

Eighteenth-Century Childhood Teacher Resource Guide

Book Two: Girls and Military Play



Authors: Melissa Hennig, M.A. B.Ed
Jennine Hurl-Eamon, Phd., Professor of History, Trent University

Copyright 2020



Funded by Social Sciences and Humanities Council

Eighteenth-Century Childhood Resource: Girls and Military Play

Themes

- Gender and play
- Race
- Military play
- Childhood Experience

Connection to Grade 7 Ontario Ministry of Education Curriculum

Strand A. NEW FRANCE AND BRITISH NORTH AMERICA, 1713–1800

- A1.1 analyse key similarities and differences in social values and aspects of life between people in present-day Canada and some different groups and communities, including First Nations, Métis, and Inuit communities, in Canada between 1713 and 1800
- A2.1 formulate questions to guide investigations into perspectives of different groups and communities, including First Nations, Métis, and/or Inuit communities, on some significant events, developments, and/or issues related to the shift in power in colonial Canada from France to Britain
- A2.3 assess the credibility of sources and information relevant to their investigations
- A2.5 interpret and analyse information and evidence relevant to their investigations, using a variety of tools
- A2.6 evaluate evidence and draw conclusions about perspectives of different groups and communities, including First Nation, Métis, and/or Inuit communities, on some significant events, developments, or issues related to the shift in power in colonial Canada from France to Britain
- A3.1 identify factors leading to some key events that occurred in and/or affected Canada between 1713 and 1800
- A3.6 describe some significant aspects of daily life of different newcomer/settler groups living in Canada during this period

Details: The resource guide provides engaging opportunities for students to explore the lives of children in the eighteenth century. The focus of this resource is on military experience and play but enables exploration into different topics as well. The late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century saw a number of conflicts (Seven Years War, American Revolutionary War, War of 1812), which impacted the experience of children. Although it draws on a number of British primary sources, this resource is relevant for settler children in other parts of the British Empire (presently Canada). The experience of children in Britain would have been similar to that of colonial children with regards to military life, gender roles, and juvenile impressions of war. These activities will take multiple class periods and are not formatted as traditional lesson plans. This allows for teacher flexibility as activities can be used in parts to best support student learning. Suggestions on how to use the resources are included, but it is up to the teacher to decide what works best for their learners! Enjoy!

Teacher Guide

A Note to Teachers

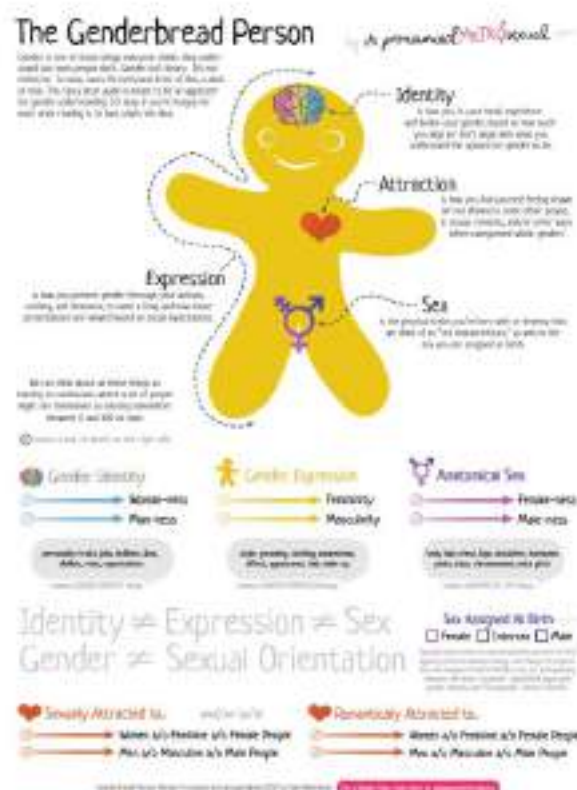
As this resource package focuses on gender and play, it is important to discuss the complexities of gender before completing the activities, so students have a better foundation by which to approach the following learning. This can be done before or after the painting analysis but this conversation is necessary!

What is gender?

Gender refers to the socially constructed roles, behaviours, expressions and identities of girls, women, boys, men, and gender diverse people. It influences how people perceive themselves and each other, how they act and interact, and the distribution of power and resources in society.¹

Gender is not binary and is not tied to assigned sex. Although it is not the purpose of this lesson to explore gender in great depths, it is important to teach students about the complexities of gender. To the right is an image of the Genderbread Person a great free resource to introduce young people to social constructions of gender. Learning about gender is an important part of challenging the gender roles, binaries, and norms that have been perpetuated through media for years.

These activities use the language ‘girl’ and ‘boy’ because of the nature of the evidence. Please ensure that students understand that gender is more complex than a simple male/female binary.



A Note about Representation: This resource features primary source evidence that focuses on the experience of white British children. This evidence allows for students to explore history through the experiences of children in the eighteenth and nineteenth century and make connections to their own experiences; however, ensure that students are questioning what stories are being left out in this evidence and what stories are being told. Notably, the experiences of Indigenous peoples are not explored in this resource.

