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Introduction

Boyd Cothran, Joan Judge, and Adrian Shubert

In February 2018, the government of Saudi Arabia announced that women between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five would now be permitted to join the armed forces, although they would continue to be barred from combat roles. It was the latest, and most surprising, addition to a still-small group of countries whose armed forces are open to women. Eight months later, the UK made all parts of its armed forces, including frontline infantry and the Royal Marines, available to women.¹ Twenty years earlier, in 1988, Norway and Israel had become the first countries in the world “to completely abolish gender barriers in the armed forces.”² This recent, and belated, acceptance by the modern nation-state of women’s war-making potential reflects the reality that at almost all times and in almost all places fighting wars, and being recognized for doing so, has officially been men’s business.³

In spite of this, stories of women taking up arms and receiving national recognition for having done so are a global phenomenon—and an enduring one. Not only do the ongoing emergence of new political movements and the creation of new polities generate the creation of new heroes, but changing political and social currents within existing states promote the rediscovery, re-appropriation, and redefinition of old ones. The twelve cases discussed in this volume represent only the tip of the iceberg. The very long list of others, touching almost all parts of the world, would include, to name a few: Njinga (Angola), Juana de Azurduy (Bolivia), Mulan (China), Cut Nyak Dhien (Indonesia), Queen Nanny (Jamaica), Mekatilili wa Menza (Kenya), Emilia Plater (Poland), Agustina de Aragón (Spain), Gabriela Silang (Philippines), Molly Pitcher (United States), and Manuela Saenz (Venezuela).

Turning women warriors into national heroes is not a straightforward process, and even once a woman—or group of women—has been recognized, their heroic status remains both contingent and contested. Some figures have remarkable staying power. The most famous, as well as possibly the most contentious, is undoubtedly Jeanne d’Arc, the peasant girl who led French armies during the Hundred Years War in the early-fifteenth century, and who became a global icon of female heroism and patriotism from the late-nineteenth century. She has served as “a magic mirror of personal and political idealism and, in particular, of changing ideas about women’s heroism,” according to historian and mythographer Marina Warner.⁴ Jeanne d’Arc has

been claimed by clericals and republicans in the nineteenth century, by Vichy and La Résistance during the Second World War, and, most recently, by both the far-right Front National and gay rights activists. She is “the heroine every movement has wanted as its figurehead.”⁵ She has also become the standard reference for women warrior figures worldwide, as Marilyn Booth’s chapter in this volume demonstrates.

While having less global reach, the stories of countless women warriors across the continents have been appropriated to a range of political ends. Agustina of Aragón, who was immortalized for firing a canon at the French army besieging Zaragoza during Napoleon’s invasion of Spain in 1808, has been a hero for all seasons ever since, being mobilized by both sides during the Spanish Civil War and made the subject of motion pictures in 1929 and 1950.⁶ Boudica, or Boadicea, the warrior queen who led a failed revolt against the Romans in the first century CE, has been conscripted into a number of roles over the last two hundred years: “harbinger of the British Empire, a figure of nationalism, a symbol for suffragists or a supporter of Brexit,” according to historian Caitlin Gillespie.⁷ The Chinese Hua Mulan, who was celebrated in a sixth-century ballad for disguising herself as a man and fighting for twelve years in her infirm father’s place in the ultimately victorious Toba Wei army, was long heralded as a paragon of filiality first and bravery second. From the turn of the twentieth century, she was repeatedly recast, however, as a militant female citizen and defender of her race in the context of the 1911 Republican Revolution, and as a “new woman” fighting for equal rights in the 1920s and 1930s.⁸ The heroine of a number of China’s earliest feature films, her story of singular bravery is so universally compelling—and fungible—that it was made into a Disney feature film in 1998.

Mulan, Boudica, Agustina, and Jeanne d’Arc have become timeless heroines; other women warriors lose their initial luster over time or are quickly consigned to oblivion. Such is the case with long-forgotten Spanish women engaged in the same struggle against Napoleon as the enduring Agustina de Aragón: among them were members of the all-woman Santa Barbara Company who fought to defend the city of Gerona against a French siege, and Casta Alvarez and María Agustín, who also took part in the defense of Zaragoza.⁹ The Chilean heroes of the Confederation War described by Gabriel Cid in his chapter met a similar fate. As did the Modoc woman Toby “Winema” Riddle in the United States. Widely celebrated on the stage and in the dime novels of the late-nineteenth century as a “Woman Chief” and the “Pocahontas of the Lava Beds” for helping her people navigate their conflicts with Americans, and one of the few Native American women to be awarded a military pension by the United States Congress for her heroic actions during the Modoc War of 1872–73, her memory has been consigned to a national forest named in her honor in southern Oregon.¹⁰

Still others have been revived after being long ignored. The “Heroines of Cochabamba” (Bolivia), a group of mixed-race women who died defending the town against the Spanish in 1812, were recognized only in the 1920s. The monument, the work of a group of elite women from the city and intended to inspire patriotism, proved controversial precisely because the choice of mestizo women to represent the struggle for independence “ran the risk of suggesting other visions of that history and of the nation.”¹¹ Juana de Azurduy, a mixed-race woman from Upper Peru, what is now Bolivia, who fought against Spanish rule together with her husband, came to command

an army of 6,000 men, reaching the rank of lieutenant colonel. After dying in poverty and being forgotten for a century, she was declared a national hero by the Bolivian government in 1962, “heroine of the Americas” by an international Latin American commission in 1980, and since 2006 her name has been frequently invoked by President Evo Morales’s pro-indigenous government. She was also the subject of “exaltation” by Argentina’s president Cristina Kirchner: a 2007 law declared July 12, her birthday, the “Day of the Heroines and Martyrs of American Independence;” in 2009 she was posthumously promoted to the rank of general; and she has been directly connected to contemporary struggles, such as that of the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo. On the other hand, her presentation as an indigenous hero has been challenged by a number of indigenous groups in Argentina.¹² When Kenya’s new 2010 constitution enshrined an official Heroes Day and the subsequent Kenyan Heroes Act set out plans for an official pantheon, one frequently invoked name was Mekatilili wa Menza, a woman from the Giriama people who was central to their resistance to the British in 1913. In the search for national unity after the election violence of 2008, this woman from a marginal people was seen as “an unproblematic symbol of national reconciliation, unlike the fraught memorialization of the Mau Mau.”¹³

Clearly, stories of women warriors who became national—or transnational—heroes are a nearly ubiquitous phenomenon. While many of these stories have been rehearsed by amateur historians,¹⁴ and numerous scholarly studies have focused on individuals or groups of women warriors within their specific national context,¹⁵ the phenomenon of women warriors has not been broadly or systematically explored. This is in contrast to their male counterparts. The topic of male warriors and hero cults has, in recent years, received considerable attention. This has been especially true in Latin American¹⁶ and European¹⁷ history but also in African¹⁸ and even Australian history.¹⁹ Overwhelmingly, these studies have emphasized the centrality of male virility in the development of national hero cults. Some have also observed the power of war and violence to destabilize established gender norms, creating the space for women warriors to enter the canon.²⁰

The stories of women warriors and national heroes, thus, call out for sustained examination across space and time. In order to interrogate the enduring qualities and inherent tensions in these stories, to understand their evolution over time, and to problematize the construction and deployment of real or imagined figures in different national and transnational contexts, it is necessary to widen the lens of analysis beyond the specific nation-states from within which these stories have typically flourished. To that end, this volume seeks to understand the myth of the women warrior as a transnational and global phenomenon.²¹ It highlights both common patterns that have emerged across cultures through the telling and retelling of these stories, and points of divergence that reveal the specificities of each local context. In telling these global histories, we ask: what kinds of cultural work did these figures do at particular historical moments, and when and why do their stories endure? Which heroines traveled in space and time and which did not? What forms of media have been used to circulate these stories and how have these forms influenced the stories they tell? Exploring these questions is critical to understanding the ways tales of woman warriors have operated globally throughout history.

