

DOROTHY AND CARL J.  
SCHNEIDER

# Into the Breach

MEMOIR

AMERICAN WOMEN  
OVERSEAS  
IN WORLD WAR I



VIKING

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the Barnes Hospital of St. Louis, assigned to the British Expeditionary Force. Mostly she loved it; being sent chocolates by Sir Thomas Lipton, entertained by the American ambassador's wife, and asked to tea by the Archbishop of Canterbury, as well as undergoing gas training. Gifted with a happy facility for supervision, she described her nurses as "bricks . . . loyal, affectionate, and entirely to be depended upon . . ." who "developed fine qualities that I really did not know they had in them." She fought for diversions, better food, and better equipment for them. "All of us who have large enough feet are getting our shoes from the quartermaster, and those with small feet are bewailing their fate. Our paths are all mud and sharp stones, and the ordinary sole of a woman's regular shoe lasts about two weeks, and even when new does not prevent the stones from hurting one's feet."<sup>31</sup> Stimson also bewailed her own fate as administrator—she never could cry, because she was there not to weep but to be wept upon, and, far worse, she couldn't join her nurses in temporary duty assignments to the casualty clearing stations near the front.

Some of the early-formed hospital units eventually served as U.S. Army base hospitals. Harvard and Peter Bent Brigham Hospital, for example, jointly organized the unit in which Base Hospital #5 originated. Besides its chief nurse Carrie Hall, the unit carried on its roster ninety nurses, a dietitian, and three secretaries—all women.

 *Our Government provided for the enlistment of nurses, but not for women physicians. This was a mistake. It is utterly impossible to leave a large number of well-trained women out of a service in which they belong, for the reason that they won't stay out.*

—Esther Pohl Lovejoy<sup>32</sup>

Male doctors and female nurses worked together to form these American hospital units. But what of the almost 6,000 fully qualified American women doctors then in active practice? "The women of the medical profession," wrote Dr. Esther Lovejoy, "were not called to the colors, but they decided to go anyway."<sup>33</sup> Women doctors,



who suffered the predictable rejections by the American military early on, took matters into their own hands, working through their established organizations to form hospitals for overseas service.

The New York Infirmary for Women and Children, backed by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, soon after the United States entered the war offered a mobile unit with a full staff of women physicians, to be called the Women's Overseas Hospital of the U.S.A. The United States War Department refused the offer; the French accepted it, but the group experienced delays and difficulties. At the end of November 1917, Dr. Caroline Finley, their director, was in France awaiting her staff, but not until May 1918, did a doctor first operate at the Women's Overseas Hospital (WOH). By midsummer 1918, WOH was taking care of 500 refugees, at Labouheyre, in southern France. Meanwhile Dr. Anna Von Skoly and several other doctors originally assigned to WOH had begun to work in French hospitals with French military surgeons, some of them caring for American soldiers; eventually Dr. Finley directed this unit, while Mrs. Raymond Brown became General Director in France of the Women's Overseas Hospital. Dr. Finley's "Medical unit in khaki and puttees . . . like real men . . . about thirty of them," a YWCA hostess observed, gave her dining room "a very military look."<sup>34</sup> In October WOH received from the United States a treatment unit for gassed soldiers, and in November the French military authorities asked them to install a hundred-bed hospital for a military unit, along with their work for repatriated French refugees. WOH carried on after the war, finally dissolving in 1920, and contributing their residual funds to the American Fund for French Wounded and the American Women's Hospitals (AWH).

More women doctors worked together under the aegis of the American Women's Hospitals formed by the War Service Committee of the Medical Women's National Association. This committee, established in June 1917, adopted, Dr. Esther Lovejoy recalled, "a naive resolution calling upon the War Department for a square deal regardless of sex, color, or previous condition of servitude . . . after which we probably sang 'We won't come back, till it's over, over there.'"<sup>35</sup>

Naïve, indeed, but the women doctors backed the resolution by

skillful fund-raising on a national scale, particularly among women's organizations.<sup>36</sup> They combined this fund-raising with enough political savvy that in July 1918 American Women's Hospital #1 opened under the direction of Dr. Barbara Hunt in Neufmoutiers in buildings assigned by the French army with the understanding that the hospital would serve both military personnel and civilians. "Within a few months, as the Germans evacuated territory, our hospital moved joyously toward the north, where the need was greater and facilities for work much better,"<sup>37</sup> wrote Lovejoy of a region of food scarcity, disease, unsanitary conditions, flu and typhoid epidemics, no medical supplies, and no doctors except for two women with the American Committee for Devastated France. "During the typhoid epidemic . . . our medical staff became emergency health officers. Double shod with supplementary sabots, they shuffled through barnyard filth from one hovel to another. Streets and courtyards were cleaned, decaying debris dug out of holes and corners, and these disease breeding spots liberally sprinkled with disinfectants."<sup>38</sup>

