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When Silence Reigns: Sexuality, Affect, and Space in Soldiers' Memoirs of the Napoleonic Wars

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ABSTRACT: In this paper, I draw on a collection of war memoirs written by soldiers who survived the Napoleonic campaigns. I examine what was sayable or unsayable concerning affect and sexuality in order to better understand the role that these memoirs played in self-narrative within the highly particular context of war. If the present self-narrative is also a sexual and emotional account, these memoirs demonstrate such interpretations of the self that must be seen as a recent phenomenon. After describing the military context and discussing how their testimonies are constructed, I will analyze the traces they have left of their affect and the manner in which space and sexuality are incorporated into their accounts of the war.

Keywords: sexuality, soldiers, memoir

In 2004, the dissemination of the shocking photographs of the torture of male Iraqi Abu Ghraib prisoners by American soldiers ignited an international debate regarding sexual violence during war. By spectacularizing the victimization of male prisoners, this particular narrative implicated sexuality in important ways: it was an instrument of national humiliation among men, a tool for the geopolitical classification of national populations, and ultimately a means by which to reaffirm the moral contours of heterosexuality.¹ In such contexts, sexuality calls into question the boundaries between spaces and groups according to national discourses regarding “morality” and “civilization.” War simultaneously serves to scramble, reconfigure, or reinforce its boundaries. War is a unique time, a time of upheaval and trauma during which humanity itself is tested. During such a challenge, love, desire, and sexuality all occupy an ambivalent location that lies somewhere between suspension and urgency, ordinariness and exceptionalism, prohibition and the transgression of norms. Such sexual violence during war, however, is not an inevitable form of collateral damage; rather, it can be one of its constituent components. It is not simply a moment when the institutional frameworks created to ensure the safety and physical integrity of individuals fall apart: it can also be a mode of war. If sexuality is part of war, it is because, over and above the individual body, it is the social body (the people, the nation) that is produced and reproduced by a political economy of the body.² As a disciplinary mechanism, sexual violence during war is complex. It can take multiple forms: rape, sexual mutilation, sexual humiliation, forced prostitution, forced pregnancies, and so on. It has multiple subjects: this violence is generally inflicted on women, but also, to a lesser degree, on men, regardless of their age and whether or not they are civilians or soldiers.³ At the same time, since the mid-seventeenth century, war has been defined as *an art that has its rules and principles*, notably excluding acts of violence against civilian populations, especially women.⁴

Taking up Griffin and Evans's recent call to take the historical geographies of embodiment seriously, this paper considers the role played by sexuality and affect in constituting bodies in the spaces of the Napoleonic wars.⁵ If embodiment during war is relatively well documented

for twentieth-century conflicts by drawing upon available archives, correspondence, diaries, film, and literature, that is not the case for the Napoleonic wars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁶ However, the nineteenth century constitutes a pivotal period between the “regulated” wars of the modern era and those that would follow. At the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, the conflicts that were entangling Europe were marked by “brutalization” or barbarism, a shift that took place long before the renowned brutality of the First World War.⁷ In addition, according to Michel Foucault, the nineteenth century also constitutes a pivotal period in the history of sexuality.⁸ Geographers have demonstrated the fundamental role played by space in shaping the dynamics of gender and sexuality, reflecting upon the ways in which sex and sexuality are represented, perceived and understood in spatial terms.⁹ However, research on heterosexuality in geography has been limited as compared with the literature on homosexuality and queer geographies.¹⁰ A detour into the sexualized locations of the Napoleonic wars allows us to re-examine these questions specifically by highlighting the ways that categories of sexuality and moral boundaries were produced in relation to gender, race and nationality in Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It also permits a re-examination of how the foundations of sexual democracy have been constituted through specific world views and political geographies.¹¹ In this paper, I will demonstrate that fundamental elements of this debate—as well as elements that are absent such as taking into account violence against women within their own national space—were already in place during the Napoleonic era, prefiguring the orientalism described by Edward Said.¹² I will also focus on the question of the production of discourses on love and emotions during the particular period of the Napoleonic Wars. Since, for most feminists, love has been considered an invention of patriarchy and marriage—the bedrock of patriarchal domination—few had analyzed the role that love plays in the experience of everyday life until the recent “affective turn” in social sciences.¹³ Human geographers have also recently begun to take affective life seriously. The notion of affect refers to an embodied experience and the experience of life as it is lived.¹⁴ Anderson defined affect as “. . . a transpersonal capacity which a body has to be affected (through an affection) and to affect (as the result of modifications).”¹⁵ It also focuses on the “how” of emotion in order to better understand the body’s capacity to affect and be affected but also to situate knowledge production by interconnecting emotional subjectivity within the experience of conducting research.¹⁶ We can thus begin to pay attention to some of those life experiences that are difficult to put into words.¹⁷

In this paper, I will demonstrate that the capacity to express oneself—in as much as it is a necessary condition—is insufficient for the production of a discourse on sexuality especially if the sexual practices that are evoked are non-consensual and the question of consent itself is not considered because the subject status of the victim is denied. The testimonies operate in a space of meaning and signification forged through culturally imagined categories from which their actors cannot be abstracted. Sexuality involves sexual acts linked to desires, the permissive and restrictive laws that frame them, but also an awareness of what these acts involve, the way in which the experience is lived, the value that these acts are accorded. Using a particular type of testimony, the memoir, I will focus on the latter dimensions. By the time of the Restoration, memoirs had become a fashionable genre that survivors of the Napoleonic campaigns used to provide testimony of their experiences. But what experiences serve as testimonies of the performance of war? That which is verbalized, formulated, or written tends to saturate and blind us to that which is not said. Silence envelops different meanings. On the one hand, that which is evident, banal, ordinary, beyond the field of understanding and, at the same time, is beyond discourse. On the other hand, that which is unspeakable and shameful with regard to the care of self. There is, however, no binary separation between the said and the unsaid. It is necessary to focus on analyzing the different modalities of the unsaid, starting with the unequal distribution

of speech or writing, the ability to say or write, categorizing what is sayable and what is not, the forms of required discretion, etc. Concretely, there is not one but many silences, and they are an integral part of strategies that underlie and traverse discourse. These silences have a strong resonance during war. Particular attention must be paid to the economy of feelings that constitute the discursive regime of these memoirs in the context of the implementation of conscription involved in the construction of a virile ethos and the reinforcement of the naturalization of sexual difference.

In what follows, I use a collection of texts (reports, memoirs, diaries, letters, and testimonies) of the Napoleonic campaigns that are grouped together under the generic name of “memoirs” in the sense that they are written accounts of events in which the authors were participants or to which they bore witness. Specifically, I will examine what they said and did not say about emotions and sexuality in order to better understand the production of national and moral boundaries during war. First, I will discuss the context of the Napoleonic wars and develop a profile of the soldiers in order to show that the troops themselves rarely gave direct testimony of their experiences. In essence, therefore, I will outline who had the potential to give an account of the war. Indeed, as I will show, the majority of the memoirists were not conscripts but rather men who occupied the higher ranks in the army who produced truths that were shaped by their class position and their particular vision of the world. In the next section I focus on how they told the “truth,” in other words their practices of veridiction. Finally, I will demonstrate that love and sexuality were, for these men, part of the unthinkable and unsayable, and therefore served as a geopolitical tool for the classification of the enemy.

Personal accounts in a war environment

From 1792 to 1815, France was involved in military operations both within and beyond its frontiers. These wars, be they civil, against an external enemy during the revolutionary period (1792-1800), or imperialist as during the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815), deeply marked the construction of European national imaginations during the nineteenth century, before they were superseded in the collective memory by the magnitude of the two World Wars and forgotten due to a growing French disaffection for Napoleon. However, this pivotal period was marked by a large number of innovations that changed the way in which war was waged. The most important of these was the use of conscription or obligatory national service that resulted in a strict demarcation between men and women.

