WOMEN IN WAR

–

CROSS-DRESSING FEMALE WARRIORS IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY BRITISH AND GERMAN LITERATURE

by

VIVIAN KRISTIN LANGER

(Under the Direction of Dorothy Figueira)

ABSTRACT

The cross-dressing woman warrior is a common motif in the British and German literature of the eighteenth century. This thesis discusses the character depiction of cross-dressing female warriors in the following two works: *The Female Soldier; Or the Surprising Life and Adventures of Hannah Snell* (1750) and *Die Familie Seldorf* (1795/96). In the analysis, the two female protagonists and their attributes are being compared and put into context with the predominant gender roles of eighteenth-century Britain and German-speaking Europe. Furthermore, the thesis investigates why the motif of the cross-dressing female warrior was so popular during the eighteenth century.

INDEX WORDS: women warrior, cross-dressing women, female warrior, women in war

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DEDICATION

Parentibus sororeque.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The motif of the female warrior can be traced all the way back to the ancient world in which the Amazons were considered to be men-like, courageous, fighting women. One can also find the motif in the Middle Ages, for example, in the form of Brünhild, the powerful, female main character in the *Nibelungenlied* who defeated her potential husbands in physical competitions. A female warrior is a woman who "takes up a weapon, goes to war," (*Beauty or Beast?* 1) and fights against men.

The 'cross-dressing' female warrior is a special subset of this motif and increasingly appears in the British and German literature of the eighteenth century. The term 'cross-dressing' is used to describe the act of a woman "who dresses in the clothing of the opposite sex" ("Wearing the Trousers" 29). The concept of the female "cross-dressing soldier may seem rather unconventional to a modern reader, in the eighteenth century, [however,] the [f]emale [w]arrior was an increasingly popular subject" (Gurman 321). This thesis analyzes the depiction and characteristics of the cross-dressing female warrior figure and investigates why the motif of the cross-dressing female warrior was popular and appeared so frequently in the literature of eighteenth-century Britain and German-speaking Europe.[1] For this purpose, one British work, *The Female Soldier; Or the Surprising Life and Adventures of Hannah Snell* (1750) (in the following referred to as *The Female Soldier*) by Robert Walker, and one German work, *Die Familie Seldorf* [The Family Seldorf] (1795/1796) by Therese Huber, are being discussed.

[1] I am using the term "German-speaking Europe" here since the unification of the German-speaking territories to one nation state and thereby the founding of Germany was not until 1871, almost one hundred years after the time period discussed in this thesis.

This thesis examines if and how the motif is connected to the gender stereotypes and the gender discourse of the time and its relevance for the perception of gender in the eighteenth century. It also looks at the representation of masculinity and femininity in the two works and at the historical and social context in which the works were written.

The two works, *The Female Soldier* and *Die Familie Seldorf*, were chosen because they mark the time when the motif first appears and becomes increasingly popular in Britain and German-speaking Europe respectively. In Britain, the motif can be first found in works of the early and mid-eighteenth century. Catherine Craft-Fairchild mentions *The Female Soldier* and *Life and Adventures of Mrs. Christian Davies, Commonly Call'd Mother Ross* (1740) as the first long narratives with cross-dressing female warriors. Since I am interested to see why the motif was popular during the eighteenth century, I chose *The Female Soldier* because it is the more popular story (see "Women and Popular Culture" 276). In the German literature, there is a single, short mentioning of cross-dressing female soldiers in Christian Felix Weiße's introduction to his *Amazonenlieder* [Songs of an Amazon] (1762), a collection of thirteen poems featuring a female protagonist who wishes to fight for the fatherland, but the motif is more frequently used in works written at the end of the eighteenth century. In German-speaking Europe the motif became popular at the end of the eighteenth century. Julie Koser mentions *Die Familie Seldorf*, Friedrich Schiller's *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* [The Maid of Orleans] (1801), and *Das Heldenmädchen aus der Vendée* [The Heroic Girl from the Vendée] (1816) by Caroline de la Motte Fouqué. Schiller's heroine Johanna "does not wear a full suit of armor" ("Wearing the Trousers" 35) but instead "a helmet and breastplate but otherwise female clothing" ("Wearing the Trousers" 35-36) (see also stage directions in act 2, scene 4: "Johanna […] in Helm und Brustharnisch, sonst aber

weiblich gekleidet" (*Die Jungfrau von Orleans* 48)) and Fouqué's novel was published much later than Huber's. Therefore, I chose to use *Die Familie Seldorf* for the comparison.

The analysis and comparison of the two cross-dressing female warriors—Hannah Snell in *The Female Soldier* and Sara Seldorf in *Die Familie Seldorf*—can be found in chapters four and five. Chapter two gives an overview of the gender discourse in eighteenth-century Britain and German-speaking Europe. Chapter three discusses the clothing of the cross-dressing female warriors, while chapter six describes the historical evidence that shows that there were cross-dressing female soldiers in the eighteenth century. Since the motif of the female warrior did not first appear in the eighteenth century, chapter seven and eight compare Walker's and Huber's cross-dressing female warrior to the ancient Amazons and the earlier types of cross-dressing female warriors. Chapter ten concludes the findings.

CHAPTER 2

THE GENDER DISCOURSE IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY EUROPE

The definition of gender as it is used today, in the twenty-first century, is relatively new. In the 1980s, feminists "adopted the term 'gender' to refer to the social construction of sex differences" (Meyerowitz 1346). "Before the 1950s," the term gender was used by linguists "to refer to a form of grammatical classification" (Meyerowitz 1353). When I speak about the 'gender discourse' and 'gender roles' in this thesis I mean the socially constructed ideas of masculinity and femininity and of women's and men's stereotypical attributes that were prominent in the eighteenth century.

Gender in our society is currently closely tied to biological sex and the assumption of sexual differences between the male and the female body. The eighteenth century is an interesting time period because it was not "until the end of the eighteenth century that scientists and philosophers began to speak about male and female anatomy as being distinctly different from one another" (Kent 9). Before and also within the eighteenth century, Europeans thought of male and female bodies in a one-sex model. This model derived from the ancient times. In the ancient world, gender "was not a product of biology" (Kent 13) and the "ancient thinkers held that women and men possessed the same genitals, with the important distinction that men's existed outside the body an women's on the inside" (Kent 13). Nevertheless, there was already a notion of difference between men and women. With the introduction of Christian thought "[s]exuality became transformed into an unfortunate—indeed sinful—quality of humans that resulted from the fall of Adam and Eve" (Kent 14). Therefore, medieval and early modern

Europeans saw the roles of men and women in a hierarchical structure: women's roles were defined through their relationship to men as wives or daughters (Kent 14); they were "inferior and subordinate to men, as God had demonstrated in making Eve out of Adam's rib" (Kent 2012, 14). Even though the one-sex model existed, the bodies of women and men were treated differently and there were certain gender roles connected to these bodies. It was, however, not only the body, but also the clothing (see chapter 3), the space (see also chapter 4), and the behavior (see also chapter 4) of a person that was associated with a specific gender and that was therefore a marker of gender differences.

The following two subchapters give an overview of women's and men's stereotypical characteristics, "gender-based" (Gurman 321) virtues, and the definitions of masculinity and femininity in the two discussed European areas—German-speaking Europe and Britain—during the eighteenth century.

Gender Roles in German-speaking Europe

In German-speaking Europe, there was a shift in the gender discourse during the second half of the eighteenth century in which "new concepts of femininity" (Satini 25) appeared. Daria Satini states that while Friedrich Schiller's poem *Würde der Frauen* (1795) describes the traditional opposition between the male and the female sex, Friedrich Schlegel's *Über die Diotima* shows that these gender stereotypes of masculinity and femininity were often blurred (Satini 25). She does not explain these oppositions and changes further. This will be done in the following.

Schiller's poem *Würde der Frauen* has nine stanzas: five stanzas with six lines respectively about women and their attributes, each stanza in a tail rhyme (aabccb); four stanzas

with 8 lines respectively about men and their attributes, each stanza follows an alternate rhyme scheme (abab). The descriptions are evenly contributed with 30 lines about women and 32 lines about men. The stanzas about women and men alternate. The poem begins and ends with a stanza describing women.[2]

In the first stanza, words connected to the domestic space—"flechten und weben" [braid and weave][3] (line 1) and "Nähren" [nurture] (line 5)—are used to describe women's activities. The first stanza also says that women embody "Grazie" [grace] (line 4) and do things "mit heiliger Hand" [with sacred hand] (line 6). The third stanza describes women as "Treue Töchter der frommen Natur" [faithful daughters of pious nature] (line 20) who act "mit schamhafter Sitte" [with modest morals] (line 19). In comparison to men, women are moreover "zufrieden mit stillerem Ruhme" [content with more silent glory] (line 29), "sorgsam" [careful] (line 31), and do things "mit liebendem Fleiß" [with loving diligence] (line 31). They are also "sanft" [gentle] (line 57). In conclusion, *Würde der Frauen* describes women as pious, content, careful, diligent, and modest and associates them with housekeeping and activities close to home. The female virtues were "tenderness, faithfulness, domesticity, [and] tranquility" (Spokiene 140). These characteristics are not seen as negative character traits; especially the descriptions in the fifth and in the seventh stanza that depict women as "[r]eicher … / … in der Dichtung" [richer … / … in poetry] (line 33-34) and as humans with a "fühlende Seele" [sensitive soul] (line 45). In the second half of the eighteenth century the woman was seen as "der neue, der natürliche, empfindsame Mensch" [the new, the not contrived, sensitive human being] (Bovenschen 189) who had a "'natürliche' Befähigung zum Dichten" [natural talent for writing poetry] (Bovenschen 150). Anna Louisa Karsch can be named as an example for a woman with this

[2] The complete poem and an English translation can be found in the appendix (p. 60).
[3] The translations into English were done by me.

"'angeborenes' Talent" [innate talent] (Bovenschen 152) who was admired and praised by Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim for her ability to write.

Even though the women's characteristics in Schiller's poem do not connote negatively, they are nevertheless distinctly different from the men's characteristics. One could even say that the attributes given to men contrast the women's attributes in the poem. The second stanza of *Würde der Frauen* in which men are mentioned for the first time states that a man has "wilde Kraft" [wild power] (line 8) and "Leidenschaft" [passion] (line 10), is "rastlos" [restless] (line 13) and "[g]ierig" [greedy] (line 11), "[j]agt" [hunts] (line 14) his dreams, and has "Begierden wild und roh" [desires wild and rough](line 54). The references to the wildlife in these lines make the described masculine features appear animal-like. Furthermore, the poem states that a man is "Streng und stolz" [strict and proud] (line 35), and he has a "kalte Brust" [cold chest] (line 36) and "harten Sinn" [hard mind] (line 42) suggesting that a man is stern and does not show or feel many sensitive emotions. A man's "Stärke" [strength] (line 50) is also highlighted in the poem; he goes through life "Mit zermalmender Gewalt" [with power] (line 22) and fights "Mit dem Schwerte" [with the sword]" (line 51). This is an important distinction: only the man gets to carry a weapon in Schiller's poem. In conclusion, *Würde der Frauen* describes men as wild, strong, powerful, proud, stern beings that hunt and explore.