Networks of Circulation: Toward Global Histories of Women Warriors and National Heroes

One of the key goals of this volume is to emphasize that stories of women warriors were not only a global phenomenon insofar as they appeared in many different regions and countries of the world; rather, they were global because they traveled. We emphasize four routes of travel or patterns of circulation of women warrior stories: (1) The circulation of Western heroines to corners of the non-Western world particularly from the mid-nineteenth century, (2) the circulation of stories of women warriors from the colonies in the metropole, (3) the circulation of heroines from one non-Western location to another non-Western location, and (4) the circulation of tales of heroines within the Western world.

Existing research on the prominence of Western heroines in non-Western women's periodicals, textbooks, and biographical collections—in Egypt, India, Japan, China, and elsewhere—suggests that a stock pool of Western female biographies—and most likely a stock set of texts—circulated in the non-Western world from the late-nineteenth century. We catch a glimpse of this mode of global circulation in Marilyn Booth's chapter that demonstrates how Jeanne d'Arc featured in the Arab world from the late-nineteenth century. Jeanne's stature as a patriot, a warrior, and a martyr who was on her way to sainthood around the time her story began to circulate globally, made her the woman warrior par excellence. As with all women warriors, her story was tweaked and reshaped in order to serve different ends in its various retellings. Some versions emphasized her religiosity while others elided it, some skimmed over her gender inversion while others celebrated or occluded it, but all versions underscored Jeanne's bravery and patriotism.²²

In her chapter, Booth describes Jeanne's trajectory from fifteenth-century France to nineteen- and twentieth-century Egypt. But Jeanne underwent myriad transformations and followed many routes of travel. She was exceedingly popular in India and East Asia as well as in the Middle East.²³ Translations of her story began to appear in Japanese, for example, from the 1880s. Some of these were renderings of English works, including Janet Tuckey's *Joan of Arc: "The Maid"* which was published in New York in 1886 and translated into Japanese by Awaya Kan'ichi 粟屋関一 in 1887.²⁴ Others came predictably from a French hand, including one written in Japanese by the Christian missionary François-Alfred Désiré Ligneul (1847–1922) and published in 1910.²⁵

Jeanne d'Arc's tale was also included in at least one of the many volumes of biographies of heroic Western women published in Japan at the turn of the twentieth century: a 1902 collection of *Twelve World Heroines*. Here she appeared alongside a number of other, later European women of valor who traveled extensively in the non-Western world at the turn of the twentieth century. They include Madame Roland (1754–93), who bravely faced the guillotine on November 8, 1793, in the midst of the terror that followed the French Revolution; Charlotte Corday (1768–93), who stabbed the Jacobin leader Jean-Paul Marat (1743–93) in his bath in 1793; Anita Garibaldi (1821–49), the heroic Brazilian-born wife and comrade-in-arms of the Italian revolutionary Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807–82); and Louise Michel (1830–1905), the irrepressible anarchist

who was deported to New Caledonia in 1873 for her involvement in the 1871 Paris Commune.²⁶ Several of these heroines made their way to China—another stop in the global circulation of Western heroines—via Japanese collections such as the *Twelve World Heroines*.²⁷ As in all instances of translation, the Chinese rendering of the Japanese accounts were reinterpretations that aligned the stories of intrepid Western women warriors with the vision and political agenda of the Chinese translator. In the case of Jeanne d'Arc, for example, the secular reformist translator attempted to dispel any elements of religiosity from her tale as it appeared in the Japanese collection.²⁸

While the stories of Western women warriors were inevitably reshaped when they were appropriated into non-Western contexts, the process of appropriation was more violent when tales of women warriors flowed from the non-West to the West, particularly, but not exclusively, at moments of colonization and military resistance. The re-inscription of these women warriors often took one of two forms. The colonial woman warrior was presented either as a radical and hyper-sexualized or even deviant figure, or as an unnatural and inhuman genderless aberration.

Queen Njinga Ana de Sousa of Angola, the seventeenth-century Angolan ruler first introduced to European audiences through the writings of Capuchin missionaries, is an example of the former. By the eighteenth century, she had become a sensation amongst European audiences, especially in the salons of French avant-guard intellectuals and artists. According to historian Linda Heywood, the image of Njinga that they constructed stripped the Angolan queen of her historical and religious complexity, and occluded her statesmanlike prowess. Between the 1780s and 1850s writers such as Marquis de Sade in *La Philosophie dans le Boudoir* (*Philosophy in the Bedroom*), Laure Junot, Duchess of Abrantés, in *Les femmes célèbres de tous le pays* (*Celebrated Women of All Countries*), as well as German philosopher G.W.F. Hegel, and erotic lithographer Achille Deveira, all contributed to a new legend of Njinga as a gendered, sexualized, savage, and blood-thirsty other, a female fiend meant to serve as a warning to elite women who yearned for power. For Europeans, Njinga became a “stand-in for the African other.”²⁹

Rani Lakshmi Bai, the Queen of Jhansi who fought against the British in the 1857 First War of Independence, was somewhat better treated in subsequent metropolitan representations, as Harleen Singh explains in her chapter. On the one hand, she was a “rapacious whore, effectively ‘raping’ the white British male and a murderous despot responsible for the massacre of some sixty British men, women and children.” On the other hand, she was “an Aryan model of heroic womanhood comparable to Joan of Arc.” And as Singh points out, the Rani did not sit easily with Indians, whose representations struggled with both ambiguities and paradox.