Total exclusion or marginality? The subaltern place of women in the army

In the society represented by the Ancien Régime, the practice of warfare and the bearing of arms were linked to two qualities, nobility and masculinity, although they were not mutually exclusive. French society was divided into the Three Estates: the clergy, the aristocracy, and the commons, each of which was justified by its functional role (religion, defense, and production). Before 1795, there was no institutional link between the army and citizenship. While some women managed to fight, it was generally because they were disguised as men. These women included Renée Bordereau, a woman of common birth who became a Knight of the Catholic and Royal Army and battled with a fiery spirit and determination against the “Blues” (i.e. the Republican army).¹⁸ Her enlistment was only possible because she appropriated the place of a man (“*I acquired men’s clothing*”), which allowed her to equal and even exceed the performance of men on the battlefield (“*I killed five of my enemy and finished the day by breaking my saber on the head of the last soldier. . . . All in all, I killed 20 enemy soldiers.*”)¹⁹ The rarity of such an enlistment explains why such women left a lasting impression and became famous. For example, Madame de Xaintrailles, who participated in seven campaigns and was part of the expedition to Egypt and to whom a

pension was refused "... because *she is* a woman," demanded justice from Napoleon on the basis that "it was hardly *as a woman* that she had waged war, but rather *as a warrior*."²⁰ Assumed to be of a fragile and delicate constitution, women were considered to be naturally unsuitable for combat, an endeavor requiring strength and courage, qualities that the unequal and hierarchical thinking of the period denied them.²¹ Far from being a period of emancipation, the Revolution in the 1790s led to a strengthening of male power: "The questioning of God the Father, the execution of the King, the father of the Nation, had no effect on domestic relations as, all men, including the revolutionary 'sans-culottes', affirmed their role in the household and the natural inequality of the sexes. Excluded from citizenship, women returned to their maternal and domestic roles."²² The bearing of arms remained a male privilege and the place that women were assigned to was the home.²³

While warfare was considered a male domain, the army was nevertheless not a wholly masculine environment isolated from the population. Up until the end of the seventeenth century, troops were housed by local inhabitants and accompanied by civilians, most of whom were women. They included women who worked as cooks and bottle washers, as prostitutes — despite the large number of royal prohibitions — and women who were the wives and mistresses of soldiers. On April 30, 1793, the Convention adopted a decree stating that "all women not of use to the armed forces" should leave the camps and barracks within eight days. This decree was in response to the huge number of women that followed the battalions, ate a proportion of the rations, interfered with the marching of the troops and the execution of military operations, and, ultimately, contributed to the propagation of syphilis. They were also accused of distracting and "softening" the soldiers.²⁴ The only exceptions were the sutlers (who sold provisions to the soldiers), and the laundrywomen whose role in nourishing and caring for the bodies of the troops justified their presence both in the barracks and camps. This sexual division of labor was not the result of functionalism: the gender-based assignment of tasks stemmed from a naturalist interpretation of sex roles. Once again, it was the naturalized physical differences that underscored the subordinate position and condition of women in armies. For example, according to Henri Ducor, women's "natural" difference from men allowed them to escape the illnesses that decimated the men and pushed them to serve the soldiers to the point of self-sacrifice:

Of the 14,000 that we were, there were 8,000 who had scurvy and dysentery, and the other half, just scurvy. These two illnesses, along with their auxiliary, typhus, resulted in our pontoons being a terrible scene of destruction. Only the wives of soldiers and cooks and bottle-washers held up well. One of the most remarkable particularities is that we had several hundreds of these women with us and not one of them fell sick. The reason for their continued health could be all the activities that they engaged in while trying to make themselves useful, as women are particularly hospitable: as soon as there was a need to relieve suffering, they forgot about themselves amidst the danger; the danger itself did not preoccupy them except as it related to others and became a healthy diversion. "If we were to fall sick, they said, what would become of our poor men?" Our task and our role is to groom them, to look after them, to nurse them.²⁵

The question of affect and sexuality could not, therefore, be experienced or understood from an egalitarian or relational perspective because, by nature, women represented a radical and subordinate otherness. Feminist geographers like Liz Bondi, Nancy Duncan, and Julia Cream have shown that an understanding of the dynamics of heterosexuality is fundamental to interpreting women's place in society regarding the performance of particular gender roles.²⁶ Conversely,

the sexual division of labor and its spatial implications reinforced the heterosexual matrix. This hierarchical vision and its spatial divisions were reinforced by the practice of conscription.

Conscription: men's business (young, rural, and single)

Conscription, or obligatory military service, is the requisitioning by the State of a proportion of its population to serve in its armed forces. Developed during the French Revolution with the mass conscription of Year II (September 21 to September 22, 1794), this practice replaced the professional armies of the Ancien Régime and the mercenaries used until the end of the eighteenth century. On September 5, 1798, the Jourdan-Delbrel law instituted "the compulsory conscription" of all French men aged 20 to 25, based on the principle that "all French men are soldiers and obliged to defend their homeland."²⁷ In practice, this conscription lottery included all men who were theoretically single and fit for service. Exemptions were based on the following physiological limits and medical problems: too short (height was set at a minimum of 1.598 meters up to Year XI; it was then reduced in 1804 and 1811 to meet the needs of the various fronts); completely lacking in sight or speech; infirmities linked to the total loss of a member (nose, arm, leg, foot, hand or right eye) or malformations (voluminous goiters, humps, atrophy of a limb, clearly visible lameness); illnesses and lesions (epilepsy, skin diseases, ulcers and tumors); and finally, the lack of incisors or having atrociously bad breath. While a successful medical check-up was considered as a sign of good health and a confirmation of virility, being exempted implied being unfit to carry out most jobs. For these reasons, conscription was considered to be a fundamental rite of passage that gave a young man a role in the village community and the right to marry. Family matters were among the other reasons for being declared unfit for service, with marriage being a primary motive for exemption on the condition that it took place prior to the young man being called up to join the army. While this measure led to a certain number of marriage certificates being forged, it also resulted in a significant increase in the number of marriages.²⁸ Relying on the possibility of divorcing at the end of the war, young men rushed into marriages with widows, as well as aging spinsters and women whose physical or mental health had, until then, excluded them from marriage. This practice had a considerable effect on the understanding of marriage as a legal and social institution as well as on relations between sexes.²⁹

The recruited men were young as the minimum legal age for conscription was set at nineteen years old. However, this could be lowered to sixteen in the case of voluntary recruitment. All French men born in the same year formed a "class" and, having reached their twentieth year, they had to register together (in other words, "be conscripted") at the army's recruitment tables. The duration of military service in peacetime was set at five years. Alain Pigeard estimated that around 2,432,000 men were recruited in Napoleon Bonaparte's armies.³⁰ While limited at the beginning of the Napoleonic campaigns, the numbers increased with the growing requirements caused by losses as well as the need for a simultaneous presence on several fronts. On January 11, 1813, 350,000 men were made available to the Ministry of War. Between 1805 and 1815, losses were estimated at 580,000 men.³¹ During the coalition wars the needs were such that use was made of the older "classes" in order to spare the "class" of 1815 which was deemed too young and immature.

Parisians partially escaped conscription; therefore, they were under-represented among the conscripts. In all, only 16,647 Parisians were mobilized over a 14-year period, a number that can be considered low given the capital's demographic weight and the demand for conscripts.³² Recruitment did not involve only the French; men from invaded European and Mediterranean countries were also conscripted. Of the 2,300,000 conscripts carrying out military service between 1804 and 1814, the proportion from the new regions represented 16.6 percent under the Consulate, subsequently increasing to 20.5 percent in 1808 and then to 25.6 percent by the end of the Empire.³³

Given that women were rejected because they were considered by definition to be incapable of fighting, once conscription was in place it reinforced a strict separation of men and women, contributing to the construction of a homosocial environment and reinforcing unequal gender relations. The armies were formed from young, single men from rural environments. Simultaneously, the assignment of women to the domestic sphere conversely contributed to the production of their vulnerability. With the exception of the cooks, camp followers selling provisions, and passing civilians, day-to-day life in the barracks, requisitioned accommodation, camps, and bivouacs was an intensely virile and masculine environment leaving little place for intimacy. Among those returning from the campaigns, a number have given their accounts, thus providing testimonies of their experiences.