The AWH #1 staff also boasted three dentists, whose work, Lovejoy claimed, "will be a joy forever in France—at least as long as our fillings last. . . . A woman dentist had never been seen in that section of France. They were rare creatures, far more interesting than men dentists, their work was just as good, and they seemed to have a conscience regarding people's teeth."<sup>39</sup>

Like other medical women serving civilians, the staff of AWH #1 were pressed into service to soldiers in the big pushes. In the Allied offensive of the summer of 1918, physicians and nurses went to Meaux and later to Chateau-Thierry to treat French wounded. By war's end AWH #1 had been accepted as a military hospital for the French Sixth Army. Indeed the American Red Cross had cabled for six more units of the same kind, specifying, of course, that the Medical Women's National Association bear as much of the expense as possible: the Armistice apparently aborted these plans.

Meanwhile AWH #2, another group of Les Dames Americaines, as they were known in France, began work at La Ferre-Milon under Dr. Ethel Fraser. "This small hospital had a big dispensary route. With the help of one nurse, an ambulance and chauffeuse, Dr. Fraser cared for the sick in forty-eight villages, taking



medical cases to her own hospital and sending the surgical cases" to AWH #1.<sup>40</sup>

By October 1918, seventy-eight physicians of the AWH were working in France with the Red Cross, as well as twenty-eight technicians and lay workers. They not only served in the AWH institutions, but also under different auspices (like the American Fund for French Wounded) took charge of contagious hospitals, managed clinics and crèches, gave psychiatric care, dispensed medicines and taught the principles of health, served as anesthetists in civilian and military hospitals, worked in evacuation hospitals, and headed laboratories.

The American Women's Hospitals continued and expanded their work in civilian relief long after the war—against male opposition. Evidently, Dr. Rossie Slaughter Morton observed, male physicians could tolerate the idea of one unit of women on a temporary basis, but balked at more.<sup>41</sup>

After the United States entered the war, the Red Cross, in a familiar pattern, took over many functioning hospitals—but later endured the eye-opening experience of the Army's taking over Red Cross hospitals. A disconcerted Carrie Hall, by then chief nurse of the London branch of the Red Cross, who in May 1918 had complacently written home, "The American Red Cross has taken over all the hospitals in England that have been started and run during the past four years by American women . . .," by August was writing, "My job is proving a disappointment to me . . . it was supposed that the strictly Red Cross world would increase a good deal instead of which the army is taking over more and more of the hospitals which the Red Cross has established and from a hospital point of view the Red Cross is being permitted to do less and less work."<sup>42</sup>

As Hall notes, she was speaking only about *hospitals*. The Red Cross still carried a staggering and diverse medical load for both civilians and soldiers. Their concern reached everywhere and expressed itself in a multitude of services. In London the Red Cross even instituted a service whereby American volunteer women, notified of the arrival of American patients, visited the men in hospitals and communicated with their families.

Again, with typically acute sensitivity to the welfare of "our

boys" (and correspondingly acute insensitivity to the probable French reaction), the ARC "loaned" its nurses and interpreters to French hospitals with American soldiers as patients, supplying the nurses with funds to buy special foods, tobacco, reading materials, and pajamas for their American patients. When they could, these nurses helped the French with other work. They had to be not only hardy but endlessly flexible and adaptable. One unit of these nurses found on their arrival that all the American wounded were already being taken care of at an American evacuation hospital, so they were assigned instead to escort a trainload of 1,500 American patients to Nantes, an eighteen-hour journey which kept them almost continuously on their feet. When they got back the next day they were sent to a triage hospital, where they worked for four weeks tending French wounded. Then the American evacuation hospital moved, leaving its most seriously ill patients in their care. At that point other American wounded began to arrive from the field. An onslaught of Spanish influenza increased their patient load by about a hundred French soldiers. Only after three months were they recalled to Paris.<sup>43</sup>

But the medical concerns of the American Red Cross extended far beyond fighting men. Their Children's Bureau alone was epic in its undertakings. It aided 519 children's institutions and societies and operated 25 hospitals and convalescent homes and 99 dispensaries.<sup>44</sup> Its spirit was epitomized in the woman who became its chief nurse, Elizabeth H. Ashe. Originally turned down by the Red Cross as too old for service abroad, Ashe accepted the invitation of Dr. William Palmer Lucas to organize the first pediatric unit to be sent to France, a privately supported group. Resisting with difficulty her own persistent impulses to roll up her sleeves and begin to care for the nearest impetigo-covered, lice-ridden, refugee youngster, Ashe surveyed the needs for children's work. When in the ARC takeover all children's work in France was assigned to Dr. Lucas, Ashe was ready to act.

