Influenced by the literary tradition of the genre, her autobiography shared the problems of similar texts, and bore the vestiges of her attempts to refashion her story, mixing truth and fabrication.³¹ Nevertheless, the text can illuminate the lives of female soldiers.

At 18 Nadezhda Durova was forced to marry a civil servant, with whom she had a son. In 1806, when this son was three years old, she left her family to join a Cossack regiment under the name of Alexander Vassilievich Durov. She wanted to 'free' herself from the bonds of the female duties her family and society demanded. Her main motive for joining the army was quite obviously her pursuit of an independent and adventurous life. In her autobiography we find little patriotic rhetoric. Instead, her case reflects one of the main reasons that women joined the army during the early modern period: They were more likely fleeing men than pursuing them. Exploitative or abusive fathers, brothers and more seldom husbands figure prominently in their excuses for their actions.³²

Soldiering seems often to have been an escape from difficult family circumstances. More rarely, they appear to have followed their loved ones. Women trailing after their fiancés and husbands as cross-dressed soldiers were popular in fiction, but this common trope is not representative of the real lives of female soldiers.

In everyday life women's motivation for donning male garb and taking up arms varied widely. The research on early modern female soldiers shows that most frequently a mix of different motives came together. Some women were driven by social and economic hardship. Others took up arms to defend their own property. Some sought adventure, others to escape the narrow confines of female existence, and some followed lovers or husbands into the fray.³³ One of the most important motivations in early modern Europe seems to have been poverty. For women from the working classes, who faced unemployment, cross-dressing was a relatively straightforward means of escape and common as a last resort. The army promised lower-class women an unknown 'security', which seems to have been attractive mainly for single young women who were able to join the army as 'boys', which gave them a special status.

But how could these disguised women survive undetected? Obviously clothes still made the man. In the corporatist societies of the Old Regime, outward signs such as dress were a more direct indicator of status as well as gender. Putting on male attire seems to have taken women quite a long way down the road towards a convincing disguise. The easy camouflage clothing provided does not explain, however, why the women were not discovered amidst limited privacy in the army. David Hopkin has argued that precisely because 'intimate activities were carried out in public, soldiers developed codes of behaviour that respected personal space'.³⁴ Thus female soldiers mostly stayed undiscovered until something unusual happened.

As long as female soldiers were able to preserve their male identity at least outwardly, their male 'comrades' accepted them – not least because they frequently displayed particular valour. Nadezhda Durova, for example, rose to the rank of captain of the Russian cavalry and received the St George cross for bravery.³⁵ In the French army Reine Chappuy is one of the best known examples of female valour. She was only 17 years old when she joined the French Revolutionary Army as a volunteer in 1792, following her five older brothers. She was apparently so well loved in her cavalry regiment for her daring and courage that the men supported her desire to continue to serve France even after she was discovered to be a woman. She made a corresponding application to the National Convention in January 1794, in which she stressed that only her 'burning desire' to 'avenge her fatherland' and 'fight the tyrants' had moved her to take such a step.³⁶ This application caused a public sensation, and was promptly rejected. Male fears of a

self-confident woman who demanded her rights probably played a central role here, and the following remarks by Reine Chappuy may have offered occasion for concern: 'I shall, wherever possible, redouble my courage and efforts. And I shall prove to the Republic that the arm of a woman is worth just as much as a man's, as soon as its blows are directed by honour, the thirst for glory, and the assurance of defeating the mighty.'³⁷ Her statement suggested a further motive for women to join the army, that of patriotism, which gained more importance during the period of the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. But this reason, as was the case of any female demonstration of virtues that were regarded as male, was apparently deemed to endanger and weaken masculinity, and therefore ultimately had to be thwarted.

Most women who fought in men's clothing thus met a similar fate as Reine Chappuy. When their physiological sex was revealed and confirmed, they were forced to leave military service. Nadezhda Durova seems to have been one of the few exceptions. With the express approval of Tsar Alexander I, she was allowed to continue to serve in the military as a 'man', and for the officers and men of her unit she remained Alexander Vassilievich Durov. She left the army in 1815, after the end of the war, because she saw there no place for a 'masculine women' like her any longer.³⁸ Until her death in 1866 she refused to live as a woman. She never married again and dressed like a man.³⁹ Despite social isolation, and all the scoffing and discrimination she had to face, she lived an alternative model of 'female masculinity'.⁴⁰

The contemporary perception of armed women during and after the period of the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars was in general highly ambivalent. Independent of time, place and world-view, women's participation in armed conflict, which was so diametrically opposed to the new construction of the gender order, could apparently be tolerated only in exceptional cases, provided that their actions could be justified in patriotic terms, that they disguised themselves as men, and that they preserved their virtue.⁴¹

Disguised as Men: 'Heroic Virgins'