Bearing witness: a selective veridiction

Within the context of war, the anonymous soldiers found themselves living out experiences that were far from their everyday life worlds, in terms of customs and environment, in both neighboring and far-away countries (Italy, Ireland, Prussia, Poland, Austria, Egypt, Russia and so on). Far from home, they followed destinies and suffered traumas for which they were rarely prepared. Writing thus became a means of leaving a mark, justifying oneself, making sense of events that were often senseless, as well as an act for the benefit of familial, local, or national posterity. While each memoir imposed its own spatio-temporal limits (*Journal de l'expédition d'Égypte* (1798-1801), *Journal d'un commissaire des guerres pendant le Premier Empire* (1806-1814), *Souvenirs de guerre* (1790-1831), *Campagne de Russie 1812*, etc.) and, consequently, its own singularity, memoir writing subscribed to the conventions of a codified stylistic exercise, both in terms of its chronological construction and the actual contents of the account.

Those bearing witness

The fifteen volumes that I have studied were published by La Vouivre in 1998. This collection comprises reports, memoirs, diaries, letters, and memories of the Napoleonic campaigns grouped together under the generic name of "memoirs" in the sense that they are written accounts of events in which the author was a participant or to which they bore witness. These memoirs were written by men who had a different profile from the previously described conscripts. In fact, all of them chose a military career out of political conviction or for the opportunity. None were conscripts and, consequently, they were older. With the exception of Jean-Baptiste Kléber, born in 1753, and Jozef Grabowski, born in 1791, most of these men were born in the 1770s. They were, therefore, 30 or even 40 years old at the time of the events and occupied positions of power in the army. With the exception of Pierre-Paul Denniée, an aide-de-camp, and Salomon-Louis Laurillard-Fallot, a doctor, all of them occupied positions in the military hierarchy (Captain of Cuirassiers, Captain of Grenadiers, Officer attached to the Imperial Chief of Staff, Second-Lieutenant of the Light Infantry, Colonel, General, etc.) or its administration (Commissioner of Wars). Some made careers in the army, such as Jean-Pierre Doguereau, a Chief of Staff of modest means who began as an aide-de-camp before making a name for himself during the Egyptian campaign, or Jean Sarrazin, an Engineering Officer promoted to Adjutant-General. These men gave few details concerning their past life and did not necessarily describe their professional, matrimonial, or domestic situation. In civilian life, one of them had been an architect, while another had studied law and worked as a lawyer. Inevitably, some had wives and children before joining the army. All had a level of education that allowed them to write with relative ease. While most were French, some were foreigners. This was the case of Jozef Grabowski (a Polish officer attached to the Imperial Chief of Staff), William Theobald Wolfe Tone (whose father had been an English lawyer who fought for the independence of an Ireland united under the French flag), or Salomon-Louis Laurillard-Fallot who was Dutch.

While most conscripts were young men from rural environments, there were very few who were able to give accounts and leave traces of their experiences. The formalization of war memories was carried out by men who held positions of power in the army or had the resources necessary to write these testimonies. Consequently, the experiences of the men of the troops, revealed in administrative, legal, or artistic sources, were rarely produced by those directly involved as they were denied the possibility of having their voices heard. However, Duncan has proposed a method of reading against the grain to recover the voices of those who did not produce the archive, yet are present in it.³⁴ In this sense, the men of the troops are a present-absence in these memoirs. While they are absent as subjects and rarely named, they are nevertheless present in two forms: first, as figures that embody bad behavior and deviance generally attributable to their subordinate class position that contrasts in value with the nobility of the memoirist; and, secondly, as a backdrop, components of the scenery that add realness to the story.

Telling the truth: accounts as veridiction

Contrary to the premise of the exercise, writing down one's memories is not an eminently intimate, personal, and singular act. Often written some time after the event, just after the war or several years later, these accounts comply with the conventions for this type of writing as well as with social and cultural norms of the time. As such, they are a precious source for historical geography research. In fact, reading the collection highlights strong similarities in their structure (linear and chronological construction of the narration, writing in the first-person singular) and contents (the themes examined, the hierarchy of events, and the value given to them over and above the partisan commitments of their authors). Underlying this particular genre, as expressed by Michel Foucault, there is the pretension of "veridiction," an act of truth telling.³⁵ Regardless of the gaps, the omissions, the memory failures, or the liberties taken with the facts, the premise of writing a memoir is the affirmation of the truth. "To hide nothing," "to reveal all," "to only tell the truth" are just some of the assertions that mark these memoirs. These are accounts of events in which the author was an actor, a witness or, at the very least, a contemporary. In this sense, the telling of these stories presupposes a transparency with oneself and with others concerned. Each memoirist claims to be honest, of good faith, and impartial. This good faith expresses itself as being self-evident: "It hardly bears mentioning that these memoirs contain nothing but facts and the truth."³⁶

Guarding against any potential partiality or untruth is vital for the legitimacy of the memoirist. As one author of the period wrote regarding these memoirs: "It is the truth, an exact knowledge of what occurred, and the greatest impartiality that guides my pen."³⁷ The words are authoritative as they affirm this truth that depends on witnessing the events. Regarding rumors, Arlette Farge has noted: "Truth is none other than what has been seen and said. Truth is true because we have seen it and said that it was."³⁸ In order to be able to speak the truth, seeing or hearing is required because it provides legitimacy. Jean-Louis Jobit thus insisted that "placed in the theatre of events that I shall describe, as an actor myself, I shall become the faithful narrator. I shall describe these events as I saw them. I shall not exaggerate anything... My sword has always been devoted to honorable ends and in the same way I shall devote my pen to the truth."³⁹

Being an eyewitness provides credibility and legitimacy. This argument is often made within the accounts: "[I] undertake to offer the public a brief exposé of the facts, concerning which, as an eye witness and an officer serving in Ireland, I can guarantee their authenticity"⁴⁰; "I was an eye witness of what a Russian army does and can do"⁴¹; or, "I was an eye witness of this action and can confirm it took place."⁴² However, not all are fooled by the rhetorical dimensions of this presumption to an all-encompassing form of knowledge.⁴³ As François-René Cailloux

ironically notes in this regard: "I have never understood how a General Officer or a Commander could understand what was happening to their left or to their right, let alone across the entire battle field, when there were already so many things going on that immediately concerned them and kept them completely busy. Despite this, some of these people claim to have seen all, heard all and done all."⁴⁴

The vision that eyewitnesses might have of a battle and, *a fortiori*, the war itself, is partial, spatially limited, reduced to a field of vision, to a snapshot. Above all, the account is based on words. For Paul Ricoeur, "the testimony is not the perception itself, but rather a report, a story, a narration of the event. Consequently, it transforms what has been seen into what has been said."⁴⁵

Telling the truth, but what to tell . . . ?