¹ Government of Canada. (2020) “What is gender? What is sex?” *Canadian Institutes of Health Research*. <https://cihr-irsc.gc.ca/e/48642.html>

Description of Activities (for Teachers)

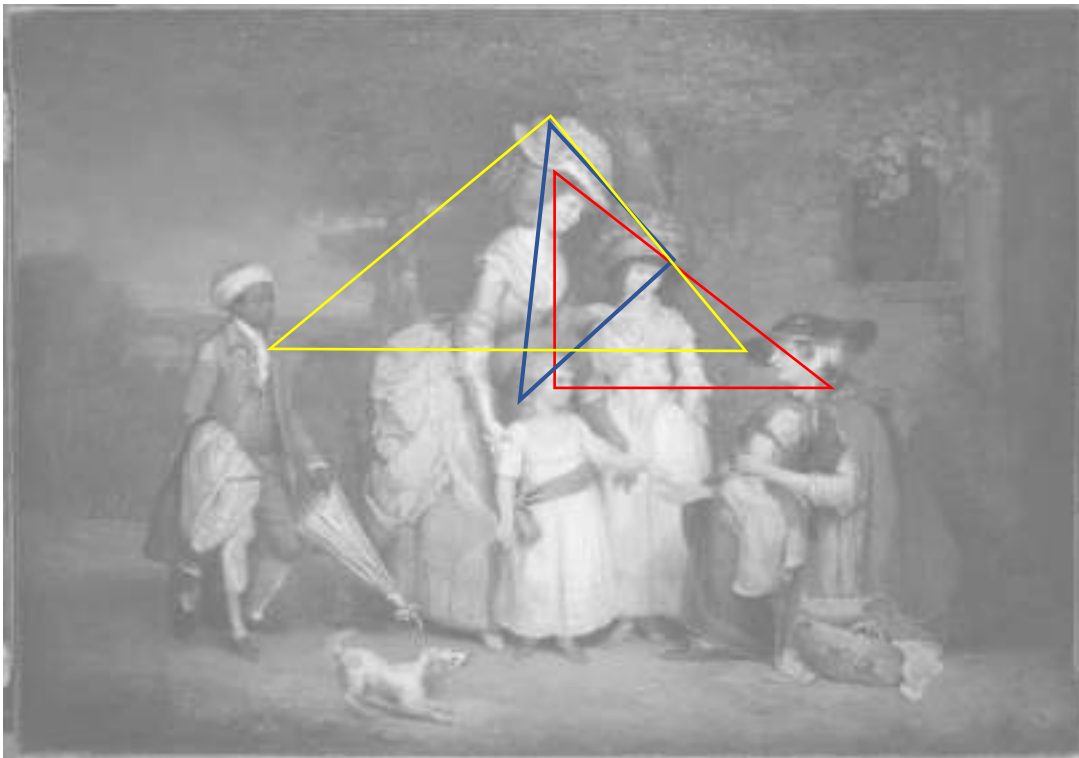
Activity One: Investigating Paintings

The first activity is a painting analysis. Students will review the painting *A Lady and Her Children Relieving a Cottager* and fill out the included graphic organizer, “Primary Source Investigation Chart.”

When completing the investigation of the painting draw student’s attention to reluctance of young lad to hand over money – almost a fear of the poor. Also note the different ‘triangles’ that are formed between the mother and her children (blue), the mother, her children, and the poor woman, (red) and all of the figures (yellow). This configuration serves to place the poor woman and the Black child to the exteriors of the image and centers the experience of ‘giving.’² Have students reflect on why this is, and how this affects the experience of childhood.

Student will also need a copy of the “Additional Information” page to review after completing the graphic organizer. A reflection question can be found on that page as well.

The students will then complete a painting analysis on another piece called *Children Playing at Soldiers*. This painting is related more clearly to the theme of this resource package, gender and military play. Students will use the other graphic organizer included, “Primary Source Investigation Chart II,” to examine the second painting, followed by reading and reflecting on the provided additional information.



² Beth Fowkes Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power: Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth-century British Painting*, London: Duke University Press, 1999, 54.

Activity Two: Venn Diagram

In this activity students will be asked to brainstorm some activities and toys that they believe are gendered in media and in advertisements. Before completing this activity, it is good to go over what is meant by “gendered,” “media” and “advertisements” with the class so they understand the point of this exercise. The **important note** here is that there likely **IS** a difference in how children categorize the experience of boys and girls – in general we should question why such a binary exists and why there are toys meant for and designed for “boys” and “girls.” Afterwards students will read “Girls Play Military too,” as an introduction to the next activity.

Activity Three: Primary Source Investigation Activity

Create stations for each piece of primary evidence (there are only three pieces so it would likely be best to have two or three versions of each station). The purpose of this investigation is a collaborative primary source investigation. Students (in small groups) will circulate through the stations and fill in a graphic organizer with ideas as they do.

At each station the students will find a piece of primary source evidence and will be required to read the document and respond to the reflection question in the provided graphic organizer titled; “Graphic Organizer for Stations.” The goal is that the students will read, reflect on, and discuss primary sources in a small group setting with teacher observation and intervention. It is important that this activity has a reflection component in which the teacher discusses all three pieces of evidence with the entire class. After the students have responded to the reflection questions at each station, pose the questions to the entire class so that students can see what other groups came up with. Time permitting you can also pair two student groups together so that they can discuss their different observations.