Most of the 22 women who joined the Prussian army dressed as men and fought in the Anti-Napoleonic Wars were between 18 and 25 years old – in other words, of the same age as the male volunteers. The majority came from a lower social background. They were daughters of professional soldiers, craftsmen and farmers. Their portrayals in contemporary literature and the later historiography are examples of the mixed assessments elsewhere. The historian Friedrich Förster, who had fought with the Lützow Volunteers in 1813–14 and seen a few of

these young women with his own eyes, tried to justify their conduct in his 1856 *History of the Wars of Liberation* by explaining that they had been 'so gripped by the general enthusiasm that they secretly entered the ranks of the fighters and heroically fought and died side-by-side with the bravest among them.'⁴²

He based his opinion above all on Eleonore Prochaska, who became the most popular heroic maiden in Germany. In her first letter to her younger brother, which was published after her death in October 1813 in the popular capital newspaper *Berlinische Nachrichten*, she not only explained her motives but also her everyday life in the corps. Her sex remained undetected because she pretended to be a young tailor. Together with an older tailor, she cleaned and repaired her company's uniforms. This expertise made her as popular in her unit as her cooking skills. When she was unable to get quarters on her own, she shared them with a 15-year-old volunteer who served the officers.⁴³

Eleonore Prochaska died on 5 October 1813.⁴⁴ Her sex was discovered only after she was wounded. An account from Danneberg, where she was treated after her injury, reported her honourable military burial on 7 October 1813, and for the first time styled her the 'German Joan of Arc', an honorific title that soon spread.⁴⁵ It was said that she, like the French national heroine, had died a martyr's death for her country. A further indication of the early glorification of Eleonore Prochaska is an anonymous poem published in December 1813 in the state newspaper for soldiers, the *Preußische Feldzeitung*:

Chosen by fate to be Germany's Joan of Arc,
She holds her breast high! Her father's silent house
Is grown too narrow, and born to higher things,
She rushes forth into a world amidst war [. . .].
Destined by Nemesis for great and blessed deeds,
As an avenger, to drive with Corday's hand a dagger
Into the heart of the demon of this world,
Thou wast held up as an example for German men.⁴⁶

She was similarly immortalized in a number of contemporary poems and press accounts, and even two dramas, one with music by Beethoven, all of which recommended her fighting spirit and courage as a 'model' for men and boys.⁴⁷ Like Eleonore Prochaska, Prussian and German men should dedicate 'heart and blood' to their fatherland.⁴⁸ The unspoken motive for stylizing her as an example for male soldiers was the hope that this would spur boys and men on to greater heroic deeds. They should prove their manhood by showing more courage and valour than the heroic maiden, for apart from their country, they also had their manly honour to defend. Eleonore Prochaska was therefore the only female soldier from

the 'Wars of Liberation' given a memorial. The first was erected by the Prussian state in 1865 – 50 years after the end of the war – at Danneberg, near the battle-field where she was mortally wounded. The second, financed by donations, was built in 1889 in her hometown of Potsdam.⁴⁹ The memory of Eleonore Prochaska was kept alive throughout the nineteenth century, since her death on the battle-field made it possible to dub her a 'German heroine' without permanently endangering the gender order.⁵⁰ But most of the other known heroic virgins who had survived the war were rarely celebrated and soon forgotten. They were no longer appropriate subjects for the German national myth that celebrated war and masculine prowess.

One of those forgotten warriors was the 19-year-old daughter of a Mecklenburg farmer, Friederike Krüger, who joined the Kolberg infantry regiment in April 1813 under the name of August Lübeck. She explained her choice in a brief, undated retrospective account:

My decision to participate when the time came to drive out the intruders had been taken some time before. And so I put it into practice. [...] Having made all necessary preparations, I cut off my long hair and left Lemke's house [where she lodged during her apprenticeship as a dressmaker] at night in male attire, leaving behind my worldly goods.⁵¹

She, too, posed as a young tailor, but the family with whom 'soldier Lübeck' was quartered discovered her sex very soon and notified the commanding officer. He then informed the commanding general Karl Heinrich Ludwig von Borstell, but her insistence to remain a soldier persuaded him to allow her to stay with the troops with his permission and the protection of her commander. During the war she reached the rank of a non-commissioned officer and was discharged from the Prussian army after the second campaign of the war in 1815, decorated with the Iron Cross and the Russian Order of St George.⁵²

Other examples include Anna Lühning, the daughter of a carpenter in Bremen, who fought with the Lützow Volunteers from October 1813 to March 1814, posing as the student Eduard Krause. After she was found out she, too, was allowed to stay with her unit until the end of the first campaign, with the support of her officers.⁵³ Maria Werder, the childless wife of a Silesian estate owner and officer, fought at her husband's side as a hussar in 1813, as she had in 1806–7. During the wars of liberation she attained the highest rank for non-commissioned officers as a sergeant major in the Second Silesian Hussar Regiment. She only revealed her sex when she left military service after her husband's death at the great battle of Leipzig in 1813.⁵⁴

Contemporaries did not celebrate these women in lyric poetry. The only heroic

maiden aside from the fallen Eleonore Prochaska to have a poem dedicated to her was Friederike Krüger. Yet the poem is filled with irony. The sonnet 'The Non-Commissioned Officer Auguste Krüger' by the well known poet Friedrich Rückert ends:

This non-commissioned officer
 Fought with proper manly ardour,
 He's earned quite a number of wounds,
 And an Iron Cross at last,
 He who her would woo
 And gain her marriage-portion too,
 More ringing dowry can well expect.
 This non-commissioned officer,
 If you would court him, believe you me
 You must a doughty captain be,
 If the business is to succeed;
 Ah yes, a captain will indeed
 Bring him into line I swear
 Despite the fine cross he does wear.⁵⁵

In his poem, Rückert addressed the switching of gender roles that accompanied Friederike Krüger's cross-dressing. The verses presented her first as a dapper and martial non-commissioned officer and eligible bachelor, but then revealed her sex by literally removing the military tunic and describing how she 'made herself a man', went 'to war as a man' and fought with 'manly ardour', without even mentioning her patriotic motives. The poem gave the impression that her sole concern had been to acquire male power by appropriating the role of a man. The stanzas cited here alluded to the fact that her commanding general von Borstell did not merely give her a glowing testimonial upon her honourable discharge in early December 1815, which he made public, but also announced her engagement to the non-commissioned officer Karl Köhler and organized a dowry for her. In his testimonial, von Borstell noted that the 'extraordinarily deserving heroic maiden' had acted 'irreproachably and bravely' and 'virtuously', and hoped that she 'would soon exchange the noise of battle for the quiet pleasures of an [...] appropriate and permanently happy domesticity'.⁵⁶ In January 1816 he called for a public collection for her dowry in the *Berlinische Nachrichten* newspaper, which raised nearly 1110 *taler*. This outpouring enabled Friederike Krüger to marry Köhler in March of that year, an event that elicited great public interest.⁵⁷

The rise of a woman to the rank of non-commissioned officer, her decoration with the Iron Cross, the first medal to be awarded at the beginning of the war for

military heroism independent of social status and rank, and considered *the* new symbol par excellence of patriotism and masculine valour in Prussia, caused a public sensation.⁵⁸ This uproar was intensified not only by her extremely friendly reception, with all honours, in the highest court and military circles, but also by the fact that she wed so soon after the war and had been requited with a dowry. Her story was widely reported in the press. It was apparently at once disconcerting and comforting, for on the one hand Friederike Krüger had succeeded longer, but above all more openly than any other heroic maiden, in switching gender roles. She had fought as a woman and not, as had the others, as a man, and had displayed an extraordinary courage otherwise attributed only to men. Yet, she had married quickly after the war and had been reintegrated into the existing gender order. The public viewed this behaviour with great satisfaction and rewarded her with a dowry. Serious doubts remained, however, about whether a woman who had learnt to command men could be satisfied with the usual female role in marriage, or whether she would try to wear the trousers again. These misgivings, which Friedrich Rückert formulated in the final stanza of his poem on Friederike Krüger, appear to have been so widespread that the Prussian king sent her a letter on the occasion of her marriage, which included the following lines: 'May she now forget the non-commissioned officer, obey her husband and always keep in mind the words of the Holy Scripture: "He shall rule over you!"'⁵⁹

In view of her sensational military career, it was apparently necessary for Friederike Krüger to demonstrate her acceptance of the gender order after the war by marrying fast. Her nuptials clearly formed the basic precondition for her reintegration into post-war society. Only in this way could she prove that her female honour was intact, that she had acted out of patriotism alone, and had not taken up arms or distinguished herself in battle for dishonourable reasons. Despite this symbolic act of submission, the reservations about her in her native Mecklenburg remained great. She never was fully accepted as a 'decent woman'. Friederike Krüger died on 31 May 1848 as the mother of four children.⁶⁰

Anna Lühring represents a less successful example of reintegration in post-war society. Even the extraordinarily warm reception that unmarried heroic virgins such as Lühring received in the highest court, government and military circles in Berlin when they returned from the war failed to lessen the scepticism they encountered, particularly in their home regions, as her case illustrates. The Prussian capital welcomed her and bestowed great honours on her while the press openly celebrated and lauded the 'young heroine'.⁶¹ Back home in Bremen, particularly among her family, however, the suspicion regarding her armed service remained so great that her return met with resistance for months. She had to overcome accusations that she was driven by dishonourable and unworthy

motives. The threat to the gender order that armed women posed appears to have been so great that the society in Bremen and elsewhere sought to protect itself by denigrating the virtue and sexuality of female soldiers. Only the massive intervention of leading generals with the Bremen municipal government and with her family overcame these misgivings, and ensured that her hometown, too, gave her an honourable reception in January 1815.⁶² Anna Lühring married in 1821, moved to Hamburg, and supplemented the family income as a seamstress. The public soon forgot her. Only her comrades from the Lützow Volunteers remembered her and supported her financially. When she died in 1866 they published an obituary.⁶³ The military men who had fought side by side with the heroic virgins and shared war experiences with them seem to have had fewer problems accepting female soldiers than did civil society.