The contents of these memoirs pick up the themes expected from such an exercise in style including descriptions of battles, face-to-face confrontations with the enemy, day-to-day living (especially the tough life in the camps and barracks), relations with comrades-in-arms and hierarchical relations, the progression of an ordinary day, etc. The importance given to all these elements, as well as the wealth and precision of the details and their weight in the text, is not proportional to the importance that we might give them today. As a result, it is common when describing a battle that the author describes the death of soldiers from his own troop by stating that the "losses were considerable" or "it was a carnage" while going into far greater detail concerning a bullet that had damaged a uniform or the loss of a horse. Far from being trivial anecdotes, such renderings make sense because they permit the author to reveal the courage of the soldier who escaped death as well as his attachment to his possessions, their value and rarity (uniform, horse, etc.). Memoirists focus their attention on what affects them and what they find remarkable, unusual, or extraordinary. The triviality of day-to-day life – or that which seems obvious – does not form the basis of an account worthy of being written and, consequently, of being read. The only exceptions to this are certain details (such as the description of an object, a setting, an interior, or an itinerary) which Roland Barthes, in his chapter *From History to Reality*, considers useless. Even if there are not many of them, "useless details" seem inevitable: all accounts, at least modern Western accounts, have some. For Barthes,

This is what we might call the *referential illusion*. The truth of this illusion is this: eliminated from the realist speech-act as a signified of denotation, the "real" returns to it as a signified of connotation; for just then these details are reputed to denote the real directly, all that they do – without saying so – is *signify* it; Flaubert's barometer, Michelet's little door finally say nothing but this: *we are the real*; it is the category of "the real" (and not its contingent contents) which is then signified; in other words, the very absence of the signified, to the advantage of the of the referent alone, becomes the very signifier of realism: the *reality effect* is produced, the basis of that unavowed verisimilitude which forms the aesthetic of all the standard works of modernity.⁴⁶

These details are assumed to directly reveal reality but they do nothing more than signify it. These superfluous details that serve as the filling refer to "reality." All this would seem to indicate that the "real" can be sufficient in and of itself, that it is sufficiently powerful to refute any idea of function, that its enunciation has no need to be integrated into a structure, and that the having-been-there of things is a sufficient principle of speech. Between memorable events and descriptive details of the reality effect, memoirists make choices that are never clearly explained. Moreover,

such memoirs have been shaped by the assumptions of the period, determining what is sayable and what is not.⁴⁷ And, among the themes where, with very few exceptions, there is a complete silence, there are feelings of love and sexuality.

The describable and indescribable: sexuality and amorous feelings in war's spaces

Histories and historical geographies of war rarely deal with the affective. As the British military historian John Keegan has remarked "it is a pity that official historians deliberately ignore all that is emotional [and that] this aspect of a soldier's life, to say nothing of the sense of identification that could arouse among us, is essential when depicting historical reality."⁴⁸ French historian Arlette Farge argues that the affective should be seen an important tool by historians: "Emotion is not a handicap for research if one accepts to use it as a tool of recognition and understanding. Rather than being seen as a soppy sentiment that dulls all that it touches, emotion is, in fact, the astonishment of intelligence that needs to be worked on and ordered."⁴⁹ While I share these sentiments, it is clear that researchers working on the emotions of soldiers during the Napoleonic campaigns face many challenges, specifically the lack of testimonies from ordinary soldiers and the silences surrounding emotions and sexuality in existing accounts.

Silences and absences: the construction of an unstated virile ethos

With a few rare exceptions that I shall return to, the memoirists whose works I have analyzed make no mention of their amorous or sexual feelings.⁵⁰ If the body has a place and occasionally a central place in their accounts, it is a body having suffered from the accumulation of hardships that they faced: exhausting marches, spartan bivouacs, the harshness of everyday life exacerbated by climatic conditions (heat, cold, or damp), deprivations and hunger resulting from haphazard supplies, the shock and experience of battle, the proximity of dead bodies and death's banality, the illnesses and injuries that further weaken the soldiers, etc. It is never an amorous or desiring body. If there is any desire whatsoever, it is, above all, a desire to be safe, sheltered, and satiated.

Here, an anecdote brought back by a Genevan, a musician in the Great Army, is illustrative.⁵¹ During the siege of Magdebourg in 1806, the besieging army went marauding to find food to meet their daily needs. One day, one of the marauders returned without food, but was accompanied by a young and attractive German girl. A violent argument broke out between the soldiers, resulting in the men fighting one another. The reason for the quarrel was related to food choices – stealing potatoes was a more judicious choice and therefore more valued – and the cost resulting from having to keep her, yet another mouth to feed in conditions of shortage. The young girl was raped by the squad and forced to become their cook and bottle washer. The narrator states that he was the only one who did not participate in these "gymnastics," having preferred "a cup of hot milk." Whether or not he is telling the truth or simply trying to protect his reputation is unclear, but what this anecdote reveals is the highly probable way in which priorities defined themselves and the place held by the libido in the order of these priorities. A first reading thus makes clear that there is an almost complete absence of amorous or sexual plot lines when taken in their literal sense: war is a sexual and emotional desert where the survival instinct takes precedence over all other concerns. Thinking about sexuality also meant thinking sexual abstinence, frustration, dissatisfaction, and a lack of desire.

However, a second reading can put this sexual absence (which is hard to believe given the young age of some soldiers who left their homes for many years, such as Alexandre Bellot de Kergorre who was away for seventeen years and four months) into the context of the intended readers of these accounts. As defined by Umberto Eco, "a text is a product whose interpretative result must form part of its own generative mechanism."⁵² Female memoirists

from the revolutionary period wrote, above all, to educate their children and grandchildren.⁵³ This, in most cases, was not the case of their male peers whose accounts were not essentially intended for their descendants, but rather for other men (their comrades whose judgment they valued) and, more generally, for posterity. They are men addressing other men with whom they have shared or will share a common experience or, at least, common references. While soldiers were able to use tender words when addressing their wives, this was only possible within the strictly private framework of a letter.⁵⁴ The positive aspects of the soldier's more public virile ethos is built through the affirmation of values such as bravery, courage, discipline, contempt for danger, sense of duty, and honor. But, it is also constructed negatively through the exclusion of feminine characteristics which are necessarily perceived as being signs of weakness. There cannot be, therefore, any question of love or a loving disposition which would be perceived as a sign of weakness nor any satisfaction of trivial sexual impulses that would dull or sully such a noble account entirely. This affirmation of a virile ethos is more than a quality specific to an individual; it is a "being within an incorporated world" which is linked to certain moral imperatives and criteria concerning appearance and behavior. For Pierre Bourdieu, the perfect man in terms of virility implies a way of being, a sense of virtue, that is imposed on the world through the mode of "it goes without saying," without any discussion whatsoever. Virility is "the product of a social labor of domination and inculcation at the end of which a social identity instituted by one of the 'invisible demarcation lines' laid down by the social world and known and recognized by all inscribes itself in a biological nature and becomes habitus, embodied social law."⁵⁵

War memoirs, therefore, participate in the distribution of a standardized mental image of what it means to be a man through both enrollment and rejection. In these memoirs, anecdotes concerning this aspect abound. For example, William-Theobald Wolf Tone recalled that a "few old soldiers demonstrated the most extraordinary courage, smoking while having a limb amputated and then crying out 'Long live the Emperor!' at the end of the operation."⁵⁶ In his memoir, Jean Bréaut des Marlots proudly affirmed with complete self-assurance that "neither misfortune, privation, suffering, injuries, life nor death could influence his military nature."⁵⁷ For George Mosse, the affirmation of virility in Europe dates back to this period:

The association of militarism and masculinity had always been present — after all, the birth of modern masculinity had culminated in the Napoleonic Wars.... At the same time, in the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, men seemed to become more self-conscious about their manhoods.... That the divide between the sexes became wider as well, each confined to the imperative of constructing an ideal male stereotype.⁵⁸

Virility and love are, therefore, two contradictory concepts, with the latter not having any role to play in the expression of the former. The memoirist's homecoming is often marked by a marriage or the reunion with a wife in a manner similar to that of Ulysses' return to Ithaca. Similarly, William-Theobald Wolf Tone completed his account by writing: "Having an honorable rank in the American army and being the proud holder of American citizenship, united with the object of my first and constant love, being the single daughter of my father's friend . . . I feel like the sailor who, following a stormy crossing, finally returns to his home to be drawn into the family's embrace."⁵⁹ The ways that women were able to live through these absences is an overlooked aspect that was subsequently used as fodder for literature, as in the Balzac-like heroes of Colonel Chabert.

