

**More than “The Roses of No Man’s Land:” The Personal and Professional
Experiences of Canadian and British Nurses in World War I**

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HIST-H270 What is History?

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Research Project Components

Essay Describing Research Strategies & Application of Library Resources....	1
Research Proposal.....	6
Notes on Databases and On Campus Archives.....	10
Government Documents.....	15
Newspapers.....	17
Magazines.....	18
Published Primary Sources.....	18
Other Primary Sources.....	19
Annotated Bibliography (Secondary Sources)	22
Other Secondary Sources Not Annotated.....	25
Tertiary Sources	28

Essay Describing Research Strategies & Application of Library Resources

Over the course of this semester, the majority of my research time has been devoted to the examination of primary sources, such as sheet music, photographs, war diaries and correspondence, and to the analysis of secondary sources, including journal articles and interpretive books. The majority of these sources were located in the online archives of IU Libraries. My time was also spent meeting with an expert in my topic here at IU and searching through a series of databases and digitized archives to find information that would be pertinent to my topic.

Honestly, one of the most difficult parts of this project was choosing what topic I wanted to research. I was very indecisive with picking my topic because there are so many historical topics that I find intriguing. My initial brainstorm topics were vast and varied in subject. Some of my initial brainstorm topics included the rise (and fall) of the Romanov dynasty; witchcraft and women; the era of Conservatism and the evolution of ballet. Having narrowed my topic down, I

intended to research nursing during World War II; I wanted to examine nursing units from The United States, Russia, Germany, Australia and New Zealand, and Great Britain. This topic was far too broad as I would have been overwhelmed by sources and would have not been able to research everything within the time span of a semester. After speaking with Professor McGraw and doing some preliminary research on IUCAT, I discovered that IU has a greater selection of secondary sources revolving around nursing during World War I. At this point, I decided to switch my focus to nursing during World War I, specifically looking at nursing units and the personal narratives of nurses from Great Britain and Canada. This topic was of particular interest to me because I had never learned very much about the wartime experience of women although I have always enjoyed learning about the various complexities of World War I. Having selected my topic, I then moved on to figuring out what my research question would be. Compared to other subjects within World War One, such as military history, and even other historical topics, there has been a historical disregard for the experience of nurses, both professional and volunteer. Thus, I decided that I wanted to look at the personal and professional experiences of these British and Canadian women: what role did they serve in the war effort and what was everyday life like for a nurse serving in World War I (what was the wartime experience for a nurse?). By early September, my research topic and question were solidified, and I could delve into the research process.

The very first thing that I did after solidifying my topic and question was to create a folder on IUCAT entitled “World War One Nurses (Canada, Great Britain, and Australia.” I then started playing around with search terms -”Nurses,” “World War One Nurses,” etc- to help me find five historiographic books on my topic. When I did my preliminary searches on IUCAT, I found a few of the books that I later went back to and saved in my folder. IU actually had access

to a good selection of books that pertained to my topic and that would allow me to look at my research question from all angles. During this time (September), I also searched through IUCAT to see what sorts of other sources IU might have had access to regarding my topic. I was able to find that the IU libraries system had copies of memoirs of nurses who served as VADs and professional military nurses, as well as copies of published war diaries. IUCAT also showed a series of digitized reports and proceedings from Queen Alexandra's Imperial Military Nursing Service. These documents listed the social backgrounds/status, references, and appointments granted to nurses during the First World War.

It was at this point in my research that we were assigned the List of Provisional Databases and Primary Archive. I went to the Research Help tab on our class' canvas page and began my search through the databases listed for primary and secondary sources. I went through each database that appeared to have some relationship with my topic (filtering out the databases dealing with 18th century France etc.). I then conducted advanced searches within these databases using some key search terms in order to narrow my results to only those databases which would be valuable. Through this process, I found that the databases which contain pertinent information for my topic are AM Explorer, British Library Newspapers, JSTOR, and Newspaper.com World Collections. In the British Library Newspapers database, I found a number of newspaper articles on the Voluntary Aid Detachment, including articles on the formation and examination of these units. I also found newspaper clippings detailing honors awarded to members of the Imperial Nursing Service, obituaries of serving nurses, reflections on the Nurses Registration law, and conditions in military hospitals. I glanced at AM Explorer which has a collection of sources on World War I. In this database, I found propaganda posters aimed at recruiting nurses, with one reading "Remember Nurse Cavell." This database also