After the 'Wars of Liberation' the tendency to suppress public remembrance of the heroic virgins in Germany strengthened. Newspapers, magazines, biographies, novels and other publications busily praised the 'patriotic heroic actions' of men, but wrote less and less about the patriotic deeds of women, in particular the heroic virgins. The public tried to block out their memory. If they were mentioned at all, very negative if not hostile depictions seem to have predominated. Most often their feminine 'morality' was questioned. Only the *Allgemeine deutsche Frauen-Zeitung*, the single important women's magazine of the time, tried to sustain the memory of 'female heroism' of all kinds with two extensive series of articles between 1816 and 1818.⁶⁴ In a 'Pantheon of German Heroines' the magazine sought to encourage suitably enthusiastic recognition for those women who had participated in the armed defence of their fatherland.⁶⁵ The publisher and editor Friedrich Keyser fought in vain against an indifferent and hostile public opinion. But his argument that the heroic virgins, while 'missing' the 'path of true femininity' had nevertheless been 'honourable', failed to convince his restoration audience after the war. Keyser wrote: 'For what abundance of inner strength, what wealth of spirit, what ardent love of fatherland must dwell within a woman to make her break her bonds, disregard her upbringing and circumstances, and fight with manly might and manly courage for mankind, fatherland and the world!'⁶⁶ Yet Keyser qualified his praise for female soldiers, since it was always only 'the few' who, 'overstepping their female nature, press forward as the projections of the abundant vigour of the noblest nations to demonstrate to all the world the inexhaustibility of German national might'. Their transgressions could be 'reconciled with the rule-breaking of such figures' and make even 'a warm, manly German heart rejoice'.⁶⁷ Such arguments failed to maintain public recognition for the heroic virgins in the era of post-war restoration. Only on the occasion of the impending centennial celebrations of the wars of liberation did extensive public

speeches, plays, and writings once again recall the 'German heroines of the war years 1807–1815' and laud their self-sacrifice and patriotism.⁶⁸

Women Armed like Men: 'Amazons'

If cross-dressed women soldiers faced a complex and ambivalent public response, particularly vehement opposition was reserved for 'amazons'. During the French Revolution women publicly claimed for the first time the right to carry weapons and fight collectively. This demand for an 'army of amazons' responded to the introduction of universal conscription, which arose in the course of mobilization for the people's war against the counter-revolutionary coalition troops. As early as March 1792, one month before France officially declared war on Austria, the French National Convention received a petition from 304 women. This petition demanded that women be allowed to fight for the cause of Revolution, including armed combat, in case of war. They wished to be allowed to become full citizens and defend the liberty of the country with a full complement of arms. The legislative assembly politely refused the request of the female revolutionaries.⁶⁹

In the years that followed all demands by women to join the French army were strictly rejected.⁷⁰ Male revolutionaries clearly had other tasks in mind for women in times of war. The law on general mobilization, the *levée en masse*, of August 1793 stipulated that women were responsible for equipping the 'warriors' with tents and uniforms, caring for sick and wounded soldiers, and bolstering the revolutionary fighting spirit of their menfolk.⁷¹ It called for 'republican mothers', not revolutionary amazons. Accordingly, the state rejected not only calls to arm women but also, with increasing vehemence, women's public involvement in politics. In late October 1793, just two months after the introduction of the *levée en masse*, all of the revolutionary women's clubs that had been founded in Paris and elsewhere since 1790 were banned. Women were even forbidden to wear the republican national cockade. The reasons given for these prohibitions impressively demonstrated the underlying fears of a reversal of the emergent gender order. The revolutionaries argued that based on the 'natural' gender order – so central to the stability of the family, society and the nation – men had to rule the world, while women belonged in the home.⁷²

Revolutionary Frenchwomen were not the only members of their sex to demand arms; some of Prussia's female patriots did so as well. During the public mobilization for war against France, in the spring of 1813 women raised their voices in support of establishing a 'corps of Amazons'. In Prussia, too, the general mobilization for war formed the background to this demand. These women apparently felt that the many patriotic pamphlets and songs promoting

voluntary military service were intended for them, too. They demanded their right as women to defend themselves and their fatherland. As early as May 1813, a corresponding appeal by 'a lady' appeared in the *Russisch-Deutsches Volks-Blatt*, which the popular playwright and author August v. Kotzebue edited on behalf of Russian army headquarters. In this appeal, the author called upon 'noble German girls' to 'emulate men' and take up arms in the 'sacred fight for the fatherland', forming 'a corps of their own'. Addressed primarily to young, unmarried women without means and unfettered by 'sacred duties', the call considered military service the only possibility for these women to 'be of use to the fatherland' and at the same time to 'defend their honour'. Other forms of service, said the author, such as patriotic charity in one of the many recently founded middle-class patriotic women's associations, were closed to them because they had to work for a living.⁷³ This appeal sparked a discussion in the magazine that lasted more than two months, ending only when the king personally forbade its continuation as 'unseemly'.⁷⁴ No other topic of the time was discussed so extensively in letters to the editor, and no other debate involved nearly as many women. The majority of letters printed in the journal rejected the suggestion because it called into question women's 'femininity' and threatened the gender order. This was the case, for example, in a letter by a certain 'Frau G. T. v. K.' published in the issue of 29 May 1813:

No, Sisters! Let us instead take on tasks more appropriate to us, let us care for those injured in war, for there we can do much good. Woman seems to have been created to alleviate man's pain through patient attendance and gentle care [. . .] Femininity is woman's greatest charm. It would be immediately lost in the tumult of battle and camp, and the happy future for which our men and boys are fighting would perhaps no longer include the accustomed comforts of female company. For that reason, [let there be] no army of Amazons!⁷⁵

Thus even the most educated women restricted their sex to the 'patriotic duty' of self-sacrifice in times of war. This understanding was limited to providing equipment, clothing and food for soldiers and nursing in the field hospitals, and caring for the victims of war, such as the many disabled veterans, widows and orphans, in one of the nearly 600 patriotic women's associations that existed during the wars of 1813–15.⁷⁶ The public debate on the 'amazon corps' is significant, however, because it helped to define enduring understandings of the gender-specific duties of men and women in the context of a 'national war'.

Conclusion: Armed Women and the New Gender Order

Unlike the heroic virgins, who generally fought disguised as men, amazons — women who demanded to exercise the masculine right to bear and use arms collectively as women — powerfully and visibly combined two qualities deemed irreconcilable: femaleness and combat. In their resolve to carry weapons and fight, they demonstrated a militarized self-assertion and a vision of equality between women and men. To display female strength openly appeared to invoke the complementary notion of male weakness — a provocation that was bound to seem all the more aggressive since the call to arms for collective self-defence of female honour suggested that male protectors were either inadequate or superfluous. This association was all the more serious because in the debate over the causes of the defeat of the Prussian-Saxon army in 1806–7, women had explicitly accused men of failing as protectors.⁷⁷ The French Revolution had shown already how short the leap was from calls for arms for women to demands for civil equality with men. It is thus scarcely surprising that the mere journalistic appearance of amazons on the stage of current events raised spectres of a reversal of power relations between the sexes, and thus evoked an immediate and harsh response, in monarchical Prussia as in revolutionary France. The female demand for a corps of amazons, already rigidly suppressed during the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, was so dangerous for the gender order that after the war it had to be erased for a very long time from the French as well as the Prussian-German national memory.

‘Heroic virgins’ never questioned the gender order as actively and openly as the ‘amazons’. The fact that they cross-dressed and tried to behave as men, however, and thereby tried not only to hide their femininity but claimed male rights and power, seem to have been in some ways even more threatening to society’s gender order. From the perspective of the male majority, these camouflaged women, like ‘Trojan horses’, deceptively undermined male authority. In particular when they fought successfully to be recognized with medals and civic honour they undercut the basis of the newly gained universal male power: the right to bear arms and the duty to protect home, family and fatherland, which was rewarded with citizenship rights. These women therefore could only reintegrate into civil society through their death or their willingness to marry and return to traditional gender roles. But even following their appropriate social integration, the surrounding society often remained hostile to their wartime activities and within the realm of public memory they became invisible.

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Notes

1. 'Auszug aus zwei Briefen der Marie Christiane Eleonore Prochaska', *Berlinische Nachrichten*, no. 123, 14 October 1813.
2. For the historical background see Karen Hagemann, 'Männlicher Muth und Teutsche Ehre.' *Nation, Militär und Geschlecht zur Zeit der Antinapoleonischen Kriege Preußens* (Paderborn 2002) and 'Occupation, Mobilization and Politics: The Anti-Napoleonic Wars in Prussian Experience, Memory and Historiography', *Central European History* 39/4 (2006), 580–610. On the state of research see Karen Hagemann with Katherine Aaslestad, '1806 and its Aftermath: Revisiting the Period of the Napoleonic Wars in German Central Europe', *Central European History* 39/4 (2006), 547–79.
3. On Prochaska see *Preußischer Patriotenspiegel*, Vol. 2 (1817), 20–31; F.[anny] Arndt, *Die deutschen Frauen in den Freiheitskriegen* (Halle 1864), 173–93; Otto W. v. Horn, *Vier deutsche Heldinnen aus der Zeit der Befreiungskriege. Ein Büchlein für die deutsche Jugend und das Volk* (Wiesbaden 1897), 47–76; Otto Karstädt, *Heldenmädchen und Frauen aus großer Zeit. Als Deutschland erwachte. Lebens- und Zeitbilder aus den Befreiungskriegen* (Hamburg 1913), 29–40; Major a. D. Noel, *Die deutschen Heldinnen in den Kriegsjahren 1807–1815* (Berlin 1912), 37–72.
4. See Hagemann, *Männlicher Muth*.
5. See Hagemann, 'Francophobia and Patriotism: Images of Napoleon and "the French" in Prussia and Northern Germany at the Period of the Anti-Napoleonic Wars, 1806–1815', *French History* 18/4 (2004), 404–25.
6. Peter Brandt, 'Einstellungen, Motive und Ziele von Kriegsfreiwilligen 1813/14: das Freikorps Lützow', ed. Jost Dülffer, *Kriegsbereitschaft und Friedensordnung in Deutschland 1800–1814* (Münster 1995), 211–23; Hagemann, *Männlicher Muth*, 406–16.
7. [Theodor Körner]. 'An das Volk der Sachsen, anonyme Flugschrift, 5.4.1813', in *Die Erhebung gegen Napoleon 1806–1814/15*, ed. Hans-Bernd Spies (Darmstadt 1981), 269–70.
8. On Lühning, see *Anna Lühning: Die wahre abentheuerliche Lebensbeschreibung* (Bremen 1815); Arndt, *Frauen*, 262–3; H.A. Schumacher, 'Zur Erinnerung an den Lützower Jäger A. Lühning', *Bremisches Jahrbuch*, Vol. 4 (1870), 157–73; Herbert Schwarzwälder, 'Anna Lühning (1796–1866). Kurzer Ruhm und langes Vergessen', *Berühmte Bremer* (Munich 1972), 62–70.
9. Hagemann, *Männlicher Muth*, 383–94.
10. This is indicated by a newspaper report, 'Das freiwillige preußische Militär, Landwehr und Landsturm', *Neues Deutschland* 1/2 (1813), 123–39, 126.
11. See, Dianne Mary Dugaw, *The Female Warrior Heroine in Anglo-American Popular Balladry* (Los Angeles 1982); idem, 'Balladry and Female Warriors: Women, Warfare and Disguise in the Eighteenth Century', *Eighteenth-Century Life* 9/2 (1985), 1–20; Julie Wheelwright, 'Amazons and Military Maids. An Examination of Female Military Heroines in British Literature and the Changing Construction of Gender', *Women's Studies International Forum* 10 (1987): 489–502; idem, *Amazons and Military Maids: Women Who Dressed as Men in the Pursuit of Life, Liberty and Happiness* (London 1989), 132–66; Rudolf M. Dekker