The Children's Bureau—besides their vast responsibilities in feeding and housing refugee and repatriated children—undertook their medical care. The bureau opened at Evian a hospital and dispensary for children too ill to travel. In Lyons the bureau ran a



convalescent home in a palace, with fifty-six rooms, central heating, luxurious furnishings, and a beautifully kept farm. A series of dispensaries in cooperation with the American Fund for French Wounded; child health demonstrations, teaching centers, model playgrounds, and efforts to combat tuberculosis in cooperation with the Rockefeller Institute; a "baby house" in cooperation with the Society of Friends—the list is endless.<sup>45</sup>

All this, of course, was not without problems: "the nurses nearly go mad with the difficulties," Ashe wrote, "for instance, Dr. Baldwin at Nesle in the war zone has been running three dispensaries and a hospital for two months without gauze, alcohol, or night gowns. . . . Express simply never arrives in the war zone, except for the army." Illness and scarcity of personnel plagued the bureau. "We always have at least half a dozen nurses and aides ill with contagious diseases. It is most trying when they are so scarce. I am in terror now for fear an emergency will arise in the next few days before another steamer comes, as I haven't one nurse or aide to send." And when the German offensive threatened Paris in the spring of 1918, Ashe sent her Children's Bureau nurses and aides off to the front, and herself took a "vacation" to nurse American wounded. Certainly she earned her invitation from the French government to march with other nurses in the Fourth of July parade: "It was the first time women have ever marched in a parade in Paris. . . . I carried the flag; it was the proudest moment of my life, in fact don't think I ever had that proud feeling before. But when we fell in line behind the Marines, our hand playing Dixie and I held that banner on high to the cheers of the crowd's 'Vive l'Amérique!' I really felt that I had reached the supreme moment of my life."<sup>46</sup>

### *American Medical Women: Who Did What*

Whether within a foreign medical system, or for an American organization that dispensed medical aid, or on their own, many more American medical women served in many more capacities than history has recognized. They included doctors, ambulance drivers,

clerks and interpreters, dietitians, occupational therapists, physical therapists, workers with the blind, and, in the largest numbers, nurses and nurses' aides.

*Our ancestors and our experience provide us [women doctors] with two things: the capacity to meet emergencies and the energy to carry them through successfully.*

—Dr. Rosalie Slaughter Morton<sup>47</sup>

Hard figures on the numbers of women doctors are impossible to come by—because some free-lanced, because they frequently moved from one assignment to another or were pressed into temporary service, because some worked with the French and Belgian armies and others as contract physicians with the American army, because agencies kept inadequate records, because the general disorganization generated incidents in which women doctors treating civilians were suddenly coopted by the military into treating wounded soldiers. The executive secretary of the American Women's Hospitals only slightly overstated reality when she wrote, ". . . unlike the Scottish women who have worked as units and made a splendid history, the American medical woman is working as an individual and is quite swallowed up, though the work that some of them are doing is nothing short of marvelous."<sup>48</sup>

Certainly American women doctors wanted to serve. When Dr. Rosalie Slaughter Morton officially represented women physicians and scientifically trained women in related health fields on the Medical Board of the National Council of Defense, she registered a total of 8,000 women—doctors (whether practicing or not), interns, anesthetists, and laboratory "experts."<sup>49</sup> Of these an astonishing 40 percent of the physicians declared themselves ready to serve, a record surpassing "not only in percentage but in promptness, the men doctors."<sup>50</sup>

But the United States Army initially sniffed at the idea of employing them. Eventually it suffered their presence in military hospitals as "contract surgeons," a ploy that deprived the women of military pay, rank, and benefits, but gave the military the advantage of their services. These women minded most the lack of rank, which



hampered them in the execution of their duties. Dr. Regina Flood Keyes, a surgeon who directed a hospital in Vodená, Greece, reported to the American Women's Hospital *Bulletin* a comment of a Serbian doctor: "So your country sends you so far away and gives you no rank, yet the British send all their women doctors out here with rank." The *Bulletin* editorialized: "This is a point all medical women accredited from this country to Europe emphasize. They meet British and Scottish women, on the same errand that engages them, with the rank of captain and major and they, having no rank, must take their place at the end of the line and twist their thumbs while their superiors are served."<sup>50</sup>

In the private sector, besides the jobs they created for themselves in the American Women's Hospitals, the women doctors found other opportunities in institutions like the Commission for the Prevention of Tuberculosis in France, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Red Cross, which deployed fifty women physicians overseas in the first year the United States was in the war. Others found employment with smaller agencies like the American Committee for Devastated France, the college units, and refugee hospitals.