houses many photographs of various nursing units. This database has a “British Red Cross Certificate for Recognition of Valuable Services During the War” and various artwork (greeting cards, posters, and sheet music) depicting nurses from World War I. This database contains images of the uniforms worn by the various nursing units from Great Britain and Canada (and Australia). In the Newspaper.com World Collection, I was hoping to find sources for my research on Canadian nurses. I found a series of Canadian newspaper articles detailing the activities of their nurses in World War I. Topics for these articles include the rank of nurses, activities of nurses during and after the war, and nurses training. I also found a database of UK Parliamentary Papers (Proquest), containing reports on the Imperial Nursing Service. With regards to my primary on campus archive, I talked with Scott Libson when he gave a presentation to our class, and he recommended the university archives at Wells Library. I also spoke with the Maureen Maryanski at the Lilly Library, who told me that they might also keep some sources regarding my topic. On October 3rd, I visited the university archives at Wells Library and found seven primary and secondary sources on my topic.

On November 14th, I met with my expert Professor Lara Kriegel for roughly thirty minutes. Professor Kriegel was incredibly welcoming, and it was great to be able to sit down with her and discuss my research topic. Our meeting was incredibly illuminating as Professor Kriegel had a vast knowledge of other secondary sources by knowledgeable authors. At our meeting, she briefly looked through my five books and confirmed that they all were scholarly. She also gave me some other authors to look into including Sonya Rose, Joanna Bourke, Susan Grayzel, Deborah Cohen, and Jeffrey Bezich. She recommended a few more archives and databases to me including the National Archives in Britain, the Imperial War Museum, and the Royal College of Nursing.

Over Thanksgiving break, I began to read through my 5 scholarly books. As I read, I used post it notes to bookmark important sections, the authors' arguments, and any quotes I found interesting. Of my five books, the two that I found the most interesting were *This Small Army of Women* by Linda J. Quiney and *Sister Soldiers of the Great War* by Cynthia Tomen. After reading about three to four chapters in each book, I started writing my annotated bibliography. During the week immediately after break, I began to compile and cite all of the photographs, records, letters, war diaries, and posters that I had found during the research process. It is also during this time that I wrote my research proposal and started writing my narrative. I spent the last week of the semester compiling all of the various components of this project together and doing final edits. Overall, this project has been a labor of love for while I have enjoyed learning about the wartime experience of these nurse, it had been difficult to sort through thousands upon thousands of sources. I have learned about the importance of search terms and narrowing down sources to those that provide the best and most useful information for your research.

Research Proposal:
More than “The Roses of No Man’s Land:” The Personal and Professional Experiences of Canadian and British Nurses in World War I

_____ In *All Quiet on the Western Front*, Erich Maria Remarque writes “a hospital alone shows what war is” in reference to World War I. Following that same sentiment, it is the individuals who worked inside these hospitals that understood the true effects of the First World War and the experiences that came on its coattails. Specifically, nurses- both volunteer and professional-who served in these hospitals, on convoy ships, at casualty clearing stations, and on hospital trains, faced a world of chaos, uncertainty, and misery unlike anything they had ever known. Nurses were faced by the cruel and devastating realities of war; however, they were determined to soldier on under all conditions.

For my research topic, I decided to examine the volunteer and professional military nurses from Great Britain and Canada who served in World War One. Specifically, I wanted to investigate the role that these women served within the war effort as well as the wartime experiences of these women. For a point of reference, more than ten thousand nurses served near the western front and thousands more in convalescent hospitals and on convoy ships. World War One was the first modern war in which women on the international scale were allowed to physically participate in the war effort. In comparison to previous wars, women were not relegated to a position of waiting and watching in the wings while their brothers, sons, and husbands went off to fight; they were actively pushed by their respective governments to serve as volunteer or professional nurses or as workers in munitions factories. I should clarify that this distinction was for middle class women; upper class women were expected to wait patiently at home. Some of the questions that came to mind as I researched were: what was the everyday life on a nurse serving in World War One? How did these women impact the war effort? What

issues- social, economic, and political- did these women face both during and shortly after the war?