- and Lotte C. Van de Pol, *The Tradition of Female Transvestism in Early Modern Europe* (New York 1989); Sylvie Steinberg, *La Confusion des sexes: le travestissement de la Renaissance à la Révolution* (Paris 2001); Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven 1992), 237–83; Gabriele Frohnhaus, ed., *Schwert in Frauenhand. Weibliche Bewaffnung* (Sölingen 1999).
12. Dominique Godineau, 'De la guerrière à la citoyenne: porter les armes pendant l'ancien régime et la révolution française', *Clio*, Vol. 20 (2004), 43–69; Rudolf Dekker and Lotte van de Pol, 'Republican Heroines: Cross-Dressing Women in the French Revolutionary Armies', *History of European Ideas* 10/3 (1989), 53–363, 355; Claudia Opitz, 'Der Bürger wird Soldat und die Bürgerin? Die Revolution, der Krieg und die Stellung der Frauen nach 1789', in Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff, ed., *Sklavin oder Bürgerin. Französische Revolution und neue Weiblichkeit 1760–1830* (Marburg 1989), 38–54; on their perception: David Hopkin, 'Female Soldiers and the Battle of the Sexes in France: The Mobilization of a Folk Motif', *History Workshop Journal*, Vol. 56 (2003), 78–104.
 13. See Marina Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism* (London 1981); Gerd Krumeich, *Jeanne d'Arc in der Geschichte. Historiographie – Politik – Kultur* (Sigmaringen 1989); Pierre Moinot, *Jeanne d'Arc* (Frankfurt am Main 1990).
 14. See Mary R. Beard, *Women as a Force in History: A Study of Traditions and Realities* (New York 1962, 1st edn 1946), 287–95; Andrée Lehmann, *Le rôle de la femme dans l'histoire de France au Moyen Âge* (Paris 1952), 479–521; John Laffin, *Women in Battle* (New York 1968); Elizabeth Ewing, *Women in Uniform: Through the Ages* (Totowa 1975).
 15. See notes 12 and 13.
 16. See John Lawrence Tone, 'Spanish Women in the Resistance to Napoleon, 1808–1814', in Victoria Lorée Enders and Pamela Beth, eds, *Constructing Spanish Womanhood: Female Identity in Modern Spain* (New York 1999), 259–82.
 17. See Karen Hagemann, *Männlicher Muth*, 350–94; idem, 'A Valorous Volk Family: The Nation, the Military, and the Gender Order in Prussia in the Time of the Anti-Napoleonic Wars, 1806–15', in Ida Blom et al., eds, *Gendered Nations: Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford 2000), 179–205; idem, 'Female Patriots: Women, War and the Nation in the Period of the Prussian-German Anti-Napoleonic Wars', *Gender & History* 16/3 (2004), 396–424; idem, *Männlicher Muth*.
 18. Steinberg, *La Confusion*.
 19. Dekker and van de Pol, *The Tradition*, 3.
 20. Peter Wilson, 'German Women and War, 1500–1800', *War in History* 3 (1996), 127–60; Karen Hagemann, 'Militär, Krieg und Geschlechterverhältnisse. Untersuchungen, Überlegungen und Fragen zur Militärgeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit', in Ralf Prüve, ed., *Klio in Uniform. Probleme und Perspektiven einer modernen Militärgeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne 1997), 35–88.
 21. David Hopkin, 'Female Soldiers in the French Armies of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Epoch', in Alan Forrest et al., eds, *Soldiers, Citizens and Civilians: Experiences and Perceptions of the French Wars, 1790–1820* (Houndsmills 2008).
 22. On the French Wars see Timothy C. W. Blanning, *The French Revolutionary Wars, 1787–1802* (London 1996) and Charles J. Esdaile, *The Wars of Napoleon* (London 1995).
 23. Ibid.
 24. Ulinka Rublack, 'The Fortunes of War. Wench and Maiden: Women, War and the Pictorial Function of the Feminine in German Cities in the Early Modern Period', *History Workshop*