Oppositions like wild and calm, indignant and modest, careful and powerful, restless and content are ends of a spectrum of—as Schiller would say—"was ewig sich flieht" [what eternally flees from each other] (line 62). The poem, however, also suggests that these qualities of men and women complement each other.

In Schlegel's *Über die Diotima* (1795), these stereotypical oppositions are blurred. In *Über die Diotima* Schlegel writes about Socrates' narration about his conversation with the

prophetess Diotima in Plato's *Symposium* which is about love. He starts by talking about Diotima's ancestry and background which is his starting point for a discussion about women's education in ancient Greece and their position in the ancient Greece society. Later in the essay, Schlegel mentions that ancient thinkers, among others Diogenes, claim that "die Weiblichkeit wie die Männlichkeit der höheren Menschlichkeit untergeordnet sein soll" [femininity as well as masculinity should be subordinate to the higher humaneness] (Schlegel 87) which leads him to a comment about the times in which he lives ("in unsern Sitten" [in our traditions] (Schlegel 92)). He suggests that nothing is more awful than "die überladne Weiblichkeit" [the overloaded femininity] or "die übertriebene Männlichkeit" [the exaggerated masculinity] (Schlegel 92) and also "der herrschsüchtige Ungestüm des Mannes" [the domineering impetuosity of a man] or "die selbstlose Hingegebenheit des Weibes" [the selfless devotion of a woman] (Schlegel 93); he states further: "Nur selbstständige Weiblichkeit, nur sanfte Männlichkeit, ist gut und schön" [Only independent femininity, only soft masculinity is good and beautiful] (Schlegel 93). To Schlegel, the mixture of traditionally male and traditionally female characteristics seems to be worthwhile. Schlegel's view might have been influences by women's increasing "participation in the public sphere" (Koser 115), e.g. as authors like Anna Louisa Karsch.

As the discussion of Schiller's poem *Würde der Frauen* and Schlegel's essay *Über die Diotima* shows, there was a shift in the gender discourse which can be described as a moving away from clear-cut oppositions between male and female characteristics and attributes.

Gender Roles in Britain

In eighteenth-century Britain, the stereotypical characteristics for men and women were similar to those in German-speaking Europe. Women were conventionally "associated with the

passive and the domestic, with the emotional and the soft, while men were construed as active, involved in the public economic sphere, rational and strong" (Gurman 323). The general consensus was that women had "trivial concerns" (Jones 8), "feeling and sensibility" (Gurman 323), and exhibited a "lack of control" (Jones 10); men held "reason, knowledge, and control" (Jones 8). Bravery and heroism were traditionally masculine features (Gurman 331). Women were still defined through their "domestic roles of wives, daughters, and […] mothers" (Brooks 3) and their "capacity to display sentiments" (Guest 53). A "'soft' and domestic femininity" (Guest 52) was praised. Similar to the roles displayed in Schiller's poem, women in Britain were supposed to please (Guest 48) and have "pious desires and ambitions" (Guest 47) while men should have ambitions in the public sphere.

During the eighteenth century, there was the idea of "different social stations" (Guest 52-53), different spheres, and "gendered division of labour" (Guest 53) in Britain with women's "virtues of domesticity" (Guest 55), i.e. caring for their children and for the elderly and the sick and knowing how to please and be pious (Guest 54) on the one side, and "masculine professionalism" (Guest 54) on the other. One can see that there were always certain privileges and behavioral expectations attached to each gender. The characteristics of men and women stood in opposition to one another: women were passive, emotional, sensible, and had domestic skills; men were active, rational, strong, and gained professional skills for the public sphere.

During the second half of the eighteenth century, women started to speak against "patriarchy and the idea of 'separate spheres' for men and women" (O'Gorman 344) and the clear-cut, oppositional gender roles became "blurred in the face of women's […] literary sophistication and men's […] preoccupation with sociability and fashion" (Jones 9)—similar to the developments in the gender discourse in the German-speaking part of Europe.

The following part of this thesis presents how clothing plays into the gender discourse. Chapter four then discusses which combination of the presented stereotypical male and stereotypical female characteristics the female warrior exhibits and if the changes in the traditional ideas of femininity and masculinity can be seen in the two works analyzed below.

CHAPTER 3

CLOTHING AND ITS CONNECTED GENDER EXPECTATIONS

There were and still are certain gender expectations connected to clothing. “Clothing is society’s way of marking both sex and gender” (“Wearing the Trousers” 28) and “society expects the body beneath the clothing to justify the choice of costume” (*Beauty or Beast?* 185). In the eighteenth century, “gender differences [were] coded by apparel” (*Women Warrior* 132): women were supposed to wear skirts or dresses, men were supposed to wear pants (“Wearing the Trousers” 28). Clothes were used to manifest different gender expectations; the motif of the female warrior shows how they were, at the same time, utilized to break these expectations. The cross-dressing women wore male clothes which covered up their bodies and especially their female body parts. The whole-body portrait of Hannah Snell (see Image 1, page 12), used as the frontispiece of *The Female Soldier*, shows how the woman warriors might have looked: the large jacket and a puffy shirt disguise the female features such as breasts, waist, and hips; the short hair and pants support the male look. The description after the title page of *The Female Soldier* says that Hannah Snell took on the name of “James Grey” (the name of her bother-in-law) and that she “put on Mens Apparel” (*The Female Soldier*, Preface). This men’s apparel might have included also a triangular hat as the close-up portrait shows (see Image 2, page 13). In the introduction to his *Amazonenlieder* (1762), Christian Felix Weiße states that each army in the Seven Years’ War is “von einer Menge gehoseter Mädchen mit fürchterlichen Federhüten begleitet“ [accompanied by a crowd of girls that wear pants and tremendous plume hats] (Weiße, Introduction 1). Even though Weiße’s female protagonist never cross-dresses in any of the

thirteen poems, he gives the reader a description of women that dress like men and fight in wars. In *Die Familie Seldorf*, Sara Seldorf's clothes are described with the word "Mannskleider" [man's clothes] (Huber II, 249). Like Hannah Snell, she takes on the male name "Verrier" (Huber II, 246).

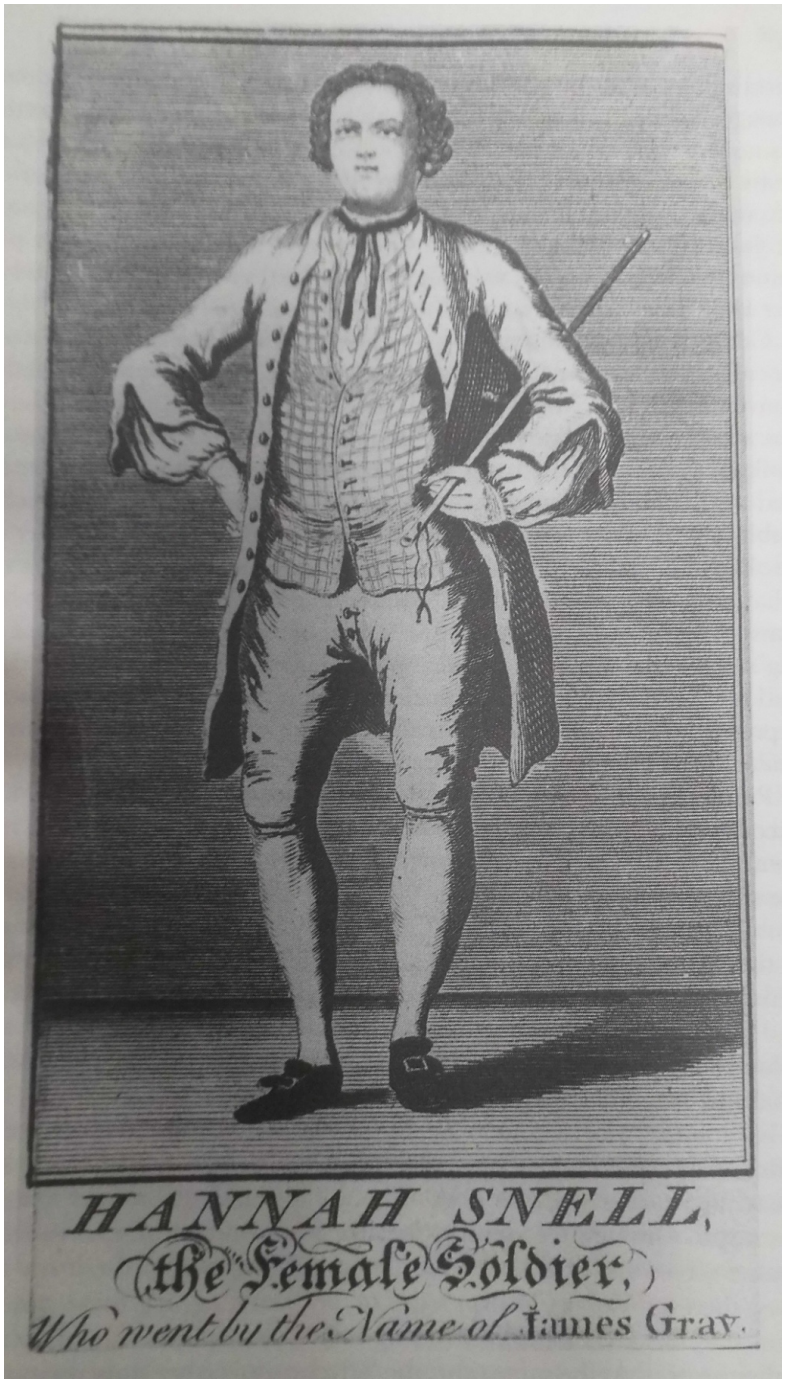

Image 1: Whole-body Portrait of Hannah Snell

Image 2: Close-up Portrait of Hannah Snell

The Female Soldier's frontispiece and Weiße's description present the female warrior in pants which can be seen as the most prominent marker of masculinity in clothing. The term "Mannskleider" [man's clothes] (Huber II, 249) also implies an outfit that includes pants. As Watanabe-O'Kelly states, clothing "aims to establish the gender of the wearer" because it "both conceals and reveals the sexual organs" ("Wearing the Trousers" 28). A "woman in trousers destabilizes this semiotic system" ("Wearing the Trousers" 28) and confuses the traditional

clothing conventions of the eighteenth century. Wearing pants is therefore a claiming and invading of male space by the female warrior.

Another important visual marker is the length of a woman's hair. As one can see in the portraits of Hannah Snell, her hair does not even reach her shoulders. Watanabe-O'Kelly calls the cutting off of hair the woman warrior's act of "unwoman[ing] herself" ("Wearing the Trousers" 32). I would argue it is not so much an act of unwomaning but the strategic appropriation of male clothes and physical features in order to enter the public sphere.

CHAPTER 4

THE CROSS-DRESSING FEMALE WARRIOR FIGURES

The appearance of the cross-dressing female warriors has been described above; this chapter is concerned with the inner features, the different character traits, of the two cross-dressing female warriors discussed in this thesis. Moreover, it aims to find out if cross-dressing stands for "manly virtues […] such as physical courage, resolution, or steadfastness" ("Wearing the Trousers" 28) that the female warrior exhibits and if it causes "alarm in the male mind" (*Beauty or Beast?* 183) as suggested by Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly.

