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WOMEN IN COMBAT – A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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Author's Note:

Names of notable military women are scattered liberally through the annals of history. Artemisia I of Caria, Boudicca, Joan of Arc, and many other heroic women made significant contributions to warfare in their day and age. However, the lives and exploits of such individuals are more examples of exceptional personal valor than reflections of the military institutions of historical societies as a whole. This paper focuses attention on groups of women who fought as formal combat components of historical military forces, rather than on individuals who were highly unusual exceptions to their contemporary military arrangement, in order to explain the general socio-cultural, military, and situational factors that led to the employment of women in combat. The scope of this paper is from the ancient world (6th Century BCE) to the modern (1900 CE), after which point the mass mobilization of nations for war greatly increased the prevalence and presence of women in combat. This paper is intended to give an accurate perspective on the nature of, and likely reasons behind, the employment of women in combat in historical societies, with hope that understanding of such could bear application to contemporary societies, including our own.

1. Introduction:

The employment of women in warfare has generally hinged on the presence of any of three conditions. First, the existence of a society that acknowledges women's military potential and is willing to utilize them in war. Second, the presence of a combat role that can be effectively filled by the women of that society. Third, the appearance of dire or desperate circumstances that call for the rapid and complete military mobilization of all members of a community. The first two conditions are themselves sufficient to allow the employment of women in warfare, and generally contribute to the organized participation of women in war. However, the third condition, namely dire circumstances, can allow women to fight without the presence of the first two conditions. The presence and centrality of these three conditions behind the employment of women in warfare is amply illustrated through the ancient, middle, and modern eras.

2. The Societal Condition:

This discussion of women in warfare will start at the societal level, the base of ideas and resources behind a community's conduct of war. For women to regularly appear in a society's armed forces, the concept of women fighting had to correspond to some extent with the society's latent value systems. Such societal value systems were largely influenced by the ways of life in a society. Therefore, the daily nature and conduct of life in a society largely influenced the likelihood that that society would utilize women in warfare. Societies that considered women compatible to males in the conduct of physical tasks would be far more likely to utilize them in warfare than would societies that employed strict stratification of labor between males and females. This point is most strongly evidenced by the example of nomadic peoples throughout the Ancient and Middle Ages.

2.1. Nomadic Societies:

Nomadic cultures based on hunter-gatherer or pastoral methods of survival featured far less rigid divisions of labor between their male and female members than did their sedentary, agricultural counterparts. Women as well as men hunted, gathered, herded, and in several cases, fought. The first evidence of warrior women appears in the ancient Scythian civilization of the North Black Sea and North Caucasus regions. Herodotus wrote of a race of steppe nomads named the Sauromatae (descendants of the Scythians), whose women hunted and fought alongside their men on horseback. Herodotus' description is confirmed by a wealth of archeological evidence

suggesting the existence of female warriors in Scythian cultures. Excavations of forty-four Sauromatian and Sarmatian kurgan burial mounds along the Khazakstan-Russia border in the 1990s discovered several skeletons of tall and strongly built females, buried with daggers and bronze tipped arrows.¹ While many other female skeletons unearthed at the same site were buried only with more typically feminine goods like beads and earrings, these excavations revealed the martial aspect of at least a portion of Scythian women. Such women of nomadic steppe cultures appear to have been trained in warfare from youth, much like their male counterparts, and would likely have been more than proficient in the Scythian practice of mounted archery. During times of war, these women would have ridden alongside their men into battle, shooting at their foes from horseback and occasionally being shot themselves, as evidenced by the wounds found on a few of the excavated female skeletons.²

The legacy of steppe women warriors continued well into the Middle Ages through the campaigns of the Mongols, whose women accompanied their men on campaign.³ While the wartime duties of Mongol women more often included logistical management and camp upkeep, all were trained to ride horses and shoot Mongol bows under Genghis Khan. According to the accounts of Marco Polo, the most skilled women may have fought alongside, and in a few cases led, men in Genghis' campaigns.⁴ Mongol women served correspondingly important military roles in the later conquests of Timur the Lame. Despite espousing the generally patriarchal religion of Islam, Timur followed the methods of his nomadic ancestors by employing armed female archers to guard his baggage trains while he deployed his men for open battle.⁵ It is important to note, however, that such methods of employing women in warfare did not outlast the existence of the nomadic society in which they were conceived. Upon the decline of the Mongol Empire in the 14th century, many Mongolians settled in the regions they had conquered from China to Eastern Europe, adopting the native cultures and letting go of their nomadic way of life. And in every case, the practice of training and using Mongol women in warfare disappeared within a few generations.