Please find some **supporting information** below:

Evidence 2: Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna

Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna was born in Britain in 1790. She wrote a memoir entitled *Personal Recollections*. There are two versions to choose from: “Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna’s Twitter Page” or “Excerpts from Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna’s Memoir.” These two options contain the same information but offer different formats for accessing it. It is up to the teacher’s discretion which format will work best with their class. All information has been taken from Charlotte’s memoir *Personal Recollections* with alterations to the language to make it more readable for Grade 7.

Original Text from the Memoirs:

Tweet / Excerpt One – Born into this exciting period, and hearing from my earliest infancy such matters canvassed, not as theories, but as realities...I became deeply engaged in them at five or six years old, an age when few children dream of public affairs...poring over a newspaper as big as myself... The era...of Napoleon’s menaced invasion...what a spirit did it rouse among us!

Tweet / Excerpt Two -My brother, in whose character the soldier had reigned predominant from babyhood, assembled all the little boys of the neighbourhood, addressed them in a patriotic speech, and brought them to the unanimous resolution of arming in defence of their country. 1/3

Tweet / Excerpt Two - Those whose finances extended so far, bought real wooden guns with swords; others, impoverished by the allurements of an old dame who vended lollipops, were obliged

to content themselves with such weapons as they could shape out of the hedge; a sixpenny drum, and a twopenny fife completed the military equipment. 2/3

Tweet / Excerpt Two - While on me devolved the distinguished honour of tacking sundry pieces of silk to an old broomstick, and presenting these colours to the corps.* 3/3

***Note** that “presenting the colours” entailed a formal ceremony where all of the soldiers in a regiment were assembled to receive its new regimental flag, also known as its “colours.” The flag had symbolic importance in battle; an enemy was considered to have defeated you when it captured your colours. The flag was highly guarded and generally was placed beside the commanding officer. The presentation of a regiment’s colours was usually done by the commanding officer’s wife or daughter, who gave a speech about the importance of bravery, sacrifice, and obedience to command.

Tweet / Excerpt Three- Often had he, in earliest childhood, toddled away from the gate after the fife and drum of a recruiting party; and often did he march and countermarch me, till I could not stand for fatigue

Tweet / Excerpt Four- with a grenadier’s cap, alias a muff, on my head and my father’s large cane shouldered by way of a firelock.

Tweet / Excerpt Five- I viewed the matter through the lying medium of romance; glory, fame, a conqueror’s wreath or a hero’s grave, with all the vain merit of such a sacrifice as I must myself make in sending him to the field—these wrought on me to stifle in my aching bosom the cry of natural affection, and I encouraged the boy in his choice, and helped him to urge on our parents this offering up of their only son, the darling of all our hearts, to the Moloch of war

Tweet / Excerpt Six - Sometimes our courage failed, and we explored the grounds in search of secure hiding-places; but the result of these deliberations was always a determination to stand by our mother to the last, and to try if we could not, by some means, ourselves kill Bonaparte

Evidence 3: Female Soldier Stories – Hannah Snell and Sususana Cope

Teacher note: Women were not allowed in the army as soldiers, but until the eighteenth century many soldiers were married and their wives would follow the camp. They served an important unofficial role in pillaging the surrounding countryside to provide food for the troops during campaigns. When supply chains improved at the end of the seventeenth century, suddenly these camp-following women seemed, to officers, to be more of a burden. They began to ban soldiers from marrying and stop women from following the regiment when it went on campaign. It was really hard for couples to keep in touch because they were usually illiterate and letter-writing was very scarce. The army only told civilians about officers who were killed in battle; families of common soldiers never heard their fate until the regiment returned after a war’s end. Couples might go many years without contact, and risked never being able to find one another again. This made it tempting for a few women to enlist in disguise in order to follow the army and find their lover.

It is important to also note that gender norms play a role in excluding women from following the army more openly. Increasingly, war seemed to be no place for a respectable woman. This worked to solidify the sense that women belonged in the domestic sphere, and that armies (and war) were masculine. These stories, in particular, could be connected to ideas of gender expression and identity using the Genderbread person. Although these stories feature heterosexual CIS women dressing as men, these stories provide an opportunity to discuss the fluidity of gender and gender language (Cisgender, Transgender, identity, expression, non-binary, etc.).

The eighteenth-century public loved these stories of cross-dressed soldiers, but it is important to remember that they saw them primarily as women in love. They did not see them as dangerous for defying gender norms, and by the nineteenth century, they were increasingly skeptical that such disguises were even possible. That is because this is the era in which the science of sexual difference became more prominent.

Activity Four: Final Reflection

Students will read a short passage written by a man who was 11 years old in 1803.

Intended outcome of Passage- War was an inescapable reality for all. The sounds and images of the military were commonplace everywhere. Children learned about the military by existing around it or as a part of it, therefore it makes sense that all children engaged in military play.

Place this passage on the board and discuss it as a class or provide a copy to each group for review.

The final reflection question can be completed as an individual activity to consolidate some learning and reflect **OR** it could also be an opportunity for a class discussion to reflect on all of the evidence investigated and modern portrayals of gender.

Materials for Students





Find all student materials required for these activities on the following pages.

Investigating Paintings: Introduction to Eighteenth-Century Childhood



This painting is called *A Lady and Her Children Relieving a Cottager*. It was painted by William Redmore Biggs in 1781.