Hannah Snell in *The Female Soldier*

The Female Soldier is an "arguably fictionalized" (Gurman 323) biography written and published by the "newspaper publisher" Robert Walker ("Women and Popular Culture" 276). It describes the life of Hannah Snell, born in Worcester in 1723 (Walker 12), who "served as a soldier" and worked "as a seaman" (Gurman 324). Hannah Snell was indeed an actual person who was in military service between 1740 and 1750 (Brooks 65); she joined a regiment of marines in 1747 and was sent to India later that same year on board of the *Swallow* and came back to Britain in 1750 (Gurman 324). The biography is written with a first person narrator, includes a few journal entries from one of the protagonist's comrades, and has a few accounts, told by James Summs, Hannah Snell's husband, in the first person.

As mentioned in the introduction, the story of Hannah Snell was very popular in mid-eighteenth-century Britain. Robert Walker first published a "46-page unillustrated octavo"

(Gurman 325) and then “a more developed 187-page book” (Gurman 325) about the cross-dressing woman. After that, Hannah Snell’s story was also printed in cheaper, shorter versions because it was so popular (“Woman and Popular Culture” 276). For this thesis, I use the illustrated, 187-page biography from 1750 that includes the frontispiece, a short description of Hannah Snell right after the frontispiece (Walker iv), a preface to the public, and the actual text.

The short description of Hannah Snell after the frontispiece claims that she who was “being deserted by her Husband” (Walker iv) cross-dressed because she wanted to travel “in quest of him” (Walker iv). The beginning of the narrative explains the circumstances in more detail, after giving the reader a short summary of Hannah Snell’s childhood and her father’s and grandfather’s attributes and accomplishments: her “faithless and perfidious” (Walker 69) husband with the name “James Summs” (Walker 87) leaves her after he cheats on her “with a Pack of Strumpets” (Walker 88), “though he knew he left her plunged in the utmost Distress, big with Child” (Walker 82). Their daughter dies only seven month after she is born (Walker 19). After that, Hannah Snell spends some time with her sister (Walker 19) and then puts on “a Suit of her Brother-in-Law” (Walker 20) and goes to war. Here is the reason for her disguise as a man: she dresses like a man in order to move around Britain freely and to find her husband (Walker 20), just as the first page of the biography suggests. As Gurman points out, Hannah Snell “enters into her disguise not for love, but for revenge” (326). She does not love her husband anymore and even claims that “she would never marry again” (Gurman 325). Before her first employment as a soldier in the city of Coventry, she searches for her husband in this city but she cannot find out or hear anything about him (Walker 22). This “Disappointment animated her Spirits, and made her resolve to pursue her Fate […] and fully determined to keep her Sex concealed” (Walker 22). Hannah Snell’s cross-dressing is a passionate decision “for there are no

Bounds to be set either to Love, Jealousy or Hatred, in the female Mind" (Walker 19).

As noted in chapter 2, the stereotypical characteristics for the two genders at the middle of the eighteenth century in Britain were the following: women were passive, emotional, sensible, and had domestic skills, while men were active, rational, strong, and gained professional skills for the public sphere. By putting on men's clothes, the protagonist, however, does not only look and perform like a man, but also acts like a man and exhibits characteristics of masculinity. Hannah Snell embodies both "masculine and feminine virtues" (Gurman 322) at the same time. She has "the real Soul of a Man in her Breast" (Walker 19) even before she cross-dresses. Already as a child she "had the Seeds of Heroism, Courage and Patriotism" (Walker 12) as they "were implanted in her Nature" (Walker 17). For her first job as a soldier, she claims to be ready and willing "to serve her King and Country" (Walker 21) which points to her patriotism. These virtues exist "alongside her equally natural feminine chastity, compassion, patience, and domestic skills" (Gurman 322) which are pointed out on several occasions in the text. On board of the ship *Swallow*, "she would very readily either wash or mend […] Linnen, or stand Cook, as Occasion requir'd" (Walker 30), which is repeated later in the biography when the narrator says Hannah Snell spends her free time "washing or mending any of the Crews Cloaths" (Walker 70). She also shows sympathy as well as "Pity and Compassion" (Walker 80) which are all stereotypical characteristics of women. Furthermore, she "heartly sympathized" (Walker 80) with her fellow soldiers who missed their families and were supposed to be on the ship only for "short Service" (Walker 80). Her selfless dedication to others can be interpreted as a motherly role: "notwithstanding she had Sorrows enough of her own to struggle with, yet her Heart relented on the Thoughts of their unhappy Case" (Walker 80). She takes "Care of her Lieutenant" (Walker 69) who is sick and is praised by the narrator for her "Humanity and

compassionate Disposition" (Walker 81).

Apart from "Heroism, Courage and Patriotism" (Walker 12), Hannah Snell also exhibits other masculine attributes. The narrator states that she is bold for leaving home, going abroad, and enlisting herself as a marine (Walker 30). She also is "determined […] to acquire some Honour in the Expedition" (Walker 39). Furthermore, she is "brave" (Walker 143), can handle "Dangers and Distress" (Walker 39), and shows "Intrepidity" (Walker 143), even "natural Intrepidity" (Walker 31), as well as "Resolution, and Presence of Mind" (Walker 143) and has a "Thirst after Glory" (Walker 40). Moreover, she has the "Character of a brave *British* Soldier" (Walker 58), takes risks because "no Office, how dangerous soever, would she decline" (Walker 36), is "a useful Hand on board" (Walker 36), does her "Watch" (Walker 31) on board successfully, and "skillfully accomplishes her military duties" (Gurman 327) through which she gains the respect of "all her Fellow-Soldiers" (Walker 39).

In conclusion, Walker's protagonist internalizes and presents both masculine and feminine features: "As a woman, she can love and feel strongly, and as a man, she is brave and intrepid" (Gurman 327). She is courageous and empathetic at the same time. She takes on an active role because she "knows what she wants and sets out to get it" ("Women and Popular Culture" 268) and she has the professional skills that she needs in order to be a soldier and marine. These skills for the public sphere were associated with men during the eighteenth century. As the "disguised woman-at-war" (Gurman 321), Hannah Snell "exhibits male strength and female softness as she performs the role of a social male with her female body" (Gurman 321).

Although the act of cross-dressing is a performance, the positive masculine characteristics are not performed but "implanted" (Walker 17) in the female warrior's nature.

Diane Dugaw argues that heroism is a "matter of drama and costume" (*Warrior Women* 193), meaning that heroism is only performance which is not true for Hannah Snell because heroism is one of her innate characteristics that she already displayed as a child. By embodying this stereotypical masculine quality in a female body, Hannah Snell turns heroism into a feminine virtue. A 'de-gendering' of heroism takes place and supports the narrator's statement at the beginning of the biography, i.e. that "the female Sex is far from being destitute of Heroinism" (Walker 11).

It is interesting to note that Hannah Snell only exhibits positive male attributes, e.g. courage, heroism, strength, and no negative traits of masculinity. For example, when the crew wants to go "on Shore upon Parties of Pleasure" (Walker 73) in the port of Lisbon, "she would be one of the most forward to promote the Scheme" (Walker 73) and play "the Part of a boon Campanion" (Walker 73)—not for fun but in order to keep up her disguise and to give her fellow crew mates "no Grounds to suspect her Sex" (Walker 73). This description of performed, negative male behavior can be seen as "a criticism of Britain's men" (Gurman 330), or at least certain aspects of the British masculinity.

There are, however, also scenes in the story that cater to the male reader: when Hannah Snell and other women exchange "a warm Kiss" (Walker 123). Elissa Gurman argues that "[t]hese relationships are obviously meant to arouse the male audience" (Gurman 331), the narrator, however, also says the protagonist "never had any Thought or Design to push such an Amour to the last Extremity" (Walker 123). She stays heterosexual and the scene appears to be part of a comedy because the protagonist "cannot be entirely male" (Gurman 332). Hannah Snell's reason for having these relationships with women is "to live well" (Walker 123) with them and to be able to borrow "a little cash" (Walker 123) from them when she has to bridge

time between deployments; it also shows the restriction and limits of cross-dressing because a "complete gender destabilization" (Gurman 332) cannot occur in the female warrior text. Hannah Snell cannot physically become a man; she cannot change her female body to a male body. Her relationships with women, therefore, do not create fear but amusement in the male reader.

These "Amour[s]" (Walker 104) happen several times during Hannah Snell's story. I see them as not only written for the amusement of the male reader, as Gurman states, but I would also interpret the cross-dressing female warrior's relationships with other undisguised women as a testing of her disguise. Walker's female protagonist makes sure that her outfit as well as her behavior is believable because she is very concerned that someone will find out that she is not a man but a cross-dressing woman. Hannah Snell would "rather die upon the Spot, than have the Secret of her Sex revealed" (Walker 143). She also persuades the Captain to ban women from going on board the ship because women "might much more probably discover the Secret she wanted to conceal, than any of her Ship-mates" (Walker 145). The narrator does not mention exactly how Hannah Snell convinces her Captain. Walker writes that she describes to him "the Inconvenience" (Walker 145) a women's visit on board would bring, instead of "pleading with the Captain for his Indulgence to the Ladies" (Walker 145).

Her desire to keep up her male disguise is so great that she even takes care of her own bullets. In a battle, she gets shot and receives "twelve Wounds" (Walker 58): "six Shot in her Right Leg, five in the Left, and […] one so dangerous in the Groin" (Walker 58). In the hospital, Hannah Snell tells the surgeons only about the wounds in her legs (Walker 59). The pain is so extreme that she thinks several times of revealing herself as a woman so that the surgeons could remove the bullet from her groin (Walker 59) but she endures "unspeakable Pain" (Walker 59). This endurance and strength show again that Walker's protagonist exhibits both female and male

characteristics. When the pain becomes unbearable, Walker's protagonist extracts the bullet with two fingers in a "hardy and desperate" manner (Walker 60).

Dugaw argues that Walker's work adheres to and reinforces gender norms ("Women and Popular Culture" 279). I disagree with her because the protagonist Hannah Snell, as shown above, lives and works actively in a male sphere and exhibits a mixture of attributes assigned to men and women. It is, however, true that the men in the story keep their masculinity and do not show feminine character traits. Gurman argues that this is because the text "aims to be pedagogical and amusing for *both* sexes" (322). The story is shaped

> to interest women through an appeal to compassion, and the possibility of female adventure, and it teaches women that chastity is to be valued above all the more daring masculine virtues. Conversely, the story appeals to men through its bawdy sexual exploits, and teaches them the value of old-fashioned masculine bravery and patriotism. (Gurman 322)

The narrative gives men an example of great heroism and good masculine attributes and women a "vision of feminine action and agency" (Gurman 335). That Robert Walker's attempt to make the story appealing to both men and women was successful is witnessed by the popularity and commercial success of his story (see chapter 8).

Walker's Hannah Snell presents a "heroic ideal of womanhood" ("Women and Popular Culture" 269). This ideal is, however, seen as an exception because Hannah Snell's actions are "such as no Female, besides herself, did ever attempt, or will ever hereafter undertake" (Walker 117). Nevertheless, *The Female Solider* shows that it was possible for a woman to take on male

characteristics. The biography also presents a positive view of cross-dressing as promised in the preface to the public which asserts that cross-dressing and the effort "for preserving her Sex from being discovered […] demands not only Respect, but Admiration" (Walker v).