¹ Wilford, John Noble. "Ancient Graves of Armed Women Hint at Amazons" *The New York Times* 25 Feb. 1997 *nytimes.com* Web. 22 Sep 2015.

² Worrall, Simon. "Amazon Warriors Did Indeed Fight and Die Like Men" *National Geographic* 28 Oct. 2014 *nationalgeographic.com*. Web. 22 Sep 2015.

³ Vernadsky, George. *The Mongols and Russia*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953. 105. Web. 22 Sep. 2015

⁴ Weatherford, Jack. "The Women Who Ruled the Mongol Empire" *The Globalist* 20 Jun. 2005 *theglobalist.com* Web 22 Sep 2015.

⁵ Gascoigne, Bamber. "History of the Mongols" HistoryWorld. From 2001, ongoing. Web. 22 Sep. 2015.

The participation of steppe women in warfare from the Ancient to Middle Ages was reflected by the nomadic Cimbri tribe on the European continent during the classical period (circa 100 CE). While few revealing artifacts remain of these nomads to indicate this military bent, the historical recordings of their Roman adversaries provide insight into their martial culture. Plutarch's record of the life of Roman General Caius Marius during the invasion of the Germanic Cimbri, Teuton, and Ambrone tribes in 103 C.E. sheds some light on the roles of Germanic women in war.⁶ Plutarch recorded that Cimbri women accompanied their husbands to the Battle of Vercellae, guarding the Cimbri baggage train and entrenchments while their men marched onto the field to meet Marius' army. Upon witnessing the resulting rout of the Cimbri by the Romans, many of the women shocked the pursuing Romans by slaying both their fleeing husbands and themselves rather than enduring capture.⁷

Yet another example is evident in the migratory native societies of the Caribbean during the 1400s and early 1500s. According to Washington Irving's biography of Columbus the explorer, during his second voyage to the Antilles, found that in the absence of men, skilled women defended the tribal villages of the Carib Amerindians with bows and arrows. These women were described as expert archers, imbued with the "warrior spirit", and "almost equaling them [their husbands] in force and intrepidity".⁸ Clearly, such females were trained archers, and their military participation as guards of their villages allowed the full male strength of the tribe to be used offensively in raids, safeguarding the reproductive foundation of the society.

The ability of women in such nomadic societies to bear arms was derived from the minimal division of labor in their migratory societies. Nomadic societies' dampened division of roles, greater gender parity, and recognition of the physical abilities of females, paired with a military demand for supporting forces in battle, encouraged the regular participation of women in warfare.

2.2. Military Rights of Status:

Yet the condition of women being recognized as militarily capable agents was met by more than nomadic societies. Indeed, in several notable settled civilizations, women could attain military training and employment as a derivative of high social rank. The Japanese onna-

⁶ Plutarch. *The Parallel Lives*. "The Life of Marius.", "The Life of Pyrrhus." Loeb Classical Library edition, 1920. 27. Web. 22 Sep, 2015.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Irving, Washington. *A History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus*. London: John Murray publishing house, 1828. 601. Web. 22 Sep. 2015.

bugeisha, or female warrior of the samurai class, is a prime example. Despite Japan's patriarchal Confucian social philosophy, the prestige and privileges of the samurai class allowed higher class Japanese women property rights, household finance control, and military training.⁹ During Japan's feudal period, from the late 12th to early 14th centuries, local daimyo lords would often summon their male samurai retainers for campaigns, leaving women in charge of the samurai estates. During the turbulent feudal period, samurai women were expected to defend their homestead and town from raiders or thieves while their husbands were at war. As such, most samurai women were extensively trained by their husbands or lord in the use of the *naginata* (Japanese halberd), providing military security to their lord's base while his army was away.¹⁰ While very few Japanese women opted to become full time warriors and join the offensive campaigns of their lords, their service was instrumental to the security of their lords' towns and castles from roaming raiders during the feudal period. The increased stability of the following Edo period led many Japanese communities to discontinue the practice of training women, but some, like the domain of Aizu, retained the practice until the mid-19th century Meiji Restoration removed the final vestiges of samurai culture. In fact, during the final clash between the imperialists and Aizu samurai at the Battle of Aizu, a unit of trained female warriors armed with *naginas*, named the Joushitai, charged a unit of imperial riflemen, inflicting casualties before being wiped out.¹¹ The deployment and sacrifice of the Aizu onna-bugeisha during the Battle of Aizu illustrates the influence of social rank in eligibility for military service, even during the twilight of the samurai age.