Primary Source Investigation Chart

Who created the source?	When was it created?	What type of source is it?
What is happening in the painting? Describe what you see.		
Write some observations about each of the children in the painting. Who do you think they were? What are they doing? How are their experiences different?		
		
		

Additional Information:

This painting shows a wealthy mother and her two children. The mother is educating her children how to be charitable. In the **eighteenth century** (when was the eighteenth century?) wealthy people believed it was their role to help the poor, they believed that this was morally good. However, this belief **reinforced** the idea that the rich were *better* than those who were poor. The mother tells her son, who is wearing a dress, a typical outfit for boys under the age of eight, to give money to the poor woman with a baby. The boy's sister, who is older, watches him give the woman money. A Black boy stands behind the family. This child was likely a servant or was enslaved. He carries the mother's things and follows behind the family.

There were many slaves in Britain and in what is now called Canada. This painting was created in 1781, a period when the morality of slavery was beginning to be questioned and **abolitionist** movements were becoming popular. However, many painters included Black people, especially boys, in their portraits to show the wealth of the white family being portrayed.

This painting has a strong message. The message is that the white wealthy family has a duty to take care of Black people and poor people. These beliefs were morally questionable at the time and today we know that this belief is **racist** and **classist**.





With this new information, how do you think the childhood of each of these children would be affected by gender, race, and class?

Investigating Paintings: Gender and Play



This painting is called *Children Playing at Soldiers*. It was painted in 1788 by George Morland.

Primary Source Investigation Chart II

Who created the source?	When was it created?	What type of source is it?
What is happening in the painting? Describe what you see.		
Write some observations about the children shown below. Who do you think they were? What are they doing?		
		
		
How are the experiences of these children different? In what ways are they the same?		

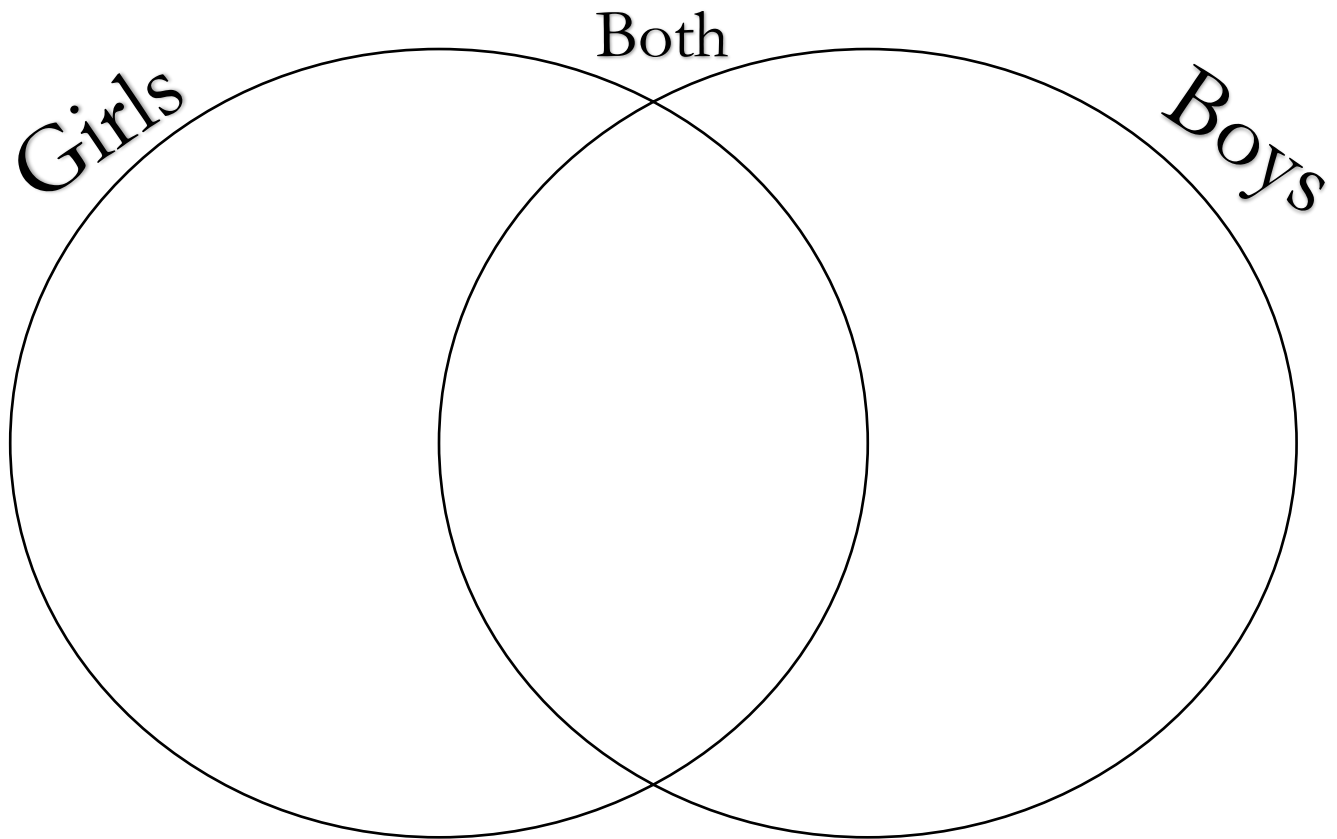
About the Painting

This painting shows children playing dressed up in the costumes of soldiers. The boys have the most equipment in the image – toy weapons, outfits, and flags. It looks like the message of this painting is that boys play at soldiers. But the name of the painting, *Children Playing at Soldiers*, gives us a clue into the painter's possible message. The use of "Children" implies that all of the young people in the image are included in the play. Also, the child with the drum is a female. She is the group's drummer with her toy drum as equipment. A drummer was an important part of the army, and often a position held by younger boys. There are also equal numbers of male and female children in the painting. Even though the boys in the painting are more obviously playing at soldiers, it is also clear that the girls participated in this type of play.