Sarah Seldorf in *Die Familie Seldorf*

Die Familie Seldorf is a novel by the female author Therese Huber. It consists of two parts, both narrated by an omniscient narrator. Therese Huber, born 1764 in Göttingen (Heuser 357), published both parts under her husband's name, Ludwig Ferdinand Huber. Part I was published in 1795, part II in 1796. On the last page of the second part there is a note from the bookshop that says that the publisher is not the same as the author ("Familie Seldorf" 346). Only years later, Huber proclaimed her authorship (Heuser 350). Huber's behavior shows how the stereotypical gender roles of the eighteenth century presented in Schiller's *Würde der Frauen* were in place in everyday life. Being an author was not proper behavior for women because they were, above all, associated with the home while being an author belonged to the public sphere which was the realm of strong, active men. Even her father criticized Huber for her writing and said that it is a ridiculous and unfeminine activity (Heuser 348). With *Die Familie Seldorf*, Huber writes—as Heuser argues in her afterword—about an "ungewöhnliches" [uncommon] (372) topic for women: "das politische Leben der unmittelbaren Gegenwart" [the political life of the immediate present] (Heuser 372).

Heuser calls Huber's work a "doppelt[e] Grenzüberschreitung" [double border crossing] (350) "von literarischer Produktivität und politischer Aktivität" [of literary productivity and political activity] (350). The first one refers to Huber's writing as a woman through which she enters the public, traditionally male sphere; the second one meaning the political topic of her

writing through which she enters another traditionally male sphere: politics. Heuser argues that she tried "allgemeine[r] Enttäuschung durch die Französische Revolution entgegenzuwirken" [to counteract the general disappointment with the French Revolution] (372) with *Die Familie Seldorf*.

Huber's novel presents "the story of a family whose private life is overturned by political events" (Koser 117). The protagonist is Sara Seldorf. The first part of the story describes the family Seldorf's everyday life in the French countryside and Sara's "daily existence in the domestic sphere" (Koser 117); the second part is more concerned with Sara Seldorf's political engagement and begins with "her departure from the domestic realm" (Koser 117).

As shown above in chapter 2, the stereotypical characteristics for the two genders at the end of the eighteenth century in German-speaking Europe were the following: women were seen as pious, content, careful, and modest, while men were seen as wild, strong, and powerful. Men operated in the public sphere and women in the domestic sphere. The end of the eighteenth century in German-speaking Europe was also the time when Schlegel praises the idea of a human who exhibits both traditionally male and traditionally female characteristics. This notion of breaking with gender norms and slightly loosened gender roles can also be sensed in Huber's novel. Both the author and her protagonist show a "von der Norm abweichendes Verhalten" [behavior that diverges from the norm] (Kord 34) by entering the public, traditionally male sphere, although in different ways.

At first, Sara is not interested in the political events around her. Her identity is very closely connected to her role at home. She is the daughter of "a German immigrant" (Koser 118), a sister, and a lover. As a child, she has a "weiches […] Herz" [soft heart] (Huber II, 39), shows "Herzlichkeit" [cordiality] (Huber I, 87), and is "ein sanftes Geschöpf" [a gentle human being]

(Huber II, 3). From her father, she learns that men have to be strong, faithful, firm, while women have to be soft (Huber I, 26) and their "Herz [muss] kindlich bleiben" [heart has to stay childlike] (Huber I, 26). She also learns that nature made men stronger than women and that a woman's role therefore it to be dependent on a man (Huber I, 26). These submissive female characteristics can be seen in the frontispiece (see Image 3, page 24). The frontispiece shows Sara Seldorf in a domestic space, a living room or study. She is sitting in a chair while the two men in the room are standing. This situation contrasts the men's activity and Sara Seldorf's passivity; the men can walk around in the room while she is supposed to remain seated. Her submissive character is shown in her demeanor: she keeps her head down and, similar to a child, looks up to the man, probably Count L., approaching her.

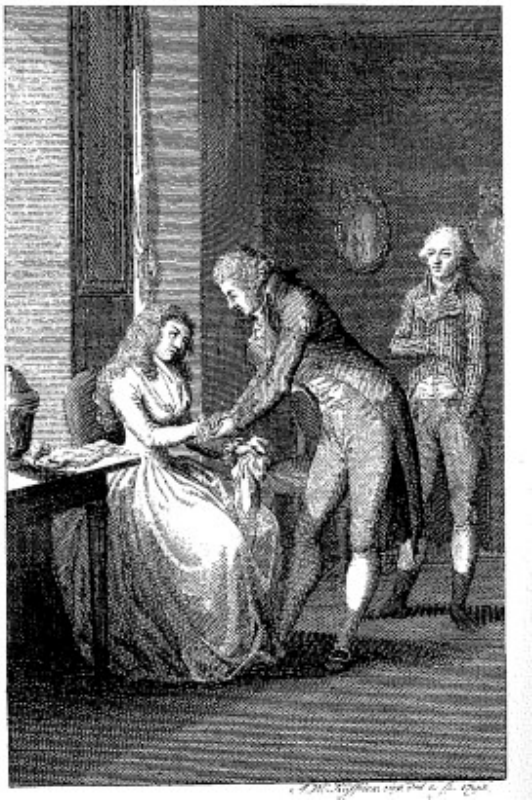

Image 3: Frontispiece of *Die Familie Seldorf*

While Hannah Snell is presented as having both male and female attributes from the beginning of the story, the figure Sara Seldorf is introduced as having only stereotypical feminine character traits and behavior.

In her relationship to her married lover, Count L. (in the following also referred to as L.), she appears happy, content, and almost childlike. She walks "hüpfend" [jumping] (Huber I, 177) through the meadow, picks "übermüthig" [cockily] (Huber I, 177) flowers, and "vor Fröhlichkeit" [in happiness] (Huber I, 177). This "kindliche Heiterheit" [infantile cheerfulness] (Huber I, 177) shows Sara's innocence. She is a "unerfahrn[e] schön[e] Seele" [unexperienced beautiful soul] (Huber I, 178). In contrast to L. whose masculinity is shown by his "Muth, Offenheit, Patriotismus" [bravery, openness, patriotism] (Huber I, 179) Sara Seldorf is "blos Mädchen, blos fühlendes Geschöpf" [merely girl, merely sensitive human creature] (Huber I, 179).

Sara Seldorf's relationship to men (to her father, her brother, her lover, the neighbor and his grandson) is "characterized by her submission to their authority" (Koser 118). She has a passive role and is even described as Count L.'s "Kind" [child] (Huber II, 67). Once she is expecting a child from L., she prepares everything "mit liebenswürdiger Weiblichkeit" [with lovely femininity] (Huber II, 21) for her child. The narrator points out "ihr moralisches Daseyn" [her moral being] (Huber II, 39) and says that she is a "herzliche Mutter" [affectionate mother] (Huber II, 57). These are all stereotypical female characteristics.

A change in her character is influenced by two events: Huber's protagonist learns that Count L. has a wife and keeps her as his mistress, and shortly after that loses her child. During the storming of the Tuileries, L. inadvertently kills his and Sara's child. Sara Seldorf goes outside because she thinks that L. will participate in the revolt (Huber II, 104), and she becomes

caught in the middle of two fighting groups. L. does not recognize her, and "nur auf Vertheidigung der Seinen bedacht, verblendet […] schoß sein Gewehr los, und zerschmetterte die Schulter seines unglüklichen Kindes, das Sara mit ihren Armen umschlungen hielt" [only thinking of the defense of his companions, blended, started shooting, and smashed the shoulder of his unlucky child that Sara was holding embraced with her arms] (Huber II, 105). Her child lives for a few more weeks and Sara tries to get L. to come to her and see the child. She even goes into his house to find him and meets his wife (Huber II, 142-143). In that moment, "der Dämon des Verderbens zog in dieses [Sara's] Herz ein, wo bis heute nur sanfte und wohlwollende Gefühle gewohnt hatten" [the demon of ruin entered her [Sara's] heart, where—until today—only soft and benevolent feelings were] (Huber II, 144). On the same day, her child dies while Sara walks "in starrer Fühllosigkeit im Zimmer umher" [in rigid insensitivity around the room] (Huber II, 146). Then she screams: "nun er!" [now he!] (Huber II, 146), meaning that it is now L.'s turn to die. This personal crisis leads to a change in Sara's character; she is no longer soft and content but vengeful and restless. She says: "Rache und Recht kennt und braucht auch das Weib […] Rache und Recht geben mir allein noch Denkkraft" [The woman also knows and needs revenge and justice […] Only revenge and justice still give me the ability to think] (Huber II, 147). The female protagonist says this "kalt" [coldly] (Huber II, 147). In Huber's novel, the word "kalt" is normally used to describe men, e.g. the Count L. has "kaltes Blut" [cold blood] (Huber I, 178). Sara's prior soft, feminine characteristics seem to change to wild, passionate hardness which are stereotypical masculine attributes. The desire for revenge could also be interpreted as a irrational, feminine attribute; in combination with reason and coldness, however, it seems to be a masculine attribute that can be categorized under the masculine characteristic "Leidenschaft" [passion] of Schiller's poem. So Sara Seldorf already exhibits

masculine characteristics—such as passion, wildness, and reason—and acts in the public, stereotypical male sphere before she cross-dresses. She is "leidenschaftlich" [passionate] (Huber II, 174) and avoids "nachplapper[n]" [mimicking] (Huber II, 174), but instead develops "the ability to think individually" (Koser 122). She finds her own voice with which she gives "ihrer Partei wilden Beifall" [her party wild applause] (Huber II, 175). Huber's protagonist shows that a woman can have masculine qualities without having to cross-dress.

But Sara Seldorf does start to cross-dress and does so much later in the story than Hannah Snell in *The Female Soldier*. For her, cross-dressing is a last resort. Her friend Babet comes up with the idea at a point of time when Sara Seldorf is "in a state of cold indifference" (*Beauty or Beast?* 222). She does not see any sense in her life anymore because she is "verwaist, ohne Schuz, ohne Zuflucht auf Erden, ohne Zukunft" [an orphan, without protection, without shelter on earth, without future] (Huber II, 245). In short, because she lost everything. Babet wakes her up from her "gedankenlosen Starrheit" [thoughtless rigidity] (Huber II, 246) and gets "alles was zu der Verwandlung erforderlich war" [everything that was necessary for the transformation] (Huber II, 246). The two women take on the names André and Verrier (Huber II, 246). The fellow soldiers first call Sara Seldorf "den finstern Jugfernknecht" [the somber maiden servant] (Huber II, 249) in order to make fun of her "schweigender Ernst bei ihrer unter Mannskleidern sehr jugendlichen Gestalt" [quiet seriousness that contrasts her adolescent appearance that shows under her men's clothes] (Huber II, 249). However, after the first battle—in which she fights without "Furcht" [fear] (Huber II, 249)—they admire her fencing and fighting skills and call her "der tapfre Verrier" [the brave Verrier] (Huber II, 249). Her "actions on the battlefield transform her into a war hero" (Koser 118) in the eyes of her male fellow soldiers. She gets promoted to captain and slowly gains back the zest for life (Huber II, 250). Her motivation to cross-dress and

to join the revolutionary army is “Rache” [revenge] (Huber II, 250) and “wilder Durst nach L.’s Blut” [wild thirst for L.’s blood] (Huber II, 254). She wants to continue hunting Count L. and fights out of hatred because of him. Her wish is “ihn Arm gegen Arm, Schwert gegen Schwert, vor sich zu haben” [to have him in front of her, arm against arm, sword against sword] (Huber II, 250) and she imagines killing him with every enemy she kills during a battle (Huber II, 251) but she does not meet him on the battlefield (Huber II, 252).