Once overseas, they didn't necessarily stay put. Sometimes the military coopted them. The third-year medical student Jean Parison, spending her vacation with an American Women's Hospital, worked first for the French army at Meaux and then in an American field hospital at Chateau-Thierry. Dr. Clara M. Davis, according to the correspondent Eunice Tietjens, operated somewhere just behind the lines in France, taking care of civilians, "though occasionally the military pressed her into service."<sup>51</sup> Or the call came informally: A military surgeon asked Dr. Alfreda Withington "to go with him to the station to meet hospital trains. Oh, those long, long trains! Mostly they were made up of box cars of the same variety as the 'side door Pullmans,' as the dough boys called them, bearing the familiar legend, 'Quarante Hommes Haut Chervaux' [Forty Men Eight Horses]. . . . The poor chaps had been fighting in the wheat fields only twenty-four hours before."<sup>52</sup>

Or one private agency might steal, beg, or borrow a woman physician from another—as, for instance, with Dr. Withington. At fifty-seven she was well past the age limit for women, but she man-

aged to get herself accredited to the Red Cross. She didn't spell out just how, but she did write of asking a friend of equal age how she had managed to get overseas as a canteen worker. "Don't you suppose," her friend answered, "that I'd lie for my country?"<sup>53</sup>

Withington's expertise with tuberculosis prompted the Red Cross to appoint her chief physician of the Franco-American Dispensary at Dreux, which cared for both soldiers and civilians—but only on a temporary basis, because the ARC feared that the French would not accept a woman in so important a position. "I had been warned that I would not find the French physicians' friends. However, the local doctor at Dreux, who had been appointed to cooperate with me did not bother to exercise supervision. . . . At first he was a trifle offish, but soon he took to beaming, often bringing his own private patients to me for a consultation. The military doctors seemed friendly from the first, inviting me to their wards to see special cases."<sup>54</sup> When the ARC reassigned her, the French physicians petitioned for her return. In the end the Red Cross and the Rockefeller Commission were vying for her services.

One just never knew. Dr. Withington tells of meeting ". . . a woman dressed in the same uniform as myself—older than any of us and somewhat bent—I accosted her as a fellow physician. 'I'm no doctor,' she said. 'Then why are you wearing the uniform?' 'I don't know myself. They just put me in it. I'm a research worker from Woods Hole. Dr. Alexander Lambert sent for me to come over here because he thought I knew something about lice.'<sup>55</sup>

In still other cases, the women physicians themselves simply used an institutional affiliation to do what they wanted to do anyway. For example—Dr. Rosalie Slaughter Morton, already at forty heading her own clinic in the United States with five assistants, persuaded the ARC to appoint her a special commissioner to take sixty cases of medical supplies to the Serbian Army. She then seized the opportunity to volunteer for a short period (at her own expense) at a "large tent hospital under French direction with Serbian patients."<sup>56</sup>

Although we can document that both military and private organizations frequently utilized the services of American women doctors overseas, enough women physicians bob up in the records without any institutional affiliation that we can trace to suggest that



many simply served and departed unsung. Repeatedly tantalizing glimpses appear of American women doctors working all over Europe and the Middle East. Dr. Ruth A. Parmelee arrived in Harpoot, Turkey, in June, 1914, where a missionary-run hospital for Turkish soldiers was subsidized by the Red Cross. Parmelee rode horseback to tend Turkish women in their homes, did relief work for Armenian refugees, trained Turkish women medical workers, and finally, when the United States broke off relations with Turkey, escaped after eighteen days' travel by wagon and three by train.<sup>57</sup> In Amsterdam in 1915 Lucy Biddle Lewis ran across two American ladies, one a doctor who with her assistant had been doing relief work in Belgium. And what of Dr. Mary L. Brown, described in a press release of the Committee on Public Information as a Howard University graduate commissioned to go to France? Did she actually manage to get to France, adding another to the minuscule number of black women allowed to serve there?<sup>58</sup> The faint traces of such women doctors as these remind us that we can now never know precisely how many American women actually went overseas in the Great War.