For many years, this topic was ignored by many historians who determined that the experiences of these women were not valuable to historical thinking. There was scarcely a mention of the efforts of World War One nurses in Great Britain and Canada after the war, and this trend continued until the turn of the century. Of my five scholarly books, four were written within the last five years, just to give you a taste of the neglect of this topic. Most of my books were written by female historians of nursing. The common consensus among these historians of nursing is that history has romanticized the myth of the VAD: a gentle, young woman with her white apron emblazoned by the stark red cross and her hair covered by a linen head scarf, whose service was maternal in nature. As historian Linda J. Quiney mentions in her book, *This Small Army of Women*, “much as Nightingale became the ‘lady with the lamp’ in the Crimea, [Vera] Brittain’s young, delicate, well-bred VAD identity created an enduring image that came to represent the thousands of Imperial VADs” and often erased the memory of enlisted professional nurses.

The main schism among historians of this topic is the definition of who was a nurse in World War One with some historians arguing the importance of volunteer nurses while others argue for the memorialization of the professional nurses, criticizing the work of VAD nurses. The main discrepancy is not a major problem, but it speaks to a common trend of deciding who deserves to be remembered. In *Sister Soldiers of the Great War*, historian Cynthia Tomen highlights the achievements and lives of the nurses of the Canadian Army Medical Corps (CAMC). These women were fully integrated members of the Canadian Army, serving as “fully enlisted, commissioned officers with relative rank and equal pay” (Tomen). Yvonne McEwen

specifically focuses on the tensions between members of Queen Alexandra's Imperial Military Nursing Service and British VADs in her book *In the Company of Nurses*. She details that "the official voluntary services - The British Red Cross Society (BCRS) and The Order of St. John of Jerusalem ... created serious problems for the army administration...the voluntary units were, in effect, going in alone and in the process were breaching international conventions and agreements." Some historians on this topic argue the superiority of professional nurses, deeming this group as the true nursing heroes of World War I.

Through my analysis of primary source documents, such as war diaries, propaganda posters/postcards, and government documents, I have determined that the wartime experiences of VADs and professional nurses were not entirely different from one another. These women served as soldiers, caregivers, and civilians simultaneously. Some of the factors of similarity that I have found undervalued include: the shared confusion, tension between amateur nurses and professionals, and the shared sense of patriotism and soldiering on for "our boys." Both groups dealt with authorities and individuals who did not like the idea of female involvement in the war. Immediately after the war, there was a public opinion that women had only been playing war games: that their war experience was not valid. To this point-as detailed in records of the St. John's Ambulance Association- the War Office did not acknowledge the service of many VADs until the early 1920s: medals for Canadian VADs did not arrive until November 1923. By that time, most women who served had slipped back into civilian life. The topic of pensions for British VADs and professional nurses who served was not discussed until later as well. It was not until the 1960s that these women were posthumously being given pensions and retribution payments.

The significance of my research is thus: the ability to examine the wartime experiences of both volunteer and professional nurses without establishing a hierarchy. This research would seek to look at the overarching trends that weaved through these experiences as well as provide for a comprehensive look at the image of British and Canadian VADs and professional nurses. While addressing the myths of nursing in World War I, such as the myth of the VAD, my research would seek to argue the point that all nurses served three roles simultaneously: nurse, soldier, and civilian. This common bond crossed the barrier of amateur and professional, and sacrifice was a central point. Whether known as the Roses of No Man's Land, Sister, or Angels of Mercy, the professional and volunteer nurses of World War I were resilient within an atmosphere of chaos, confusion, and uncertainty. I hope that my research paper will discuss all of these factors, and find answers to my aforementioned questions, as well as fill in the gaps in historical knowledge about these nurses of World War I. Should I continue on with this topic to write a full research paper I would like to include narratives and experiences from the other "colonial" nurses of Australia.

Notes on Databases and On Campus Archives

Some of the databases which contain pertinent information for my topic are AM Explorer, British Library Newspapers, JSTOR, and Newspaper.com World Collections. In the British Library Newspapers database, I found a number of newspaper articles on the Voluntary Aid Detachment, including articles on the formation and examination of these units. I also found newspaper clippings detailing honors awarded to members of the Imperial Nursing Service, obituaries of serving nurses, reflections on the Nurses Registration law, and conditions in military hospitals. I glanced at AM Explorer which has a collection of sources on World War I. In this database, I found propaganda posters aimed at recruiting nurses, with one reading “Remember Nurse Cavell.” This database also houses many photographs of various nursing units. This database has a “British Red Cross Certificate for Recognition of Valuable Services During the War” and various artwork (greeting cards, posters, and sheet music) depicting nurses from World War I. This database contains images of the uniforms worn by the various nursing units from Great Britain and Canada (and Australia). In the Newspaper.com World Collection, I was hoping to find sources for my research on Canadian nurses. I found a series of Canadian newspaper articles detailing the activities of their nurses in World War I. Topics for these articles include the rank of nurses, activities of nurses during and after the war, and nurses training. I wasn’t able to locate the digital collection for online nursing records on the alphabetical list of digital collections; however, I was able to find a database of UK Parliamentary Papers (Proquest), containing reports on the Imperial Nursing Service.