By cross-dressing and taking up arms, Sara Seldorf enters “the masculine, political domain” (Koser 121) even more than before. She turns into an active, strong, vengeful female protagonist who participates in the political events of the French Revolution. As captain Verrier, she “perform[s] acts of bravery and strength” (Koser 124) but she does not lose the feminine attributes she exhibited before she entered the public sphere. When she learns that her lover, Count L., died in a battle (Huber II, 254) her character changes again and she is no longer driven by (masculine) revenge and reason but by (feminine) compassion and feeling: Sara Seldorf’s fellow soldiers talk a lot about L.’s death but there “war keine Rache mehr in ihrem Herzen” [was no revenge in her heart anymore] (Huber II, 256) because she had “sich auf dem Krankenlager so friedlich mit dem Tod besprochen” [she talked so peacefully with death on her sickbed] (Huber II, 256). She made her peace with death and “sie gönnte auch ihm [L.] Ruhe im Grab“ [she granted him [L.] the rest in his grave] (Huber II, 256) but when she sees L.’s coffin, she shudders (Huber II, 258-259). Sara calls upon “ihre Vernunft […], dies Gefühl zu bekämpfen“ [her reason to fight this feeling] (Huber II, 259). Here the reader can see her feminine attributes again; her feelings are stronger than her reason. In the night of the same day, Sara meets her friend Babet (who, earlier in the story, suggested the cross-dressing to her) again. With these two minor characters, Huber shows the ideal relationship for a cross-dressing woman:

Babet and her husband fight side by side on the battlefields and her husband is not bothered by his wife's cross-dressing (Huber II, 260). Unfortunately, both get killed by a bullet the next day (Huber II, 262).

These two crises, L.'s death and the death of her friends, wake the desire "zu helfen und zu retten" [to help and to save] (Huber II, 265) in Sara again. She wants "Tod den Verräthern, und Schuz den Hülflosen!" [Death to the traitors and protection to the defenseless!] (Huber II, 276) and she starts helping innocent victims of the revolution (Huber II, 265-267).

Like Hannah Snell, the cross-dressing Sara Seldorf lives in constant fear of being discovered as a woman. This fear even makes her—just like Walker's protagonist—hide her injuries and treat them herself when she gets hit on the shoulder "von dem Schlag eines mit Eisen beschlagenen Stoks" [from the stroke of a stick that was mounted with iron] (Huber II, 252) during the battle in which L. dies:

> Wie ihr Bewußtseyn zurükkehrte, und sie zugleich den Schmerz an ihrer Schulter empfand, erschrekte sie der Gedanke, daß diese Verlezung entdekt werden, und bei dem Verband den sie nothwendig machen würde, ihr Geschlecht an den Tag kommen möchte. Sie hatte den Muth, über vierzehn Tage lang eine Quetschung, die ihren linken Arm lähmte, und die Schulter bis zur Brust hinab mit gestoktem Blut schwärzte, für sich im Stillen zu ertragen. Das einzige Mittel, das Zufall und List ihr zu erhalten möglich machten, Salz und kaltes Wasser, durfte sie sogar nur verstohlen anwenden, und sie mußte sich das frische Wasser, wonach ihr Fieberdurst so heiß verlangte, entziehen, um ihr darein getauchtes Schnupftuch, mit etwas Salz, das sie unter allerlei Vorwänden sich verschafte, des Nachts auf ihre Quetschung zu legen, die durch den heftigsten Schmerz in

Eiterung überzugehen drohte. (Huber II, 252-253)

[Once she became conscious again, and at the same time felt the pain in her shoulder, she got scared that these injuries would be discovered and that her sex would be revealed during the process of bandaging of them (by a doctor). For over fourteen days, she had the courage to secretly endure a bruise that paralyzed her left arm and that made the area from shoulder to chest black with stagnated blood. The only tool—salt and cold water—that she got through coincidence and stratagem she could only use secretly, and she had use the fresh water—that she got originally for drinking—to mix it with salt that she got under several pretences and then to put her handkerchief—that was moistened with that salt water—during the night on her bruise which was under terrible pain developing a suppuration]

She can endure "unsäglich[e] Schmerzen" [unspeakable pain] (Huber II, 254) and is able to treat the wounds herself and to hide the injury and her pain from her fellow soldiers which shows the reader her wit, courage, and her strength, all stereotypical masculine attributes.

This scene shows how naturally Huber's protagonist exhibits her acquired masculine characteristics, which does however not mean that she dropped all her feminine characteristics, as Watanabe-O'Kelly might interpret it, because she claims that "Sara dons and doffs masculinity with her trousers" ("Wearing the Trousers" 39). Sara Seldorf appears to exhibit both attributes of masculinity and femininity at the same time. I do not agree with Watanabe-O'Kelly, but with Koser who argues that Huber's protagonist "models […] an alternative form of warfare and patriotism that includes both bravery and compassion" (Koser 126). As Kapitän Verries, Sara Seldorf taught her fellow soldiers "einen menschlicheren, aber auch strengeren Begrif von ihrer

Pflicht als Krieger und Patrioten" [a more humane but also stricter sense of their duty as warriors and patriots] (Huber II, 273) and they still respect her, when her sex is revealed (Huber II, 283).

After her sex is discovered, Sara Selfdorf decides to care for L.'s son whose mother died as a civilian in one of the battles (Huber II, 286) and again becomes "unverkennbar ein weiches, unglükliches Weib" [unmistakable a soft, unhappy woman] (Huber II, 287). She is happy with the child in her arm but she is sad because she knows she has to leave her troop. With tears in her eyes, she takes off her hat and puts down her saber (Huber II, 287-288). In her farewell, she tells her fellow soldiers: "Lebt wohl – dienet dem Vaterland – sichert unsre Freiheit" [Good bye – serve the fatherland – ensure our freedom] (Huber II, 288). Even though Sara Seldorf is not a traditional heroic figure and the word 'fatherland' in one scene is even "bedeutungslos" [meaningless] (Huber II, 249) for her, she values patriotism and encourages her fellow soldiers to be heroic.

At the end of the narrative, Huber's protagonist goes back to having a soft heart and being a mother but her personal crises and the experience as a soldier have altered her forever. She does not take on a traditionally feminine, passive role again but shows her "ability to decide her own fate" (Koser 128) and decides to stay independent by declining her childhood friend's marriage proposal. Sara exhibits a mixture of innate, feminine characteristics and acquired masculine attributes.

Huber's work shows "how a woman reconciles her destiny as wife, mother, daughter, or sister" (*Beauty or Beast?* 213) and how she acts in the "exceptional situation that is war" (*Beauty or Beast?* 213). Due to this focus on family and the domestic, Watanabe-O'Kelly argues that *Die Familie Seldorf* is to be enjoyed "in an intimate setting or consumed in private by a solitary reader" (*Beauty or Beast?* 213) who was most probably a woman. In contrast, *The Female*

Solider is supposed to be read and enjoyed by both men and women. Furthermore, Huber describes Sara Seldorf's place in this family and her breaking out of the given family structures, while Walker's focus is on Hannah Snell's adventures and not her place in her family. These different foci can be another reason why *Die Familie Seldorf* was meant for and read by a female readership.

In the case of Huber's *Die Familie Seldorf*, the motif of the cross-dressing female warrior results from "new concepts of femininity" (Satini 25) which entail that a human being can simultaneously exhibit both traditionally masculine and traditionally feminine characteristics as suggested by Schlegel (see chapter 2), and that these attributes do not depend on gender or biological sex. In the case of *The Female Soldier*, the motif can be seen not only—like Gurman claims—as "a vehicle for the propagation of male values" (Gurman 322) but also to value women's characteristics. The one sex-model of the mid-eighteenth century makes it possible for Walker to combine both positive masculine and positive feminine attributes in one figure in order to entertain his readers.

Both cross-dressing female characters exhibit masculine characteristics such as strong willpower, energy, and fearlessness. Especially the endurance of pain after being wounded shows their strength and courage. Moreover, they display patriotic ambitions, even though they joined the military for personal reasons. But Hannah Snell and Sara Seldorf also have feminine attributes like compassion and sympathy. It is important to note that both protagonists do not try to eliminate their feminine attributes in order to become more like men. Instead, they use their feminine characteristics while they cross-dress which makes them a better soldier and comrade: Hannah Snell cleans her fellow soldiers' clothes and helps them overcome homesickness with

her sympathy; Sara Seldorf helps innocent victims of the revolution and teaches her fellow soldiers a more humane sense of a warrior's duty. Furthermore, they appear to be the masters of their own lives and bodies. Both protagonists for a long period of time successfully disguise themselves as men. However, it appears that their stories have to end as they started: with the protagonist dressed like a woman, even though the woman is not the same figure as the one at the beginning of the story.

CHAPTER 5

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE CROSS-DRESSING FEMALE WARRIOR FIGURES

Both works discussed in this thesis have in common that the reader knows from the beginning that the main female character of the plot is a woman. The cross-dressing is part of the plot and happens during the story; it is not permanent, and it is used for a specific purpose.

The Purpose of Cross-dressing

Most cross-dressing female warriors do so "for a brief period or from time to time for some particular purpose" ("Wearing the Trousers" 29). In both Hannah Snell's and Sara Seldorf's case, the purpose of cross-dressing is "to join the military" ("Wearing the Trousers" 28) in order to search for and take revenge on their lover or husband who betrayed them. Therefore, they also cross-dress for "romantic reasons" (Craft-Fairchild 173). The desire to cross-dress can, more generally, be interpreted as "the desire for mobility" (Craft-Fairchild 174), the wish for "a freedom of movement" (*Beauty or Beast?* 213). In Hannah Snell's case, the woman's adventures and mobility "depend entirely upon" the cross-dressing (*Warrior Women* 9). For Sara Seldorf, this aspect of mobility also comes into play.

It is important to note that the temporary form of female cross-dressing that Hannah Snell and Sara Seldorf present can be interpreted as "heterosexual and temporary" (Craft-Fairchild 173). It appears less threatening in the mind of a male reader because the disguise is not used to "permanently […] usurp male privileges" (Craft-Fairchild 173). *The Female Soldier* and *Die*

Familie Seldorf focus on the embodiment of both masculine and feminine characteristics in one female figure. This focus leads the reader to re-evaluate stereotypical gender roles of both sexes. The two works do not create a dangerous, usurping female figure who exhibits only masculine attributes presented in a female body, because this figure would support the assumption that women should not have masculine attributes.