Escalating tensions between Japan and the United States during the Second World War served as another context in which non-Western women stood in for the abhorrent features, in this case, of a military enemy of the West. Between 1942 and 1944, American media projected frightening images of dangerously armed Japanese women in uniform. This distortion—Japanese women were not mobilized in the war effort until 1945—served two local purposes. The first was to legitimize the extreme measures the United States was to take in neutralizing the Japanese enemy by emphasizing that America was at war with an unnatural foe that blurred both

gendered and domestic/battlefield boundaries. The second purpose was to galvanize American women: if their Japanese counterparts were so valiantly serving their country, American women had to do the same.³⁰

The global circulation of women warriors was not only a story of colonial entanglements between the West and the rest, however. The circulation of these stories amongst and between non-European societies was equally important, revealing the extent to which non-Western figures could mutually inspire and bolster south-south solidarity. Queen Njinga, for instance, traveled not only to Europe and North America but to Latin America and the Caribbean. Long a part of Afro-Brazilian culture in northeastern Brazil, by the early-twenty-first century, big-city samba poets were writing lyrics “praising her bravery and what they interpreted as her promotion of women’s rights and black power.” She has also been the heroic subject of an “outpouring” of plays, poems and other works in such varied places as Cuba, Jamaica, and the United States.³¹

Non-Western women warriors also circulate in more concrete forms in other non-Western contexts as a marker of solidarity. The recently renamed Plurinational State of Bolivia presented Argentina with a statue of the Bolivian woman warrior and national hero Juana de Azurduy as a gift at the time of the bicentennial of Argentina’s independence. The massive monument: a nine-meter-high statue standing atop a seven-meter plinth, which President Cristina Kirschner of Argentina dedicated on July 15, 2015, served as a mechanism for erasing the imperial past. Juana de Azurduy’s massive form replaced a statue of Christopher Columbus.³²

Women warriors also circulated extensively within the Western world. Jeanne d’Arc is, of course, a standard reference across Europe. Agustina of Aragón is another example. She achieved a certain measure of fame in the English-speaking world after appearing in Byron’s famous poem *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage* (1812–14). She appeared in more than 900 collections of female biographies published in the UK and the United States between 1830 and 1940.³³ A very feminine Agustina also formed part of a group of warriors that included Jeanne d’Arc, Boadicea, Agnes of Dunbar, Emilie Plater, the Rani of Jhansi, Christian Davies, Hannah Snell, and Mary Ann Talbot, in suffragette Cicely Hamilton’s stage spectacle, *A Pageant of Great Women*, which was performed across Britain in 1909.³⁴

In addition to inspiring poets and politicians, stories of women warriors also inspired other women warriors, gesturing to a connected history of women’s active defense of nation or homeland. In one Arab retelling, Jeanne d’Arc was, anachronistically, inspired by the patriotic women of Bohemia. The author of this biography of Jeanne had most likely been aware of the Bohemian Amazons who were ensconced in Czech nationalist and feminist imaginaries by the 1880s, and drew fascinated attention from writers across Europe. Libuse and Vlasta were mythical warrior heroines who were integrated into the Czech national culture that emerged during the nineteenth century and, in the process, were converted by “the mainstream—male—national discourse from ‘marginal... even negative’ figures into ‘new patriotic ones.’” Even in their new guise, these women warriors had to be managed, their potentially feminist implications obscured. But the creators of the national discourse could not fully control how they were understood, and starting in the 1860s “women cited them when asking Czech

men to support their emancipation.”³⁵ However, as contexts changed, existing women warriors such as Jeanne d’Arc and Agustina of Aragón could go from being embraced as exemplars to rejected as irrelevant, as Nerea Aresti demonstrates.

Creating Heroes, Creating Nations: Women Warriors and Nationalism in Global History

Women warrior stories circulated and flourished during distinct global historical moments. Two periods emerge from this volume as important. The first is the final decades of the nineteenth century and first decades of the twentieth century, a period of nation-building through the invention of traditions in many parts of the world. Heroic victories and sacrificial defeats, foundational events, and sacred places were all part of these invented traditions. So too were heroic figures who defended their nation or community against an invading force and thus came to personify the nation-state. Although generally men, storytellers also turned to tales of women warriors at the turn of the twentieth century. These stories often appealed to a broad array of readers and spoke particularly to women, who sought to define their place in the emergent nation-state. The end result was that the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries were a particularly prolific moment in the development of both nationalism and the canonization of women warriors.

This process of national heroic mythmaking was especially germane to countries or sub-state communities struggling to establish themselves at the turn of the twentieth century. As Nerea Aresti and Colin Coates demonstrate in their chapters, emerging sub-state nationalisms, in the Basque Country and Quebec respectively, included women warriors from the distant past in their nascent pantheons.³⁶ In both of these intensely Catholic contexts, however, their promoters struggled with how to represent them. Both Quebecois and Basque manufacturers of heroes, nonetheless, opted for warriors who, as Coates says, had to “emphatically, remain a woman,” although in the Basque case these figures were subject to two distinct gender ideologies that ascribed very different feminine qualities. Ultimately, a woman warrior’s womanhood was an aspect of this invented tradition that had to be managed.

This was true beyond the Catholic context: storytellers had to contain the more radical or unruly aspects of the tales of women warriors in all of the grand national narratives of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. As several authors in this collection demonstrate, many of the purveyors of these stories of women warriors espoused fairly conservative social values. For every Zaynab Fawwaz who subtly used the story of Jeanne d’Arc to champion women’s rights, there was a conservative Lebanese writer like Hanna Kurani or the anonymous commentators in *Lisan al-hal*, the Beirut-based newspaper, who penned articles that used the image of the Amazons to mock British suffragists and their calls for greater political rights for women. In an age of anxiety over increasing political rights for women across the globe, successive retellings of these stories throughout the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries often downplayed the women warrior’s more radical potential, and even used their stories to promote conservative agendas.

If the women warrior could serve as both a national and conservative figure during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, she embodied equally complex and contradictory roles in the tumultuous period during and after the Second World War. In a period of widespread total war in which the boundaries between civilian and combatant were shattered, opportunities for connecting contemporary stories of women combatants with historical examples from the national past abounded. These stories served to address questions of occupation, resistance, and civil war as in the example of Greece in the 1940s documented by Sakis Gekas. They were also deployed in the context of anti-colonial and national liberation struggles against, successively, the Japanese, the French, and the Americans in Vietnam, as demonstrated by Karen Turner, and between the Nationalists and Communists in China as discussed by Louise Edwards. These stories often connected the experiences of women warriors engaged in these struggles with exemplary female figures from the past such as the ancient Vietnamese poetess Ho Xuan Huong and the “female admiral” of the Greek War of Independence, Bouboulina. But as with the nationalist movements of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, these narratives had to navigate traditional gender hierarchies and ideals, which modern warfare threatened to invert or upend.