A similar but more dramatic link of status and service is evident in the study of the warrior women of the 18th and 19th century African kingdom of Dahomey. The "Dahomey Amazons", a corps of exclusively female, musket-armed, superbly drilled warriors, present perhaps the most notable example of women being used in warfare. These soldiers originated around 1725 as royal palatial guards, drawn from the least delicate and most physically robust of the king's thousands of royal wives.¹² A number of circumstances contributed for these women's selection as palace guards rather than mere concubines. As personal consorts of the king, royal wives were utterly loyal, and since African social tradition forbade men from inhabiting the

⁹ Turnbull, Stephen. *The Samurai Swordsman: master of war*. North Clarendon: Tuttle Publishing, 2014. Print.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Masayoshi, Shimazu. "The Battle of Aizu" Web. 22 Sep. 2015.

¹² Alpern, Stanley B. *Amazons of Black Sparta: The Women Warriors of Dahomey*. New York: New York University Press, 1998. 26. Print.

king's royal quarters, women took the role instead. The physical robustness of these West African women and a consistent lack of military aged males due to war and the slave trade led to the employment of two to five thousand female bodyguards at any one time after 1725.¹³ Increasingly comprehensive drill and training transformed this royal bodyguard into an offensive combat force over the next five decades, which Dahomean king Gezo employed successfully against neighboring African tribes like the Mahi, Yoruba and Oyo.¹⁴ The amazon regiments came to constitute the elite soldiers of Dahomey, often outperforming the Dahomean men on the field of battle. Due to their proximity to the authoritarian king and impressive military prowess, the amazons were endowed with remarkably high social status, above that of most men of the kingdom, a social reversal seldom seen in West Africa. This connection of military service and social status helped secure more recruits to replace the amazon's losses in battle. The amazons' legacy might have endured longer had the French not attacked the Kingdom of Dahomey in 1890.¹⁵ The far better equipped Imperial French Army decimated the Dahomean army and conquered the kingdom, dispersing the remnants of the female regiments.¹⁶

Though their theaters of military involvement were thousands of miles and many cultures apart, the important link between the Japanese onna-bugeisha and the Dahomey Amazons is that their military service was a derivative of their social position. Without their initial selection for, or hereditary presence in, an elite subsection of society, they could not have engaged in their martial practices. This *top-down* method of military selection entails high social status in a military caste as a necessary prerequisite for female military service, and contrasts with the *bottom-up* service method practiced by women in some other sedentary societies. Bottom-up selection entails female military participation in sedentary societies through female self-advocacy and agitation. Although such sedentary societies which feature self-attained female equality and martial practice are exceedingly rare up to the modern period, the example of revolutionary France provides a critical insight into the phenomenon.

2.3. Military Involvement from Below:

¹³ Ibid. 73.

¹⁴ Ibid. 166.

¹⁵ Dupuy, Ernest R., and Trevor N. Dupuy. *The Encyclopedia of Military History from 3500 B.C. to the present*. London: Macdonald and Company Publishers Ltd., 1970. 856. Print.

¹⁶ Edgerton, Robert B. *Warrior Women: The Amazons of Dahomey and the Nature of War*. Oxford: Westview Press, 2000. 118. Print.