The meaning given to love and sexuality is not independent from the social relations of sex and their resulting prioritization. Far from the chivalric ideal, the love of a woman is completely

excluded from the construction of the virile ethos of Napoleonic soldiers whose value can only be appreciated and measured between men. Conversely, while the efficiency of the troops is based on this homosociability, expressing feelings regarding another man is unthinkable other than in terms of camaraderie or team spirit. Similarly, it is impossible to name sexual practices between peers, whether consensual or not. Certain forms of sexuality, such as the use of prostitutes, rape or homosexuality are unsayable and unthinkable with the exception of their use as indictments against the enemy who does not count anyway. It is the silence of the victims and the impossibility of their testimony, compounded by the silence of the torturers and the denial that their peers practice sexuality, especially sexual violence, that renders sexuality not only silent but ensures that it remains unthought.⁶⁰

Expressing sexuality to create order in the world

Although very marginal in war memoirs, sexuality is represented in two forms: rapes carried out by the enemy (or, more rarely, troops devoid of honor whom the narrator denounces and distances) and sexual relations (commercial and consensual) with foreign women, who are presented as being depraved and immoral—a means by which to justify the conquest of their country. During the Napoleonic Wars, sexuality, therefore, was used as a tool to create order in the world and designate the enemy as “the Other.” One way to create such order was to defend the sexual honor of French women. During this period, only honorable women could be rape victims, insofar as for a rape to constitute a crime, a woman had to have something to lose. Feminine honor was associated with the moral and physical control of oneself, meaning sexual abstinence or moderation for married women. Considered vulnerable by nature, women were not supposed to display themselves, which implied that during war they should stay at home rather than traveling into unknown territories. One of the memoirists noted the following: “I tenaciously opposed her coming to Vienna as I knew the dangers she would risk along the way as she would have no protector.”⁶¹ This situation was generally interiorized by women who had a vague idea of what fate might await them when an army passed through town. Alexandre Bellot de Kergorre recalls the suicide of mothers with their children to escape the cruelty of the invading Russians: “[There were some] women and children in the most desperate straits. All were necessarily going to die at the end of the day. . . . We know that many of the women, to avoid falling into the hands of the Russians, threw themselves into the river with their children.”⁶² Jean-Pierre Doguereau mentions nuns “who died of fear as the army approached.”⁶³

Another way to order the world was through the conquest of territories, a practice that implicates sexuality. When they could, entire populations fled before the advance of Napoleonic armies, leaving abandoned villages behind them.

We entered into farmland and burned the wheat and flax crops as well as two villages along our route . . . , we crossed meadows well-planted with trees that I enjoyed travelling through; it had been a long time since I had followed such a pleasant route; the meadow was covered with flowers; there was a stream to our right. . . . We left the countryside in flame; before departing, we set fire to the crops surrounding the camp. At 9 o'clock we arrived in a village fairly well-built from stone; there was not a single villager, we set fire to what we could. . . . We spread out around the countryside to destroy the crops; we left fires everywhere.⁶⁴

Such conquest involves taking possession of a territory, represented by the destruction of material goods and properties (destroying crops, setting fires), their appropriation (pillaging, pilfering), and enslavement (massacres, rapes) of its peoples. As Farges has argued, conquest also involves gendered representations of the sexuality of the enemy:

It is as if the women of the conquered enemy belonged *de facto* and almost by right to the conqueror. Insofar as a woman is concerned, this form of belonging is implicitly perceived as being sexual. The anthropological dissymmetry between male and female provides the “natural” evidence of this stereotype: the sexual act is a possession of the feminine by the masculine and not the other way round. The conqueror says “this is mine” when he places his flag over the conquered city and rapes the women. In this sense, the two actions are homologous.⁶⁵

By raping, the soldiers assume the right to both possess the bodies of the enemy’s women and confuse the parentage of future births. One of the memoirists admits that “the populations where we are going [Egypt] do not treat women in the same way that we do, but in all countries, the person who rapes is a monster.”⁶⁶ While the practice is condemned, its definition will largely depend on which side of the conflict commits these acts.

If there is no question of rape among the ranks of the memoirists, it is because the enemy’s women are without virtue. As Salomon-Louis Laurillard-Fallot wrote, “it is clear that the (Belgian) women are very pretty, curvaceous and extremely amorous and it is not difficult to encounter them.” A little further on, he recalled that “the small town where I was to live could not be recommended by the morality of the women. Those who were not married particularly stood out due to the flightiness of their behaviour. They played innocent games that were often not so innocent at all.”⁶⁷ The disqualification of women from the moral register excused the men who had sexual relations with them and even, via a rhetorical reversal, turned these men into victims. One of these memoirists noted that “this absence of all scruples in the trafficking of women was a great pitfall for a young man exiled on the island (Great Britain); another pitfall was the orgiastic life led by foreigners.”⁶⁸

Nevertheless, certain anecdotes leave little doubt as to the constraints weighing on foreign women during occupation by the French army. Thus, Jean-Pierre Doguereau recalls, without expressing the slightest remorse, the kidnapping of several Egyptian women who were handed over to the troops for several days: “A harem, penetrated by our comrades and from which they took negresses, helped pass the time for a few days, but we soon got bored.”⁶⁹ Similarly, Kléber admitted that “they found the location well-adapted to their antics with the Egyptian women and it soon became a setting for vice and debauchery.”⁷⁰ This association between exoticism and eroticism is a very effective way in which to divide spaces and populations.⁷¹ The extent of the moral disqualification of foreign women is reflected in the barbarity of the French soldiers.

Charles-Antoine Morand’s account of the Egyptian occupation is the only one to describe men being raped. It is important to note that the accuracy of this indirect account has not been established. Nevertheless, it is interesting because it is only intelligible through the hierarchical worldview that underlies the French colonial interpretation of the Egyptians during this period. It is clearly because the Egyptians were considered barbarians that this very detailed anecdote—unlike others that reference such acts in a more euphemistic and elliptical manner—makes perfect sense to its author and contributes to a colonial demonstration of the “monstrosity” of the Egyptian people.

Certain imprudent soldiers who had drifted away from our convoy were taken prisoner and splendidly fucked by the children of Ishmael. . . . Woe betides the unfortunates having fallen into their hands. They were stripped and, before being put to death, had to submit and suffer the abominable passions of their captors. Occasionally, opening the anus with a knife, they sought ghastly pleasure from the prisoner’s bloody wound. Or, inserting a rifle cartridge, they set fire to it and then abandoned their victim to his fate.⁷²

In this instance, sexual violence is used to question the boundaries between spaces and groups according to their relative degree of morality and civilization. Morand's reading of himself and his troops translates into a hierarchical vision of political spaces that both asserts the superiority of a dominant space and essentializes modes of classification.⁷³ Thus, using a moral and political register, the memoirist translates a defense of "values" that simultaneously divides and unifies. Such rhetoric opposes two homogenized and essentialized spaces: the Napoleonic Empire—a modern, educated and civilized space—and its fringes—a set of uncontrolled, barbaric, and violent spaces. This false interpretation thus makes it possible to legitimize imperialist intentions and murderous wars of conquest.

Far from being a matter of intimacy, sexuality is part of geopolitics and a politics that relies on the production of a sexual world order. Power creates, organizes, and naturalizes a world order that also exposes itself as a sexual order.⁷⁴ The sexual goes beyond sex; it signifies and produces an asymmetrical relationship that empowers or unites certain individuals, groups, and hierarchized spaces.⁷⁵ Therefore, sexuality is an additional indicator of power. It creates, transforms, and reproduces social and spatial hierarchies. Dominant spaces are associated with a greater capacity for self-discipline, the internalization of taboos, and their corporeal inscription in the most intimate attitudes and behavior patterns. In the capacity to control instinctual sexuality, the civilizing process finds the mark of superiority. Spatially translated, this classificatory logic informs the justification and reinforcement of territorial hierarchies.