**MEMO** . . . they were like, strong, and vital, fair to look upon. The appearance of our chauffeurs was a valuable asset for the reason that men are men the world around, and all the gasoline in France was controlled by poor, easy men. Surely it was wise to have chauffeurs who found favor in his eyes.

—Dr. Esther Lovejoy<sup>59</sup>

Medical care depended not only upon women doctors, but also upon the many auxiliary women workers who staffed the clearing stations, the dispensaries, the supply depots, and the hospitals.

And the drivers. As a doctor with the American Women's Hospitals wrote, "While the doctors are in the dispensaries, diagnosing and prescribing, our chauffeurs are under the cars in the wind outside, at the same occupation, and when we see how they make the old, maimed machinery work, we see they are the better M.D.'s."<sup>60</sup> The lives of these "chauffeurs" were demanding. "We were a strictly feminine institution," Mrs. P. D. Lamson reported of her motor unit. "Our daily job was first to see that the particular car

entrusted to each one of us was kept in running order, then to take it over across the river to the headquarters of the committee . . . find out from the order book what our deliveries were to be, look up the hospitals, etc. on our maps of Paris, get our bales and bags into the cars and start away as quickly as we could. . . . Saturday afternoon . . . we had time in the garage to do any little odd repairs. . . .<sup>61</sup> And Mrs. J. Borden Harriman always remembered "the times I saw the sun rise over the Place de la Concorde as I hastened forth to be present at roll call. How hard the cars were to crank after twelve hours in the freezing garage! Wartime motors had no self starters and more than one girl got a broken arm from a kicking Ford."<sup>62</sup>

Besides the critically important work of distributing hospital supplies, driving doctors on their rounds, transporting patients, and running innumerable errands for civilian hospitals, the chauffeurs took on all sorts of other jobs. During a German advance, with refugees pouring into Paris, Elizabeth Ayer's motor corps "served food and supplemented the trucks and ambulances transporting the refugees from one station to another."<sup>63</sup> Some of the chauffeurs drove ambulances, like Katherine Stinson, who with her sister Marjorie first ran a school to train Canadian and American military pilots, then went to France as an ambulance driver, and flew there for the Red Cross.<sup>64</sup>

Many faced danger, like Mrs. Guy Napier-Martin: "We had our first air-raid work last night. I was the night-driver on duty. . . . Some bombs fell very near just as I got to the H.O.F. [evacuation hospital]. . . . I had just



Motor corps uniform of

Elizabeth Rensen Thompson.

"Mother never was a nurse, but knew all about automobile engines. . . . She was born in 1894 and was known as 'Lightning Liz.'"

—Jane Darlington Lewin



work not only records the deeds but also captures the spirit of the unit.

82. Ruth Louise Gaines, *The Ladies of Greecourt: The South College Unit in the Somme* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1920), 81-82.

83. YMCA, *War Work Bulletin* no. 51 (December 6, 1918).

84. Marie Wolffs, letter of October 10, 1917, quoted in Dalby, 30.

85. *Ibid.*, 29.

86. Wolffs, letter of January 26, 1918, quoted in Dalby, 42.

87. Frances Valentine, letter of December 31, 1917, quoted in Dalby, 39.

88. "A Working Visit with the South College Girls at Greecourt," *Literary Digest* LV1 (March 23, 1918): 54.

89. Wolffs, letter of October 10, 1917, quoted in Dalby, 29.

90. Catherine Hooper, letter of November 24, 1917, quoted in Dalby, 32-33.

91. Wolffs, letter of December 13, 1917, quoted in Dalby, 33.

92. Wolffs, letter of January 26, 1918, quoted in Dalby, 42.

93. Wolffs, letter of February 5, 1918, quoted in Dalby, 52.

94. Wolffs, letter of December 13, 1918, quoted in Dalby, 53-54.

95. Elizabeth Bliss, letter received by her mother May 13, 1918, quoted in Dalby, 59. Dalby errs in attributing this letter to Frances Valentine; Correction supplied by Manda Goodwin, Archives Specialist, Smith College Archives, Smith College.

96. Elizabeth Bliss, diary, quoted in Dalby, 57.

97. Frances Valentine, letter of April 1, 1918, quoted in Dalby, 61.

98. *Ibid.*, 63.

99. *Ibid.*, 67.

## CHAPTER 4 Binding Up the Wounds

1. Elizabeth H. Ashe, *Immortal Letters from France During America's First Year of War* (San Francisco: Philopos Press, 1918), 28. This quotation describes Ashe's professional response as Chief Nurse of the Children's Bureau of the American Red Cross to a hospital run by males alone.