How does this new information change how you look at the painting?

Gender and Play: A Venn Diagram

In the Venn diagram below write toys or activities you believe are **gendered** in **media** and **advertisements**.



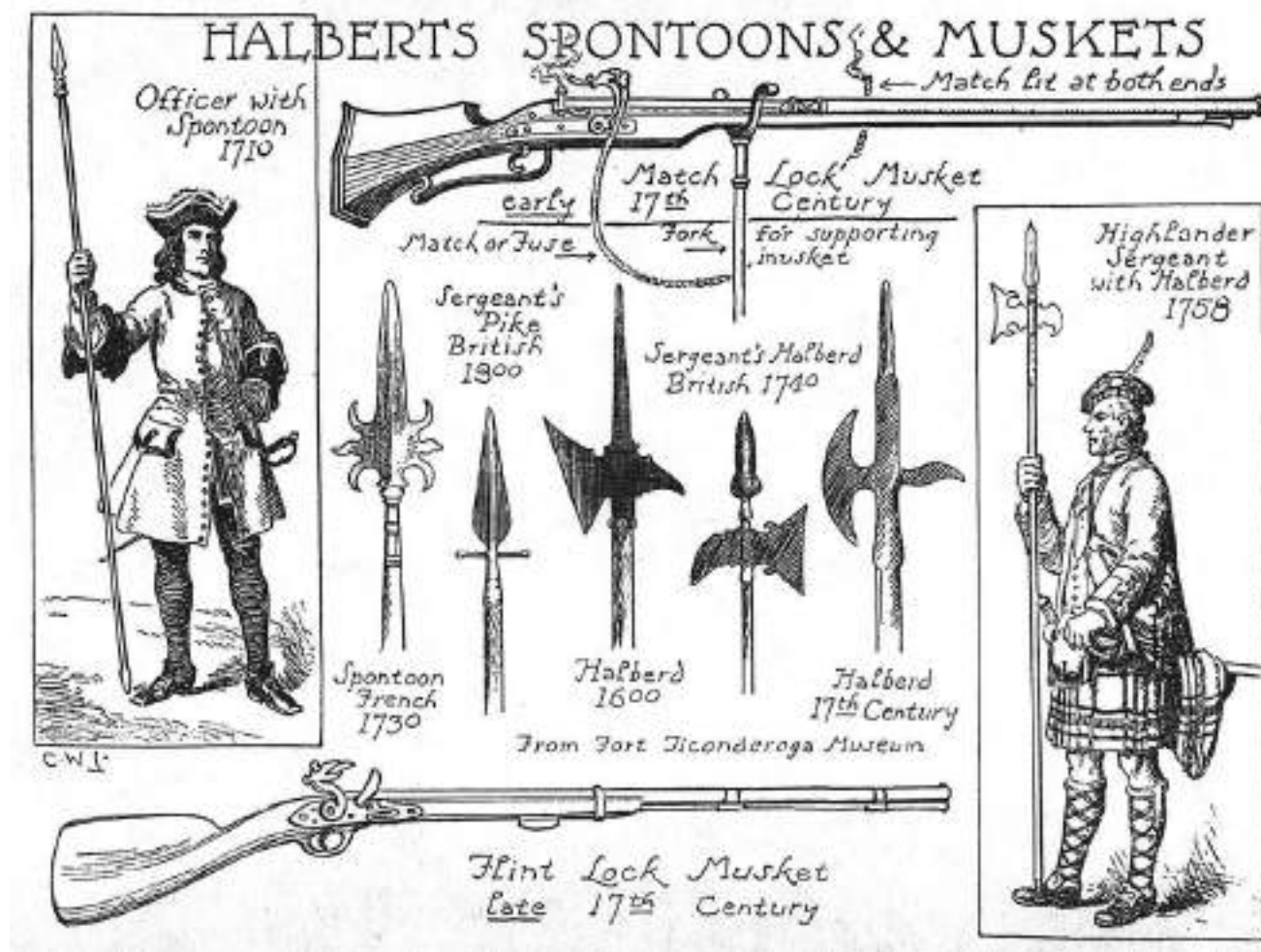
Where would you place military toys, such as military vehicles or toy soldiers?

Girls Play Military Too...

Professionally built toys, such as iron or wood soldiers and forts were marketed for male children. Likewise, pretend guns and swords made of wood were also mostly played with by boys. Male children would arrange themselves into pretend regiments using wooden muskets, halberts, and pikes, along with shoulder belts made of white linen or paper. See the picture below for examples of what these weapons look like!