Conclusion

If veridiction represents the very foundation of writing a war memoir, studying the contents of such testimonials in terms of affect and sexuality reveals the divergence between this statement and what is revealed by reading their silences for the unsayable. Veridiction does not mean the truth. In fact, lexicological studies show that the term rape is rarely used in war memoirs. Expressions used dissolve the nature and impact of this very clearly identified and condemned act. This process of dissolution absolves the soldiers of responsibility, clearly assigning the blame to the victims. It helps to reveal the socio-cultural and geopolitical factors involved in the qualification of sexual violence, a qualification strongly linked to a hierarchical and essentialized conception of women, but also to men on the other side of the conflict. Far from giving a singular personal account of a terribly unstable and complex emotional and physical experience, these war memoirs reflect the hierarchical thinking of their time period regarding sexuality, gender, and "race." Indeed, accounts that evade such established forms of representation are rare. As such, they simplify the experience of war by drawing on established claims to truth, such as the logic of "common sense," that serve to reify a more stable reading of the world that predated them. Far from revealing a singular individual trajectory, therefore, they put into words the social norms of their time. In short, these memoirs mask as much as they reveal.

For the British sociologist Anthony Giddens, "sexuality functions as a malleable feature of self, a prime connecting point between body, self-identity and social norms."⁷⁶ However, this is not the case for everyone. One only needs to consider the unequal distribution of the possibilities represented by this malleability and its expression, and thus, the coexistence in time and space of a plurality of situations and discursive regimes. Moreover, that which is verbalized, formulated, or written tends to create saturation, blinding us to that which is not said. Silence simultaneously covers that which is evident and banal and, thus, beyond discourse; at the same time, it determines what is taboo or unsayable. Nevertheless, there is no reason to create a binary separation between what is said and what is not said; the focus should be on the various modalities of the unspoken, beginning with the uneven distribution of the spoken or the written, the capacity to say or write, the classification of what is sayable and what is not, the determination of which particular forms

of discretion are required, etc. There is never just one but several silences and they form an integral part of the strategies that underlie and cross through discourses on sexuality. Seen in this light, the testimonies presented here constitute a source that is as precious as it is difficult to analyze because it permits the questioning of the contours of intimacy and singularity of emotions—which, in this case, is linked to both ordinary and extraordinary experiences. Ultimately, these memoirs permit the demonstration of how the construction of the Other determines the way that a person could be treated, how the effects of classification permit (or not) the naming of a phenomenon, and, by the same token, its recognition (or, on the contrary, its denial), whether it be love or sexual violence against exoticized foreign women or love or sexual violence between men.⁷⁷

Through these memoirs of war, the question of scale and of the boundaries of (im)moral landscapes have been re-examined as well as the extent to which these stories permit the naming, the classification, the saying or, on the contrary, the silencing of love and sexuality. An examination of the morality of heterosexual performances during war in this case appears to offer a useful point of departure regarding the exploration of how heterosexuality is naturalized in (and through) space. According to Phil Hubbard, an increasing body of geographical research has investigated the judgments people make on an everyday basis about what type of peoples, behaviors, and embodied practices are acceptable in which settings. He argues that “far from being a unified and monolithic system, heterosexualities (like homosexualities) are obviously manifest in a variety of different displays of emotion and intimacy which are inscribed in a variety of different landscapes.”⁷⁸ Although queer geographers often invoke “straight” space as a dominant space that queers must negotiate, Hubbard calls attention to the ways in which heterosexual spaces are variously sexualized and desexualized. To this we might add that the institutionalization of moral values varies significantly across national boundaries in terms of the moral sanctioning of what forms of heterosexual performance are culturally desirable. As Natalie Oswin has proposed, queering our analysis thus helps us to position sexuality within multifaceted constellations of power and to ask new questions that illuminate a broader range of critical possibilities.⁷⁹

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NOTES

- 1 See, in particular, Phil Hubbard, “Desire/Disgust: Mapping the Moral Contours of Heterosexuality,” *Progress in Human Geography* 24, no. 2 (2000): 191-217.
- 2 For Michel Foucault, “the disciplinary mechanisms concerning the body and the regulating mechanisms concerning the population are interlinked.... Sexuality lies precisely at the intersection of the body and the population. As such, it is based on discipline but is also the result of checks and balances.” From Michel Foucault, “Il faut défendre la société: cours au Collège de France, 1975-1976,” (Paris: Gallimard, 1997), 223-224.
- 3 Elizabeth Heineman, “The History of Sexual Violence in Conflict Zones: Conference Report,” *Radical History Review* 101 (2008): 5-21. See also Jim Trenholm, Pia Olsson, Martha Blomqvist, and Maina Ahlberg, “The Global, the Ethnic and the Gendered War: Women and Rape in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo,” *Gender, Place and Culture* (2015): 1-19.
- 4 The “Rights of War” was developed in the nineteenth century by Grotius (Hugo Grotius, *The Rights of War and Peace*, (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2005)). Diderot and d’Alembert’s eighteenth-century *Encyclopédie* also mentions that “the military laws of Europe do not authorize the deliberate taking of the life of prisoners of war, nor of those who ask for

pardon, nor those who surrender, especially not the elderly, women, children, and in general, of anyone who is not of an age nor of a profession to carry arms, and those who have no part in the war whether they are in the country or on the side of the enemy. Most importantly, the rights of *war* cannot be used to authorize affronts to women's honor; such conduct contributes nothing to our defense, our security nor the maintenance of our rights; it can only serve to satisfy the brutality of an undisciplined soldier." From Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers*, vol. 7, (Paris: Chez Briasson, 1751), 997-998.

- 5 Carl J. Griffin and Adrian B. Evans, "On Historical Geographies of Embodied Practice and Performance," *Historical Geography*, 36 (2008): 5-16.
- 6 If, as Ann Stoler noted in the early 2000s, we are "disinclined to think of the affective to the detriment of policy, we leave feelings to literature, excluding the possibility of making reference to it and abandoning the frivolity of emotion for the benefit of the solidity of the archives." From Ann Stoler, *La chair de l'empire* (Paris: La découverte, 2013), 28, It is much less the case today with the development of numerous studies on gender, sexuality, and emotions. See, for example, Riki Van Boeschoten, "The Trauma of War Rape: A Comparative View on the Bosnian Conflict and the Greek Civil War," *History and Anthropology* 14, no. 1 (2003): 41-44; or Sara McDowell, "Commemorating Dead 'Men': Gendering the Past and Present in Post-Conflict Northern Ireland," *Gender, Place and Culture* 15, no. 4 (2008): 335-354.
- 7 This notion of "brutalization" was developed by George Mosse (George L. Mosse, *La Brutalisation des sociétés européennes. De la Grande Guerre au totalitarisme* (Paris: Hachette, 2000). For Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau and Annette Becker, "war brutalizes men in both senses of the term: it touches their flesh and in their soul; it also makes them brutal." From Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, Annette Becker, *Retrouver la guerre, 1914-1918* (Paris: Gallimard, 2000) 34. To this more social understanding of brutalization we may also add the more individual case studies analyzed by Joanna Bourke (Joanna Bourke, *An Intimate History of Killing. Face-to-face Killing in Twentieth Century Warfare* (London: Granta, 1999)).
- 8 Michel Foucault, *Histoire de la sexualité, Tome 1: La volonté de savoir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1977).
- 9 David Bell and Gill Valentine, eds., *Mapping Desire: Geographies of Sexualities* (London: Routledge, 1995); and Kath Browne, Jason Lim, and Gavin Brown, eds., *Geographies of Sexualities: Theory, Practice and Politics* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).
- 10 See Bell and Valentine, *Mapping Desire*, 12. As Natalie Oswin has noted, the lack of geographical work on heterosexualities is indeed a significant lacuna that should be urgently addressed (Natalie Oswin, "Critical Geographies and the Uses of Sexuality: Deconstructing Queer Space," *Progress in Human Geography* 32, no. 1 (2008): 89-103). For Phil Hubbard, this lacuna is dangerous, for without a focus on the fractured articulation of heterosexual love, romance and desire, geographers risk presenting an overly sanitized and ordered conception of its socio-spatial relations which excludes many of the central desires and disgusts that infuse all people's lives (not just those of homosexually-identified men and women) (Hubbard, "Desire/Disgust").
- 11 See Catherine Nash, "Cultural Geography: Postcolonial Cultural Geographies," *Progress in Human Geography* 26, no. 2 (2002): 219-230; and Hakan Sekinelgin, "Global Civil Society as Shepherd: Global Sexualities and the Limits of Solidarity from a Distance," *Critical Social Policy*, (2012). French sociologist Eric Fassin defines sexual democracy as "the ultimate frontier of democratization, while sexual difference appears to its opponents as the last refuge of transcendence – a natural reservation immune to history and politics, protected from the turmoil of democratic critique. The importance of sexual politics today throughout the world (from gay marriage to violence against women, from the Islamic