Prior to the French Revolution, French women, like all European women of the time, were subjugated to laws that rendered them second class citizens without political voice and largely confined to domestic roles. This persistent inequality in the Age of Enlightenment was rankling many women even before the onset of the French Revolution, and with the liquidation of the established social order during the First Fronde, French women pressed forward to make their voices heard.¹⁷ Apart from their famous March to Versailles and petition for full citizenship to the National Assembly, women also petitioned for the right to bear arms, believing that this right would transform them into full citizens.¹⁸ All requests were denied, and the Jacobin government suppressed and dissolved the militant, feminist Society of Revolutionary Republican Women.¹⁹ Denied an avenue to formally exercise their perceived military rights, many women defied national policies by informally joining the French army as local defense troops. While few if any fought openly on revolutionary battlefields, about eight thousand women served as informal defense troops from 1792 to 1795, at which point the solidifying revolutionary government banned women from joining the army and dispersed those who were already in service.²⁰ Despite the short term of female military service and the rapid reassertion of patriarchal dominance, the French Revolution is significant in that it displayed the potential of women to take advantage of societal turbulence and assert their right to serve in the face of male opposition. Such a trend of bottom-up activist incorporation of females into a military was extraordinary for its time, and remains an exception to the rule, even in contemporary society.

The cultural and societal condition of women in warfare is the fundamental deciding factor in their participation in war. Whether through nomad-influenced value systems, top-down ties of social rank to military participation, or bottom-up adoption of military service, women from the ancient to modern eras required the approval or support of at least a portion of society in order to participate in warfare.

3. The Military Condition:

Fundamental though this societal prerequisite was, it stood apart from the second main condition behind women in warfare: the presence of battlefield roles for female warriors, and the suitability of said female warriors to fill them. While social license was instrumental in allowing

¹⁷ Dupuy, Ernest R., and Trevor N. Dupuy. *The Encyclopedia of Military History from 3500 B.C. to the present*. London: Macdonald and Company Publishers Ltd., 1970. 560. Print.

¹⁸ Gouges, Olympe. "The Declaration of the Rights of Woman." Sep. 1791. Web. 22 Sep. 2015.

¹⁹ Anderson, Marian and Rebecca Cairns. "French Revolution Timeline" *alphahistory.com* Web. 22 Sep. 2015

²⁰ Ibid.

fighting roles for women, general societal norms did not exclusively influence the specific combat roles that women adopted. Rather, the capabilities of women to meet personnel needs of historical battlefields largely decided their deployment and combat roles. In short, societal license allowed women to step onto the battlefield, but personnel demands and the abilities of military women decided their employment there.

3.1. Intent of Women in Warfare:

The primary motivation behind the usage of women in warfare was the apparent desire of commanders or communities to maximize their number and quality of troops on a battlefield. In the nomadic societies of the Scythians, Cimbri, Caribs, and Plains Amerindians, the quantity of military aged males available for battle was often a major concern.²¹ The Scythians and Plains Tribes met this population impasse by swelling their fighting ranks with the most warlike of their women, using female warriors as ranged soldiers in combat. The Cimbri and Caribs approached population restrictions differently, leaving their women to guard their camps or villages, allowing their communities to utilize their full male manpower in offensive or frontline warfare. Even in comparatively rich and populous societies like those of the Mongols, Japanese, and Dahomeans, the outcome of military conflicts largely depended on the number of soldiers fielded by either belligerent. As such, economy of force was a critical concern of commanders, and the military use of women to increase battlefield numbers presented a clear solution. Despite the already massive size of his armies, Timur employed similar tactics to the Cimbri and Caribs, deploying his female archers to guard his baggage trains, allowing him to utilize the full male strength of his hordes in battle or siege. The feudal Japanese used the same strategy on an operational scale, leaving onna-bugeisha samurai wives to defend their lord's villages and strongholds from raiders, freeing the entire male samurai population for use on campaigns. Such societies that used women in their armies gained a distinct short-term numerical advantage over their similar size neighbors that did not due to the additional manpower available for use in warfare.

3.2. Capabilities of Women Warriors:

The inherent military capability of women to meet combat roles had great influence in confirming their roles on the battlefield. Militarily trained women proved themselves fully

²¹ Adams, David. "Why There Are So Few Women Warriors" *Behavior Science Research* Volume 18, Number 3, 1983, Pages 196-212. Web. 22 Sep. 2015.