The Space in which the Female Protagonists Act

In the eighteenth century as well as today, one can see that space is socially constructed and gendered (Spokiene 131). As chapter 2 showed, women were often associated with the home, the domestic space. Space, however, be it a body or a place, is "a performative space" (Spokiene 135). It can be used as a platform on which boundaries and norms can be questioned. By going to the battlefield and wearing male clothes, the female warriors break gender boundaries and social norms. Since women were associated with the domestic sphere during the eighteenth century in Britain as well as in the German-speaking part of Europe, the motif of the cross-dressing female warrior calls into question the "public sphere as exclusively masculine" (Koser 17). Politics and the battlefield were especially seen as a "male-dominated public sphere" (Koser 35). Both Hannah Snell and Sara Seldorf occupy and act in the public sphere; they travel and are mobile.

Having one's own property is an important part of freedom, mobility, and independence. Therefore, money is mentioned several times in *The Female Soldier*, e.g. Hannah Snell gets "a Piece of Money" (Walker 20) and "five Shillings" (Walker 109). The mention of money is especially noteworthy because married women in Britain did not have their own money. It was

the law in eighteenth-century Britain that "a woman's property passed into the control of her husband" upon marriage (Skinner 92). Money is not mentioned in *Die Familie Seldorf*.

In British ballads about female warriors, the woman usually returns to the domestic sphere and a marriage at the end (Gurman 335). Interestingly enough, neither Hannah Snell nor Sara Seldorf get put back in her "place into the gender order" ("Wearing the Trousers" 39) or (re)married at the end of the narratives. They do not "re-enter the domestic, conventionally feminine realm" (Gurman 335). When Hannah Snell quits her military service, she performs "on the publick Stage" (Walker 166)—which is a public sphere. By rejecting Roger's proposal—using the words "O nie, nie!" [Oh never, never!] (Huber II, 345)—at the end of the work, Sara Seldorf does not take on the stereotypical female role of a wife, but she accepts the role of mother and cares for L.'s son Hyppolit as her "Pflegesohn" [foster son] (Huber II, 317). She does not completely return to the domestic sphere because she lives with Hyppolit "fern von Menschen" [apart from other humans] (Huber II, 317), away from society, moving into a "kleines Gebäude in den Ruinen von L." [small building in the ruins of L.] (Huber II, 318).

Even though the two works analyzed here give only "the illusion of equal participation" (Koser 35) of men and women in the public sphere, they nevertheless reflect an important change in the historical context of the eighteenth century. A movement towards this equal participation can be observed in both Britain and German-speaking Europe. Women began to be active as both readers and writers of literature and to participate in the literary culture during the second half of the eighteenth century (Jones 1; Honegger 30-31).

Performativity and Issues of Identity

The cross-dressing female warriors not only go to war but they are also at war with the norms and stereotypes of their times. The different characteristics that do not match the stereotypical gender norms of society raise issues of identity (or, more accurately, of what creates identity). Moreover, these women's bodies can be seen as "a performative space" (Spokiene 135). Narratives with cross-dressing female figures who are equal to men or—due to their clothing—allowed to act like men "bring up questions about the performativity of gender, and of gender-based virtue and heroism" (Gurman 321). They question gendered stereotypes and re-evaluate who is allowed to be heroic. Judith Butler states that gender is revealed through performativity. "Performativity is neither free play nor theatrical self-presentation; nor can it be simply equated with performance" (Butler 59). Furthermore, Butler argues that "performativity cannot be understood outside of a process of interability, a […] constrained repetition of norms" (Butler 60). This repetition is what "constitutes the temporal condition for the subject" (Butler 60). In other words, performativity is influenced by the world around the subject embodying it. It is not the biological sex, but surroundings that influence gender identity. That the woman warrior exhibits masculine as well as feminine attributes and furthermore shows how characteristics are not gender based, provides potential for "selbstständige Weiblichkeit" and "sanfte Männlichkeit" (Schlegel 93).

Hannah Snell's masculine character traits are not all performance. While she performs negative masculine attributes (e.g. going out to drink, flirting with women), she has innate, positive masculine characteristics. As a child, she already "had the Seeds of Heroism, Courage and Patriotism" (Walker 12) as they "were implanted in her Nature" (Walker 17). Therefore, her

positive masculine characteristics are not performed, but part of her identity. *The Female Soldier* shows that (some) women can naturally exhibit masculine values.

Sara Seldorf, does not have innate masculine characteristics but she acquires them from her experiences and the personal crises she undergoes. The cross-dressing and the pretense of being a man, i.e. the way she looks, is her performance. Her stereotypical masculine attributes are not performed but internalized. This internalization of masculine characteristics becomes especially apparent after her sex is revealed. When she is injured the soldiers open "Sara's Kleid" [Sara's clothes] (Huber II, 281), see "ihre Brust" [her breast] (Huber II, 281), and scream "Es ist ein Weib!" [It is a woman!] (Huber II, 281). In this exclamation, the soldiers use the grammatically neuter personal pronoun "es" [it] which shows that they cannot assign Sara a gender because of the mixed attributes of both sexes that she exhibits. Furthermore, the soldiers say: "Kapitain, […] bis du deine Autoriät bei unserm Chef niedergelegt hast, sind wir Dir Gehorsam schuldig" [Captain, […] until you have relinquished your authority to our commander, we owe you obedience] (Huber II, 283). Her revealed sex "does not diminish their [the soldiers'] feelings of loyalty and admiration for her even though it contradicts their firmly held assumptions" (Koser 127). This scene shows that a person is more than their biological sex and that a person's sex does not encompass their identity or determine their individual personality. *Die Familie Seldorf* teaches the reader to look at the individual rather than assume that all humans of one gender are the same and have the same qualities.

Cross-dressing women can, therefore, be seen as "gender-bending warriors" (Koser 17) who present "gender ambiguity" (Koser 17) in order to question stereotyped, gendered characteristics.

CHAPTER 6

HISTORICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE CROSS-DRESSING FEMALE WARRIOR IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

While Walker's protagonist is based on an actual person, Huber invented a "completely fictitious" cross-dressing female warrior (*Beauty or Beast?* 212). There are two possible reasons for Huber's choice: She might have invented a fictitious character because "in German culture, records of actual woman warriors are sparser than in other European countries" (*Beauty or Beast?* 5) or because she wanted her readers to identify more with a fictional protagonist. Were there actual cross-dressing women in Britain and German-speaking Europe during the eighteenth century?

Although Hannah Snell "was an historical person" ("Women and Popular Culture" 276) who cross-dressed "for financial reasons" ("Women and Popular Culture" 278), her adventures in *The Female Soldier* are "arguably fictionalized" (Gurman 323). It is clear that Hannah Snell did not record her story herself because she could not write ("Women and Popular Culture" 278); she did not learn to write in school (Walker 13). There were, however, women disguised as men who fought in British armies. The historian Lynne Friedli documented "the lives of 34 women who lived as men during the eighteenth century" in Britain (Gurman 326). Sixteen of these women were soldiers, sailors, or pirates (Gurman 326). Although Dugaw argues that the "lived experiences of these women […] stand in vital, but unclear, relation to what was written, printed, and sold" ("Women and Popular Culture" 278), there is no doubt that "female-to-male cross-dressing was a familiar practice in the early to mid eighteenth century" (Brooks 64) in Britain

and that there were many women who cross-dressed in real life. Working class women who sought the social and economic advantages men enjoyed cross-dressed (Craft-Fairchild 171). They wanted "to take advantage of exclusively male economic opportunities" (Gurman 326).

In the German-speaking part of Europe, it was different. There were no cross-dressing women warriors in the middle of the eighteenth century even though Weiße claims that there are "auch zu unsern [seinen] Zeiten Amazonen" [also in our [his] times Amazons] who cross-dressed (Weisse, Introduction 1). When Weiße makes this claim in the introduction to his *Amazonenlieder*, he refers to the Seven Years' War. According to Karen Hagemann's and Ralf Pröve's collective volume *Landsknechte, Soldatenfrauen und Nationalkrieger* [Mercenary, Army Wives, and National Soldiers], it was very unlikely that women, disguised as men, fought in the war during this time period. Hagemann's and Pröve's work discusses gender relations in wartime and in the military from the sixteenth century up to the First World War. One of the articles in the collection states that it was normal—before and after the Seven Years' War—that women accompanied the armies but that these women did not cross-dress (Nowosadtke 297). Women did, however, play an important role for the "physische und psychische Versorgung der Soldaten" [corporal and mental support of the soldiers] (Hagemann 18). Some of the women who traveled with the army cooked and provided for the male soldiers, patched their clothes, and were their companions; some of the women were prostitutes (Nowosadtko 298-302). Neither Hagemann nor Nowosadtko mention any account of women who participated as cross-dressed soldiers in the Seven Years' War. There is, however, well documented historical evidence of cross-dressing women warriors at the end of the eighteenth century and around 1800. Julie Koser references Rudolf Dekker's and Lotte van de Pol's work *Republican Heroines* which gives detailed information about historical female cross-dressers around 1800 (Koser 192). In France,

there were documented cross-dressing women “among revolutionary forces especially after the 1793 sanctions prohibiting them from fighting” (Koser 34). There were also cross-dressing female warriors who fought alongside male soldiers in the German forces during the Napoleonic Wars and before (Koser 16). These armed women were, however, not seen as respectable (Koser 35).

CHAPTER 7

SIMILARITIES BETWEEN THE CROSS-DRESSING FEMALE WARRIOR AND THE ANCIENT AMAZON FIGURE

The two works discussed in this thesis both mention the ancient Amazons at the beginning of the plot. In *The Female Soldier*, the Amazon reference marks a time in which women were allowed to be warriors: "Courage and warlike Expeditions, are not the Provinces by the World allotted to Women since the Days of the *Amazons*" (Walker 11). In *Die Familie Seldorf*, the Amazon figure is used as a negative example for femininity: "Der feste, treue, eiserne Mann kann nur der sanftesten Weiblichkeit huldigen; Schwächlinge lieben Amazonen" [The strong, faithful, firm man can only worship the softest femininity; wimps love Amazons] (Huber 1:26). The first quotation depicts Amazons in a positive way, the second quotation in a negative fashion. This difference makes it even more interesting to investigate which characteristics of Hannah Snell and Sara Seldorf are similar to those of the ancient Amazons.

In the *Iliad* (book 3, line 189), Homer describes the Amazons as αντιάνειραι (antiáneirai, classical Greek for 'equal to men') who fought—armed with a sword or bow and arrow—against the ancient heroes, such as Achilles and Heracles (Block 575). They were a mythical people initially from Asia Minor, known for their courage as female warriors (Block 575). They lived in a community in which men mattered only with respect to reproduction (Toepffer 1754). Amazons were also known for their brutality, mercilessness, and the desire to fight (Toepffer 1755). There is the myth that Amazons cut off their right breast in order to be better archers; interestingly enough, this detail cannot be supported by the Greek sculptures that portray

Amazons (Satini 17). Next to their excellent ability to fight, the ancient Amazons—especially the Amazon queen Penthesilea—were known for their beauty (Frenzel 12-13).