The often-violent process of decolonization in the decades after the Second World War saw the most extensive creation of new nation-states in history: thirty-six by 1960 alone, and many more in the 1960s and 1970s. These new nations needed new pantheons—and heroes to fill them. Some, like the Rani of Jhansi discussed by Harleen Singh in her chapter in this volume, were women warriors who could be connected in some way to a tradition of struggle against the imperial power. Indonesia’s official pantheon of National Heroes, which was initiated in 1958, includes two women warriors from the nineteenth-century struggles against the Dutch. Cut Nyak Dhien (1848–1908), who succeeded her husband as military leader of the Aceh in the lengthy Aceh War (1873–1904), was made a National Hero in 1964, and appears on stamps and paper money. She was also the subject of the 1988 Academy Award-nominated film, *Tjoet Nja’ Dhien*. Martha Christina Tiahahu (1800–18), who participated in a guerrilla struggle against the Dutch in Molucca, was captured twice, and died en route to serving a sentence as a slave laborer, was honored in 1969. January 2, the day she died, was proclaimed Martha Christina Tiahahu Day.³⁷ In Jamaica, Queen Nanny was the first Maroon, as well as the first woman, to be named to the Order of the National Hero in 1976. She had led Maroons, slaves who had escaped from plantations and established independent communities, in the First Maroon War (1720–39), ultimately winning British governmental recognition of their land rights. She appears on the \$500 bill; was the subject of a 2015 movie, *Queen Nanny: Legendary Maroon Chieftainess*; and has been claimed as an ancestor by Portia Simpson-Miller, Jamaica’s first female prime minister (2006–07, 2012–16).³⁸

Perhaps the most striking phenomenon of this kind is the canonization of the seventeenth-century Queen Njinga of Angola, whom we have already introduced as the hyper-sexualized sensation amongst European audiences. In the context of the anti-colonial struggle of the 1960s and 1970s, she was kept alive in oral culture as a “proud ruler” and “a revolutionary hero who united her people in an epic struggle

against Portuguese aggression.” The post-independence government made her a centerpiece of national history taught in the schools.³⁹ Following the long civil war that ended in 2002, she was mobilized as a symbol of national unity and “mother of the Angolan nation.”⁴⁰

The array of global woman warriors is so vast, not all fit into the two time frames highlighted here, nor necessarily into the context of the nation-state. Guadeloupe Solitude (c. 1772–1802) presents a distinctive case in that she was not a heroine who became an icon of a newly liberated state, rather she fought on behalf of a *département* of France and struggled against the actions of the state. Sometimes known as “Mulatto Solitude,” Guadeloupe Solitude fought, while pregnant, with a band of insurgent ex-slaves and *gens de couleur* in 1802 against the army Napoleon had sent to the island colony to re-impose slavery that had been abolished in 1794. She was captured and executed the day after giving birth. Solitude remained alive almost exclusively in oral tradition in Guadeloupe, but began to appear in novels from 1972. In 1999, a statue of a heavily pregnant Solitude was erected in Point-à-Pitre, the island’s largest city, and soon became a “site for a variety of commemorations and political gatherings.”⁴¹ She has also been recently commemorated in the metropole. In 2007, the French town of Bagneux inaugurated a statue in her honor intended as a “homage to and recognition of the victims and resisters of the slave trade and slavery.”⁴² There have also been demands from both feminists and black organizations that Solitude, along with Olympe de Gouges, be admitted to the Panthéon, the holy of holies of French national memory which at the time only included two women among the seventy-three honorees.⁴³

The two Latin American cases Gabriel Cid discusses in his chapter are distinctive in terms of chronology too. The women warriors he describes fought in wars between the independent states of Chile and Peru, first in the 1830s and then in the 1880s rather than in the period when these former Spanish colonies struggled for their independence (1810 to 1825). The Chilean warrior hero of the first war, Candelaria Pérez, had been acclaimed, forgotten, and revived by the early 1870s while the second conflict, the War of the Pacific (1879–84), was followed by four decades of generating a series of war-related hero cults. The zenith of hero-making in the Peruvian case, in contrast, came in the context of a decolonization of official national narratives in the 1960s and 1970s under a left-wing military regime that gave women, together with indigenous and mixed-race people, a central role. Gabriela Cano’s astonishing story of Amelia/o Robles, the transgendered Zapatista fighter of the Mexican Revolution, also follows a different chronology.

Whether in service of new political regimes, decolonization, ascendant nationalism, or the struggle for sub-state identities, stories of women warriors have played a distinct role in global history. In some instances, these stories have drawn on real historical figures with some moderate embellishment or propagandistic reconfiguration such as the narratives of Jiang Zhuyun and Guan Lu analyzed in Louise Edwards’s chapter; the melding of an individual woman with a political-religious title described by Ruramisai Charumbira; or the stories of the colonial woman warrior Hannah Duston and Indigenous female warrior and sachem Weetamoo discussed in Gina Martino’s chapter; at other times, the stories are complete fabrications as in the case of the

intrepid heroines Miyagino and Shinobu featured in Marcia Yonemoto's chapter and Libe, the champion of the Battle of Munguía described by Nerea Aresti. In either case, these stories of women warriors have been repeatedly reproduced in a range of sources, largely because they have played such powerful social roles. These widespread productions and reproductions have given rise to a series of shared problematics that weave through these stories and have given shape and form to this volume.

Problematizing Women Warriorhood: Themes and Methodology

The phenomenon of the women warrior has multiple sources and manifestations. When considered in a global and comparative perspective, as in the case of this volume, however, significant problematics surrounding the ways these real or imagined figures were constructed and deployed come into focus. This volume is organized around four such problematics which emerged out of and are explored through specific case studies in individual chapters.

The three chapters in **Part One** focus on the processes of heroine-making—and unmaking over time. They examine questions of power and authority as well as the role of professional and institutional history in the production, circulation, and strategic redeployment of stories of women warriors. Harleen Singh examines the process through which the radical, seditious, and even anti-nationalist Queen of Jhansi, Rani Lakshmi Bai who led troops against the British during the Uprising of 1857, was domesticated to become a celebrated icon of traditional forms of kinship, femininity, and Indian nationalism. Ruramisai Charumbira analyzes how the title of “Nehanda” a politico-religious position, was attached in the mid-1890s to a woman commanding a rag-tag army of truculent “Natives” resisting British colonialism in what is today Zimbabwe. After her execution, this Nehanda underwent multiple transformations from maligned witchdoctor fighting the march of European civilization in Africa to a symbol of national resistance and a beacon of powerful womanhood. Nerea Aresti highlights the tensions that drove the multiple iterations of women warriors in the Basque nationalist movement over time: they could embody gender inferiority and racial virility, the weaknesses of their sex and an exultant exceptionalism, and they could assume the role of “mothers of the nation” without escaping their subordination.

Part Two examines the critical disjuncture in the very term “woman warrior”: a juxtaposition of the feminine qualities attendant in the word “woman,” and the requisite violence that is fundamental to the role of “warrior.” The chapters in this section highlight multiple representations of violent women. Both Gina Martino and Marcia Yonemoto analyze case studies in which righteous revenge justifies female violence. Their two cases, set in colonial America and early modern Japan respectively, nonetheless highlight widely divergent degrees of cultural acceptance of women's violent acts. In the American context, female violence is a redemptive, ultimately civilizing component of colonialism. It is undertaken in the wilderness, far away from the domestic, private sphere. In the early modern Japanese case, violence is clearly situated within the domestic realm: filial devotion—in this case the extreme loyalty of

daughters to father—transformed murderous violence into upright devotion. Finally, Sakis Gekas offers a third justification for female violence in his case study exploring representations of women warriors in modern Greece: drawing upon the memory of legendary women warriors from the country's past, women fighters on the Resistance side of the civil war of the 1940s donned uniforms and rifles to fight for both political rights and national liberation; their inherent vulnerability rendered their violence acceptable.