capable of operating in guard or combat support roles across Mongol, Carib, Cimbri, and feudal Japanese societies. However, since this was the limit of their military use in these societies, observers can infer the general superiority of male soldiers and the unwillingness of most societies to risk their female reproductive bases in front line combat. Conversely, Scythian society allowed women to fight alongside their menfolk in open combat, as did the 19th century kingdom of Dahomey, and several Native American tribes like the Crow, Navaho, and Fox during the 17th through 19th centuries.²² Further divisions existed among these societies that allowed women to fight on the front lines along with men, as the specific combat roles assigned to them differed. The female Sarmatian warriors unearthed along the Kazakhstan border were heavily bowlegged and buried along with arrows, strongly suggesting their role as mobile horse archers, the primary Scythian method of war.²³ Fighting as ranged cavalry, Scythian women could shower their foes with arrows without closing to a melee, where their lesser strength against male opponents would have told against them. Similarly, Navaho and Fox women, while allowed to participate in small scale raids, usually fought on the outskirts of the fray, firing at enemy combatants from the edges of the plains battlefields. Yet, across the Pacific Ocean in West Africa, Dahomean Amazons were regularly employed in storming fortifications and fighting men in close combat with knives and three foot long man-cleaving machetes, a clear and marked deviation from the combat norm.²⁴ The case of Dahomey requires special explanation to account for its unusual planned use of women in particularly demanding and dangerous front-line roles.

The Kingdom of Dahomey that emerged in the 18th century and expanded through the 19th was a highly aggressive state, dedicated through the early 1800s to territorial expansion.²⁵ While aggressive territorial expansion under King Gezo enlarged the country and diminished the neighboring Oyo Empire, wartime casualties severely decreased a male population already depleted by the European slave trade along the coast of West Africa. As such, King Gezo's desire to wage war outpaced the means of his kingdom to produce enough male warriors. Gezo responded to his immediate need for soldiers by dramatically expanding the numbers and

²² Adams, David. "Why There Are So Few Women Warriors" *Behavior Science Research* Volume 18, Number 3, 1983, Pages 196-212. Web. 22 Sep. 2015.

²³ Herodotus. *The Histories*. "Country and Customs of the Scythians." Trans. Macaulay, G.C. Web. 22 Sep. 2015.

²⁴ Alpern, Stanley B. *Amazons of Black Sparta: The Women Warriors of Dahomey*. New York: New York University Press, 1998. 93. Print.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 18.

responsibilities of his traditionally female palace guard. From a small palace guard of a few hundred, the amazon corps swelled to comprise six to eight thousand female warriors at its peak, a significant portion of the Dahomean army, and about a quarter of the entire adult female population of Dahomey. Remarkably, rather than using his new female troops as support forces, King Gezo and his successor, King Glele, trained their female warriors more intensively than they did their male ones.²⁶ The reason behind this decision to train women as elite troops is probably owed to their utter loyalty and devotion to the king, and their derivative willingness to sacrifice their lives for him. Indeed, King Gezo was elevated to power by a palace coup over his brother Agonglo, performed by Gezo's amazons. This devotion and fighting spirit, coupled with excellent performance in battle, accounted for Gezo's decision to train and use female soldiers as his elite troops. The intensive physical and military training of the amazon corps made this legion the elite front-line shock troops of the Dahomean army, as the discipline, physical aptitude, and fighting spirit of the women allowed them to equal their male counterparts in physical strength and outperform them in military drills and morale.²⁷ This exceptional case of extremely capable women being regularly employed in front-line combat is explained by the personal prerogative of their commanders, kings who valued unconditional loyalty and fighting spirit above inherent physical strength.

4. The Situational Condition:

The main two conditions for women's participation in warfare have been outlined: societal license to participate in warfare, and the presence of roles in warfare that could be feasibly fulfilled by women. These two general conditions are sufficient to explain all historical instances of the planned and organized use of women in warfare. And yet, there exist infrequent instances in which women fought where neither condition was present. From the ancient Spartans and Iberian Celts to the modern Romanians, societies with no military gender parity or evident combat niche for women employed women in combat alongside men, in fashions utterly antithetical to their societal norms. The unifying hallmark of these examples is the presence of utterly desperate circumstances, generally in existential struggles for the survival of communities.

²⁶ Alpern, Stanley B. *Amazons of Black Sparta: The Women Warriors of Dahomey*. New York: New York University Press, 1998. 89. Print.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 100.