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25. See Karen Hagemann, "'Manly Valor" and "German Honor": Nation, War and Masculinity in the Age of the Prussian Uprising against Napoleon', *Central European History*, Vol. 30 (1997), 187–220; Stefan Dudink and Karen Hagemann, 'Masculinity in Politics and War in the Age of the Democratic Revolutions, 1750–1850', in Stefan Dudink et al., eds, *Masculinities in Politics and War: Rewritings of Modern Gender History* (Manchester 2004), 3–21.
26. See Karin Hausen, 'Family and Role Division: The Polarization of Sexual Stereotypes in the Nineteenth Century – An Aspect of the Dissociation of Work and Family', in Richard J. Evans and W. R. Lee, eds, *The German Family: Essays on the Social History of the Family in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-century Germany* (London 1981), 51–83; Londa Schiebinger, *The Mind Has No Sex? Women in the Origins of Modern Science* (Cambridge, MA 1989); Claudia Honegger, *Die Ordnung der Geschlechter. Die Wissenschaften vom Menschen und das Weib* (Frankfurt am Main 1991).
27. Hagemann, 'Of Manly Valor'.
28. Dror Wahrman, 'Percy's Prologue: From Gender Play to Gender Panic in Eighteenth-Century England', *Past and Present* 159 (1998), 113–60.
29. See for example, Dugaw, *Female Warrior*; Wheelwright, *Amazons*; Hopkin, 'Female Soldiers'.
30. Dekker and van de Pol, *The Tradition*, 24–47.
31. Nadezhda Durova, *The Cavalry Maiden: Journals of Russian Officer on the Napoleonic Wars*, trans. and intro. Mary Fleming-Zirin (Bloomington 1988); on the literary quality of the text see more: *ibid.*, ix–xxxvii.
32. See also Sylvie Steinberg, 'Un brave cavalier dans la guerre de sept ans, Marguerite dite Jean Goubler', *Clio* 10 (1999), 145–54.
33. Dekker and van de Pol, *The Tradition*, 24–47.
34. Hopkin, 'Female Soldiers'; Dekker and Pol, 'Republican Heroines'.
35. Durova, *Cavalry Maiden*, ixff; Dekker and Pol, 'Republican Heroines'.
36. Application by Reine Chappuy to the National Convention, 30 Nivôse II (17 January 1794), quoted in Susanne Petersen, *Marktweiber und Amazonen. Frauen in der Französischen Revolution* (Cologne 1987), 111–12, see *ibid.*, 106ff.
37. *Ibid.*, 112.
38. Durova, *Cavalry Maiden*, 201–14.
39. *Ibid.*, xxv.
40. On the term see Judith Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* (Durham 1998), 1–44.
41. See Dugaw, 'Balladry'; Wheelwright, 'Amazons'; Hopkin, 'Female Soldiers'.
42. Friedrich Förster, *Geschichte der Befreiungs-Kriege 1813, 1814, 1815*, Vol. 3 (Berlin 1856), 27.
43. 'Auszug aus zwei Briefen'.
44. Noel, *Heldinnen*, 37–72.
45. See Gerd Krumeich, 'Jeanne d'Arc von Deutschland aus gesehen', in Etienne François et al., eds, *Nation und Emotion* (Göttingen 1995), 133–46.
46. 'Leonora Prochaska', *Preußische Feldzeitung*, no. 37, 16 December 1813.
47. Most of the poems are reprinted in Noel, *Heldinnen*, 53–8. Several newspaper articles about Eleonore Prochaska were published during the wars of liberation, more than on any other female soldier. See, for example, 'Meldung, Danneberg, 18. September 1813', *Zeitung aus dem*