The gender subversiveness of women warriors—women who took to the battlefield alone, alongside or in the place of men—was as problematic as their violence. The standard mechanism for dealing with this subversiveness was to have these intrepid heroines revert to their feminine roles shortly after performing their feat of bravery.⁴⁴ The chapters in **Part Three**, “Gender Fluidity,” probe both the question of how women warriors strategically used gender ambiguity and how those around them attempted to manage it. In Gabriela Cano's remarkable case study, Amelia Robles took part in the 1910 Mexican Revolution as a combatant in Emiliano Zapata's popular agrarian movement as Amelio Robles, a transgendered male. While he successfully upheld this identity until his death in 1984, the state would attempt to overturn it thereafter. In Colin Coates's chapter, in contrast, Madeleine de Verchères (1678–1747) plays on gender ambiguity to highlight her heroism in French Canada—she outran the Indigenous attackers of her settlement, ignored crying women, donned a soldier's hat, shot a cannon, and admitted to being as drawn to glory as men—without, however, abandoning her feminine identity. In her chapter on Jeanne d'Arc in Egypt, Marilyn Booth underlines the extent to which retellers of tales of women warriors shape the gendered valence of those stories. She delineates the fleeting gender fluidity inherent in representations of Jeanne in the 1890s, a fluidity that would be absorbed into a rigid role-separation in both tales of Jeanne and Egyptian society more broadly in the successive decades.

Jeanne d'Arc's gender fluidity could be differently emphasized by different authors in different periods because she lived centuries before these turn-of-the-twentieth-century retellings of her story. Narratives of women warriors are significantly less malleable when the women live on. While martyrdom for a righteous cause unproblematically confers heroic status, women who outlive their deeds pose significant challenges. The three chapters in **Part Four** grapple with this question of the treatment of women warriors who lived on. Gabriel Cid contrasts the situation in Chile and Peru: in the former case women soldiers were recognized during their lifetime but swiftly forgotten, whereas in Peru, living combatants were not officially acknowledged until after their deaths. The first woman warrior to be recognized officially, “Sergeant” Candelaria, was hailed as Chile's Joan of Arc at the time but was soon forgotten, surviving for decades in official oblivion—if not popular memory—and increasing penury, before a brief return to the limelight after her death. Louise Edwards compares the treatment of two female spies involved in the Chinese Communist Party's struggle to gain control of China, one who is martyred and another who lives on. She demonstrates that the female spy who survives is never cleansed of the suspicion that she has insufficient fidelity, sexual or political, to warrant commemoration. Finally, Karen Turner poignantly outlines the fate of young women who compromised their health and fertility in answering

the Vietnamese government's call to war, only to be confronted with ostracism and judgments of impurity in the war's aftermath.

The Enduring Woman Warrior

This volume is principally a historical examination of the global phenomenon of the woman warrior and how her stories circulated over time, across borders, and in various textual and visual media. Another important feature of these global histories is the ways their stories continue to circulate through new forms of media such as film, television, graphic histories and novels, and the internet. Similar to the retellings and translations of these stories in the past, these new forms of media often reshape the narratives to suit particular ends. When Hua Mulan's story was retold by Disney, for example, it required a Hollywood ending: while in the original ballad she hands in her camel and returns, the ever-filial daughter, to hearth and home; in the movie, she marries.

These media retellings predate the early-twenty-first century. Mulan had already been the subject of a number of films in China from the 1920s. Almost all of the woman warriors discussed in this volume had at least one, and often several, transmedial afterlives. A statue of Madeleine de Verchères (1678–1747), the figure at the center of Coates's chapter, was erected in 1913 and she was the subject of the first French-Canadian feature-length film, released in 1922. Amelia Robles (1885–1984), the subject of Cano's chapter, was honored in a modern dance performance called *La Coronela*, which premiered in Mexico in 1940. Local stone monuments to Shinobu and Miyagino, the avenging early modern Japanese sisters whose story Yonemato analyzes, were erected in the countryside in the 1960s. Duc Hoan presented unsanitized film versions of the lives of female combatants in the Vietnam War in the post-war era, and Nehanda of Zimbabwe was eulogized in a 1993 novel. As Martino discusses in her chapter, Hannah Duston, the colonial Massachusetts Puritan mother who killed and scalped her Indigenous captors, is believed to be the first American woman honored with a statue in 1874.

The pace has only picked up in recent decades. The Rani of Jhansi, who Singh discusses in her chapter, has been the subject of a television series and a number of films. The most recent film *Manikarnika*, made in 2019, generated controversy even before its release because of rumors it portrayed this national hero having a romantic relationship with an Englishman. Guan Lu, the Communist spy whose story of survival is recounted by Edwards, has been featured in television programs in China only in the current century, and in a less than heroic light. The recently rediscovered Alava Network, a clandestine intelligence network organized by four Basque women during the Spanish Civil War mentioned by Aresti, was the subject of a comic book and a television documentary in 2018.⁴⁵

Examples beyond those immediately treated in the volume abound. The Dahomey Amazons, a west African all-female group of Fon warriors from the Kingdom of Dahomey in present-day Benin, underwent a transformation when they served as the inspiration for the Dora Milaje, the special forces unit of the fictional kingdom of Wakanda in Marvel's *Black Panther* franchise.⁴⁶ Their portrayal in the 2018 movie

made such an impact that Marvel announced they would get their own series.⁴⁷ The Dahomey Amazons have also appeared in Werner Herzog's film *Cobra Verde*, the video game *Empire: Total War* and even Stieg Larsson's novel *The Girl Who Kicked the Hornets' Nest*.⁴⁸

Njinga is not only omnipresent in Angola itself, including in such banal ways as the face of Ginga Café; her face has started to appear on consumer goods in other African markets, Europe, and, very recently, on Alibaba, China's Amazon.⁴⁹ Through Angola's lobbying efforts at the United Nations, she has been included in UNESCO's "Women in African History" e-learning tool comprising "digital comic strips, rap/slam soundtracks" and other educational resources which was launched in 2013.⁵⁰ This internet tool, which is intended "to expand and disseminate knowledge of the role of women in African history to counter prejudices and stereotypes," also includes the Mulatto Solitude and the women soldiers of Dahomey.⁵¹

Indeed, new technologies and alternative forms of media have proliferated stories of women warriors in recent years. For instance, the story of Mai Bhago, an eighteenth-century Punjabi woman who, dressed as a man, led Sikh soldiers against the Mughals at the battle of Muktsar in 1705, has recently become an internet meme and an inspirational figure for young Sikh women around the world.⁵² Two centuries after the events that made her famous, Agustina de Aragón was represented in a graphic novel as a Lara Croft precursor.⁵³ New scientific advances such as DNA analysis can also play a role, as when scientists announced that Casimir Pulaski, the Polish nobleman who fought with George Washington and who in 2018 was named "Father of the American Cavalry," may have been a woman or intersex. The story was the subject of a PBS television documentary broadcast in April 2019.⁵⁴ And, at the time of writing, global streaming service Netflix was carrying *Warrior Women*, a five-part series hosted by Lucy Lawless (aka Xena the Warrior Princess), with episodes devoted to Joan of Arc, Mulan, Boudica, Irish pirate Grace O'Malley, and Apache warrior Lozen.