I conducted some advanced searches with my key terms (nursing, military nursing, Voluntary aid detachment, World War I nursing, Imperial Nursing Services etc.) in the Archives Unbound database. Unfortunately, my search did not generate anything. I then tried to search for

information via the collections; however, this database does not have any collection related to World War I. The other databases which are not useful to my topic include Digital Scriptorium (medieval and renaissance manuscripts), Early American Imprints, the ProQuest History Vault and Gale primary sources. The Digital Scriptorium and In Principio databases both deal with pre-modern historical topics (Latin, medieval times, and the renaissance), which have little bearing on my topic. I did not look at the KRpia database as it is focused on Korean history, again which does not relate to my research topic. The four government document databases are primarily focused on the US government, which would be helpful if I included US World War I nurses. I am trying to stay away from databases of American history as the World War I nurses that I am researching are from Great Britain and Canada. These databases all provide information and sources that fall outside of the realm of my research.

I think the University Archives at Wells Library and the Lilly Library archives will be my main collections. When I talked with Scott Libson at the end of class, he recommended the University Archives for a wide array of sources on World War I, including those that dealt with nursing. At the Lilly Library, Maureen Maryanski detailed to me that they had a good variety of sources which might shed some light on my topic. I went to Wells Library on October 3rd, and I found roughly seven primary and secondary sources (though they had a good deal more that I plan to look into). These are all textual sources (books primarily) that are relevant to my topic. I was also able to locate the diary of Beatrice Hopkinson, a World War I nurse, called *Nursing Through Shot and Shell*. I searched on IUCAT and found that the Lilly Library holds a few original diaries from World War I that I would like to go examine. There is one in particular - an undated diary by Enid Bagnold, who was a British World War I nurse - that I am planning to use. I want to go to the Moving Image Archive that we visited to see if they might have any non

textual sources that I can look at and hopefully use for my research, but I wasn't able to do an IUCAT search since they are still in the process of digitizing their collection.

Searches Completed in Online Databases and Archives

JSTOR

Keywords searched - number of results found

- a. "Nurses" and "World War One" - 52,462
- b. "World War One" and "Nurses" - 25,051; restricted to the History and British Studies disciplines - 12,220
- c. "Voluntary Aid Detachments" + "World War One" - 2 results but not helpful
- d. Queen Alexandra's Imperial Nursing Service - 64, most of these are not secondary sources but primary sources such as journal articles mentioning nursing casualties
- e. Military Nursing and World War One - 13, 781

ProQuest UK Parliamentary Papers

- a. "World War One" and "Voluntary Aid Detachment" - 2729
- b. + limited to years 1914-2018 - 2096
- c. "Voluntary Aid Detachment" + limited to years 1914-2018- 213 results
 - bills and acts 11 - not very helpful
 - House of Commons Papers - 81 (Includes pertinent information from House of Commons meetings from 1914-1918)
 - Command Papers - 31 (contains orders concerning the pensions and pay for VADs and professional nurses)
 - Hansard Collection (contains every speech given in the British Parliament, Hansard refers to the traditional name for these transcripts) - 90
- d. "Queen Alexandra's Imperial Military Nursing Service" -130
- e. ""+ filter for documents published between 1910-1920 - 32
 - Paper Type
 - Hansard Collection - 15 (these government documents include the full transcripts of the meetings of the House of Commons between 1910-1920)
 - Accounts and Papers - 12
 - Reports of Commissioners - 4
 - Reports of Committees -1 (This is a Report from the Select Committee on Estimates, together with the proceedings of the committee, minutes of evidence and appendices: details some information about pay increases for the Army Nursing Service in 1914)
- f. "Army Nursing Service" - 156