Military play also included instruments – like drums and fifes. Instruments added to the pageantry of the play. Although we have already seen a female drummer, drums resembling real military drums were often only meant for boys.

Although girls did not have military toys, that did not stop them from playing military games. Using their imagination, children of any gender could participate in war play.



Evidence One: The Soldiers Alphabet

THE SOLDIER'S ALPHABET.

A stands for *Attention*, the first word
he knows,

And **B** stands for *Bullet*, to tickle his
foes.

C stands for a *Charge* which the
Frenchmen all dread ;

And **D** stands for *Discharge*, which
soon lays them dead.

Next **E** begins *Ease*, at which some-
times he stands ;

And **F** bids to *Fight* when our enemy
lands.

G stands for *General*, *Grapeshot*, and
Gun,

Which together combin'd must make
Bonaparte run.

Then **H** begins *Honour*, to soldiers
full dear ;

And **J** stands for *Justice*, which next
they revere.

But **K** bids them die for their country
and *King*,

(Oh, God ! to his former health and
happiness bring !)

L is *Lore*, which the soldier will
oftentimes feel ;

And **M** bids him *Mercy*, when con-
qu'ror, to deal.

N stands for a *Nation* of Englishmen
free ;

And **O** for an *Outpost*—but ours is
the sea.

Then **P** stands for *Picket*, and for
Pioneer ;

And **Q** shows our enemies *Quaking*
with fear.

Next **R** stands for *Regiment*, and
Roll of the Drums ;

And **S** for *Salute* when the general
comes.

So **T** both for *Touchhole* and *Trigger*
doth stand ;

And **V** for the brave *Volunteers* of
this land.

Then **W** *Whispers* that war will soon
cease ;

And **X**, **Y**, and **Z**, will rejoice at the
peace.

J. M. L.

March 8, 1804.

“The Soldier’s Alphabet” was published in the Poetry Section of the *The Lady’s Magazine, or Entertaining Companion to the Fair Sex; Appropriated Solely to their Use and Amusement*, published March 8, 1804.

Text Transcribed:

A stands for Attention, the first word he knows,
And B stands for Bullet, to tickle his foes.
C stands for a Charge which the Frenchmen all dread;
And D stands for Discharge, which soon lays them dead.
Next E begins Ease, at which sometimes he stands;
And F bids to Fight when our enemy lands.
G stands for General, Grapeshot, and Gun,
Which together combin'd must make Bonaparte run.
Then H begins Honour, to soldiers full dear;
And J stands for Justice, which next they revere.
By K bids them die for their country and King,
(Oh, God! to his former health and happiness bring!)
L is Love, which the soldier with oftentimes feel;
And M bids him Mercy, when conqu'ror, to deal.
N stands for a Nation of Englishmen free;
And O for an outpost – but ours is the sea.
Then P stands for Picket, and for Pioneer;
And Q shows our enemies Quaking with fear.
Next R stands for Regiment and Roll of the Drums;
And S for Salute when the general comes.
So T both for Touchhole and Trigger doth stand;
And V for the brave Volunteers of this land.
Then W Whispers that war will soon cease;
And X, Y, and Z, will rejoice at the peace.

J.M.L.

March 8, 1804.