Whether on the internet, in video games, or through comic books and even packages of coffee, women warriors are only increasing in visibility in the early-twenty-first century. In many cases, latter-day women warriors are harnessing these new forms of media to their own ends. Consider the military and political career of junior US Senator from Arizona, Martha McSally. A retired colonel in the United States Air Force (USAF), McSally was one of the highest-ranking female pilots in American history, the first female commander of a USAF fighter squadron, and the first American woman to fly in combat. She was also an advocate for equality. In 2001, she sued the US Defense Department, challenging their policy requiring servicewomen, but not service men, stationed in Saudi Arabia to wear a head scarf when traveling off base. McSally retired from the armed forces in 2010 and soon parlayed her military experience into a political career. Frequently referring to herself as a "woman warrior" and posing in campaign ads and YouTube videos in front of fighter jets, she ran first for the US House of Representatives in 2012 and then for the US Senate 2018. On the political stump, she made her groundbreaking service in the Air Force a cornerstone of her campaign message and social media brand.⁵⁵ A Republican, McSally often used her military experience and her reputation as a woman warrior to advocate for positions other GOP candidates largely shied away from, such as gender equality.⁵⁶ McSally made

headlines in March 2019 when she announced during a Senate hearing on Sexual Assault and Misconduct in the Military that she had been raped by a superior officer but did not report the assault because she, “didn’t trust the system,” blamed herself, and felt “ashamed and confused . . . powerless.”⁵⁷ Across the internet and social media platforms, McSally was widely praised for publicly discussing her personal experience and breaking the silence on the issue of sexual assault in the military, sometimes under the banner of #WhyIdidntReport #MeToo.⁵⁸

What effect will the rise of social movements such as #MeToo, #BalanceTonPorc, and the global LGBTQ2 movement have on the stories of women warriors in the future? Will such movements add to the prevalence and potency of these narratives, or will the age-old stories lose some of their appeal as the gender landscape shifts in what some consider to be a post-feminist age? What new uses of the figure of the woman warrior will emerge as the already established global phenomenon morphs to accommodate future forms of media and storytelling?

Such questions are beyond the scope of this volume. But it seems evident that the problems and themes explored in the following chapters will continue to haunt accounts of women who assert themselves in what are still considered to be non-normative ways. As increasing numbers of women are admitted into the armed forces across the globe, we will have to remain attentive to the ways their stories are framed in different contexts and scrutinize the motives behind their telling. Those who wish to extoll these women’s martial virtues will have to confront their violence, and concerns with gender fluidity will inevitably arise despite increasing, if tentative, openness within certain military contexts.⁵⁹ For good or bad, women warriors with all of their complexity will continue to be an enduring part of our global present and our global future as well as a prominent part of our global past.

Notes

- 1 BBC News, “Saudi Arabia allows women to join military,” February 26, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-43197048>; <http://saudigazette.com.sa/article/529295/SAUDI-ARABIA/12-criteria-for-Saudi-women-to-join-army-as-soldiers> (accessed January 19, 2019); Steven Morris, “All roles in UK military to be open to women, Williamson announces,” October 25, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/oct/25/all-roles-in-uk-military-to-be-open-to-women-williamson-announces> (accessed January 19, 2019).
- 2 Elizabeth Braw, “Norway’s Radical Military Experiment,” *Foreign Affairs*, January 19, 2017, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/norway/2017-01-19/norways-radical-military-experiment> (accessed January 19, 2019). Even so, in Israel allowing women into combat roles remains contested, especially as the numbers skyrocketed after 2013. Lizi Hameiri, “Women in the Israeli Military Just Aren’t Cut Out for Combat Roles,” *Haaretz*, January 10, 2018, <https://www.haaretz.com/opinion/.premium-women-just-aren-t-cut-out-for-combat-roles-1.5730157> (accessed April 7, 2019).
- 3 This does not mean, however, that women had no role in wartime. Before the creation of modern quartermaster systems, they frequently followed men to the front

to provide laundry, cooking, and other domestic services, a topic that Gabriel Cid explores in his chapter. As late as the Crimean War, the British army allowed four men in each company to take their wives “on the strength,” at the army’s expense. In return, the women cooked and did laundry. Even as the *levee en masse* of 1792 created the (male) citizen-soldier, the French state called on women “to act upon their patriotic feelings”; women responded by creating “new practices to support the troops, creating new relationships with national and imperial, as well as more local, communities that fostered a sense of common cause, solidarity, and cultural affinity,” Karen Hagemann, Karen Aalestad and Judith Miller, “Introduction,” *European Historical Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (October 2007): 503–504. As discussed in Gina Martino’s and Colin Coates’s chapters, women in societies that lacked formal military institutions such as North American frontiers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries often picked up arms and engaged in combat. Similar in form though larger in scale, women serving in military insurgencies such as the Vietcong and the Communists in the Greek Civil War also participated in war as discussed by Karen Turner and Sakis Gekas.

- 4 Marina Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), xv–xvi.
- 5 Warner, *Joan of Arc*, xv–xvi. The selection of a mixed-race girl to portray Joan in the annual Joan of Arc festival in Orléans in February 2018 generated a torrent of racist abuse. “French Far Right Attack Choice of Mixed-Race Girl for Joan of Arc Role,” *The Guardian*, February 23, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/23/french-far-right-targets-mixed-race-teen-playing-joan-of-arc> (accessed January 19, 2019). On Jeanne d’Arc as gay icon, see <http://qspirit.net/joan-of-arc-cross-dressing-lgbtq/> (accessed 19 January, 2019).
- 6 Adrian Shubert, “Women Warriors and National Heroes: Agustina de Aragón and Her Indian Sisters,” *Journal of World History* 23, no. 2 (June 2012): 279–313. Agustina de Aragón was also mentioned by some of the tellings of women warriors discussed by Booth.
- 7 Caitlin C. Gillespie, “Boudica the Warrior Queen,” *Aeon*, November 6, 2018, <https://aeon.co/essays/boudica-how-a-widowed-queen-became-a-rebellious-woman-warrior> (accessed January 19, 2019).
- 8 On the Mulan story and its place in early-twentieth-century Chinese narratives, see Joan Judge, *The Precious Raft of History: The Past, the West, and the Woman Question in China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 143–186; on Mulan in the 1920s and 1930s and a number of film adaptations of her story, see Kristine Harris, “Modern Mulans: Reimagining the Mulan Legend in Chinese Film, 1920s–1960s,” in *The New Woman International: Representations in Photography and Film from the 1870s through the 1960s*, ed. Elizabeth Otto and Vanessa Rocco (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011), 309–330.
- 9 Irene Castells, Gloria Espigado, and María Cruz Romeo “Heroínas por la patria, madres para la nación: mujeres en pie de guerra,” in *Heroínas y patriotas. Mujeres de 1808*, ed. I. Castells, G. Espigado, and M.C. Romeo (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 2009).
- 10 Boyd Cothran, *Remembering the Modoc War: Redemptive Violence and the Making of American Innocence* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 81–110.
- 11 Laura Gotkowitz, “‘¡No hay hombres!': Género, nación y las Heroínas de la Coronilla de Cochabamba (1885–1926),” in *El Siglo XX: Bolivia y América Latina*, ed. Rossana