- Feldlager*, 23 November 1813; 'Marie Christiane Eleonore Prochaska', *Preußischer Correspondent*, no. 113, 15 October 1813; 'Vermischte Nachrichten', *Preußische Feldzeitung*, no. 4, 25 October 1813; 'Maria Christiana Eleonora Prochaska als August Renz, freiwilliger Jäger in der Lützowschen Freischaar', *Deutsche Blätter*, no. 48, 13 December 1813, 520–24.
48. Friedrich Helms, 'Eleonore Prochaska', in Noel, *Heldinnen*, 58.
49. Noel, *Heldinnen*, 50–2.
50. See Adolf v. Feldkirchen, 'Heldinnen des Freiheitskrieges: Maria Christiana Eleonore Prochaska, Maria Werder und ihr Gatte', in Alexander Mattwitz, ed., *Das Eiserne Kreuz. Ein Denkmal, gebaut aus der Geschichte Preußens und des deutschen Freiheitskampfes von 1813–1815* (Belzig 1847), 45–7; 'Eine deutsche Amazone. Erinnerungen aus den Freiheitskriegen', *Die Gartenlaube* 12 (1865), 576–78.
51. Noel, *Heldinnen*, 96.
52. See 'Friederike Krüger', *Preußischer Patriotenspiegel*, Vol. 2 (1817), 28–31; Arndt, *Frauen*, 193–219; Horn, *Heldinnen*, 28–47; Noel, *Heldinnen*, 95–120; Michael Bunnars, 'Unteroffizier Friederike Krüger und ihr Biograph Pastor Heinrich Riemann', *Militärgeschichte*, Vol. 24 (1985), 506–14.
53. See Noel, *Heldinnen*, 73–92.
54. See 'Maria Werder', *Preußischer Patriotenspiegel*, Vol. 2 (1817), 85–130; Arndt, *Frauen*, 246–56; Horn, *Heldinnen*, 8–28; Noel, *Heldinnen*, 27–35.
55. Friedrich Rückert, 'Der Unteroffizier Auguste Friederike Krüger', *Zeitgedichte* (1814/15), in Friedrich Rückert, *Gesammelte poetische Werke in zwölf Bänden*, Vol. 1 (Frankfurt am Main 1868), 60–1.
56. Quoted in Arndt, *Frauen*, 210.
57. See Noel, *Heldinnen*, 112ff. Several newspaper articles on her were published in this context: 'Auguste Friederike Krüger', *Schlesische Provinzial Zeitung*, no. 7, 15 January 1816; 'Für Auguste Krüger, das Heldenmädchen mit dem Eisernen Kreuz', *Vossische Zeitung*, no. 4, 9 January 1816.
58. See Hagemann, *Männlicher Muth*, 447ff.
59. Quoted in Noel, *Heldinnen*, 113.
60. See Bunnars, 'Unteroffizier', 509.
61. See 'Bremen, vom 7. Februar', *Berlinische Nachrichten*, no. 20, 16 February 1815; 'Anna Lühning', *Berlinische Nachrichten*, no. 21, 18 February 1815; 'Anna Lühning', *Vossische Zeitung*, no. 21, 18 February 1815.
62. See Schwarzwälder, 'Anna Lühning', 66ff.
63. Noel, *Heldinnen*, 88ff.
64. 'Weiblicher Heldensinn', *Allgemeine deutsche Frauenzeitung*, no. 17 (1816); see also 'Weiblicher Heldenmuth', *Allgemeine deutsche Frauenzeitung*, no. 66, 16 August 1817.
65. See Ludwig Pflaum, 'Die Amazonen Deutschlands', *Allgemeine deutsche Frauenzeitung*, no. 25, 29 March 1818, 98; idem, 'Von den Amazonen alter und neuer Zeiten', *Allgemeine deutsche Frauenzeitung*, no. 44, 1 June 1816, no. 68, 24 August 1816, no. 69, 28 August 1816, no. 70, 31 August 1816, no. 84, 19 October 1816, no. 85, 23 October 1816, no. 86, 26 October 1816, no. 87, 30 October 1816; idem, 'Die Amazonen Deutschlands', *Allgemeine deutsche Frauenzeitung*, no. 21, 14 March 1818, no. 22, 18 March 1818, no. 23, 21 March 1818, no. 24, 25 March 1818, no. 25, 28 March 1818.
66. *Ibid.*, no. 21, 14 March 1818, 81.
67. *Ibid.*

68. Noel, *Heldinnen*; see also Horn, *Heldinnen*; Karstädt, *Heldenmädchen*.
69. Dominique Godineau, *The Women of Paris and their French Revolution* (Berkeley 1998), 97–119.
70. Petersen, *Marktweiber*, 106 ff, also 171–95. See Darline Gay Levy and Harriet B. Applewhite, 'Women and Militant Citizenship in Revolutionary Paris', in Sara E. Melzer et al., eds, *Rebel Daughters. Women and the French Revolution* (New York 1992), 79–101; Opitz, 'Der Bürger'.
71. Alan Forrest, 'La patrie en danger: The French Revolution and the First Levée en Masse', in Daniel Moran and Arthur Waldron, eds, *The People in Arms: Military Myth and National Mobilization since the French Revolution* (Cambridge 2003), 8–33.
72. See Godineau, *Women*, 97–119.
73. *Russisch-Deutsches Volksblatt*, no. 18, 11 May 1813, 176–7.
74. See Paul Czygan, *Zur Geschichte der Tagesliteratur während der Freiheitskriege*, Vol. 2 (Berlin 1909), 114.
75. *Russisch-Deutsches Volksblatt*, no. 26, 29 May 1813, 237.
76. Hagemann, 'Female Patriots'.
77. See Karen Hagemann, 'Heldenmütter, Kriegerbräute und Amazonen. Entwürfe patriotischer Weiblichkeit zur Zeit der Freiheitskriege', in Ute Frevert, ed., *Militär und Gesellschaft im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart 1997), 174–200; Hagemann, *Männlicher Muth*, 219ff.

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