The biggest difference between the Amazons and Walker's as well as Huber's protagonists is that "Amazons […] usually remain visible as women" (*Beauty or Beast?* 183) while the two female warriors discussed in this thesis temporarily disguise themselves as men. Another difference is that, while Amazons were not interested in men (other than as the means of reproduction) and were also often not attracted to men, these stories of the cross-dressing female warriors have a romantic element. Both Sara Seldorf and Hannah Snell had partners before they joined the military. Additionally, physical beauty does not play a role in either *The Female Soldier* or *Die Famile Seldorf*. The focus of both narratives is on the inner values and actions of the two protagonists. Another aspect that the Amazons do not exhibit and that differentiates them from the cross-dressing female warriors is their heroism and patriotism, especially in the figure of Hannah Snell.

The similarities are that both images of female warriors, the Amazon and the cross-dressing woman, confuse "the distinction between the sexes" and "challenge gender roles" (Santini 26). The Amazon figure achieves this goal through the "opposition of purity and aggression, of manly courage and feminine irrationality" (Santini 15); the cross-dressing female warrior by embodying both stereotypical masculine attributes (strength, courage, independence) and stereotypical feminine attributes (compassion, sympathy, domestic skills). The Amazons, as well as Sara Seldorf and Hannah Snell, challenge the ideas of what masculinity and what femininity is.

Huber's protagonist seems to have more in common with the ancient Amazons than Walker's Hannah Snell, especially during her time of cross-dressing and revenge. As captain

Verrier, Sara Seldorf is a brutal soldier, a “Todesengel” [angel of death] (Huber II, 251); she has “Kriegslust” [desire for war] (Toepffer 1754) like an Amazon, is fearless, and has no mercy toward her enemies on the battlefield because she imagines them to be Count L. She becomes exactly that kind of woman that her father at the beginning of the story describes as negative: an “unabhängig[e]” [independent] (Huber I, 26), strong, fighting Amazon.

Interestingly, the Amazon motif was not used very often during the eighteenth century in Europe, because it was seen as an unreal phenomenon (Frenzel 25). Its relative absence from literature may have favored the subsequent popularity of the cross-dressing female warrior.

CHAPTER 8

THE CROSS-DRESSING FEMALE WARRIOR IN COMPARISON WITH THE EARLIER MODELS OF CROSS-DRESSING WOMEN WARRIORS

As shown above in the case of Hannah Snell, some female warriors depict contemporary or "historical figures […] but in most cases they are re-imaginings of women warriors […] found in mythology, ancient and medieval history, and the Bible" (*Beauty or Beast?* 1). Beyond the relationship of the cross-dressing female warrior in relation to the ancient figure of the Amazon, the cross-dressing women can also be seen in the broader context of the literary tradition of cross-dressing woman warriors and their relation to earlier models of these female warriors.

In her book *Beauty or Beast? The Woman Warrior in the German Imagination from the Renaissance to the Present*, Watanabe-O'Kelley defines the woman warrior as follows: A woman warrior is a "woman who leaves her proper female sphere, takes up a weapon, goes to war and, in some cases, even kills" (*Beauty or Beast?* 1), she "bears arms on behalf of a cause, a city, or a country" (*Beauty or Beast?* 16) and "invades the male sphere of the battlefield and the camp" (*Beauty or Beast?* 16). Watanabe-O'Kelley also notes that "the woman warrior does not go to war against other women but against men" (*Beauty or Beast?* 16). In the German literature, the motif of the woman warrior can be traced all the way back to the Middle Ages. In the *Nibelungenlied*, Brünhild who is strong, bears and wields arms, and fights off many potential husbands in a contest of physical strength. She is defeated by Siegfried, in his magic cap, working at the behest of Gunther (*Nibelungenlied* 134-139). Winning the contest is however not

enough, Brünhild "has to be tamed in bed and turned into a wife" (*Beauty or Beast?* 17) and the strong, invisible Siegfried sleeps with Brünhild on behalf of Gunther (*Nibelungenlied* 196-199).

She is, perhaps, the most famous example of a woman warrior in German literature. The definition of a woman warrior also denotes the cross-dressing woman, with the addition that the woman "disguise[s] herself as a man" (*Beauty or Beast?* 184). Watanabe-O'Kelley argues that a cross-dressing woman warrior in most works is "highly likely to be a monstrous being who is a danger to her own children" ("Wearing the Trousers" 41) and "a seductress" ("Wearing the Trousers" 33). In her discussion of earlier (pre 1700) cross-dressing women warriors in German literature, Watanabe-O'Kelley also states that the cross-dressing female figure normally "emasculates […] the men around her" ("Wearing the Trousers" 32). Watanabe-O'Kelley does not mean the literal emasculation, i.e. castration, of men but a metaphorical one: The female protagonist who cross-dresses needs a male counterpart who can play the female role on her behalf and puts on woman's clothes in order to do so ("Wearing the Trousers" 32). This behavior does not hold for the British biography of Hannah Snell nor does the reader find it in Sara Seldorf's case. On the contrary, the minor character Babet who cross-dresses is supported by her husband. No man gets emasculated. Rather, Babet's male appearance, in other words, her masculinity, is encouraged by her counterpart.

Additionally, Watanabe-O'Kelley claims that most woman warriors are punished with death if they kill (Grimmelshausen's *Lebensbeschreibung der Die Erzbetrügerin und Landstörzerin Courasche* is the exception to this rule) ("Wearing the Trousers" 41). This behavior also does not occur in Hannah Snell or Sara Seldorf. Both protagonists live safely at the end of the narratives.

Watanabe-O'Kelley's argument assumes that the (non cross-dressing) woman warrior "has to be made safe by being tamed in some way—either by death, by defloration, or both" (*Beauty or Beast?* 1). Such events also do not occur in Walker's or Huber's work. Neither Hannah Snell nor Sara Seldorf are killed or deflowered. Their fate may be due to their resigning from the military service and leaving the male space. It seems to me that this would not be a strong enough reason. It appears that the idea of a warrior woman becomes a less "terrifying" in the eighteenth century (*Beauty or Beast?* 1). The cross-dressing protagonists in *The Female Solider* and *Die Familie Seldorf* are more realistic and less threatening than the earlier woman warrior figures. A reason for this representation might be the changes in the British and German-speaking culture, i.e. changing politics, gender roles, and the increasing participation of women in the public sphere.

Interestingly enough, in the British tradition, the woman warrior seems to be closely tied to the motif of cross-dressing. Dugaw argues that the "[f]emale [w]arrior's heroism consists precisely in her gender complexity – her capacity for a double-life which travesties the division of the world into two genders" (*Warrior Women* 92). As noted, ballads with the women warrior motif were especially popular between 1600 and the 1800s (*Warrior Women* 1). The female protagonists of these ballads "don men's clothing, sail the seas, and fight cruel wars" (*Warrior Women* 1) and they also prove themselves "deserving in romance, able in war, and rewarded in both" (*Warrior Women* 1).

Walker's protagonist is only rewarded with money. At the end of *The Female Solider*, when Hannah Snell is no longer a cross-dressing soldier, the narrator mentions that she gets an "annual Pension" for her military service (Walker 177). She also received money for being a soldier during the service (see, for example, Walker 21). One could say that she is rewarded for

her ability to fight in war, but she reaps no benefit for love. If I were to apply the British tradition to *Die Familie Seldorf*, it would appear that Sara Seldorf does not get rewarded on either account; she does however gain independence.

In comparison to the earlier ideas of cross-dressing female warriors, the eighteenth-century British and German novels discussed here created new concepts of an old motif. Walker's and Huber's protagonists are not "transgressive and frightening figure[s]" (*Beauty or Beast?* 1) but rather women with both masculine and feminine attributes who are independent, do not need a man, and do not get punished for their entering of the public, male sphere by cross-dressing.

CHAPTER 9

THE POPULARITY OF THE CROSS-DRESSING FEMALE WARRIOR

The female warrior who "ventured to sea or war disguised as a man" was a "popular heroic type" ("Women and Popular Culture" 268) during the eighteenth century. The motif "captured the public imagination" (Craft-Fairchild 171). As the example of *The Female Soldier* shows, texts with cross-dressing female warriors in Britain were used to amuse and to teach—as Gurman argues—both sexes (Gurman 322). Since the life stories of cross-dressing female soldiers appealed to a broad audience, they were "success stories" ("Women and Popular Culture" 269). This notion is supported by the fact that there were also many ballads with the same motif. The stories were also successful and because the prose texts as well as the "ballads often had as subjects actual women" ("Women and Popular Culture" 269). The narrator of *Life and Adventures of Mrs. Christian Davies, Commonly Call'd Mother Ross*, for example, claims that the story was "taken from her own Mouth" (Montagu 1, Preface iii). This "verisimilitude" (Craft-Fairchild 172) made such texts probably more exciting to hear or read. In both ballad and prose form, these woman warrior "tales were a commercial commonplace" ("Women and Popular Culture" 276) and sold well. The commercial side of the cross-dressing female warrior stories can be illustrated with the example of Montagu's biography of Mrs. Christian Davies who also cross-dresses in order to find her husband. In the second edition of the work, everything is exaggerated. The title gets another line (*Life and Adventures of Mrs. Christian Davies, the British Amazon, Commonly Called Mother Ross*), and a frontispiece with a female soldier on a horse (see Image 4, page 49) is added. The short description of her life below the title also claims

that she can handle “all Sorts of Weapons, rarely to be met with in the contrary Sex” (Montagu 2, ii). There is no doubt that these changes were made for marketing the story.

Image 4: Frontispiece of *Life and Adventures of Mrs. Christian Davies, the British Amazon, Commonly Called Mother Ross*, the second edition of Mrs. Davies’ story

It is important to note that *The Female Soldier* differs from the typical content of the women warrior ballad since she is not driven by love but by revenge (Gurman 327). Nevertheless, the texts about Hannah Snell’s life were such a “commercial success” that Hannah Snell also “became a stage phenomenon and performed on the London stage” (Gurman 325). Furthermore, cross-dressing was also practiced for amusement in the eighteenth-century Britain

(*Warrior Women* 132) and there were cross-dressing actresses that played male roles in theatre performances (Brooks 63).

Additionally, "the years of war against France between 1689 and 1713 and then again between 1740 and 1763 promoted […] an intense and widespread British sentiment" (O'Gorman 96) which might have furthered a patriotic feeling among the British population. Works including patriotism and heroism were therefore especially popular. One can see this feeling of British solidarity in *The Female Warrior*. The preface to the public highlights that Hannah Snell is "our *British* Heroine" (Walker, preface v).

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, "cross-dressing, in violating the boundaries between separate spheres, came increasingly to be perceived as a threat" in Britain (Craft-Fairchild 177). This change can be explained with the movement from the one-sex model (see chapter 1) to the two-sex model during the second part of the century which made cross-dressing "become both unnatural and subversive" (Craft-Fairchild 177) and a corruption "of morals and behavior" (Craft-Fairchild 179).

In German-speaking Europe, the cross-dressing female warrior motif was not as popular as it was in Britain. The changing gender roles described by Schlegel and the social and political changes during the second half and at the end of the eighteenth century might have favored the use of a cross-dressing female protagonist. The French Revolution "altered irrevocably the social and political structure of Europe" (Koser 4). It was, as the historical evidence shows, "gender-inclusive" (Koser 125) and the "radical politics" of the French Revolution carried with them "the promise and the threat of equality between men and women" (Kent 15). The cross-dressing female warrior as well as the revolution itself became an attractive topic, especially for female writers who had an interest in the immediate political events. As mentioned above, the second

half of the eighteenth century was the time of increasing participation of woman in the public sphere; women also started to be active readers and writers of literature.