- g. "" + filter to publications between 1914-1918 - 14 results (these include appropriations accounts, army estimates of effective and non effective services, drafts of royal warrants from the Ministry of Pensions)
 - Lords Sitting of Monday, 29th October, 1917 : details a vote of thanks to the forces which served in World War One including nurses for the very first time.
- h. "VAD" + filter for publications between 1914-1918 - 6 but not helpful
- i. "Nurses" + filter for publications between 1914-1918 - 572
 - Types of Papers
 - Hansard Collection - 241
 - Accounts and Papers - 157 (Valuable source: Ministry of Pensions. The draft of a royal warrant for the retired pay of officers disabled, and for the pensions of the families and relatives of officers deceased, and for the pensions of nurses disabled, in consequence of the present war.)
 - Reports of Commissioners - 142
 - Reports of Committees - 19
 - Bills - 13 (One of these bills is the Nurses Registration Bill of 1914 intended to regulate the qualifications of trained nurses as well as to provide for their registration with a council - deals with the conflict between amateur and professional nurses.)
 - Diplomatic and Consular Reports - 7
- j. "Nurses" + filter for publications between 1914-1918 (limited to Parliamentary Papers) - 331
- k. "Nurses" + "War" + publications between 1914-1918 - 516
- l. "Imperial Nursing Service" + publications between 1914-1918 - 2 (1 is pertinent to my topic.)
- m. "Women" and "war" - 44, 424
- n. "" + filter for publications between 1914-1918 -2039
- o. ""+ "nursing"+ years filter 1914-1918 - 417 (beginning to see the same sources from previous searches)
- p. "British Red Cross" + filter publication years 1914-1918 - 102
- q. "" + "nurses" - 48 (none too valuable to my research)

Adam Matthew (AM) Explorer

I specifically searched through the First World War "portal" as they call it, so all of my searches are filtered automatically into only searching through this collection in the database. This database contains hundreds upon hundreds of primary sources, ranging from personal collections to artwork to audio-visual files.

- a. "Nurses" - 1008
- b. "" (limited by document type to personal narrative) - 12

- c. "" (limited to photograph) - 72 (these photos range from hospitals, to nurses, to documenting nursing practices)
- d. "" (limited to English language) - 814
- e. "" (limited to art) - 19
- f. "Nurses" + (limited to sheet music)- 1 but not helpful
- g. "Nurse" (limited to sheet music) - 13 (valuable)
- h. "Imperial Nursing Service" - 375
- i. "" (limited to official papers) - 172
- j. "" (limited to newspaper) - 38
- k. "VAD" - 163
- l. "Voluntary Aid Detachment" and "Nurse" - 134 (including a British Red Cross Handbook of the VAD)
- m. "Red Cross" + "Nurses" + "Service" - 666
- n. "" + filter by theatre of war: western front - 280
- o. "Edith Cavell" - 131

I then searched through the "portal" Medical services and warfare

- a. "Nurses" - 1312 / "Nurse"- 921
- b. "Nurses" + limited to conflict: World War One - 972
- c. "" + World War One + filter for document type: diary - 86

British Library Newspapers

- a. "Nurses" (as a Keyword) + limitation of publication date: January 1, 1914-December 31, 1918- 349
- b. "Queen Alexandra's Imperial Military Nursing Service" (entire document) - 328 results
- c. "" + limitation of publication date: January 1, 1914- December 31, 1918 - 73 (much more manageable, column mention promotions, services rendered, and casualties)
- d. "Voluntary Aid Detachment" + date limitation: January 1, 1914-December 31, 1918 -664
- e. "" + "nurse" + date limitation -101
- f. "" + limited to news - 87
- g. "" + limited to classified ads - 11 but not helpful

Quality of Results: This was probably the least valuable of my databases although I was still able to find a few helpful newspaper columns which shed some light on the experience of World War One professional and volunteer nurses. One of the reasons this database is less valuable is the relatively difficult to use system of searching for specific key terms. I think of these newspapers included in this database, the larger newspapers circulated at the time are the most helpful.

Archival Sources

St. John House Archives and Library, Ottawa

Canadian Branch of the St. John Ambulance Association, *First Aid Bulletins, 1916-32*

St. John Ambulance Association Canadian Branch, Annual Reports, 1920-1929
SJH, SJAA, "Eighteenth Annual Report, 1924,"

Lilly Library and Archive

Bagnold, Enid. *A Diary Without Dates*. London: W. Heinemann, 1918.
Cont. Auth. Rev., 40:6. DLB, 13:33.