- veil to prostitution, etc.) is to be interpreted in this context: these are battles about the limits, or on the contrary about the continued extension, of the democratic logic." From Éric Fassin, "A Double-Edged Sword: Sexual Democracy, Gender Norms, and Racialized Rhetoric," in *The Question of Gender. Joan W. Scott's Critical Feminism*, eds. Judith Butler and Elizabeth Weed (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), 143–160. For Fassin, the so-called sexual clash of civilizations takes on a different meaning in today's Europe: it is about immigrants rather than terrorists and about contention rather than expansion. As a consequence, Europe draws the boundaries between "us" and "them" through sexual politics. Sexual democracy thus defines the borders of Europe while embodying national identities in France, in the Netherlands, and elsewhere (see Éric Fassin, "National Identities and Transnational Intimacies: Sexual Democracy and the Politics of Immigration in Europe," *Public Culture*, 22, no. 3 (2010): 507-529). Leticia Sabsay explores to what extent the sexual citizen has been configured in Euro-American terms within political liberalism, and how colonial and orientalist ideas about sexual citizenship and democracy follow on from this restricted notion of the subject of rights (see Leticia Sabsay, "The Emergence of the Other Sexual Citizen: Orientalism and the Modernisation of Sexuality," *Citizenship Studies* 16, no. 5-6 (2012): 605-623).
- 12 The definition of orientalism given by Edward Said is "a way of coming to terms with the Orient that is based on the Orient's special place in European Western experience. The Orient is just adjacent to Europe; it is also the place of Europe's greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilizations and its languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other. In addition, the Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience. [...] orientalism is a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient." Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979), 1-3.
 - 13 "Perhaps too geographers have deemed love to be a type of biological need which requires no explanation. Or, perhaps geographers are too cynical about love to conduct much research about it. Certainly it is time to question why geographers have paid little attention to actually explaining what romantic, passionate, or intimate love is. Perhaps geographers need to be more in touch with their emotions." From Carey-Ann Morrison, Lynda Johnston, and Robyn Longhurst, "Critical Geographies of Love as Spatial, Relational and Political," *Progress in Human Geography* 37, no. 4 (2012): 505-521. See also Lynda Johnston and Robyn Longhurst, eds., *Space, Place, and Sex: Geographies of Sexualities* (Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010). As Lauren Berlant notes: "Desires for intimacy that bypass the couple or the life narratives it generates have no alternative plots, let alone few laws and stable spaces of culture in which to clarify and cultivate them [...] to rethink intimacy is to appraise who we have been and how we live and how we might imagine our lives that make more sense than the ones so many are living." Lauren Berlant, "Intimacy: A Special Issue," *Critical Inquiry* 24, no. 2 (1998): 285-286.
 - 14 There are numerous related definitions of affect. For example, Steve Pile, "Emotions and Affect in Recent Human Geography," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 35, no. 1 (2010): 5-20.
 - 15 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso Books, 2006), 735.
 - 16 Mick Smith, Liz Bondi, and Joyce Davidson, eds., *Emotional Geographies* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012); and also Deborah Thien, "After or Beyond Feeling?: A Consideration of Affect and Emotion in Geography," *Area* 37, no. 4 (2005): 450-456.
 - 17 For example, Hakan Sekinelgin argues that in the debates on international sexuality rights, global civil society actors assume leadership to represent the voices of those who are seen

as marginalized or voiceless due to diverse injustices. This process, however, itself creates a layer of power relations within civil society which in turn leads to an under-representation of the voices and demands of people who do not appear in the global register of sexuality politics (see Hakan Sekinelgin, "Global Civil Society as Shepherd: Global Sexualities and the Limits of Solidarity from a Distance," *Critical Social Policy* 32, no. 4 (2012): 536-555; see also Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the subaltern speak?" in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, Eds. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (Urbana and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 271-313).

- 18 This is even more remarkable given that it was not her noble constitution that allowed her to overcome the weakness of her sex. As Sylvie Steinberg has shown, it is the individual's status and the social exceptionalism linked to birth that authorizes the separation between them. See Steinberg Sylvie, *La Confusion des sexes. Le travestissement de la Renaissance à la Révolution* (Paris: Fayard, 2001).
- 19 Renée Bordereau, *Mémoires de Renée Bordereau* (Denée: Ivan Davy editor, 1983), 10, 22.
- 20 Cited by Jean-Paul Bertaud, *La Vie quotidienne des soldats de la Révolution française* (Paris: Hachette, 1983), 151.
- 21 Dominique Godineau, "De la guerrière à la citoyenne. Porter les armes pendant l'Ancien Régime et la Révolution française," *Clio. Histoire, femmes et sociétés* 20 (2004), <http://clio.revues.org/1418>.
- 22 Jean-Clément Martin, *Révolution et Contre-Révolution en France, 1789-1989* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires, 1996); and Jean-Clément Martin, "Femmes et guerre civile, l'exemple de la Vendée, 1793-1796," *Clio. Histoire, femmes et sociétés* 5 (1997), <http://clio.revues.org/410>; Olwen Hufton, "Women in Revolution 1789-1796," *Past and Present* 53 (1971): 90-108; and Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988).
- 23 Dominique Godineau, "De la guerrière à la citoyenne. Porter les armes pendant l'Ancien Régime et la Révolution française," *Clio. Histoire, femmes et sociétés* 20 (2004), <http://clio.revues.org/1418>.
- 24 *Moniteur*: XVI, 270 (decree dated April 30) and XVIII, 656 (Romme le 22 frimaire an II); A.N., W 78 pl. 4 no. 247 (letter from a lieutenant from the 7th ventôse, Year II). Cited by Dominique Godineau, "De la guerrière à la citoyenne. Porter les armes pendant l'Ancien Régime et la Révolution française," *Clio. Histoire, femmes et sociétés* 20 (2004), <http://clio.revues.org/1418>.
- 25 Henri Ducor, *Aventures d'un marin de la Garde impériale: prisonnier de guerre sur les pontons espagnols dans l'île de Cabrera* (Monein: Éd. PyrÉmonde-[Princi Negue], [1833] 2008), 37.
- 26 Liz Bondi, "Gender Symbols and Urban Landscapes," *Progress in Human Geography* 16, no. 2 (1992): 157-70; Nancy Duncan, "Renegotiating Gender and Sexuality in Public and Private Places," in *Bodyspace: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*, ed. Nancy Duncan, (London: Routledge, 1996), 127-45; and Julia Cream, "Re-solving Riddles: The Sexed Body," in *Mapping Desire: Geographies of Sexualities*, eds. Bell David and Gill Valentine (London: Routledge, 1995), 31-40.
- 27 See the text on gallica website: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k56398t/f491.image>.
- 28 Jacques Houdaille, "La nuptialité sous la Révolution et l'Empire," *Population* 37, no. 1 (1982): 160-167.
- 29 Jennifer Heuer, "Réduit à désirer la mort d'une femme qui peut-être lui a sauvé la vie: la conscription et les liens du mariage sous Napoléon," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 348 (2007): 25-40.