2. Elizabeth Marbury, *My Central Ball: Reminiscences* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1923), 273.

3. Mary Roberts Rinehart, *Kings, Queens and Princes* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1915), 354, 359.

4. Lavinia L. Dock, Sarah Elizabeth Pickert, Clara D. Noyes, Fannie F. Clement, Elizabeth G. Fox, and Anna R. Van Meter, *A History of American Red Cross Nursing* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1922), 162-63.

5. *Ibid.*, 168.

6. *Ibid.*, 173.

7. "American Women's Hospital No. 2 in the Advanced Area," *Bulletin of the American Women's Hospitals* 1, no. 1 (October 1918): 6.

8. Madeleine Zahnski Dwy, *Short Reasons: Experiences of an American Woman in Germany* (New York: A. L. Burr Co., 1917), 58.

9. Eunice Tiegens, *The World as My Shoulder* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938), 153.

10. Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., *The Day Before Yesterday: Reminiscences of Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr.* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1959), 100-101.

11. Juliet Goodrich, unpublished typescript, Juliet T. Goodrich Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

12. Laura Jane Backwell Loysen (Aunt Paul Hyacinthe Loysen), letter

of May 25, 1915, Wellesley College Archives, Box 1, (WV, World War I.

13. Winsor School, *The Overseas War Record of the Winsor School, 1914-1919* (privately printed: Boston: Winsor School Graduate Club, n.d.), 85-86.

14. Elsie de Wolfe, *After All* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1935), 181.

15. Katharine Frazier, 88 *His and V.H.H.: Letters from Two Hospitals by an American V.A.D.* (Boston: The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1919), 70, 93.

16. Ashe, 62.

17. Mary Dexter, letter of June 18, 1915, Mary Dexter Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

18. Inez Irwin, unpublished autobiography, Inez Irwin Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, 379-80. As so often in World War I sources, the woman described is unidentified.

But internal evidence and correlation with other sources make Simmonds's identity almost a certainty.

19. Ashe, 41.

20. Monica Krippner, *The Quality of Mercy: Women at War in Serbia 1915-1918* (Newton Abbot, London: David & Charles, 1980), 174.

21. Ashe, 29.

22. Ethel Polk-Peters, "Autobiographical Sketch," *Medical Review of Reviews* (August 1935).

23. D'Andigne's addendum to Gertrude Atherton, *The Living Present* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes & Co., 1917), 302, 303.

24. "Mademoiselle Miss": *Letters from an American Girl Serving with the Rank of Lieutenant in a French Army Hospital at the Front* (Boston: W. A. Butterfield, 1916), 10, 16-17, 19, 25.

25. Ruth Holden, letters to "Louise" of December 3, 1915, December 11, 1915, and January 29, 1916, Ruth Holden Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

26. Holden, letter to "Louise" of November 7, 1916.

27. Holden, letter to father, February 3-16, 1917, Ruth Holden Papers.

28. Marie Van Vorst, *War Letters of an American Woman* (New York: John Lane Co., 1916), 62-63.

29. Florence Billings, newspaper clipping, Redlands, n.d., among papers of Florence Billings (1879-1959), Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

30. Van Vorst, 79-80.

31. Julia C. Stimson, *Finishing Them: The Letters of an American Army Chief Nurse in a British Hospital in France* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1918), 87, 102.

32. Esther Pohl Lovejoy, *The German Samaritans* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1933), 6-7.

33. *Ibid.*, 7.

34. YWCA, *War Work Bulletin* 22 (April 12, 1918): 3. National Board Archives, New York.

35. Lovejoy, *German Samaritans*, 7.

36. Rosalie Slaughter Morron, *A Woman Surgeon: The Life and Work of Rosalie Slaughter Morron* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1937), 275.

37. Lovejoy, *German Samaritans*, 13.

38. *Ibid.*, 16-18, passim.

39. *Ibid.*, 22.

40. *Ibid.*, 23.

41. Morron, 282.

42. Carrie May Hull, letters of May 4, 1918, and August 9, 1918, Carrie Hull Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College. For the transfer of hospitals from one authority to another, see also Portia Kermode, *The Red Cross Nurse in Action, 1882-1948* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1949), 156-57. The situation was complicated. Some hospitals administered by the Red Cross had mostly Red Cross personnel, except perhaps for some army doctors and orderlies, but administered U.S. and other Allied troops.



Other Red Cross hospitals, known as "military hospitals," served only American troops and were under the direction of the U.S. Army, though the nurses were usually Red Cross.

43. Fisher Ames, Jr., *American Red Cross Work Among the French People* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921), 25-26.