Imperial War Museum, London

The Women at Work Collection, British Red Cross Society
Australian Army Nursing Service During the First World War, Nurse' Accounts

Government Documents

*for government documents found in Proquest the bibliographical information is as follows
Collection. Paper Series or Paper Type. *Title of Document*. Volume Title. Parliament
Session. Link to document

*for government documents found in Adam Matthew (these are images of the primary source
documents) the bibliographical information is as follows
Relative Dating. Title of Document. Database: url

20th Century House of Commons Hansard Sessional Papers. Hansard. *Commons Sitting of
Wednesday, 20th March, 1918*. Fifth Series, Volume 104. 1918 Parliament.
[https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t71.d76.cds5cv0104p0-
0007?accountid=11620](https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t71.d76.cds5cv0104p0-0007?accountid=11620)

20th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers. Command Papers. Cmnd 2554. *Ministry of
Pensions and National Insurance. Order by Her Majesty to amend the order of 24th September
1964, concerning pensions and other grants in respect of disablement or death due to service in
the air forces during the 1914 World War and after 2nd September 1939*.
<https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.1964-053282?accountid=11620>

20th Century House of Commons Hansard Sessional Papers. Hansard. Fifth Series, Volume 116.
Parliament 1919. *Written answers (Commons) of Monday, 2nd June, 1919*.
[https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t71.d76.cas5cv0116p0-
0011?accountid=11620](https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t71.d76.cas5cv0116p0-0011?accountid=11620)

20th Century House of Commons Hansard Sessional Papers. Hansard. *Commons Sitting of
Tuesday, 16th October, 1917*. Fifth Series, Volume 98.
[https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t71.d76.cds5cv0098p0-
0001?accountid=11620](https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t71.d76.cds5cv0098p0-0001?accountid=11620)

20th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers. House of Commons Papers. *Army estimates of effective and non-effective services, for the year 1910-11, together with statements of the variations of the numbers of His Majesty's British forces; explanations of the increases and decreases in the estimates; the amounts provided for each arm of the service and for various miscellaneous establishments; the amounts included for the colonies and Egypt; and the net army expenditure for ten years.* Volume 60. 1910 Parliament.

<https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.1910-011616?accountid=11620>

20th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers. House of Commons Papers. *Report from the Select Committee on Estimates, together with the proceedings of the committee, minutes of evidence and appendices.* Volume 7. 1914 Parliament.

<https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.1914-017557?accountid=11620>

20th Century House of Lords Hansard Sessional Papers. Hansard. *Lords Sitting of Monday, 29th October, 1917.* Fifth Series, Volume 26. 1917-1918 Parliament.

<https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t71.d76.lds5lv0026p0-0021?accountid=11620>

20th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers. Bills and Acts. *Nurses registration. A bill to regulate the qualifications of trained nurses and to provide for their registration.* Volume 5.

1914 Parliament. <https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.1914-016907?accountid=11620>

20th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers. Command Papers. *Ministry of Pensions. The draft of a royal warrant for the retired pay of officers disabled, and for the pensions of the families and relatives of officers deceased, and for the pensions of nurses disabled, in consequence of the present war. To which are appended an explanatory note and an actuarial report.* Volume 20. 1917-1918 Parliament.

<https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.1917-020783?accountid=11620>

20th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers. House of Commons Papers. *Army. Appropriation account, 1914-1915. Appropriation account of the sums granted by Parliament for army services, for the year ended 31st March 1915.* Volume 17. 1916 Parliament.

<https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.1916-019503?accountid=11620>

21 Apr 1902 - 31 Mar 1903. *The Nursing Board, Queen Alexandra's Imperial Military Nursing Service: proceedings and reports, volume 1 -9.* Available through: Adam Matthew, Marlborough, Medical Services and Warfare, Volume 1:

http://www.medicalservicesandwarfare.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/TNA_WO_243_20

1 Apr 1903 - 16 Mar 1904. *The Nursing Board, Queen Alexandra's Imperial Military Nursing Service: proceedings and reports, volume 2*. Available through: Adam Matthew, Marlborough, Medical Services and Warfare,

http://www.medicalservicesandwarfare.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/TNA_WO_243_21

30 Mar 1904 - 15 Mar 1905. *The Nursing Board, Queen Alexandra's Imperial Military Nursing Service: proceedings and reports, volume 3*. Available through: Adam Matthew, Marlborough, Medical Services and Warfare,

http://www.medicalservicesandwarfare.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/TNA_WO_243_22