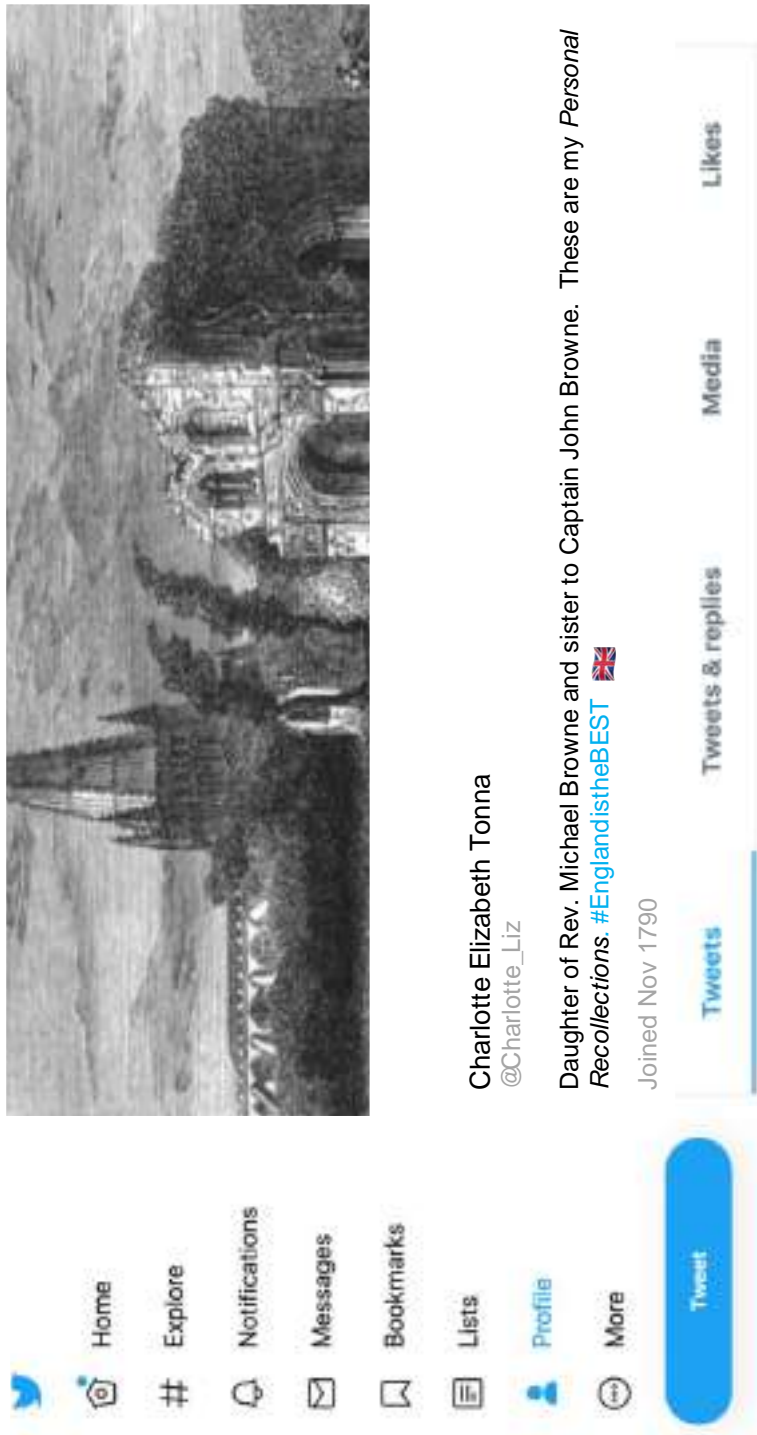
Reflective Questions

Where was this poem was published?

Who do you think probably read this poem?

What message do you think this poem sends to its readers?

Evidence Two: Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna's Memoir



Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna @Charlotte_Liz

I was born during French Revolution. At the age of five, I used to read newspapers as big as myself to learn more! I have always been interested in the spirit of patriotism that war creates! [#youngscholar](#) [#FrenchRevolution](#)

Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna @Charlotte_Liz

My brother has always had the character of a soldier, even as a baby! I remember when we were children, he gathered all of the boys in our neighbourhood, gave them a patriotic speech, and convinced them to arm in defence of their country! 1/3

Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna @Charlotte_Liz

Some of the boys bought real wooden guns with swords! Others had no money because they spent it all on lollipops. These boys made their own weapons out of the hedge. One boy played a sixpenny drum, and another a twopenny fife. Music added the final touch! 2/3.

 **Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna** @Charlotte_Liz
It was my job to create a flag from pieces of silk and an old broomstick! I got to present the colours to the corps! 3/3 [#patrioticgirl](#)

 **Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna** @Charlotte_Liz
My brother and I used to perform military maneuvers together. We would march and countermarch until I could not stand! [#tired](#) [#patriotic](#)

 **Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna** @Charlotte_Liz
LIFE HACK! I decided to wear my muff as a grenadier's cap! I also carried my father's cane on my shoulder like a real firelock! [#imaginative](#)



 **Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna** @Charlotte_Liz
I always blamed myself for my young brother joining the army in his teen years. All of our enthusiasm for the military drove him to enlist. I missed him dearly when he was away. [#friendsforever](#)

 **Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna** @Charlotte_Liz
Although we often pretended to be soldiers, we were actually scared. The threat of invasion was very real and we were ready to protect our Mom from Napoleon!

Reflective Question

What does Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna's memoir tell you about girls and military play?

Evidence Two: Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna's Memoir

Excerpts from *Personal Recollections*, a Memoir by Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna

Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna was born in 1790. She lived in Britain and grew up during the French Revolution and the Peninsular War, in which her brother was a soldier.

Excerpt One

I was born during the French Revolution. At the age of five, I used to read newspapers as big as myself to learn more! I have always been interested in the spirit of patriotism that war creates!

Excerpt Two

My brother has always had the character of a soldier, even as a baby! I remember when we were children, he gathered all of the boys in our neighbourhood, gave them a patriotic speech, and convinced them to arm in defence of their country

Some of the boys bought real wooden guns and swords! Others had no money because they spent it all on lollipops. These boys made their own weapons out of the hedge. One boy played a sixpenny drum, and another a twopenny fife. Music added the final touch!

It was my job to create a flag from pieces of silk and an old broomstick! I got to present the colours to the corps!

Excerpt Three

My brother and I used to perform military maneuvers together. We would march and countermarch until I could not stand!

Excerpt Four

LIFE HACK! I decided to wear my muff as a grenadier's cap! I also carried my father's cane on my shoulder like a real firelock



Excerpt Five

I always blamed myself for my young brother joining the army in his teen years. All of our enthusiasm for the military drove him to enlist. I missed him dearly when he was away.

Excerpt Six

Although we often pretended to be soldiers, we were actually scared. The threat of invasion was very real and we were ready to protect our Mom from Napoleon!

Reflective Question

What does Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna's memoir tell you about girls and military play?

Evidence 3: Female Soldier Stories – Hannah Snell and Sususana Cope

Children’s imaginations could be inspired by images of Female Soldiers in popular stories printed in the eighteenth century. The Female Soldier was a popular character in stories based on real accounts of women who dressed as men in order to serve in the army, as women were not allowed to join the army. The women who these stories were based on were real-life celebrities. Everyone knew of them, and heard their stories! Hannah Snell even did a one woman show to packed audiences in which she would perform military drills on stage.