The siege of Sparta in 272 BCE by Pyrrhus of Epirus provided the desperate circumstances to necessitate the use of Spartan women in combat. As the main Spartan army was away campaigning, Pyrrhus' assault with twenty-seven thousand soldiers and twenty four war elephants was met by a mere two thousand Spartan defenders.²⁸ Facing the subjugation of their city and their way of life, Spartan women famously offered themselves to fight, and acquitted themselves admirably through the two day battle, constructing fortifications, relieving wounded soldiers, and hurling missiles at Pyrrhus' troops. Their valiant contribution in the moment of need bought Sparta enough time to gather reinforcements that dislodged Pyrrhus' siege and crushed his ambitions of conquering the Peloponnese.

The Celtic inhabitants of Lusitania faced a similar existential struggle against the Roman Praetor Sextus Junius Brutus, who conducted a brutally destructive Iberian campaign from 155 to 139 BCE, most notably against the settled Bracari tribe.²⁹ Brutus, seeking to eliminate the locally supported guerilla campaign of the Lusitanian leader Viriathus, waged a campaign of unrestricted destruction on Lusitanian towns, aiming to destroy the guerillas' bases of support. However, Brutus' campaign of annihilation galvanized the entire population, including the normally militarily passive women, to resist him. The Praetor recorded Lusitanian women fighting in the midst of the Roman sieges of their towns, perishing along with their husbands in defense of their homes. Despite their bravery, the desperate valor of Lusitanian women was insufficient to deter the Roman military machine, which rolled over the Celtic tribes north of the River Lethe, and continued southwards to repeat the process against the warlike Bracari, whose women bore arms with the men, and "fought never turning, never showing their backs, or uttering a cry".³⁰

Women's participation in desperate resistance manifested itself fleetingly in mid-19th Century Eastern Europe during the Wallachian Revolution. During the Hungarian siege of the rebellious Romanian town of Marisel, a Romanian local named Pelaghia Rosu assembled a unit of village women to swell the meagre numbers of Romanian defenders. Pelaghia Rosu's unit

²⁸ Plutarch. *The Parallel Lives*. "The Life of Marius.", "The Life of Pyrrhus." Loeb Classical Library edition, 1920. Web. 22 Sep, 2015.

²⁹ Appian of Alexandria. *A Roman History*. "Wars in Hispania." Trans. White, Horace. 72. Web. 22 Sep 2015.

³⁰ Appian of Alexandria. *A Roman History*. "Wars in Hispania." Trans. White, Horace. 72. Web. 22 Sep 2015.

distinguished itself in a cavalry charge that scattered the Hungarian attackers and secured the town of Marisel, a deed for which she was later rewarded by the Austrian general Wolgemuth.³¹

Though the exceptional valor of Spartan, Lusitanian, and Romanian women highlights the combat participation of women in sedentary, patriarchal societies with no regular combat role for women, the sheer infrequency of such events highlights these events as the rare exception to the norm, executed only under desperate circumstances in existential struggles for survival. As such, these instances confirm the utility of the societal and military role conditions of warfare for understanding the employment of women in warfare, supplying only a rare, but important, exception to the rule.

5. Conclusion:

Though the multitude of cultural and situational factors that led to the employment of women in warfare can complicate analysis of the topic, this paper seeks to provide a general template for determining the nature of and reasons behind the employment of women in warfare. Societal license, classified as top-down (bestowed by society), or bottom-up (asserted by women), was critical in allowing women to fight, and was present in nomadic societies with flexible gender roles, or in sedentary societies that included women in their high-ranking warrior class. Once allowed to fight, the specific battlefield functions of women warriors were determined by the presence of battlefield roles, and the martial ability of women to fill them. Common roles for female warriors included guarding camps or fighting in ranged supporting capacities, allowing the full utilization of male warriors in shock or frontline combat. Notable exceptions, like that of the Dahomey Amazons, are explained by the severity of wartime population depletion, and the unique military preferences of their kings. While this template of social license and battlefield roles with martial capability is useful for understanding the planned usage of women in warfare, it does not account for the few desperate instances in which societies with neither condition allowed women to fight. The exception to the two conditions then, is the presence of desperate circumstances in existential conflicts that called entire communities of women, regardless of training or experience, into the thick of combat.

³¹ Stoica, Ovidiu. "Pelaghia Rosu" Enciclopedia Romaniei. From 2008, ongoing. Web. 22 Sep. 2015.

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