6 Apr 1910 - 1 Mar 1911. *The Nursing Board, Queen Alexandra's Imperial Military Nursing Service: proceedings and reports, volume 9*. Available through: Adam Matthew, Marlborough, Medical Services and Warfare,

http://www.medicalservicesandwarfare.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/TNA_WO_243_28

25 Apr - 31 Jul 1919. *Reports on army nursing services in France, 1914-1918*. Available through: Adam Matthew, Marlborough, Medical Services and Warfare,

http://www.medicalservicesandwarfare.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/TNA_WO_222_2134

Newspapers

Aberdeen Daily Journal

“Military Hospitals on Deeside,” 12 November 1914

“Casualties in the Services,” 24 April 1916

“For Distinguished Service,” 3 May 1916

“War Service for Nurses,” 28 June 1916

“Ladies Decorated with Military Medal,” 2 September 1916

“Nursing Administration: New Joint Advisory Board Formed,” 24 October 1918

Daily Mail

“Surprise That Failed,” 10 May 1916

“Brave Hull Nurse,” 2 September 1916

The Gloucester Journal

“The British Casualties,” 27 January 1917

The Lichfield Mercury

“The Women of the Nation,” 23 March 1917

Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser

“Ladies of the Red Cross,” 6 January 1914

The Nottingham Evening Post

“Gallant Services in the Field,” 18 February 1915

“The Roll of Honour,” 24 July 1916

The Western Daily Press

“Woman’s World,” 27 November 1915

The Western Times

“Royal Red Cross Bestowed Upon a Nurse,” 19 August 1916

Magazines

The War Illustrated

“Volume I. The First Phase of the War,” 22 August 1914

*This magazine has ten published volumes, all of which are archived at

<http://greatwarproject.org/2014/08/22/the-war-illustrated/>

Published Primary Sources - Books

Gass, Clare, and Susan Mann. *The War Diary of Clare Gass, 1915-1918*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000. *

Hopkinson, Beatrice, and Vivien Newman. *Nursing Through Shot and Shell : a Great War Nurse's Story*. Barnsley, South Yorkshire: Pen & Sword Military, 2014. *

La Motte, Ellen N. *The Backwash of War: the Human Wreckage of the Battlefield As Witnessed by an American Hospital Nurse*. New York: G.P. Putnam's sons, 1916.

Lynch, Charles. *The Medical Department of the United States Army In the World War*. Washington: U.S. Govt. print. off., 1921.

Thurstan, Violetta. *Field Hospital and Flying Column: Being the Journal of an English Nursing Sister In Belgium & Russia*. London: G. P. Putnam's sons, 1915.

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Hallett, Christine E. *Veiled Warriors: Allied Nurses of the First World War*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2014. pp 359. In *Veiled Warriors: Allied Nurses of the First World War*, historian Christine Hallett confronts some of the myths surrounding the lives of tens of thousands of nurses who served in World War One. She seeks to pull aside this “distorting curtain” of individual experience, which while true for some, does not represent a universal fact. Hallett identifies that three of the most pervasive myths are: the

myth of the hopeless romantic nurse, the myth of the nurse-heroine risking everything to win the war, and the myth of the mistreated yet courageous VAD. Hallett addresses each of these myths and points out the sources which created or encouraged them, including Vera Brittain's *Testament of Youth*. She highlights that the lives of these nurses were full of contradiction and sometimes by their own deeds encouraged these myths. Hallett also brings up the connection of some nurses' work in World War One to the push for suffrage. After confronting these myths, Hallett then provides detailed information on the realities of these women. Organizing her work chronologically and according to war front, Hallett details the experiences of British nurses on the Western Front, the Russian and Serbian front, and in the Mediterranean.

McEwen, Yvonne. *In the Company of Nurses: the History of the British Army Nursing Service in the Great War*. Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press, 2014. pp 237. This source gives a detailed account of British professional nursing during World War One, focusing on the British Army Nursing Service and such units as Queen Alexandra's Imperial Military Nursing Service. McEwen identifies both the personal experience of combat nursing within the chaos brought on by war as well as places this experience within the larger narrative of nursing. McEwen contradicts the traditional historical perspective that Florence Nightingale- the "lady with the lamp" - was the progenitor of wartime nursing. McEwen also acknowledges the historical neglect of her topic and seeks to examine the personal and professional lives of these women. McEwen weaves political issues into her analysis as well, such as detailing how the inefficiency of the War Office bred conflict between professional and volunteer nurses. McEwen weaves the personal narratives of British nurses into her analysis, which provides first hand accounts of the nursing services rendered and the circumstances under which these women gave care. Arranged rather chronologically, this work provides a look at various battles, such as the Battle of the Somme, through the eyes of the nurses working in hospitals, and in makeshift tents in military encampments. This book is valuable as a secondary source for it identifies the experiences of British combat nurses, who comparatively to VADs left very few records and diaries of their work. One criticism of this source is that it falls into this historical divide between who should history honor: the VADs or the professional nurses. McEwen falls into this bias towards the professional through her discussion of all the wrongdoings of the VAD. For example, she argues that the Voluntary Aid Detachment mostly caused problems for the "real" combat nurses.