- Barragán and Seemin Qayum (La Paz: IFEA, 1997), <https://books.openedition.org/ifea/7381> (accessed October 13, 2019).
- 12 Pablo Ortemberg, "Monumentos, memorialización y espacio público: reflexiones a propósito de la escultura de Juana Azurduy," *Tarea* 3, no. 3 (2016): 96–125. <http://servicios.infoleg.gob.ar/infolegInternet/anexos/130000-134999/131043/norma.htm> (accessed October 13, 2019).
 - 13 Neil Carrier and Celia Nyamweru, "Reinventing Africa's National Heroes: The Case of Mekatilili, a Kenyan Popular Heroine," *African Affairs* 115, no. 461 (October 2016): 600. In South Africa, in contrast, women have not been much recognized. Sabine Marschall, "How to Honour a Woman: Gendered Memorialisation in Post-Apartheid South Africa," *Critical Arts* 24, no. 2 (2010): 260–283.
 - 14 There are many examples of works that have explored this topic for a non-academic audience; see, for instance, David E. Jones, *Women Warriors: A History* (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 1997); Jeannine Davis-Kimball and Mona Behan, *Warrior Women: An Archaeologist's Search for History's Hidden Heroines* (New York; London: Warner Books, 2003); Robin Cross and Rosalind Miles, *Warrior Women: 3000 Years of Courage and Heroism* (New York: Metro Books, 2011).
 - 15 For a representative sample, including several authors represented in this book, see Harleen Singh, *The Rani of Jhansi: Gender, History, and Fable in India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Ruamaisai Charumbira, *Imagining a Nation: History and Memory in Making Zimbabwe* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2015); Louise Edwards, *Women Warriors and Wartime Spies of China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Judge, *The Precious Raft of History*; Gina Martino, *Women at War in the Borderlands of the Early American Northeast* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018).
 - 16 Samuel Brunk and Ben Fallaw, *Heroes and Hero Cults in Latin America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006); Ilene V. O'Malley, *The Myth of Revolution: Hero Cults and the Institutionalization of the Mexican State, 1920–1940* (New York: Greenwood, 1986); Miguel Angel Centeno, "War and Memories: Symbols of State Nationalism in Latin America," *Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe/European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* (1999): 75–105; Maria Theresa Valenzuela, "Constructing National Heroes: Postcolonial Philippine and Cuban Biographies of José Rizal and José Martí," *Biography* (2014): 745–761.
 - 17 Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007); Robert Gerwarth, *The Bismarck Myth: Weimar Germany and the Legacy of the Iron Chancellor* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Robert Gerwarth and Lucy Riall, "Fathers of the Nation? Bismarck, Garibaldi and the Cult of Memory in Germany and Italy," *European History Quarterly* 39, no. 3 (2009): 388–413.
 - 18 Sabine Marschall, "Commemorating 'Struggle Heroes': Constructing a Genealogy for the New South Africa," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12, no. 2 (2006): 176–193.
 - 19 Graeme Turner, *Making It National: Nationalism and Australian Popular Culture* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1994); Warick Frost, "Braveheart-ed Ned Kelly: Historic Films, Heritage Tourism and Destination Image," *Tourism Management* 27, no. 2 (2006): 247–254; Allison Holland and Claire Williamson, *Kelly Culture: Reconstructing Ned Kelly* (Melbourne: State Library of Victoria, 2003).
 - 20 Gerwarth, "Introduction," *EHQ* 3; Katherine Aaslestad, Karen Hagemann, and Judith A. Miller, "Introduction: Gender, War and the Nation in the Period of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars—European Perspectives," *European History Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (2007): 501–506.

- 21 There is much debate over what defines global history as a unique approach or whether it is a distinct approach from older, boundary-crossing approaches such as the history of imperialism and colonialism, migration, and environmentalism. See, for instance, Sebastian Conrad, *What Is Global History?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016); Lynn Hunt, *Writing History in the Global Era* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2014); Diego Olstein, *Thinking History Globally* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014). In this volume, we pursue a more expansive and comparative look at these seemingly local phenomena in order to understand how stories of women warriors developed at specific moments in global history.
- 22 On some of these tensions in retelling Joan's story in the Chinese case, see Judge, *The Precious Raft of History*, 162–177.
- 23 On India, see, for example, the figure of Joan in Shobna Nijhawan, *Women and Girls in the Hindi Public Sphere: Periodical Literature in the Hindu Public Sphere* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), n.p. (Figure 9).
- 24 Janet Tuckey, *Joan of Arc: "The Maid"* (New York: Putnam, 1886). Janet Tuckey, Awaya Kan'ichi 粟屋関一 transl. *Futsukoku bidan: kaiten iseki* 仏国美談: 回天偉績 (A moving French tale: Changing the world with her glorious achievements) (Tokyo: Hayakawashinzaburō 早川新三郎, 1887).
- 25 Rigiyōru リギヨール (François-Alfred Désiré Ligneul) (1847–1922). *Jyan Daaku* ジャンダーク (Joan of Arc) (Tokyo: Kyōgaku kensan Wa-Futsu kyōkai, 1910). Ligneul arrived in Japan in 1880.
- 26 Iwasaki Sodō 岩崎徂堂, and Mikami Kifū 三上寄風. *Sekai jūni joketsu* 世界十二女傑 (Twelve world heroines) (Tokyo: Kōbundō shoten, 1902). The collection also includes a number of less martial figures: Catherine the Great (1729–96), Madame de Staël (1766–1817), Lucy Hutchinson (1620–80), Queen Isabella of Spain (1451–1504), Queen Elizabeth of England (1558–1603), Queen Louise of Prussia (1776–1810), and Frances Willard (1839–98).
- 27 Iwasaki Sodō 岩崎徂堂, and Mikami Kifū 三上寄風, Zhao Bizhen 趙必振, trans. *Shijie shier nüjie* 世界十二女傑 (Twelve world heroines) (Shanghai: Guangzhi shuju, 1903). On the circulation of biographies of Western women from Japan to China, see Xia Xiaohong, "Western Heroines in Late-Qing Women's Journals: Meiji-Era Writings on "Women's Self-Help" in China," in *Women and the Periodical Press in China's Long Twentieth Century: A Space of Their Own?* ed. Michel Hockx, Joan Judge, and Barbara Mittler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 236–254. Joan Judge, "Blended Wish Images: Chinese and Western Exemplary Women at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *Special Issue of Nan Nü: Men, Women, and Gender in Early and Imperial China*, ed. Susan Mann, 6, no. 1 (2004): 102–135.
- 28 Iwasaki, *Shijie shier nüjie*, 36–37. The translator, Zhao Bizhen, gave two, not fully compatible explanations for Jeanne's faith. The first was because she lived in a time before science had trumped superstition, the second was strategic: Jeanne invoked the gods in order to gain the allegiance of the ignorant masses.
- 29 Linda Heywood, *Njinga of Angola: Africa's Warrior Queen* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017), 249.
- 30 Lisa Yoneyama, "Liberation under Siege: U.S. Military Occupation and Japanese Women's Enfranchisement," *American Quarterly* 57 (2005): 3, "Legal Borderlands: Law and the Construction of American Borders" (September 2005), 891.
- 31 Heywood, *Njinga of Angola*, 256.
- 32 Ortemberg, "Monumentos, memorialización y espacio público," 117–120.