44. See Kernodle, 166ff. Kernodle is also a good source on the multitudinous other activities of the Red Cross, like its Bureau of Refugees and Relief, its Bureau of Tuberculosis, its work with the repatriated, etc. Charles M. Bakewell, *The Story of the American Red Cross in Italy* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1920) is also helpful in this regard.

45. Ashe, 44, 48-49.

46. *Ibid.*, 54-55, 70-71, 103.

47. Morton, 272.

48. Letter from executive secretary of AWH to Dr. Regina Flood Keyes, August 20, 1918. AWH Historical Materials, 1-2. Archives, Medical College of Pennsylvania. This letter mentions "at least 100" such women; in our judgment the figure is low.

49. Morton, 279, 282.

50. AWH, *Bulletin of The American Women's Hospitals* 1, no. 1 (October 1918): 10, 11.

51. Thielen, 157.

52. Alfreda Withington, *Mine Eyes Have Seen A Woman's Saga* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1941), 199.

53. *Ibid.*, 181.

54. *Ibid.*, 187.

55. *Ibid.*, 211-12.

56. Morton, 215, 282.

57. Ruth A. Furnelee, "Reminiscences of Twenty Years in the Near East," *Medical Review of Reviews* (August 1935): 377-405.

58. #526/18. Howard University graduate to go to France. Dr. Mary L. Brown has been commissioned to go to

France, according to Mrs. Katherine D. Tillman of the NAACP. Dr. Brown took the medical course at Howard University and postgraduate work at Edinburgh." Press Releases, World War I, 1914-1918, Committee on Public Information, Division on Women's War Work, Vertical Files, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College. Howard University confirms Dr. Brown's graduation, but has no other information about her. Nor can the NAACP offer more.

59. Lovejoy, *German Samaritans*, 25.

60. AWH, report in *Bulletin of the American Women's Hospitals* 1, no. 2 (January 1919).

61. Winsor School, 54-55.

62. Mrs. J. Borden Hartman, *From Pioneers to Politics* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1923), 291.

63. Winsor School, 20-21.

64. Claudia M. Oakes, *U.S. Women in Action Through World War I* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1978), 37. The YMCA enlisted women in its ambulance corps; see Hazel Halper's records in *Indiana Women in the World War*, comp. by Paul Presidenti Parley, American Legion Auxiliary, Dept. of Indiana, 1936, 1-32.

65. Winsor School, 71-72.

66. Mary Dexter, *In the Soldier's Service: War Experiences of Mary Dexter, England, Belgium, France, 1914-1918* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1918), 137-38, 154, 178.

67. *Ibid.*, 151, 153.

68. *Ibid.*, 139, 146, 149.

69. Women's Overseas Service League, Helene M. Sillis, ed., *Last War Fought... A History of the Women's Overseas Service League* (privately printed, n.p., 1978), 217.

70. *Ibid.*, 219.

71. Ashe, 117.

72. "Civilian Reporting for Duty,"

in Women's Overseas Service League, *Last War Fought*, 245-46.

73. Edith Holt Bloodgood, ed., in collaboration with Rufus Graves Mather, *First Lady of the Lighthouse: A Biography of Winifred Holt Mather* (New York: The Lighthouse, New York Association for the Blind, 1952), 81.

74. Ashe, 69, and "Artist Who Made New Faces for Old," in Women's Overseas Service League, *Last War Fought*, 239-40.

75. Bloodgood, 82, 86.

76. *Ibid.*, 90.

77. Theodore W. Koch, *Books in the War: The Romance of Library War Service* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1919), 346-47.

78. Laura B. Hopkin, ed., *History of the World War Reconstruction Aides: Being an account of the activities and whereabouts of Physio Therapy and Occupational Therapy Aides who served in U.S. Army Hospitals in the United States and in France during the World War* (Millbrook, N.Y.: William Tyndisley, 1933), 76.

79. Lenu Hitchcock's story in Women's Overseas Service League, *Last War Fought*, 220.

80. Hopkin, 27-28.

81. *Ibid.*, 65.

82. Women's Overseas Service League, *Last War Fought*, 255-56.

83. Hopkin, 76-77.

84. Letter of Dr. Frankwood E. Williams, Associate Medical Director for the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, in Hopkin, 76-77.

85. Dexter, *In the Soldier's Service*, 209.

86. *Ibid.*, 103, 105-6, 114, 120.

87. Ashe, 97.

88. *I Saw Them Die: Diary and Reflections of Shirley Milard* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1936), 83.