Newman, Vivian. "Introduction" and "The Historical Background to Beatrice Hopkinson's Diary," *Nursing Through Shot and Shell: a Great War Nurse's Story*. Barnsley, South Yorkshire: Pen & Sword Military, 2014, p 1-47. This section of *Nursing Through Shot and Shell* provides a relatively fundamental look at bibliographical information of Beatrice Hopkinson, who served as one of the elite group of nurses forming the "rapid

response” teams of World War One. These nurses worked at the Casualty Clearing Stations (CCS) located no further than 5 miles away from the front lines. Dr. Vivian Newman also places Beatrice Hopkinson within the larger historical narrative, examining how nursing transitioned from fever nursing to professional nursing and then to wartime nursing. Dr. Newman identifies an important connection between the British Red Cross and religious activity as from the beginning World War One was presented as a holy war and the nurses were seen as angels. While this source is narrowed in its scope, it examines the personal circumstances of a nurse serving in World War One. Not only was Beatrice Hopkinson serving as a nurse, but she was “for Foreign Service:” serving overseas. Dr. Newman provides a deep look into the psyche of a nurse serving on the closest lines to battle and examines how different events- such as the death of her brother- impacted her war experience. While this source is valuable, it is more useful for my research as it provides context to the primary source of Beatrice Hopkinson’s war diary.

Toman, Cynthia. *Sister Soldiers of the Great War: the Nurses of the Canadian Army Medical Corps*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2016, pp. 297. In *Sister Soldiers of the Great War*, Cynthia Tomen recollects the history of nursing sisters who served in the Canadian Army Medical Corps in World War One for “when Great Britain was a war so was Canada” (Tomen 3). These women served as the first women soldiers in the Canadian military as they received both rank- a specialty rank of “Nursing Sister” equivalent to an officer in the army - and equal pay to men. This source is incredibly valuable to my research as it examines the experiences of the professional, graduate, trained Canadian nurses who served: contradicting the long romanticized myth of the VAD. Tomen also identifies the struggles faced by these nurses as a result of wartime disorganization and inefficiency, such as shortages of medical supplies and shortages in trained comrades. This book uses the approach of social history as Tomen seeks to explore the unique perspectives of these everyday CAMC nurses, who saw (and participated in) the war from the trains, medical transport ships, hospital wards, and poorly constructed tents. Tomen provides a unique analysis of the role of the CAMC sister within the war machine, as well as the examining how these nurses viewed themselves as they negotiated through the challenges of war. This source has been invaluable in looking at the professional nursing side of my research question.

Quiney Linda J. *This Small Army of Women: Canadian Volunteer Nurses and the First World War*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017, 276 pp. *This Small Army of Women* provides a comprehensive look at the experiences of female Canadian volunteer nurses during the first World War. Comprised of approximately 2000 women, this “small army” helped solve the British nursing deficit and has not received any decent level of historical memorial for their bravery and deeds. Beginning with the development of the Voluntary

Aid Detachment (VAD) movement in Canada and ending with the fade of these women back into civilian life, this work details the evolution of the Canadian VAD from trainee to active service to the various pursuits of these women in the aftermath of the war. Organized chronologically, Quiney provides invaluable information on the work of these women in British hospitals overseas and as nursing assistants in Canadian military hospitals on the homefront. Quiney identifies the struggles faced by Canadian VADS, focusing on gender relations, as well as the tensions surrounding amateur and professional nurses. This book has been incredibly valuable for my look at the myth of the VAD, as well as providing a reserve of reliable information on volunteer nurses who are often overlooked by many historians in favor of graduate nurses. This book also provides valuable information on the administration of the Canadian VADs (uniforms, code of conduct, requirements, leave etc). Bibliography and Notes are a great compilation of useful primary and secondary sources, including archival sources, as well as statistical data and figures.

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