- 30 Alain Pigeard, *La Conscription au temps de Napoléon, 1798-1814* (Paris: Tallandier, 2003); Alan Forrest, *Conscripts and Deserters: The Army and French Society during the Revolution and the Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); Isser Woloch, *The New Regime: Transformations of the French Civic Order, 1789-1820s* (New-York: W.W. Norton, 1994); and Isser Woloch, "Napoleonic Conscription: State Power and Civil Society," *Past and Present* 111 (1986): 101-129.
- 31 Alain Pigeard, *L'Armée de Napoléon: organisation et vie quotidienne* (Paris: Tallandier, 2000).
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- 44 Florent Guibert, *Souvenirs d'un sous-lieutenant d'infanterie légère (1805-1815)*; and François-René Cailloux, known as Pouget, *Souvenirs de guerre (1790-1831)* (Paris: La Vouivre, t. VII, 1998), 112.
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- 48 John Keegan, *Anatomie de la bataille* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1976), 15.
- 49 Arlette Farge, *Des lieux pour l'histoire* (Paris: Seuil, 1997), 26.
- 50 To analyze these memoirs, I conducted a systematic survey of their thematic content (including references to hunger, cold, relationships with women, fellowship, rape, sexuality, relationships to animals, relationships to indigenous people) as well as their content and lexicography.
- 51 Marcel Baldet, *La vie quotidienne dans les armées de Napoléon* (Paris: Hachette, 1964).
- 52 Umberto Eco, *Lector in fabula* (Paris: Grasset, 1979), 65.
- 53 "It is for you, my dear children, that I write this history of the suffering and the glory of the Vendée." (Madame de Sapinaud, *Memoirs of Madame de Sapinaud* (Loudéac: Y. Salmon, 1989), 17) or "it is because of you, my dear children, that I have had the courage to complete these memoirs." (Madame la Marquise de la Rochejaquelein, *Mémoires de Madame la marquise de la Rochejaquelein, Volume 1, Edition 12* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1868), 1).
- 54 Among the letters found in the archives by Pierre Le Buhan are those from Joseph Landouart (October 28, 1806 in Venlo) addressed to his wife: "My dear wife Marie-Jeanne Ollivier, this is the seventh letter I have sent you, having only received four from you. My dear wife, I hope my parents are helping you as they promised and I would like to know if my son is well. I embrace you with all my heart, your loving husband Joseph Landouart." Or that from Yves Tremel (5 May, 1806 in Strasbourg): "My dearest wife, I hasten to let you know that I shall be arriving in just a few days. I wish from the bottom of my heart that this letter finds you well and that we can share our joy and satisfaction. My dear wife, I embrace you with all my heart and pray you are not sad for I shall be constant to you for my entire life. Your friend and husband for life. Please kiss my dear children for me." (Pierre Le Buhan, "Soldats bretons de Napoléon 1796-1815," (Saint-Brieuc: P. Le Buhan, 2012).
- 55 Pierre Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 50.
- 56 William-Theobald Wolf Tone, *Récit de mes souvenirs et campagnes dans l'armée française (1813-1815)* (Paris: La Vouivre, t. III, 1998), 35.
- 57 Jean Breaut des Marlots, *Lettre d'un capitaine de cuirassiers sur la campagne de Russie*, & Pierre-Paul Denniée, *Itinéraire de l'Empereur Napoléon pendant la campagne de 1812* (Paris: La Vouivre, t. I, 1998), 3.
- 58 George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man. The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 109, 124.
- 59 Wolf Tone, *Récit de mes souvenirs*, 75.
- 60 On the question of silence, John Wrathall argues that the provenance and organizational structure of manuscript collections can be used as historical sources. Doing so illuminates their content, especially when one is trying to evaluate the significance of silences within such collections. He has assumed that all silences, as Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick has pointed out, are not the same, that they hide different meanings, and that something of what they hide can be deduced from the context in which they exist and the purpose for which they were produced. In few fields is evaluating silences as important as in the history of sexuality, where, in modern American culture in particular, the forces of shame and punishment have dominated discourse and determined what could or could not be expressed. Wrathall, "Provenance as Text." See also Dipesh Chakrabarty, "Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for 'Indian' Pasts?" *Representations* 37 (1992): 1-26.

- 61 Florent Guibert, *Souvenirs d'un sous-lieutenant d'infanterie légère (1805-1815)* and François-René Cailloux, known as Pouget, *Souvenirs de guerre (1790-1831)* (Paris: La Vouivre, t. VII, 1998), 145.
- 62 Alexandre Bellot De Kergorre, *Journal d'un commissaire des guerres pendant le Premier Empire (1806-1821)* (Paris: La Vouivre, coll. Mémoires et Documents, t. IV, 1998), 77.
- 63 Jean-Pierre Doguereau, "Journal de l'expédition d'Égypte (1798-1801)," in *Du Directoire à l'Empire, Volume II* (Paris: La Vouivre, 1998), 71.
- 64 Doguereau, *Journal de l'expédition*, 110-111.
- 65 Arlette Farge, ed., *De la violence et des femmes* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1997), 168.
- 66 Charles-Antoine Morand, *Lettres sur l'expédition d'Égypte (de l'Italie à la prise du Caire), suivies du Carnet de route de chef de brigade (de Rome à Assouan) (1798-1799)* (Paris: La Vouivre, t. X, 1998), 51.
- 67 Salomon-Louis Laurellard-Fallot, "Souvenirs d'un médecin hollandais sous les Aigles françaises (1807-1833)," in *Du Directoire à l'Empire, Volume IX* (Paris: La Vouivre, 1997), 13, 27.
- 68 Laurellard-Fallot, "Souvenirs d'un médecin," 19.
- 69 Doguereau, *Journal de l'expédition*, 23.
- 70 Jean-Baptiste Kléber, Auguste Dumas, Charles Morand, Antoine Michaux, Joseph Lazowski, Jean Ferrus, and Aliud, "L'état-major de Kléber en Égypte (1798-1800) après leur carnets, journaux, rapports & notes," in *Du Directoire à l'Empire, Volume VI* (Paris: La Vouivre, 1997), 13.
- 71 Jean-François Staszak, "Qu'est-ce que l'exotisme?" *Le Globe* 148 (2008): 7-30.
- 72 Charles-Antoine Morand, "Lettres sur l'expédition d'Égypte (de l'Italie à la prise du Caire), suivies du Carnet de route de chef de brigade (de Rome à Assouan) (1798-1799)," in *Du Directoire à l'Empire, Volume X* (Paris: La Vouivre, 1998), 42.
- 73 Marianne Blidon and Sébastien Roux, "L'ordre sexuel du monde," *L'Espace Politique* 13 (2011), <http://espacepolitique.revues.org/index1813.html>.
- 74 Ann Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).
- 75 Bell and Valentine, *Mapping Desire*.
- 76 Anthony Giddens, *The Transformation of Intimacy* (Oxford: Policy Press, 1992), 27.
- 77 As geographer Jane M. Jacobs has written: "The sheer uneven materiality of the lives of people affected by imperialism must inform the moral and ethical function of critical postcolonial studies, and, by extension, postcolonial cultural geographies." (Jane M. Jacobs, *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City* (London: Routledge, 1996), 29).
- 78 Hubbard, "Desire/Disgust," 193.
- 79 Oswin, "Critical geographies," 100.