Please read the following summaries of two different female soldier stories:



Hannah Snell: a very brief summary of *The Life and Adventures of Hannah Snell*

Hannah Snell was born in 1723 in England. She was the granddaughter of a famous officer who had risen through the army ranks. It was believed, even as a child, that Hannah was born with courage due to her impressive grandfather. At the age of 10 she used to play with her friends by arranging them into a company of young soldiers. She named herself chief commander and paraded her company of friends through the whole city. Everyone admired Hannah’s company and her leadership. When Hannah got older she moved to London. She got married, but her marriage did not last very long, as her husband left her. Needing a place to go, she moved in with her brother-in-law and her sister. It was there, in 1745, that she decided to wear her brother-in-law’s suit and change her name to his. She thought this disguise

would give her a better chance at finding her husband. When exploring the streets in her new clothing, she was recruited into the army. Hannah did not need much convincing, she boldly enlisted; “ready and willing to serve the King.” She performed military exercises with as much skill and dexterity as any other soldier! Events led Hannah to enlist as a Marine (a soldier who served on board royal navy ships) and travel away from home. She participated in the war abroad and even gave herself emergency surgery when she was wounded in battle. Although she eventually told everyone her true identity, she was still rewarded with an army pension for her service!

Sususana Cope: a brief summary of *The Life and Adventures of Sususana Cope, The British Female Soldier*
Sususana Cope fell in love with a young soldier. Her father did not approve of her choice and so she ran away. She dressed as a man and joined the same regiment as the man she loved. She was sent to Holland with her company. One day a group of soldiers, including Sususana were ordered to attack the French, who were stationed in Williamstadt (a place in Holland). Sususana was wounded during the mission. Her wounds required the help of a surgeon. When the surgeon treated her wounds, he found out that she was a woman. When she recovered from her injury, she was questioned by her commanding officer. She told him why she had disguised herself and joined the army. The man she was in love with heard her story and found Sususana. They got married and spent their days together.

Reflective Question:

These stories were popular in the eighteenth century. What kind of effect do you think these stories would have on children who would have heard them?

Graphic Organizer for Stations

Evidence One: The Soldiers Alphabet

Evidence Two: Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna's Memoir

Evidence 3: Female Soldier Stories – Hannah Snell and Sususana Cope

Final Reflection

Read this final piece of Primary evidence, written by a man who was 11 years old in 1803:

Every town was... a sort of garrison; in one place you might hear the ‘tattoo’ of some youth learning to beat the drum; at another place some march or national air being practiced upon the fife, and every morning at five o’clock the bugle-horn was sounded through the streets, to call the volunteers to a two hours’ drill from six to eight, and the same again in the evening; and then you heard the pop, pop, of the single musket, or the heavy sound of the volley, or distant thunder of the artillery.

This account describes many different sounds that filled the air of an English town during times of war. Discuss all of the sounds that the writer describes. How do you think these sounds would affect the daily life of someone in England at this time?

Discussion Question:

Children have been crossing artificial gender divides through play for centuries— why do you think these binaries are still around to this day?

Source Page

Illustrations (in order of appearance)

Sam Killermann, *Genderbread Person 4.0 Poster*, found at

William Redmore Bigg, *A Lady and Her Children Relieving a Cottager* (1781). Philadelphia Museum of Art: Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Harald Paumgarten, 1947, 1947-64-1.

George Morland, *Children Playing at Soldiers* (1788). Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library.

Charles William Jeffreys, *Halberts Spontoons and Muskets* (1942). Imperial Oil Collection, Library and Archives Canada, Acc. No. 1972-26-656.

Charlotte Elizabeth, p. vii; and untitled landscape engraving, on p. xii, in Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna, *Personal Recollections: By Charlotte Elizabeth*. 3rd Edn. Seeley, Burnside and Seeley, 1847.

Charles Lyall, *1812. The First Regt. Of Foot Guards* (1890). Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library.

Nicholas Heideloff, hand coloured etching and aquatint of women with muffs (1797), Permanent collection, Museum of London, 2001.139/1010.

John Faber the Younger, *Mrs Hannah Snell* (c. 1750-1760), © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Primary Sources

Cope, Susannah. *The Life & Extraordinary Adventures of Susanna Cope, the British Female Soldier, etc.* Banbury, Cheney, [1810?].

Tonna, Charlotte Elizabeth. *Personal Recollections of Charlotte Elizabeth*. London, 1847.

Snell, Hannah. *The Female Soldier; or, the Surprising Life and Adventures of Hannah Snell....* London, for Robert Walker, 1750.

“The Soldier’s Alphabet.” *The Lady’s Magazine; or Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex, Appropriated Solely to their Use and Amusement*, 1804: 159-60.

Secondary Sources

Tobin, Beth Fowkes. *Picturing Imperial Power: Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth-Century British Painting*, London: Duke University Press, 1999.

Hurl-Eamon, Jennine. “Maternal Martyrdom Unmasked: British Fatherhood and the Masculinization of War in Napoleonic Veterans’ Tales of Infant Suffering.” *Journal of Family History*, 45, no. 2 (2020): 172-190.

Hurl-Eamon, Jennine. “Youth in the Devil’s Service.” *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 8, no. 2 (2015): 163-190.