89. Webster's letter from Beauvais quoted in Ashe, 106-7.

90. Olivia E. Hamilton, letter of June 9, 1916, Olivia E. Hamilton Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, 29.

91. Ashe, 101. Susan Army's paper, "The Responses of Organized Women and Women Physicians to World War I," delivered at the Conference on Women in the Health Professions, Boston College, November 15, 1980, and now on file in the Archives of the Pennsylvania College of Podiatric Medicine, discusses the opposition of some nurses to the use of aides on the grounds that they were insufficiently trained. Physicians, on the other hand, generally supported their use. Note, however, that Ashe in her powerful position as Chief Nurse of the ARC (Children's Bureau warmly endorsed the aides.

92. Elizabeth Shipley Sergeant, *Shadow-Shades: The Journal of a Wounded Woman, October 1918-May 1919* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1920), 10-11.

93. See Kernodle, 163, and Dock, 625.

94. Hall, letter of April 8, 1918, to Elizabeth C. Burgess.

95. See the Committee on Public Information, press releases for April 19, 1918, and May 4, 1918, from Division on Women's War Work, Vertical Files, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College. See also Jeanne Holm, *Women in the Midway: An Unfinished Revolution* (Novato, Calif.: Presidio Press, 1982), 17, 108.

96. Alma Lutz, coll. and ed., *With Love, Jane: Letters from American Women on the War Front* (New York: The John Day Co., 1945), 194-95.

97. Hall, letter of June 6, 1917.

98. "Mademoiselle Miss," 33.

99. Winsor School, 52.

100. See *The Story of U.S. Army Base*

*Hospital No. 5: By a Member of the Unit* (Cambridge, Mass.: The University Press, 1919), chapter 3, and Albert R. Lamb, *The Presbyterian Hospital and the Columbia-Princeton Medical Center, 1868-1943* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955). See also Hall, letter of April 8, 1918, to Elizabeth C. Burgess; and Sophie C. Winton Papers, Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pa.

101. Item on Ellen Bradley, *Carry On* (May 1959).

102. Dock, 516-17.

103. Stimson, 142, 134.

104. Ashe, 112-13.

105. Eleanor Leo, *History of the School of Nursing of the Presbyterian Hospital* (New York: G. P. Putnam's sons, 1942), 112-13.

106. Report of Ruth Cushman, in Dock, 655.

107. Report of Katherine A. Levensman, in Dock, 657-58.

108. Frank Freidel, *Over There: The Story of America's First Great Overseas Crusade* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1964), 266-67.

109. Report of Florence Missimer, quoted in Dock, 746.

110. Mary Elderkins's report, in Dock, 753-54.

111. American Red Cross, *The Work of the American Red Cross* (Washington, D.C., 1917), 94. See also the reference to this raid in *The Story of U.S. Army Base Hospital No. 5*, 46-47.

112. Dock, 456, and Lamb, 117.

113. Dock, 222.

114. *Ibid.*, 185.

115. Ernest Bietenell, Jr. *War's Wake, 1914-1915* (Washington, D.C.: American National Red Cross, 1930), 154.

116. Dock, 138.

117. *Ibid.*, 189.

118. Mabel T. Boardman, *Under the Red Cross Flag at Home and Abroad*

(Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1915, 1917), 208.

119. Dock, 179.

120. *Ibid.*, 187-88.

121. *Ibid.*, 217-18.

122. *Ibid.*, 491.

123. *Ibid.*, 744.

124. Ellen N. LaMotte, *The Backwash of War* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1934), 19; Charles V. Geithe describes LaMotte's book as the most bitterly disillusioned of all the war narratives he examined. *American War Narratives, 1917-1918: A Study and Bibliography* (New York: D. Lewis, 1969), 101.

125. Dock, 449.

126. *Ibid.*, 499.

127. Hamilton, 21-22.

#### CHAPTER 5 Aid and Comfort

1. . . . It commanding officer stated that his men were more contented and more easily handled since the unprecedented innovation of women in the camp. . . . "Evangeline Booth and Grace Livingston Hill, *The War Romance of the Salvation Army* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1919), 60. Cf. "The bull was accompanied by six cows. . . their presence was the best guarantee of the bull's good conduct." Dorothy L. Sayers, *Bismarck's Harem* (New York: Avon Books, 1968), 197.

2. *Amelia Peabody's Titration and Her Cantons for the Serbs*, with outline of her life by Mary Wilder Titleston. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1919), 122.

3. *Ibid.*, 17.

4. *Ibid.*, 105.

5. *Ibid.*, 112, 115-16. The story of Flora Sandes is an epic in itself. She stayed on in Yugoslavia after the German