Furthermore, “sentiments of German identity” (Koser 78) were “borne out of a perceived shared threat to political autonomy and personal security” (Koser 78). The patriotic characteristics of the cross-dressing female warrior and the battle “against a foreign enemy” (Koser 79) catered therefore to this “national sentiment” (Koser 77) that emerged in German-speaking territories at the end of the eighteenth century. Moreover, a female protagonist, due to her associations with the domestic sphere, could be seen as a symbol for home and therefore as an anchor in the rapidly changing events in German-speaking territories.

Additionally, the cross-dressing “woman is not who she appears to be” (*Warrior Women* 9), making a novel with this motif exciting to read.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

The motif of the cross-dressing female warrior fits well into the social and political changes and events of the eighteenth century in Britain and German-speaking Europe. I agree with Gurman that the motif is interesting because "it presents the male and female virtues in a single, female body" (Gurman 323). This body, however, is disguised in men's clothes. Both Hannah Snell and Sara Seldorf exhibit female as well as masculine characteristics. They embody courage, strength, and independence as stereotypical masculine attributes, and compassion and sympathy as stereotypical feminine attributes. Sara acquires her masculine traits, while Hannah's courage, patriotism, and heroism are innate. Sara is more brutal and Amazon-like as a soldier, while Hannah shows more domestic skills. The purpose of their cross-dressing is a "strategic" one (Koser 146). They cross-dress in order to gain mobility and take revenge on their husband/lover. By putting on pants and being a soldier/sailor, Hannah Snell and Sara Seldorf take on "one of the functions traditionally involved in the very definition of manhood" ("Wearing the Trousers" 28).

It is, however, not a performance that they put on. They do not play being a man, but *are* in certain ways like men and exhibit masculine character traits. Both masculine and feminine attributes are part of their identity. The two works discussed in these pages, therefore, speak to a change in the gender discourse during the middle of the eighteenth century in Britain and towards the end of the eighteenth century in German-speaking Europe. This change in the gender discourse was probably also influenced by the increasing involvement of women in the public

sphere and their participation, as soldiers and writers, in the political events during the eighteenth century.

In Britain, the motif of the cross-dressing female warrior became popular during the early to mid-eighteenth century in Britain, at a time when the one-sex model still allowed masculine and feminine attributes on a spectrum. Helen Brooks argues that "[p]redicated upon the interplay of masculine and feminine identities, bodies, and behaviours, cross-dressed roles […] spoke directly […] to shifting understandings of sex and gender in the middle years of the eighteenth century" (Brooks 63). During the first half of the century, the idea of the one-sex model was still in place. Later in the century, sexual identities were connected to the physical body (Brook 64). Due to the one-sex model, the gender expectations in mid-eighteenth-century Britain were fluid and "men and women were free […] to adopt both male and female attributes" (Brooks 65/67). In *The Female Warrior*, such fluidity was only true for the cross-dressing female protagonist who exhibits masculine and feminine attributes. Cross-dressing has not yet "become both unnatural and subversive" (Craft-Fairchild 177), as it does later in the century. The male figures of Walker's work have, however, only masculine attributes. Apparently, there was a certain "anxiety about the feminization of Britain's men" (Gurman 330) during the mid-eighteenth century which might already have been a result of the clear-cut gender roles suggested by the two-sex model.

In German literature, the motif of the cross-dressing female warrior became popular at the end of the eighteenth century, around the time when Schlegel advocated in *Über die Diotima* that "die Weiblichkeit wie die Männlichkeit der höheren Menschlichkeit untergeordnet sein soll" [femininity as well as masculinity should be subordinate to the higher humaneness] (87) and presented new ideas of femininity and masculinity.

Therese Huber and Robert Walker play with the predominant gender roles of their times. They both depict a "woman's survival in a disordered world" (*Beauty or Beast?* 213)—a world without a husband or lover, a world of revenge, a world of war—which opens up the space for new norms and experiments with different gender roles. Walker plays with the gender roles in order to amuse his readers and to present good male and female virtues in an exciting way. Huber's work shows that there is "the possibility of new, alternative forms of femininity" (Koser 114) at the end of the eighteenth century in German-speaking Europe. *Die Familie Seldorf* presents "new, empowering modes of female agency" (Koser 115) to the female reader. Cross-dressing can, therefore, also be read as a "symbol of women's refusal" to take on only domestic roles (Craft-Fairchild 180).

In both Walker's and Huber's work, the cross-dressing female warrior "represents the possibility of an autonomous and exciting life to women of the eighteenth century" (Gurman 335). It is questionable how possible an autonomous life without cross-dressing actually was. Nevertheless, the motif opens up the stereotypical gender expectations and allows women to have masculine attributes. Patriotism can especially be interpreted as a positive characteristic for both men and women due to the growing national sentiment in both Britain and German-speaking Europe.

Historically, the motif of the female warrior demonstrates "women's increased visibility and participation in the public sphere" (Koser 115) during the eighteenth century in Britain and German-speaking Europe. It gives the reader an idea of how gender roles were perceived and dealt with during that time. Furthermore, it shows that identity cannot be taken on and off like a pair of pants and that people are altered through the experiences they make. Additionally, the cross-dressing women warriors show how unstable is "the reliance on appearance as a means to

accurately identify and categorize individuals and the roles they occupy based on gender" (Koser 115). In this manner, the motif can be seen as relevant today as it was in the eighteenth century: now as then, gender expectations and appearance are closely tied together. The two works—*The Female Soldier*, *Life and Adventures of Mrs. Christian Davies* and *Die Familie Seldorf*—teach the reader that there are more layers to a person, more characteristics than the ones seen at first sight and that the idiom "Don't judge a book by its cover" does not only count for people but also for figures in a book and for the covers of the books discussed here and their frontispieces.

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APPENDIX

SCHILLER'S "WÜRDE DER FRAUEN" IN GERMAN AND ENGLISH

Würde der Frauen	*Dignity of Women*
Ehret die Frauen! Sie flechten und weben	Honor the women! They're roses celestial
Himmlische Rosen ins irdische Leben,	Twining and weaving in lives terrestrial,
Flechten der Liebe beglückendes Band,	Weaving the bond of the most blessed love,
Und, in der Grazie züchtigem Schleier,	Veiled in the Graces' most modest attire
Nähren sie wachsam das ewige Feuer	Nourish they watchful the e'erlasting fire
Schöner Gefühle mit heiliger Hand.	Of lovely feelings with hand from above.
Ewig aus der Wahrheit Schranken	To truth's limits ever endless
Schweift des Mannes wilde Kraft,	Man with wild force doth flee,
Unstet treiben die Gedanken	Thoughts do drive him ever restless
Auf dem Meer der Leidenschaft.	Onto passion's stormy sea.
Gierig greift er in die Ferne,	Greedy grasps he the eternal,
Nimmer wird sein Herz gestillt,	Silent will his heart be never,
Rastlos durch entlegne Sterne	Restless through the stars supernal
Jagt er seines Traumes Bild.	Hunts he his dream's image e'er.
Aber mit zauberisch fesselndem Blicke	But with their glances so magic'ly chaining,
Winken die Frauen den Flüchtling zurücke,	Beckon the women the fug'tive restraining,
Warnend zurück in der Gegenwart Spur.	Warning him back in their presence anew.
In der Mutter bescheidener Hütte	In the mother's most moderate quarters
Sind sie geblieben mit schamhafter Sitte,	They have remained yet with modesty's manners,
Treue Töchter der frommen Natur.	Nature's daughters, with piety true
Feindlich ist des Mannes Streben,	Hostile e'er the man is striving,
Mit zermalmender Gewalt	With a crushing force doth roam,
Geht der wilde durch das Leben,	Wildly through his life surviving,
Ohne Rast und Aufenthalt.	Without rest and without home.
Was er schuf, zerstört er wieder,	What he builds, he ruins later,
Nimmer ruht der Wünsche Streit,	Never rests the wishes' strife,
Nimmer, wie das Haupt der	Hyder Never, as the head of Hydra
Ewig fällt und sich erneut.	Falls and e'er renews its life.

Aber zufrieden mit stillerem Ruhme,
Brechen die Frauen des Augenblicks Blume,

Nähren sie sorgsam mit liebendem Fleiß,
Freier in ihrem gebundenen Wirken,

Reicher als er in des Wissens Bezirken
Und in der Dichtung unendlichem Kreis.

But they, contented with quieter honor,
Pluck now the women the moment's fine flower,

Nourish it loving and diligently,
They have in their bounded work greater freedom,

Richer than man, too, in districts of wisdom
And in the unending sphere, poetry.

Streng und stolz, sich selbst genügend,
Kennt des Mannes kalte Brust,
Herzlich an ein Herz sich schmiegend,
Nicht der Liebe Götterlust,
Kennet nicht den Tausch der Seelen,
Nicht in Thränen schmilzt er hin,
Selbst des Lebens Kämpfe stählen
Härter seinen harten Sinn.

Stern and proudly self-depending,
Knoweth man's cool breast thereof,
Heartily to heart though bending,
Not the godly joy of love,
Knows he naught of souls exchanging,
Not in tears melts he e'er hence,
Steels he in life's battles raging
Harder yet his hardened sense.

Aber, wie leise vom Zephyr erschüttert
Schnell die äolische Harfe erzittert,
Also die fühlende Seele der Frau.
Zärtlich geängstigt vom Bilde der Qualen
Wallet der liebende Busen, es strahlen

Perlend die Augen von himmlischem Tau.

But, just as softly from zephyr doth shiver,
Quick as Aeolian harp-string doth quiver,
Thus so the feeling-full woman's soul, too.
Image of pain makes her tenderly fearful,
Heaves then the e'er-loving bosom, and tearful,

Beaming the eyes are from heavenly dew.

In der Männer Herrschgebiete
Gilt der Stärke trotzig Recht,
Mit dem Schwert beweist der Scythe
Und der Perser wird zum Knecht.
Es befehden sich im Grimme
Die Begierden wild und roh,
Und der Eris rauhe Stimme
Waltet wo die Charis floh.

In the realm where men are ruling
Might defiant right doth have,
With his sword the Scyth'an's proving
And the Persian will enslave.
War be they in fury waging,
The desires both wild and rude,
Eris' voice is hoarsely raging,
Governing, where Charis fled.

Aber mit sanft überredender Bitte
Führen die Frauen den Szepter der Sitte,
Löschen die Zwietracht, die tobend entglüht,
Lehren die Kräfte, die feindlich sich hassen,
Sich in der lieblichen Form zu umfassen,
Und vereinen, was ewig sich flieht.
("Würde der Frauen" 164-166)

But now, so softly, persuasively pleading,
Women with scepter of morals are leading,
Smother they discord, all raging enlight,
Teach they the powers, that hateful develop,
Each in a more loving form to envelop,
And what forever would flee, they unite.
("Dignity of Women")