- 33 Alison Booth, *How to Make It as a Woman. Collective Biographical History from Victoria to the Present* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 2.
- 34 Cicely Hamilton, *Pageant of Great Women* (London: The Suffrage Shop, 1910), 41.
- 35 Jitka Malecková, "Nationalizing Women and Engendering the Nation: The Czech National Movement," in *Gendered Nations. Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long 19th Century*, ed. Ida Blom, Karen Hagemann and Catherine Hall (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 306–307.
- 36 For another case, see Malecková, "Nationalizing Women and Engendering the Nation," in *Gendered Nations. Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long 19th Century*, ed. Ida Blom, Karen Hagemann, and Catherine Hall (Oxford: Berg, 2000) 293–310.
- 37 Aziz Tunny, "Martha Christina Tiahahu: The 'kabaressi' heroine of Maluku," <https://www.webcitation.org/64EwxOpzW?url=>; <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2008/04/27/martha-christina-tiahahu-the-039kabaressi039-heroine-maluku.html> (accessed January 19, 2019).
- 38 Karla Lewis Gottlieb, *The Mother of Us All, A History of Queen Nanny, Leader of the Windward Jamaican Maroons* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2000); *Queen Nanny. Legendary Maroon Chieftainess. Study Guide*, www.nannythemovie.com/Queen%20Nanny%20Discussion%20Guide.pdf (accessed January 19, 2019).
- 39 Heywood, *Njinga of Angola*, 252.
- 40 Heywood, *Njinga of Angola*, 253–255.
- 41 Solitude appeared in no historical documents. The only written attestation of her existence came in a single paragraph in August Lacour's *Histoire de la Guadeloupe*, written decades after the events and based on interviews with witnesses. Given the negative portrayal of Solitude, these were undoubtedly whites. Laurent Dubois, "Solitude's Statue: Confronting the Past in the French Caribbean," *Outremers*, 93, 2006, 38.
- 42 <http://www.cnmhe.fr/spip.php?article144> (accessed January 20, 2019). Author's translation.
- 43 <https://collectiffemmespantheon.wordpress.com/2013/08/01/au-pantheon-solitude/>; https://www.atout-guadeloupe.com/La-mulatriesse-Solitude-et-Olympe-de-Gouges-au-Pantheon_a430.html (accessed January 20, 2019).
- 44 On this trope of reversion in the case of Hua Mulan, see Louise Edwards, *Men and Women in Qing China: Gender in The Red Chamber Dream* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 88; Judge, *The Precious Raft of History*, 153–155.
- 45 https://www.eldiario.es/norte/euskadi/invisibles-movimiento-clandestino-antifranquista-Vitoria_0_769923744.html; <http://www.sabinoarana.eus/Portada/tabid/308/ArtMID/1467/ArticleID/304/language/es-ES/Default.aspx> (accessed April 26, 2019).
- 46 Mike Dash, "Dahomey's Woman Warriors," *Smithsonian.com*, September 23, 2011, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/dahomeys-women-warriors-88286072/> (accessed January 22, 2019). The only full-length English-language study of them is Stanley B. Alpern, *Amazons of Black Sparta: The Women Warriors of Dahomey* (New York: New York University Press, 2011).
- 47 <https://www.vogue.com/article/black-panther-dora-milaje-comic-series-preview> (accessed January 24, 2019).
- 48 <https://www.syfy.com/syfywire/meet-the-dahomey-amazons-the-inspiration-for-the-dora-milaje> (accessed October 13, 2019).

- 49 <http://www.africafundacion.org/spip.php?article23545>; <http://sabordecafe.com/2018/12/20/%EF%BB%BFcafe-ginga-no-alibaba-da-china/> (accessed January 24, 2019).
- 50 <https://en.unesco.org/womeninafrica/> (accessed April 4, 2019).
- 51 http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/resources/news-and-in-focus-articles/all-news/news/unesco_launches_women_in_african_history_an_e_learning_t/; <https://en.unesco.org/womeninafrica/njinga-mbandi/comic> (accessed January 19, 2019).
- 52 Doris R. Jakobsh, "Marking the Female Sikh Body: Reformulating and Legitimizing Sikh Women's Turbaned Identity on the World Wide Web," in *Young Sikhs in a Global World: Negotiating Traditions, Identities and Authorities*, ed. Knut A. Jacobsen and Kristina Myrvold (New York: Routledge, 2016); Anne Murphy, "Objects, Ethics and the Gendering of Sikh Memory," *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 4 (2009): 161–168.
- 53 Fernando Monzón y Eduardo Mendoza, *Agustina*, (Zaragoza: 1001 Ediciones, 2009).
- 54 John Shannon, "Father of the American Cavalry' may have been female or intersex, documentary claims," *USA Today*, April 6, 2019 (accessed April 6, 2019).
- 55 See, for instance, her 2018 television ad "Deployed," <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=obHIECvtrEs> (accessed April 12, 2019).
- 56 Derek Wallbank and Greg Sullivan, "Candidates Speak Out about #WhyIDidntReport," *Bloomberg*, September 24, 2018.
- 57 Helen Cooper, Dave Phillips, and Richard A. Oppel, Jr., "I, Too, Was a Survivor: Senator McSally Ends Years of Silence," *New York Times*, March 26, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/26/us/senator-martha-mcsally-rape-assault.html> (accessed April 12, 2019).
- 58 Karen Tumulty, "Martha McSally's #MeToo Statement Took Guts—Maybe as Much as Her Actions in Uniform," *Washington Post*, March 6, 2019, https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/03/07/martha-mcsallys-metoo-statement-took-guts-maybe-much-her-actions-uniform/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.6af295567904 (accessed April 12, 2019).
- 59 On this contentious issue in the US, see <https://www.nbcnews.com/feature/nbc-out/nothing-short-ban-transgender-troops-advocates-react-new-military-policy-n983166> (accessed October 13, 2019).